

Learning Paths

www.learningpaths.org

© Luciano Mariani 2010

First published 2010

ISBN 978-1-4457-7953-9

Communication strategies

Learning and teaching how to manage oral interaction

Luciano Mariani



Learning Paths – Tante Vie Per Imparare

www.learningpaths.org

Contents

Introduction

1. Communication strategies: defining the area

- 1.1 Introducing strategies
- 1.2 Focus on oral interaction
- 1.3 Strategies as problem-solving behaviour
- 1.4 Communication vs compensation
- 1.5 Product vs process
- 1.6 The *consciousness* issue
- 1.7 Intra- and inter-cultural strategies

Further reading

2. Types of strategies

- 2.1 Reduction vs achievement
- 2.2 Reduction strategies
- 2.3 Achievement strategies at the word and sentence level
- 2.4 Achievement strategies at the discourse level
- 2.5 Factors affecting strategy choice and use
- 2.6 A proposed typology

Further reading

3. Strategy learning and teaching

- 3.1 Strategic competence
- 3.2 The *teachability* issue
- 3.3 Approaches to strategy education
- 3.4 Designing learning tasks

Further reading

Bibliography and webliography

Introduction

"The easiest way to give the impression of having a good accent or no foreign accent at all is to hold an unlit pipe in your mouth, to mutter between your teeth and finish all your sentences with the question: "isn't it?" People will not understand much, but they are accustomed to that and they will get a most excellent impression." George Mikes, How to Be an Alien

What is this book about?

Communication strategies is a book about the verbal and non-verbal ways and means that speakers and listeners employ in oral interaction in a second or foreign language (L2), when they have to face problems due to their lack or insufficient knowledge of the linguistic, communicative and cultural codes of the L2. Finding a way to express the meaning of a word that we don't know in the L2, asking our interlocutor to help us if we don't understand, using "tactics" to gain time when listening or speaking are all examples of such strategies.

In addition to helping people cope with problems, communication strategies can play an important role in enhancing the quantity and quality of interpersonal and intercultural interaction: they can thus assist people in such sensitive areas as opening and closing conversations, keeping a conversation open, managing turn-taking, apologizing if one has said or done something inappropriate.

The primary aim of communication strategies is to help language learners and users "not give up" in the face of problems (Hatch 1978: 434), enabling them to exercise more control on interaction, to deal effectively with uncertainty in linguistic and intercultural contacts, and to increase their personal autonomy in learning and using a language.

Who is the book for?

Communication strategies is a manual for teachers, teacher trainers and educators, providing them with a sound theoretical and

methodological background. A collection of teaching activities for learners and users of an L2, based on the principles outlined in the present publication, is available in an extended version of this book, published by lulu.com and available in paper format on the publisher's site:

http://www.lulu.com/content/libro-a-copertina-

morbida/communication-strategies/8906511

or on Amazon.com:

http://www.amazon.com/Communication-strategies-

<u>Luciano/dp/1445779536/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1287676621&s</u> r=8-1

Alternatively, you can contact the author luciano.mariani@iol.it for a free copy in electronic format (pdf).

How is the book organized?

Communication strategies focuses on strategy definitions and classifications, raising an awareness of the benefits and problems associated with their use, providing a rationale for their learning and teaching, and offering a possible typology of strategies.

Throughout the book, there are tasks in which readers are invited to analyze strategies, reflect on their own experience as language learners and teachers, and express their view on the arguments that are put forward for discussion. Each chapter ends with a *Further reading* section giving details of additional resources related to the topics covered in the chapter.

Some of the tasks are accompanied by recordings of native and non-native speakers of English. Although they are not essential for the successful completion of the tasks, their use is strongly recommended. The recordings, which are signalled by the symbol CS1, can be freely downloaded in MP3 format from the Author's web site at the following address: www.learningpaths.org/communication.

An on-going project

Communication strategies is closely linked with the already mentioned Author's web site www.learningpaths.org, which is specifically devoted to the issues this book deals with: learning and teaching styles and strategies, motivation, beliefs and attitudes, and

learner autonomy. Readers surfing this site will find papers, questionnaires, on-line demonstrations of strategy use, materials for teachers and students, lessons plans, bibliographies and links.

Communication strategies is not just a book – it is also an ongoing project involving all those who wish to help themselves and others to learn. Please consider sharing your views and experiences with the Author as well as with other readers of this book.

Luciano Mariani *luciano.mariani@iol.it*

1 Communication strategies: defining the area

1.1 Introducing strategies

TASK 1

You are talking to someone, either in your native language (L1) or in a second or foreign language (L2).

What do you do if ...

- you don't know the exact word for an object?
- you aren't sure you have understood what your partner has just said?
- you want to change the topic of the conversation?

Do you think you would behave differently if you were using your L1 *or* an L2? Why/Why not?

Communication strategies are the ways and means we employ when we experience a problem in communication, either because we cannot say what we would like to say or because we cannot understand what is being said to us. The source of the problem could be linguistic (i.e. we lack the necessary knowledge of the language), cultural (i.e. we are not aware of or can't cope with the cultural demands of the situation) or even contextual (i.e. someone or something makes it difficult for us to follow a conversation, e.g. because of a very noisy environment or the particular way our partner articulates her or his speech).

When such problems occur, we usually try to cope with the situation by making use of all the means which are available to us: we try to make the best possible use of the (little) language that we know; we use non-linguistic means like gestures; we ask our partner to help us; we switch to our L1 – or we may give up the effort altogether and bring the conversation to a stop or start a new one. Thus, in the sample situations in Task 1 we could for instance

• define or describe the object as best as we can, draw it or point to it if it is present;

- tell our partner that we haven't understood and ask her/him to repeat, explain, speak slowly;
- wait for our partner to finish her/his turn of the conversation or interrupt her/him at the appropriate moment by using polite expressions like *Oh*, by the way ... Now, that reminds me of ...

Strategies like these are by no means an exclusive feature of communication in a foreign or second language – problems can and do occur in native-language communication too, and can be managed by using the same basic types of strategies - although L2 speakers will probably work at a lower level of sophistication than L1 speakers owing to their limited linguistic and communicative competence.

TASK 2

Consider the following examples of interaction between a native speaker (NS) and a non-native speaker (NNS).

- What problem(s) are they experiencing in each case?
- What strategies do they use to manage the problem?
- What other strategies do you think they could use?

1.

NNS: Excuse me?

NS: Yes?

NNS: I need a ... a ... tire-bouchon ...

NS: I beg your pardon?

NNS: A ... the thing you use to open a bottle of wine ...

NS: Ah, you mean a corkscrew?

NNS: Yes, that's right.

2.

NNS: My brother has a shop – he sells ... tables, chairs ... how do

you say that in English?

NS: He sells furniture? NNS: Furniture, yes, that's it.

3.

NS: Don't turn right at the first junction, take the second on your right, then first left, then left again at the roundabout ...

NNS: Er ... can you speak slowly, please?

NS: Yes ... I said, take the second on your right ... then take the second road on your left ... and then, when you reach the roundabout, turn left again.

NNS: So ... second on the right, then left, and then left again ... is that right?

NS: Yes, that's it.

4

NNS: I'd like two of these ... (points to cakes in the window)

NS: The chocolate buns?

NNS: No ... (shakes his head and looks to the right) the white ones

...

NS: Oh, the vanilla ones.

5

NNS: My uncle is going to /s---l/ his boat this weekend.

NS: Oh, has he a sailboat?

NNS: Yes.

NS: Oh, are you going with him?

NNS: Uh – no, he's going to /s---!/ the boat.

NS: Yeah, I understand. Are you going sailing with him?

NNS: No, I'm sorry. /S---l/, not /s---l/. Someone is going to buy his boat.

NS: Oh, he's *selling* the boat! I got it!

Acknowledgment: No. 5 is quoted in Nelson 1989.

Here are some possible answers to the questions in Task 2:

- In (1), the NNS doesn't know the exact word for an object. First, he resorts to another language (tire-bouchon) but the NS doesn't follow him. So she builds a definition using a very general word (thing) in the phrase the thing you use to ... and, when the NS supplies the precise word, he confirms (Yes, that's right).
- In (2), the NNS doesn't know the word, so he tries to use examples (tables, chairs ...) instead of the general category (furniture). He also explicitly asks the NNS for help (How do you say that in English?) and then repeats and confirms the NS's suggestion (Furniture, yes, that's it).
- In (3), the NNS can't follow the speed of the NS's talk, so he asks her for help (Can you speak slowly, please?). The NS

- repeats the directions, reducing her speed and adding a few extra words to make the meaning even clearer. The NNS summarizes what he has just heard and asks the NS to confirm (... is that right?), which the NS does.
- In (4), the NNS doesn't know the words for *vanilla buns*, so he first points to them. When the NNS refers to the wrong items (*chocolate* buns), he uses non-verbal language (*shakes his head and looks to the right*) and at the same time adds a description (*the white ones* ...).
- In (5), the NNS confuses the pronunciation of *sail* and *sell*. When she realizes that the NNS misunderstands her, she first tries to point this out (*Uh no*) and repeats the same utterance (*he's going to /s---l/ the boat*), then, when the NS fails once again to understand, she apologizes (*No*, *I'm sorry*), highlights the source of the problem (*/S---l/*, *not /s---l/*), and resorts to a reformulation, using the opposite of *sell*, i.e. *buy*.

These examples point to several interesting features of communication strategies, which we will discuss in more length in the following paragraphs:

- communication strategies are used to manage, and possibly solve, a wide range of linguistic (lexical, grammatical, phonological), sociolinguistic or pragmatic, and (inter)cultural problems;
- the person experiencing the problem may try to solve it directly and/or may explicitly appeal to her/his partner for help. However, it is important to note that the problem is usually solved through a *cooperative* action from both partners in the conversation: in the examples above, the NS is willing to repeat, reformulate, supply the missing words, to support the NNS in her/his communicative efforts. In other words, using strategies is by no means a solitary enterprise;
- communication strategies imply the use of both *linguistic* resources (e.g. the native language, the second or foreign language, as well as other known languages) and *extra-linguistic* means (i.e. non-verbal language like gestures, eye contact, facial expressions);
- problems and strategies are not exceptional events in oral interaction but are part of the interlocutors' effort to manage the conversation by constantly negotiating meanings and intentions.

1.2 Focus on oral interaction

Strategies, as ways to manage and solve problems, are a feature of both oral and written language use, of both receptive and productive activities. In written and spoken production (i.e. writing and producing monologues or speaking to an audience), for example, writers and speakers may use the same sort of strategies we have presented in the previous paragraph: they may use general words (like thing, stuff); use synonyms and antonyms; define or describe an object or a concept for which they lack the precise words; as well as reformulate or simplify their text or discourse or even avoid a topic they are not familiar with. Writers and speakers may just as well have recourse to all the languages they know, including their native language; they may use external resources like dictionaries, the Internet or some more competent language user.

In the same way, strategies are an important feature of *aural* (i.e. listening), *visual* (i.e. reading) and *audio-visual* (e.g. watching TV and film) *reception*: for example, language users employ a whole range of inferring strategies to deduce the meaning of unknown words and expressions; to check comprehension by focusing on specific textual cues; to infer and anticipate intentions and attitudes from the way the text is developed.

In the same way, *mediating* activities (*oral*, like interpretation, or *written*, like translation), as well as the various kinds of paraphrasing and summarizing tasks, both across languages and within the same language, also call for many of the abovementioned strategies.

However, *oral interaction* (ranging from a friendly conversation to a formal debate, from a casual discussion to a structured interview) has a number of features which distinguish it from all other communicative activities:

- it includes both spoken production (i.e. speaking) and audiovisual reception (i.e. listening and watching): typically, interacting means constantly alternating the roles of speaker and listener, and the resulting discourse can be described as a tightly interwoven tapestry;
- oral discourse is the result of a joint effort to cooperate: two or more interlocutors try to establish some sort of common ground by continually adjusting their mutual positions, with a view to negotiating meanings, intentions and attitudes;
- this process usually takes place in real time, so that interlocutors are faced with heavy cognitive, linguistic and sociocultural

demands: they have to make sense of what is being said (decoding messages) while at the same time anticipating their response (encoding messages). This encoding/decoding process is made up of overlapping stretches of discourse, so that a major issue for conversational partners is how to manage the formal properties of oral discourse while negotiating their way towards the fulfillment of their communicative goals;

• strategies are a natural component of this management process. They include the sort of receptive and productive strategies which we mentioned earlier, but also strategies which are typical of the nature of interactive tasks, e.g. turn-taking, opening and closing a conversation, keeping a conversation going, giving feedback, adjusting and repairing messages according to the partner's reaction, asking for and giving help.

Because strategies fulfill a number of different functions, they can be (and have actually been) described in several complementary ways, for instance as *conversational* strategies (although conversations are only a particular example of oral interactive activities), *cooperative* strategies (stressing their collaborative nature), *discourse* strategies (focusing on the actual product of the interaction), *compensation* strategies (highlighting their role in assisting interlocutors to make up for their limited command of the linguistic and sociocultural codes). As we shall see in the following paragraphs, the term *communication strategies* is often used as an "umbrella" term to cover a very wide range of strategies, although it also refers to a clearly identifiable area of psycholinguistic research.

One interesting set of communicative activities, which is rapidly gaining importance in today's tightly connected world, is written interaction, which traditionally includes, e.g. correspondence by letter, fax, e-mail (which we might call offline interaction), but has expanded dramatically as new technologies have allowed a variety of forms of online interaction, such as taking part in chats, blogs, or the various opportunities offered by the so-called social networks. These developments have given rise to unprecedented forms of written real-time interaction, which tends to call for and develop a new range of computer-mediated strategies in response to new contexts of language learning and use. The focus of this volume, however, will mainly be on oral interaction, as described above, although one has to keep in mind that today face-to-face interaction is often mediated by the use of technology, as is the case with computer conferences.

1.3 Strategies as problem-solving behaviour

TASK 3

Consider the following definitions of "communication strategies".

- What features do they seem to share?
- What major differences, if any, do you think you could identify?
- 1. "a systematic technique employed by a speaker to express his meaning when faced with some difficulty" (Corder 1983: 16)
- 2. "potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal ... not only serve to overcome problems learners face but are also used by learners to create the conditions for intake" (Faerch and Kasper 1983b: 36)
- 3. "a mutual attempt of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where requisite meaning structures do not seem to be shared. (Meaning structures here would include both linguistic structures and sociolinguistic rule structures.) ... attempts to bridge the gap between the linguistic knowledge of the second language learner, and the linguistic knowledge of the target language interlocutor in real communication situations" (Tarone 1983: 65)
- 4. "all attempts to manipulate a limited linguistic system in order to promote communication" (Bialystok 1983: 102)
- 5. "the familiar ease and fluency with which we sail from one idea to the next in our first language is constantly shattered by some gap in our knowledge of a second language. The gap can take many forms a word, a structure, a phrase, a tense marker, an idiom. Our attempts to overcome those gaps have been called communication strategies" (Bialystok 1990: 1)
- 6. "strategies which a language user employs in order to achieve his intended meaning on becoming aware of problems arising during the planning phase of an utterance due to his own linguistic shortcomings" (Poulisse et al. 1984: 72)

Probably the most common, and certainly the most "traditional", view of communication strategies stresses the fact that they are a

response to a problem in communication. This can apply equally well to phonological, lexical, syntactic, sociolinguistic/sociocultural and pragmatic difficulties, i.e. any aspect of the linguistic system which makes communication hard or even impossible to achieve. This view implies a deficiency or limitation in the language learner or user, since her/his present level of knowledge is not adequate for the expression of the intended meaning, and this is exactly what prompts her/him to have recourse to a "strategy". This view also implies that strategies become relevant to a language learner or user only insofar as a problem is perceived, i.e. they do not usually play a role, or are indeed relevant, if no problem is encountered. Definition (6) also specifies the phase in oral production when strategies become relevant, i.e. the planning phase (on the actual working mechanism of problem-solving in this context see 2.1). The level of consciousness of the problem, which is referred to as "becoming aware" in definition (6), can vary - and can even be "potential" as in definition (2) – an issue which raises interesting questions (see 1.6).

In contrast to this view, which sees strategies as strictly *individual* plans in response to personal shortcomings, definition (3) focuses on the joint effort of both interlocutors to establish a common meaning, again when the relevant "meaning structures" do not seem to be shared. The "problem", in this view, is seen as a gap between the levels of knowledge of both parties involved, and is managed through a mutual attempt at reaching an agreement. Notice that these "gaps" are most evident in the presence of L2 speakers, although, as we have already mentioned, L1 speakers can also have recourse to strategies since communication problems are not an exclusive feature of situations involving an L2.

As a matter of fact, although problem-orientedness is still a feature of many strategy studies, the very concept of "problem" has widened to include not just the difficulties faced by the *speaker*, leading to her/his own efforts to cope with the situation, but also the perception of difficulties on the *interlocutor*'s part (e.g. her/his own incorrect or ambiguous production or her/his inability to understand), which, once again, may lead to various kinds of negotiated strategies.

Strategies, however, have not been viewed as equivalent to *all* problem-solving devices which can be implemented in oral interaction. Quite a number of research studies have actually considered *problem-management* in communication, and especially negotiation of meaning when problems arise during the development of interaction (i.e. after the planning stage), as a

distinct area – with strategies becoming a sort of sub-category within this larger unit of study. As we shall see when we consider the problem of classifying strategies, in practice many taxonomies of communication strategies have in fact included meaning negotiation and repair mechanisms as trouble-shooting and problem-solving mechanisms.

To conclude, it should be stressed that not all researchers have viewed communication strategies as problem-solving behavior: strategies have also indeed been considered as the normal, standard way of managing oral interaction – in a way, all language use could be considered "strategic", in the sense that using a language necessarily implies selecting, from a range of available ways and means, those that are particularly well-suited and functional to the purpose to be achieved. In other words, it is more a problem of adjusting to the situation than merely of "compensating" for a deficiency. Moreover, this view sees strategy use as sensitive to the *context* of the interaction as well as relevant to *all* the interactants and not just as a response to an *individual speaker*'s perception of a problem.

1.4 Communication vs compensation

TASK 4

Consider the following items. Would you consider them as "strategies"? Why/Why not?

- Showing interest and willingness to talk
- Getting attention from one's interlocutor
- Introducing a new topic in conversation
- Gaining time to think by using hesitations and "fillers" (like *Aha* ... *Mmm* ... *Well* ... *I see* ... *You know that I mean* ...)

In the course of time, the role and scope of communication strategies seem to have widened to include not just a language learner's or language speaker's efforts to cope with problems or to compensate for a limited or insufficient knowledge of the language system, but also more general ways to enhance or make the most of communicative interaction. Strategies have thus become to be seen

as plans of action geared at achieving some communicative goal, e.g. to improve the effectiveness of communication or to manage and possibly solve a social conflict.

In a similar way, communication studies, as well as discourse and conversation analysis, have stressed the role of strategies to manage interactions which may involve potentially difficult or "dangerous" situations. Communicative events normally taking place in oral interactions (e.g. opening and closing a conversation, turn-taking, topic-shifting, interrupting) have thus become to be considered as "strategies", i.e. as concrete steps that a language learner or user can take to increase the level of control over the interaction and thus improve its effectiveness. In this respect, the terms "conversation(al) strategies" and "communication strategies" are often associated and sometimes even overlap, especially in publications targeted at language teachers and learners.

1.5 Product vs process

Because early studies of communication strategies were conducted mainly by psycholinguists, the emphasis in strategy description has been mainly on the *linguistic realizations*, i.e. on the actual language *products* that were generated as a result of the effort to cope with a communicative event: for example, the use of synonyms and antonyms as substitutes for an unknown word, the use of definitions and descriptions as a way to paraphrase, the various expressions to obtain the interlocutor's help (like *Can you repeat, please? Can you give me an example?*) or to make sure one has understood or has made oneself understood (like *So you're saying that ... is that right?* and *Are you following me?*). As we shall see in later chapters, part of the teaching procedures for strategy education consists of asking students to notice and practise specific linguistic means of realizing strategies in practice.

However, even from this linguistic viewpoint, it was soon recognized that strategies are just the tip of the iceberg, landmarks that point to what a language learner or user is actually doing in her or his mind while struggling to meet the challenge of communication: in other words, strategies can be viewed as "windows on the covert cognitive behavior of the learner, giving us clues as to how the learner is thinking and coping" (Faerch and Kasper 1983b: 35)

In contrast with (or in addition to) this linguistic view, other studies have in fact focused on strategies as *mental procedures*, so that the focus shifts to investigating the cognitive processes that are responsible for the strategic use of language. As a result, the main interest of researchers has turned from the description and classification of strategy types on the basis of their surface, observable features (with a focus on *form*) to the underlying processes and cognitive decisions that are at the basis of strategy use (with a focus on the unobservable *procedures* that may be inferred from linguistic realizations).

One important consequence of taking the "process view" into consideration is that one is obliged to remember that while strategies are usually inferred by observing and analysing the actual language learners/users' performance, they are at the same time a key to the underlying cognitive processes that generate them. If, for example, a learner uses the general word *animal* instead of the still unknown word *pet*, this could be considered a *strategy* (using hyponyms or general words) – but if the same learner continues to use *animal* when he has also learnt *pet*, then this is probably best viewed not as a strategy but as a *process* (of generalization, with a possible danger of fossilizing, i.e. "freezing" the development of interlanguage).

1.6 The consciousness issue

We have already seen that several definitions of strategies involve the idea of an *at least potential* awareness on the part of the language learner or user. The term "consciousness" with regard to strategies is rather ambiguous and lends itself to a series of intriguing questions: is consciousness always a prerequisite for strategy use? What must a learner/user be conscious of (e.g. the problem, the need or wish to solve it, the available alternatives)? At which stages in the process of oral production (e.g. in the phase of planning an utterance, during the actual execution of the plan, or even later, when evaluating one's performance)? Can consciousness play a role after the interaction, e.g. by asking learners/users if they encountered problems and what strategies, if any, they used to cope with them?

One sensible approach to this complex array of questions is certainly to consider consciousness not as an "all-or-nothing" issue, but rather as a continuum, a matter of degree. In other words, speakers can be aware of problems and their solutions, but in very different ways according to the type of problem, the context and the personality of the speakers themselves. For instance, a problem may surface quite clearly just as one starts to plan what to say, or it may emerge later, when one gets feedback from one's interlocutor. The setting in which the interaction takes place may include stress-generating features, like the presence of several new or unknown interlocutors or a particularly difficult topic to discuss, which may trigger anxiety together with a sharp awareness of one's own deficiencies. Individual differences play a crucial role as well: some people, for instance, may be more form-oriented or be prone to monitor the correctness of their performance more than others, which can lead them to be more aware of the difficulties they are facing.

Another factor affecting the consciousness issue is the tendency of some strategies to be used so frequently that they become "routinised" and even "fossilized" and do not seem to be used with any particular degree of consciousness. If a strategy is used in an automatic way as the standard solution to a certain type of problem, can we still call it a "strategy"? One possible way to solve this apparent paradox could be to consider a "strategy" a plan of action which is used in a conscious, intentional way as well as a plan of action which the language learner/user can recall and describe, if asked to do so at a later stage. In other words, if he/she cannot recognize or remember the problem and/or cannot recall or describe what she/he did to overcome it intentionally, this particular behaviour cannot be termed as a "strategy". Strategic language use, in other words, implies some degree of recognition of the fact that one is engaging in an effort to overcome a problem in ways that are not "automatic" or are not immediately available as ready-made formulae. Notice that this also points to the personal and even "creative" nature of communication strategies.

1.7 Intra- and inter-cultural strategies

TASK 5

We have argued that communication strategies are relevant both to L1 and to L2 settings, i.e. when interlocutors share the same L1 or when one L2 or more L2s are used in the same interaction. However, there are clearly several major differences in the two situations.

- According to your own experience as an L1 and/or L2 speaker, what are the main sources of differences between an interaction between two native speakers and an interaction in which at least an L2 is involved?
- How do you think different cultures may affect the use of communication strategies in oral interaction?

If we broaden our view of communication strategies beyond the strictly linguistic domain to the sociolinguistic and sociocultural areas, then the meaning and function of strategies also widen considerably. Since these areas naturally focus on the features of the interaction between interlocutors rather than on the individual speakers' performance and competence, they tend to highlight the interpersonal, affective and social significance of interaction for those taking part in it, and not just the transfer of information or the negotiation of meaning to create a shared knowledge base. In this view, the "problems" which we have seen to play a major role in defining the role of strategies in interaction, can even become a springboard for the display of new sets of strategies: it is precisely the inadequate performance of one or more interlocutors that can prompt the interlocutors themselves to recognize their own (as well as each other's) problems and limitations, and to let them become more willing, for example, to show sympathy, to ask for and give help, to improve their reciprocal efforts to continue a conversation – ways to negotiate not just knowledge but also solidarity and support, and opportunities to express the affective potential of strategies. All this can even lead to question and perhaps revise the standard ways in which interactions are usually managed in one's own culture.

This mutual sensitivity to one's interlocutor's problems can be seen as a real recognition of the "other", who can be a member either of one's own culture or of another culture – strategies, in other words, can also be a gateway to an improved intra-cultural and inter-cultural communication. Becoming sensitive to, and of course accepting and respecting *difference*, can then affect the choice of strategies and improve their effectiveness, not just as problem-solving devices in particular situations, but also, and perhaps more importantly, as aids in promoting intra- and inter-cultural dialogue. For instance, if we choose certain words to describe a person or an object, but soon realize that the concepts underlying those words are not shared by our interlocutor, then we might want to change our

choice of words, or our strategy altogether, and find other ways to establish some common ground between ourselves and our interlocutor. Both in L1 and in L2 contexts, difference can stimulate new ways of behaving and building relationships: "in activities demanding a versatile use of communication strategies, marginality can be cultivated as a source of pleasure and an expression of friendship in diversity" (Rampton 1997: 293).

Of course, in L1 (*intra-cultural*) encounters speakers can rely on a shared base of socio-cultural assumptions and conventions regarding both the content of what is being communicated and the forms of interaction itself; if conflicts or misunderstandings happen, they also share the accepted strategies to deal with problematic situations, and generally (although certainly not always) achieve some kind of success with the minimum of resources used by both parties. In *inter-cultural* encounters involving the use of one or more L2s speakers do not share the same assumptions and conventions, and this makes interaction, and the management of problems and conflicts, more complex and demanding.

All this also implies that *communication styles*, or the preferred ways to manage interactions, are culturally-sensitive and, therefore, any intercultural encounter necessarily involves some degree of compromise as well as recognition and acceptance of one's interlocutor's cultural communication patterns. In other words, there is no "universal norm" in managing interactions. This has strong implications for strategy choice and use: ways of taking turns in conversation, holding the floor, interrupting or changing topics, for instance, are all culture-sensitive, and require responsible handling of situations.

On the other hand, it is precisely the nature of intercultural encounters (between a native speaker and a non-native speaker, and, increasingly, between speakers of languages, particularly English, who are *both* non-native speakers) that calls for a range of "mutual adjustment" strategies, in terms of shared or non-shared linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic knowledge base. In this view, being a non-native speaker does not imply a negative or inferior status but can even be seen as a resource for the interaction – what is crucial is a mutual recognition of "non-nativeness status" which can offer interlocutors the opportunity to work towards a common communicative goal through the use of adequate "converging" strategies. These must necessarily refer to both the effort to speak the other's language and the effort to adjust one's own language to the actual level of the other.

Further reading

- Basic reference works on communication strategies are Faerch and Kasper 1983a, Tarone and Yule 1989, Bialystok 1990, Poulisse 1990, Kasper and Kellerman 1997.
- For a historical outline of communication strategy research, and for different approaches to conceptualizing them, see Dörnyei and Scott 1997.
- For an extended view of problem-solving in L2 communication, see Dörnyei and Kormos 1998.
- On the similarities and differences in L1 and L2 communication strategies, see Bongaerts and Poulisse 1989.

2 Types of strategies

2.1 Reduction vs achievement

In the previous chapter we saw that one way to see communication strategies is to consider them as the ways and means to solve problems which may occur in oral interaction. According to this view, strategies are called into play only if and when people experience a problem. Problems can occur in the learning and use of one's L1 or any L2, but are obviously a more recurring feature of second (or third, fourth ...) language use.

The original taxonomies of communication strategies were based on the assumption that when faced with a problem, speakers must necessarily choose between two basic ways to deal with it: either they avoid the problem altogether or they try to "make the best of what they've got", i.e. use their available resources, albeit limited or even scarce, to get their message across and reach some kind of

communicative result. This choice points to the possible classification of strategies into two large basic areas, which have been called *reduction* or *(risk-)avoidance* strategies, on the one hand, and *achievement* or *expansion* or *risk-taking* strategies, on the other.

To provide a rationale for this basic distinction, let us consider the fact that any person who is not a mother-tongue speaker or a very proficient bilingual must necessarily rely on some incomplete and imperfect competence - this corresponds to the present stage in his or her *interlanguage* system (Fig. 1.1).

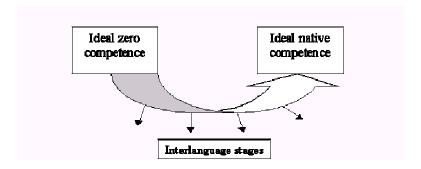


Fig. 1.1 – Interlanguage stages

Any language learner or user could thus be placed somewhere along a line between the two extremes of an ideal zero competence and an *ideal* native speaker competence. If we are still in the process of learning a language, we are moving along this line, we are gradually approaching the ideal native speaker competence by successive approximations. The term ideal competence is used to highlight the fact that in practice there is no absolute zero competence (one can often rely on some form of very rudimentary verbal or non-verbal communication) and, more importantly, that there is no absolute native speaker competence – even in L1 communication, native speakers may not find the words to say something and have to adjust their message, or ask their interlocutor for help, or use synonyms or general words to make themselves understood. (In a way, one of the most extraordinary paradoxes in language teaching is the fact that students are rarely taught, or even allowed, to use the kind of strategic devices that even native speakers are often forced to use. Language teaching is still very much concerned with exact communication - something which does not even exist – while a major challenge in language learning is precisely how to get used to non-exact communication.)

The situation when one has to cope with unexpected problems, when no ready-made solutions are available, can be described visually through a diagram (Fig. 1.2, which is adapted from Faerch and Kasper 1983b).

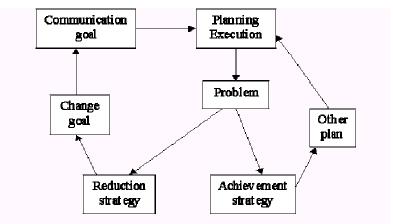


Fig. 1.2 – Strategies as problem-solving behaviour

In language learning and use, and specifically in oral interaction, we have some kind of communicative goal and we set out to make a plan and execute it. If we meet a problem, that is, if our command of the linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic code is not adequate, we have two basic choices. On the one hand, we can avoid the problem by adopting a *reduction* strategy: in other words, we keep our message within our communicative resources, we avoid the risk, we adjust our ends to our means - in this way we change our goal. On the other hand, we can decide to keep our goal but develop an alternative plan: we adopt an *achievement* strategy, we take the risk and expand our communicative resources, we adjust our means to our ends.

2.2 Reduction strategies

Reduction strategies can affect the form of our communicative goal: speakers may want to avoid pronouncing certain words which imply particularly difficult sounds (like the /th/ sound in English for many

L2 users), morphological "traps" (like cases in German) or grammatical structures (like the subjunctive in French or Italian): in many cases, this results in a need to adjust the message in various ways or even to sacrifice parts of it.

Reduction strategies can also affect the *content* of a message: we are all familiar with the essential strategy of *avoiding a topic* we do not feel confident to talk about. Sometimes, for instance, when I find myself in a place where they speak a language I hardly know, and have the choice between buying a ticket at a ticket office or from an automatic vending machine, I often choose the machine: I avoid taking the risk of not understanding figures, times or names of places (notice that in this case I do not really make a linguistic plan, because the task of buying a ticket allows me to use non-linguistic means).

Second language learners/users also often go through the experience of abandoning their message, or rounding it off quickly, because they feel it is going to involve them in all sorts of problems with grammar or vocabulary. And the reason why non-native speakers can sometimes sound vague is possibly the fact that they are replacing the original meaning (the original goal) with a simpler message. Suppose I wished to say something like, I've been made redundant - I get dole money, but that's barely enough to carry on, let alone take a holiday. I may find this too difficult to explain, either because I do not know the precise words to express concepts like being made redundant or dole money or because, even if I know them, I feel that my interlocutor, being from a different culture, may not know what they refer to. In this case I may start to express what I want to say but may soon abandon my message, maybe even in mid-sentence. Or I may come up with something like, I can't go on holiday because I haven't got enough money. By replacing my meaning I can still manage to get a message across (although not my original one), but a lot of my basic plan is lost and I may even sound vague to some of my interlocutors.

Reduction strategies can also affect *modality* (for example I may miss out markers of politeness and fail to observe the rules of social distance) or whole *speech acts*: for instance, if I cannot use pretopics in opening a telephone conversation, I may do without such starters as, *Are you busy?* or, *Am I ringing at a bad time?*, which are sometimes useful and necessary to avoid sounding too harsh. Of course such failures are not always serious, but, depending on the context, they may lead to false perceptions on the listener's part.

Reduction or avoidance strategies like the ones we have illustrated above are difficult to spot in actual verbal behaviour, but are an obvious and essential part of a language learner/user's instinctive repertoire. Although language learners may not be encouraged to avoid topics, abandon their messages or replace their meanings (let alone avoid politeness markers or useful speech acts), but rather to take risks and actively use their available resources – in other words, to adopt achievement or expansion strategies - we shall see that even a strategy like topic avoidance can play a role in developing strategic competence. This issue will be taken up again when presenting our proposed strategy typology in 2.6 below.

2.3 Achievement strategies at the word and sentence level

Turning now to *achievement* strategies, one useful first distinction that can be made here is between strategies at the *word* or *sentence level*, and strategies at the *discourse level*. It is important to make this distinction because when considering achievement strategies, one often thinks of, for example, ways of expressing the meaning of a word when the exact term is not available. In fact, as we shall see, some of the most interesting strategy uses are called forth and are actually realized during the course of interaction, when the problem extends beyond a single word or phrase and spans over several speech turns.

One of the simplest things one can do when faced with a problem in a foreign or second language is, of course, to *borrow words* from the L1: in monolingual classes, i.e. classes which share a common L1, students often use this "easy way out". Also, some people are very good at *foreignizing* words, pronouncing a word as if it belonged to the L2, or even adjusting its form to take account of typical morphological features of the L2. And we could all quote examples of *literal translation*, when, for example, the Italian *case popolari* (council houses) are simply translated as *popular houses* – an instance of how "false friends" like *popolari* and *popular* lead to all sorts of unusual and often funny utterances.

However, achievement strategies become much more interesting and productive when they are based on the learner's actual *interlanguage*, that is, when learners try to use their present knowledge and skills and stretch them, so to say, to their limits. It is this active use of one's limited resources that becomes particularly useful in developing strategic competence.

One first area of strategies has to do with *generalization* and *approximation*: if you do not know a word, you can fall back on general words, like *thing* or *stuff*; you can use superordinates, like *flower* instead of *daffodil*; you can use synonyms and antonyms, like *very, very small* to mean *tidy* or *not deep* to mean *shallow*. Of course, these *lexical substitution strategies* imply a certain degree of generalization, a disregard for restrictions on word meaning and word usage, and can therefore appear inappropriate according to the context. If you do not know the words *scissors* and *desk*, you might try to say something like *Please give me the* thing *on the* table, but this may be too general if there are several things on several pieces of furniture in the room: in this case a supplement of information describing, for example, the location of objects (*the thing on the books, the table near the door*) may be necessary.

Another area of strategies involves the use of *paraphrase*, which can consist of definitions and descriptions, examples and circumlocutions.

TASK 6

© CS1 Consider the following transcripts. In A, a non-native speaker (NNS) was trying to describe an object to a native speaker (NS). In B, the same non-native speaker desperately tried to make herself understood when a native speaker asked her the meaning of a very problematic Italian term.

- Try to guess what the NNS was trying to define or describe.
- What *specific* strategies did the NNS use? What *linguistic* means did she try out?

A.

NNS: Well it ... er uhm ... how would you say, it's a piece of furniture which is just near your bed, er where er a bedlamp is staying on it and where I can put my books for example, my jewellery and all my things ...

B.

NNS: Oh well, it's a bit difficult to explain, let me think, well it ...it used to be, I suppose, a sort of a religious holiday, and it is still now, but it ... uhm it's a hol it's a very special holiday during the summer, it's just er mid-August, let's say and, well normally Italian people well they have during during this day, it' a sort of a celebration of the summer, let's say before the summer goes away, ends up...

In A, the NNS the was referring to a *bedside table*. Notice that in her description she started off with a definition, using a general word like *piece* and a superordinate like *furniture*: *it's a piece of furniture* ..., but then she went on mentioning the position of the object: ... which is just near your bed ... She added a typical context: ... where a bedlamp is staying on it ... and the function of the object: ... where I can put my books, for example, my jewellery and all my things ...

In B., the NNS was trying to explain what Italians mean by ferragosto, a traditional Italian mid-summer holiday - a very difficult task indeed. Notice that achievement strategies, by their very nature, call for restructuring skills: we often need to reformulate what we have just said, we often need to adopt self-repair devices. This is what our non-native speaker did when she started off a sentence with ... well, normally, Italian people but then she was unable to continue and tried again with ... well, they have during during this day ... She finally gave up and reformulated her description: ... it's a sort of celebration of the summer, let's say ...

2.4 Achievement strategies at the discourse level

Let us now look at achievement strategies at the *discourse level*, that is, ways of coping with problems beyond single sentences and across talking turns.

The problems that learners can meet at the discourse level are possibly endless, since they cover the general ability to manage the interaction. Moreover, managing interactions is a very complex issue which calls into play not just strategic and pragmatic skills, but sociolinguistic and sociocultural conventions as well. The point we wish to stress here is the one we have previously made, i.e. that the most "comprehensive" views of communication strategies tend to consider the ways and means to solve a wide range of "problems" in oral interaction: not just how to compensate for linguistic deficits, but also how to manage conversations and interactions (for example, how to take turns, how to gain time to think, how to ask questions in order to shift the topic or the focus of the conversation). This view, as we shall see in Chapter 3, tends to cover areas which are otherwise considered as belonging to different, although interrelated, competences, such as strategic vs pragmatic competences.

Let us consider, for instance, negotiating meanings and intentions. Here we find a whole range of strategies which are sometimes called *cooperative* because they involve not just the speaker on his or her own (as was the case with the strategies we examined in the previous paragraphs), but a joint effort between two or more people. In other words, the participants in an interaction share an attempt to agree on a meaning in situations where they cannot share the same levels of knowledge and skill. (It should nonetheless be stressed that the "cooperative" principle can apply to all cases when the interlocutor is able and willing to help: as we shall see in Task 7 below, even establishing a reference to a word by using an approximation or a circumlocution can easily become a joint effort, and thus be justifiably considered a meaning-negotiation strategy.)

The most straightforward examples of cooperative strategies are the various ways to get help from the speaker. This appeal for assistance can be direct, as when you say, *Sorry*, *what did you say?* or *Look*, *l've bought this ... oh, how do you call it?*, or indirect, as when you say, *I can 't say that in English*. These appeals for assistance are often the first step in a mutual effort on both sides to come to a satisfactory agreement on a meaning, and can imply several talking turns.

© CS2 Consider the following examples of a non-native speaker (NNS) trying to explain to a native speaker (NS) a particular situation. Try to guess what she was referring to, and consider the strategies used by both parties.

Δ

NNS: Well, my brother has just begun taking driving lessons, you know, and he's just got er... how would you call that... a sort of a document by which he 's allowed to drive with a person with the driving licence beside him.

NS: Yes.

NNS: Yes.

NS: Er .. he 's a learner driver.

NNS: I see. Would you call that document learner driver? Would you ... would you ...

NS: No, you would call it a provisional licence.

NNS: Oh, that's it.

B.

NNS: My father has recently been made redundant and ... but in Italy we have er ... I don't know how you would call that ... I mean, he was made somehow redundant, but he gets some of his salary, and this salary is paid by ... is paid by the State, somehow.

NS: Right. So your father's getting a pension.

NNS: No, it's not really a pension because it is temporary, you know, so he was made redundant, let's say for six months, just because the factory closes up for ... I mean, diminishes the, the workload ...

NS: He gets unemployment benefit?

NNS: Maybe, yes, maybe that.

In A, the non-native speaker was referring to a *provisional* driving licence. Notice that she first established the context: ... Well, my brother has just begun taking driving lessons, you know ... but soon experienced a problem: ... and he's just got er ... She immediately and explicitly signalled that she needed help: ... how would you call that ... although she tried to provide a definition: ... a

sort of a document by which he's allowed to drive with a person with the driving licence beside him ... The native speaker came to her rescue by stating what she had understood that far: ... he's a learner driver... The non-native speaker wasn't really convinced and asked for confirmation of what she had understood: I see. Would you call that document learner driver? ... and then, again, asked for more help: would you ... would you ... The native speaker was now able to provide the exact term: ... No, you would call it a provisional licence.

In B, too, the non-native speaker first established the context: My father has been made redundant Then she immediately needed to rephrase her utterance: ... but in Italy we have er ... and explicitly asked for help: I don't know how you would call that ... Then she tried to describe the situation by paraphrasing the basic meaning of unemployment benefit: he gets some of ... of his salary, and this salary is paid by ... the State, somehow. Notice that agreement on meanings is reached through a process of negotiation and mutual effort: the native speaker put forward a hypothesis: Right. So your father's getting a pension but was immediately corrected by the non-native speaker: No, it's not really a pension ..., who then proceeded to provide another description and alternative definitions: the factory closes up for ... I mean, diminishes the, the workload ..., prompting the native speaker to guess again: He gets unemployment benefit?, finally obtaining a (tentative) confirmation by the nonnative speaker.

Cooperative strategies include other forms of mutual assistance. For example, if someone says, Look at the sign. It's an urban clearway area, you can check that you have understood by saying Does that mean you can't park here? or I'm not quite with you. You mean you can't park here? In this way you prompt the other person to confirm what you have understood. Of course you can do this in a number of other ways, for example, if somebody says, Don 't forget to change at Clapham Junction, you can repeat the main information: Change at Clapham Junction, which may prompt the other person to say something like, That's right. or Precisely. You may also need to check that the other person has understood you: if you say I think this one is a through train, you can add something like, Got it? or Are you with me? or Do you see what I mean? What is crucial to notice in all these examples is not just the use of fixed phrases, which are in themselves quite useful, but also, and more importantly, the interactive way in which people can try to solve their problems together.

2.5 Factors affecting strategy choice and use

The choice of a particular strategy in response to a problem or communicative situation depends on variety of factors, linked to the *context of strategy use*, the *personality* of the speakers, their *level of proficiency*, and the *teaching approach* to which learners are exposed.

The features of the *context* in which the strategy is required include, for example, the presence of one or more interlocutors, the degree of formality/informality of the situation and relevant language registers which are appropriate to use, the purpose and content of the communicative exchange, the willingness of the participants to communicate and to be helpful in the communicative exchange, the time available for processing both input (comprehension) and output (production), and the intercultural dimension.

An informal conversation between two friends can make fewer demands than a more formal discussion involving several participants who are strangers to each other – although sometimes managing "small talk" is no easy task for a barely proficient language user. On the other hand, a more formal discussion may have been structured in advance and be conducted along fairly established guidelines, which may involve, for example, clearer ways to hold the floor, take turns, interrupt, and so on (although this, of course, assumes that participants are aware of the linguistic and extra-linguistic signals associated with these "discussion techniques").

Time pressure in particular can create problems in oral interaction, which involves both comprehension and production in real time. The availability of strategies for "gaining time" to find one's words or build a suitable reply may become crucial for handling such situations. These strategies may include the use of "fillers" (like Aha ... Mmm ... I see ... Well ...), the use of prefabricated "chunks" to keep the conversational channel open (like You know what I mean ... and things like that ... that sort of things ...), the reversing of questions (But what about you?) and other ways to shift the "conversational burden" to the interlocutor, so as to reduce one's speaking time.

However, a strong word of warning is necessary when we consider the *intercultural dimension* of strategy use. Especially nonverbal language can have different meanings in different cultures: the degree of tolerance of silence, for example, is a feature of cultural communicative styles (see 1.7). The use of fillers to "gain time" and fill in gaps between speech turns can be felt as a need by some speakers, but can also sound irritating or even insulting in some cultures (like the Finnish and Japanese ones) where silence is not only tolerated, but also valued as an opportunity to gather one's thoughts.

In the same way, the meaning of gestures is notoriously different in different cultures, and great care is needed when using them: shaking and nodding the head may not mean "no" and "yes" respectively, but even the reverse. Using a lot of gestures may be considered acceptable or unacceptable, just like the degree of physical proximity or touching other people's body. Language learners and users should be made aware of these issues and invited to take great care in choosing and using non-verbal strategies.

TASK 8

Consider your own personal characteristics as a language learner/user.

- Where would you place yourself on each continuum?
- How do you think your individual profile would affect the choice and use of communication strategies?

Personality traits play a major role in the selection and use of communication strategies:

"To some people skill in coping comes naturally. Somehow they manage, whatever their lack of skill or knowledge with regard to the "proper" forms o communication. Most people, however, will benefit substantially by being given ample opportunity, in the course of their learning process, to develop their skill in this respect. It is not primarily a matter of being "taught" how to cope, but of being led to develop one's own strategies for doing so. Although certain strategies and techniques may almost certainly be beneficial to everyone, individual differences corresponding to differences in personality are to be given full scope." (van Ek and Trim 1991: 64)

We have already mentioned the fact that *reduction* or *avoidance* strategies allow people to "stay on the safe side" and reduce risk-taking, therefore appealing in particular to potentially introvert, anxious, risk-avoiding individuals. More extrovert, less anxious, risk-taking individuals, on the other hand, may adopt more easily *achievement* strategies, which make greater demands on one's resources and correspondingly expose speakers to possible failures. Motivational factors may be involved in this respect: the degree of perceived self-efficacy and self-esteem, and the corresponding different expectancies of success or failure, can affect the willingness to engage in communicative situations, especially if the task is perceived as demanding in terms of the required resources and prerequisite knowledge and skill.

Another personality dimension which can affect strategy choice and use is the degree to which individuals are communication- vs form-oriented. Some people seem to value communication most: they tend to get messages across despite the limitations of their linguistic and sociocultural code, value fluency over accuracy, are not afraid of making mistakes or simply give priority to the communication of ideas and feelings - such people can be expected to use a variety of strategies to keep the conversation open and to get meanings across. Other individuals are more aware of their limitations, value accuracy (sometimes even over fluency), closely monitor their comprehension and production in order to avoid or reduce misunderstandings and mistakes, and are perhaps less interested in social factors of interaction: such people may be more consciously selective in the choice of strategies, may like the precise communication of ideas, and may feel they need more time to think and plan what they want to say.

Of course these personality traits always occur on a *continuum*, with different individuals showing different clusters of the features we have just discussed. One important issue, which we will take up later, when making learning and teaching considerations, is precisely how to make language learners and users more aware of their communicative profile in order to allow them to choose and use those strategies that are not only appropriate to the demands of the communicative task, but are also adequate responses to their own language and learning needs.

If learners' individual differences play a prominent role in this respect, the same can be said for different *teaching approaches*: for example, if teaching methodologies and assessment procedures stress accuracy and correctness, this may lead learners to use avoidance strategies and steer clear of or limit their use of more risk-taking achievement strategies. If, on the other hand, teachers and methodologies put a premium on a more fluent and creative use of language, learners may be more stimulated to use achievement strategies. Some kind of balance is clearly needed here, since on the one hand we want learners to "experience problems" and thus be encouraged to use strategies and activate all their linguistic resources, but on the other hand we do not want to frustrate them by putting too strong demands on their present abilities.

2.6 A proposed typology

The strategy taxonomy proposed in this volume, which will be used as the basic reference tool in Part II (*Materials and activities*), aims at providing both students and teachers with an organized, systematic set of strategies that can be found useful when interacting orally in language learning and use. In the selection and organization of strategies this taxonomy, therefore, reflects its mainly pedagogical purpose, and does not claim to provide an exhaustive or definitive classification. (Please refer to the *Further reading* section at the end of this chapter for references to other taxonomies.)

The typology includes four main groups of strategies:

- meaning-expression strategies: these focus on an individual's attempt to express a meaning when the specific expression is not (yet) available to her/him, by using synonyms, approximations, paraphrase, etc. This concerns mainly lexico-grammatical items (from single words to phrases to whole sentences). The attempt at meaning expression is usually initiated by the speaker, but does not exclude the interlocutor's intervention or help: in other words, the cooperative principle between and among interlocutors is always, at least potentially, present in all speech turns:
- meaning-negotiation strategies: these are definitely based on an explicit attempt at establishing meaning from both parties in the interaction, through various forms of asking for and giving help;
- conversation-management strategies: following the "extended" interpretation of communication strategies illustrated in Chapter 1, we have included strategies which language learners and users can find useful in handling some particularly difficult aspects of conversation, like opening and closing conversations, trying to keep a conversation open, turn-taking, managing topics and "gaining time";
- para- and extra-linguistic strategies: these complement the essentially verbal communication strategies with the important and essential non-verbal component;
- (intercultural) interaction-monitoring strategies: these strategies play a rather particular role, in that they imply an awareness, on the speaker's part, of aspects of and problems in her/his own comprehension and production, i.e. an attempt at monitoring performance online, so to say. This often takes the form of metalinguistic strategies, when interlocutors deliberately shift the focus to the form of what is being said, e.g. asking for corrections of or comments on one's utterances, or noticing what others say and trying to use the noticed forms. Also, such strategies often imply an interpersonal and intercultural focus, e.g. checking the reactions of other people to one's performance, or apologizing for inappropriate responses and trying to correct cultural misunderstandings.

It will be clear that our typology focuses explicitly on achievement, interlanguage-based strategies rather than on reduction/avoidance or L1-based strategies. We believe that language learners and users should be encouraged to make the most

of their growing and changing interlanguage system, by stretching beyond their "comfort zone" and take risks, rather than give up and withdraw from interaction, or fall back into L1 use. In other words, as we saw in 2.1, they should be prompted to change their plans by using alternative ways and means rather than to change their original goals. This does not mean that reduction strategies and L1-based achievement strategies should not be used or do not have an important role in language learning and use. There are often times when we need such strategies as a last resort, and indeed language learners and users often use them as a natural, intuitive, spontaneous way of coping with problems, but that does not mean that such strategies need become the focus of explicit attention or instruction. Accordingly, we recognize the existence and importance of the following strategies but do not include them in our taxonomy, nor in the materials and activities described in Part II of this volume:

- *message abandonment, message reduction, message replacement* (as illustrated in 2.2 above);
- *literal translation* from the L1 or an L3 into the L2;
- foreignizing, or using an L1/L3 word with an L2 pronunciation;
- *code-switching*, or using L1/L3 words, phrases, sentences or even complete turns in the context of the L2 use;
- omission, or simply leaving a gap in one's speech.

However, some strategies which formally belong to the "reduction" category may be found to play a special role even in an achievement-based typology. Avoiding a topic or switching to a different topic, for example, can help speakers to remain in conversation and to continue producing output (as well as prompting further input from their interlocutors). Even feigning understanding, or pretending to follow the conversation even when there are considerable gaps in comprehension, can help speakers to "stay tuned" and maybe give them a chance to make up for the lost parts in subsequent turns.

A. MEANING-EXPRESSION STRATEGIES	
Description	Examples of verbal strategy
	markers
1. using an all-purpose word	thing, stuff, object, machine

	person, human being, animal
	do, make
2. using a more general word (hyperonym/superordinate) instead of the specific one (hyponym)	flower instead of geranium animal instead of pet
3. using a synonym or an antonym (opposite) of a word	very small instead of tidy not deep instead of shallow worried, anxious instead of concerned
4. using examples instead of the general category5. using definitions or descriptions:	shirts, jeans, skirts, jackets instead of clothing
• general words + relative clause	it's the person who cuts your hair instead of hairdresser it's a thing which it's a machine that it's when / it's where
 phrases instead of specific adjectives describing qualities, e.g. shape, size, colour, texture, material structure 	in the shape of the size of the colour of made of it has it consists of (the) part of
purpose or function	used for, used to it opens a door; a doctor uses it; you can with it
context or situation	you use it <i>if</i> in a place <i>where</i> at the time <i>when</i>
6. using approximations	it's like / similar to a very tall building instead of skyscraper a kind of, a sort of
7. paraphrasing	I didn't expect her call. I was so surprised instead of She phoned out of the blue.
8. self-correcting, rephrasing, repairing incorrect or inappropriate utterances or when	It's at the front no, at the back, at the back of the room.

spotting a misunderstanding	Sorry, I'll try to say that again	
B. MEANING-NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES		
9. asking for help:		
• telling one's interlocutor that one cannot say or understand something:		
o directly	A: Put it in the oven. B: Put it in the? / Put it where? / Sorry, I don't understand that / Sorry, I can't follow you	
o indirectly	using a rising intonation, using eye contact or facial expressions, pausing	
asking one's interlocutor to		
o repeat	Can you say that again, please? Pardon?	
o slow down, spell or write something	Can you speak slowly/spell that/write that down for me, please?	
o explain, clarify, give an example	What exactly do you mean by?	
o say something in the L2	What's the word for? I don't know the English word. In (German) we say How do you pronounce? What do you call it when?	
o confirm that one has used the correct or appropriate language	Is this correct? I want to replicate the experimentreplicate, yes?	
o confirm that one has been understood	Did you get that?	
repeating, summarizing, paraphrasing what one has heard and asking one's interlocutor to confirm	Did you say? So you're saying that is that right?	

 guessing meaning and asking for confirmation 10. giving help, by doing what the "helping" interlocutor does in 9., e.g. trying to "adjust" to one's partner language level by speaking slowly, repeating, giving examples, asking if she/he has understood 		
C. CONVERSATION MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES		
11. opening and closing a	Lovely day, isn't it?	
conversation	Just look at the time! I must	
	be off now!	
12. trying to keep the conversation op	en by showing interest and	
encouraging one's interlocutor to talk	by, e.g.	
• asking questions: Yes/No type;	Oh, dear. Were you scared?	
"open" questions; "questions	So what did you do then?	
tags"	Did you?	
"reversing" a question	But what about you?	
	What do you think of?	
adding comments and	That's interesting	
exclamations	Really?	
	Gosh, yes!	
	You must be joking!	
	That's really good news!	
sympathising	Oh, what a pity!	
	That's too bad!	
	How awful!	
	I'm ever so sorry!	
	What a nuisance!	
 repeating or rephrasing what the 	A: So I came back	
interlocutor has just said	immediately.	
	B: Immediately? You mean	
	you didn't wait for	
	Charlie?	
"feigning" to understand	A: So I pulled up at the kerb.	
	B: <i>Mmm</i> yes	
	A: and pulled out the ignition	
	key	
13. managing turn-taking:		
• spotting the appropriate moment	Er if I just can add	
for signaling one wants to speak	something there	

 getting attention, interrupting holding one's turn, e.g. by 	Sorry (to interrupt), but Just a minute Excuse me, could you explain Can/May I ask you something? A: What your hobby?	
talking to oneself, repeating key words in one's interlocutor's utterance (see also 15.)	B: What's my hobby? Well, let's see	
14. avoiding or changing a topic, going back to the original topic	By the way, Incidentally, before I forget	
	That reminds me of Going back to As I was saying before Yes, well, anyway	
15. using tactics to "gain time" and keep the conversation channel open:		
 using pauses, remaining silent 		
• "umming", "erring", mumbling	<i>Mmm Er Aha</i>	
• using "fillers", "chunks",	Well I seeIf you know	
hesitations devices,	what I mean and things	
conversational gambits	like that that sort of things	
	as a matter of factwell,	
	actually, that's a very	
	interesting question	
"waffling" (using more words than what would be considered normal in the context)		
repeating oneself	So I stopped at the gate stopped at the gate and	
repeating one's interlocutor's words	A: Have you got a fitted carpet at home? B: Fitted carpet fitted carpet	
D. PARA- AND EXTRA-LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES		
16. using intonation patterns, as in 9.; using sounds, as in 15.		
17. using non-verbal language:		

• mime, gestures, body movements, e.g. pointing at things	One like that. I'd like this, please.
facial expressions, eye contactsmiling, laughing	
• use of objects, drawings, etc.	
E. (INTERCULTURAL) INTER STRATE	
18. asking one's interlocutor to	Would you say that in this
correct one if necessary or to	case?
comment on what one has said	Did I use the right word?
19. noticing the words that others use	
20. checking the reactions of other per words and expressions	
21. checking if one's interpretation is	Does that mean that?
correct	So this means that Am I
	right?
	I understand Is it so?
22. apologizing if one has said or	I'm sorry I didn't know
done something inappropriate and	I hope you don't mind if I
trying to correct (cultural)	have
misunderstandings	I'm sorry if I asked you a
	personal question.
	I think there's been a
	misunderstanding. Can
	you tell me?
	I think I upset you, but I'm
	not sure why.
23. dealing with uncertainty as to the acceptable behaviour, e.g. by	
• asking one's interlocutor to clarify	1
or explain her/his culture	country?
	Is that what you usually
	do?
	I'd like to ask you a
	question, but I'm not
	sure if it's too personal.
	What does it mean when
	?
• referring to what is customary in	In my country we
	·

one's own country	
• asking one's interlocutor what one	Is it all right if I?
should say/do or should have	How should I do this?
said/done	At what time should I be
	there?
	What would you say in this
	situation?
	What should I have done?

Further Reading

- On "reduction" *vs* "achievement" as problem-solving behaviour see Faerch and Kasper 1983b, pp. 20-60.
- On the strategies adopted by different types of learners see Littlemore 2003.
- On the cultural dimension of communication strategies see Levine et al. 1987, Sarn 2000.
- For a comprehensive overview of strategy classifications see Dörnyei and Scott 1997; see also Rababah 2002, Safont Jordá (without date).

3 Strategy learning and teaching

3.1 Strategic competence

By learning and using communication strategies language learners and users develop a competence – *strategic competence*:

"the mastery of communication strategies that may be called into action either to enhance the effectiveness of communication or to compensate for breakdowns in communication" (Swain 1984: 189) As we stressed on several occasions in the previous chapters, becoming "strategic" in language learning and use refers not only to the ability to face, and possibly solve, problems in communication, but also to the ability to enhance the effectiveness of communication *per se*, e.g. by monitoring crucial aspects of conversations like opening, closing and keeping conversations open, managing turntaking or handling topics (as witnessed in our strategy typology in 2.6). This "comprehensive" view of strategic competence, which embraces much more than just problem-solving strategies, has been put forward by several researchers since the early days of strategy studies:

"[strategic competence is] the ability to successfully 'get one's message across' ... the investigation of strategic competence is very much tied to the use of communication strategies which enable language users to organize their utterances as effectively as possible to get their messages across to particular listeners. Such strategies are also considered to be part of the ability to repair, or compensate for, breakdowns in communication" (Tarone 1989: 19)

Strategic competence has always played a decisive role as part of a more general communicative competence: Canale and Swain (1980), as well as Bachman (1990), for example, considered it a component of their respective models. The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEF)*(Council of Europe 2001), on the other hand, does not explicitly refer to "strategic competence" as such, but considers strategies as "a hinge between the *learner's* resources (competences) and what he/she can do with them (communicative activities)" (Council of Europe 2001: 25), where "communicative activities" refers to (oral and written) reception, production, interaction and mediation. Strategies are thus seen as

"a means the language user exploits to mobilize and balance his or her resources, to activate skills and procedures, in order to fulfil the demands of communication in context and successfully complete the task in question in the most comprehensive or most economical way feasible depending on his or her precise purpose. Communication strategies should therefore not be viewed simply with a disability model – as a way of making up for a language deficit or a miscommunication."(Council of Europe 2001: 57)

Although in this view communication strategies are considered in terms of *metacognitive* operations (i.e. as the conscious activation of planning, execution, monitoring and repair activities), care is taken by the *CEF* to stress the concrete, operational value of the concept of "strategies", which are viewed as "the adoption of a particular line of action in order to maximize effectiveness" (Council of Europe 2001: 57), so that they might not be confused with deeper, mainly unconscious, *processes*.

Since strategies are defined in relation to communicative activities, the *CEF* does not provide a comprehensive taxonomy, but attempts to offer lists and, in some cases, illustrative scales, i.e. descriptions of "can do" statements for the six proficiency levels illustrated in the *CEF* itself (see Table 3.1 for *production* and *interaction* strategies).

Table 3.1 Production and interaction strategies in the *Common European Framework (CEF)*

* refers to strategies for which illustrative scales are provided, e.g. for *compensating* at level B2: "can use circumlocution and paraphrase to cover gaps in vocabulary and structure"; for *asking for clarification* at level B1: "can ask someone to clarify or elaborate what they have just said".

Production strategies:

- planning*
 - rehearsing
 - locating resources
 - o considering audience
 - o task adjustment
 - o message adjustment
- execution
 - o compensating*
 - o building on previous knowledge
 - o trying out
- evaluation
 - monitoring success*

- repair*
- o self-correction

Interaction strategies:

- planning
 - o framing
 - identifying information/ opinion gap
 - o judging what can be presupposed
 - planning moves
- execution
- taking the floor*
- o cooperating (interpersonal and ideational)*
- o dealing with the unexpected
- o asking for help
- evaluation
 - monitoring
- repair
- asking for clarification*
- giving clarification
- o communication repair

As can be seen, the lists provided by the CEF go well beyond what are usually considered as "communication strategies" in the literature, and include the ways and means that speakers can adopt to manage communicative acts in very general terms. However, the CEF also provides, in the list of user/learner's competences, a description of sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences which include references to items that we have included in our strategy typology. For example, the use and choice of greetings and address forms (e.g. on arrival and on leave-taking), the conventions for turntaking, the politeness conventions (e.g. expressing regret, apologizing for face-threatening behaviour) are all subsumed under sociolinguistic competence. On the same line, flexibility to circumstances and turn-taking are seen as components of pragmatic (discourse) competence, while structuring discourse (opening, turntaking, closing) and communication repair are seen as microfunctions within the context of pragmatic (functional) competence.

As a concluding remark, we can say that a fairly high degree of overlapping of strategies within and across competences can be expected in a document, like the *CEF*, which sets out to establish a comprehensive, although not rigid, framework for language learning, teaching and assessment. However, this also serves to remind us that strategic competence is a concept which cuts across several different areas of communicative competence, and, as such, is even more worth careful consideration in the context of language learning and use.

3.2 The *teachability* issue

It might seem odd to raise the question whether communication strategies *can* be "taught" in a volume which aims at providing materials and activities for strategy development. And yet researchers have often debated this issue (while practitioners have more often debated *how*, rather than *if*, strategies can be taught).

The teachability issue is tightly linked to the roles that strategies are assumed to play and to their corresponding status in models of communicative competence. Statements like, "What one must teach students of a language is not strategy, but language" (Bialystok 1990: 147), or, "Teach the learners more language and let the strategies look after themselves" (Kellerman 1991: 158) are clearly extreme positions, which are based on the assumption that using strategies is an essentially cognitive process, which, as such, is scarcely amenable to instruction. Moreover, such cognitive operations are assumed to have already developed in adult learners through their L1 learning, so that what these learners would need are the L2 forms which would enable them to perform in the foreign or second language what they are supposed to be already able to do in their L1. A corollary of this position maintains that learners are best left to practise whatever strategies they wish in real-life interactions rather than being specifically trained in their use in formal classroom settings.

An alternative view sees L2 competence as a result of L2 performance, with learners engaged in carrying out tasks for which communication strategies can act as a useful tool, provided the tasks are carefully structured so as to maximize the need for – and thus the use of – strategies. In other words, the engagement in communicative tasks would provide the condition for learners to develop L2 abilities. This does not mean dismissing already acquired L1 abilities as irrelevant, but it implies, first, establishing if and to what extent such abilities do exist (which cannot be taken for

granted in L1 speakers), and second, since transfer between languages cannot be assumed to be automatic, trying to promote an *explicit transfer* of skills within an individual's *overall language* repertoire (which may include other L2s in addition to the L1).

The results of studies on the effects of strategy education on learners' proficiency are promising but mixed - this may also be due to the different strategy taxonomies used and to the different training methodologies employed in the studies themselves. Also, much depends on what one means by "teaching" in this particular area – a question which will lead us to consider different approaches in helping learners acquire and use communication strategies (see 3.3 below).

TASK 9

Since explicit strategy education is by no means a widespread practice in language teaching, it is well worth considering the possible advantages of such practice – in other words, why strategy education can be beneficial to learners.

- How far do you think strategy education could benefit language learners? Do you think *all* learners could benefit from it, or would you identify particular groups or particular learning contexts?
- What kinds of arguments would you put forward to justify the usefulness of strategy education?

We summarize some of the reasons why we believe that strategy education can benefit all language learners:

- first, communication strategies help learners to remain in conversation, and so provide them with more input, more opportunities for checking and validating their hypotheses, and therefore more chances to develop their interlanguage systems;
- second, communication strategies may lead to more successful performance: this can have a positive impact on learning since the content of successful performance gets stored more easily in memory;
- third, by allowing learners to remain in conversation, communication strategies help them, on the productive side, to

get some useful feedback on their own performance, and on the receptive side, to exercise some kind of control over their intake, for example, by enabling them to prompt their interlocutor to modify his or her utterances. In other words, strategic competence promotes learners' self-monitoring function or executive control;

- fourth, communication strategies train learners in the flexibility they need to cope with the unexpected and the unpredictable. At the same time, they help learners to get used to non-exact communication, which is perhaps the real nature of all communication. In this way, they help to bridge the gap between the classroom and the outside reality, between formal and informal learning;
- fifth, since communication strategies encourage risk-taking and individual initiative, they can also give learners the feeling that they can in some way increase their control over language use, play an active role, make choices and become more responsible for what they say and how they say it and this is certainly a step towards linguistic and cognitive autonomy;
- finally, communication strategies can also serve as *learning strategies* (and at least partially overlap with the latter), since it is often difficult to draw the line between a situation when a learner uses a strategy to solve a particular communication problem and a situation when she/he uses the same strategy as a learning aid. Taxonomies of learning strategies usually include several examples of what we have called "communication strategies", particularly asking for help and cooperating (often considered as "socioaffective strategies"), as well as "compensation strategies" like approximation, circumlocution, mime, gestures, topic avoidance, and others.

We have already mentioned that for strategies to display such beneficial effects on language learning and use, learners must feel the need for strategy use through *experiencing a problem*, either because their interlanguage system does not yet include the items they need, or because such items are still in the process of being internalized and are therefore not yet automatized. The use of strategies as problem-solving (or problem-coping) devices can thus help learners, in the first case, to activate hypothesis formation and hypothesis testing (which are in themselves conditions for interlanguage development), and in the second case, to speed up the process of automatization. All this implies, as we have pointed out

in previous paragraphs, the adoption of *achievement*, rather than avoidance or reduction, strategies.

3.3 Approaches to strategy education

The opponents to explicit strategy education claim that learners already possess an intuitive, implicit knowledge of strategies and also possibly use them in communication. This is certainly true, but for any individual learner it remains to be seen how far or to what extent he/she has developed such knowledge and can actually make active use of it. In many cases, dealing with communication strategies means handling problems that learners may not be able to handle or solve in an efficient way even in their L1, so that strategy education becomes an important goal of language education, i.e. a cross-curricular objective to be shared by teachers of all the languages taught in a curriculum, with the promotion of transfer within and between languages as a central concern.

With these considerations in mind, we can now turn our attention to what "teaching" may mean in relation to strategy education.

Why "strategy education"?

One may wonder why we use the term "education", rather than the more frequently used terms "training" or "instruction", to refer to the explicit "teaching" of strategies. We can only address this issue by clarifying what we think "becoming strategically competent" implies from a language learner's viewpoint.

The concept of competence is often defined (e.g. by the CEF) as a complex interrelation of knowledge (savoir), skills/strategies (savoir faire) and beliefs/attitudes (savoir être: the CEF calls this dimension existential competence, and includes other related factors like motivations, values, styles, personality factors). Strategic competence, as described in the previous paragraph, can be analysed by using these categories as well.

Any competence is indeed based on *knowledge*, whether *declarative* (facts, concepts, relationships) or *procedural* (information on how to put the facts and concept to actual use). As we have already noted (see the typology in 2.6), strategic competence relies on a linguistic and sociolinguistic data-base: for example, to use approximation and paraphrasing strategies one

needs to "know", i.e. be able to recall if necessary, words, phrases and morpho-syntactic structures such as synonyms, antonyms and general words, phrases like *in the shape of ..., the size of ..., made of ..., relative clauses like it's a thing which ..., it's the person who This must be complemented by the knowledge of how to use such data-base in specific contexts and situations, for instance, what features of an object are worth mentioning first: if we are trying to describe a stretcher, it is probably more useful to start from the purpose for which the object is used (<i>it is used for carrying sick people ...*) rather than from its shape or the materials of which it is made.

Of course, possessing these kinds of knowledge does not mean being able to put them to "competent" use in actual contexts: to do this, one has to develop the corresponding *skills*, and, as we have seen, a range of *strategies* which serve to make skills acquisition and practice quicker and more efficient. Being able to paraphrase, for example, is certainly a complex skill which involves the manipulation of lexical, grammatical and semantic elements, with the support of strategies (such as the active and flexible use of the forms or exponents we have just mentioned).

However, to be really "strategically competent" one also needs to relate knowledge and skills to one's personality, to rely on one's strengths as well as to come to terms with one's critical areas. In other words, knowledge and skills are not used in a neutral way their use is tightly linked to the particular and personal patterns of thought and behaviour which are unique to every individual being. Beliefs and attitudes play a special role in this respect. To be able to use strategies in a confident way, for example, one needs to believe that

- you can keep a conversation going even if you do not understand every single word;
- interaction is based on the interlocutors' cooperation;
- you can at least partially control the communicative "flow" by using appropriate strategies.
 - In the same way, one needs to develop positive attitudes like
- be prepared to run reasonable risks both in comprehension and in production;
- tolerate ambiguity, at least to a certain extent, and the anxiety which often comes with it;
- be flexible enough to change strategies if and when needed.

Developing competence thus involves much more than the simple acquisition of linguistic forms or the mastery of tactics or techniques: it is a *whole-person engagement*, involving the activation of *affective* and *social*, in addition to just *cognitive*, factors. Therefore "teaching" strategic competence is best conceptualized not in terms of technical "training" or "instruction", but in terms of a *comprehensive education*, with important implications for the activities and the materials through which such education can be implemented.

We can now proceed to illustrate in more detail the features of possible approaches to strategy education.

A descriptive, rather than prescriptive, approach

One basic tenet, which is based on the general overview of strategies that we provided in Chapter 2, is that introducing communication strategies cannot mean producing a set of rules for their "correct" or "appropriate" use. If we wish to identify and describe communication strategies, therefore, we must give up the idea of being prescriptive and giving rules, and limit ourselves to a descriptive approach: in other words, we can try to discover possible patterns and regularities, but we must treat these as probable, frequent behaviour in a given context, not as fixed, abstract norms.

In addition, as we saw in 2.5, each learner has his or her own individual interaction patterns and preferred verbal and non-verbal behaviour. If we look at how different learners handle a simple information gap exercise, for example, where they have to describe a picture to their partner, we will soon notice that some pairs will take turns in speaking more or less on an equal basis; in other pairs, one learner may lead the interaction, for example by asking most of the questions. Some learners may choose to concentrate on a general description first, and to leave details till later; others may want to get a precise description of each detail right from the start. If this is how people behave in actual interactions, we can hardly force them into a straightjacket of pre-selected strategies. Besides, the choice of a strategy can be made at various levels of consciousness and intentionality, and depends very much on the nature of the task, the nature of the problem, and the level of language proficiency.

This clearly points to a wider pedagogic issue. Most of us would agree that we should encourage spontaneity, creativity and originality in language use, which would ban a strict control over language and over approaches which pre-determine and pre-select the ways in which language should be used. There is a further danger to beware of. For example, if we insist on the use of general words to make up for more specific terms, we may soon find that at least some learners will tend to choose "the easy way out": if they know both *daffodil* and *flower*, but choose to use *flower*, they will stop developing their linguistic system. We would then be encouraging fossilization, which would mean blocking the possibility of further learning and development of the interlanguage system.

The issue at stake here then seems to be, how to save the spontaneity of interaction while at the same time helping learners to acquire a wider range of interaction patterns – and, how to do this without running the risk of "over-teaching" strategies.

An awareness-raising approach

By "teaching", then, we might mean an approach through which we focus learners' attention on specific strategies, provide models of strategy use, make them aware of why strategies are important, how they work and when they may come in useful, and ask learners to practise the strategies in guided, as well as gradually freer, activities. Such an approach obviously takes us back to the more general question of what role formal instruction, reflection on language, and, generally speaking, awareness-raising, play in the development of communicative competence. The least we can say in this respect is that attention to form does play a role in developing proficiency, in the sense that if we become more aware of certain language features, we stand a better chance of noticing these features in the language input we are exposed to; in other words, we may become more receptive to them, and can therefore hope to gradually make them part of our own active repertoire, i.e. internalize them.

We can also add that analysis and reflection are key features of some learning styles, as much as intuition and practical communication are of others. By providing learners with opportunities for using a variety of learning styles, we will be doing something for both our convergent, analytical learners on one side and for our divergent, memory-oriented learners on the other.

An inductive, experiential approach

We might envisage a cyclical approach which would basically alternate experience and observation (Fig. 3.1). Students could start from a receptive stage: they could be exposed to actual examples of language use in which communication strategies play a clear and significant role. Then they could be led to become aware of the use of strategies through a stage of exploration and discussion. This would be followed by a stage of practice, where students could try out the strategies for themselves. And finally, they could discuss their own performance and evaluate their strategic use. This would set the whole cycle in motion again.

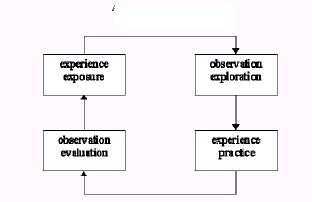


Fig. 3.1 - A possible approach to strategy education

Let us consider an example. Suppose we wished to focus on ways of keeping a conversation going. We could ask learners to listen to or watch two conversations, say between a woman and a man (either native or non-native speakers of the L2), and discuss in which conversation the woman sounds more interested and willing to talk: this would correspond to an initial *experience-exposure* stage.

Then we could ask our learners why they think that the woman sounds more interested in one of the conversations, what evidence is there, and we may elicit simple intuitive things like the actual amount of talking that she does, the fact that her talking turns are as long as the man's, if not occasionally longer, and her lively tone of voice. However, we need to elicit more specific strategies for keeping a conversation going, so, depending on the level of the class, we may also want to give learners the transcript and ask them to note the more specific ways in which the woman shows that she

is willing to talk. This could be done as group work, followed by a short plenary discussion. If we used a video, we could of course also discuss mime and gestures, facial expressions, physical distance, use of the context, and the like. All this belongs to what we called an *observation-exploration* stage: the learners' main task is to identify strategies and evaluate their use, and at the same time to discover the "rules", so to say, of discourse, by *inferring* them from actual contexts.

This exploratory stage would thus help to raise unconscious, automatic ways of behaving to consciousness. The next stage (experience-practice) would involve practising the strategies in guided tasks and then integrating them in freer production activities (which could include games, role-plays and simulations) to encourage learners to use their strategies in the context of interactive situations, and to make them part of their spontaneous language repertoire. These activities would have to be problem-oriented tasks, open-ended both in terms of language and strategies, and in terms of the actual outcome of the activity (on tasks, see 3.4 below).

The product of learners' activities could then be used for valuable feedback and "debriefing" (the final *observation-evaluation* stage). For example, if we audio- or video-record learners' performance, we can then use the recording to discuss and evaluate *their own use* of communication strategies. Or we could interview learners, or ask them to fill in a questionnaire, and assess how strategic competence has helped them to carry out a certain task.

An explicit approach

The inductive-experiential cycle, presented here as the basic framework for strategy education, does not exclude a more direct presentation of strategies, e.g. through examples, demonstrations and modelling. This can be particularly useful because several strategies are based on a series of verbal realizations, or surface structures, which learners can be exposed to and can then practise in focused activities. This is the case, for example, of many of the meaning-expression strategies (Section A of the typology presented in 2.6), like using definitions, descriptions, approximations or paraphrasing: presenting and practising phrases like *in the shape of* ..., *it is the place where* ..., *this is used for* ..., *it is similar to* ..., provides learners with useful *procedural* or *core* vocabulary and

structures, which they can immediately put to use. In the same way, teaching expressions like *Can you repeat, please? Can you say that again? What's the word for ...?, What do you mean by ...?*, can equip learners with ready-made tools for negotiating meanings (Section B of our typology). Introducing and practicing these linguistic forms (real *verbal strategy markers*) could complement the *inductive* approach illustrated in the previous paragraph with a more *deductive* approach, in which learners can immediately apply the knowledge of specific verbal devices as the basis for strategy use.

A cross-linguistic, intercultural approach

We have already mentioned the fact that language learners "do not start from scratch" as far as communication strategies are concerned: depending on their age, level of instruction and knowledge of their L1 and other L2s, they could already be familiar with several strategies, because the problems faced by L2 users are a feature of L1 communication too – although, of course, the degree of complexity of the problems and the resources available to language learners and users are different in the two cases.

This speaks in favour of considering strategy education as a whole-language policy, by making learners aware of the fact that problems are common in both L1 and L2 use, and that sometimes it is a question of learning the different linguistic forms or exponents that strategies can take in different languages, as well as of becoming more sensitive to the types of behaviour that different cultures accept, tolerate or refuse.

Starting from the L1 (and/or from other L2s the learners may be familiar with) and from the learners' own culture is thus an option to be considered when introducing them to communication strategies. This is to be complemented by a parallel discussion of which behaviours are typical of different cultures: for example, how long can you keep a conversation going by simply being silent? How much empathy do you need to show in order to signal that you are willing to talk? How often, and how well do learners actually use such strategies in their L1? Is the frequency of strategy use different in the L2? It is in response to such important intercultural issues that we have included a section in our typology (Section E), which deals specifically with strategies for *monitoring interaction*, particularly when interacting with people from different cultures.

An immediate consequence of this approach is that authentic materials (e.g. audio or video recordings) would be extremely useful, since learners could then compare the use of strategies in their L1 (as well as their use of strategies at the present level of their L2) with that of native speakers. Realizing that native speakers, too, do face problems and do use ways to cope with them would help to stress the cross-linguistic value of communication strategies and the crucial facts that exact communication does not exist, and that even native speakers are not "perfect" users of their L1.

A comparison with the performance of other non-native speakers would be helpful too, since learners would then have the opportunity to realize that all non-native speakers share similar problems, and that coping, trying hard to understand and make oneself understood, taking risks and making mistakes are part of acquiring a communicative competence, at all proficiency levels and for speakers of all mother tongues. Situations involving problems and requiring strategy use could then be seen as useful opportunities to learn and improve one's communicative potential.

However, a word of warning is necessary. In the case of English, which is used in many different varieties and also serves as a means of international and intercultural communication (i.e. as a lingua franca), a constant reference to native speakers may be misleading if it hides the fact that most people using that language are not native speakers themselves, that most encounters in English are between and among non-native speakers, and that, therefore, native speakers cannot be considered as the exclusive, "ideal" reference models. In fact, bilingual and plurilingual people (i.e. speakers of more than just their L1) are often more aware of the fact that communication implies much more than mastery of a linguistic system, and are also more able to tolerate mistakes (their own mistakes as well as their interlocutors') and to show flexibility and use accommodation strategies, both linguistic and intercultural. Also, the fact that most interactions involving the use of English take place between nonnative speakers puts interlocutors in a particular situation, where they do not need to comply with "perfect", "idealized" notions of mother-tongue proficiency and can perhaps feel freer to cooperate in the negotiation of meaning - with positive implications at both cognitive and affective levels.

3.4 Designing learning tasks

Consider the following sequence of activities, focused on the strategies involved in "adjusting the message by using approximations". Keeping in mind the approaches described in the previous paragraph, which features would you consider important for strategy education tasks?

- 1. Learners listen to a recording in which a native speaker (or other proficient user of the L2) is trying to define or describe a number of objects. Learners try to identify these objects from among those listed or shown on a worksheet;
- 2. learners listen again and/or read the transcript and identify the strategies used to give definitions or descriptions; then they are led through a guided discussion to classify the criteria that can be used to define and describe (e.g. shape, size, colour, texture, material, structure, function, context ...) and provide more examples for each criterion;
- 3. learners try their hand at using approximation by defining and describing objects shown in pictures of increasing complexity. This can be done as pair or group work or as a game. Some of the learners' interactions can be recorded;
- 4. learners compare their "products" with dictionary definitions and, if possible, with additional recorded material. During this evaluation stage, cooperative strategies can be highlighted to stress the importance of negotiating meanings.

Tasks for strategy education could profit from the following features:

• providing a problem-based activity which would require the use of a strategy or a combination of strategies: as we have already noted, no strategy use is called for if the verbal behaviour to be performed is already and completely within the limits of the learners' present proficiency. For learners to stretch their abilities beyond what might be called their present "comfort zone", they need to be faced with contexts for which automaticity in language use is not enough, but which, on the other hand, require an additional effort of creativity and originality in activating whatever linguistic and non-linguistic resources may be available to them. The problem, of course, is to reach a careful balance between the challenge tasks should provide and the

- corresponding *support* that learners would need in carrying out the tasks in other words, balancing tasks so that they are neither too easy nor too difficult or complex to carry out;
- giving learners the opportunity to test (and thus become aware of) their present resources: learners need to realize if and how they would be able to cope with the problem-based activity, either in their L1 and/or in the L2. It is precisely when they notice a gap between what they want or are asked to say or do, on the one hand, and what they feel they are actually able to say or do, on the other hand, that the need arises to activate all available resources. In other words, noticing gaps in actual ability levels provides the motivation to respond to a challenge;
- providing examples of strategy use by a range of (native and non-native) speakers, including the learners themselves, in the context of communicative events (e.g. taped dialogues, videos, films, web-based resources, class discourse). Learners need to identify the communicative/cultural problem and consider how other people, facing the same or a similar situation, have coped with it or have attempted to manage it. They also need to realize that coping with problems (without necessarily solving them) is a natural part of any communicative event, and that the ways and means to do so depend on both the people involved and the features of the task and of the context;
- involving learners in exploring the strategy examples in order to identify strategies and describe them, by focusing on their verbal and non-verbal realizations: these, as the typology in 2.6 illustrates, range from fixed expressions to lexical and syntactical items and structures, including both verbal and non-verbal resources;
- providing opportunities to put strategies to use in tasks which require and promote interaction and meaning negotiation: such tasks would have to foster a learner-learner mode, by incorporating pair and group work, two-way information exchange, and information and/or opinion gaps (as is often the case with role-plays, simulations, games, class discussions, etc.). Learners would thus have to share different information, or have different goals to reach, linked to the problem to be solved, and be led to a convergent solution, although not necessarily a final, clear-cut decision:
- inviting learners to reflect on their use of strategies: learners could self-assess their performance and, at the same time, get valuable feedback from teachers as well as peers. This activity,

which would obviously greatly benefit from audio- or videorecordings and even use transcripts, should lead learners to focus both on the *result* achieved through strategy use and, most importantly, on the *form* that strategies have taken during the interaction. This feedback activity can include a comparison of strategies across languages and cultures, eliciting from learners both linguistic and cultural similarities and differences;

• raising learners' awareness of the rationale for strategy use: a fully informed, explicit approach, as we discussed in the previous paragraph, implies that learners are made aware of what strategies are, why they are important in competence development, how they can be useful, what resources (both internal and external) can be activated, and what features of the task and context constrain their use.

Furher reading

- "Historical" references to communication strategies include Selinker (1972), who first mentioned the term "communication strategy" in the context of a discussion on interlanguage, Savignon (1972), who used the term *coping strategies*, and Tarone (1977), who provided the first taxonomy of communication strategies.
- Communication strategies are mentioned in several chapters of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001), most notably in Chapter 4: Language use and the language user/learner, where they are linked to the various communicative activities a language user/learner can engage in.
- The "teachability" of strategies, and the features of possible teaching approaches, is specifically addressed in Dörnyei 1995 and in Faucette 2001.
- On *learning* and *communication* strategies, see O'Malley and Chamot 1990, Oxford 1990, Cohen 1998.
- On teaching strategic competence, see Dörnyei and Thurrell 1991, Gallagher Brett 2001, Ogane 1998, Manchón 2000, Williams 2006.
- On teaching the language of conversation and discussion, see Keller and Warner 1988, Dörnyei and Thurrell 1994.

- On strategies as part of teaching pragmatics see Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor 2003, Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2006.
- On the effects of awareness-raising, see Nakatani 2005.
 For an analysis of English language teaching materials from a strategy standpoint see Faucette 2001.

Bibliography and webliography

N.B. Internet links were checked as active and working on June 1^{st} , 2010

- Bachman L. F. 1990. Fundamental considerations in language testing. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bardovi-Harlig K., Mahan-Taylor R. 2003. *Teaching pragmatics*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of State, Office of English Language Programs.
 - http://exchanges.state.gov/englishteaching/resforteach/pragmatic s.html
- Bialystok E. 1983. "Some factors in the selection and implementation of communication strategies" in Faerch, F., Kasper 1983a, pp. 100-118.
- Bialystok, E. 1990. *Communication strategies*. A psychological analysis of second-language use. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Bongaerts T., Poulisse N. 1989. "Communication strategies in L1 and L2: Same or different?", *Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 253-268.
- Bygate M. 1987. Speaking. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen A.D. 1998. Strategies in learning and using a second language. Harlow: Longman.
- Corder S.P. 1983. "Strategies of communication" in Faerch, F., Kasper 1983a, pp.15-19.
- Council of Europe 2001. Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/Framework_EN.pdf Di Pietro R.J. 1987. *Strategic interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge
- Di Pietro R.J. 1987. *Strategic interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dörnyei Z. 1995. "On the teachability of communication strategies", *Tesol Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 55-85.
 - http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/~aezweb/research/cral/lib/exe/fetch.php?id=people%3Azoltan&cache=cache&media=people:zoltan: 1995_dornyei_tq.pdf
- Dörnyei Z., Kormos J. 1998. "Problem-solving mechanisms in L2 communication", *SSLA*, Vol. 20, pp. 349–385. http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/~aezweb/research/cral/lib/exe/fetch

- .php?id=people%3Azoltan&cache=cache&media=people:zoltan: 1998_dornyei_kormos_ssla.pdf
- Dörnyei Z., Scott M.L. 1997. "Communication strategies in a second language: Definitions and taxonomies", *Language Learning*, Vol. 47, No. 1, pp. 173-210. http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/~aezweb/research/cral/lib/exe/fetch.php?id=people%3Azoltan&cache=cache&media=people:zoltan: 1997_dornyei_scott_ll.pdf
- Dörnyei Z., Thurrell S. 1991. "Strategic competence and how to teach it", *ELT Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 16-23. http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/~aezweb/research/cral/lib/exe/fetch.php?id=people%3Azoltan&cache=cache&media=people:zoltan: 1991_dornyei_thurrell_eltj.pdf
- Dörnyei Z., Thurrell S. 1994. "Teaching conversational skills intensively: Course content and rationale", *ELT Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 40-49. http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/~aezweb/research/cral/lib/exe/fetch.php?id=paople///3 A zelton@gasha=gasha@gasha@gasha=gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=gasha@gasha=g
 - .php?id=people%3Azoltan&cache=cache&media=people:zoltan: 1994_dornyei_thurrell_eltj.pdf
- van Ek, J.A., Trim, J.L.M. 1990. *Threshold level 1990*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Faerch, F., Kasper, G. 1983a. *Strategies in interlanguage communication*. Harlow: Longman.
- Faerch, F., Kasper, G. 1983b. "Plans and Strategies in Foreign Language Communication" in Faerch, F., Kasper 1983a, pp. 20-60.
- Faucette P. 2001. "A pedagogical perspective on communication strategies: Benefits of training and an analysis of English language teaching materials", *Second Language Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 1-40. http://www.hawaii.edu/sls/uhwpesl/19(2)/Faucette.doc
- Gallagher Brett A. 2001. "Teaching communication strategies to beginners", *Language Learning Journal*, No. 24, pp. 53-61. http://www.ittmfl.org.uk/modules/teaching/1b/paper1b3.PDF
- Hatch E. 1978. "Discourse analysis and second language acquisition" in E. Hatch (ed.), *Second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, pp. 401-435.
- Kasper G., Kellerman E. 1997. *Communication strategies*. *Psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives*. Harlow: Longman.
- Keiler E., Warner S.T. 1988. *Conversation gambits*. Hove (UK): Language Teaching Publications.

- Kellerman E. 1991. "Compensatory strategies in second language research: A critique, a revision, and some (non-)implications for the classroom" in Phillipson R., Kellerman E., Selinker L., Sharwood Smith M., Swain M. (eds.), *Foreign/second language pedagogy research*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, pp. 142-161.
- Levine D.R., Baxter J., McNulty, P. 1987. *The culture puzzle*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Regents.
- Littlemore J. 2003. "The communicative effectiveness of different types of communication strategy", *System*, Vol. 31, pp. 331–347.
- Manchón R.M. 2000. "Fostering the autonomous use of communication strategies in the foreign language classroom", *Links & Letters*, Vol. 7, pp. 13-27. www.raco.cat/index.php/linksletters/article/viewPDFInterstitial/.../22545
- Martínez-Flor A., Usó-Juan E. 2006. "A comprehensive pedagogical framework to develop pragmatics in the foreign language classroom: The 6Rs approach", *Applied Language Learning*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 39-64.
- Nakatani Y. 2005. "The effects of awareness-raising training on oral communication strategy use", *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 89, No. 1, pp. 76-91.
- http://onlineacademics.org/CA104/private/AwarenessRaising.pdf Nelson E. 1989. "Teaching communication strategies", Unpublished manuscript. Minnesota English Center, University of Minnesota.
- Ogane M. 1998. *Teaching communication strategies*. Chiba (Japan): Todoroki-cho Junior High School.
- O'Malley J.M., Uhl Chamot A. 1990. *Learning strategies in second language acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oxford R.L. 1990. *Language learning strategies*. New York: Newbury House.
- Poulisse N., Bongaerts T., Kellerman E. 1984. "On the use of compensatory strategies in second language performance", *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin*, No. 8, pp. 70-105.
- Poulisse N. 1990. *The use of compensatory strategies by Dutch learners of English*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Rababah G. 2002. "Second language communication strategies:

 Definitions, taxonomies, data elicitation methodologies and teachability issues. A Review Article", *The Educational Journal*, Kuwait University, Vol. 19, No. 74, pp. 11-57.

 http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/contentdelivery/servlet/ERICServlet?accno=ED472698

- Rampton B. 1997. "A sociolinguistic perspective on L2 communication strategies" in Kasper and Kellerman 1997, pp. 279-303.
- Safont Jordá M.P. (without date). "Some comments on the existing typologies of communication strategies: Its effect on the interpretation of empirical findings", *Jornades de Foment de la Investigació*, Universitat Jaume.
 - www.uji.es/bin/publ/edicions/jfi2/comments.pdf
- Saiz, M. 1990. "Communication strategies", *English Teaching Forum*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, pp. 23-25.
- Sarn R. 2000. Exploring strategic competence. www.developingteachers.com/articles_tchtraining/strat1_sarn.ht m
- Swain M. 1984. "Large.scale communicative language testing: A case study" in Savignon S., Berns M. (eds.) *Initiatives in communicative teaching*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, pp. 185-201
- Tarone E. 1983. "Some thoughts on the notion of 'communication strategy" in Faerch, F., Kasper 1983a, pp. 61-74.
- strategy'" in Faerch, F., Kasper 1983a, pp. 61-74. Tarone, E., Yule, G. 1989. *Focus on the Language Learner*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williams J. 2006. "Combining communication strategies and vocabulary development", *The Internet TESL Journal*, Vol. XII, No. 2