ABSTRACT
                This paper examines trends in second language communication
strategies (CSs), explaining that when language learners concentrate on form
or accuracy, they encounter problems, and when they recognize the mismatch
between their linguistic resources and communicative intentions, they try to
solve these problems using CSs (e.g., appeals for help, literal translation,
circumlocution, approximation, and coinage). The paper presents an historical
overview of CS research, definitions of CSs offered, and the various
taxonomies proposed in the literature, which include the following: Varadi's
taxonomy, Tarone's taxonomy, Bialystok's taxonomy, Faerch and Kasper's
taxonomy, Corder's taxonomy, the Nijmegan Group taxonomy, Dornyei and Scott's
taxonomy, and the author's taxonomy, which was based on a pilot study
conducted to assess the suitability of tasks for eliciting strategic behavior
and the quality of the data collection procedures. The paper also discusses
data elicitation methods and data analysis procedures, and it highlights the
major problems with existing taxonomies and their classification of CSs into
different categories. After looking at the teachability of CSs, the paper
concludes that research into CSs has made an important contribution to second
language learning, and this research has made much progress during the
decades since 1972, when the term "strategies of second language
communication" was introduced. (Contains 71 bibliographic references.) (SM)

A Review Article

Second Language Communication Strategies:

Definitions, Taxonomies, Data Elicitation Methodology

and Teachability Issues

Ghaleb   Rababah

This paper examines trends in second language communication strategies (CSs) to date
and aims to present a historical overview of CS research, definitions of CSs offered and
the various taxonomies proposed in the literature so far. Data elicitation methods and
data analysis procedures are also discussed. Furthermore, I highlight the major problems
of existing taxonomies and their classification of CSs into different categories.
Teachability of communication strategies, which is a controversial issue, is discussed,
too. Finally, this paper concludes with the implications of communication strategies.

A Brief Historical Overview

Selinker (1972), in his paper "Interlanguage", suggested the term 'strategies of second
language communication' to refer to the ways in which foreign or second language
learners deal with the difficulties they encounter during the course of communication
when their linguistic resources are inadequate. He considered these strategies as one of
the five processes central to second language learning (1972:229). However, he did not
go into detail about the nature of these strategies. Savignon (1972) also published a
research report in which he highlighted the importance of coping strategies in
communicative language teaching and testing. A year later, Varadi (1973/1980) gave a
talk at a small European conference which was considered the first systematic analysis of

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strategic language behaviour. This talk dealt with message adjustment in particular. By message adjustment, Varadi meant that second language learners replace the optimal meaning–actual meaning with the adjusted meaning–what is actually said when they encounter a difficulty. This article only came into print in 1980.

Varadi drew a distinction between *intensional* and *extensional reduction. Intensional reduction* was defined as "relaxation of precision caused by the selection of forms whose meaning, though related to it, falls short of the optimal meaning (salesman > man)" and that could be realised through generalisation or approximation. *Extensional reduction* was referred to as the elimination of part of the meaning and is manifested in the omission of particular forms (a young man of 50 with a Chaplin – style moustache > man). Replacement of meaning may be by paraphrase or circumlocution (Varadi, 1983:92).

Varadi (ibid) carried out a small-scale experiment on 18 Hungarian English language learners in order to investigate the adjustment phenomenon. The results of this pilot study suggested the general validity of the theoretical presuppositions concerning the concept of message adjustment.

Empirical studies were subsequently carried out, the first one being that of Tarone (1977). She based her CSs definition and typology on data from nine subjects. Her taxonomy is still seen as the most important in the field since most of the following taxonomies relied on it.

Since 1980, the real study of communication strategies has become the concern of many researchers. Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983) included them in their model of

communicative competence as one of the constituents of the sub-competencies - strategic competence. In Canale and Swain (ibid. P.30) strategic competence consists of "verbal and non-verbal CSs that may be called into action to compensate for breakdown in communication due to performance variables or to insufficient competence".

In 1983, Faerch and Kasper published the first edited volume, *Strategies in Interlanguage Communication,* which put together the most important papers in one collection. These publications increased the various areas of interest of many research studies, focusing primarily on identifying and classifying CSs and on the teachability of CSs.

Nijmegen University became the dominant centre of CS studies in which a group of researchers carried out various studies whose results highlighted the main aspects of CS use, challenged the previous taxonomies and proposed a new taxonomy (e.g., Poulisse, 1987; Poulisse, 1990; Poulisse and Schils, 1989; Kellerman, Ammerlaan, Bongaerts and Poulisse, 1990).

In 1997, Kasper and Kellerman published the second edited volume, Communication Strategies: Psycholinguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives, which included many important articles and empirical studies about communication strategies.

These areas will be discussed under the headings of the following sections. Communication strategies will be defined. Data collection methodology, approaches to the study of communication strategies and taxonomies, and the teachability issue will be discussed in detail.
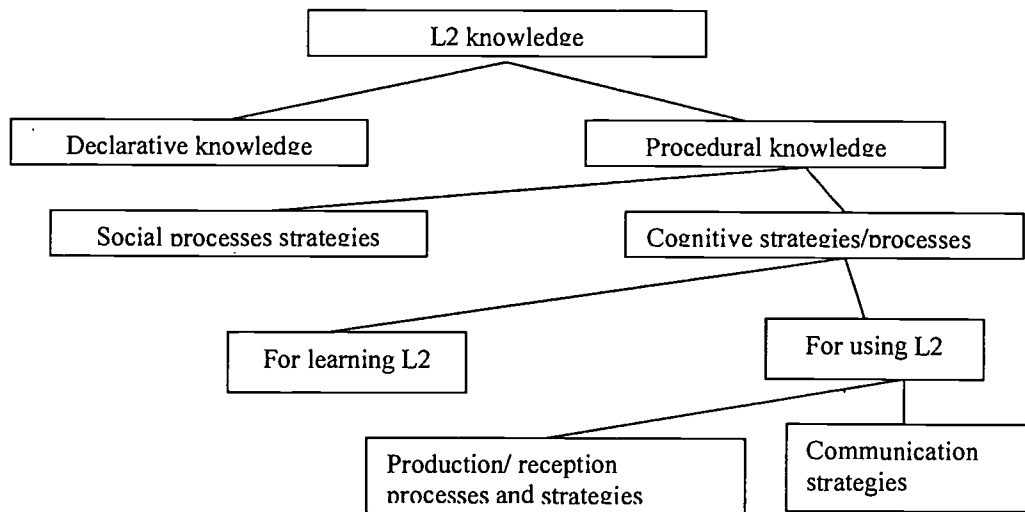
Defining communication strategies

Faerch and Kasper (1983a) defined communication strategies by placing them in their model of speech production, in which their function may be characterised through the relationships between 'processes' and 'plans'. Faerch and Kasper found that in the planning phase, language learners retrieve items from the relevant linguistic system. The product of the planning process is a plan that controls the execution phase. The execution phase consists of neurological / psychological processes. When non-native speakers of a target language encounter a problem during the course of communication, due to the lack of linguistic knowledge at either the planning or the execution phase of speech production, they produce a plan to overcome the problem. For them, communication strategies can be placed "within the planning phase ... within the area of the planning process and the resulting plan" (1983a: p.30).

Following Faerch and Kasper, Ellis (1985) placed communication strategies in a hierarchy of types of L2 knowledge. He divided such knowledge into *declarative* (knowing that) and *procedural* (knowing how) knowledge. *Procedural knowledge* is divided into social processes and strategies and cognitive strategies and processes. The latter is then subdivided into learning and using L2. Lastly, the use of L2 component is subdivided into production reception processes and strategies and communication strategies. These types of L2 knowledge are shown in Figure (1) below.

A distinction should be drawn here between learning strategies and communication strategies. Learning strategies are attempts language learners make to improve their communicative competence. Oxford (1992) provides a definition for LS as "techniques that students (often intentionally) use to improve their progress in developing L2 skills

... strategies are tools for the self-directed involvement necessary for developing communicative ability" (18). In contrast, communication strategies refer to language use.

Figure (1) Types of L2 knowledge

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                         ┌──────────────────┐
                         │   L2 knowledge   │
                         └──────────────────┘
               ┌──────────────────┐       ┌──────────────────────┐
               │ Declarative knowledge │   │ Procedural knowledge │
               └──────────────────┘       └──────────────────────┘
          ┌────────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────┐
          │ Social processes strategies │ │ Cognitive strategies/processes │
          └────────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────────┘
               ┌──────────────────┐         ┌──────────────────┐
               │ For learning L2  │         │   For using L2   │
               └──────────────────┘         └──────────────────┘
          ┌────────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
          │ Production/ reception   │   │  Communication   │
          │ processes and strategies│   │   strategies     │
          └────────────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘
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(Adapted from Ellis, 1985, p.165)

Though not many writers offer a definition of strategies, they usually refer to them by using different terms. Varadi (1983) calls them *communicational strategies*, whereas Corder (1983) refers to them as *communicative strategies*. Harding (1983) prefers the term *compensation strategies*, whereas Poulisse (1990) uses *compensatory strategies*.

Both native speakers and non-native speakers, and both speakers and hearers use communication strategies. Wagner and Firth (1997) claim that "CS is a very prominent element in speech production and therefore an important element in natural discourse" (ibid.:342). Dornyei and Scott (1997) conceive communication strategies to be "the key units in a general description of problem-management in L2 communication" (1997:179).

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As a result of the limited resources L2 learners possess, they use CSs more frequently than native speakers. Corder (1983:15), in his article "Strategies of communication", acknowledges this fact when he writes "it is now fairly clear that all language users adopt strategies to convey their meaning... but we are only able more or less readily to perceive these when the speaker is not a native speaker".

It is difficult to find a rigorous definition of communication strategies on which CS researchers have reached an agreement. There have been many definitions proposed for the communication strategies of second language learners. The following definitions will provide us with an insight into the nature of communication strategies.

> conscious communication strategies are used by an individual to overcome the crisis which occurs when language structures are inadequate to convey the individual's thought (Tarone, 1977 : 195)

> a mutual attempt of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where requisite meaning structures do not seem to be shared (Tarone, 1980 : 420)

> they are a systematic technique employed by a speaker to express his meaning when faced with some difficulty (Corder, 1981 : 103, Corder 1983: 16).

> Learners' attempt to bridge the gap between their linguistic competence in the target language and that of the target language interlocutors, (Tarone , 1981:288)

> CSs are potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal (Faerch and Kasper, 1983a:36)
> Communication strategies predetermine the verbal planning, they serve the function of adjusting the plan to the situation, i.e. each individual utterance is to be seen as strategic. What is specific for IL users is that plans of action cannot be directly converted into verbal plans, because of gaps in the speaker's (and hearer's) linguistic repertoire. The primary function of communication strategies in the speech of IL users is to compensate for this deficit (Wagner, 1983: 167)

> Communication strategies, i.e., techniques of coping with difficulties in communicating in an imperfectly known second language (Stern, 1983: 411)

> The domain of compensation strategies must be precisely defined. It is the domain of attempts made by non-native speakers of a language to remedy the disparity that exists between their communicative needs and the linguistic tools at their disposal (Harding, 1983: 1)

....all attempts to manipulate a limited linguistic system in order to promote communication. Should learning result from the exercise, the strategy has also functioned as a learning strategy, but there is no inherent feature of the strategy itself which can determine which of these roles it will serve (Bialystok, 1983: 102 – 103)

Compensatory strategies are 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) and (Poulisse, 1990 : 88).

Communication strategies (CS) have generally been defined as means that speakers use to solve their communicative problems; (Paribakht, 1985:132)

the means used by a speaker to overcome a difficulty encountered whilst attempting to communicate in the foreign language (Towell, 1987 : 97)

the conscious employment by verbal or non-verbal mechanisms for communicating an idea when precise linguistic forms are for some reasons not available to the learner at that point in communication. (Brown, 1987: 180).

The key defining criteria for CSs are 'problematicity' and 'consciousness'. All the previously mentioned definitions support the claim that CSs are employed when L2 learners encounter a problem in communication. Tarone's (1977), Faerch and Kasper's (1983a), and Brown's (1987) definitions emphasise the idea that CSs may be used consciously. Faerch and Kasper (1983a) see problem orientation and potential consciousness as defining criteria of communication strategies. This is very clear in their definition of CSs as "potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal" (ibid.:36.). The ultimate aim after using communication strategies is to achieve a communicative goal.

Faerch and Kasper (ibid.) conceive plans as being of three types:

1. plans which are always consciously employed;

2. plans which are never consciously employed;

3. plans which to some language users and/or in some situations may be consciously used and which to other language users and/or in other situations are used unconsciously (Faerch and Kasper, 1983a: 35).

Bialystok (1990), however, claims that consciousness is implicit in all the proposed definitions. She excludes the criterion of consciousness as a defining criterion for communication strategies because she does not find evidence to support the claim that, when speakers use communication strategies, they are aware that they have done so. Speakers have a choice when they communicate. For example, they may choose *lorry* or *truck* to refer to the same thing. So it is a choice that takes place "without the conscious consideration of the speaker" (Bialystok, 1990: 4). She goes onto describe a third criterion 'intentionality', which presupposes consciousness. It refers to the learner's control over a repertoire of strategies so that a particular one is used from certain options to achieve certain effects. But she concludes: "the intentionality of communication strategies is questionable" (1990:5).

I am in favour of Faerch and Kasper's definition (1983a:36) which defines CSs as "potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal". It associates communication strategies with the solutions to the problems language users encounter. In order for them to achieve their communicative goals when they encounter a problem, language users resort to communication strategies. In their definition, Faerch and Kasper neither restrict communication strategies to the interaction that takes place between the speaker and the listener, nor do they restrict their use to non-native speakers as Harding (1983) and Stern (1983) did.

Data Elicitation Methodology

CS researchers have used different methods to elicit data needed to study communication strategies. Some researchers have used tasks which are purposefully designed to elicit communication strategies; some have used communicative tasks. But their methods of

elicitation are different. The elicitation methods include picture description (Bialystok and Frohlich, 1980), picture reconstruction (Bialystok, 1983), video-taped conversation (Haastrup and Phillipson, 1983), narration (Dechert, 1983; Raupach, 1983), instruction (Wagner, 1983) and interview (Raupach, 1983). These different methods affect the speaker's selection of a certain strategy.

Often language learners are asked to describe uncommon or unfamiliar objects, e.g. hammock (Paribakht, 1985), abacus (Poulisse, 1990). The pictures were sometimes abstract shapes for which there is no name (e.g. Bongaerts and Poulisse, 1989) as in Figure (2).
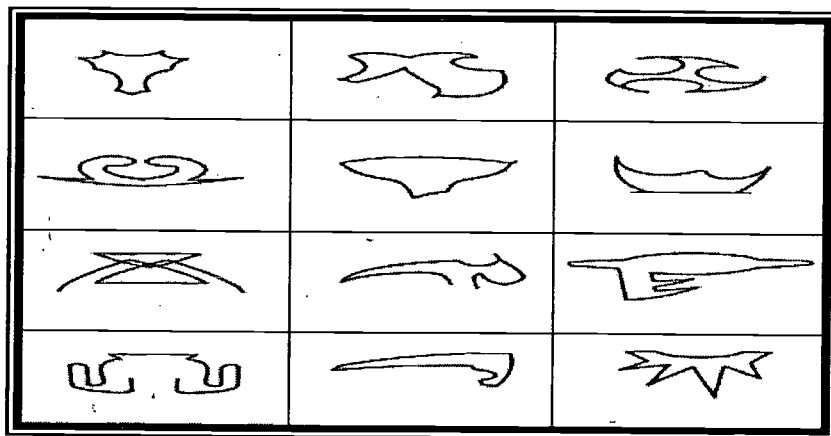

Figure (2) Bongaerts and Poulisse's picture description task (1989:259)

The learners' task in Bialystok (1983) was to describe the pictures so that the listener could pick out the matching pictures. Green (1995: 56) believes that "restrictions may be imposed on both the listener and the speaker". For example, "... the reconstructor refrained from speaking as much as possible" (Bialystok, 1983:105), "The listener was not allowed to ask the speaker for any clarification ..." (Yule and Tarone, 1990:186). Restrictions may also be imposed on the speakers "who were asked to try to convey the items to their interlocutors without using the exact target word" (Paribakht, 1985:134).

Bialystok (1990:59-60) divided the subjects into pairs: "director" and "matcher". She describes her task as "game-like" where "The director had to describe her board to the matcher so that she could reproduce the ordering that was on the director's board".

Description of a related series of drawings is used by some researchers to elicit narrative–like speech (e.g., Dechert, 1983; Green, 1995; Varadi, 1983, and Lotfalla and Sharzad, 1992), or learners are asked to retell a story they have already heard in L1 (e. g., Bongaerts and Poulisse, 1989).

Another common task used to elicit communication strategies is when learners are given a series of instructions for making something, e.g. constructing a house or a clay pot from Lego blocks (Wagner, 1983), or assembling a Christmas tree stand (Yule and Tarone, 1990).

Blum–Kulka and Levenston (1983), in their study "Universals of lexical simplification", which aimed to investigate CSs of lexical simplification, used isolated sentences with single blanks for single missing words (Cloze test).

Role-play is another type of task used for eliciting CSs, e.g. telephoning a plumber to ask for help (Corrales and Emily, 1989), or a customer and waiter role-play (Khanji, 1996), and interviews with native speakers, (e.g. Poulisse, 1990, Klosek, 1982, Corrales and Emily, 1989, and Liskin-Gasparro,1996).

Sometimes telephone conversation tasks are used. For example, Green (1995) asked the subjects to assume the role of a German on holiday in England with three friends. The task was to make a telephone call to the warden of the youth hostel in York... etc. "The

part of the warden was recorded on a tape, together with genuine coin box dialling noises to enhance their sense of reality" (Green, 1995: 78).

Despite the fact that all the tasks cited above are successful in eliciting strategic behaviour, many of them may seem remote from real-life communication. Maybe for that reason, some researchers have tried to elicit their data by video-taping conversations with native speakers, e.g. face-to-face conversation between Danish learners at various educational levels and native speakers of English conversing about everyday topics (Faerch and Kasper, 1983a), conversation with native speakers (Haastrup and Phillipson, 1983), conversations about incidental matters between native speakers of the Cantonese dialect of Chinese (Klosek, 1982).

It is difficult to say that even these conversations represent real-life communication. Even if the subjects feel relaxed, they will still have the feeling of being tested. Their performance or oral production might thus be affected. If researchers are interested in carrying out their research in a natural setting, it will be:

> ...difficult to control and the results are often problematic to interpret . If a particular phenomenon is the object of study, such as the use of strategies for referential communication, one may have to wait days for any spontaneous emission of relevant data. Further, natural data are the product of a myriad of factors over most of which the researcher has no control and many of which the researcher is unaware (Bialystok, 1990: 161).

Taxonomies of CSs

The terminology used to describe strategic behaviour varies a great deal, but the corresponding parts of most of the existing strategies show many similarities. In this section, I will discuss the various taxonomies offered in the literature son far.

Varadi's Taxonomy

Varadi (1973/1983) envisaged a variety of communicational strategies which were of two basic types: *reduction* and *replacement* of an optimal meaning resulting in a message adjustment. See Figure (3).

Figure (3) Varadi's Taxonomy of CSs (adapted from Varadi, 1973/1983:81-99)
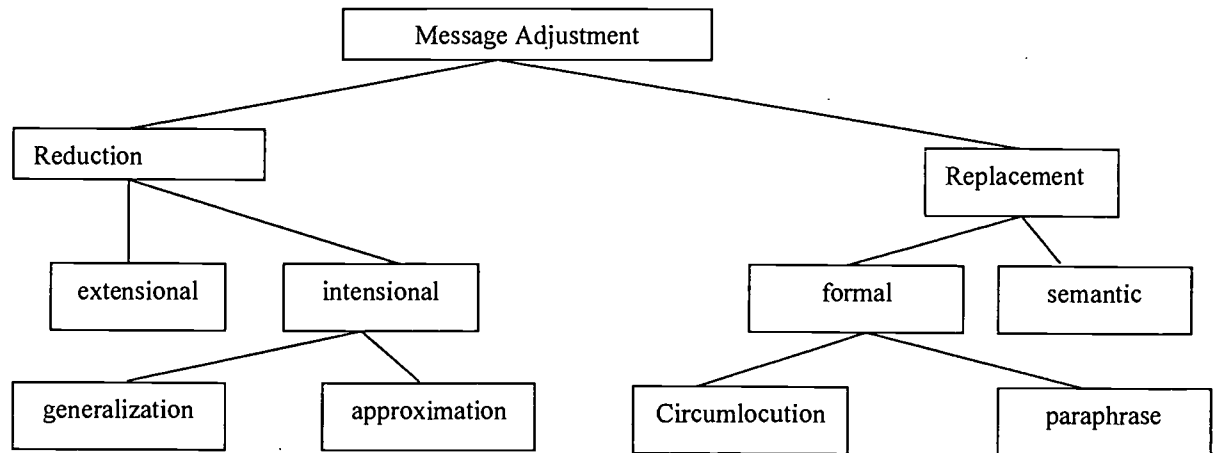
Varadi (1973/1983) distinguishes between *intensional* and *extensional* reduction strategies. *Intensional reduction strategies* involve *generalisation,* when language learners use a superordinate term to refer to its hyponym, and *approximation,* which refers to restructuring the optimal meaning by "explicating (often only referring to) part of its semantic component (*balloon > air ring*)" (1983:92). He gives examples of approximation such as *gas ball* for *balloon, string* for *clothes line,* and *ball* for *balloon* or *rope* for *clothes line* to illustrate generalisation.

Tarone's Taxonomy

The first taxonomy to describe CSs was that of Tarone (1977). In her study, Tarone analysed the performance of nine subjects, who were at an intermediate level, in describing two simple drawings and a complex illustration in both L1 and L2 English

and came up with a taxonomy of CSs. See Table (1), where these strategies are defined explicitly and illustrated with examples.

The compensatory strategies of Faerch and Kasper (1983) are convergent with the major strategies proposed by Tarone (1977): *approximation, coinage, literal translation, paraphrase, avoidance strategies* and *appeal for help.* See Figure (5) and table (1) below.

Table (1) Tarone's (1977) Taxonomy of Communication Strategies (Cited in Tarone 1983:62-63)

Paraphrase

Approximation — use of a single target language vocabulary item or structure, which the learner knows is not correct, but which shares enough semantic features in common with the desired item to satisfy the speaker (e.g. *pipe* for *waterpipe)*

Word coinage — the learner makes up a new word in order to communicate a desired concept (e.g. *airball* for *balloon)*

Circumlocution — the learner describes the characteristics or elements of the object or action instead of using the appropriate target language (TL) item or structure ('She is, uh, smoking something. I don't know what's its name. That's, uh, Persian, and we use in Turkey, a lot of.')

Conscious transfer

Literal translation — the learner translates word for word from the native language (e.g., *He invites him to drink,* for *They toast one another.)*

Language switch — the learner uses the native language (NL) term without bothering to translate (e.g. *balon* for *balloon, tirtil* for *caterpillar)*

Appeal for assistance — the learner asks for the correct term (e.g., 'What is this? What called?')

Mime — the learner uses non-verbal strategies in place of a lexical item or action (e.g., clapping one's hands to illustrate applause)

Avoidance

Topic avoidance — the learner simply tries not to talk about concepts for which the TL item or structure is not known

Message abandonment — the learner begins to talk about a concept but is unable to continue and stops in mid-utterance

Tarone (1977:198) defines *paraphrase* as "the rewording of the message in an alternate, acceptable target language construction, in situations where the appropriate form or construction is not known or not yet stable". She identifies three types of paraphrase strategy: approximation, word coinage and circumlocution. According to Faerch and Kasper (1983a), *paraphrase* is used to refer to description, exemplification and

circumlocution, whereas *generalisation* is used to mean approximation in other taxonomies.
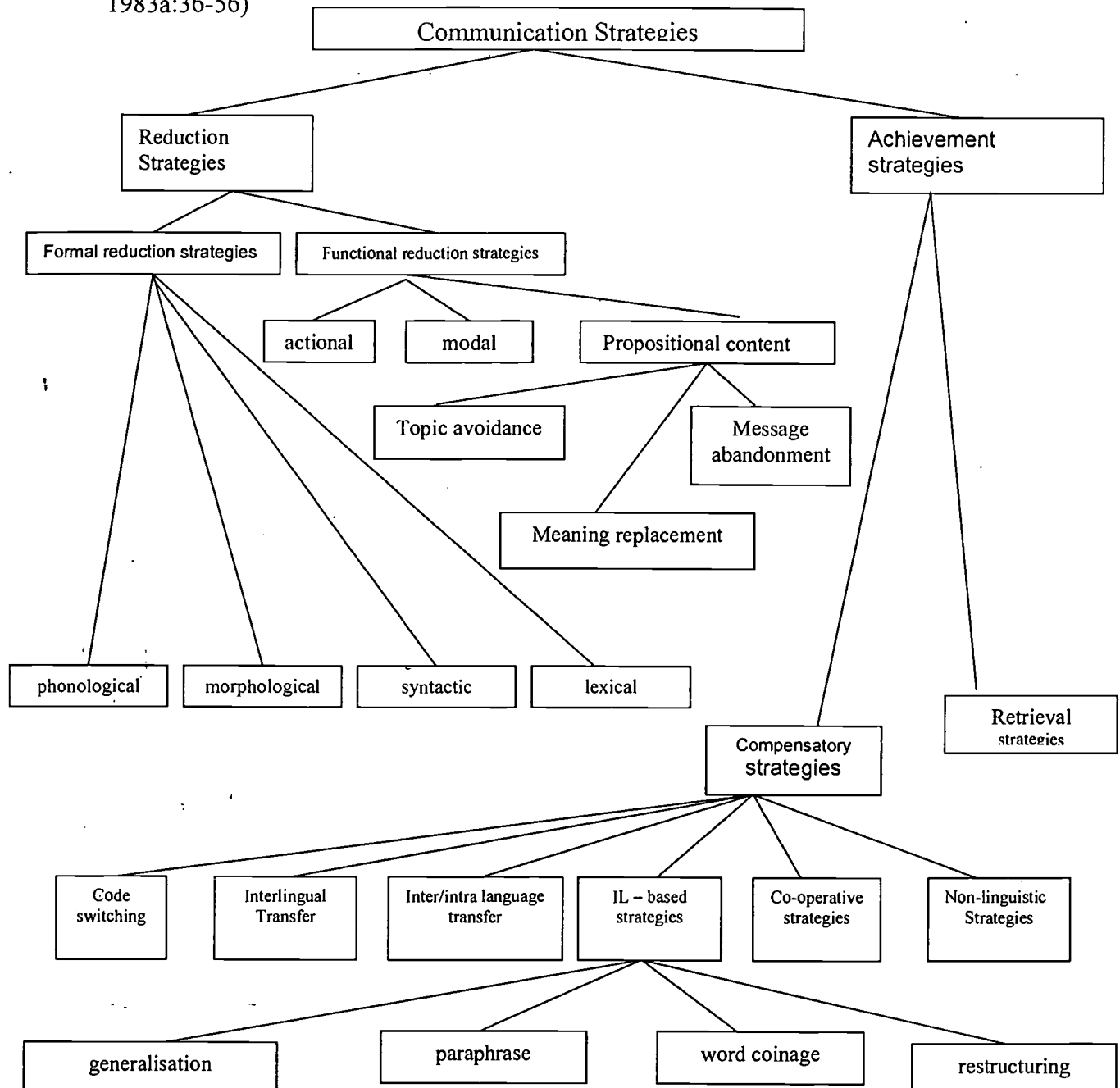
Bialystok's Taxonomy

Bialystok and Frohlich (1980) and Bialystok (1983) proposed a new taxonomy based on the type of information used by the learners. See Figure (4). They classified CSs into three main categories: *L1–based strategies, L2–based strategies* and *paralinguistic strategies,* based on the source of information used to solve the communication problem. *L1-based strategies* include *switching, foreignising* and *literal translation. Language switch* is the "insertion of a word or a phrase in a language other than the target language, usually the learner's native language", whereas *foreignising* is the creation of non-existent or inappropriate target language items "by applying L2 morphology and/or phonology to L1 lexical items", for example pronouncing an English word with a French accent (Bialystok and Frohlich, 1980:10).

Figure (4) Bialystok's Taxonomy of CSs (Adapted from Bialystok and Frohlich 1980 and Bialystok 1983:105-107)
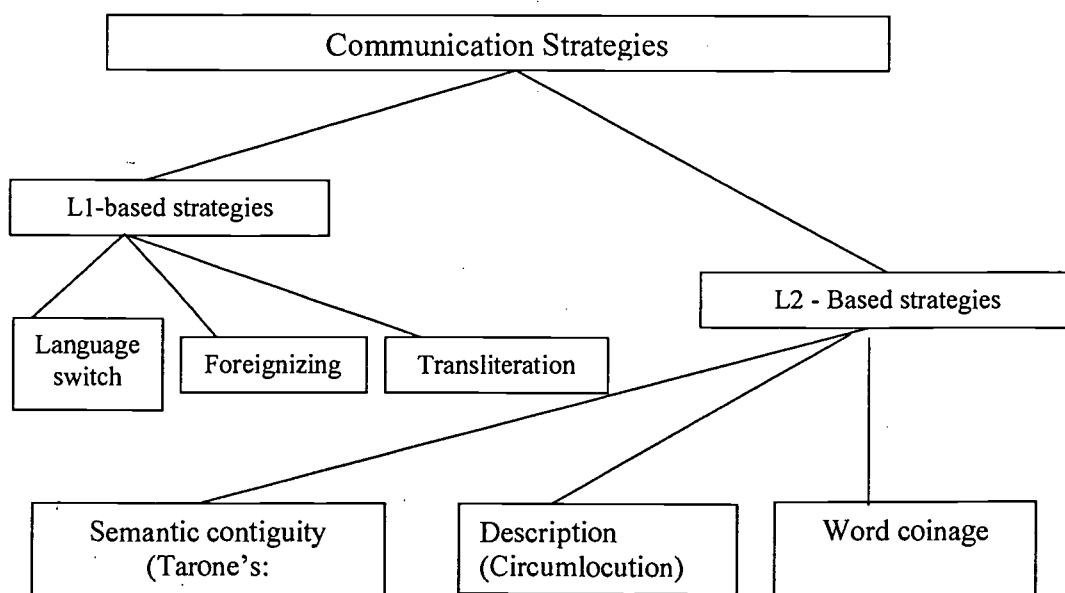
Faerch and Kasper's Taxonomy

Figure (5) Faerch and Kasper's taxonomy of CSs (Adapted from Faerch and Kasper 1983a:36-56)

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                        Communication Strategies
                       /                        \
          Reduction                              Achievement
          Strategies                             strategies
         /          \                            /          \
Formal reduction   Functional reduction   Compensatory    Retrieval
strategies         strategies             strategies      strategies
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Reduction Strategies:
- Formal reduction strategies → phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical
- Functional reduction strategies → actional, modal, Propositional content
  - Propositional content → Topic avoidance, Message abandonment, Meaning replacement

Achievement strategies:
- Compensatory strategies → Code switching, Interlingual Transfer, Inter/intra language transfer, IL – based strategies, Co-operative strategies, Non-linguistic Strategies
  - IL – based strategies → generalisation, paraphrase, word coinage, restructuring
- Retrieval strategies

Following their model of speech production, Faerch and Kasper (1983a) suggested that there are two phases included in speech production: the *planning phase* and the *execution phase*. A plan results from the planning phase and is then followed in the execution phase in order to achieve the intended communicative goal. The speaker "selects the

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rules and items which he considers most appropriate for establishing a plan, the execution of which will lead to verbal behaviour which is expected to satisfy the original goal" (ibid.:25). Communication strategies are considered to be a constituent of the planning phase. When second language learners face any problem, they resort either to avoidance behaviour (adopting avoidance strategies), or to achievement behaviour (adopting achievement strategies). See figure (5) above.

Corder's Taxonomy

According to Corder (1983), strategies of communication are related to *means* and *ends* which are in balance in a native speaker, but not in a language learner. When language learners encounter a problem during the course of interaction, they have two options: either they tailor their message (ends) to their linguistic resources (means) by using 'message adjustment strategies or risk avoidance strategies' that could be *topic avoidance, message abandonment or semantic avoidance*, or they can increase their linguistic resources to achieve their communicative goals by *resource expansion strategies*. See Figure (6).

Figure (6) Corder's taxonomy of communication strategies (Adapted from Corder, 1983:17-18):

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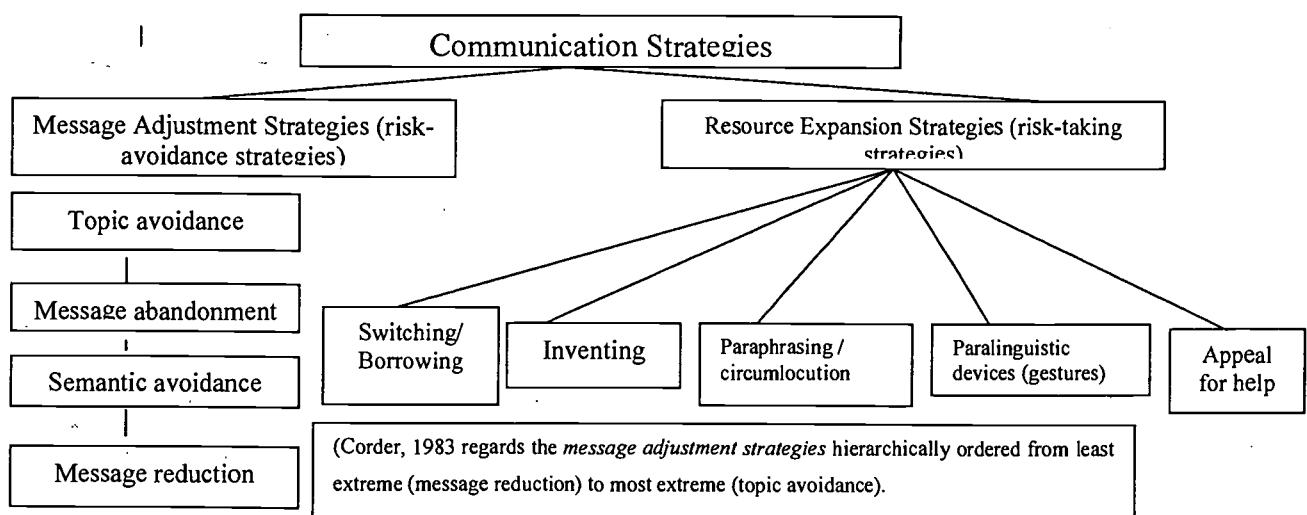
The Nijmegen Group Taxonomy

The most comprehensive project on communication strategies was that conducted at the University of Nijmegen (Netherlands) by Kellerman, Bongaerts, and Poulisse in the 1980s. They argued that "the study of communication strategies should reach beyond description to prediction and explanation" (Kellerman et al., 1990:164). They criticised the early taxonomies for concentrating on the linguistic form that results from a strategy, rather than on the process that leads to the use of such strategies.

The Nijmegen group's aim was to produce a process-based taxonomy of CSs that was characterised by being parsimonious (fewer categories), generalisable (independent of variations across speakers, tasks, languages and levels of proficiency) and psychologically plausible (the most important) that would replace existing taxonomies (Kellerman and Bialystok, 1997).
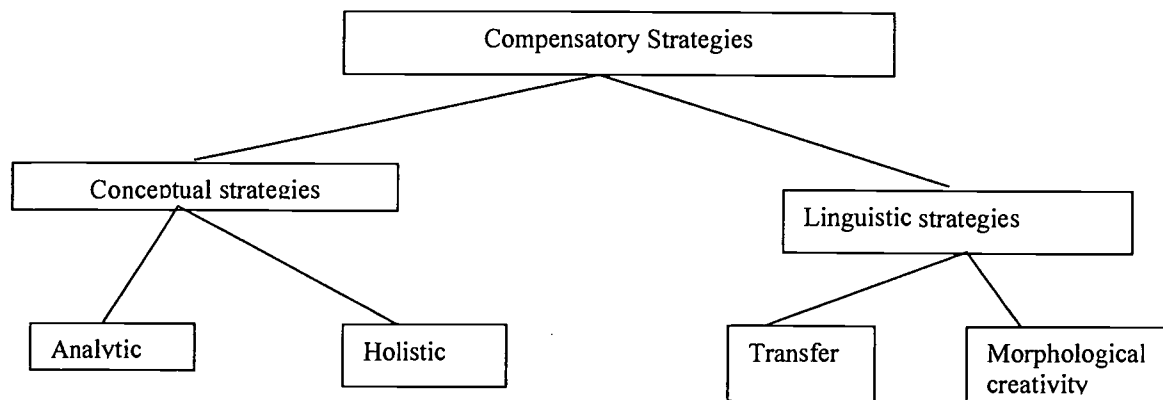
The Nijmegen group also argued that CSs are mental procedures. They therefore believed that CS research should investigate the cognitive processes that underlie strategic language use. They claimed that focusing only on the surface structures of strategic language behaviour would lead to taxonomies of 'doubtful validity'.

Their alternative approach followed a process-oriented classification of CSs which divided them into *conceptual strategies* and *linguistic strategies*. See Figure (7) below.

A *conceptual strategy* includes two sub-types: holistic and analytic. When a language user adopts a holistic strategy, he uses a referent which is similar to the target referent, for example chair for *stool*, rose for *flower*. In traditional taxonomies, these are referred to as 'approximation'. The use of 'bird' for '*sparrow*' and 'vegetables' for '*peas*' are

examples of a *holistic conceptual strategy*. The use of such a strategy is preceded by expressions like "It looks like a.....", "It's a sort of.....".

Figure (7) Nijmegen Taxonomy of CSs based on Bongaerts and Poulisse, 1989, p. 255)

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                        ┌──────────────────────────┐
                        │  Compensatory Strategies  │
                        └──────────────────────────┘
                ┌──────────────────┴──────────────────┐
    ┌───────────────────────┐              ┌───────────────────────┐
    │  Conceptual strategies │              │  Linguistic strategies │
    └───────────────────────┘              └───────────────────────┘
       ┌──────────┴──────────┐                ┌──────────┴──────────┐
 ┌───────────┐      ┌───────────┐      ┌───────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
 │  Analytic  │      │  Holistic  │      │  Transfer  │   │  Morphological    │
 └───────────┘      └───────────┘      └───────────┘   │  creativity       │
                                                        └──────────────────┘
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An *analytic strategy* involves "a conceptual analysis of the originally intended concept", such as "a talk uh bird" for "parrot", or "he lives in the mountain" for "hermit" (Poulisse, 1990:61). Bongaerts and Poulisse (1989:255) also claim that holistic and analytic strategies are sometimes combined, as in "a bird which is small and has a red breast", for *robin*.

A *linguistic strategy* is used when the language user "exploits his or her knowledge of the rule systems of the native language, the target language, or any other language he or she happens to know, and his or her insights into the correspondences between these rule systems" (Bongaerts and Poulisse, 1989:255).

Bongaerts and Poulisse (ibid.) distinguish between two sub-types of linguistic strategy. *Morphological creativity* refers to the use of the target language's morphological rules to create new words (e.g., 'appliances' for *letters of application*, 'representator' for *representative* and 'shamely' for *shameful*). The second sub-type is the strategy of

transfer, which includes transferring things from L1 or L3. It can be referred to as 'literal translation', 'foreignizing' and 'borrowing'.

Kellerman (1991) presented a two-strategy taxonomy which was based on the Nijmegen project (e.g., Poulisse, 1987). It includes *conceptual* and *code strategies. Conceptual strategies* involve talking about the properties of the concept, including part-whole relationships, attributes and functions. *Code strategy* refers to the use of a word form via languages other than L2 or via the derivation of rules within L2.

In Kellerman's taxonomy (ibid.), *non-verbal strategies* such as *mime* are considered to be manifestations of a *conceptual strategy* when depicting semantic properties, whereas in previous taxonomies they are classified as a separate category.

Poulisse (1997) tried to conceptualise CSs within a coherent model of speech production which allowed for a detailed psycholinguistic analysis of strategic behaviour. When L2 learners find it difficult to communicate their intended message, they adopt a certain strategy. Following Levelt's (1989) model of language production, Poulisse (1997) summarises what happens in the course of communication:

> At Step 1, speakers conceptualise a message adhering to general principles of communication and taking into account the situation, the preceding discourse, the knowledge they share with their interlocutor(s) and so on. At Step 2, they start the encoding of this message, but run into problems... They then have the choice between giving up (i.e. using an avoidance strategy), or encoding their message in an alternative way (i.e. using a compensatory strategy). The latter solution will presumably involve replanning the original message at the level of conceptualisation: it will either require a complete organization of the original plan in the case of analytic conceptual strategy, or the substitution of some meaning or language elements to allow for the selection of an alternative lexical item in the case of holistic conceptual strategy or transfer strategies. It seems likely, then, that while planning the use of a CpS, the speaker will again follow general principles of communication and will take the situation, the preceding discourse and shared knowledge into account. In other words, CpS use is probably subject to the same

principles and constraints that affect the production of any other utterance (Poulisse, 1997: 50).

Despite the fact that the Nijmegen group taxonomy seems applicable and convergent with other taxonomies, it is difficult to apply geometrical, partitive and linear analysis to data other than the abstract geometrical shapes which formed the central task in their research (cf. Bongaerts, Kellerman and Bentalage,1987; Bongaerts and Poulisse, 1989; Poulisse, 1990).

Dornyei and Scott's Taxonomy

Dornyei and Scott's (1997) review article on CSs cited their taxonomy of CSs (Dornyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b). Their taxonomy is considered to be a summary of all the taxonomies available in CS research, but some new strategies such as *use of similar - sounding words, use of all - purpose words, mumbling,* as part of their main category *direct strategies* are added to their taxonomy. Feigning understanding is another added strategy. See figure (8) below.

Dornyei (1995) suggested an extension to the definition of communication strategies to include *stalling or time-gaining strategies* (e.g. the use of pause fillers and hesitation gambits). These strategies are not used as a result of language deficiency, but rather to help speakers gain time to keep the communication channel open when they encounter a problem. In his suggestion, he agrees with several other researchers (e.g., Canale, 1983; Savignon, 1983 ; Rubin, 1987 ; Rost,1994).

Pause fillers and hesitation gambits have been labelled by Dornyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b) as "indirect strategies". According to Dornyei and Scott, these pause fillers are important communication strategies although they "are not strictly problem-solving

devices", they facilitate and provide conditions for achieving "mutual understanding: preventing breakdowns and keeping the communication channel open" (1997:198).

Figure (8) Dornyei and Scott's taxonomy of CSs (1995a, 1995b) (Adapted from Dornyei and Scott, 1997:189-193)

I. Direct Strategies
A. Resource deficit – related strategies
- ♦ Message abandonment
- ♦ Message reduction
- ♦ Message replacement
- ♦ Circumlocution
- ♦ Approximation
- ♦ Use of all-purpose words
- ♦ Word coinage
- ♦ Restructuring
- ♦ Literal translation
- ♦ Foreignizing
- ♦ Code switching
- ♦ Use of similar-sounding words
- ♦ Mumbling
- ♦ Omission
- ♦ Retrieval
- ♦ Mime

B. Own-performance problem-related strategies
- ♦ Self-rephrasing
- ♦ Self-repair

C. Other - performance - related strategies
- ♦ Other-repair

II Interactional Strategies
A. Resource deficit-related strategies
- ♦ Appeal for help
B. Own-performance problem-related strategies
- ♦ Comprehension check
- ♦ Own-accuracy check
C. Other-performance problem-related strategies
- ♦ Asking for repetition
- ♦ Asking for clarification
- ♦ Asking for confirmation
- ♦ Guessing
- ♦ Expressing non understanding
- ♦ Interpretive summary
- ♦ Responses
III Indirect Strategies
A. Processing time pressure-related strategies
- ♦ Use of fillers
- ♦ Repetitions
B. Own-performance problem-related strategies
- ♦ Verbal strategy markers
C. Other-performance problem-related strategies
- • Feigning understanding

In discussing comprehensible input, Kasper and Kellerman (1997) suggest that interactional modifications, or adjustments such as confirmation checks, comprehension checks and clarification requests.

> ... operate on input which is too far ahead of the learner's current interlanguage competence and size it down to what the learner can manage. Since 'negotiation of meaning' is a joint enterprise between the learner and her interlocutor(s), the learner exerts a fair amount of control over just how much modification of the original input is needed to comprehend the interlocutor's contribution (Kasper and Kellerman, 1997: 5-6).

This suggestion supports Dornyei and Scott's (1995a, 1995b) taxonomy which regards confirmation checks, comprehension checks and clarification requests as communication strategies. They labelled these strategies "*interactional strategies*".

Author's (2001) Taxonomy

Our Taxonomy (Author, 2001) was based on the pilot study, which was conducted to assess the suitability of tasks for eliciting the strategic behaviour and the quality of the data collection procedures. New sub-categories were added to the taxonomy, which were classified under the language switch strategy. They were classified according to the factors causing this switch. These sub-categories are L1 appeal for help, L1 optimal meaning, L1 ignorance acknowledgement strategy and L1 retrieval strategies. They are language switch strategies and each one was used for a particular reason. Another L2–based strategy is added which is called ignorance acknowledgement. This strategy is used when the learner admits his ignorance and does not try any other strategy to describe the language item needed. For examples, see the taxonomy below.

The basis of the taxonomy is a consideration of the source of the information on which the strategy is used. This information may derive from the learner's native language which is referred to as an L1-based strategy, or the information may derive from the target language, and in this case it is referred to as an L2-based strategy. When we say

here L1- based strategies, we mean Arabic–based strategies. The reason for this is that there is no language used by Jordanians other than their native language, Arabic, in both formal and informal communication. The examples given in the adopted taxonomy below are taken from the data of the author's study (Author, 2001: 213-217).

Author's Taxonomy (Taken from: Author, 2001, pp. 213-217)

A.   L1-Based Strategies

1. Literal translation: translating literally a lexical item.

e.g. " It is electrical stairs" for " Escalator".

2. Language Switch: This refers to the use of a word or a phrase from L1 to represent the target language item. This category may be divided into sub-categories according to the reasons for switching.

   a. *L1 slips and immediate insertion:* Learners insert a word unintentionally - a slip of the tongue. Learners also insert words to complete the intended meaning.

e.g. Nasi (tr: I forgot) ,...,...,..., skin scan   e:r   *qiyas*   (tr: measure) e:r ((unintel em temperature degree?

   b.   *L1 appeal for help*: This refers to when learners use Arabic to appeal for help. The following example is taken from the story-telling task.

e.g.   e:r yesterday e:m ..., the guy? *ghalat*? (tr: wrong?) drive er ,...,...,..., er drive the [baisklet]

The subject here uses the Arabic word *ghalat?* (tr: wrong?) with a rising intonation looking for confirmation from the researcher.

   c.   *L1-optimal meaning strategy*. The learners use L1- intended meaning (exact Arabic word) to refer to the object as in the following example. The use of the word

ascenseur which was originally French, but has become part of everyday language, is used by the learners.

ascenseur (tr: lift) ((the researcher asked "In English?")) the subject insisted *hia ascenseur* (tr: it's a lift).

The use of the Arabic word *masaad* is another example of L1-optimal meaning.

hatha masaad (tr: This is a lift.)

    d. *L1- retrieval strategies:* Learners may realise at a certain time that the item they want to use is there, but they have to retrieve it in some way, so they wait for the term to appear. In the meantime, they use Arabic trying to recall what items they have. The following is a clear example of L1-retrieval strategy.

        e.g. *Hathi bisamouha* (tr: this is called)...,...,..., to light the room ,...,...,

        e:r to light the room.

    e. *L1 ignorance acknowledgement strategy:* This is used when learners express their ignorance of the target language item required.

        e.g. *er mush aaref hai* (tr: I don't know this).

B. L2 – Based Strategies

1. Avoidance Strategies :

a. Message abandonment: This refers to leaving a message unfinished because of some language difficulty.

e.g. The driver didn't do anything to em to prevent er em or to ... he didn't do anything.

b. Topic Avoidance: This refers to reducing the message by avoiding certain language structures or topics considered problematic language-wise, or by leaving out some

intended elements as a result of lacking the necessary linguistic resources. In this study, this was assessed in terms of whether the key events in the story-telling task, or the speech acts in the role-play task were attempted or not. For the picture identification/naming task, avoidance was not possible because of the nature of the task. The subjects were asked to identify the object shown to them by the researcher. So, all the pictures were attempted.

2. Word Coinage: This refers to the creation of a non-existent L2 word by applying a supposed L2 rule.

e.g. "unmove" in the following utterance.

he found this the man who dr who hit them er find him his car is er is ,..., ..., it's unmove

3. Circumlocution: This refers to exemplifying, illustrating, or describing the properties of the target object or action.

e.g. "We use it to make the baby walking in the house easily" to refer to 'baby walker'

4. Self -correction/Restructuring: This refers to attempts to correct oneself by trying to restructure the utterance to reach the optimal meaning.

e.g. the car was broke ...broken.

5. Approximation: Using an alternative lexical item that shares certain semantic features with the target item, or using a generalised target language item.

The use of 'quicker' in the following example to mean 'faster'

The boys em be becau:se they because he is er ,...,..., very,...,...,..., er quicker,...,..., in

spee er very speed in driving.

"damaged" for "broken down" in the following utterance:

er he saw the man fixing his car his own car, the car was damaged and didn't work.

6. Mumbling: Swallowing or muttering inaudibly a word (or part of a word) whose

correct form the speaker is uncertain about.

    e.g. he go er or er ((muttering)) on his bicycle

7. L2 appeal for help: This refers to asking for help directly or indirectly. Though the

    author did not intend to give any help, some subjects appealed for help.

e.g. e:r ,...,...,...,..., I don't know. Electric e:r (13 sec) electric,...,..., ladder? Electric

ladder? Electric steps? Step? I don't know.

8. Self-repetition: The learner repeats a word or a string of words immediately after

    they have been said.

e.g. he was very happy because he didn't ca(re) he didn't care for him when he fell.

9. Use of similar-sounding words: This strategy is used to replace a lexical item whose

form the speaker is unsure of with an existing or non-existent word which sounds like the

target item.

e.g. "this is {ekstenture}" for "fire extinguisher"

10. Use of all-purpose words: This refers to the use of words like "stuff", "thing", "things" "do" or "make".

e.g. the man was trying to fix it (the car). he looked at it and he did the same thing

11. Ignorance Acknowledgement: This refers to the learner's admission of his lack of the required knowledge when he says that he does not know.

e.g. e:r em I don't know, tell me.

So far no consensus has been reached on a definitive taxonomy of communication strategies. In the following section, I will discuss the problems related to these taxonomies and the problems encountered in classifying utterances into different CS categories.

Problems with taxonomies of CSs

The taxonomies provided by researchers are organised according to certain criteria: the choice of the learner as to whether to reduce or achieve his goal, or to consult different sources of information - L1 or L2 - or to use his conceptual or linguistic knowledge. Though researchers have produced apparently different taxonomies with different structures, the underlying structure of these taxonomies is often the same. What is referred to as circumlocution by one taxonomy is classified as description or exemplification in other taxonomies.

For example, Bongaerts and Poulisse (1989) distinguish between two sub-types of linguistic strategy: m*orphological creativity* and *strategy of transfer. Strategy of transfer*

consists of transferring items from L1 or L3. It may be referred to as 'literal translation', 'foreignizing' and 'borrowing'. In Tarone's taxonomy (1977), these strategies are referred of as strategies of *conscious transfer* and later (Tarone,1983) as *borrowing.*

Poulisse (1993) reconsidered some aspects of her work with the Nijmegen group and came up with a modified cognitive taxonomy made up of three categories: *substitution, reconceptualization* and *substitution plus*. Substituting one lexical item for another is *substitution,* whereas feature listing is *reconceptualization. Substitution plus* refers to the adaptation to the target language via morphological and phonological accommodation.

Kellerman and Bialystok argue that Poulisse's new classification has its own problems, for example "stuff to kill flies" (for *'fly spray'*), according to Poulisse is an example of *"reconceptualization"*, or *"substitution* and *reconceptualization"* (1997:42). Another problem concerns lists of category members (e.g., tables, beds and chairs for *'furniture'*). Should these be treated as substitution or as *reconceptualization*? One lexical item may be treated as *substitution,* but all these category members are considered to be *"reconceptualization* on the grounds of requiring more processing effort" (ibid:42-43). What about when the learner produces 'apples and things' for 'fruit', or 'tables, etc.' for *'furniture'*. How are these classified? Poulisse's (1993) distinction between *substitution* and *reconceptualization* seems to be based on whether it is a single lexical item standing for another. Kellerman and Bialystok (1997:43) claim that "Since exemplification is a fairly common compensatory lexical device, its ambiguous status is a challenge to Poulisse's typology".

In the original Nijmegen classification, exemplification, whether by one or more category members (e.g., tables, beds and cupboards), and whether followed by *etc.* or *and things,* or not, would always be classified as an example of *conceptual strategy.*

According to Bialystok, "To return to zoological taxonomies, classifying animals according to their ability to fly or their possession of feathers will lead to essentially the same classification of events, even though the criteria for classifying the events appear to be different" (1990:47).

The taxonomies of Tarone (1977), Faerch and Kasper (1983), Bialystok (1983) and Paribakht (1985), show many similarities. Thus, Bialystok (1990) remarked:

> ... the variety of taxonomies proposed in the literature differ primarily in terminology and overall categorizing principle rather than in the substance of the specific strategies. If we ignore, then, differences in the structure of the taxonomies by abolishing the various overall categories, then a core group of specific strategies that appear consistently across the taxonomies clearly emerges.... Differences in the definitions and illustrations for these core strategies across the various studies are trivial. (Bialystok, 1990, p. 61).

However, Yule and Tarone (1997:17) summarise the approaches taken by CS researchers. The "Pros" whose purpose has been to "propose additional categories, maintaining and expanding existing taxonomies (e.g., Tarone and Yule, 1987)", and the "Cons" who denied the value of existing taxonomies and to propose a substantial reduction in the number of categories (e.g. Bongaerts et al., 1987)". Yule and Tarone (ibid.) summarise the differences between the Pros and Cons as follows:

The Pros focus on describing the language produced by L2 learners, or description of L2 forms in using L2. The Pros divided the communication strategies into reduction strategies and achievement strategies. Reduction strategies include topic avoidance, and

message abandonment when the language users face a difficulty during the course of communication. Achievement strategies (compensatory strategies) are used when language users expand their resources to arrive at their communicative goals, e.g., approximation, circumlocution, language transfer, word coinage (Faerch and Kasper, 1983a; Paribakht, 1985 and Tarone, 1977). The alternative approach of the Cons focuses on describing the psychological processes used by L2 learners in L2 performance. The Cons have only focused on CpS, which are divided into two main categories, conceptual or linguistic. A *conceptual strategy* is either holistic (using a substitute concept as in approximation and semantic contiguity), or analytic (describing the object's properties via circumlocution, restructuring, repetition and exemplification). A *linguistic strategy* involves using linguistic devices (borrowing, foreignising, literal translation and word coinage) (e.g., Bongaerts and Poulisse, 1989; Kellerman, 1991; Kellerman et al., 1990). In addition, the Pros attempt to work from performance to competence while the Cons work from competence in order to account for performance data.

In terms of methodology, the Pros and Cons are different. The Pros use a comparison between L1 and L2 performance. According to Yule and Tarone (1997), the Cons failed to elicit L1 performance so they compare the learners' L2 performance with that of native speakers of the target language. The Cons are interested in the cognitive processes involved in communicating a message, whereas the Pros are interested in describing the forms used by language learners. With abstract shapes, learners resort to conceptual strategies by using analogies and by describing the parts of the shape, but with real word objects, learners start by naming and describing their function and use. (In this study when the subjects do not know the target language item or a substitute for it, they describe its use and function). The presence or the absence of the listener is another difference between the Pros and the Cons. For the Cons, the presence of a listener seems

to be unnecessary in a shape identification task. Tarone and Yule (1989) are of the opinion that the interlocutor/listener has an important and powerful influence on the speaker's performance, and may have a great effect on the cognitive processes underlying that performance.

Another difference is that the Cons drew their subjects from only one background (Dutch L1 learners). This might have affected the type of strategies revealed in the data. For example, Chen (1990) found that there were no L1-based (code) strategies used by her Chinese subjects. The Pros, on the other hand, included learners from a variety of L1 backgrounds.

To conclude, there is no consensus among researchers over a taxonomy of communication strategies. It is very clear in the literature that a single utterance may be labelled under two different categories. Cook argues that " if the lists were standardised, at least, there would be an agreement about such categories" (1993:133). Researchers develop and propose new taxonomies of communication strategies from time to time. In the end, research into communication strategies will probably include a standardised taxonomy.

Problems with the classification of CSs

CS research has suffered from problems related to the classification of communication strategies. According to Bialystok "each utterance betrays the presence of several strategies. This combination of approaches used by speakers in a single utterance leads to problems of classification" (1990:69).

Duff (1997:195) claims that overlap exists across the communication strategies: "the same utterances may manifest or have embedded within them more than one strategy". For example, Rababah (2001), the author of the present article, found out that some utterances included two or more communication strategies. To identify an escalator, one subject produced "these machine used to carry people from one floor to another floor, floor er like in,...,..., airport or in any (unintel word).

In Author's study (2001), *repetition strategy* in the above example was used when the subject repeated the word 'floor'. *Circumlocution strategy* was also manifested when the subject described the use or the function of the object "used to carry people... like in airport". *Mumbling* was a third strategy used.

Another example of the students' oral production, which manifests more than one strategy in an utterance is given by Rababah (ibid.).

e:r ,..,...,...,..., you can count er the e:r ..., the distance of e:r found it in the car e:m this o'clock can e:r e:r put in *shu?* (tr: what?) er in the car to: er to: limit the: the speed (This full description is just to identify a speedometer).

In the above utterance more than one strategy was used. An example of *approximation strategy* is the use of the word 'count' to mean 'measure'. The learner extends the meaning of 'count' to mean 'measure'. This could be as a result of literal translation from the native language/Arabic. The word 'clock' is used as an approximation of the target word 'speedometer', which could be due to the influence of the native language as people in Jordan use the word 'clock' translated literally to refer to the speedometer. *Appeal for help* was clearly manifested when the learner asked *'shu?'* (tr: what?). But the

most apparent strategy is *circumlocution:* "found it in the car e:m .... er in the car to: er to: limit the: the speed"

Many researchers have disagreed with each other over the classification of a certain type of strategic behaviour in terms of which category it belongs to, but they almost always refer to the same thing. In Tarone (1977) one learner referred to 'a hairdresser' as ' a person who cuts hair', while another person called it 'a haircutter'. For Bongaerts and Poulisse (1989), using Tarone's taxonomy (1977), the first utterance should be classified as a circumlocution and the second as a word coinage. This classification focuses on the differences in the linguistic form between the two utterances. But Bongaerts and Poulisse claim that "the two utterances are similar in terms of their semantic content....Thus, it ignores the fact that the underlying referential processes are similar. In both cases the learners communicate the intended concept by mentioning some of its most distinctive attributes" (1989:254). For the Nijmegen group, when the expressions refer to the characteristics of the item, they are all categorised as circumlocution.

Traditional taxonomies (e.g., Tarone, 1977, Faerch and Kasper, 1983a) would categorise "something to kill flies with" for '*a fly-swat*' as a description of function, "an animal in the form of a star" for '*a starfish*' as a description of shape, and the "small orange ones" to distinguish large fish from small ones, as a description of size followed by colour. Bongaerts and Poulisse (1989) claim that the problem with such a classification is that:

> these distinctions merely reflect differences in referents and differences in the contexts in which the referents are presented. Consequently, taxonomies that contain such distinctions fail to capture an important generalization with respect to referential behaviour: the strategy learners adopt is to mention those attributes of a referent which uniquely identify it in a given context (Bongaerts and Poulisse 1989:254).

Kellerman (1991:146), in criticising the taxonomies proposed so far, points out that referring to 'an art gallery' as 'a picture place' or as 'a place where you look at pictures' obviously reflects the same underlying cognitive process. Thus to code them as 'word coinage' and 'circumlocution', according to Tarone's taxonomy, is misleading.

Bialystok (1990) summarises the main problems that CS research suffers from:

> the criteria for assigning an utterance to a specific strategy are sometimes vague, sometimes arbitrary, and sometimes irrelevant. If concepts such as 'sharing semantic features' or 'single words' are interpreted differently, the same utterance would be assigned to a different category. These vagaries of classification directly challenge the reliability of the taxonomies and limit their potential for forming the basis for explanation of communication strategies (Bialystok, 1990, p.75).

For example, in the data from collected by Rababah (2001), one learner produced "hand e:r ,...,...,.., cleaning hand *Mukinseh, Nasi Esimha Biliingilizi* (tr: broom, I forgot its name in English)"

Cleaning hand can be classified both as word coinage and it as be literal translation. Such examples were considered to be literal translation from Arabic because in daily life we refer to 'broom' as something close to the words produced by the learner.

Another example is "telephone public" produced by another learner. The wrong word order is an indication of literal translation, because in Arabic word order is different from English the noun coming before the adjective.

In the following example, *electrical lamps* could be classified as either word coinage or literal translation, but in our opinion it is word coinage strategy, which again resulted from literal translation:

er electrical lamps or e:r or er electrical lamps I guess

The subject in the utterance quoted below used 'travelling cheques' for *traveller's cheque*. Such utterances have been classified in this study as word coinage. It is probable that the learner applied a number of morphological and syntactical rules in order to arrive at this form, intending to create a new word.

e:r I have some travelling cheques and em I wonder where I can find a bank or what time the banks open or close?

"Electricity machine" was produced by another learner to refer to a vacuum cleaner. It could be classified by another researcher as literal translation, but in our opinion is word coinage. The subject tried to express the optimal meaning, but due to his limited linguistic resources, he was forced to join two words together to pass on his message.

It has become obvious that it is sometimes difficult to assign a particular utterance to a particular strategy since the same utterance may include more than one strategy, and since the same utterance may be classified differently by researchers. However, in order to obtain a degree of reliability in classifying the CSs after identifying the strategic behaviour. I suggest that CS cases be highlighted and classified within the context and given to three independent judges to check the reliability of the classification and of the coding system.

Teachability of Communication Strategies

A major issue that has been investigated by many researchers is whether L2 learners need to be taught communication strategies or not. Some researchers have been enthusiastic about the idea of teaching CSs and claim that it is both possible and desirable (e.g., Oxford, 1990; Tarone and Yule, 1989; Rost, 1994). Others have opposed

teaching CSs (e.g., Terrell, 1977; Bialystok, 1990; Labarca and Khanji, 1986; Cook, 1991; and Kellerman, 1991).

Canale and Swain (1980) believe that communication strategies are most likely to be acquired in real-life situations and not in the classroom. Bialystok (1990) also argues that communication strategies are reflections of underlying psychological processes, so focusing on the surface structure will not enhance communication strategy use. She proposes that we should seek to develop learner's CSs by "training aimed at mastering of analysis and control over the target language" (ibid.:145). She also adds that "What one must teach students of a language is not strategy, but language", because the more the learners know, the better they will be at meeting their demands (ibid.:147). Kellerman also holds the same point of view. He proposes that "there is no justification for training in compensatory strategies in the classroom... .Teach the learners more language and let strategies look after themselves" (1991:158).

These researchers' conclusions are not based on any experimental research that has proved that teaching CSs does have a beneficial effect on learners' performances in the target language. As a result, empirical studies have been conducted to investigate the effect of teaching CSs on the learners' performance (For details see section 5.6).

On the other hand, many other researchers maintain that strategy training is possible and desirable (e.g., Faerch and Kasper, 1983a; Chen, 1990; Haastrup and Phillipson, 1983; Rost, 1994; Savignon,1972,1983; Tarone and Yule 1989, Dornyei and Thurrell,1991).

Faerch and Kasper, for example, argue that "if by teaching we mean passing on new information only there is probably no need to teach communication strategies" because

language users have that knowledge and make use of it in their L1. They suggest that if teaching means making learners conscious of their behaviour, then "it is obvious that we should *teach* them about strategies" (1983a:55).

Oxford (1990) and O'Malley and Chamot (1990) also argue that conscious raising of the use of CSs is important. They suggest that training students in the use of communication strategies and learning strategies helps them become better language users.

Tarone and Yule (1989:114) support Faerch and Kasper's (1983) view of teaching communication strategies when they admit, "We differ in our approach from other researchers, who argue that communication strategies cannot be explicitly taught". Controversies among researchers might be due to the different interpretations of the notion of teaching communication strategies, which may be summarised thus:

1. Raising the learners' awareness of the nature of CSs. Faerch and Kasper emphasized the importance of increasing 'metacommunicative awareness' (1986:187).

2. Encouraging learners to be risk takers and use CSs. Learners should not be made afraid of making errors (Faerch and Kasper, 1986).

3. Providing L2 models of the use of certain CSs through demonstrations, listening materials and videos and getting learners to categorise and evaluate strategies used by native speakers or other L2 speakers. Faerch and Kasper's (1986) procedure when they video-taped the learners' performance was for them to view their own recordings, and the students analysed their own strategy use.

4. Teaching CSs directly by providing learners with linguistic devices. For example, Tarone and Yule (1989) point out that circumlocution requires certain basic core vocabulary and sentence structure in order to be able to use terms such as *bowl-*

shaped, triangular, on the rim circular. Dornyei and Turrell (ibid.) consider basic structures to be given to the learners like *a kind of, the thing you use for, it is something you do/say when..... .*

5. Providing opportunities for practice in strategy use rather than direct teaching. Kellerman acknowledges the possible usefulness of situational classroom practice of strategies in order to help learners overcome difficulties: "such exercises would be designed to help learners *perform* their competence rather than build it up"(1991:160).

By teaching communication strategies, we mean all of the above: raising the learners' awareness of CSs, encouraging them to take risks and use CSs, providing L2 models of the use of certain CSs, teaching CSs directly by providing learners with linguistic devices and finally providing opportunities for practice in strategy use. The effective use of CSs will probably help enormously in achieving the speakers' communicative goals.

Conclusion and Implications

As foreign/second language teachers and learners, our main concern is accuracy and fluency. Once learners concentrate on form or accuracy, they will encounter problems, because a non-native speaker does not master all the language forms and rules. Therefore, when L2 learners recognise that there is a mismatch between their linguistic resources and their communicative intentions, they try to solve these problems by using communication strategies, such as appeal for help, literal translation, circumlocution, approximation, coinage, etc., to make their ideas comprehensible and achieve their communicative goals. Of course, clarification requests and self-repetitions are communication strategies as well.

Research into communication strategies has made an important contribution to L2 acquisition, and this research has made much progress during the last three decades since Selinker (1972) introduced the term 'Strategies of Second Language Communication'. CS researchers began their research by defining, identifying and classifying communication strategies. Empirical research into CSs, which was conducted subsequently, has given way to the analysis of the mental processes underlying CS use. The Nijmegen Group and Poulisse (1993) attempted to relate strategy use to models of language processing and language production, but this was limited to lexical compensatory strategies. Another important direction for CS research was that of Kellerman and Bialystok (1997), which was concerned with the psycholinguistic approach to cover other types of strategies, such as reduction strategies and appeal for help.

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