

How do they communicate? A Comparative Study
of the Communication Strategies in English of
some Malaysian and British University Under-
graduates

by

ROHANI IBRAHIM

This thesis is submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at the University of London
Institute Of Education

1990

ABSTRACT

This dissertation concerns aspects of Communication Strategies in the interim speech of second language learners. Communication strategies can be defined as attempts made by inventive learners to circumvent their linguistic inadequacies in the language they are learning when their limited command of target language structures makes it difficult for them to say what they mean. This study is innovative in that it uses both controlled elicitation tasks and uncontrolled, spontaneous natural speech of learners of English.

The study is based on 15 hours of video-taped recordings of the communicative sessions of 150 Malaysian subjects at the University of Malaya, Malaysia, covering three proficiency levels -- Poor, Intermediate and Fluent groups of English learners at the university. These video-taped sessions are comprised of communication activities where the language that is generated is for the communication of ideas and the exchange of real information rather than for the performance of structured drills. Hence the data has most of the attributes of authentic natural speech. Analysis of the CSs is based on relevant parts of the taped data containing instances of strategic behaviour, which were transcribed along with any significant contextual information. Linguistic, contextual and pausological (hesitation and pause phenomenon to indicate communicative difficulties) clues are used to locate and identify strategic behaviour.

The strategies are analysed and classified according to viable taxonomic criteria. They are then compared across proficiency levels in terms of their range, frequency of occurrence, and popularity. A rating coefficient showing quantity of language produced as a function of time is worked out to ensure the comparability of the data across the three proficiency levels. The findings of the study appear to support some of the conclusions of earlier studies that used elicited data of a more restricted nature. However, there are also areas of differences. Some new communication strategies have been identified, a revised version of some earlier taxonomies has been proposed, and some important pedagogic implications of some level trends in strategy use have been suggested.

Apart from investigating the possibility of including CS in the instruction and practice of L2, the findings of this study contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of the second language acquisition process, the effective utilization of strategic behaviour in second language pedagogy, the role of strategic competence in communicative competence, the interrelation of the linguistic and communicative abilities of the Malaysian learners of English and finally, the comparison of native speakers and non-native speakers' use of the Communication Strategies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Mr. John Norrish, whose constructive criticisms, comments and suggestions have enormously encouraged and helped me throughout the research project.

I also like to record my heartfelt gratitude to Prof. Henry Widdowson for his invaluable comments, guidance and most important of all, his moral support which kept me going.

I am also extremely indebted and grateful to Assoc. Prof. Zainab Abdul Majid, without whose support and encouragement, I would not have been awarded the University of Malaya Staff Scholarship.

I am also extremely grateful to Ms. Anita Pincas and Mr. Peter Skehan for all the invaluable comments and guidance.

Finally, I wish to thank most gratefully the teachers and the pupils at the University of Malaya who took part in this research. Without their invaluable co-operation and goodwill the study would not have been successfully completed.

DEDICATION

To Mom and sis for their love and support
and Mohieddine whose encouragement and continuous support
kept me going through the long terrible years of work

TABLE OF CONTENTS		Page
Chapter 1		
1.1	<u>Introduction</u>	9
1.2	Background Information of Subjects - General reasons for the failure of attainment of a good standard of English among the Malay students enrolled at the ESP Language Project at University of Malaya, Malaysia.	17
1.2.1	Historical Antecedents	18
1.2.2	- the Malay system of education	20
1.2.3	- the Chinese system of education	22
1.2.4	- the Tamil system of education	23
1.2.5	- the English system of education	23
1.3	The Malaysian Language Policy	25
	- the implementation of Bahasa Malaysia as national language and medium of instruction	
1.3.1	The current role and status of English in Malaysia	28
1.3.1.1	English in the Professions	29
1.3.1.2	English in Business and Industry	30
1.3.1.3	English in Law	30
1.3.1.4	English in the Mass Media	32
1.3.1.5	English in the Day-to-day living	32
1.4	Objectives of English Language Education	34
1.4.1	English in Education	35
1.4.2	Structure of Education	35
1.4.3	Private schools	37
1.4.3.1	Peninsular Malaysia	37
1.4.3.2	Sabah	39
1.5	Problems in the teaching of English	40
	- Conditions of language classes at school level	43
1.5.1	- Poor motivation among pupils	45
1.5.2	- Inappropriate syllabus	45
1.5.3	- Insufficient communication between teachers and Ministry	48
1.5.4	- Poor infrastructure	49
1.5.5	- Textbooks	50
1.5.6	- Resource Materials	51
1.5.7	- Shortage of English teachers and specialist in ESL	52
1.5.8	- Quality of teachers	54
1.6	Steps taken by University of Malaya to overcome the problem	56
1.6.1	- The UMSEP and UMESPP Projects at the Language Centre	57

1.7	Subjects profile	60
1.7.1	- educational setting	60
	1.7.1.1 Summary of Eng Course at U.M.	61
1.7.2	- course descriptions of target faculties	62
1.7.3	- English setting teaching experience	63
1.7.4	- Proficiency of subjects in English	64
	1.7.4.1 English in target faculties	66
1.7.5	- psychosocial-cultural background	68

Chapter 2 The Study of Communication Strategies - Literature Review

2.1	Communication Strategies (CS)	71
2.2	Investigative Studies on CS	71
2.3	Defining Communication Strategies	73
2.3.1	Defining Criteria	74
2.3.2	Strategy - Process or Plan?	77
2.3.3	Definitions of Communication Strategies	83
2.3.4	Interactional vs. Psycholinguistic Definitions	84
2.4	CS and other Strategies	88
2.4.1	CS and Perception Strategies (PerS)	88
2.4.2	CS and Production Strategies (PS)	90
2.4.3	CS and Learning Strategies (LS)	92
2.4.4	CS and Compensatory Strategies (CpS)	97
2.5	Taxonomy of CSs	98
2.5.1	Typology based on Inherent Aspects of CS	99
2.5.1.1	CS Typology and Aspects of Language Learning	99
2.5.1.2	CS Typology and Source of Information	101
2.5.2	CSs as Instances of Learner Behaviour	102
2.5.3	CS Typology and Analysts' Interests	105

Chapter 3 Data and Modus Operandi

3.1	Choice of data	107
3.2	The Pilot Study	109
3.2.1	Description of the pilot study	109
3.2.2	The design of the experiment	109

3.2.3	Rationale behind the experiment	111
3.2.4	Results	118
3.3	The Longitudinal study	119
3.3.1	Data	120
3.3.2	Composite of subjects	120
3.3.3	Breakdown of subjects according to ethnic group	122
3.3.4	Profile of subjects according to year/faculty	122
3.3.5	Profile of subjects according to English SPM	122
3.3.6	Fluency rating according to ethnic grouping	123
3.4	Modus Operandi	124
3.4.1	Administration of the Oral Performance Tasks	126
3.4.2	Description of performance tasks sessions	127
3.4.3	Elaboration of Performance Task sessions	129
3.5	Criteria for Identification and Detection of CSs	134
3.6	Use of Introspection Study	135
Chapter 4	<u>Classification of the CS</u>	
4.1	Fundamental Problems in Data Analysis	138
4.2	Rationale for Labelling and Classification	149
4.3	Some special features of the Study	160
Chapter 5	<u>Analysis of Data</u>	165
5.1	Results of Survey Questionnaire	166
5.1.1	Fluency Group	167
5.1.2	Use of CSs according to self-assessment	168
5.1.3	Analysis of use of CS in relation to fluency and ethnic groupings	170
5.1.3.1	Fluent group	170
5.1.3.2	Intermediate group	176
5.1.3.3	Poor group	179
5.2	Correlations of specific CSs with other related traits	182
5.3	Use of Communication Strategies among subjects from different universities/faculties/year at college	185

5.4	Use of CS over period of time	188
5.5	Conformity/Non-Conformity of self-assessment Tasks sessions to actual use of CS during Oral Performance Tasks Sessions	189
5.5.1	Use of CSs among Ethnic 1 - Malay Subjects	193
5.5.2	Use of CSs among Ethnic 2 - Chinese Subjects	194
5.5.3	Use of CSs among Ethnic 3 - Indian Subjects	196
5.6	Analysis of Oral Performance Data	198
5.6.1	Some General Quantitative Features	198
5.6.2	Non-Achievement Strategies	202
5.6.3	Achievement Strategies	205
5.7	Quantitative Analysis	211
5.7.1	Linguistic Strategies	218
5.7.2	Non-TL Based Strategies	219
5.7.3	TL-Based Strategies	225
5.7.4	Non-Linguistic Strategies	237
5.7.5	Interactional Strategies	240
5.8	NNS/NS data	245
5.9	Occurrence of already documented CSs	253
5.9.1	Circumlocution	253
5.9.2	Approximation	254
5.9.3	Mime	255
5.9.4	Literal translation	256
5.9.5	Language switch	257
5.9.6	Appeal to authority	258
Chapter 6	<u>Conclusions, Implications and Future Directions</u>	273
6.1	Conclusions	273
6.2	Implications for Language Pedagogy	275
6.3	Future Directions	308
	Notes	313
	Bibliography	315
	List of Figures	5
	List of Charts	5
	List of Tables	6
	List of Pie Chart and Bar Graphs	7
	List of Appendices	7
	List of Abbreviations	8
	Appendices	357

	<u>List of Figures</u>	Page
Figure 1	The Planning and Realization of Intellectual Behaviour (adapted from (Faerch and Kasper 1980)	82
Figure 2	Manifestations of CSs and their interactional function (Faerch and Kasper 1984)	86
Figure 3	The Domain of Communication Strategies (Baskaran 1987)	97

	<u>List of Charts</u>	
Chart 1.	Correlation of CS (self-rating) to fluency rating - Fluent group	175
Chart 2.	Correlation of CS (self-rating) to fluency rating - Middle group	179
Chart 3.	Correlation of CS (self-rating) to fluency rating - Poor group	180
Chart 4.	Ranking of conformity/non-conformity to self-assessment in the use of CS during performance task sessions	190
Chart 5.	Conformity of performance to self-assessment rating according to ethnic grouping	191

	Page
<u>List of Pie Chart and Bar Graphs</u>	
Pie Chart 1. Fluency Rating of S.P.M. Results	377
Bar Graph 1. Fluency Rating Among Three Ethnic Groups	378
Bar Graph 2. Use of Communication Strategies Among All Subjects	379
Bar Graph 3. Percentage of Conformity of Use of CS According to Fluency	174
Bar Graph 4. Correlation of Specific CSs with each Related Traits (Self-Assessment)	183
Bar Graph 5. Correlation of Specific CSs with each Related Traits (Actual Performance)	183
Bar Graph 6. Profile of Use of CSs on Self- Assessment Survey Questionnaire and Actual Performance	380
Bar Graph 7. Conformity of Performance to Self-Assessment for a given Ethnic Group	192
Bar Graph 8. Conformity of use of CS of UM/Non-UM students	381
Bar Graph 9. Frequency and Popularity of Replacement Strategies	382

List of Appendices

Appendix A	Survey Questionnaire for the study	357
Appendix B	Materials used for the Oral Performance Task Sessions	364
Appendix C	Pie Charts and Bar Graphs	377
Appendix D	Samples of Data transcribed	382

Abbreviations used in this dissertation

BM	Bahasa Malaysia
CS	Communication Strategy
CpS	Compensatory Strategy
EA	Error Analysis
IL	Interlanguage
L1	First Language
L2	Second language
Ln	Language other than the first and target language
LS	Learning Strategy
MDL	Mean Discourse Level
NS	Native Speaker
NNS	Non-native speaker
PerS	Perception strategy
PS	Production Strategy
SPM/MCE	Malaysian Certificate of Education
STPM/HSC	Malaysian Higher Certificate of Education
TL	Target language
UMSEP	University of Malaya English for Specific Purpose Project
UMESPP	University of Malaya English for Special Purpose Project

Chapter 1

"Our first task is to train them not for perfection but for communication"

(Pattison, 1987)

1.1 Introduction

=====

Formal language teaching in the classroom cannot give the learner access to knowledge similar to that of a native speaker. Thus, the communicative performance of a language learner, is very different from that of a native speaker in that the learner's performance is a result of an interaction of the inadequate semantic and grammatical options available to him in the target language. A fully competent (native) speaker of a language maintains, ideally, a perfect balance between his communicative intent (meaning) and his linguistic means for effectively achieving that intent. But in the case of a learner, the meaning potential he wants to communicate is, most likely, either internally encoded in his base language or is linguistically unencoded (Varadi 1980). The linguistic encoding of the intended meaning in the target language is often severely restricted by his limited competence in the target language at all levels, phonological, lexical and syntactic. The actual target language

utterance he makes is thus conditioned by the target language forms available to him in his interlanguage.

Thus, communication in a foreign language involves constant recourse to conscious problem-solving strategies to patch up gaps in the lexicon and pragmatic information necessary for the correct interpretation of data. Attempts by learners to 'manipulate' their interlanguage, particularly when attempting to communicate under the restraints of insufficient control of target language forms, have come to be known as **Communication Strategies (CS)**. One of the first definitions by Varadi (1973) of communication strategy cited in Tarone (1977:195) as 'a conscious attempt to communicate the learner's thought when the interlanguage structures are inadequate to convey that thought' is as good a definition as any although several other definitions have subsequently been attempted (see 2.1.1). Faerch and Kasper (1984) have more recently attempted a comprehensive psycholinguistic definition subsuming all others, notably that of Tarone (1980,1981). All definitions basically agree on two essentials:

1. The existence of communication problems because of linguistic inadequacy; and
2. An attempt by the learner to solve them.

According to Pit Corder, a foreign language learner facing language difficulty in a foreign-language communication situation

may adopt either of two principal "macro-strategies" (Corder 1978). He may have a strong motivation or need to express meaning in the foreign language, and therefore use all the linguistic resources at his disposal, often at the risk of failing to reach his communicative goal, i. e. the successful passing on of precise information to his interlocutor. To these resources, which include paraphrasing, the invention of new words, guessing, and borrowing from the mother tongue, Corder gave the collective name "risk-taking" or "resource-expansion" strategies". Throughout this study, however, they will be referred to as "Achievement Strategies" (so termed by Faerch and Kasper 1980).

In the opposite case, the learner ignores or abandons the target concepts for which he lacks the appropriate vocabulary. Due to inability to express meaning in the foreign language, he prefers to resort to one "escape route" (Ickenroth 1975) or another, at the cost of informative preciseness. These escape routes, commonly referred to as "Avoidance Strategies" in the recent literature, have also been termed "Risk-avoiding Strategies" (Corder 1978), "Message Adjustment Strategies" (Varadi 1980) and "Reduction Strategies" (Faerch and Kasper 1980). In this study, they will be referred to as "Non-Achievement Strategies".

Although the existence of the phenomenon of communicative strategies is now established and accepted, the field is

relatively new and various problems involved in the study of CSs are only in the preliminary stages of investigation. Many basic issues remain unresolved or only partly resolved. The notion of CS arose out of Interlanguage (IL) studies and Error Analysis (EA) (see Seliger 1972, Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1976, and Varadi 1980), and the theoretical as well as terminological overlap between CS and EA has not been clearly resolved (see 4.1). There are approaches to defining CSs based on EA (Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1976); on interaction as negotiation of meaning (Tarone 1981); and on a psycholinguistic model of speech production (Faerch and Kasper 1983b). These approaches are by no means mutually exclusive or irreconcilable but need to be systematized under a sound schema of linguistic communication. Another issue that needs resolution is one of the point of view or perspective in identifying CS -- the learner's, the investigator's, or both? This has profound effects on several other problematic aspect like criteria for establishing CS, classification and typology of CS, the relation of CS to Learning Strategy (LS), Perception Strategy (PerS) and Production Strategy (PS). Finally, there is also the problems of proliferating terminology and metalanguage, which considerably impairs the comparability and collatability of research findings.

This dissertation investigates the CSs as used by the Malaysian learners of English. The subjects are students at the University of Malaya, Malaysia, from various ethnic and language background

and proficiency, and learning English mainly for academic purposes. The data consists of video-tape recordings ^{of the subjects} with either me; as the researcher, or their peers during various communicative activities explicitly intended to stimulate and motivate real interactional communication among the subjects. By using both controlled and uncontrolled frames of discourse and communication contexts, I hoped to be able to get a richer data that will enhance the range and generality of the findings. The communicative situation set up here is one where the need and motivation to communicate predominates over language performance for learning purposes, and the "realness" of communication (see Tarone 1981:293), it is hoped, will improve the authenticity of the results and the credibility of the findings. At the same time, the classroom situation and my non-intrusive presence will ensure the inclusion of important cooperative strategies like appeal for assistance (Tarone 1977, 1981; Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1976; and Blum and Kulka 1978).

This study throws light on several aspects of the use of CS. The subjects represent three levels of proficiency from poor through fluent (advanced) level. Some evidence of correlation between the use of Communication Strategies and the level of proficiency of the user has been claimed (Paribakht 1982, Bialystok 1983). In this study learners at all three levels used similar strategies. However, they showed some tendency to progressively move away from non-TL based strategies and towards TL-based strategies as

their proficiency in the TL improved. The use of CSs was not found to be directly related to any single factor like the length, level or genre of the discourse, or type of communicative activity or task, but appeared to be influenced by a variety of factors. It was also found that the use of continuous, uninduced discourse presented problems of analysis different from elicited discourse under tightly controlled test conditions. Some new CSs were discovered and some existing ones modified. Finally, some areas and aspects of CSs were found to have greater relevance to second language learning and teaching than others.

In defining CS, this study has mainly used the three different criteria of Tarone 1980, namely, **the desire to communicate, the unavailability of linguistic devices, and a conscious choice of either avoiding communicating or attempting alternate means to communicate.** For the detection, identification and analysis of CSs, I have tried to consistently follow a set of criteria based on textual, contextual, pausological (hesitation and pause phenomenon that indicates communicative difficulties) and interactional features (see 3.2).

However, having been present at the recording of the sessions that provide the data, I could draw upon my memory of the situation and context of the speech and supplement the criteria with my own intuitive judgements. The subjects' introspection was

used very sparingly, since some of the introspective information given by the subjects was either inaccurate or they could not recall the exact details or reasons behind their communicative behaviour during the event. The subtle difference between CS and PerS (Perception Strategies) has been ignored, as the difference between them is irrelevant to the present investigation in that communicative intent is always present (see 2.4.2.). The strategies have been labelled, as far as possible, without further cluttering the existing terminology in the literature, and a taxonomy specific to the nature of this study has been developed (see Table 10).

A study of communicative strategies will have relevance to language learning and teaching both directly and indirectly. Although the reciprocal relations between CSs and LSs (learning strategies) are undetermined (see Bialystok 1983, 1984), it has been suggested that CSs inform LSs (Faerch and Kasper 1980 cited in Tarone 1980:421) or at least test linguistic hypotheses and thus modify IL (Bialystok and Frolich 1980). Faerch and Kasper (1983b:55) list at least 8 CSs that effect potential learning. Canale and Swain 1980 consider strategic competence an essential part of communicative competence, and Oxford-Carpenter 1985 lists a number of CSs as successful learning strategies. More indirectly, CSs will indicate problem areas in the learner's IL repertoire, and this information can provide valuable input for language teachers. While there is no direct evidence that

increased communication will necessarily result in greater linguistic competence, a knowledge of how learners cope with linguistic inadequacy can have a substantial bearing on Communicative Language Teaching.

The following section of this chapter will be devoted to the language background of the subjects involved in this study. This background information is essential here because before we can begin to talk about the reasons underlying the use of some of the communication strategies by the Malaysian students, we need to know where these subjects are coming from in terms of their language history, educational background and past, present and future language needs in English. These factors play a very important role in influencing and determining the subjects in the use of CSs.

In order to understand the significance of the use of the communication strategies among the Malaysian students as second language learners of English, it is imperative that I provide information on their language background and their use of English here. In this section of the chapter, I shall begin with an historical account of the factors which led to the implementation of Bahasa Malaysia as the National Language of Malaysia and its consequent role of the medium of instruction. This is important because I want to highlight how the Malaysian Language Policy and several other factors resulted in the deterioration of the standard of English among the Malaysian students particularly the Malays, the subject of my study. This poor attainment in English then spills over onto the tertiary level as the Malay-medium students began their higher education at the university level. Because of their inadequate knowledge and competence in English, these students are faced with the options of using a variety of methods in order to meet their various communicative needs. This will be the focus of my research. I will then focus on the steps taken by the University of Malaya in their attempts to alleviate the language problems as faced by the students through the UMSEP and UMESPP Projects conducted at the Language Center, University of Malaya. The last section of the chapter will be a descriptive account of the educational setting, the course descriptions and psychosocial and cultural background of the subjects.

"...in multiracial societies, where education is often linked with a National Language Policy, a National Language is often seen as the best means of breaking down traditional group or ethnic loyalties and of creating new, national loyalties."

(Watson, J.K.P., 1984 :133)

1.2.1 Historical Antecedents

English came to Malaysia with the British colonists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and during colonial rule enjoyed the status of an acrolect * For the first 10 years after independence, Article 152 of the Malaysian constitution made English one of the two official languages of the country until this was revoked by the National Language Act of 1967 which made Malay the sole official language of the country.

* the most prestigious range of speech variety of English (refer to Bickerton 1975).

In 1970, in accordance with the recommendations of the Razak Report of 1956, and the Rahman Talib Report of 1960 and the Education Act of 1961, Malaysia instituted a national system of education in which Malay (or Bahasa Malaysia) was the main medium of instruction.

"..the key feature of the educational policy..was an attempt to develop 'an educational system' acceptable to the people of Malaya as a whole, to bring together the different language-media schools into a common national educational system making Malay the national language of the country."

(Le Page, 1964)

Provision was made to preserve the use of the vernaculars in what were to be known as "National-type" schools. However, as English was not the mother-tongue of any of the communities resident in Malaysia, it was not given the status of a vernacular. The implementation of the new education policy which began with the use of Malay as the medium of instruction in the primary schools was completed by 1980 when the entire school system (both primary and secondary) became Malay-medium. The universities began conducting all their courses in Malay in 1983 although some courses had already begun to be taught in Malay long before that date. Sabah and Sarawak became part of Malaysia in 1963. Sabah adopted the national educational system in 1976. Sarawak adopted

the system only in 1980. The main consequence of this is that except for some private schools and for Form IV and Form V in Sarawak and some courses in some universities, English has disappeared as a medium of instruction in the Malaysian educational system.

Before the implementation of the new education system in 1970 there existed in Malaysia 4 separate systems of education. I shall now describe these systems in order to show the vast substructure of unspoken references underlying present uses of such words as "English-educated" and "Malay-educated" and to clarify the present roles and status of the languages of this region and attitudes each language generates. This section of the chapter will therefore attempt to briefly outline the main features of the 4 systems.

1.2.2 The Malay System of Education

Exclusively for the Malay communities, these schools were originally intended for the purpose of teaching Arabic (reading and writing) and the curriculum evolves solely around the teachings of the Muslim faith.

These schools were initially partially financed by the colonial government (in conformity with its pro-Malay policy). The transformation of these schools into government-Malay schools came with full financial support (Sharma, 1980:15). The geographical distribution of Malay schools was confined to the rural areas where the Malays lived. The rich and aristocratic Malays went to English schools. Up to 1958 when the first secondary schools were built, education in Malay was available only for 6 years and at primary school level. In fact the first batch of Malay-medium students arrived at the university level only in 1965 and even then they had to follow several of their courses in English because university education at that time was still merely available in English. Hence, although some individual scholars existed who used Malay as their medium of communication, there was no tradition of scholarship using the Malay language institutionalized in any formal system of education. As the language was confined to the Malays and their agrarian system of life, the language did not have an opportunity to grow to keep pace with the newer economic, academic and technological demands of the growing nation and world.

Hence the attitude still prevalent in some sectors of the Malaysian population that an education obtained through the medium of Malay must necessarily be inferior and that somehow to be educated in Malay was to become a Malay.

1.2.3 The Chinese System of Education

The education of the Chinese was not the responsibility of the Colonial government which did not make any provision for it at all. The schools were confined to ethnic Chinese and the schools were set up solely on donations and subscriptions obtained from the Chinese communities. Based on the schooling provided in China, these schools stressed tradition and culture. Teachers were recruited from China and they kept the nationalism alive in Malaysia. Even the curriculum was based on the curriculum used in China and the students were taught in Mandarin, the medium of instruction. The schools also adopted the Chinese ideologies. The whole purpose of education seemed to have been directed at instilling in the pupil a sense of Chinese nationalism by arousing the great Chinese cultural heritage (Dahlan, 1976:34).

Education was available for 12 years. Tertiary education was not available in Malaysia but was available at the Nanyang University in Singapore. However, Chinese tertiary education did not have the market value of English tertiary education. Chinese graduates were only employed in Chinese organizations in which Chinese was the main medium of communication.

1.2.4 The Tamil System of Education

The education of the Indians was closely associated with the development of plantations in Malaysia. The Labour Ordinance (1923) required estate owners to provide schools for their workers if there were 10 or more children of school-going age (7-14) in the plantation estates. A small annual per capita grant was given on the basis of examination results and attendance. The medium of instruction was Tamil which was the mother-tongue of most of the children. The quality of education at these schools was very poor because the teachers were poorly paid and most of them lacked training and qualification.

This system of education was available only at primary level. The rare child who did well in Tamil-medium schools, had to go to Remove Class which lasted for a year before he could enter the mainline English secondary schools if he hoped to get higher education.

1.2.5 The English System of Education

The schools within this system had a multi-ethnic student population. They were situated mainly in urban centers and school fees were imposed. The earliest English schools were mission schools. These three factors - their geographical limitation to

urban areas, the fact that fees were charged and the missionary character of the early English schools - coupled with the discouragement from colonial administrators resulted in few Malays choosing English-medium education. They were too poor to afford the fees and they lived too far away to gain access and even if they were willing to pay the fees, they were too staunch in their Muslim faith to risk conversion to Christianity. The majority of those in these schools were therefore ethnic Chinese because the Chinese were mainly urban residents. Urban Indians, too, although numerically far fewer than the Chinese, were represented in ratios disproportionate to their ratio in the total population. Hence the historical bases for the fact that more non-Malays than Malays are proficient in English.

Another feature of English education which is of relevance here is that it was only English education which gave an individual the status "educated". Most Chinese Malaysians in their 30's and 40's would term their parents "not educated" when all they mean is that they are not English educated.

Every description of government employment required English. Even in the private sectors, English was a lingua franca. Hence, the job opportunities and consequently the market value of English education was the highest in the country. Apart from Nanyang University in Singapore, which provided Chinese tertiary

education, English was the only passport to university education available to Malaysians. The University of Malaya, the Singapore University and the universities within the Commonwealth which were the chief institutions within the Commonwealth to which Malaysians resorted to for higher education all operated in English.

The quality of education offered by the English schools was also the best in the country. The best facilities were available in these schools. As one observer reported:

"..many of the teachers in these schools were missionaries and educationists dedicated to their profession and, in contrast to teachers in the vernacular schools who had only primary education, they often had university or college education."

(Nesamalar Chitravelu, 1985:p.6)

Thus, apart from the extrinsic attraction of better job opportunities and greater upward mobility through tertiary education, the education in these schools had an intrinsic value of its own.

1.3 The Malaysian Language Policy

Hence, during this period of time in the Malaysian history, there was no uniformity in the education system, although the ultimate

aim of these 4 types of education systems was a practical one. Thus, with the establishment of the new Education system and the National Language Policy Act in 1970, a more acceptable national system of education was created.

"..education with a common content syllabus, reinforced by a common language, would promote the growth of a nationally homogenous outlook, and the development of a core of shared values leading eventually to a common culture which would provide the basis for social cohesion and national unity."

(Chai Hon Chan, 1971.p.370)

The Constitution of Malaysia has recognized the Malay language as the national and official language of Malaysia while not depriving the people of the need to know their own mother-tongues and other languages as well. It was of the utmost importance for multilingual and multiracial Malaysia to have all the people united, and what better unifying factor can be found in such a situation than language? Malay was the inevitable choice not only because it was the language of the most populous group, the Malays, but also because of other factors which were conducive to its choice as a national language. Firstly, Malay has for a very long time been the lingua franca of Malaysia and the whole of the Indonesian archipelago. Secondly, Malay has become the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. Thirdly, Bahasa Indonesia has already evolved into a language of Science with its implementation as the medium used in all branches of knowledge

and sciences, from the primary up to the tertiary level. Moreover, vast literatures are available in Bahasa Indonesia on various disciplines either in the form of translation-works or in the form of original writings. Malaysia was aware that by making Malay the national language, she would be able to benefit a great deal from the experiences that Indonesia had and this awareness could be seen in not only the free flow of literatures from Indonesia to Malaysia but also in the exchange of students and the signed agreements between these two countries on language issues (Asmah Hj. Wan Omar, 1974).

This means that the teaching of Bahasa Malaysia at all levels has to take a turn for greater vigour than ever before. Various courses in the teaching of Bahasa Malaysia were given emphasis to in the teacher training programmes. At the various universities in the countries, departments have been set up with various nomenclatures such as language centres and language units, with the primary aim of teaching Bahasa Malaysia to students and staff alike. Books and courses which are audiolingual in nature have been produced for the various purposes of learning the language.

"The seriousness of Bahasa Malaysia industry is something new to the nation for finally, the Malaysians, especially the non-Malays, have come to feel that their acceptance of the language is inevitable in the strife for peace and unity."

(Asmah Hj. Wan Omar, 1976 ;p.23)

1.3.1 The Current Role and Status of English in Malaysia

In order to give some indication of the policy framework within which English functions in Malaysia, I will now quote the following excerpts from various policy documents:

"The reason for teaching English is that we desire that no secondary school pupil shall be at a disadvantage in the matter either of employment or of higher learning in Malaysia or overseas as long as it is necessary to use the English language for these purposes.

(Razak Report, 1956)

"English is a language that plays an important role in international conferences, in the world of commerce, in the educational book industry and in world literature, proficiency in the language would be a great "plus" factor in the nation."

(Rahman Talib Report, 1960)

"Because English is an international language and is important in the field of knowledge, communication and commerce, it is proposed that English be taught as a second language."

(Educational and Review Committee, 1979)

"..measures will be taken to ensure that English is taught as a strong second language. This is important if Malaysia is to keep abreast of scientific and technological developments in the world and participate meaningfully in International trade and commerce."

(Third Malaysian Plan, 1976-80)

Although English is no longer the medium of instruction in education, English still enjoys a high position in the Malaysian society. It is declared "a strong second language", second to the

national language in importance. English translations, of official documents are allowed, where these are deemed necessary for the public interest. The King may permit the continued use of English for such official purposes as may ^{be} deemed ~~to be~~ ^{necessary}. The heavy use of English in law is also provided for. The following are descriptions of the role of English in the various aspects of the Malaysian setting which was taken from the findings of a research report conducted by Richard B. Noss in 1986 for the U.S. Information Agency (pp. 70-73).

1.3.1.1 English in the Professions

Language proficiency is an important professional asset - indeed in business there is frequent call for speakers of Chinese languages in addition to English and the national language. The private sector has relied considerably on English medium educated candidates and the consequences of the diminishing pool are hardly felt yet. Within the University Malaya English for Special Purposes (UMSEP) target professionals, the national language is most securely established in Public Administration. Correspondence here is in the national Language (BM), although longer written documents continue to be in English. The language used for meetings seems to be dependent on the preference or mutual agreement of participants but clearly both are used and code-switching takes place. Whilst for most of the home-based civil service (particularly at the state level), English is not

essential for professional duties, it is vital in the commercial and international sectors and for specialist communication (e.g. technical or economic reports.) Similarly, contracts and other legal documents are drawn up essentially in English. English may be the passport to upward mobility in those areas in the job market where the need for English is greatest: in Government, in the foreign service and in the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and in the private sector (Chitravelu,1985).

1.3.1.2 English in Business and Industry

In the business and commercial world there is less likelihood that day-to-day proceedings will be conducted in the national language (BM) as English is still the main lingua franca used, except in the traditional sectors and in those trades where there is a predominance of ethnic Chinese. Almost 100 percent of business documentation, such as invoices and contracts, is still done in English.

1.3.1.3 English in Law

In the legal profession, the production of the national language texts of legislation, contracts and agreements etc. is a very long undertaking and the provision of the BM legal literature is even more distant. However, all Bills tabled in Parliament have

to be in BM so that all legislation since 1967 is in the national language. It is a statutory requirement that all documents presented in court must be in English or accompanied by a certified English translation. Proceedings in the courts are likely to remain in English, except for the taking of evidence from non-English speakers. The High Court is exclusively in English, Sessions Court 90%; in Magistrates Courts civil proceedings will take place in English. In these courts proceedings can take place in a language other than English with the agreement of the witnesses and counsel but judgements and explanation of the law are given in English. In rural areas, particularly the East coast, proceedings are more likely to be in BM.

Whilst it is a long-term aim that the use of BM should be promoted within the legal profession, the effective replacement of ~~the~~ English by BM could not come about until Malay medium lawyer reach position of authority and this, according to one judge, will take about 20 years. Because of the close relations with English Law, any change could well take longer than that. At the moment only about 10% of the Bar Council members have received legal training in BM.

1.3.1.4 English in the Mass Media

In the domestic mass media, there is a very strong bias towards domestically produced programs and regional information sources, but in practice there is quite a lot of English in some of the media. For example, on television there is more time given to English programs than to programs in other language medium. There seems to be some decline generally (not just in terms of English audiences). On the other hand English films on video channels or cassettes are still very popular, particularly in the urban areas. There are few, if any, English publications in small rural bookstores, but the large bookstores in town provide their information in English or other foreign languages, except for Beriteks (direct news on TV through the satellites which can be obtained for a fee), which gives information in both English and Malay.

1.3.1.5 English in day-to-day living

English and Malay are the lingua francas of large towns, but English is seldom used in the rural areas. English is still used in the home, but only among the English-educated.

Many teachers, linguists and educators in Malaysia predicted that the use of English will probably diminish in the area of government and day-to-day living. In business and industry, there

may be some reduction in the use of English, with Malays now participating in this area more than before, but it is not likely that the reduction will be substantial. In the professions, indications are that English will still be used quite heavily for the next ten years, the principal exceptions being practitioners in dentistry and medicine, who may be able to get by with little English.

As for English language proficiency, there is no independent metric with which to quantify proficiency in Malaysia, because the government language examinations are all norm-referenced. Generally, however, it appears that overall achievement in terms of percentages of students who pass the norm-referenced tests is quite low (cited from Richard Noss in 1986 pp. 73). In terms of absolute numbers, however, the number of people who speak good English today may not be very different from before. Formerly, only about 15 percent of the school population took English, while today 100 percent of it does because of the educational policy of making English a compulsory subject in all governmental exams in schools. It is estimated that now about 10 percent of the school population achieves at least the basic survival English proficiency (cited from Richard Noss 1986 pp. 73).

In order to understand the difficulties faced by the Malay learners in learning English as a second language, it is

important for me to give a brief description of the role of English in the current education system of Malaysia. The following is an attempt to describe the objectives of the English education system and the problems faced by educators in achieving these goals.

1.4 Objectives of English Language Education

The objectives of learning English as a Second Language are :

- (a) to enable pupils to use the English Language in certain jobs and activities, and
- (b) for a small group, to enable them to increase their skills in the language so that they can use the language for specific purposes in tertiary education.

(Cabinet Committee Report, 1982)

Recognizing the fact that knowing the English language could open up a whole avenue of opportunities in education for young Malaysians in countries where English is spoken, as in Great Britain, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and a host of other Commonwealth countries, the teaching and learning of English remains one of the top priorities of the Malaysian Government's educational policy. The importance of knowing English for our students can be likened to their having a key to a storehouse of knowledge. For our students, the most indispensable reason to their having to learn English, is perhaps, because it has become the language in which most of the world's scientific and technological discourse is debated and written. In order to be able to keep up with the latest in the scientific world, one at least needs a reasonable knowledge of English.

1.4.1 English in Education

1.4.2 Structure of Education

The education system in Malaysia has the following structure:

Lower Primary (Std.1-3)	-	3 years
Upper Primary (Std.4-6)	-	3 years
Lower Secondary (Form I - III)	-	3 years
Upper Secondary (Form IV - V)	-	2 years
Pre-University (Form VI)	-	2 years
University	-	3-6 years

School children typically spend 6 years in Primary school and 7 in secondary school, for the last 4 of which they are either in the Arts or Science stream. The SPM (or MCE) examination is taken at the end of the Upper Secondary (after 5 years of secondary schooling) and the STPM (or HSC) after the second year of the 6th Form.

The school system is controlled by the Ministry of Education through its various sections. The Curriculum Development Center prepares all syllabuses and handbooks and resource kits for the guidance of teachers. The School Division is in charge of the implementation of the syllabuses in the schools. The Inspectorate together with the State Language officer, functions as a mentor system with school inspectors assessing teacher and school performance and giving advice on the proper integration and implementation of the various syllabuses. The Textbook Bureau is the central body in charge of the approval of textbooks for use in schools. Teacher-training is the responsibility of the teacher training division whereas tertiary education comes under the

jurisdiction of the Higher Education Division. The Scholarships and Training Division work with the Department of Public Services in the administration and award of scholarships. The Examination Syndicate is in charge of all public examinations. The Education Media Services Division takes care of the preparation and dissemination of educational aids and the provision of such facilities as Educational Television. Vocational and Technical Training comes under a division of that name. All divisions have a Director as their head who is responsible to the Director-General of Education who is in turn responsible to the Minister of Education.

As stated earlier, English is no longer the medium of instruction in any state school. English is taught in all national schools starting from the lowest grade, i.e. Standard 1. In Chinese and Tamil schools, it is introduced in the third year. It is not merely compulsory to take English as a subject in school, it is also compulsory to take the subject in all public examinations although it is not mandatory to pass English at any level. English is not a requirement at pre-university level. English is also compulsory in all universities. The skill most emphasized is reading for academic purposes but some universities also teach oral skills in preparations for the occupational needs of the students after they leave the university.

1.4.3 Private Schools

1.4.3.1 Peninsular Malaysia

Private schools are business organisations which register with the Registrar of Companies and are not under the supervision of the Ministry of education. Hence information regarding them is difficult to obtain. The information given here is primarily obtained from a feature on private schools which appeared in the New Straits Times, 6 January 1985. This information obtained from the feature article is supplemented with information found in a research carried out by Nesamalar Chitravelu (1985).

There was a time when private schools in Malaysia were regarded as mere places for dropouts from government schools. It will not be correct to say that this image no longer exists. It still does. In fact, many of the smaller private schools are private tuition centres for government examinations. They usually employ teachers whose degrees are not recognized by the government and who cannot therefore become teachers in regular schools. They have very large classes and ill-paid teachers and curricula which are solely examinations geared. This poor quality education is possible because there is no national accreditation council to ensure that at least minimum standards are maintained. Now many of these big private schools are run by professional educators many of whom hold very high academic and professional qualifications and some have over 26 years of teaching experiences. Many have held senior government posts. Even the

Education Ministry sends many sponsored students to some private schools like Ganella College and Sri Inai. Student sponsoring bodies e.g. banks send out circulars to many local private schools reserving places for their students to do pre-university course.

The position of English in these private schools is as follows:

1. Some have special English classes to prepare their students for the English requirements imposed by the academic and professional bodies for whose examinations their students are being prepared. For example, Ganella college prepared students going to Australia for the English requirements of Australia universities.
2. Some demand some English qualifications as a prerequisite for entry into College. For example, the PJ Community College demands that "the student must have obtained a Grade 4 or better in the Advanced English of the SPM (i.e. Paper 1119) (Malay Mail, 11.6.84). This kind of requirement is imposed because several of the students expect to go overseas for further education. According to one headmaster reported in the New Straits Times (31.3.85) "between 30%-40% of our Form Six boys go overseas every year".

3. A third kind of school is that which specializes in the teaching of modern languages, particularly speaking and listening. An example of such schools is the Modern Language Institute which uses tapes and language laboratories.

4. A fourth kind of school is that which specializes solely in the teaching of English. Examples of these are the British Council English Language School and the English Language Communication Center in Kuala Lumpur, run with the approval and support of the Ministry of Education. These schools conduct a variety of courses in general proficiency, intensive coaching for examinations, Business English, English for Adults. The English Language Communication Center even conducts in-house courses where Center staff go to company premises.

Because of the lack of literature on Sarawak's private schools, I will not attempt to describe the school situation there. The following is a brief description based on the findings by Chitravelu (1985) on Sabah's private schools (Sabah and Sarawak is part of Malaysia - East Malaysia which is distinct from the Peninsular Malaysia (West Malaysia)).

1.4.3.2 Sabah

There are two commercial schools here but their standard is not impressive. There are, however, some private secondary schools

with the same course objectives as state schools and they perform better than the state schools in English and virtually all other subjects. Parents of Chinese origin are particularly willing to pay to ensure an adequate command of English for their children. In addition to these are the international English Language Center privately run for all ages. The Maktab National is a bilingual co-ed private school which operates in English and Malay.

1.5 Problems in the teaching of English

The main problems in the teaching of English in the schools are:

- a) poor motivation among students,
- b) inadequate exposure to the language,
- c) out-dated and inappropriate syllabuses at some levels,
- d) insufficient communication between teachers and the Ministry,
- e) poor infrastructure,
- f) poor quality textbooks,
- g) insufficient resource materials,
- h) short supply of teachers.

For a better understanding of the severity and varied problems faced by the subjects of my study, the Malay students, in learning English, I will now attempt to discuss all of the above factors in further detail.

1.5.1 Poor motivation among pupils

Poor motivation is a factor identified by most teachers and reports as the prime reason for poor achievement in English.

There are several reason for the poor motivation. Firstly, the changed position of English from medium of instruction to a subject on the curriculum has meant a tremendous reduction in the number of hours of exposure to and the use of the language during school hours.

It is even more pronounced among the rural Malay pupils. Incidentally, it is this indigenous group that is granted the majority of the places in the various local and foreign universities and teacher training colleges. The following table is an indication of the relative urban and rural distribution of the ethnic groups of Malaysia:

Table 1 Distribution of Ethnic Groups by locations

	Urban	Rural	Total
Malay	1,359 (21.3%)	5,025 (78.7%)	6,358 (53.9%)
Chinese	2,234 (54.0%)	1,902 (46.0%)	4,136 (34.9%)
Indian	508 (41.0%)	731 (59.0%)	1,239 (10.5%)
Others	49 (52.2%)	43 (47.8%)	90 (0.7%)
Total	4,148 (35.0%)	7,701 (65.0%)	11,849 (100.0%)

(Malaysia, Government of, Fourth Malaysian Plan, Kuala Lumpur: Govt. Printer, 1981. p. 28)

We can infer from Table I that the enrolment of rural Malay pupils is greater than their counterparts in the urban areas. It would be of no exaggeration to say that most of these rural Malay pupils come into contact with English language only during the four hours of English lessons per week (refer to Table 2). The only English they read is mainly from their English textbooks. On the other hand, their counterparts in the urban areas live in an environment still full of potential situations where English is and could be used in everyday communication, e.g. with friends, in the commercial sector, with tourists, in the media, and so on.

To the rural child, English is a foreign language which he encounters for the first time when he goes to school. A nationwide survey by the Southeast Asia Research Organization SEAMEO in 1984 reported that the majority of Malaysian students who did not like to use English and therefore fared poorly in public examinations are those from the rural areas, living far from the city proper, in villages and settlements where Malay is the most commonly used medium of communication, the others being dialects of the same language.

Table 2 Time Allocation in English in the Malaysian Schools

The time allocated to the teaching of English in the school system in Peninsular Malaysia and in the East Malaysian states is as follows:

In National primary schools:

240 mins. per week for standards 1 to 3.

250 mins per week for standard 4.

300 mins. per week for standards 5 and 6.

In National-type primary schools (Chinese and Tamil):

120 mins. per week for standard 3.

160 mins. per week for standard 4.

200 mins. per week for standard 5 and 6.

In Secondary Schools:

200 mins. per week for remove Class.

240 mins. per week for forms I-III.

200 mins. per week for Form IV and V.

(cited by Nesamalar Chitravelu, research Report for the United States Information Agency, 1985 p.13)

Subramaniam (1981) has made a study of a selected sample of Fifth-formers Malay-medium pupils' perception of the value of the English language and their reasons for liking or disliking the study of English in school. An analysis of the students' statements seemed to show certain characteristics.

"...pupils who liked learning the English language were aware of the role of English as an international language and believed in the need to acquire it..those who displayed a strong dislike for the subject seemed to harbour the fear that English may usurp the place of Bahasa Malaysia..the extreme view was that English, being the language of the colonial masters should be done away with."

(Subramaniam, 1981 p. 33)

Taylor (1977) states that this kind of extremist viewpoint may have its roots in the threat second-language learning poses for ethnic identity.

"For some, the positive instrumental and integrative rewards which accrue from becoming bilingual may be overshadowed by the threat second-language learning poses for ethnic identity. For others it may be that a major barrier to bilingualism is negative attitudes towards members of the other group."

(Taylor, 1977:p.56)

Some of the students were quite aware of the "instrumental" incentives for learning English, to use Gardner and Lambert's (1972) terms. They accepted the fact that English language had a significant role in the acquisition of knowledge and in tertiary education. Students who aspire to go overseas were convinced of the need for English. They were also aware that English was the door to reference books and materials and for the pursuit of degree courses at the local institutions of higher learning. They did not deny the important role of English in national development, especially in the fields of science and technology.

However, those students who were unfavourably disposed towards the subject had misgivings about the value of English. The extreme point of view was that ~~the~~ progress for the nation was

not dependent on English and that it was possible for a person to further his education without a knowledge of English.

The general lack of motivation to learn the second-language gets extended to reading books written in that language as well. Hence, the English language teacher has the tremendous task of having to motivate these students to learn the language and to develop their reading and learning skills through that same language for their own future academic and professional advancement and for the development of the nation as a whole.

The lack of integrative motivation is enhanced by lack of extrinsic or instrumental motivation. One needs only to take English as a subject but one does not have to get a pass in it for purposes of certification both at Form III as well as at Form V level. Hence English is relegated to "least important language" since the need for English in job situations seems so remote in the face of the examinations that loom so close and which are regarded as so crucial in the Malaysian society.

1.5.2 Inappropriate Syllabus

It is felt that the syllabus, particularly at the lower secondary level was overloaded, the contents were too diverse and generally

beyond the grasp of the majority of the students. This has given rise to a major preoccupation among most teachers - to "cover the syllabus" rather than to teach effectively at the level of capability of the students. Teachers, therefore, often select only skills that feature prominently in examinations. One feature in the syllabus also assumed that the student would have acquired all the linguistic competence required - in terms of the grammatical structures and vocabulary needed - by the time he reaches Form IV. All he needs to acquire at the upper secondary level is communication competence using the repertoire of language he already has. However:

"Most teachers feel that their experience with students invalidates this assumption since most students do not have the necessary linguistic competence to cope with the demands of the communication tasks set in the Form IV -V syllabus".

(Chitravelu, 1985:p.20)

It is also felt that the tasks of the upper secondary teacher would be simplified if the specific structures in the lower secondary syllabus which realize the communicative functions specified in the upper secondary syllabus were spelt out rather than left to the teacher to locate.

In the primary schools there are now two syllabuses, the New Syllabuses (KBSR) which are more communicative in their approach in their fourth year of implementation and the old post 1970

Primary Syllabuses which are now only used in the upper primary and progressively being phased out. However, this syllabus has been criticized for taking "the rural child" as its norm and therefore it is unsuitable for the children in suburban and urban centers. This is because the syllabus is either too low a level and the children in the more urban areas felt as though they are marking time, waiting for their peers in the rural areas to catch up with them. This problem is further enhanced by poor implementation of the syllabus. The KBSR syllabus provides for flexibility by specifying a complementary enrichment programme along with the main syllabus. This enrichment programme, would allow teachers of both better classes and better students to arrange a richer and more complex learning curriculum for their advanced students. This enrichment programme has not, except for a few not very interesting supplementary readers, materialized into an effective course of activities.

Another problem relates to the terms in which the syllabus is specified. The organising principle of the syllabus is its flexibility of use, but of necessity the structure and the vocabulary to be learnt and the topics to be covered in a year are listed in a sequence, and the sequence in which the syllabus spells out the linguistic items is plaster-cast by schools as the sequence in which the items have to be taught. In fact, a textbook ordered to be written by the Ministry was criticized by the teacher-users for its lack of strict adherence to the

sequence of the syllabus. This last problem is related to two other perennial problems in Malaysian education - insufficient communicational links between the participants in the educational mix and the lag in thinking between the curriculum planners and those who implement it at grass roots level.

1.5.3 Insufficient Communication between Teachers and Ministry

Curriculum innovation and change is always initiated from the top in Malaysia. Perhaps this is understandable given the almost monolithic nature of the organization of education here. But many of the good decisions made at the top find few resonances at the school level. To cite just a few examples. The syllabuses for the primary, lower secondary and upper secondary are all seen by the Ministry as integral components of a single and continuous course of study, but at school level these are all seen as discrete and isolated. Some people blame headmasters for this breakdown in communication. They claim that either for the sake of the administrative expediency or because of the unwillingness to make the effort to understand new thinking, the headmasters often deliberately chose to misinterpret the Ministry's stand. Another complaint of teachers, headmasters and publishers is that new syllabuses are usually unilaterally sprung on them without their advice on their content and implementation ever being sought.

1.5.4 Poor Infrastructure

Some educationists in Malaysia believe that one serious problem in Malaysian education is that the educational planners here often choose the finest and latest approaches to education overseas for adoption into our system without paying sufficient attention to the existing facilities in Malaysia. Malaysia was among the pioneers of the communicational approach to language teaching when she translated the newest theories of sociologists and linguists like Halliday, Hymes and Wilkins into the communicational syllabus for Forms IV and V in 1975 for implementation in 1976. The syllabus, it is now felt by most educators, is sound as it is based on a communicational need analysis. However, at the time of its implementation none of the infrastructure necessary to ensure its successful implementation was there. There weren't any linguistic resource books in the way traditional grammar teaching had resource books because the work of describing the various communicative functions and their linguistic realizations was still only at the stage of inception.

When the program was launched in 1976 there were no textbooks for teachers to fall back on. This was particularly disastrous for several reasons. One, most Malaysian teachers have little experience and confidence in devising their own activities to teach items on a syllabus. The history of teaching approaches in Malaysia can quite safely be described by looking at the

textbooks used at different stages in Malaysian history as teachers rely almost exclusively on prescribed textbooks. Two, there was little, if any, teacher reorientation. Few teachers understood the pedagogic philosophy behind the syllabus and fewer had actually seen or used the kind of materials the syllabus prescribed. The same infrastructural problem dogs the KBSR syllabus. There was little teacher-training before the syllabus was introduced, there is no prescribed textbook for Standard 1 and the sets of Ministry prepared resource materials are insufficient especially in schools where there are several classes per level. The teacher-student ratio presupposed in the syllabus is 3 teachers to 2 classes. This ratio is not met anywhere in Malaysia. The smaller class size required is also not feasible because of shortage of space (cited by Chitravelu, 1985 p.23). The approach, because it does not specify any tried and therefore safe set of linguistic features, presupposes higher teacher proficiency and innovativeness but teacher quality is often far from ideal in the Malaysian primary school.

1.5.5 Textbooks

The textbooks used in the schools both at the primary and secondary levels, it is felt, are unsuitable. The books are uninspiring in their content and unattractive in their presentation. They contain exercises which are outmoded and unsuitable for current examination requirements. Teachers feel a

revision of these textbooks is long overdue.

"The new textbook should take into account ~~of~~ the larger number of poor students and the cultural interest of East Malaysians in the kind of activities they present."

(Nesamalar, Chitravelu, 1985:p.22)

More workbooks particularly for remedial grammar work at upper secondary level is seen as a necessity. Another complaint of teachers is that textbooks that are found to be unsuitable cannot easily be replaced by more suitable ones because of the bookloan scheme (where books are loaned out to students of poor financial standing) regulations which require the use of the same book over a number of years.

1.5.6 Resource Materials

The general consensus is that textbooks are either insufficient or unsuitable or both. There is, therefore, a need for teacher-constructed or other supplementary material. Given the heavy workload of English teachers, the materials are more than not a makeshift variety often confined to the use of an individual teacher. There is very little concerted effort (and perhaps expertise) to set up school resource rooms. School libraries too have few reference books for teachers to imitate or model their efforts on or to consult to clarify a linguistic or pedagogic point.

The handbooks and Resource Kit prepared by the Ministry are generally found to be useful but insufficient. Some of the ideas in the lower secondary handbooks which were prepared more than ten years ago are now outmoded and generally out of step with the approach to English Language teaching in the rest of the school curriculum.

1.5.7 Shortage of English teachers and specialists in ESL

The teacher training division of the Ministry of Education (BPG) is responsible for the training of teachers of English in Malaysia. BPG recruits about 1,300 to 1,500 trainees for the TESL course each year. 75% of these are for primary schools (PSR) and the remaining 25% are for the lower secondary schools (PSM). 26 teacher-training colleges, 4 in Sabah and 3 in Sarawak undertake this massive task.

In the 3-year general teacher-training program the trainees are given only 6 hours a week for the TESL component—2 hours for the general improvement of their own English language proficiency and 4 hours for methodology. A majority of lecturers, however, are of the opinion that 6 hours a week is not enough time to train competent English Language teachers. For the primary group the problem of shortage of time is aggravated by the fact that the training given is for a general-purpose teacher and not for an English specialist.

In general terms, there are 3 broad categories of trainees in the colleges. One third are the Malaysian Secondary School Certificate in Advanced English (coded 1119) holders, another third consists of those who have a distinction or good credit at Malaysian Secondary School Certificate of English (coded 322) level. Yet another third (some claim 40%) are people with poor credits or a mere pass for the English 322 Exam. In fact it has been suggested by professionals in the field that a month long intensive pre-session English course be made compulsory for all trainees who opted for English. One problem that the EPG now faces and which may get progressively worse over the years is the shortage of suitably qualified applicants for the teacher-training programme. Last year, the number of places available was 1,500 but there were only 1,200 applicants for the places.

Upper secondary teachers are drawn from University English graduates. There is a one-year Diploma in Education program conducted by the Faculty of Education in the University of Malaya. There is a degree course in TESL at the Faculty of Education, in the University of Agriculture and there is another degree course at the Science University in Penang (Northern state of Malaysia). All these courses however, now face the problem of obtaining suitably qualified candidates for their courses.

1.5.8 Quality of Teachers

The majority of teachers teaching English today, with the exception of course, of the professionally trained, and English (Malaysian) speaking teachers, provide a very poor model of English to the students. These teachers themselves need further training, and want very much to undergo the training given the opportunity. Some English teachers learned English as a subject and they themselves find it extremely difficult to converse in English. They are thus very dependent on the textbooks and the teachers' guide.

Apart from the problems related to the quality of teacher-education in Malaysia and the low English language proficiency of some trained teachers, there is also the problem of shortage of teachers as a survey conducted by the Ministry between 1981 and 1982 has shown. It was found that most schools had a fair distribution of trained English teachers. However, a good many of these teachers were teachers whose main teaching options were not English. In some cases, teachers who had never gone through an English course or taught English before were compelled to teach the language. It was also felt that in-service courses were necessary to help teachers keep abreast of current thinking and techniques in English Language teaching. This finding is confirmed by a study conducted by the Curriculum Development Centre (1985) involving 3 states, 4 districts and 8 schools with

163 teachers and 4 district office personnel. The 163 teachers in this study had an average of 8 years teaching experience but only 48 of them had any form of in-service training. One teacher who had 16 years of teaching had not attended a single-in-service course since she left college (cited by Chitravelu , 1985 p.23)

A 1985 survey shows that the teacher situation was not getting any better.

"In one state, out of a total of 3,958 teachers, 557 did not even have English qualification at school leaving level. 1,978 were not English optionist at all. In fact only 642 out of the 3,958 were English majors. In another more rural state, out of a total of 349 teachers, only 32 were English majors, 169 were not English optionists at all, 125 only had low passes at SPM level and 35 had no English qualification at all."

(Chitravelu, 1985:p.24)

The morale among English teachers too is generally low since motivation for learning English is low and little support is given to English teachers of other subjects or by parents. In a survey done by Chitravelu (1985) with 80 in-service teachers, it was found that only 10% of parents actually encouraged children to learn English.

A further problem especially in rural schools is the high turnover of teachers. In Sabah, for instance, teachers teaching English in secondary schools are frequently from West Malaysia, having just left college. They stay for the compulsory number of years and then frequently return to West Malaysia. Hence just as they are really becoming experienced they leave Sabah, making Sabah, as one educationist put it, "rather like an extended teaching practice area" (Chitravelu, 1985). The same sentiment was also expressed by a State Education officer in one of the eastern states of Peninsular Malaysia when he said that his state is "one of the biggest exporters of experienced teachers". In one rural state in the north, 215 of the 350 teacher population had actually been transferred from the school in which they were teaching between the years 1980 and 1984.

Yet another problem is shortage of teachers especially in the primary schools. The Mid-Term Review of the Fourth Malaysian Plan 1983 reports that "the shortage of teachers at primary level will continue to deteriorate from a need of 9,200 in 1983 to the high demand for 17,300 teachers in 1985.

1.6 Steps taken by University of Malaya

In view of all these problems, the University of Malaya decided to set up a Language Center on campus to deal with all the various linguistic problems which the students may face upon

their entrance to the university setting. I will now attempt to describe the role of the Language Center and its activities in the following section of this chapter. The last section however will focus on a profile of the subjects of my study, the Malay students at University of Malaya.

1.6.1 The Language Center of the University of Malaya

The Language Center of the University of Malaya was established in March, 1972. The primary raison d'etre for the Language Center was to organize and conduct the teaching of Bahasa Malaysia for the non-Malays and the teaching of English for the Malay-medium students. Later, as the teaching of other languages, Asian and European, has already been instituted for some year in the Faculty of Arts, it was felt that the Center should also take into its responsibility the teaching of such languages.

Since 1965, the Bahasa Malaysia medium students admitted into the University of Malaya have been taking English as a compulsory subject. Before 1972, the teaching of English language was organized by the Faculty of Arts. At the time, there had been no clear definition on the aims of teaching the English language. The teaching of the language was conducted in schools, aiming for an overall proficiency in the two years provided for the students to learn English, with not more than a hundred hours of teaching

in a year. With two hundred hours of English at the university level, the students found that they did not progress any further than what they had achieved during their school days. They could not speak English well, nor could they read their textbooks, let alone write essays in the language. In the context of the Malaysian Language Planning, the students at that time realized that their need to learn English was more to enable them to read their textbooks but not so much as to speak the language like the English medium stream, in the examinations. Their position could be remedied if they could only read and understand their textbooks even though they might not be able to express themselves in English.

Regarding the study of English at the Language Center, the Report of the Board of Studies on Department of Languages, University of Malaya, September 1971 (p.15) states that:

"In the case of the English Language, the primary purpose is to enable students to achieve sufficient skill in comprehension of the language so that it may be used as a tool to gain access to texts and articles written in English. There is thus an urgent need to provide first-year students from non-English medium schools with facilities to gain proficiency in the comprehension of the language..."

It is this definite goal - the ability to comprehend what is read - that became the core of the English Language Center since its establishment in March 1972. This goal is in line with the Language Policy of the University of Malaya itself and with the

National Education Policy. The University of Malaya has all the time been fully aware that the students cannot achieve much in acquiring all the four skills of language in two hundred hours of teaching. Owing to this, priority must be given in the choice of the skills that must be given emphasis to, and the most relevant choice is the reading skills - reading and comprehending. There is no denying that the ideal language teaching is one which is geared towards proficiency in all four skills, but in the present situation, taking into view the limited time of teaching English, this type of language teaching is not feasible at the University level.

Perhaps, if the task of teaching English at the school level is performed well, then the universities can do their part in improving the students' language. In this context, the former Minister of Education, Tuan Haji Muhammad bin Yaacob, in his speech at the University of Malaya on 18th March, 1974, stated that "the problem of teaching English to the Bahasa Malaysia medium students should have been solved at the school level so that the universities would not have to waste their time on this particular problem and hence could devote their time to other fields of study".

In the context of the country's Language Planning, the teaching

of English and Bahasa Malaysia will have to continue from the primary right through the tertiary level of education. There has been the opinion that the teaching of English at the University level will have to continue, but the teaching of Bahasa Malaysia after 1983 (the year of the full implementation of Bahasa Malaysia in the schools) will be confined to the foreigners only, as it is assumed that by that year, Malaysian students and the teaching of Bahasa Malaysia would be redundant for them at the university level.

The teaching of English at the university level in Malaysia is geared towards the teaching of English for special purposes. This is an extension of the reading comprehension syllabus. The University of Malaya is a good advocator of this type of English language teaching and is conducting a project known as the University of Malaya English for Special Purpose project (UMESPP) as an important item in its English programme. The UMESPP is a special feature in the teaching of English Language at the University of Malaya and ESP is also a feature of Language Planning in Malaysia.

1.7. Subject' Profile

1.7.1 Educational setting

University applications are processed by Central Admission Unit (UPU). Admission is on the basis of the SPM/STPM results and in

addition there are racial and geographical quotas. For entry to a specific Faculty passes in relevant subjects are required. In 1981 44,000 pupils sat for the STPM/HSC but there are only 7,000 places in the local universities.

University of Malaya has a total of about 8,000 students and this is expected to remain stable. It was established as a national University in 1962 and was previously part of the University of Malaya in Singapore. It has faculties of Engineering, Arts, Science, Medicine, Education, Economics and Administration, Dentistry and Law, a computer center, a Language Center, a Basic Science Center and a University Hospital, a Cultural Center, and an Institute for Higher Studies. The executive body of the University is the Council and the academic body of the Senate. There are three Deputy Vice-Chancellors, for Student Affairs, Development and Establishment/Administration respectively.

1.7.1.1 Summary of English course design at University of Malaya

1. Law courses :
 - i) An intensive course in legal English (ICLE) of approximately 200 hours (7 weeks at 30 hpw) for:
 - a) 3rd/4th year undergraduates.
 - b) professionals (e.g. magistrates requiring further trainings)
 - ii) A pre-ICLE set of teacher-directed self-access materials (50 hours).
 - iii) A set of remedial teacher-directed self-access materials to be incorporated in

ICLE for students needing to repeat the course.

2. Aims: Course will be based centrally on the skills of producing and interpreting spoken English required by magistrates. These skills will be developed sufficiently generally so as to prepare students for other branches of the law including private practice and work as DPP.
3. Assessment : An entry test plus an exit test which will entitle successful students to a certificate in legal English awarded after graduation.

Economics/Arts faculty

1. Courses :
 - i) An intensive course in spoken skills for occupational purposes (OP) in business and administration of approximately 100 hours (4 weeks at 25 hwp) for graduates and other professionals working at junior executive levels.
 - ii) An extensive course of about 96 hours (22-24 weeks at 4 hwp) plus 39 hours self-access/tutorials for pre-occupational purposes (POP) to be given to final year undergraduates in the Faculties of Arts and Economics.
 - iii) Each course would consist of a number of modules allowing flexibility in the design of courses of varying degrees of length and intensity and providing the basis for tailor-made courses.
2. Aim : The OP course would concentrate on the skills required for activities in banking, business and public administration.

The OP course would provide groundwork in relevant language skills, develop skills required for entry to the professions and for professional pre-service and in service training.

3. Assessment: Both courses would have an entry test : for placement on the POP course and to qualify for the OP course (exemption for the latter would be given to students who had successfully completed POP). The OP course would lead to a certificate in English for Professional Purposes.

1.7.2 Course descriptions of target faculties

The Faculties of economics and Arts have three-year degree

courses (except for Accounting which is four years) but are considering setting up a 4-year programme: Law has a four year degree course. The Arts Faculty contains the Departments of : Anthropology and Sociology, History, Geography, English, Indian, Islamic, Malay and Chinese studies and S.E. Asian Studies. Economics/Administration, Analytical and Applied Economics, Public Administration, Rural Development, Statistics and Accounting.

Approximate numbers of students in the three faculties are as follows:

Faculty	Economics/ Administration			Arts			Law			
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4
Year	400	430	370	700	710	740	100	50	50	50
Total	1200			2150			250			

(cited from UMSEP Research for Course Development 1971 pp. 4).

Entry to the Law Faculty is thus highly competitive

The majority of students are privately financed. The approximate number of scholarship holders in each Faculty is:

Economics / Administration	630
Arts	950
Law	125

1.7.3 English setting teaching experience

Typically a student entering University will have 11 years of English, from entering Primary School to the Upper Secondary

school, but in practice this varies. It is unlikely that students will have taken English in the sixth form so their most recent school experience will have been two years in the Upper secondary classes using the communicational syllabus. This, unlike the structural syllabuses it follows, is organized around 'communication tasks' involving skills development within situations. The syllabus is geared to the supposed needs of school leavers rather than of those entering tertiary education. It is not necessary to pass the English paper in order to obtain the SPM certificate. Standards and attitudes vary considerably between urban and rural schools with the latter having generally poorer teaching, considerable experience of failure in English language learning and unfavourable attitudes towards it.

1.7.4 Proficiency in English

In 1980 a spoken English project team (UMSEP) sought to establish the entry point proficiency of candidates for their course in the University of Malaya. They used the British English Proficiency Test Battery (Short Version Form D, Davies and Alderson) more popularly referred to as the EPTB. The following is the guide given to the interpretation of scores obtained on the EPTB (English Proficiency Test Battery).

Total score

Below 34.0 - insufficient English to follow a course. A minimum of 6 months full-time English tuition will be needed.

34.6 - 39.9 - candidate will probably need some preliminary intensive tuition to improve his ability in English. The period of tuition may vary from 4 to 24 weeks.

40.0 and over - should have sufficient English to follow a course in this subject in Britain.

The findings was that 57.3% of the candidates fell in the score range "below 34.0", 24% fell in the range of "34.0 - 39.9" and only 18.7% fell in the range of "40.0 and above".

The findings, therefore, are that generally the standard of proficiency achieved is not sufficient to meet the English language demands made in Malaysian society today. However this statement needs qualification. The standard achieved is not "generally" good enough but there are instances of excellent proficiency. Children of many English-medium parents use good English. The children who emerge from the premier schools in the large towns often have excellent English. This has been borne out in tertiary institutions and in the job market. The University of Malaya exempts about 15% of its intake each year from all English classes as they are deemed to have enough English for all their needs in the university. The percentage of passes in the English SPM 322 has also been reported to have gone up from 2% (1980) initially to 4% (1981). In 1982 the passes rose to 8% and in 1984, it was 20% (cited from Chitravelu, 1985 p. 76). But with the SPM English 322 paper being norm-referenced, this can hardly be used to say that performance is improving. And even if we

accept on the face of it that standards are improving, this still leaves us with the abysmal statistic of a 34% pass in 1985 which indicates that more than half of school leavers have not even achieved the minimum level of achievements expected in the program. I believed that a large number of students with credits in the English 322 paper are still unable to communicate in English. The general consensus among the lecturers in the University of Malaya also agrees with my claim that the school system does not adequately prepare students for their needs in the university. In any case, roughly 80% to 90% of the students at the University of Malaya still do not get past the English exemption examinations given by the universities (cited from findings given by Chitravelu, 1985 p. 88). The students are especially poor in oral skills as indicated by the results of my pilot study.

1.7.4.1 English in the target faculties

Arts and Economics students with a credit in English at SPM level are exempted from English courses. In Law, English is compulsory for all Malay-medium students. There are also exemption tests during the year in Law and Economics and students failing the final examination are allowed to resit once as long as marks in their main subjects are satisfactory.

In the Arts faculty, English language courses are one component out of 10 (unit system). In Economics and Law, English is a requirement which has to be met for a student to pass a year or graduate. In Law, failure is rare but in Economics it does occur - in 1980, 8 students had to repeat a year through failure in English.

In Arts, English courses occupy 4 hours per week (hpw) in years 1, 2 and 3. In Economics 6 hours per week in years 1 and 2 and in Law, in year 1, 4 hpw, in year 2 and 3 hpw in year 3.

The basis of all courses is UMESPP Reading for Academic Study, supplemented in Economics and Law by subject-specific materials. There is rough streaming according to their English scores on their SPM/MCE level and to previous class grades. Examinations are devised by teachers and vetted by course co-ordinators. There is some discussion of the need for a pre UMESPP course for weaker students.

Courses for all faculties are provided by Pusat Bahasa and take place in the faculties concerned. English language staff, under the Chairman of the English Language Division, number 40 lecturers with Masters in a relevant field and about 25 teachers with relevant first degrees. In addition there are a small number

(4 to 5) of part-timers. Maximum teaching loads are 20 hours per week but normal teaching loads are 8-12 hours per week for lecturers and 16 hwp for teachers with reduction for administrative duties.

1.7.5 Subjects' psychosocio-cultural background

The majority of students entering university are in the 18-20 age group (about 65% in the target Faculties). Mature students (over 24) are most numerous in the Arts Faculty where they represent about 20%. Male students are slightly in the majority - about 60% in the target faculties. Overall, the University has about 55% Malay students, 37% Chinese and 6% Indian. In terms of geographical background, numbers are fairly evenly distributed across the States - there are only about 6% from Sarawak and Sabah, however, and less than 1% from overseas.

No figures are available on the number of students from different income groups but it is clear that the most important distinction is that noted by the UMESPP team between students from urban and rural backgrounds. It is commonly noted that the rural students have more difficulties in adapting to university life and have more problem of self-confidence and in mixing with other students.

The following is the conclusions of a study conducted in 1971 by the staff of the UMSEP to investigate the Malay students' psycho-social factors based on the students' own responses:

- 1) Students use more English for non-role-related activities than role-related activities.
- 2) Law students use more English than Economics students who in turn use more English than Arts students.
- 3) Students consider themselves to be weaker in the skills of speaking and writing than in reading or understanding speech, speaking being judged the most difficult of all.
- 4) Students from the Law Faculty were more confident of their performance in English than those from Economics, who in turn were more confident than those in Arts.
- 5) Major problems with oral/aural skills were judged to be: understanding different accents; lack of vocabulary; incorrect grammar; hesitation and shyness.
- 6) Preferred classroom teaching techniques include: discussions; group work and teacher-centred grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary work.

(cited from the UMSEP Research for Course Development 1971 pp 10) .

Thus, these are the profiles of the students enrolled at the University of Malaya and their language situations at the start of my study. The various communication strategies that they used in their daily interaction as well as during the tests which I have conducted during the respective intervals and the underlying reasons behind their usage will be further discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 2 gives a survey of literature and research in the field and examines the basic concepts and terminologies in the study of

CS. A detailed account of the data and modus operandi of the present study is presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 gives a classification of the various CSs with illustrative examples and provides the rationale behind the classification created for the study. Chapter 5 reports the findings of the study and the final chapter, Chapter 6 looks into relevance of the findings to language learning and teaching and suggests some further directions for research.

Chapter 2

The Study of Communication Strategies -- Literature Review

2.1. Communication Strategies (CS)

The term "Communication Strategy" was first invoked by Selinker (1972) in his paper entitled "Interlanguage" to account for certain classes of errors made by the learners of a second language. Since then, there has been a steady increase of interest in the learner's communication strategies. Research in second language learner's communicative strategies has provided an elaborate framework for analyzing how learners manage to convey their meanings and messages in spite of their limited "knowledge" of the target language. This area would be particularly useful to the second language learning setting. Bialystok (1984:37) gives perhaps the best rationale for including communication strategies as part of learning and use of second language:

"Psychologically...delineation of such strategies will provide access to the mental processes responsible for acquisition. Linguistically, ...strategies used by learners inform us of the learner's hypotheses about language - what is taken to be universal, what is subject to awareness and so forth. Pedagogically, the intention is to instruct language learners in the strategies that have been shown to be effective for others in simplifying the imposing task of language learning."

2.2 Investigative Studies on CS

Varadi 1973 was the first to investigate the phenomenon of CS experimentally and his seminal work on Hungarian learners of

English not only provided the starting point for several subsequent studies but also established a general framework for the definition, identity and typology of CS. Tarone, Cohen and Dumas claim to have 'redefined and operationalized in a detailed manner the notion of communication strategy, a central component of Interlanguage' (1976:85). Tarone, in three subsequent papers (1977, 1980, 1981), further established the identity of CS as well as the criteria for characterizing them, and in Tarone 1980 and 1981 actually evolves an interactional approach to defining them (see 2.3). Klaus Faerch, who initiated a massive study of CS at the University of Copenhagen in Denmark¹, evolved, in collaboration with Gabriele Kasper, a somewhat different approach relating CS to a psycholinguistic model which subsumes Tarone's interactional model (see Faerch and Kasper 1980, 1984).

A number of other studies have also investigated various aspects of CS. Galvan and Campbell 1979 have studied the CSs of children in a Spanish Immersion program and found that certain types of CSs were dependent on the nature of the task. Bialystok and Frölich 1980 and Paribakht 1982 have attempted to relate the type of CS to proficiency level and/or experimental task. Fakhri 1984 has tentatively shown the relation between the use of CS and discourse genre, and even laughter has been studied as a CS by Palmberg 1979a, who along with Ervin 1979 investigated the intelligibility of the CSs to the hearers. Tarone 1980 has tried to relate research on CS to research on foreigner talk and repair

in IL. Bialystok 1983 studied the conditions that bring about a preference for optimal use of strategies (that is, which strategy, when and to what effect), Bialystok and Frohlich 1980 and Poulisse 1981 have found that appropriate and effective application of CS presupposed a certain minimum proficiency level. Limited knowledge of the target language not only appeared to preclude (in terms of type) but also to reduce (in terms of frequency) the use of certain communication strategies that required that knowledge (Paribakht 1984). Canale and Swain 1980 have made out a case for strategic competence, that is, the ability to use language effectively in spite of formal limitations, to be considered a part of communicative competence. Tarone and Yule 1983 have explored the relationship between the use of CS and the cultural background of the learners, and Paribakht 1985a argues for a strategic focus for L2 teaching and curriculum design. The Nijmegen Project in Holland explores the relation between Compensatory Strategies (CpS) and foreign language proficiency level and determined the relative communicative effectiveness of various types of Compensatory Strategies (Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman 1984) .

2.3 Defining Communication strategies

The task of defining CS has become complicated by the absence of precise defining criteria and also by the denotational ambiguity of terms like strategy and process as aspects of IL behaviour.

There are two major existing approaches to establishing defining criteria and two major attempts have been made to provide comprehensive definition. There have also been attempts to resolve the differences between these two approaches and also between the significations of process and strategy (see 2.3.2).

2.3.1 Defining Criteria.

There have been two major attempts to systematically lay down precise defining criteria for CSs -- by Faerch and Kasper 1983b and Tarone 1980.

Faerch and Kasper 1983b hold that there need to be no necessary distinction between plans, strategies, planning processes and resulting plans and strategies, since all these (so they argue) can be a function of the investigator's *erkenntnisinteresse* (loosely translatable as theoretical orientation). According to their own orientation, they identify strategies as a subclass of plans and adopt problem-orientedness as a primary defining criterion and consciousness as a secondary defining criterion. This primary-secondary distinction is important to them, since the secondary criterion derives out of the primary. Communicative goals are seen by them as either problematic or problem-free, and strategies are used in the realization of problematic goals. The goal of a strategy thus is the solution of a problem, as distinct

from the more global communicative goal, which is the transfer of message. Strategies therefore presuppose the existence of problems in communication, either in the planning phase owing to inadequate linguistic knowledge or in the execution phase owing to difficulties of retrieval. The communicator then consciously tries to solve the problem by use of the strategies. The secondary criterion of consciousness, however, is much more complex in that it is neither a measurable nor a quantifiable entity, neither is it invariant across all individuals or even with the same individual at all times. In fact, in language behaviour it is virtually impossible to maintain a binary distinction between conscious and unconscious. Rather, all language behaviour is likely to be a continuum between the two, and it is not so much whether one is conscious or not as whether how much or to what degree one is conscious. Moreover, even if the learner is conscious of a language problem in communication; it is by no means certain that the potential or actual use of a CS is conscious (see Poulisse et al 1984).

Language behaviour is a mixture of unconscious automatization and conscious improvisation of associating form with content and the extent of automatization is a direct correlate of linguistic competence (McLaughlin, Rossman and McLeod 1983). There is also some evidence for the existence of automatized pre-fabricated patterns in the linguistic repertoire of native speakers (Hakuta 1976, Pawley and Syder 1983) ³, which shows that some forms of

speech behaviour are 'extra-conscious'. Besides, the existence and exercise of consciousness on the part of a speaker is normally assessed by the analyst by making the speaker introspect on his speech performance and the validity of this process itself has recently been questioned (Bialystok 1984). It is all these factors, particularly the dubious role of consciousness, that lead Faerch and Kasper (cited in 2.3.3) to define CS as 'potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem'.

Tarone 1981 accepts the arguments that consciousness is an unreliable criterion since it is more a matter of degree than a binary matter, and she prefers to avoid using it to define CS. She proposes the following criteria (Tarone 1980:419) to characterize a CS:

1. A speaker desires to communicate a meaning X to a listener
2. The speaker believes the linguistic or sociolinguistic structure desired to communicate meaning X is unavailable or is not shared with the listener.
3. The speaker chooses to:
 - a. avoid -- not attempt to communicate meaning X or
 - b. attempt alternate means to communicate meaning X. The speaker stops trying alternatives when it seems to the speaker that there is shared meaning.

Scholars and rese^rchers in the field seem to be moving towards a consensus by attempting the three features of **problematicity**, **consciousness** and **intentionality** as criterial for defining CSs. Even so, the definitional constraints still require more rigorous fine tuning, and the complex relations between strategies and

processes on the one hand and between CSs and other kinds of learner strategies on the other have to be better delineated.

2.3.2. Strategy Versus Process

There is much debate and little agreement in the literature about the distinction between constructs such as 'process', 'strategy', 'plan', 'technique' etc. and even where a consensus on this distinction can be reached, there is still confusion about the definition of 'strategy'.

As Ellis (1985) succinctly remarks:

Peering into the 'black box' to identify the different learner strategies at work in SLA is rather like stumbling blindfold around a room to find a hidden object..Researchers differ in the frameworks they provide, because of the problems of identifying and classifying the psycholinguistic events that underlie learning and use. They devote considerable effort to the problems of definition, for the same reason.
(p.188)

Accepting then, that this is a new field of enquiry and that we are dealing here with psychological imponderables, immensely difficult to observe or investigate, let us nonetheless look at some of the distinctions drawn between process and strategy by various researchers. Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1983) remark that the two terms have often been used interchangeably in the SLA

literature, as if they referred to the same phenomena. Indeed, they themselves admit to doing this in an earlier work, where they state, "simplification" is understood as the act of simplifying, the strategy of communication, the process whereby specific meanings are communicated on specific occasions". (1977:52)

In a later study, however, Blum-Kulka and Levenston define a strategy as "the way the learner arrives at a certain usage at a specific point in time" and a process as "the systematic series of steps by which the learner arrives at the same usage over time". (1978a:402). This idea of a temporal criterion to distinguish process from strategy is illustrated by the assumption that if a learner uses a specific expression traceable to his mother tongue once only, this can be seen as a strategy of transfer in his interlanguage. But if this same expression is repeated by the learner in the same context over a period of time, then it can be said that this aspect of the learner's interlanguage is the result of a process of transfer. Blum-Kulka and Levenston further point out (1983) that strategies can either initiate process or can be situation bound i.e. purely "one-off" productions.

Strategy, thus, is a one-time thing, repetitions of which are reinforced into a set of tendency, generalizing and/or

fossilizing into a process. My personal feelings on this matter is that the division drawn by most linguists to differentiate the two is quite arbitrary since there is more to the issue than the criterion-frequency of use. If a strategy is used more than once, can we really say for certain that it is truly a process and not a strategy ?

This distinction, as Blum-Kulka and Levenston point out, has 'methodological consequences'. In this view the distinction between processes and strategies is not necessarily one of + consciousness. Blum-Kulka and Levenstone 1983:125) conclude that:

Processes are the underlying cognitive principles we are searching for in analysing strategies. Processes are inferrable from strategies, just as strategies are inferrable from spoken and written interlanguage performance. (p.125)

In short, processes exist at a deeper level and are abstractable from strategies just as strategies are inferrable from IL performance. The authors point out that something like lexical simplification, for instance, is always a communicative strategy when used by a native speaker teacher, but with the learners it could be either a CS or an indication of the process of overgeneralization/ fossilization. In any case this distinction is an important one for Blum-Kulka and Levenstone, for their typology of CSs of lexical simplification is based on this distinction between process and strategy (see 2.5 below)

Rubin (1981) also attempts to distinguish between cognitive strategies and cognitive processes in second language learning. She takes the definition used in psychology for the term 'learning'; that is, the process by which storage and retrieval of information is achieved and goes on to say that:

Cognitive processes are those general categories of actions which contribute directly to the learning processes. Cognitive strategies are the specific actions which contribute directly to the learning process (p. 118)

Bialystok (1983) states the problem categorically:

...there is little consensus in the literature concerning either the definition or the identification of language learning strategies. Moreover there is little agreement as to which behaviours are not strategies but more properly belong to the domain of language 'processes'
p. 100)

She quotes the example of Selinker (1972) who postulates five psycholinguistic processes which are central to second language learning : These are:

- 1) language transfer
- 2) transfer of training
- 3) strategies of second language learning
- 4) strategies of second language communication
- 5) overgeneralization of TL linguistic material

As Bialystok points out (p. 100), processes and strategies are not differentiated here. Selinker in fact seems to see strategies as some kind of sub-class of processes. Bialystok asks, if simplification of the TL is suggested as an example of

'strategies of second language learning', why does this strategy not have equal status with the process of 'overgeneralization of the TL linguistic material'?

In her 1983 article Bialystok herself suggests that the degree of consciousness alone does not constitute the difference between processes and strategies, but proposes that it is the learner's degree of control over the exercise of a strategy which is the best distinction. In a previous article, Bialystok (1978) used the criteria 'obligatory/optional' to make the distinction, where processes were seen as obligatory, but strategies as optional, mental activities. (Bialystok, however, is really talking about learning and not communication strategies). Similiar criteria are used by Frauenfelder and Porquier 1979 cited in Faerch and Kasper 1983b, who classify processes as universal and strategies as optional mechanisms employed by individual L2 learners. In a later study, Faerch and Kasper (1983d) define 'strategies' as plans for controlling the order in which a sequence of operations is to be performed and 'processes' as the operations involved either in the development of a plan or in the realization of a plan.

Ellis(1985) makes a similiar distinction between the idea of a sequence of operations (as in the 'production/reception process) and the idea of a single operation as a feature of a process (as

in a 'strategy of simplification'). Thus, his interpretation is very much in adherence to Faerch and Kasper's (1983d) distinction as discussed above. He illustrates this concept thus (1985:166):

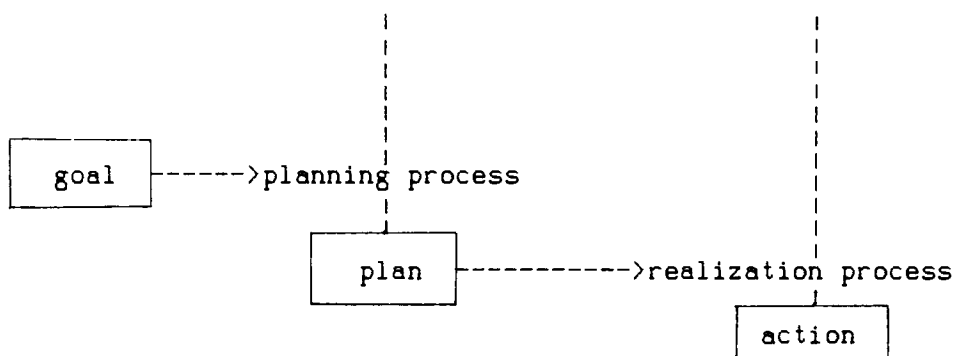


Figure 1 The planning and realization of intellectual behaviour (adapted from Faerch and Kasper 1980)

It is doubtful if the degree of control is any more dependable than consciousness as a defining parameter to strategies. The intrapersonal and interpersonal variability in the degree of consciousness and the doubtful credibility of the use of introspection as a means of assessing consciousness have already been mentioned earlier (see 2.3.1). Bialystok herself admits in a later study (Bialystok 1983:101) that 'the same strategy used for different purposes may be associated with different degrees of control'. Neither consciousness nor learner control can be said to be a truly tangible factor in defining strategies, and the use of both, therefore, should be tempered with discretion.

2.3.3 Definitions of Communication Strategies

Over a short period of time in the recent past, a communication strategy has been defined as follows:

"a systematic attempt by the learner to express or decode meaning in the target language, in situations where the appropriate systematic target language rules have not been formed"

(Tarone et al., :76)

"the conscious employment of verbal or nonverbal mechanisms for communicating an idea when precise linguistic structures are for some reason not readily available to the learner at a point in communication".

(Brown, 1980:178)

"a mutual attempt of 2 interlocutors to agree on a meaning in a situation 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. Difficulty in this definition is taken to refer to the speaker's inadequate command of the language used in the interaction.

(Corder 1981:103)

"..all attempts to manipulate a limited linguistic system in order to promote communication.

(Bialystok 1983:102)

"communication strategies are psychological plans which exist as part of the language user's communicative competence. They are potentially conscious and serve as substitutes for production and reception which the learner is unable to implement"

(Faerch and Kasper, 1980:81, 1983c:36)

The more recent definition by Tarone on communication strategy not only includes the basic notion of interaction but also expands the denotation of meaning structures. In addition, this

broader definition also implies different research methodology and procedures through which interactional data can be adequately elicited, collected, recorded, and analyzed. This methodological approach had, in fact, been delineated before by Hatch (1978) who stated:

"..the important thing is to look at the corpus as a whole and examine the interactions that take place within conversations to see how that interaction, itself, determines the frequency of forms and how it shows language functions evolving."

(Hatch, 1978:403)

Moreover, there is undoubtedly considerable overlap among the definitions, and the two basic components of CS that function broadly as defining criteria -- namely **linguistic inadequacy and attempts to solve the resulting communication problem** -- are more or less universally present.

2.3.4 Interactional Versus Psycholinguistic Definition.

Faerch and Kasper 1984 have pointed out that the interactional definition of Tarone 1981 (2.3.3 above), though highly important, is rather incomplete. First, the interactional definition suggests that CSs are always cooperative in nature, that both interlocutors are aware of the communicative problem; that both work together to solve it, and that strategies (CSs) are attempts by both to reach or agree upon the meaning of the learner's communicative intent. In the learner-native speaker communicative context, however, the normal cooperative principles of interaction (Grice 1975) conflict with the face-saving principles

(Goffman 1967, Scollon and Scollon 1983), and the native speaker may not cooperate by helping out in face-threatening situations even when he perceived problems in communication⁴. There is always the risk of the learner being offended by the patronising domination of the native speaker.

Treating the other person as inferior in any respect counts as a potentially face-threatening act, which cooperative participants try to avoid. Consequently, in order to avoid treating the other person as linguistically inferior, the native speaker might decide not to assist even though the learner shows signs of verbalizing problems, thus, giving the principle of face-saving priority over principle of linguistic cooperation.

(Faerch and Kasper 1984:55)

Second, the interactional definition presupposes that CSs are overtly identifiable and recoverable from performance data. In actual practice, however, CSs, particularly in the IL of advanced learners, are not always overtly marked or easily accessible to the analyst. Quite frequently, the L2 use of the CS are **unmarked** and not explicit at all especially in the use of **reduction strategies**. Often the only way to ascertain whether a learner avoided saying what he intended to say because of verbalisation difficulties is to ask him ("introspection"). Third, the interactional definition is incompatible with Tarone's own typology of CSs (see Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1976 and Tarone 1981). Faerch and Kasper 1984 have shown how CSs defined in interactional terms form only a subset of what are considered strategies on the basis of their own psycholinguistic definition.

The following Figure 2 illustrate this. According to the interactional definition, only those instances of strategic behaviour that are both positively interactive (i.e. + appeal) and marked in performance can amount to CSs (hatched area in diagram).

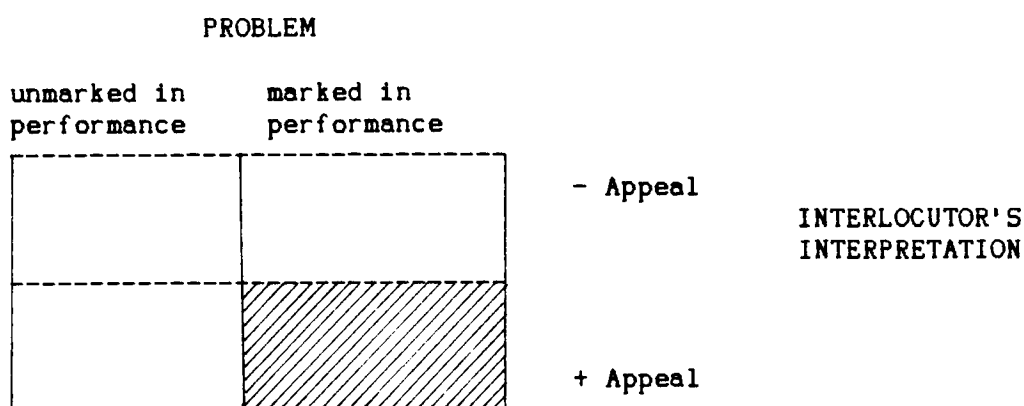


Figure 2. Manifestations of communication strategies and their interactional functions. (reproduced from Faerch and Kasper 1984:60)

The square represents the use of Communication Strategies in the planning and production of a message. Depending on the level of the speaker's command of the language, the line in the middle of the square will move to the right or the left in accordance to the CSs that he uses . Of the identifiable CSs some may contain an implicit or explicit request for help (the hatched area). Others will reveal that the speaker has opted for solving his communication problem himself (the non-hatched area top right), and will subsequently analyse his interlocutor's reaction

to make sure if the latter's interpretation of the message signals successful transmission of meaning.

The third problem with Tarone's interactional definition has been pointed out by Faerch and Kasper(1983c;1984): that it is difficult to apply this definition to **monologue** (e.g. writing), when the L2 learner's interlocutor is not present, and there is no overt negotiation of meaning. Communicative problems, however, occur in monologue just as much as in dialogue.

In summary then, communication strategies can thus be defined as psycholinguistic plans which exist as part of the language user's communicative competence. **They are potentially conscious and serve as substitutes for production plans which the learner is unable to implement.** In light of the foregoing discussion, Faerch and Kasper's definition seems to be the best definition for CS as it imposes no such constraints and hence is more comprehensively inclusive:

Communicative strategies are potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal.

(Faerch and Kasper 1983b:36)

2.4 CS and other strategies

Communicative strategies are only one part of the learner's strategic behaviour and the need for isolating CSs from other strategies like Learning Strategies (LS), Production Strategies (PS), Perception Strategies (PerS) etc. has already been mentioned (see Chapter 1). Tarone (1981:420) has proposed 'a conceptual framework for use in defining communication strategies more clearly and in distinguishing them from learning strategies or production strategies'. She suggests two types of strategies - - strategies of language learning and strategies of language use, the latter to include CS and PS -- with definitions and defining criteria for each.

2.4.1 CS and Perception Strategy (PerS)

Perception Strategy (PerS), which Tarone (1981:291) defines as 'the attempt to interpret incoming utterances efficiently with least effort', is one of the least studied aspects of second language learning. Fortunately, it is also the least likely to be confused with CS, although the reciprocal relations between the two are in many ways crucial to the study of CS. This strategy is referred to in the literature variously as Perception Strategy (Tarone 1981), Reception Strategy (Corder 1981), Faerch and Kasper (1984), and Interpretive Strategy (Candlin 1983).

The importance of PerS has often been stressed:

The present focus on performance and production in the study of interlanguage communication will have to be matched by an equal interest in learner interpretive strategy (PerS) if we are to have a more complete picture of how individual learner adopt particular strategies not only to cope with immediate problems in communication but also to facilitate that interaction, which in some associated way, aids and augments their acquisition. (Candlin 1983:xii)

Similar views are expressed by Corder 1981, who laments the total absence of IL studies investigating perception strategies. Faerch and Kasper (1984:48) emphasize the importance of PerS when they suggest a first major categorization of macro-communication strategies reflecting 'the difference between strategies aimed at solving problems and strategies aimed at receptive problems'. Since communication is a cooperative affair, and since face to face oral communication is maximally sensitive to the negotiation of interactional structures between the interlocutors, PerSs do play an important role in the overall success of communication. There is also another compelling reason for not ignoring PerSs.

Long 1983 has shown that native speakers do modify their interaction with non-native speakers to avoid conversational trouble and to repair discourse when trouble occurs. Long calls the former conversational strategies and the latter discourse repair tactics. These strategies and tactics, Long claims, are also available universally to non-native speakers and generally

to any set of interlocutors with differing language abilities. Thus, there is no reason not to believe that learners will modify their CSs in consonance with their own perception of the listeners' PerS⁵ .

PerS when used in this dissertation refers to strategies used by listeners to facilitate interpretation of language signals in order to extract their correct meaning with the minimum of effort. A typical example of a PerS would be selective listening, taking advantage of the redundant features in language.

2.4.2. CS and Production Strategy (PS)

The term as well as the concept Production Strategy as distinct from CS is virtually a creation of Tarone and her associates. Tarone, Frauenfelder and Selinker 1976 (cited in Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1976:77) defines PS as a 'systematic attempt by the learner to express meaning in the target language, in situations where the appropriate systematic target language rules have not been formed'. This definition is very like their subsequent definition of CS. Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1976 broaden this concept and rename it CS. In Tarone 1980 and 1981, however, PS definitely emerges as a concept different as well as differentiable from CS. Tarone 1980 sees PS as having to do with

the efficient and clear use of the linguistic system and states that the complete interaction of PS and CS can be seen in the foreigner talk of a native speaker. In some ways, PS appears to be the inverse of Perception Strategy (see 2.4.1.) Tarone (1981:289) says:

A production strategy, like a communicative strategy, is a strategy of language use. I would define a production strategy as an attempt to use one's linguistic system efficiently and clearly, with a minimum of effort. Production Strategies (PS) are similar to CS in that they are attempts to use one's linguistic system, but PS differ in that they lack the interactional focus on the negotiation of meaning.

Thus PS seems to differ from CS in several respects. Though implemented in the execution stage of speech, PS appears to belong more to the pre-utterance planning stage. PS certainly does not meet criterion 3 of Tarone's criteria for CS -- choosing to avoid or seek alternate means of expression -- and very possibly does not meet criterion 2 -- unavailability of desired TL item -- either (see 2.3.1. above). Besides, Tarone (1981) says that in cases of avoidance of message or topic, even criterion 1 -- desire to communicate -- is absent. If therefore the purpose of PS is primarily in the interests of economy of efforts, the relevance of a distinct concept PS is unclear, particularly since the importance of meaning negotiation as chief defining criterion for CS has been challenged (see Faerch and Kasper 1984 and 2.3.4 above). I have therefore chosen to ignore the distinction between

CS and PS unless the context makes it necessary to maintain an explicit difference.

2.4.3 CS and Learning Strategy

The relationship between CS and Learning Strategy is more complex, problematic and controversial although there seems to be a fair amount of agreement among researchers in the field as to what constitutes CS and what constitutes LS in a general way. Learning Strategies have been variously defined as:

Optimal methods for exploiting available information to increase the proficiency of second language learning.
(Bialystok 1978:76)

Attempts to develop linguistic and sociolinguistic competence in the target language to incorporate them into one's interlanguage competence.
(Tarone 1981:290)

A range of actions taken by second language learner to directly or indirectly improve his or her learning.
(Oxford-Carpenter 1985:1)

Any set of operations or steps performed by a learner that will facilitate the acquisition, storage, retrieval or use of information.
(O'Malley, Russo and Chamot 1983:6)

O'Malley, Russo and Chamot's definition seem to form a strong link between CS and LS as it includes the criteria - use of information. If CS can be seen as the creative use of information

for the purpose of communication, then the link between the two can be said to be substantiated here.

However, there is quite a considerable confusion and overlap between the concepts of CS and LS in the literature on learner strategies, but many seem to think of CS as a part or type of LS (see Oxford-Carpenter 1985). Wenden 1985 for instance, treats CS as one type of learner strategy, the other three being Cognitive, Metacognitive and Global Practice Strategies.

There are obvious reasons for the confusion and overlap. First, there is the immensely wide range of learner features that come under the blanket term LS. By and large, LS is taken to be a bulky bin into which virtually any learner activity can be dumped. Bialystok 1983 shows how the potpourri list of LS includes diverse elements -- (1) an ability to be a good guesser -- Rubin 1975, (2) an attitude (having a tolerance of the language and empathy with the speakers -- Stern 1975, and (3) an activity (attempting to convert passive knowledge into active productive knowledge -- Carroll 1977.

Second, as Bialystok 1983 points out, there is no inherent feature of a strategy which can determine its role and purpose, and whether any strategy is LS or CS can be known only after its

effects and purpose have been ascertained. Third, there is indeed considerable interaction between CS and LS. If, for instance, a learner uses an L1 term in his L2, it is difficult to say whether it is a part of his IL and hence a result of the LS of "transfer" or just an ad hoc, the nonce borrowing for the purpose of effective communication and hence an instance of CS (see Corder, 1981). It is also very likely that when an ad hoc borrowing is successful, that is, is accepted by the native speaker, it will be incorporated into the learner's IL, through the exercise of a general learning strategy of the formation/verification of hypotheses.

Researchers of CS, however, are forever trying to disentangle CS from LS. Selinker (1972:216-217) uses learner as the criterion.

If they are the result of an identifiable approach by the learner to the material to be learned, then we are dealing with strategies of second language learning. If they are the result of an identifiable approach by the learner to communication with native speaker of the TL, then we are dealing with strategies of second language communication.

Ellis 1985 suggests that "communication strategies differ from learning strategies in that the problem arises as a result of attempts to perform in the L2, and the strategies are needed to meet a pressing communicative need. According to him, if learning strategies are the long-term solution to a problem, communication strategies provide the short-term answer" (1985:181).

Tarone 1981 on the other hand, believes it is theoretically possible to distinguish CS and LS on the basis of the motivation underlying the use of the strategy despite the difficulties in establishing and measuring motivation. She concludes that:

In theory, while learning strategies and communication strategies may be indistinguishable in some cases in our observation of linguistic behaviour, there does appear to be a difference between the two kinds of strategy, and there do seem to be clear observable bits of behaviour which evidence either one or the other strategy, and not both (p.290).

For instance, LSs unlike CSs are the results of the learner's desire to learn the language, not to communicate in it, and criterion 1 of Tarone (see 2.3.1) is thus not necessary or may not exist in the exercise of LS. Bialystok (1983:101) uses slightly different criteria : 'One expedient for highlighting their difference is to consider the extent to which the strategy is based on a feature of the learner or a feature of the language. The former result in Learning strategies and the latter in Communication strategies. Both may be accompanied by varying degrees of learner control. In a later work, however, she traces their difference to differences in goal-setting and states that 'the difference between strategies of learning and communication may be hierarchically related' (Bialystok 1984:38). Faerch and Kasper 1983b maintain that several Achievement-oriented CSs (see 2.5) have a potential learning effect. They have in fact classified CSs as + potential learning. Corder 1981 too says that encouraging Achievement-oriented strategies of communication

(which he calls Resource Expansion Strategies) is a good pedagogic technique that leads to learning.

The important point may well be that theoretical considerations that may disentangle CS from LS need not and perhaps should not make the two mutually exclusive. For practical purposes, depending on the researcher's orientation, the difference between the two may even be sometimes irrelevant. Being treated as a CS should not preclude any learner behaviour from being considered an LS as well. Obviously there are quite a few LSs (mnemonics, inferencing, etc) that couldn't be CSs and vice versa; but a large number of CSs are potentially and/or simultaneously LSs or result in learning. Palmberg 1982 discusses with examples four possibilities in the relationship between LSs and CSs:

- 1) CSs which do not and cannot lead to learning,
- 2) CSs which may lead to learning,
- 3) CSs which may not result in learning and;
- 4) learning through communication independent of CSs.

Since this dissertation is primarily about CSs, LSs and how they refer to CS are not emphasized unless the specific issue under discussion warrants such emphasis. I see no conflict between the two. My notion of CS and means of identifying CS are not such as to preclude the same strategies being LSs or resulting in learning.

Figure 3 below will attempt to explain the terminological overlap between what was part of learning and what was part of

communication on the one hand and what was strategy and what was process on the other. Area BD belongs to both strategic behaviour and communicative activity and hence is the domain of Communication Strategies.

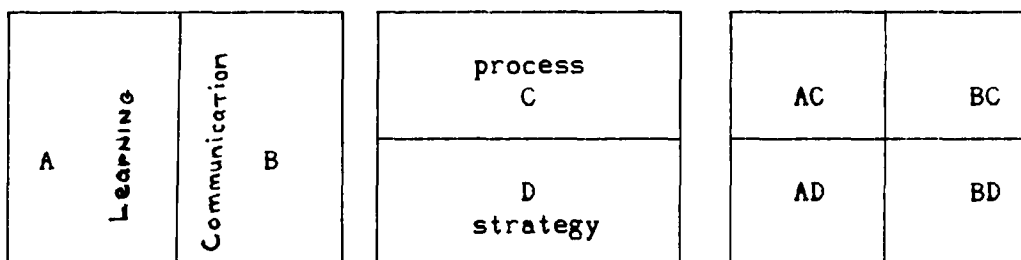


Figure 3. The Domain of Communication Strategies
(adapted from Bhaskaran 1987)

2.4.4. CS and Compensatory Strategies (CpS)

The term **Compensatory Strategies** was first used by Faerch and Kasper (1980:92) to mean 'Achievement strategies aimed at solving problems in the planning phase due to insufficient resources'. A more elaborate definition has been given by Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman (1984:72): '**C**ompensatory 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 short-comings'. CpS is, therefore, a **subtype** of CS where the learner decides to **take the risk of expanding his resources** with a view to achieving his intended communicative goal. Those CSs where a learner chooses instead to avoid risks by adjusting or even abandoning the message and/or topic (see Corder 1981, Faerch and Kasper 1980) do not hence count as CpS. Some recent studies have tended

to concentrate on CpS alone since they are illustrative of resource expansion techniques and are hence more recoverable from IL performance (Poullisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman 1984, Haastrup and Phillipson 1983). For the same reason and also for the reason that it is more interesting to see how a learner solves rather than avoids communication problems, this dissertation too is concerned mainly with compensatory strategies.

2.5 Classification, Typology and Taxonomy of CS

Quite a few attempts have been made to enumerate and classify the various CSs and to evolve some sort of viable typology. Some of the earlier attempts are not much more than a mere listings of observed strategies (Varadi 1973, Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1976). But over the last ten years, significant strides have been made towards not merely exploring and discovering new strategies but also towards classifying them within the framework of credible taxonomic guidelines. In general, most of the existing typological classifications can be grouped around one of three taxonomic principles: 1) some inherent aspect of the strategies; 2) the nature of the strategies as instances of learner behaviour; and 3) the analysts' interests and goals. There is no perfect member in any group, that is, virtually every classification in each group contains features of the other two groups in various degrees.

2.5.1 Typology based on inherent aspects of CS

The classifying of CSs based on some inherent aspects or attribute or property of the strategies can be conditioned to some extent by the purpose and the theoretical orientation of the classifier. However some aspects of CSs are also objectively independent of the classifier's orientation and goals. There are two sub-groups in this category of typology -- one arising from the researcher's concept of how CSs are related to aspects of language learning and the other arising from the source of information the strategies are based on.

2.5.1.1 CS Typology and Aspects of Language Learning

Blum and Levenston 1978 use a temporal criterion to differentiate strategies from processes (see 2.3.2). They argue that in lexical simplification, consistent use of certain strategies over a period of time can result in the process of the transfer of the language element involved into the learner's IL. They have thus classified communication strategies into those that are potentially process initiating and those that are not, as shown in Table 3.

Group A: Potentially process initiating Group B: Situations bound

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Overgeneralization realized by: | 1. Circumlocution and paraphrase |
| a) the use of superordinate terms | 2. Language switch |
| b) approximation | 3. Appeal to authority |
| c) the use of synonym | 4. Change of topic |

- d) word coinage
 - e) the use of converse terms
5. Semantic guidance

2. Transfer

Table 3. Communication strategies of lexical simplification
(Blum and Levenston 1978: 403)

+ potential learning		- potential learning
<u>hypothesis formation</u>	<u>automatization</u>	
interlingual transfer	retrieval	code-switching
inter-/intralingual transfer		non-linguistic strategies
generalization		<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;"> reduction strategies paraphrase restructuring </div> <div style="margin: 0 5px;">←</div> </div>
word coinage	(practising IL)	
appeals		
inferencing		

Table 4. Potential learning effect of communication strategies (Faerch and Kasper 1983b: 55)

A somewhat similar view is taken by Faerch and Kasper (1983b:54) when they say that 'those compensatory strategies by means of which the learner extends his resources without abandoning the IL system completely (as in the case of code switching and the use of non-linguistic strategies) can lead to hypothesis formation as the first step in the L2 learning process'. They classify some communicative strategies according to their potential learning effect, as shown in Table 4 above.

2.5.1.2 CS typology and source of information

The two important classifications using inherent aspects of CS which are based on the source of information are by Bialystok 1983 and by Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman 1983. These studies investigate learner preference for strategies as well as the relative effectiveness of preferred strategies, and adopt a taxonomy which is arguably experiment-specific, but is nevertheless very valuable. Table 5 is a diagrammatic representation of the classification.

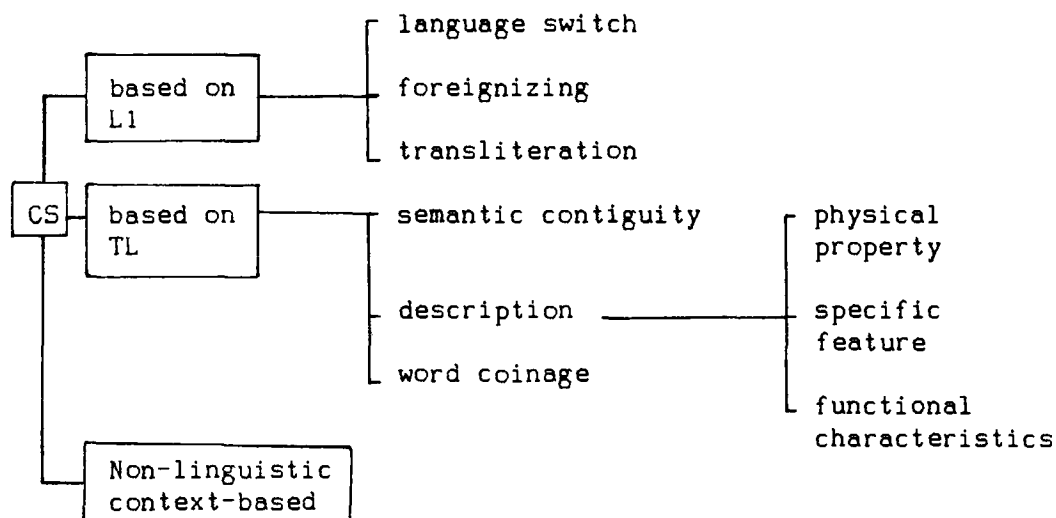


Table 5. Classification of CS on the source of information of the strategies (Bialystok 1983)

Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman 1984 use a typology very similar to the above but coalesce the three categories of Bialystok into two and use slightly different terminology, as shown below in Table 6.

INTERLINGUAL STRATEGIES (based on language other than TL)

borrowing

lexical translation

foreignizing

INTRALINGUAL STRATEGIES

approximation

word coinage

description

restructuring

appeals for assistance

mime

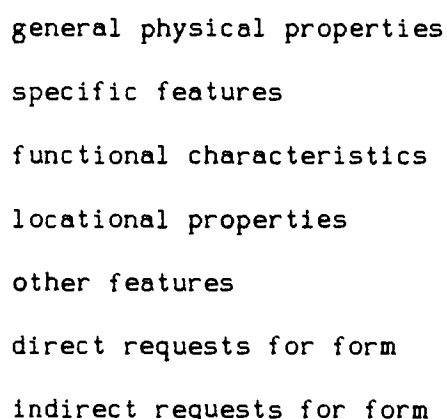


Table 6. Typology of Cs used by Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman 1984.

2.5.2. CS as instances of learner behaviour

This taxonomic approach initially treats CSs as macro-categories of overt linguistic behaviour in the context of communicative interaction and then further subdivides the categories on linguistic and non-linguistic bases. 'A first major speech production and strategies aimed at receptive problems' (Faerch

and Kasper 1984:48). The speech production categories are then further divided into various conceptual categories. Two of the most popular and frequently cited typologies are those of Tarone 1977 and of Faerch and Kasper 1983b.

Tarone 1977 is a modified, taxonomized version of unstructured listing in Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1976. (see Table 7). Tarone 1980 reduces the five categories to three (Paraphrasing, Transfer and Avoidance) by including Appeal for Assistance and Mime as subcategories of Transfer:

(1) Avoidance

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| (a) Topic avoidance | Learner simply does not talk about concepts for which vocabulary or structure is unknown |
| (b) Message abandonment | Learner begins to talk but is not able to continue and stops |
-

(2) Paraphrase

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| (a) Approximation | Conscious use of a TL vocabulary item semantically close to intended concept |
| (b) Word coinage | Learner makes up a new word |
| (c) Circumlocution | Learner uses characteristics or elements of the object or action |
-

(3) Transfer

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| (a) Literal translation | Learner translates word for word from L1 |
| (b) Language switch | Learner uses L1 term |
-

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| (4) Appeal for assistance | Learner asks for the correct TL structure |
|---------------------------|---|

(5) Mime

Learner uses non-verbal
strategies

Table 7. A typology of Communication Strategies
(Adapted from Tarone 1977 and 1980)

In Faerch and Kasper 1983b we have by far the most exhaustive typological classification both in terms of taxonomic structures and number of categories. Similiar to the macroclassification of Corder 1981, Faerch and Kasper adopt an initial dichotomy of strategies of reduction and strategies of achievement .The rationale for this is that when faced with a communicative problem of inadequate language resources, the learner does one of two things. He either avoids the risk of making an error by reducing the content of his message or topic, to suit his language resources to the possible extreme extent of totally abandoning his communicative intent, or he takes the risk of expanding his communicative resources to somehow achieve his intended communicative goal.

The resource expansion is achieved either by drawing upon his own linguistic or non-linguistic repertoire or through cooperative strategies of drawing upon the resources of his interlocutors by appealing directly or indirectly. A branching diagram of the taxonomy suggested by Faerch and Kasper is shown in Table 8.

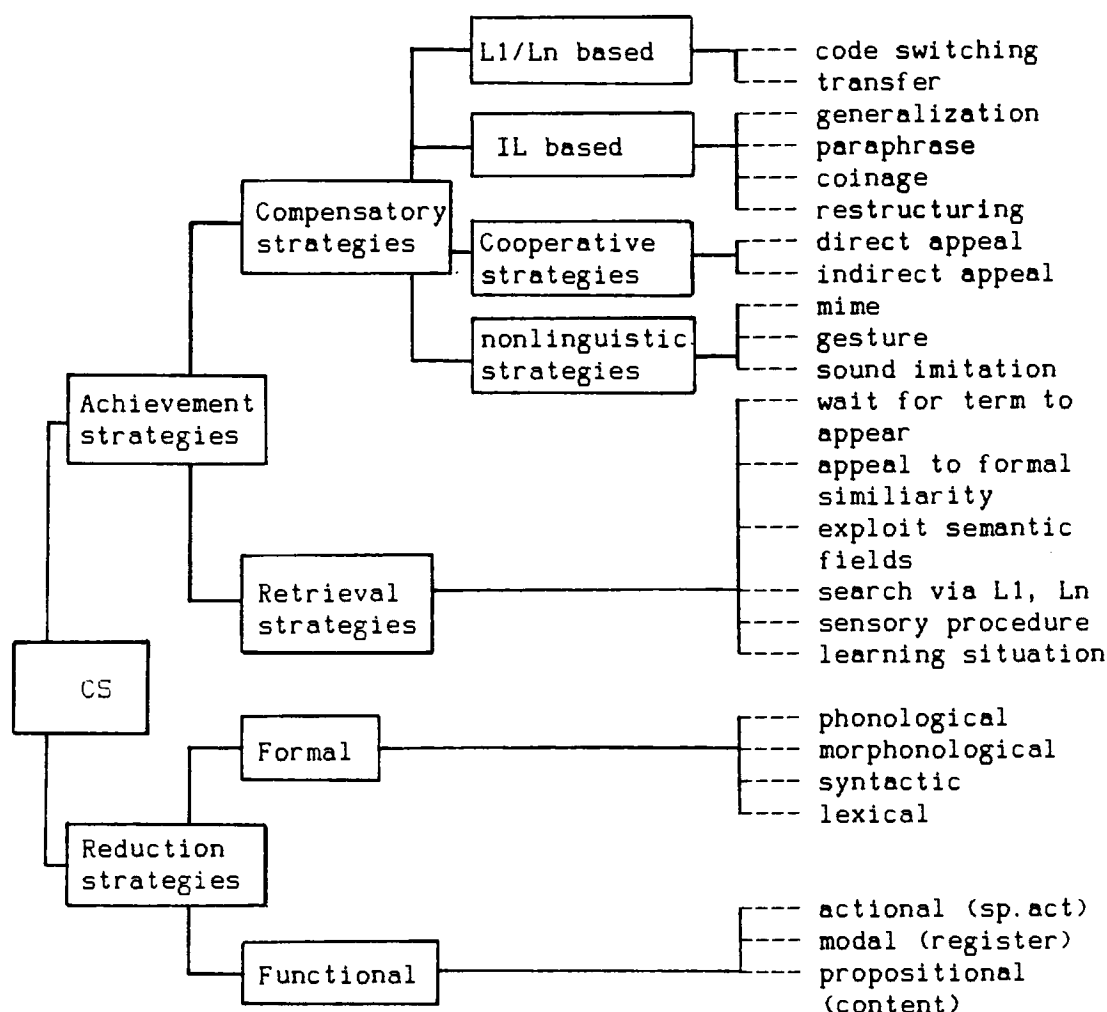


Table 8. Classification of CSs (Faerch and Kasper 1983b)

2.5.3 CS typology and analysts' interests

Researchers often make up their own typologies suitable for or conforming to their research interests and goals. The typology of Fakhri 1984, for instance, consists of just five CSs -- Circumlocution, Lexical Borrowing, Elicitation of Vocabulary, Use of Formulaic Expressions and Morpho-Syntactic Innovation. In his study of the connection between the use of CS and discourse

genre, these five strategies appeared to be the most preferred ones in the narrative discourse of an L2 speaker.

The classifications adopted by different researchers indicate their individual taxonomic orientations dictated by their theoretical approaches to the phenomenon of communication strategies as well as the specific objectives of their research. The classification which I have adopted for this study (see 4.2.) is also conditioned by the empirical nature of my work, my theoretical bias and the objectives of my study.

Chapter 3 Data and Modus Operandi

3.1. Choice of data

The choice of data in an empirical study depends upon the scope and objectives of the study, just as methodological considerations are conditioned by the researcher's theoretical orientation. For empirical studies of communication strategies, researchers could use elicited data that are tailored to meet the specific objectives of the study, or (perhaps ideally) spontaneous language that is closer to natural communication. A large number of studies have settled for the former, which utilizes some task-oriented activity on the part of the subjects. Some of the most popular tasks like picture-description (Varadi 1973, Tarone 1977, Ervin 1979, Palmberg 1979b) involve non-verbal cues and stimuli, and others like translation and story recall (Blum and Levenston 1978, Dittmar and Rieck 1979, Raupach 1983) involve verbal cues. (For a fairly extended list of the various experiments and their data and methodology, see Poulisse et al. 1984).

The data used in this dissertation represents both structured (controlled elicitation tasks) and ^{semi-}structured (relatively uncontrolled tasks) communication between the Malaysian learners of English. Structured here refers to elicitation tasks that

elicit desired vocabulary from the subjects such that the analyst/researcher is in control of the specific structures that the tasks encompassed and thus, a study of how the speaker has tried to express the particular TL item(s) can be made possible.

On the other hand, the unstructured tasks are designed more to generate spontaneous speech from the subjects. By collecting samples from both types of elicitation tasks, a comparison can be made to check on the general validity of the outcomes of the study. The corpus consists of video-recordings of the elicitation task sessions between me and the subjects and between the subjects themselves.

Although technically the communication among the Malaysian students takes place in the classroom, the communicative situations are so devised as to make the need and motivation to communicate predominate over language performance for learning purposes. The emphasis (regardless of the type of tasks set up) is more on getting one's meaning across than on speaking in grammatically correct sentences. For the more natural (unstructured) type of elicitation task sessions, the classroom setting does nothing more than provide a forum for communication among the learners with the particular task or group activity providing the thematic frame. The idea is that the uncontrolled spontaneity of the data will make it very similar to real-life

communication and thereby enhance the validity and universality of the findings.

3.2. Trial-Run Study

3.2.1. Description of the trial-run study

In order to find out the feasibility of carrying out a study based on the use of communication strategies among the Malaysian students, a trial-run study was carried out for 3 months starting in April 1987. The trial-run study was not designed to meet rigorous research requirements or to obtain definitive results. Rather it sought to test the utility of one research procedure in examining such learner strategies, and if possible, to arrive at preliminary assessment of the validity of the theoretical formulations which have been presented (p.119).

3.2.2 The design of the experiment

3 groups of learners of English consisting of 250 students enrolled at the beginning, intermediate and advanced level of the UMSEP Project at University Malaya were selected as subjects. The proficiency level of English of these students varies but all of these students had formal training in English as second language (12-14 years) when they entered the university setting. The 250 students were selected to represent the various target faculties and racial groups, i.e. Malay, Chinese and Indian students,

~~students~~, present at the University of Malaya. Since the focus of this study is to investigate the use of CS among the Malay students in particular, they made up the bulk of the subjects while the other non-Malay students (the Chinese and Indian students) were used as the other groups of subjects.

All of the subjects were given a survey questionnaire to fill in at the start of the study. The questionnaire covered their linguistic/educational background and their use of the various communication strategies. The answers to this survey questionnaire formed the self-assessment aspect of the study and through several computational analyses, I hope to contrast the responses with the actual use of the CSs during the oral performance tasks. After the completion of the survey-questionnaire, 85 students from among the 250 volunteered to undergo the oral elicitation tasks. The oral elicitation tasks were in the following forms:

1. structured discourse - narrations based on 3 cartoon strips
2. ^{semi-}structured discourse - free narrations by the subjects on topics such as childhood / personal experiences
3. pair and group work - exercises based on information gaps and role-plays

1. structured discourse

In this type of oral elicitation task, the subjects were given a series of cartoon strips each. They were first asked to describe the picture stories of each of the cartoon strips in their L1 (Malay) orally. Then they were asked to describe the pictures again, this time in English. In the case of the other ethnic groups (the Chinese and Indian students), the subjects were asked only to describe the story in English.

Before translating the Malay versions into English they were given the following instructions:

Make your translations as faithful to the original as possible; if, however, you have difficulty in finding a suitable word or phrase, etc., attempt to tell the story in your own words, keeping in mind the importance of reproducing as much of the original version as possible.

Their oral performance was then video-taped and later transcribed. Following the completion of the oral tasks, an interview was set up immediately to confirm the type of communication strategies used and the reasons underlying their usage.

3.2.3. The rationale behind the experiment

It was supposed that the L1 version of the picture story would very closely reflect the learner's optimal meaning (Varadi 1979). Similarly, the English versions would presumably represent the

TL's adjusted messages - arrived at by construction through their actual messages whenever the two did not coincide.

My overriding concern, therefore was to ensure that differences between the two versions could be attributable to **adjustment phenomena** (Varadi, 1973) resorted to by the learners under compelling force of their imperfect competence in the target language. The task of describing a picture series was intended to furnish a fairly rigid guideline stringently controlling improvisation. At the same time, since cartoon-strips did not constitute an overt verbal stimulus, the technique allowed for individual variations.

Since there appeared to be no obvious reasons for choosing one sequence rather than the other, it was thought that starting with Malay would give the learner an opportunity to consider every detail of the story so that omission in the oral account would probably be precluded. However, it was feared that the learners would probably suspect that 'something more was coming' and therefore might deliberately limit the content of their sentence with an eye to the possibly impending task of translation into English.

It had to be considered, however, that some learners may have chosen to modify their story simply because they found it boring to tell the same story twice, or that they may have noticed additional details of which they had been unaware when producing

their first versions. The task of translating their Malay compositions back into English was assigned to filter out precisely such cases.

2. semi-structured discourse

In this type of task, the subjects were given topics such as childhood/personal experiences etc. to speak on. The topics are meant to provide the subjects with some familiarity of the content so that they can speak with more ease, confidence and enthusiasm. Most of the time, the subjects were left to narrate on the topics without any interruptions from me or their peers and all their speech were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Most of the subjects seemed to enjoy these types of oral tasks and the discourse recorded provided me with better opportunities to analyze their use of the various communication strategies in this more natural state.

3. pair and group work

Basically, the pair and group work is divided into 2 types of elicitation tasks - semi-structured and structured tasks. The first half of the session, i.e. structured tasks, involve a subject (A) in describing/instructing and another subject (B) in drawing/matching the object according to the narration given by (A). Some of the tasks involve retelling the story-line while rearranging the order of the picture sequence of a cut-up cartoon

strip; drawing a picture and matching an object based on the original provided. The emphasis of these types of tasks is on clarity and economy of words. The subjects were advised to be as clear (in diction and pronunciation) as they possibly could whenever they were giving any instructions/descriptions to their partner or group, to avoid any misunderstanding. Because of the time limit, they are also urged to try to be as concise and brief as they can possibly be in order to complete the tasks within the specified time given to them.

The nature of these type of tasks is normally the problem solving type. Over the years, ^{tasks involving} _{skills} problem solving ^{skills} have come to be seen as something which is distributed across individuals, and learning is being redefined as a shift in the distribution of responsibility for completing a task. Following Vygotsky (1962), development is 'the change in the locus of regulation of joint activity between people in which the more knowledgeable person can be said to be seeking to shift responsibility for parts of the interaction to the less able language learner, while he tries to master as much of the activity as possible'. As most of the pair work is arranged in such a way that members of a mixed proficiency group get to work with each other, lower proficiency speakers have been observed to benefit from task-based exercises most if they are paired with interlocutors with a wider repertoire of communication strategies than themselves (refer also to Steven 1988 on use of mixed ability group). I had also

tried to set up a variety of tasks to suit the different abilities and interests of all ranges of proficiency in the mixed proficiency group.

The second half of the session, comprised of the more natural (unstructured tasks) to elicit, uninhibited and spontaneous responses and speech corpus from among the subjects. For instance, the subjects are coaxed to participate in open discussions and debates on personal issues like marriage, personal preferences of the ideal "marriage partners", equality of sexes, etc. The target of this type of language activities is to capture on video the more natural and uninhibited form of speech performance and communicative behaviours of the subjects so that an analysis of them can be made and contrasted with those that are elicited from the structured tasks later. The following examples taken from excerpts from such said activities will illustrate the point made here:

Example 1:

=====

Task III: Group discussion

Topic 1: A woman's place - office or home?

Subject 85: I think the main reason for more divorce is because women are not accepting the situation. There is a lot of wives who were accepting things because they didn't have independence. Because they were not able to work, they accept more things. But now they have more independence ..they are more able...they are more able!..before they were not independent, and that's why they're..because they accepted it not because they agreed with it, they could not do anything. They had to stay...what can they do..no money..where to go..who will give food..they are scared to run any where..they think it is going to be more terrible..so they stay...with their husband

..unhappy but at least there is food and place
to sleep.. < > Subject 88: they get
beaten
if they try
to run
anywhere...

Subject 86: yes..and now not like that..woman also help their
husbands to bring money in..husbands now not old-
fashioned like olden days..they feel better..not
have to work so hard...because wife helps to make
his responsibilities less..

Subject 88: and also husbands today..now help in the kitchen
too.. they help with the children..last time..you
will never find them ... Subject 85: oh! I think
in the kitchen.. they are
same...not
modern..maybe
in America..
Malaysia still
like that..

Subject 88: Maybe not Chinese husbands but Malay ones...
so..primitive! (laugh) marry Chinese
man..don't marry these stupid Malay ones..

Subject 85: (laugh)
(see p.395 in Appendix for full details)

Example 2:
=====

Free narrative

Topic 2: Friendship

Subject 88: I have a very nice friend..She is...she is...she is
big (mimics the "bigness") ..got child..(use hand
gestures over her stomach to indicate pregnant
person) so she cannot do many jobs. Just rest and
take easy...I visit her and cook for her sometimes
...It should be like that..She is good to me. She
helps me when..uhm..when I have problems..I have
many many problems...we go to school together
before she married but now she don't go to school..I
like her very much
(see p. 399 in Appendix for full details)

Role-plays

=====

The last part of this type of tasks usually involved role-
playing. The subjects were assigned the various roles (such as an

apologetic friend turning up late) and after a brief discussion between the participants on their respective roles, they were then told to start with the actual conversations. Thus, such oral tasks normally provide a lot of opportunities for the subjects to utilize their vocabulary and whatever language skills they had learnt to communicate in **life-like situation** and **time**. Role-play exercises were included in this session because they were found to be a good method of making students the subjects of the learning process rather than the objects and of increasing the participants' confidence (see Di Pietro 1981a, b and c; Roberts 1986). Motivation increases as a result. Such exercises not only improve the motivation of a student in the classroom but also, it is suggested, the overall quality of the individual's language proficiency and competence. (refer to p.128 for further descriptions of such activities and p. 409-411 of the Appendix for excerpts of such activities).

The transactions that occurred between the speakers/groups were video-taped and later transcribed. Again, an interview was set up immediately afterwards to clarify what the subjects were trying to attempt during the actual transactions. The speech corpus was then analyzed and any patterns of communication strategies used noted and discussed during a second interview with the subjects for confirmation.

Typically, the video-taped sessions are built around tasks and/or activities that necessitate and generate real communication

between the students in the form of the realization of the task/activity and its follow-through discussion. Generally, interaction of any sort is encouraged -- from simple question-answer or instruction-execution to fully-fledged discussion or debate. The subjects with widely differing fluency, communicative ability and volubility, were aware of the recording of their sessions and were very cooperative. I was apparently accepted by the subjects as one of their peers and there was very little embarrassment or inhibition caused by my presence. The fact that they knew they were being taped did not appear to affect them in any way after the first few minutes of the first session. The general atmosphere was very relaxed and informal and the participants had excellent mutual rapport as shown by frequent use of cooperative strategies of helping each other out.

3.2.4. Results

The interesting results of the trial-run study proved that a study on the use of CS among the Malay students was feasible. The data collected reflected that a sufficient variety of CS were displayed during the students performance and the results of the survey questionnaire also reflected many interesting findings as to the students' awareness of their use of CS and their actual use of them during their taped speech performance. For better clarity and brevity, the findings of this trial-run study will not be treated as separate from the bulk of the data collected during this study as most of the subjects who participated in the trial-run study were retained^{as} subjects of the longitudinal study.

~~longitudinal study~~. In-depth analyses of the data obtained can be found in Chapter 5.

3.3. Longitudinal study

Concurrent with the trial-run study, a longitudinal study was carried out for 9 months starting in February, 1988 at the University of Malaya. The aim of this longitudinal study was as follows:

- 1) To find out the various Communication Strategies used by the UM students in their attempt to communicate under restricted conditions.
- 2) To find out the most preferred strategies used (most common CS) and the underlying reasons for their use and their effectiveness.
- 3) To find out if the use of Communication Strategies among the Malaysian students differ from native speakers.
- 4) To find out if the use of Communication Strategies changes quantitatively or qualitatively with increase in proficiency in English.

As mentioned earlier, I decided to retain the same subjects (although the majority were new subjects) who sat for the elicitation tasks sessions during the trial-run study for the longitudinal study. This is because I hoped to record and analyze any changes in their speech pattern and in their use of CS during the period of study. In addition to this group of students, 24 British students were also included in the study to act as the group of native speakers. Unlike the Malay subjects, the composite of these 24 British students represented the different faculties, language backgrounds (some are monolinguals while others are bilinguals and trilinguals) and ethnic and socio-

economic background. I had also included 70 Malay students who were studying at the various colleges/universities in Britain as overseas subjects in the study in order to ascertain whether there are any similarities/differences in the use of CS between those students who were studying abroad and those who were in Malaysia.

Note:

It has to be clarified here that I had intended to ask a native speaker (an officer attached to the British Council, Malaysia) to work with me so as to provide the Malaysian subjects with a native speaker as the interlocutor. But due to the long hours involved, several unavoidable problems and other limitations, such an arrangement proved impossible and so I had no option but to conduct all the interviews myself.

3.3.1 **Data**

The data collected from the 9 months study is from :

1. **Survey Questionnaire** - which all of the subjects (250) completed and it covers their own self-assessment on the use of the specific CSs
2. **Oral Performance Tasks** - only 150 volunteers completed this sessions and it covers the actual use of the specific CSs in their oral performance.

3.3.2 **Composite of subjects:**

- I. University Malaya Malay students aged 18-25
- II. University Malaya Chinese students aged 18-25
- III. University Malaya Indian students aged 18-25
- IV. Malay students studying in Great Britain aged 18-25
- V. British students (native speakers of English) in Great Britain aged 18-25

Survey Questionnaire (to analyze the subjects predictions of their use of Communication Strategies)

=====
250 students were from group I, II and III gave their responses to the questionnaire. As mentioned above, the survey questionnaire is to function as the self-assessment part of the data whereby the subjects' predicted/assessed their use of the respective CSs. The data collected were then tabulated and analyzed for any generalities and later compared with results of the oral performance tasks.

The breakdown of the 250 subjects who participated in the survey questionnaire from each ethnic group:

- Total number of Malays = 222
- Total number of Chinese = 12 (University of Malaya)
- Total number of Indians = 16 (University of Malaya)
- Total number of British = 24 (U.K. college/universities)

70 students from group IV answered the survey questionnaire

Performance tasks (to see the actual use of CSs during oral tasks)

=====
A total of 150 subjects actually sat through the elicitation tasks sessions, i.e. 69 students are from Great Britain (Group IV). The remaining 81 students are from group I, II and III.

The purpose of this performance tasks sessions (6 sessions in total) was to observe the actual use of the respective CSs by the various groups of subjects to validate the hypotheses which I had formed in the beginning of the study (refer to 3.3 for elaborations on the goals and target purposes of this study). Most of the activities contained in these sessions were based on the ones used during the pilot study which had been modified according to the pilot study's findings to yield better results

(see 3.4.2 and 3.4.3). The data collected were then transcribed and analyzed for qualitative and quantitative generalities.

24 British students from group V volunteered for the survey questionnaire and the oral elicitation tasks sessions.

3.3.3 Breakdown of subjects according to ethnic group

The breakdown of the 250 subjects is as follows:

Total number of Malays = 222 sat for the survey questionnaire;

122 sat for the oral elicitation
tasks sessions i.e. 53 from
University of Malaya and 69 from
Great Britain)

Total number of Chinese = 12 (University of Malaya)

Total number of Indians = 16 (University of Malaya)

Total number of British = 24 (U.K. college/universities)

Note: All of the Chinese, Indians and British students sat for both the survey questionnaire and oral elicitation tasks sessions

3.3.4 Overall profile of subjects according to ethnic group /year in university

1st year Malay/Chinese/Indian students : 95 / 2 / 9

2nd year Malay/Chinese/Indian students : 56 / 4 / 1

3rd year Malay/Chinese/Indian students : 56 / 6 / 6

4th year Malay/Chinese/Indian students : 14 / 0 / 0

5th year Malay/Chinese/Indian students : 1 / 0 / 0

3.3.5 Profile of subjects according to proficiency in English based on their English Exam Score S.P.M.

Note: **Fluent group** consists of students who scored distinctions (A1) and (A2) on the English exam S.P.M. The **Middle group** consists of students who scored credits (intermediate range level of competency in English) from C3 to C6 and **Poor group** consists of students who scored the passing grade level P7, or P8 or F9 (fail).

Fluent group = 15%

Middle group = 30%

Poor group = 54%

3.3.6 Fluency rating among the 3 different groups of students based on their respective ethnic groups

	<u>Fluent</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Poor</u>
Malay	12%	29%	58%
Chinese	33%	42%	25%
Indians	44%	38%	19%

(please refer to Bar Graph number 1-Appendix for illustrations of the above figures).

Note: These percentages were based on the total number of students from each ethnic group with the respective test scores divided by 250 (i.e. the total number of students who participated in the study)

The amount of data collected from the Malay students in 1987-1988 was very large indeed, far in excess of the data collected from the non-Malay students. This is because I wanted to focus on the use of CS among the Malay speakers, thus, a large sample from this group is needed if any generalizations or patterns are to be found in their performance and to offset the few extremities displayed. Thus, I had no choice but to concentrate more on the Malay students as the study involves an enormous amount of immediate transcribing and analysis after each interview so that the introspective study could be made possible. To add to the problem, since the subjects' participation in the study is based on a volunteer basis, it was extremely hard for me to get more non-Malay subjects to participate as the response was so dismal. However, these non-Malay subjects were merely used as the "other groups" as the main study is actually on the Malay subjects. The presence of other non-Malay subjects in the study is merely out of my interest to compare and contrast my findings in the use of the communication strategies among the Malay subjects with those that are not.

3.4. Modus Operandi

The Performance Tasks sessions normally lasted for about an hour. So each session provided material to fill one side of a C-90 cassette (in addition to the video-recordings, audio-recordings were also made). Care has been taken to ensure adequate coverage of all three proficiency levels. During the 9 months long longitudinal study, the communicative activities in the research sessions are so organized over this period that by the end of the study, all participants will have had more or less equal opportunities to take advantage of the opportunities for the more unstructured communication. I was present at all sessions for the entire duration of the sessions and paralinguistic behaviour that was relevant to CSs was noted with cross-reference to the context of utterance. My presence during all taped sessions proved very valuable later since my recollection of the situation often helped the post facto analysis of the transcribed data. The tapes were then played back and monitored carefully for instances of strategic behaviour. This was done in two stages.

First, I listened to the entire tape and noted down general details like the specific activity, the theme and the discourse type. This initial listening also helped eliminate the relatively 'unproductive' parts of the recordings. The tape was then played again and monitored carefully for instances of strategic behaviour. Relevant parts were then transcribed along with any significant contextual information. As far as possible the

transcription was done with particular care to ensure no loss of significant information in transcribing. Stretches of interaction that were totally unintelligible for various reasons like overlapping simultaneous speech by many participants, inaudible speech or masking by other louder noises were left out. Notational conventions and symbols were kept as simple and consistent as possible (see Appendix D for exemplified detail of notations). Filled pauses (where the speakers used conversational space fillers like 'uh', 'er', or 'uhm') were notationally differentiated from silent pauses. The actual duration of the pauses, filled or unfilled, was not found to be significant enough to merit documentation, except in the case of unusually long silent pauses, which were very few. Hence the length or duration of the pauses has not been taken into account. The transcribed corpus was then compared with the recordings corresponding to it. The CSs involved were then identified, marked and labelled.

Since the quantity of language produced in each session varied even within the same level due to the variables involved (type of tasks, number of participants, etc.), I have worked out a **Mean Discourse Level** (MDL) measure to bring about some degree of quantitative comparability to the data. At three arbitrary points on the counter of the tape player -- 150, 300 and 450 -- I ran each tape for exactly six minutes, and transcribed the entire text for the duration of that 6 minutes for each of the

Performance Task session described in section 3.4.1, 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 below. The mean number of words per minute computed for each of the Performance Task Session for each of the three proficiency levels formed the bases for a conversion factor of raw numbers across level comparisons. The conversion factor was used to eliminate the uneven distribution of CSs which resulted from the differences in the rate of speech or the rate of producing language. (further details of the MDL and how it is used to convert the raw figures can be seen on p. 216 and p. 233.

3.4.1 Administration of the Performance Tasks Sessions

The oral elicitation tasks were based on similiar types of tasks as those of the pilot study (refer to p.111-117) with objectives as specified in 3.3 (p.119):

Total number of sessions = 6 sessions
Amount of time per session = 45 minutes

Each session was either video-taped or recorded on cassette and followed by an introspective interview immediately afterwards. Please refer to B1 - B12 in the Appendix for samples of the actual elicitation materials used and transcriptions generated during these task sessions.

3.4.2 Description of Performance Tasks

<u>No. of Sessions</u>	<u>Type of performance tasks</u>
1.	<p><u>structured tasks</u>: translation of L1 paragraph (Malay) into L2 (English)</p> <p><u>Free narration</u>: topics : family/hobbies/interests 1st year at college</p> <hr/>
2.	<p><u>structured tasks</u>: 1. Pair work based on visual stimulus - describe what you see Picture 1: a native of Malaysia Picture 2: a caricature of Albert Einstein</p> <p><u>structured tasks</u> : 2. Pair work based on visual stimulus - describe and draw Picture 1: a human face on an apple Picture 2: items in a Science laboratory</p> <p><u>unstructured tasks</u>: group discussion on some controversial issues - witch doctors versus medical doctors, impact of war, hardship in life - breaks or builds character?, woman's place - in the home or at work?, impact of early independence on teenagers, etc.</p> <hr/>
3.	<p><u>structured tasks</u>: describe and match cartoon strips sequence in pair work - Cartoon strips 1. Catching a Thief Cartoon strip 2: a Clever Dog Cartoon strip 3: "Guilt" Cartoon strip 4: Disaster at a Salon</p> <p><u>Free narration</u>: topics : selected by subjects themselves</p> <hr/>
4.	<p><u>structured tasks</u> : rearrange Lego sets according to instructions - pair work set up 1: a simple land vehicle set up 2: location of items in a room</p> <p><u>unstructured tasks</u>: ensuing group discussions on the right to vote, impact of religion, life, and education.</p> <hr/>
5.	<p><u>structured tasks</u>: describe and match sequence of cartoon strips - pair work Cartoon strip 1: "Sorry Sir!" Cartoon strip 2: "Wet Paint" Cartoon strip 3: "Fishing at the Golf"</p>

Course"
Cartoon strip 4: An Exciting Day

unstructured tasks: open discussion
themes: ideal marriage, dreams, partners,
friends and friendship.

6. structured tasks : role-plays
situation 1: errant student apologizing to
lecturer for late work
situation 2: late for an appointment
situation 3: physician and patient
situation 4: job interview

unstructured tasks: discussion on personal
preferences, importance of work, career and
aspirations.

Table 9. Activities and Themes of Oral Performance Task
Sessions taped.

Note:

=====

Each of the subjects from all 5 groups of subjects went through all 6 sessions as described above with the exception of session no.:1 where for obvious reasons, the group of native speakers of English were not asked to do the translation part of L1 into L2.

For better clarity, the following is a descriptive account of the individual performance tasks sessions. As the activities included in the longitudinal study are very much similar to the ones in the pilot study this description will be kept to a minimum and will not include details of sessions such as the re-tell picture sequence in L1 and L2, role-plays and the group discussions as detailed accounts of those sessions have already been previously mentioned earlier in this chapter.

3.4.3 Elaboration of the Performance Tasks Sessions

=====
Session no. 1:

structured task: Translation of L1 paragraph into L2. As explained above, only the Malay subjects were asked to complete this type of task. 2 paragraphs of similiar length (12-13 words) written in Bahasa Malaysia (the L1) were presented to the Malay subjects. Working in pairs, they were then told to translate the paragraphs into English after a few minutes of preparation.

In spite of its many difficulties, translations can still be considered a good way of uncovering the underlying processes involved with the production as well as the reception of speech. It should be stressed here however, in pursuing this goal, the use of thinking-aloud (Haastrup 1987; Gerloff 1987) protocols had been made the central methodological device of this type of activity so as to uncover the processes which may not be evident in the resulting text. The predetermined character of the content and expression of utterances is most helpful to me as a researcher because it increases the transparence of individual planning on the part of the subjects . For better measures, pair thinking aloud were set up in this study instead of individual ones as it stimulates informants to verbalize all their conscious thought processes better because they need to explain and justify their hypotheses about word meaning to their fellow informant. A retrospective probing followed every such translation activity so that the combined method may yield better inferencing procedures,

offering rich and highly informative data.

unstructured tasks: free narration of personal themes like hobbies/interest, first year experience at college, etc. The subjects were given topics that are of personal interest to them so as to elicit more natural and uninhibited speech samples. (please refer to p.113 for rationale of such activity)

Session no.2: The first unstructured task was an **Abstract Picture Description Task**. Two thought-provoking pictures were provided which contained complex (visually) details to challenge both the NS and NNS subjects (see materials B1 and B2 in Appendix). Thus, this task was extremely suitable for obtaining comparable NNS/NS data. The subjects were asked to look at them and to make clear in English what objects s/he saw, either by naming it, or in any other way. The pilot study conducted earlier had revealed that even highly proficient learners of English did not know the conventional English names/phrases to describe some of the details that were present.

The second unstructured task was a concrete picture description task by one subject while the other draws the picture out according to the descriptions given. (please refer to p.113-114) and materials numbered B3 and B4 in the Appendix for further descriptions of similar activity).

The group discussion that follows shortly is also to elicit more natural speech samples through the use of themes/issues that are of interest to the subjects.

Session no.3: The first part was a story re-tell task. The subjects were given 4 pieces of cartoon strips (see materials B5 to B8 in the Appendix). The cut-up version of the cartoon strip were presented to one subject in random order and the other was given the original version of the cartoon strip. The subject with the original version was asked to re-tell the story line without omitting any details present. His partner then re-arranges the cartoon strips in the correct sequence. Upon completion, they exchanged roles and another cartoon strip was presented until all 4 cartoon strips were done. Because I have the knowledge of the expected responses (language items), this task provided me with ~~the~~ opportunities to carry out a comparative study among the different groups of subjects in their attempts to overcome their language inadequacies in recalling some of these items.

Session no: 4, 5 and 6:

For descriptions of similiar sessions to tasks no.:4, 5 and 6 please refer to Oral Performance Tasks sessions no:1 and 2 and 3 above (p.126-128) and materials numbered B9 to B12 in the Appendix for further details).

As the researcher, I conducted all the elicitation tasks myself and was present during all the sessions that did not require my participation, for instance, during the role-plays, pair and group work where the subjects are left among themselves to complete the tasks on hand. I arranged each session by meeting each group during their English hours in their various classrooms (except for the video-taped sessions where the subjects were placed in a special room with concealed cameras operating) so that the students would feel at ease in their own surroundings. To put students at their ease during the more structured phase of the elicitation task sessions, they were told that this was not a test but part of a personal research and that in no way would they be affected by marking or analysis of their work. Sufficient time was allowed for explanation and ample time was given for each subject to complete the tasks. We can say that ^{as far as possible,} each test was carried out for the same period of time and under the same conditions.

Each session was immediately followed by an introspective study through interviews to reconfirm my findings with the subjects descriptions of their attempts during the performance tasks. As mentioned earlier, I am rather cautious in using introspection to analyse the subjects' performance as the area is a rather contentious one. The findings of the retrospective study is only one of the many measures which I have used to validate my

hypotheses. Please refer to 3.6 below for discussion on the matter.

In transcribing performance data and in identifying, recovering and labelling CSs, quite a few problems arose. For instance, the informal and unstructured nature of the second half of the sessions sometimes disturbed the normal turn-taking conventions of group discussions. Occasionally high input generators (Seliger 1977) tended to dominate and control the discussion, apparently intimidating the others. Low risk-takers (Beebe 1983) ventured to speak only minimally and then again, often very softly, diffidently and inaudibly.

By far the most significant problems to be tackled were procedural. The detection, identification, and labelling of strategies was not easy. For the first half of the sessions where the analyst/experimenter controls the speech behaviour of the subjects in some manner by trying to elicit the desired vocabulary (Paribakht 1982), or the desired phrase (Ervin 1979, Ellis 1984), or specific structures (Hamayan and Tucker 1979), the detection of CSs is relatively easy. All the analyst has to do is study how the speaker tried to express the particular TL item(s). The analyst's search for CSs in the corpus is confined to the contexts where the desired TL items are expected to occur.

However, since this study also includes the more unstructured type of elicitation tasks, the unelicited speech generated from such activities posed many problems. For instance, it is difficult to determine what part of the IL data contains or amounts to a CS since the analyst is not scanning the data just looking at the contexts of potential occurrence of predetermined language items, and since there are few overt strategy markers except in the case of cooperative strategies.

As mentioned earlier (p.14 and 87), for the purpose of this study, Communication Strategies are defined as attempts by learners to overcome problems in achieving their intended communicative goals, owing to inadequate competence in the target language. When the learners decide to abandon the realization of a communicative goal wholly or partially, they are resorting to Avoidance Strategies, and when they circumvent or overcome the problem inventively, they are resorting to Achievement Strategies (Tarone 1980:417-31).

3.5 Criteria for Identification and Detection of CS =====

Taking into account the defining criteria of CSs in the literature (see 2.3 and 4.1), and also the unelicited spontaneity of the data, I have used the following criteria to detect and identify CSs in my data:

1. Noticeable deviance from native speaker norm in the IL syntax or word choice discourse pattern;

2. Apparent, obvious desire on the part of the speaker to communicate 'meaning' to listener(s);
3. Evident and sometimes repetitive attempts to seek alternative ways, including repairs and appeals, to communicate and negotiate meaning.
4. Overt pauses, hesitational and other temporal features in the speaker's communicative behaviour; and
5. Presence of paralinguistic and kinesic features both in lieu and in support of linguistic inadequacy.

I have used my own judgement and intuition and also my memory of the elicitation tasks sessions in the identification of CSs from the corpus. Using other raters would be unlikely to be productive, as no other rater would have the same amount of information available to them as I have since I was the only one present during all the sessions.

Non-linguistic strategies like mime, gestures and other paralinguistic features both in support of and in lieu of verbal strategies have also been noted and incorporated into the study.

3.6 Use of Introspection Study

=====

In studies of CSs, the use of observed, supposedly strategic behaviour is often confirmed or repudiated by appealing to the speaker's introspection. The speaker is later asked by the researcher to introspect on his speech behaviour, (video-recorded performance are sometimes replayed for easier recall) comment on the speech planning and execution problems faced, and in general explain the particular speech behaviour. Initially, I had planned

to include introspective evidence as a crucial part of the study but after much deliberation, I decided to use it very sparingly for several reasons.

Firstly, 'a prerequisite of introspection is that the speakers are conscious of the linguistic problems they had' (Poulisse et al. 1984:87). How much of interlanguage performance is a result of conscious monitoring (in the 'Krashenian' sense) and how much is unconscious intuition is hard to determine. Learners may have problems in target language planning without their being conscious of it. On the other hand, they might think or believe they have a problem when in reality they have none. Besides, even if there is a problem it is introspectively indeterminate whether an apparent solution to the problem is actually a conscious/deliberate use of the CSs or simply a result of the activation of an automated language pattern. In fact, the consciousness-unconsciousness parameter is best considered a continuum rather than as a present-or-absent phenomenon (see 2.3.1.).

Secondly, introspective information has to be sought within a reasonable time of the utterance while things are still clear and fresh in memory. In the present setting with several participants interacting for up to one hour continuously, this was not feasible.

Thirdly, as the researcher, I spoke only one of the first languages of the participants and thus had only sufficient control over the Malay subjects' speech performance and not the others.

Finally, introspection in retrospect will reveal only what the speaker thinks at the time of introspection which is not necessarily his communicative intent at the time of his utterance. Moreover, as argued by most researchers, the accuracy of the answers cannot necessarily be relied on; given the best will in the world the learners may be influenced by their desire to give the answer they think we will like, or they may simply not be very good at making generalizations about their own behaviour - after all, if they were, there would be no need for a discipline of psychology (Cook, 1986:11). After numerous attempts, I decided to use the introspective study very sparingly after all the other alternative means of detecting and classifying communication strategies had been exhausted.

After identifying, marking and labelling the strategies, the CSs displayed were analysed and classified. Details of the analysis and the classification of CSs (which I have created for the study - see Table 10), and the issues involved therein, are discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Classification of the CS

4.1. Fundamental Problems in Data Analysis

Detecting, identifying and labelling Communication Strategies, particularly as they occur in spontaneous speech, is not easy. The most fundamental problem is the detection of strategic behaviour on the part of the learner and crucial to this is the rather tenuous relationship and distribution between CSs and interlanguage errors⁷. From a psycholinguistic perspective, both are learner-initiated phenomena. However, the last two of the three features characterizing strategic behaviour (Bialystok 1984) - **problematicity, consciousness and intentionality** -- can sometimes be absent in errors. Moreover, errors by definition are instances of IL performance deviant from some of the TL norm, whereas CSs can but do not necessarily have to be deviant. Furthermore, the pedagogical focus of EA is more on the *raison d'etre* of the errors, while that of CS analysis is their mode and manner of manifestation.

Confusion between strategies and errors is not uncommon in interlanguage studies (see Selinker 1972, Stovall 1977). There is undoubtedly a considerable amount of overlap between the two. Richards 1973 includes IL errors among strategies, and overgeneralization, a classic IL error, is identified also as a

CS by Palmberg 1978a. An overgeneralization form like 'goed' for 'went' can also be a deliberate CS employed by the learner (see Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1976). Consequently, the difficulty of differentiating strategies from errors is still a daunting problem with researchers and analysts. It is impossible to decide conclusively whether, in producing a deviant surface form, the learner has merely presented an item from his interlanguage, or whether he has, consciously or unconsciously, used it as a strategy to overcome a language gap that impedes his communicative desire. Most analysts have not given enough consideration to this problem, particularly since closed (structured) task experiments (see Poulisse et al. 1984) do not have the same detection problems as open task (unstructured) ones with uncontrolled language data.

The most specific attempts to discuss and suggest ways of tackling this problem are by Raupach 1983 and Faerch and Kasper 1983c. Raupach suggests three main criteria for the identification of CSs, namely, **deviance of learner utterance**, **pausological phenomenon (pauses and hesitation features)**, and **introspectional information**. He also rightly points out that communicative behaviour in a learner's L2 performance can be adequately interpreted only in the light of his L1 behaviour (1983:207). This is particularly true since temporal and diction features like pauses, lengthening of syllabus, false starts, repairs, repetitions, use of fillers etc., could be L1-related,

or sometimes talk-related or even personally-related. However for some real practical reasons, L1 behaviour of the participants has not been considered for this study.

The main psycholinguistic difference between strategic and (merely) errant behaviour appears to stem from differences at the speech planning stage in that strategic behaviour is a result of (and hence theoretically at least an index to) **problems in speech planning** and a consequent modification in the original communicative goal. However, only a small part of the planning problem shows up in the surface performance. It may well be that there are some systematic correlations between speech planning and features of surface performance.

As Faerch and Kasper point out, the task most central to the identification of CSs is 'to find out whether there are specific features of performance which unambiguously indicate that the planning/execution process leading to this performance has been strategic' (1983c:213). They have tried to compare the performance features relating to strategic and non-strategic planning and have listed some IL-specific performance features identified by other analysts -- **rate of articulation** (Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1980), **frequency and location of unfilled pauses** (Purschel 1975, Grosjean 1980), **drawls** (Raupach 1980), and **slips**.

"One such signal is slow rate of articulation (although this is always relative and ought to be assessed in comparison with L1 rate of articulation or L2 rate when the speaker is sure of himself). Other such signals are phenomena like "self-repair" such as : "...he was asked to bring...erm...to...to take along some records" and pauses, filled or unfilled. Further there are nervous laughs, drawls, gambits "you know", "what's it called" etc., repeats and false starts. Often, too, a rising intonation is a sign of uncertainty marking strategy use.

(Faerch and Kasper, 1983:221)

All of them are signs indicating that the speaker is having trouble verbalising his thoughts and that in all probability he is using strategies in his verbal planning. His verbalisation process shows little automatisisation as yet.

But they warn that the analyst has 'to be careful not to overhastily attribute any non-native like use of temporal variables to specific planning or execution problems the learner experiences' (p.220) and that 'no performance feature can itself be taken as unambiguous evidence for strategic planning' (p.224).

The five criteria for detection and identification that have been used in this study (see 3.5) reflect these fundamental problems. Given that errors and strategies are virtually impossible to disentangle and in any case a differentiation of the two is perhaps irrelevant. In analyzing my data, I have tried to use the five

said criteria to filter out errors that do not amount to strategic behaviour and do not have strategic behaviour or do not have strategic value.

Closely related to the problem of identifying strategies is the relationship between communication strategies and some other aspects of learner behaviour (repairs, repetitions, search and retrieval tactics), and some interactional phenomenon (appeals and checks). Most of these are fairly common in one's native language behaviour and therefore the attributes that would make them part of strategic behaviour in L2 are not clearly marked. CSs themselves are by no means confined to language learners or to speech in second or other languages, and researchers have acknowledged it. 'In fact, to the extent that there is always a gap between a speaker and hearer's linguistic and semantic systems, this [occurrences of CSs in L1] is undoubtedly so' (Tarone 1981:289). 'Although most of the problems in one's L1 are likely to be those of lexical retrieval (Tarone 1981, Blum and Levenston 1978), most teachers have had experiential evidence of even native speaker students using paraphrases and circumlocution trying to get around structures they have had problems with. Faerch and Kasper 1983c find temporal variables like rate of articulation and pauses, repairs and slips to be performance features indicative of speech planning in both L1 and L2.

Again Raupach 1981 finds that 'the distribution of possible strategy marker in L1 differs markedly from that in L2 performance' (p.206) and argues that 'some form of *communicative* behaviour in a learner's L2 performance can be adequately interpreted only in light of his L1 behaviour' (p.207). To complicate matters, pausing, repeating, feedback checking and appealing can be quite idiosyncratic with some people. (There certainly was at least one participant in the Intermediate level in this study with whom a rising intonation every now and then was a diction feature. But it was often interpreted by me as the researcher and peers as an indirect appeal for help). And at the same time each one of these aspects of learner behaviour could potentially constitute purposeful, strategic *communicative* behaviour. Repetition and Repair have been found to have significant bearing on speech planning (Fathman 1980), and at least one study (Tarone and Yule 1983) has found evidence for strategic use of repetition (see also Poulisse et al 1984).

The status of appeals and checks is slightly more complicated. Paribakht neutralizes the difference between "Checks" and "Appeals" and denies them any status as CSs when she says:

It seems that there is no solid ground to consider "appeal" as a CS in that one is going beyond observing the speaker's *communicative* behaviour and is making assumptions about the speaker's *communicative* activities. That is, one is not really certain whether a speaker's "direct appeal" (Tarone 1977) is for learning or immediate communicative purpose. Furthermore, "verification" (Bialystok personal communication 1979) follows a speech production not to solve a *communicative*

problem but to check if one's interlocutor has understood, or agrees with one's linguistic output (in the case of learners), or with the nature of the given information (in the case of all speakers) (1982:25).

But there is no denying that interactional strategies do perform communicative functions and they are indeed used to overcome communicative difficulties. Therefore I have included them in the list of CSs (see Table 10 - Classification of CSs) which I have tabulated.

A third problem is the identification and labelling of the strategies. The task of labelling is at once simplified and complicated by the profusion of labels and terms currently in use in the literature. The abundance of terms provides one with a label for almost every imaginable strategy. The difficulty, however, is that much of the terminology is vague and imprecise. There is considerable overlap and coreferentiality without coextensiveness of denotation among many of the terms. The most exhaustive list of terms to date is provided by Poulisse et al. 1984, who list 50 terms.

There seems to be a general consensus that a primary dichotomy is needed between the so-called Avoidance Strategies, where the communicator considerably reduces or even abandons his/her original communicative goal, and the so-called Achievement

Strategies, where the communicator tries to expand his/her resources to achieve his/her goal rather than reduce his/her message or information content. Although this distinction seems to be a useful one epistemologically, the term Avoidance Strategy is vague and misleading for several reasons. Firstly, there is little agreement among analysts in the field as to what behaviours constitute avoidance. The term itself is a creation of Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1976, where it is a cover term for six different strategies as diverse as Appeal to Authority and Message abandonment. Hamayan and Tucker, however, treat it as purely a structural thing when they say 'avoidance was operationally defined as an instance where the child was encouraged to use a specific structure -- due to the context of the story -- but used another' (1979:86).

Avoidance refers to 'escape routes' in Ickenroth (1975:10) whereas to Palmberg 1979b it is a cover term for Topic Avoidance, Message Abandonment and Message Reduction. Blum and Levenston 1977 feel that avoidance is not so much a single strategy as it is the motivating factor behind various strategies, and argue that avoidance in learners is only 'apparent avoidance' as against 'true avoidance', which involves voluntary choice as with teachers and editors. In some ways even the basic dichotomy between Avoidance and Achievement Strategies appears vacuous since the CSs of Paraphrase and Circumlocution (see 4.2.) are avoidance strategies syntactically but can be Achievement

strategies for lexical items. Palmberg 1978a classifies the use of **hyponymic relations** (like the use of animals for ants) as Avoidance/Message Reduction, but considers the use of hyponymic relations (like the use of "hand" for "arm") as Achievement Strategy.

Again, it is difficult to see how Message Reduction (that is, saying less, or less precisely than what you intended to say - Corder 1983a), which is an avoidance strategy, can be separated from Approximation (that is, like saying 'pipe' for waterpipe' - Tarone 1977), which is listed as an Achievement Strategy. Reduction strategies are often unmarked and therefore hard to identify. I have included them in the typology because I want to remind teachers of their existence and to make them realise that often learners, for fear of making mistakes, leave things unsaid though they may be what they want to say, without trying to verbalise them with the help of Achievement Strategies. Learners seem to think that there must be a "correct" way of saying what they have in mind. For these reasons, I strongly feel that Achievement Strategies should be encouraged in spite of all the consequences they may have in terms of the "correctness" of the language, if only to **diminish** our learners' reduction behaviour.

Secondly, avoidance is difficult, if not impossible, to identify without an experiment that is specifically designed to detect avoidance. Finally, what is known as Avoidance Strategy is also known by other names like Reduction Strategy (Faerch and Kasper 1983b) and Message Adjustment Strategy (Corder 1983).

Part of the nebulosity in terminological exactitude derives from the inherently ambiguous nature of the strategies themselves, making, as Bialystok and Smith 1985 remark, labels useful for description but unhelpful for explanation. Researchers with different objectives and points of view have independently come up with different labels for what is basically similar strategic behaviour. Conversely, different types of behaviour have occasionally shared the same label depending on the orientation of the researchers. A few examples will illustrate the problem. Tarone 1981 defines Approximation as 'the 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 learner' (p.286). This is hardly different from Semantic Contiguity, which is defined as 'using a term which shares some semantic elements with the target concept but does not exactly communicate the desired meaning' (Paribakht 1982:46). However, Approximation is classified as a subcategory of Paraphrasing, while Semantic Contiguity is not. Similarly, the same can be said about the

distinction between Meaning Replacement and Semantic Avoidance. Conversely, the strategy of using words or expressions from L1 in the IL has been variously called Borrowing (Poullisse et al 1984), Code Switching (Faerch and Kasper 1980), and Language Switch (Bialystok and Frohlich 1980).

The term that is by far the most confusing and the most difficult to define and constrain is **Paraphrase**. The CSs that can be subsumed under Paraphrase or that outline semantic relations of a paraphrastic nature are by far the most frequent IL-based CSs and hence presumably the most favoured. Paraphrase can be, and in some cases has been, the cover category for any or all of a large number of strategies like Circumlocution, Description, Exemplification, Approximation, Coinage, Restructuring, Loan Translation, Meaning Replacement, Synonym and Semantic Contiguity since all of these basically involve expressing the desired meaning in an alternative way (It may not even be noticed if the speaker has a good enough command of the TL). On the other hand, it can be a category, separate and independent from any of these or replacing or overlapping with any of these depending upon the author's point of view, purpose of analysis and resulting criteria of classification.

4.2. Rationale for labelling and classification

The nature, type and use of CSs have been both proposed and found to be sensitive to a number of factors including proficiency level (Paribakht 1982), elicitation techniques (Palmberg 1979b), discourse type (Fakhri 1984), the nature of interaction, discourse function, and the personality and psycho-social attributes of the learner (Corder 1978, Tarone 1977). It is therefore likely that the activation, frequency and spread of CSs here are specific to my experiment frame. While detecting and identifying CSs, I did not 'read' in any particular strategy. In other words, I did not approach the corpus with preconceived notions of possible strategies in order to 'discover' them, but merely noted and listed what strategies there appeared to be. Similarly, the classification that I have adopted derives from the CSs observed and tabulated. In order not to add to the confusion of terminological proliferation, I have tried as much as possible to utilize existing terms and labels. The classification is given in Table 10, and individual strategies are defined, explained and exemplified afterwards.

A few details of documentation of strategies need to be mentioned here to clarify statistics:

1. Repeated occurrences of the same strategy in the same verbal form in the same discourse move are counted as one occurrence.

However, different verbal realizations of the same strategy even within the same move are counted as two occurrences. For example, in the following excerpt taken from a concrete picture description activity (see p.404 of the Appendix) 'cup' has been used to mean 'bucket', it is counted only as one occurrence of approximation:

Example

=====

Subject 89 : the boy..the boy sit on the cup...he afraid
..police man...he sit on cup..and smoke come out
of cup...

However, the words 'glass' and 'cup' in the following text are counted as two occurrences of Borrowing (the direct transl. of the two words both meant 'beaker' in the Malay language - the subject's L1):

Example

=====

Subject 88 : on the top..there is a glass..the glass is big and
round... next..also another cup..like before but..
but with long neck...

(refer to p. 401- Appendix)

2. Strategic exploitation of the same kind of semantic relation can be labelled differentially at different linguistic levels. Use of synonymic relations : **synonym** at the **lexical** level, **substitution** at the **phrasal** level and **paraphrase** at the **clausal or sentence level**. Thus, my focus is only on the surface or sentence level to avoid ambiguity.
3. One instance of strategic behaviour could be interpreted as any one of several strategies. For example, the following could be an instance of Repetition of repair, Synonym, Substitution or Paraphrase:

Example

=====

Subject 88 : different y'know..a woman is very...so smooth...yah
... soft!...not strong...

(refer to p.399 - Appendix)

In such cases the strategy will be listed only **once** under one label that seems contextually most appropriate if all the alternatives fall under the same general category. (In the above

example, for instance, all the alternatives are IL-based strategies). However, if one instance of strategic behaviour could be interpreted as representing several strategies cutting across general categories like Borrowing (Linguistic - non-TL based), circumlocution (Linguistic - TL based) and Appeal (Interactional), then it will be listed under all those labels:

Example:

=====

Subject 91: ..the thief..the thief want to..want to..err...
merompak? [dir.transl."rob"] ..err..I don't know how
to say.. merompak? (looking at interviewer for help)
it is like a crime...
(refer to p. 406 for full details)

4. If there is a CS embedded within a CS, like Restructuring within Circumlocution, both will be listed under respective labels.

Further Rationale for the Classification of Table 10

=====

Although the general format of the classification draws upon several of the existing taxonomies given in 2.4. the conceptual organisation is influenced by Bialystok 1983 and Haastrup and Phillipson 1983. The classification (Table 10) which I have created for this study is based on two notions : the communicative channel and mode use (section I, II and III), and the source of the information on which the strategies are based (Division A and B of section I).

The division of Linguistic Strategies into Non-TL based and TL-based Strategies (section I A and B) is well motivated at least

for two reasons. First, although the exact role of first or other base languages available to the learner of a TL is undefined and controversial, the fact that existing linguistic information in the learner's mind does affect new linguistic information is now widely accepted (Gass and Selinker 1983). So, if there is any change in the pattern of dependence on base languages in the CSs of learners at different levels of proficiency, the change will at least be indicative of the development of the learner's IL vis a vis their base languages.

Secondly, there is evidence in error analysis of a quantitative decrease in incidence on transfer errors (L1 based), and an increase in incidence on overgeneralization errors (TL based) as the proficiency in TL increases (Taylor 1975). So if increased proficiency can cause a shift in error pattern from L1 based to TL based errors, it is possible, perhaps even likely, that the same tendency may be repeated in the use of CSs (for further discussion please refer to Bialystok and Smith 1985's study of "control-based and knowledge-based" approach to interlanguage studies).

Table 10. Classification of Communication Strategies

NON-ACHIEVEMENT STRATEGIES

Abandonment of topic and message

ACHIEVEMENT STRATEGIES

I. Linguistic

A. Non-TL based

1. Borrowing
2. Foreignizing
3. Direct Translation
4. Language Switch

B. TL-based

1. Word coinage
2. Chunking (prefabricated patterns)
3. Simplification/Direct Speech Pattern (DSP)
4. Repetition
 - a. for emphasis/filler
 - b. for repair/grammaticality
5. Replacement Strategies
 - a. Paraphrase
 - b. Synonym
 - c. Circumlocution
 - d. Description/Explication
 - e. Verbal Gesture

II. Non-linguistic

1. Paralanguage
2. Mime
3. Gesture

III. Interactional

A. Cooperative

1. Appeal
 - a. direct
 - b. Indirect
2. Checking

B. Non-cooperative

- Admission of ignorance
- a. to apologize
 - b. to abandon

The different CSs with required explanation of nomenclature and typical examples for the classification - Table 10 above are as follows:

NON-ACHIEVEMENT STRATEGIES

Topic Abandonment : Learner abandons topic, that is, decides to stop talking about it

Interviewer: Could you give some advice to the new student since you've already been here a long time and know your way around?

Subject 88 : (long silence)

Interviewer: It's hard to talk about ?

Subject 88 : I don't know...you must do certain things...but they have different ways...hard to say..

Interviewer: Yes..that's what I'm interested in..there are certain things one does not do around here and things one should do to survive..

Subject 88 : I don't know...I want to..I don't know..
(long silence)

Message Abandonment: Learner decides to discontinue a particular line of discussion but continue talking about other aspects of the same topic.

Interviewer : Can you tell me about the cartoon strip?

Subject 29 : there is two little boys...maybe they went for a shopping so one day they saw one man **with a ... trying to...** (long silence) so these two boys know that it's not a good thing so they try to catch the thief so second...we go to the second picture ...**they try...** (long pause) the thief ran away...and drop all the things that he take from the shop so the two boys still carry on chasing...

ACHIEVEMENT STRATEGIES

I. Linguistic

A. **Non-TL based** : These are strategies where the source of information or the actual utterance is a language other than the TL, usually though not always, the learner's dominant language.

1. **Borrowing**: Learner borrows a word or expression from one of his dominant languages (often L1) uses it unchanged in English. In other words, it is an attempt to use a word or phrase from any non-target language in the TL to embody or represent the meaning it has in that language. The learner may or may not be aware of the possibility of an English cognate.

Subject 82: the man wearing baju belang...
[dir.transl."striped shirt"]...want to..want
to..steal watch...in shop.

2. **Foreignization**: Learner uses a word from a non-target language but modifies it to make it look like an English word.

Subject 92: I don't know...sometimes I think it's
it's...uhm..God's kudrat...cannot escape...
[dir.transl."fate"]..you will get it in
the end..

(note:learner pronounced the L1 word "kudrat" with
English accent).

3. **Direct Translation**: Learner translates the meaning into English:

Subject 88: the boy..the boy throw the fire-flower
into the pail..
[dir.transl."fire-cracker"].

4. **Language Switch**: Learner, instead of borrowing a word or phrase, switches into another language, usually L1.

Subject 82:... of course it is difficult to make every-
thing.... right..kena banyak sabar..uhm....
(switches into a burst of Malay) kalau tak
boleh gila..hidup ni memang susah..

- B. **TL based**: There are strategies where the learner does not seek recourse to other languages but uses and manipulates his IL resources to convey his meaning:

1. **Word coinage**: The learner makes up new words

Subject 87: He has a..erm..a handwatch (= wristwatch)

2. **Chunking (prefabricated pattern)**: Learner uses a language pattern that has been memorized in toto and reproduced as it stands:

Subject 22 : Hereby I would like to acknowledge you
since this semester was opened there's
alot of assignment... hereby I would
acknowledge you that I have been a...a
leader at my union...so I got alot of
problem to solve...just in case I should
to...divide my time to all this..so..
at the weekend I should to go home just
in case alot of my times at the weekend
is at home to help my mother handle with
such things..

3. **Simplification**: Learner tries to simplify the structure of the TL. The most common example is the use of Direct Speech Pattern (DSP) because the learner finds reported speech patterns in English difficult.

Subject 89: yah..no problem..and he can tell her "I'm going for...you know I am going my friend". Just tell her you are so he is not going to be worried about you.

4. **Repetition**: Learner repeats words, phrases, sentences. In this data repetitions have been found to perform two main strategic functions : Learner repeats for

1. self-repair / grammaticality or
2. for emphasis.

For repair/grammaticality:

Subject 94: my secondary school in Kota Bahru..after that I..after that I...changed..changed.. no! I continue in another school.

For emphasis/filter:

Subject 53: I think the teachers **must..must!**..very important...**must change!**so we can speak alot..practice speaking..

5. **Replacement Strategies** : Substitution has been used as a cover term for strategies where the learner tries to overcome lexical and syntactic inadequacies using alternative language expressions, based entirely on his IL repertoire.

- a. **Paraphrase**: Learner seeks alternative (often less direct) ways of making a point or conveying the message.

Subject 3: I have...six..six..erm..in the family.. uhh..three brothers and two sisters and me..six all... (note: subject gets around the unknown word "siblings")

- b. **Synonym**: Learner uses a word that has partial coreferentiality with the correct term.

Subject 90: But you are not a **doll in God's hand!**
(doll = puppet)

- c. **Circumlocution**: :Learner says something in a very roundabout way using many words which a native speaker would say using fewer words and syntactically

more directly. The following excerpt taken from an debate on "medicine man" vs. "medical doctors" is an example of this. In this example, the subject struggles with the unknown term "**medicine man**" and eventually manages to get the term across to the investigator:

Subject 89: yes..he like magic..use white clothe
..burnt the leaves...say something magic
and like doctor..but not doctor..don't
go..don't go to school and learn but he
very good..like doctor...can cure you
..he learn many years...

Interviewer: oh you mean he's like the traditional
medicine man?

Subject 89 : yes! yes! medicine man..that I want to
say..so hard! (laugh)
(see p. 403 for full details)

- d. Description/explanation: Learner tries to describe or explain a message or concept in TL, sometimes even giving illustrative examples inductively:

Subject 92: my friend from the same village..we are
good friends..we go everywhere together
..in the dream..he was walking with me
...and this house is also in the village
..very old house..we don't like to walk
there..people..old people say the house
is not safe...many people die in there
..very bad place..no..no..in Chinese we
say..it's very bad luck to any people go
there..

(see p.406 for full details)

Note: The subject above meant to say that the house was a "**haunted house**" but for some reason this term was not known to her, but by using several explanatory examples, the term was made explicit to her interlocutor.

- e. Verbal Gesture: Learner conveys the meaning through the manner or the way in which he utters a word or phrase. In other words he does with language what he wants to say in language.

Subject 92: the house is so **DARK!** and we **walk, walk and walk around the house till we are tired.**

Note: it is difficult to ascertain verbal gestures from L1 transfers as the two tend to overlap. The example above can also be categorized under borrowing or L1 transfer as the Malay speakers tend to use it in their Malay speech patterns and that this phenomenon is very rarely displayed by (the) native speakers of English.

II. Non-linguistic

1. Paralanguage : Learner uses various devices other than the verbal language code like exclamations, interjections, sound effects, tonal patterns and even graphic representations like diagrams.
2. Mime: Learner actually mimes or imitates or acts out the concept embodied in the required TL item.

Example:

=====

- imitates bashfulness for 'shy'; feigns falling unconscious for 'faints'

3. Gestures: Learner uses bodily, facial or manual gesture both to supplement or to substitute for their inadequate language.

Example:

=====

- gestures to indicate big stomach for 'pregnant'; shows gesture of a nun's habits for 'nun' etc.

III. Interactional Strategies: These are strategies where the learner shows overt awareness of his interlocutors. These strategies can be either cooperative or non-cooperative. In Cooperative strategies the speaker expects a verbal or non-verbal reaction from the teacher or peers, but in non-cooperative strategies he does not. The cooperative strategies have greater conditional relevance in that they make the teacher feel more

obligated to respond. (The term conditional relevance is used here in the same sense as it is used by Faerch and Kasper 1983c, to mean the degree to which a speech activity predetermines socially acceptable responding behaviour).

A. Cooperative

- 1a. Direct Appeal: Learner appeals for help directly to the teacher or, more rarely, his peers in explicit term to help out with the required language

Example:

=====

Subject 88 : the boy..the boy is with his friend in
..in..the.. **padang apa?**

[dir.transl."how do you say field?"]

Interviewer: field

Subject 88 : ah..yes..in the field..

(see p. 399 for full details)

- 1b. Indirect Appeal: Learner appeals implicitly through rising intonation, hesitation or even expectant look.

Example:

=====

Subject 89 : er..it's not clear, er..**maybe er..a pail?**

(see p. 404 for full details)

2. Check: Learner makes sure the interlocutor is listening and participating by using various explicit 'Do you understand?' and not so explicit 'ok?' check signals.

B. Non-cooperative

1. Admission of ignorance : learner admits inadequacy of language or ignorance of a TL-word or expression, mainly to apologize for communicative failure, but occasionally also as a prelude to abandoning the message.

Example:

=====

Subject 88: there is another group of students who control the
place..I don't know how to say in English..
perfect..pre.. I don't know...

(subject refuse to go on)

(see p.399 for full details)

4.3. Some special features of the study

As mentioned in the previous section, the nature, type and use of CSs in L2 have been known to be sensitive to a number of factors related to the learner, experimental design and communicative task. Conversely, the basis for identification, labelling and classification of CSs can be influenced, conditioned, or controlled by the researcher's interests and goals too. There are indeed some features specific to this study that are reflected in my preferences and innovations in terminology and classification. Following the conventions of some earlier works, notably Corder 1981 and Faerch and Kasper 1983b, I do recognize that there is an initial dichotomy between **Message Reduction/Avoidance strategies** and **Resource Expansion/ Achievement Strategies**. However, I have chosen to label them **Non-Achievement Strategies** and **Achievement Strategies**.

Apart from the inherent conceptual vagueness of the term Avoidance (see 5.1.3), the nature and methodology of a study like the present one are not very conducive to unambiguous detection and identification of avoidance or reductions of the communicator's original intended message or communicative intent. For the first half of the elicitation task sessions, there were not so many problems as the tasks are more controlled and I could rely on the range of expected 'TL items' from the corpus but the

second half of the corpus proved to be very problematic indeed. Spontaneous, real-life communication, which this study has aspired to capture, is open-ended, and the information structure of real communicative exchanges is uncontrolled except by the interlocutors themselves. Therefore, I have no 'ideal' target structure to compare the 'actual' with in order to verify what elements have been reduced or avoided, quite unlike controlled experiments where there are specific tasks and a pre-programmed discourse text (as in Hamayan and Tucker 1979). When avoidance or reduction of communicative intent is indeterminable textually or contextually, avoidance strategies are better identified in terms of their content with more determinable strategies and hence my preference for the term Non-Achievement Strategies for them. For reasons to be discussed later, I have decided to discount Non-Achievement Strategies.

The strategy where a learner uses in his IL a word or phrase unchanged from a non-target language has been variously called **Borrowing**, **Transfer** and **Language Switch** in the literature. I have followed Corder 1978 in preferring the label '**Borrowing**'. The term '**Transfer**' is often used to indicate a learning process and **Language Switch** is used here to indicate the learner's switching into extended use of a non-target language, usually L1.

Two existing labels in the literature, **Appeals** and **Mime**, have been refined in this study. I have made **Admission of Inadequacy of language** (see Palmberg 1978a) and their attempts to get help from their interlocutor(s) as two separate CSs in this study. The former has been labelled **Admission of Ignorance** and the latter, **Appeal**. Although both can occasionally be manifested in similar language form like '**What can I say?**', Appeals, both linguistically and contextually, contain greater conditional relevance (Faerch and Kasper 1983c). In other words, the interlocutor(s), through contextual, paralinguistic or pragmatic cues, reads whether the speaker's utterance does or does not amount to an appeal and decides whether it does or does not require a help-out response.

The other label, **Mime**, originally introduced by Tarone 1977, was felt to be denotationally too restricted to include non-verbal behaviour that was non-imitative. I have introduced a new label, **Gesture**, for non-verbal strategies that were gestural without being mimetic. The distinction appears to be well-motivated since gesturing is more frequent than miming in human conversation and takes place both in support or in lieu of verbal communication. For example, in response to the instruction "**describe what a spiral staircase is**", most L2 learners and even native speakers themselves would normally use gestures to describe the physical structure of this particular staircase rather than use linguistic strategies like circumlocution, etc.

Apart from Gesture, **Simplification (DSP)** has been added to existing strategies in the literature. Simplification is used here to denote attempts by learners to simplify the syntax, the most obvious of which is the use of **Direct Speech Pattern (DSP)**.

Finally, an effective though not very frequent strategy was for the learner to use a word or phrase as an illustration of its own meaning, like repeating the same performative verb to suggest continuity, repetition or incessance of action. This strategy has been named Verbal Gesture. In the following illustrative example, the subject is trying to say that her aunt's car kept on going:

Example:

=====

Subject 89: My aunt..we..our car..run..run..run..
(see p. 403 for full details)

Of course the above example could also be said to be a form of L1 Transfer or even Borrowing in the case of the Malay subjects as there is really no clear-cut way of ascertaining which strategies should be taken to account for the phenomena due to the complex psychological motivations underlying each of the strategies used.

Although in some ways the general concept of Simplification as learner strategies are not entirely new, it has not been used before in the same sense as they are used here. For instance, Richards 1975 has investigated Simplification as an L2

acquisition strategy. Palmberg 1978a has mentioned the possibility of it being a communication strategy, and Blum and Levenston 1978 have looked into the universals of lexical simplification as a CS. Verbal Gesture however, has not been mentioned at all in the literature. The most notable instances of Simplification in my study have to do with non-use of reported speech. The spontaneous, open-ended nature of my data, the communicative frame and the task-induced discourse types of the study were all conducive to the use of these new strategies and hence contributed to their identification. Their status as independent strategies is also motivated by their significance and relevance to second language learning and teaching, which will be taken up in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5 Analysis of Data

In this chapter I would like to highlight some of the findings of my study based on the data collected during the ~~trial-run~~ study and the 9 months longitudinal study. The list of 18 communication strategies covered in this study are by no means a final categorization of all existent communication strategies; nor are they necessarily mutually exclusive. The aim of my study is to simply help clarify the notion of communication strategies and to bring into focus the strategies that are more commonly used by the Malaysian students. Thus, the use of any typology in this section is certainly not an exhaustive list but merely to help organize my discussions on the various communication strategies used. It must also be mentioned here that in selecting the appropriate methods for analyzing my data I found the use of statistically orthodox tests like the Anova, etc. unsatisfactory and thus, had relied on my own computer programs designed to emphasize the select variables that were significant to my study.

5.1 Results of the Survey Questionnaire and the
Performance Tasks Sessions

To start with in this chapter, I would like to discuss the findings of the survey questionnaire (self-assessment by the subjects). The survey questionnaire was set up to find out about the subjects' assessment of their use of the communication strategies. Next, is an analysis of the subjects' actual use of the respective CSs during the various performance tasks to find out whether it conformed or did not conform~~ed~~ to this self-assessment survey.

After the analyses of the survey questionnaire, (section 5.3 onwards) I will then focus on the findings of the performance tasks sessions. In this section of the chapter, I would like to discuss two general features of unstructured and structured NNS-NNS communication found in the data which may have an impact on the CSs used by my subjects. Next, there is a brief analysis of both Non-Achievement and Achievement Strategies, and the surface realizations of one Achievement Strategy. Finally a quantitative analysis is carried out of the specific 18 strategies observed in the study across the three proficiency levels and ethnic groups.

General outline of the study:

Composition of subjects:

- I. University of Malaya - Malay students aged 18-25
- II. University of Malaya - Chinese students aged 18-25
- III. University of Malaya - Indian students aged 18-25
- IV. Malay students studying in Great Britain aged 18-25
- V. British students (native speakers of English) in Great Britain aged 18-25

The data collected from the 9 months study is from:

1. **Survey Questionnaire** - which all of the subjects (250) completed and it covers their own assessment on the use of specific CSs
2. **Oral Performance Tasks** - only 150 volunteers completed these sessions and it covers the actual use of the specific CSs in their oral performance.

1. **Survey Questionnaire:** (to see the subjects' own assessment on the use of the specific CSs)

250 Malaysian students from group I, II and III volunteered to complete the survey questionnaire which was given out during the beginning of the longitudinal study.

Breakdown of the 250 subjects according to ethnic groups:

Total number of Malay subjects = 150
Total number of Chinese = 50
Total number of Indians = 50

2. **Oral Performance Tasks** (to compare the actual use of CSs)

150 of the subjects actually completed the oral performance sessions.

Total number of Malays = 122 (53 from Group I and 69 from Group IV)
Total number of Chinese = 12 from Group II.
Total number of Indians = 16 from Group III.
Total number of British = 24 from Group V .

Analysis of Survey Questionnaire

The following is a summary of some of the findings of the analysis:

5.1.1 Fluency group

Based on the students' scores on their previous English test

(O levels):

Fluent group - F (those who scored distinction A1 or A2) - 15%
Middle group - M (those who scored credit C3,C4,C4 or C6)- 30%
Poor group - P (those who scored pass P7 or P8) - 54%

Fluency rating among the three Ethnic groups

Ethnic1 - represents the group of Malay students
Ethnic2 - represents the group of Chinese students
Ethnic3 - represents the group of Indian students

Ethnic1 - F group = (12%) M group = (29%) P group = (59%)
 Ethnic2 - F group = (33%) M group = (42%) P group = (25%)
 Ethnic3 - F group = (44%) M group = (38%) P group = (19%)

Note: The percentages presented on this page to page 2 are based on the the following formula :

$$\text{where } N = \text{no. of subjects who sat for the task} \quad \frac{N}{T} \times 100 = N \%$$

T = no. of subjects

Note:

It must also be noted here that the Malay students made up the majority of the subjects under the study (222 students), as there were only 12 Chinese students and 16 Indian students in the study. Thus, this fact should be taken into account when considering any figures presented here. (please refer to **Bar Graphs no. 1 and 2** and **Pie Chart no.:1** in Appendix C for further illustration)

5.1.2 Use of Communication Strategies according to the subjects' own assessment

From the results of the survey carried out, I found that the most commonly used communication strategies (according to the subjects' own assessment) are as follows:

<u>Order of Frequency of Use</u>		<u>% of those who did use</u>
1.	paraphrase	86%
2.	shorten message	83%
3.	circumlocution	79%
	synonym	79%
5.	body language	78%
	borrow from L1	78%
	direct appeal	78%
	gap fillers	78%
9.	indirect appeal	72%
10.	restructuring	70%
11.	simplification	69%
12.	keeping it going	56%
13.	direct transl.	55%
14.	avoid topic	54%
15.	message abandon	52%

15.	word coinage	52%
17.	chunking	48%
18.	foreignization	46%

Note:

Because of the nature of the Survey Questionnaire where the subjects are required to answer to individual questions involving the use of the specific CSs (please refer to the Appendix A for the said Survey Questionnaire), I have decided to **include only key CSs** (listed on p.170) in the Survey Questionnaire to avoid confusion and tedious amount of work and undue pressures on the subjects in completing the questionnaire as most of the subjects are not linguistically equipped to handle complex differentiation of the individual CSs. For instance, body language was listed as a strategy that would include mime, verbal gestures, gestures, para-linguistic and other non-linguistic strategies. Thus, the criteria for the selection of the CSs were for practical/pragmatic reasons.

By keeping the CSs to a minimum list, I hope to get more precise and honest responses from the subjects. In contrast, the Oral Performance Task Sessions were designed to include the **full range of the different CSs** (p.213) which I haven't been able to use in the Survey Questionnaire. The above list of CSs has been adapted from Tarone's (1980) taxonomy of communication strategies which has been abbreviated for brevity. Please refer to the following for the complete list of 18 specific CSs which was taken for study in this particular survey questionnaire:

<u>Comm.Strategies</u>	<u>Coding</u>	<u>Comm.Strategies</u>	<u>Coding</u>
Borrow from L1	CS1	Indirect appeal	CS10
Foreignizing	CS2	Direct appeal	CS11
Direct transl.	CS3	Word coinage	CS12
Avoid topic	CS4	Restructuring	CS13
Message abandonment	CS5	Chunking	CS14
Shorten message	CS6	Keeping it going	CS15
Paraphrase	CS7	Gap fillers	CS16
Synonym	CS8	Simplification	CS17
Body language	CS9	Circumlocution	CS18

Based on the ranking of the CSs listed in 5.1.2 above (subjects' self-assessment of the use of the CSS), it can be said here that the non-native speakers in this study claimed that their use of the communication strategies are very similiar to that of the native speakers. This is to say that none of the more L1 based strategies like Foreignizing, Word coinage, Direct translations are said to be employed during their oral production. They also claimed not to use Reduction strategies such as Message Abandonment and Avoidance of topic and that only Achievement strategies were used to help get their intended message across inspite of the innumerable language problems encountered. Whether this is what they actually do in reality or not will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter.

5.1.3 Analysis of use of C.S. in relation to fluency and ethnic groupings

5.1.3.1 Fluent group

At the advanced levels, one might expect to find few communication strategies, because learners who have proceeded this far might be expected to have a closer fit between their IL resources and their communicative needs. However, it could be argued that the better one's proficiency in the foreign language, the greater one's ambitions. For this reason one might still

expect a fair number of strategies, even in the speech of advanced learners. In the corpus of these group of subjects, it is difficult to find strategies which are clearly marked as such by the presence of (explicit or implicit) strategy markers. What happens at these levels might be that learners are more like native speakers in that they are better at anticipating problems and at solving these during the normal planning of speech. As a result there is no sign of problem-solving at the points in the learner text at which there might be recourse to a strategy.

However, this is not to say that now that they are becoming more proficient in their English, they no longer need to use any of the strategies which they used to utilize because like the native speakers some strategies like paraphrasing (CS6) are still clearly being employed by these fluent learners. More surprising is their use of both kinds of appeals - indirect (CS10) and direct appeals (CS11), which they had used before as beginners. Whenever these learners are confronted with an unknown lexical item, their immediate strategy is to ask the addressee directly to tell them what the item is. This can be best exemplified by an

excerpt taken from the dialogue between two subjects below:

Example:

=====

Subject 81: "...I've forgotten what they call these in the Science lab? (looking at Subject 76 for help)
..what are these called?

Subject 76: "Oh..those! yeah..uhm..they are conical flasks if I'm not mistaken..."
(refer to p.390 for full details)

Perhaps this phenomenon may be due to the fact that these fluent group of learners have learned to be more relaxed and confident in

their attitude towards the use of communication strategies; enough to realize that this does not in any way reflect poor proficiency in the target language. Through their exposure to the more complicated and varied transactions with other fluent speakers or with the native speakers themselves, they have seen that even the very fluent speakers may seek the help of the addressee especially when dealing with technical terms and though this maybe the more "lazy" way, they have realized that it is quite a common and acceptable strategy among even the native speakers themselves.

According to the responses collected on the survey questionnaire, the top Chinese students (who scored very high marks on the English exams) claimed that they tend to use very few C.S. and that even if they do use some of the strategies, it is only those TL-based CSs that are used by native speakers themselves (31%) such as:

- CS6 - shorten message
- CS7 - paraphrase
- CS8 - synonym
- CS16 - gap fillers
- CS18 - circumlocution

In actuality, these claims are quite accurate as validated by the observations made during the oral performance task sessions. The fluent group of subjects did reflect the use of more TL-based strategies like paraphrasing especially during tasks that required the recall of concrete or abstract nouns. This finding is in line with other studies on CS such as Bialystok 1983 and Paribakht 1982. Both Bialystok and Paribakht found that low-

proficiency learners tended to use more L1-based strategies than high proficiency learners : after all, it takes a certain amount of proficiency in the L2 to use L2-based strategies. Strategy preferences and L2 proficiency can be said to be related here though caution needs to be taken before one can conclude that L2 proficiency alone can be said to be the sole determining factor to account for the preference for the use of the TL-based strategies. As Haastrup and Phillipson 1983 study has revealed there are variables other than proficiency level that are relevant in determining how much learners make use of L1-based

strategies such as :

- learners' age,
- experience with previous non-school communication in the L2
- learners' knowledge of languages other than L1 and relevant L2
- personality characteristics
- type of content for which strategies are used (concrete/abstract)
- type of situation in which communication strategies takes place (real-life/test situation)

(Haastrup and Phillipson 1983:154)

The use of gap fillers also ranked very high among the more commonly used strategies by this group of very fluent language learners with the most common fillers being "you know...", "sort of...", "well..", "uhm...." etc. These gap fillers were employed sometimes at an average rate of almost one per sentence. What these fluent groups do not seem to display are the use of the more negative strategies (L1-based strategies) like foreignizing (CS2), and direct translation (CS3) in that order of ranking. These CSs have been observed to be displayed more by the poor to intermediate group of subjects in the study.

Note: please refer to the bar graph no.:3 overleaf for further illustration as to the correlation of use of communication strategies in relation to differences in fluency.

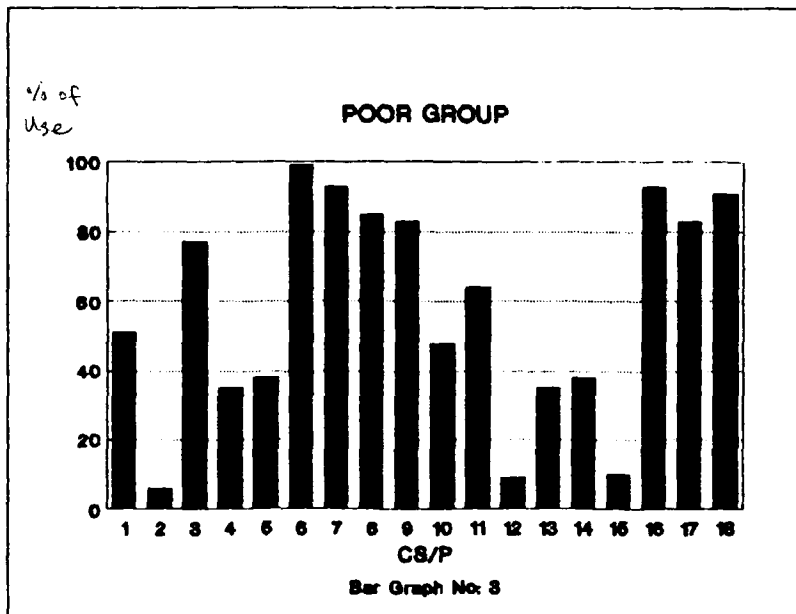
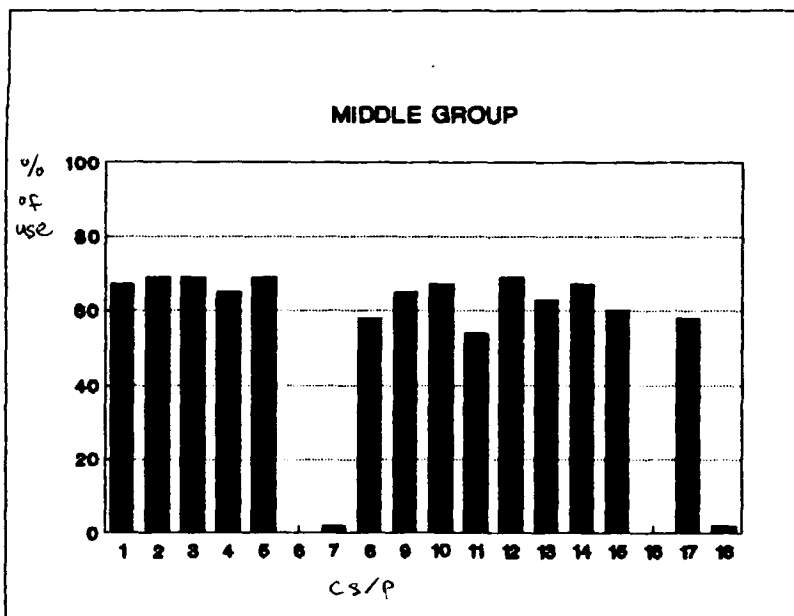
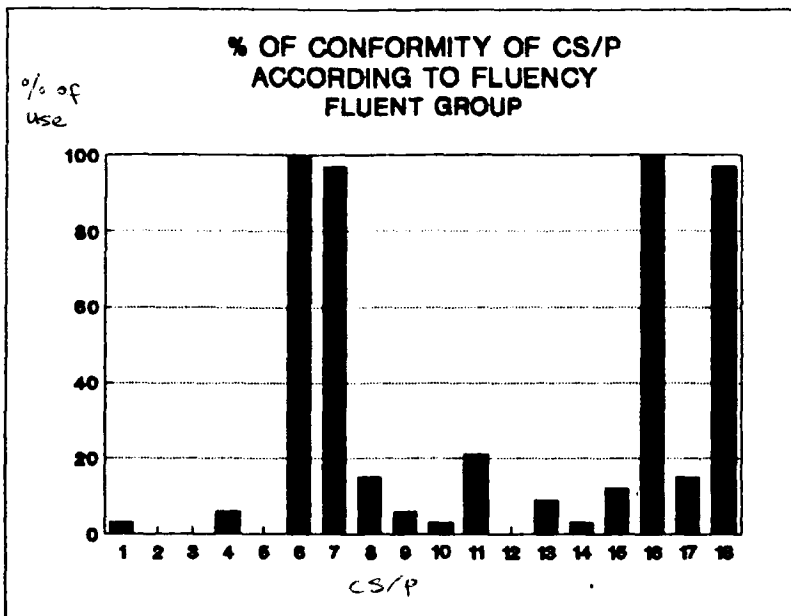


CHART NUMBER : 1

Correlation of C.S. (self rating) to fluency rating

Note: FD = students who are in the fluent group who do display the particular strategies

FLUENT GROUP

Frequency of Occurrence of CSs	% of F.D
1. paraphrase CS7	82%
2. circumlocution CS17	74%
synonym CS8	74%
4. shorten message CS6	66%
5. direct appeal CS11	58%
gap fillers CS16	58%
7. indirect appeal CS10	47%
8. body language CS9	42%
simplification CS17	42%
10. borrow from L1 CS3	39%
11. restructure CS13	37%
12. word coinage CS12	32%
13. dir. transl. CS3	29%
keep it going CS15	29%
15. foreignizing CS2	26%
chunking CS14	26%
17. message abandon CS5	21%
18. avoid topic CS4	18%

Note: the following percentages are obtained from the following formula:

no. of subjects who displayed the individual CSs x 100

total no. of subjects who sat for the performance tasks

i.e. N X 100

150

Out of a total of 150 subjects who participated in the study, the composite from the 3 proficiency levels :
 Fluent group = 15% Intermediate group = 30%
 Poor group = 54%

In reality, among all the groups of subjects observed under the study, it was observed that it was the top Indian students who use very few CSs during their oral performance (only 19%). It was noted that the strategies used by this top Indian subjects also happen to be the ones most commonly used by the group of native speakers. This finding confirmed the hypothesis which I had formulated at the beginning of the study. i.e. the fluent subjects tend to display less C.S. during their speech performance because like the native speakers, they have learned to conceal their use of strategies by predicting the communicative problem and planning a strategic solution well in advance of the problem spot itself. This finding is also in line with those of Faerch and Kasper 1983b:235). For the record, 51% of the subjects (regardless of their nationality) reflected this skill in their performance.

5.1.3.2 MIDDLE GROUP

Being in the middle proficiency group, these learners are at a language junction having passed the stage of beginners where most of the strategies displayed consisted mainly of the basic rudiments of the target language. Now they are at the stage of acquiring more strategies having been exposed to lot more target language than the poorer students, thus, they have acquired many more strategies ~~at their disposal~~ to help them with their communicative difficulties.

In short, at the intermediate level, learners use a larger repertoire of strategy types, although individual learners often

have their own preferences for specific types. Not surprisingly, strategies like gap fillers (CS16), circumlocution (CS18), synonym (CS8), shortening of message (CS6) and paraphrase (CS7) ranked very high on the list of these learners. At this stage, they begin to experiment with new strategies like gap fillers and circumlocution and to discard the more crude strategies like borrowing from L1 (CS1), direct translation (CS3) and (CS9) body language.

In a sense, these learners may need more particular attention and guidance as it is at this stage where fossilization (Krashen 1979) may occur if their communication problems are not corrected. More importantly, it is at this stage of language mastery, that the language learners can be best trained to exploit the strategies to his/her advantage. Many studies have indicated that since linguistic competence (formal mastery) has been observed to interact strongly with "strategic competence" (Canale and Swain 1980), and that appropriate strategy use requires only a minimal level of proficiency in the L2 (1983b:115), there is certainly a lot to be gained by these group of learners. In the words of Bialystok:

"The best strategies, it seems, are those which are based on the target language and take into account of the specific features of the intended concept. The best strategy users, on the other hand, are those who have adequate formal proficiency in the target language and are able to modify their strategy selection to account for the nature of the specific concept to be conveyed.

(1983:116)

As to the types of strategies which are not usually employed by this group of learners, they appear to fall roughly into two

groups: those who generally try to use achievement strategies, "achievers", and those who do the opposite, "reducers". The achievers tend to be very much like the fluent groups in that only achievement strategies were employed and they do not avoid the topic (CS4), or attempt to foreignize (CS2) or abandon their message even in the face of great communicative difficulties. The reducers, on the other hand, tend to use the less productive strategies like message abandonment, topic avoidance, etc.

I believe that there are two major factors that seem to determine whether learners become achievers or reducers. First, there is the learner's personality. A person who is careful and who never runs risks, if these can be avoided, may prefer reduction strategies rather than risk making mistakes. The second factor is the learner's experience of communication in the foreign language classroom. It is fair to assume that teachers who encourage their learners to chance their arm, who prefer an erroneous attempt to no attempt, will tend to encourage achievers, whereas teachers who focus on correctness on form rather than on content, will produce reducers.

(please refer to the following Chart no.: 2 for illustration).

CHART NUMBER : 2

=====
 Note: M.D. = students who are in the middle proficiency group
 and who display the particular strategies

MIDDLE GROUP

Frequency of Occurrence of CSs			% of M.D.
=====			=====
1.	gap fillers	CS16	34%
2.	circumlocution	CS18	26%
	shorten message	CS6	26%
4.	paraphrase	CS7	24%
5.	synonym	CS8	23%
	simplification	CS17	23%
7.	direct appeal	CS11	22%
8.	body language	CS9	21%
	borrow from L1	CS1	21%
10.	indirect appeal	CS10	20%
11.	restructure	CS13	19%
12.	keep it going	CS15	16%
	message abandon	CS5	16%
	word coinage	CS12	16%
	foreignizing	CS2	16%
	chunking	CS14	16%
17.	avoid topic	CS4	14%
	direct transl.	CS3	14%

 Note: Out of a total of 150 subjects who participated in the
 study, the composite from the 3 proficiency levels :
 Fluent group = 15% Intermediate group = 30%
 Poor group = 54%

the figures above are also obtained from the formula listed on
 page 175.

5.1.3.3 POOR GROUP

As explained earlier, these group of learners are at the very end
 of the spectrum, having learnt very few strategies to help them
 to overcome their language difficulties. Unsurprisingly, they tend
 to make extensive use of L1-based strategies like borrowing from

their L1 (CS1), using body language (CS7), shortening of message (CS6) and the use of both types of appeals (CS11 and CS10). (refer to Chart no.:3 below for illustration)

CHART NUMBER : 3

=====

Note: PD = students from the low proficiency group and who display the particular strategies

POOR GROUP

Frequency of Occurrence		% of P.D.
=====		=====
1.	borrow from L1 CS1 body language CS9	51% 51%
3.	paraphrase CS7	49%
4.	shorten message CS6	47%
5.	direct appeal CS11	46%
6.	restructure CS13 synonym CS8 indirect appeal CS10 gap fillers CS16	45% 45% 45% 45%
10.	circumlocution CS18	42%
11.	simplification CS17	40%
12.	direct transl. CS3 avoid topic CS4	37% 37%
14.	keep it going CS15	35%
15.	message abandon CS5	33%
16.	word coinage CS12	31%
17.	chunking CS14	29%
18.	foreignizing CS2	26%

Note: Out of a total of 150 subjects who participated in the study, the composite from the 3 proficiency levels :

Fluent group = 15% Intermediate group = 30%

Poor group = 54%

Please refer to formula on p. 175 for the above figures.

Often, non-linguistic strategies are substituted for linguistic strategies. As for appeals, some learners use them extensively and others hardly at all. It is in this area that language teachers can help. Learners who do not use **Appeals** would benefit from being

made aware of the advantages of asking for help instead of just giving up or using an L1 word.

There is some evidence (Bialystok/Frohlich 1980, Broderson/Gibson 1982) that those learners who have the most limited linguistic skills are also the least efficient strategy users. This is hardly surprising, as a prerequisite for using the more efficient IL based achievement strategies is the presence of IL knowledge. Most of these students tend to stick to a particular type of strategy because they are not aware of the great variety of strategies available or that they do not have the self-confidence to use the more unfamiliar strategies.

A great number of the students from these poor proficiency group tend to display strategies like chunking (CS14), word coinage (CS12), message abandonment (CS5) and keep it going (CS15) - crude strategies which tend not to appear elsewhere with the more proficient language learners. These strategies may hinder what these learners want to express but for the time being, they do help these students to keep going in the interactions. Perhaps this phenomenon may be due to factors like Transfer of Training, the dominant stress on fluency and communication of content rather than "accuracy of form" advocated by the language teachers at the Language Centre and past language experiences of the subjects involved in this study. The high motivation among the subjects to do well in oral English may also contribute to their attempts to utilize everything that they have "on hand" such as their L1 and IL based knowledge that may help them to convey their messages

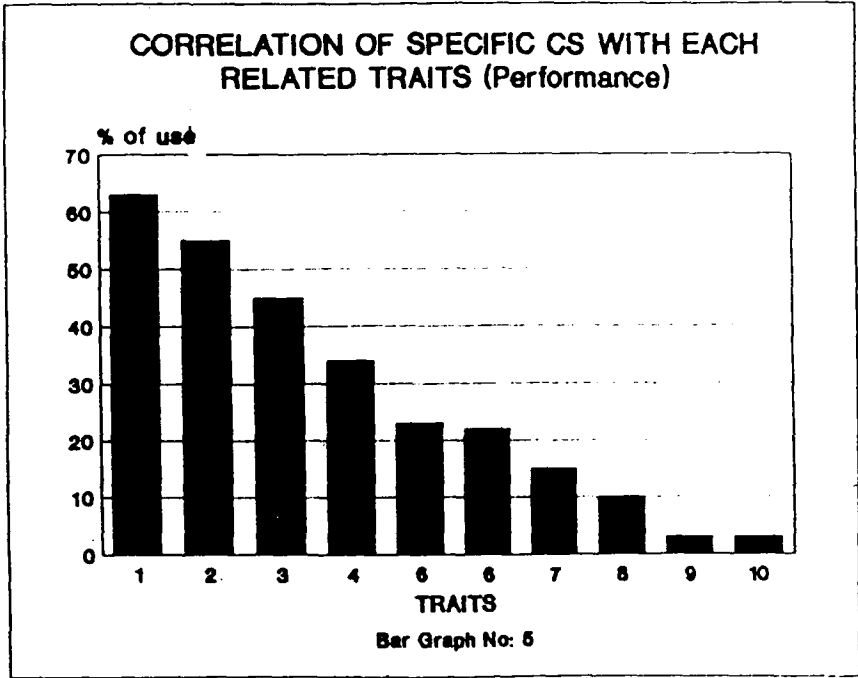
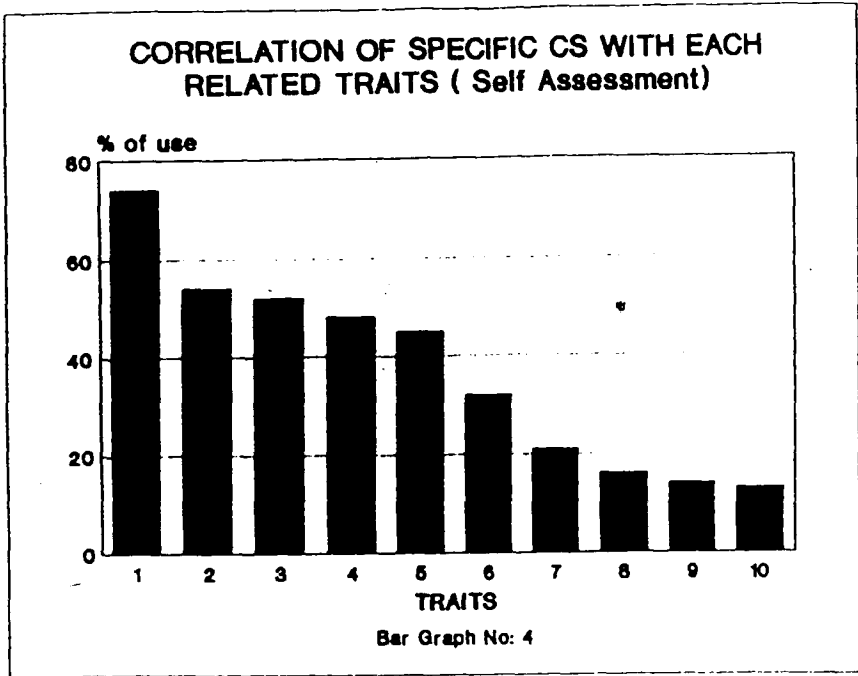
across to their interlocutors. Thus, a study of the nature and state of the learners' IL should be taken into account by language teachers and educators when devising language teaching components and syllabus at such settings so that coordination of the two could be made to match the needs of the language learners.

5.2 Correlation of specific communication strategies with other related traits

=====

During the pilot study, I noticed that subjects who tend to use a particular type of strategy tend to also adopt other strategies that were similar in nature. For instance, subjects who tend to adopt **Message abandonment** strategy, also have a tendency to use other reduction strategies like avoiding the topic, where the unknown term/phrase may appear. This implies that that if a subject tends to prefer a particular reduction type strategy, s/he would also use other Reduction strategies rather than the Achievement type (ones). In contrast, subjects who prefer **Achievement** strategies are most likely to try to get across their intended message by using one or more of the Achievement type strategies rather than the Reduction ones. Thus, in view of this, I decided to investigate if any such patterns does exist among the subjects in the longitudinal study.

The Bar Graphs no.:4 and 5 overleaf summaries the findings of both the Survey Questionnaire and the actual use of the CSs by the subjects during their oral performance task sessions:



- TRAITS**
- 1 Did use direct appeal as well as message abd.
 - 2 Did use borrowing from L1 as well as direct trans.
 - 3 Did use avoid topic as well as message abd.
 - 4 Did use keep it going as well as gap fillers.
 - 5 Did use chunking as well as gap fillers.
 - 6 Did not use avoid topic and did not use message abd.
 - 7 Did not use borrowing from L1 and did not use direct translation.
 - 8 Did not use direct appeal and did not use message abd.
 - 9 Did not use chunking and did not use gap fillers.
 - 10 Did not use keep it going and did not use gap fillers.

to speaking in public or uncomfortable of the topic which was being discussed.

Let us now discuss the results of the survey questionnaire regarding the students' conformity/non-conformity to their own assessment regarding their use of CSs at this point in this chapter. The term conformity⁴³ used here means that the subjects' assessment of their use of the C.S. matched their responses on the oral elicitation tasks. For example, if the subject claimed that he used a particular strategy like word coinage, and reflected this tendency more than once during his oral performance, then he is said to conform to the use of the said strategy.

If he claimed that he never used such a strategy and yet it appeared more than once in his oral performance, or that he claimed that he use this strategy but it did not surface during any of his oral performance, then the subject is said to be unconforming to his initial assessment of the said CSs. This survey questionnaire is carried out to investigate the extent of the students awareness of their use of the CSs so that some pedagogical implications can be derived from the relevant findings attained during this study.

The following is the results of some of the findings:

5.5 Conformity/non-conformity in the use of CS

In comparing the students' own assessment and their actual use of the 18 communication strategies, the data obtained suggests that some of the strategies had been accurately assessed by the subjects while others did not conform to the initial assessment.

The following Chart no.:4, illustrates the percentages obtained for each individual CSs that conformed to the initial assessment of the subjects in general. The figures in the right column shows the specific CSs that conformed to the self-assessment and their percentages of conformity. The list of CSs are also listed in their order of frequency of occurrence :

CHART NUMBER 4

=====

% of conformity/non-conformity to self-assessment in the use of Communication Strategies during the performance tasks

	<u>% of Conformity</u>
1. shorten message	87%
2. paraphrase	77%
keep it going	77%
synonym	77%
5. circumlocution	75%
6. gap fillers	71%
7. generalization	69%
8. body language	67%
9. direct appeal	66%
10. foreignizing	65%
11. message abandonment	64%
12. chunking	63%
13. restructuring	60%
14. word coinage	59%
15. avoid topic	58%
16. direct transl	57%
17. indirect appeal	52%
borrow from L1	52%

Note: please refer to **Bar Graph no.: 6** in the Appendix for further illustrations. The above percentages are based on the figures obtained from the self-assessment ranking which is then set

against the figures obtained from the actual use of the CSs during the performance tasks sessions. Caution must also be taken when considering these figures as the number of Malay subjects (122) far outweighed the non-Malay subjects (12 Chinese and 16 Indian) in this study.

Conformity of performance to self-assessment rating

CHART NUMBER : 5

Ethnic 1		Ethnic 2		Ethnic 3	
1. shorten message	90%	simplification	100%	paraphrase	93%
				restructure	93%
3. circumlocution	78%	borrow from L1	91%	foreignizing	87%
		foreignizing	91%	simplification	87%
		avoid topic	91%	body language	87%
6. keep it going	77%	direct transl.	83%	word coinage	81%
gap fillers	77%	message abandon	83%	direct transl.	81%
		chunking	83%	keep it going	81%
9. paraphrase	76%	gap fillers	75%	short message	75%
		indirect appeal	75%		
		word coinage	75%		
12. body language	65%	paraphrase	66%	gap fillers	68%
		direct appeal	66%		
		restructure	66%		
		keep it going	66%		
16. message abandon	63%	circumlocution	58%	avoid topic	62%
simplification	63%	body language	58%	indirect appeal	62%
				direct appeal	62%
				chunking	62%
				circumlocution	62%
21. chunking	61%	gap fillers	16%	borrow from L1	56%
22. foreignizing	59%			message abandon	5%
23. direct transl	51%				
24. indirect appeal	48%				
25. borrow from L1	47%				

Note: Caution must be taken in considering the above figures as the distribution of proficiency among the three ethnic groups are very uneven as indicated below: F - rep. Fluent group

M - rep. Intermed. group and

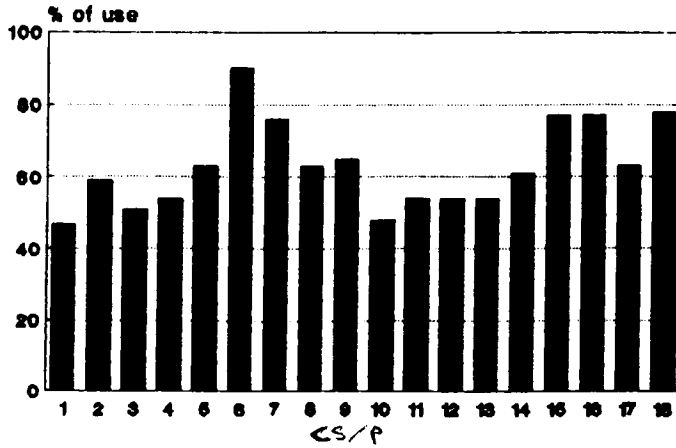
P - rep. Poor group.

Ethnic 1 - F group = 12% M group = 29% P group = 59%

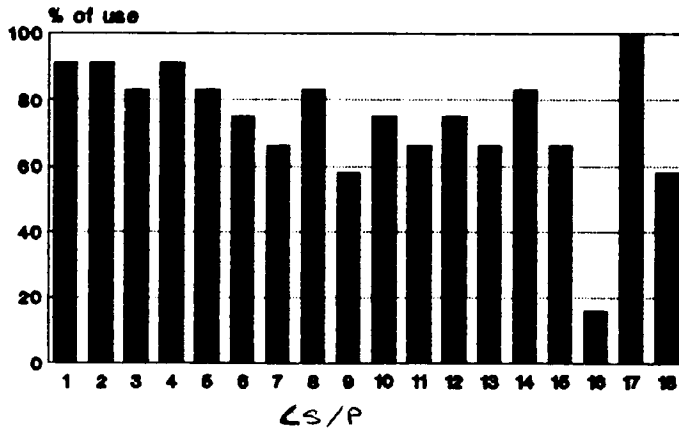
Ethnic 2 - F group = 33% M group = 42% P group = 25%

Ethnic 3 - F group = 44% M group = 38% P group = 19%

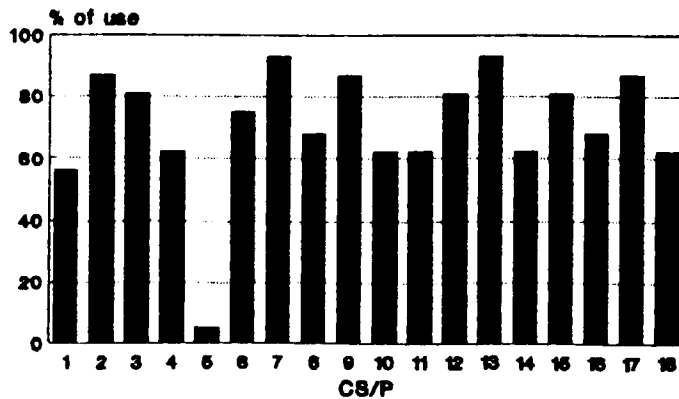
CONFORMITY OF PERFORMANCE TO SELF
ASSESSMENT FOR A GIVEN ETHNIC GROUP
Ethnic 1



Ethnic 2



Ethnic 3



Bar Graph No. 7

In order to clarify the above point, let us look at the use of the CSs according to the different ethnic groups individually.

5.5.1 Use of CS among Ethnic 1 - Malay Subjects

It is evident from the many observations made during the oral elicitation tasks that unlike the other subjects in the study, the Malay subjects tend to overestimate their use of some of the specific C.S. During the survey, the Malay subjects claimed that they tend to use the following strategies (in the order of ranking):

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. paraphrase | 9. restructuring |
| 2. body language | 10. generalization |
| 3. shorten message | 11. direct translation |
| 4. direct appeal/indirect appeal | 12. synonym |
| 5. borrowing | 13. word coinage |
| 6. circumlocution | 14. message abandon |
| 7. gap fillers | 15. foreignizing |
| 8. general appeal | 16. chunking |

The ranking placed by the Malay subjects on the various strategies clearly implied that they thought they only used Achievement and L2 based type of strategies which are basically used by the fluent proficiency group of language learners.

In reality, this group of subjects tend to display more non-TL based strategies like direct translation, word coinage, foreignization, etc. Non-achievement strategies like message abandonment and topic avoidance ranked quite high on the performance of the Malay subjects especially among the poor fluency group of learners. This group of subjects (poor proficiency level), formed the bulk of the Malay subjects' composite and they tended to draw a somewhat better picture of their communicative skills. For instance, the Malay subjects from

the poor proficiency group estimated that they use very little appeal like specific and general appeals and very little borrowing from their L1. In actual use, these strategies seem to be the more commonly used strategies especially among the low proficiency group of learners.

As for the rest of the Malay subjects, i.e. the middle to the more fluent group, seem to reflect the more general picture of the study. That is, the more fluent they are in English, the more they reflect the strategies used by the native speakers. It is only the very poor group of learners that tend to depend a lot on their L1 like the use of borrowing from L1 and Direct Translation of L1 items into L2 system.

5.5.2 Ethnic 2 - Chinese subjects

The responses collected on the survey questionnaire indicated the claims made by the top Chinese students (who scored very high marks on the English exams) that they tend to use very few CSs and the ranking of the CSs are as follows:

1. chunking/keep it going/gap fillers/generalization
2. borrow from L1/shorten message
3. paraphrase/direct appeal/indirect appeal/restructure
4. direct transl/avoid topic/message abandon/body lang/
word coinage
5. foreignizing

The above ranking suggests that the Chinese subjects claimed that they tend to adopt a mixture of both TL-based and non-TL based strategies to help them in their communication difficulties. This also includes interactional strategies like direct and indirect appeals as they both ranked very high on their assessment scale. Upon close inspection of the actual CSs used during the

performance sessions, it was found that some these claims proved to be quite accurate.

For example, all of ~~of~~ the Chinese subjects claimed that they use communication strategy number 6 - **Shorten Message** quite often during their speech production and all of them reflected this tendency in reality. This rare **100% accuracy** may reflect quite a **degree of consciousness** in the use of the said strategy and most of them commented on the effectiveness of this specific strategy in overcoming their oral difficulties. L1 based type of strategies like **Word coinage** and **Foreignization** on the other hand, was assessed as very rarely used by them and this assessment also proved to be accurate. True to their claims, none of the Chinese subjects reflected the use of Word Coinage strategy during their oral performance and Foreignizing ranked second on the list of CSs that were rarely displayed. Thus, it can be said here that the Chinese subjects in this study tend to use CSs that were used by the native speakers or the more proficient group of speakers .

I also noted that among the 3 ethnic groups, only the Chinese group of subjects tend to use very little **body language** as one of the strategies to help them get across their intended messages. This maybe due to **idiosyncratic reasons** like the cultural use of body language as only the Malay and Indian subjects tend to use alot of body language, mime, gestures, etc.; as part of their oral speech behaviour in contrast to the Chinese subjects.

"**Conversation fillers**" that were normally used to help fill up the

empty slots during speech performance like "chunking" or "keep it going" strategies were very rarely displayed too. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the composite of the Chinese subjects in this study is such that they are either from the intermediate or fluent proficiency group and none from the poor proficiency group. In general, the Chinese subjects displayed more TL-based and Achievement-typed strategies that will help them to progress towards higher proficiency levels in oral English.

However, I noted a surprising tendency among the Chinese subjects who were fluent in the national language (Bahasa Malaysia), to reflect the very same language tendency as the less able group of Malay speakers as far as their use of C.S. are concerned. Perhaps because the national language is more like their second language than English, these students have adopted many Malay-like language habits of reverting to the use of the Malay word order and the use of direct translation when confronted with communication difficulties in the L2. A great number of these Chinese subjects also tend to adopt many reduction type strategies like **Message Abandonment** (ranked 5th in actual use) and **Avoid Topic** (ranked 6th in actual use) rather than the use of the more positive Achievement strategies. This is in stark contrast to the more fluent group of Chinese subjects who exhibited none of these traits.

5.5.3 Ethnic 3 - Indian subjects

Based on the survey questionnaire, the following figures were obtained to reflect the ranking of the various strategies which was claimed to be more frequently used by the Indian subjects:

1. paraphrase
2. shorten message
3. gap fillers/circumlocution
4. generalization
5. borrow from L1/direct appeal/indirect appeal/
keeping it going/restructure
6. message abandonment/body lang/chunking
7. direct translation/avoid topic
8. word coinage
9. foreignizing

In reality, the Indian students tended to be the group that were most accurate in their assessment of their use of the strategies. All of the very fluent speakers in this study also happen to be from this group and it must be noted here that this top group - tended to display very few CSs (19%) during their performance in the tasks provided. It was also noted that the same strategies used by these Indian subjects happen to be the ones most commonly used by the group of native speakers of English.

This finding again confirmed the hypothesis which I had formulated at the beginning of the study. i.e. that the very fluent subjects tend to display less CSs during their speech performance and more importantly, like the native speakers, they have learned very complex skills like "temporizing" or "obfuscating" as mentioned earlier in this section. The nature of the use of these CSs by these fluent learners had thus become less detectable.

Incidentally, 51% of the subjects from the fluent group (regardless of their ethnic background reflected this ability.

The next section of this chapter will be devoted to the findings of the Oral Performance Task Sessions.

5.6 Analysis of Oral Performance Data
Use of communication strategies (CS) among non-native speakers

Results and Discussion

To start with this section of the chapter, I would like to discuss two general features of unstructured and structured NNS-NNS communication found in the data which may have an impact on CSs used by my subjects. Next, there is a brief analysis of both Non-Achievement and Achievement Strategies, and the surface realizations of one Achievement Strategy as reflected in the oral performance of the subjects in this study. Finally a quantitative analysis is carried out of the specific 18 strategies observed in the study across the three proficiency levels and ethnic groups.

5.6.1 Some General Qualitative Features

An analysis of my data reveals some general features of open (unstructured) communication between learners in a classroom which have an indirect effect on CSs. When the primary concern of the interaction is communication of ideas, the participants become less sensitive and less attentive to the grammaticality of their speech. This phenomenon was noticed by Paribakht 1982 also, who observes that 'numerous grammatical errors' committed by the subjects were usually ignored by their interlocutors' (p.118). In other words, during natural NNS-NNS communication, monitoring (Krashen 1977) is very low. I found that not only are the speakers unconcerned about ungrammaticality, but the listeners do not generally seem to notice or attach any importance to it either.

Furthermore, the ungrammaticality does not appear to impair or impede communication seriously. Formal errors of agreement and concord, and of tense forms and modals, are extremely common in the speech of all the learners in my data. Sometimes there were attempts to repair or self-correct errors, but occasional attempts by the peers or by "a teacher figure" to model the correct form more often impeded communicative effort than induced correctness. On occasions, after mechanically echoing the correct form, the learner reverted to the use of incorrect forms when their attention came back to the content of the communication. The following is an example taken from an excerpt of a story re-tell activities based on a cartoon strip (see p.391 for full details):

Example:

=====

Subject 83 : The man in the white shirt thief..uhm..thief
 some jewellery..

Subject 84 : steal some jewellery! (correcting her partner)

Subject 83 : he goes to..to jewellery shop and then steal
 some jewellery.. two boys..two boys saw...the man
 and they catch him because he was thief..some
 people also saw him thief the things...

Attempts to supply TL form also went unnoticed sometimes. In the following example, another student offers to lead the speaker (Subject 88) to the correct form ('beaker'). The learner registers the correction but does not bother to pick up on it and continue using the incorrect word although she knows it is not quite right

as shown by her own admission:

Example:

=====

Subject 88 : there is three glass..in the picture...one glass is
 like a cup...you know...

Subject 89 : oh..you mean like a beaker?

Subject 88 : yes..(looking at the picture drawn approvingly) yes!
like that! The glass is on the left side...I forgot
what name you gave the glass but the glass is on
your left side..

(excerpt taken from a concrete picture
description activity see p. 401 for
full details)

The tacit unconcern for accuracy appears to be an inadvertent if not involuntary feature of learner-learner IL communication. This feature of IL communication is likely to make the CSs in open communication different from those in elicited data, where the communication is more limited in scope and in the extent of learners participants.

In second language communication, the presence and role of High Input Generators (HIGs), that is, people who are more vocal and voluble than others, has already been documented (Seliger 1977). But, in my data, it is not always the HIGs who are more venturesome with their language and take greater risks in the use of their communication strategies. A determined communicator may persist and persevere until the intended meaning/message has been communicated. Achievement-oriented strategic behaviour is therefore not necessarily associated with greater fluency or volubility, and it is not always the learner who speaks a lot who communicates successfully.

Another feature of open communication (unstructured) among learners in the classroom which may influence CSs is the combined involvement of the learners and the resulting impact of peer support on each learner's communicative efforts. The group

dynamics of classroom interaction are different from dyadic interaction in that there is frequent modification of speaker input through multilateral peer participation. Increased possibilities of communication breakdown result in the increased use of discourse devices and procedures to deal with such breakdowns. Aston (1986:129), for instance, says that in NNS-NNS interaction, 'there is a high frequency of those (discourse) procedures which deal with actual or potential communication breakdown'.

Varonis and Gass 1985 also point out that NNS-NNS interaction is more heavily modified by a higher frequency of trouble shooting discourse features than NNS-NS or learner-NS interaction. In my data too I found that peers are always willing and eager to help out with word searches and even with sentence completion. There are also occasional attempts by some to interpret or explain to the class or other interlocutors an apparently obscure or inscrutable statement made by another by saying "I think what he means is...". Peer contribution may have an indirect bearing on the communication strategies of learners in that the speaker's language difficulty may get solved without his having to devise a suitable strategy to circumvent or overcome the difficulty. A somewhat similar effect on the speech of learners in NNS-NS negotiated interaction is reported by Pica (1986:1):

The data revealed that the NNSs were, indeed capable of modifying their interlanguage in response to the NS's requests for comprehensible output. However, such NNS modifications were relatively infrequent and virtually unnecessary because, typically, when signalling requests for

clarification from NNSs, the NS also modelled target, i.e., modified, versions of NNS Interlanguage for them.

However, peer or teacher prompts can go unnoticed or unregistered by the speakers, sometimes because in order to maintain concentration, the speaker needs to give his undivided attention to his own speech planning and verbalization, and at other times, because he is skeptical about the credibility of peer-recommended language forms. More rarely though, a determined speaker can simply refuse to accept correct peer or even teacher prompts, and for idiosyncratic reasons, resort to his own inventiveness. The examples on p. 199 (Subjects 83 and 89) clearly reflected this phenomena.

5.6.2 Non-Achievement Strategies

The inherent conceptual vagueness of the term avoidance and the unsuitability of the design and conditions of this study for detecting avoidance strategies have already been mentioned (2.1). There are also some other reason why the non-achievement strategy of avoidance has not been examined in ^{depth} in this study. First of all, the significance of the role of avoidance as a learner strategy in general (except indirectly in the field of error analysis) is not very clear. What indeed does detection of avoidance in learners show? That it exists? That the learners 'shut up when they can't put up'? It has not even been conclusively proved that a knowledge of the why and when of avoidance will contribute a

great deal to our understanding of the process of language learning.

Secondly, detecting avoidance or interpreting something as avoidance with or without the support of the avoider's own introspective evidence is **always undependable** as the area of introspection is fraught with problems. Even the philosophical soundness of the principle of interpreting the **presence of nothing** (in IL data) as the **absence of something** seems questionable. Finally, the mere fact that the learners have chosen not to use language forms that I, as the researcher, expect them to use is not evidence enough of conscious avoidance, much less of their language deficiency. Two studies of avoidance phenomena, Kleimann 1978 and Hamayan and Tucker 1979, have shown that avoidance is not necessarily attributable to lack of knowledge.

On the contrary, avoidance may be a result of the opposite -- language competence. Hamayan and Tucker 1979 even show that not only is avoidance used as a CS not an indicator of language deficiency, but it can also be an indicator of greater fluency, better ability to use alternative structures, and hence better communicative competence. In this study, therefore, only instances of abandonment, not avoidance, are considered.

Two types of abandonment, of topic and of message, are generally mentioned in the literature. In 5.3.1 above, **Topic Abandonment**

was defined as occurring when 'the learner abandons topic, that is, decides to stop talking about it', and Message Abandonment as occurring when the 'learner decides to discontinue a particular line of discussion, but continues talking about other aspects of the same topic' (see p. 145 and 154).

This distinction between Topic Abandonment and Message Abandonment, however, has been ignored for the purpose of my analysis because, in a second language class discussion, abandoning a topic or message is not entirely controlled by the speaker, in that at a point of potential abandoning, the "teacher figure" or the peers may try to tease the message out and thereby try not to let the topic or message be abandoned. Besides, the instances of either are so few that it is contextually difficult to classify the two separately. They are also ambiguous with respect to whether it is the topic or the message that is abandoned.

The results of my study suggest that the CS of abandoning one's topic or message is connected to one's level of proficiency, and that the lower the level of proficiency, the greater the possibility of Abandonment. A native speaker may decide to abandon the topic or message for several non-linguistic reasons, but usually not for lack of language. The higher the learner's proficiency in the TL, the closer he is to an NS, and the less

the need to abandon what is being said for lack of language proficiency. The data here shows 18 instances of Abandonment (by 12 different learners), 12 at the Poor level, 6 at the Intermediate level, and none at the Fluent level. A tendency to abandon topic or message is likely to be a feature of very low proficiency. Further research with more quantitative data of abandonment is required before any conclusive statement can be made.

5.6.3 Achievement Strategies

Achievement Strategies, also called **Compensatory Strategies** (see 2.4.4.), are really the main concern of my study, for it is these strategies that reflect the learners' inventiveness in overcoming communicative problems. They thus have greater direct implications for language learning and teaching.

In the analysis there is a certain amount of conflict between the learner's and the observers' point of view. To the learner, learning and communication are both types of dynamic cognitive activity, and the strategies he activates are part of the activity of communication. On the other hand, the observer/researcher works on the static product of the dynamic activity, and assigns labels to the strategies that s/he thinks s/he has identified as distinct. The formal surface realizations of the strategies, on which the researcher bases his/her identification and analysis, do not invariantly reflect the

mental activity that operates behind them. Identical surface realizations could be the result of two different conceptual processes, and the same conceptual process could be manifest on the surface as two different strategies. For instance the word "hair shop" is labelled Word Coinage. But if the learner, instead of "hair shop", had said something like "a shop to perm hair", the strategy would have been identified as Paraphrase or Description/Explanation .

Furthermore, CSs are not often employed individually as discrete units so that they can be easily identified. Quite often, participants in my study have tried different strategies simultaneously to solve one communication problem, the strategies not necessarily appearing in discrete order, but rather overlapping. Learners have also encoded what I see as different types of strategies in a single unit or have embedded one CS in another. For instance, in the example below, the learner is searching for the word '~~medicine-man~~', uses three overlapping strategies -- paraphrase, direct appeal and circumlocution --

until he finally achieves what he sets out to do:

Example 1

=====

Subject 89 : ..you know when you get sick..you don't want
to go to doctor...uhm..very busy..you go to man
...he not doctor...

Interviewer: I don't quite understand what you mean..

Subject 89 : the man..the man not doctor..he sells uhm..cure..

Interviewer: is he a chemist? He sells medicine?

Subject 89 : no! no! chemist!

Interviewer: where do you go to see this man? In a shop?

subject 89 : uhm..sometimes you can go to his house..sometimes
he come and see you..he can cure you..he very good
with uhm..how you say?uhm..leaves..roots..good

leaves make you better..no more sick after you eat..

Interviewer: oh! you mean medicinal herbs?

Subject 89: yes..he like magic..use white clothe..burnt the leaves...say something magic and like doctor..but not doctor..don't go..don't go to school and learn but he very good..like doctor... can cure you..he learn many years...

Interviewer: oh you mean he's like the traditional medicine man?

Subject 89 : yes! yes! medicine man..that I want to say..so hard!
(laugh)

(taken from an open discussion activity -
refer to p.403 full account)

Another example below, the subject attempts to define/explain, and use word coinage, followed by more attempts to define/explain:

Example:

=====

Subject 84 : you know when we get to the place..place where people put their name to choose the leaders of the country..well... vote place? voter's house?...where the people put the cross on the paper and put the paper in the box...

(excerpts from open discussion see p. 394
for full details)

Resourceful learners, with sound situational assessment, will also supplement their oral strategies with graphic/visual techniques of information transfer like diagramming or drawing pictures. In my data there is one good instance of a learner who uses a variety of linguistic, non-linguistic and interactional strategies including drawing and diagramming, when talking about a cafeteria: (see p. 398 in Appendix for full details)

Example:

=====

Subject 87 : the eating place is not like restaurant..you have here (using his left hand) many stores with different food..then you take your food and move along the line here (drawing the physical set up of a cafeteria)... you pay at the end of the line..no one to ask you what you want..you take food yourself..canteen? oh no!...uhm..

Interviewer: oh you mean a self-service cafeteria sort of thing!

Although CSs are motivated by a desire to communicate and not necessarily to learn, some CSs can result in learning (see transcriptions on subject no.: 1 p. 385 for full details). In the example involving the word search for "event", subject number 1 uses the word event subsequently, which shows that the CSs have resulted in learning. However, in the example above involving the word search for "cafeteria", the learner appears to be interested only in communicating the idea and not in learning the TL word. There is no evidence in the data that the learner was interested in learning the word or did indeed internalize it.

The learners in the three groups basically did not use the same strategies. In view of the difference in their level of proficiency, one question I considered is whether the surface realizations of their strategies might reflect the difference in their proficiency. Paribakht 1982 compared the surface realizations of the strategy of the use of synonyms by her subject groups (two groups of ESL students of different proficiency levels and a control group of NS university students) to study the grammatical accuracy and informative value of their utterance' (p.109).

She chose synonym because 'the choice of the strategy, apart from allowing us to look at the way the subjects handled the strategies grammatically, would also make it possible to use the appropriateness of their synonyms as partial measure of the informative value of their strategies' (p.109-10). She compared

the appropriateness of the synonyms used by the groups (She does not say how the comparison was done or what standards or measures of appropriateness were used) and found that the appropriateness of the synonyms used by her subjects varied directly with target language proficiency. However, in my study, there seems to be little systematic qualitative difference in contextual appropriateness or in sameness of meaning in the use of synonyms by learners from the three levels of proficiency. The items where synonym was identified as the CS used is given in Table 11.

Poor proficiency group

=====

hard	for	tough
work	for	job
vocabulary	for	term/word
fight	for	quarrel
approach	for	view
regard	for	consider
finish	for	end
work (a car engine)	for	start/runs

Intermediate proficiency group

=====

strict	for	conservative
big	for	large
popular	for	crowded
opposite	for	reverse
big enough	for	grown up
see	for	watch

Fluent proficiency group

=====

stolen	for	robbed
narrow	for	thin
doll	for	puppet
last	for	recent
free	for	liberal
complete	for	whole

Table 11. List of synonyms

The degree of appropriacy of a synonym is difficult to decide except intuitively and there does not seem to be any consistent inter-group pattern in either the appropriacy or the

coreferentiality of the synonyms used. No synonyms are totally wrong. In a sense that every word that is used could conceivably be a synonym in some context however remote or infrequent. (Otherwise they could not have been identified and classified as such).

The difference in results between my study and other research on the use of CSs in speech elicited under test conditions like Paribakht's (1982) study may be a consequence of differences in task design and data base -- language units versus connected discourse. In other words, experiments on CSs using units of language -- lexical, syntactic or discorsal -- may give only a partial picture as against experiments using long stretches of natural communication, and so the findings of studies concerned only with units of language, though accurate and credible within the context of the experiment, may need to be modified before they are applied to natural communication in language.

In general, it appears that abandoning topic or message is more likely with low proficiency learners, and that learners get over the tendency (possibly because they get over the need) to abandon topic and message with increasing proficiency. Furthermore, although learners from all three levels used most of the strategies, two individual Achievement strategies -- Word Coinage and Repetition for Repair, were not used by Poor proficiency learners, possibly because the use of these CSs presupposes a higher level of proficiency. This fact appears to support the claims of Paribakht (1984:33) that 'an increase in the speakers'

level of TL proficiency will make it possible for them to adopt certain strategies that require that 'knowledge'.

5.7 Quantitative Analysis

Although there was an abundance of hours of taped speech for each of the three levels of proficiency investigated, the raw data of CSs collected was unacceptable for the purpose of a straight comparative study. It was not possible to control the variables in order to obtain data under identical conditions without seriously affecting the normal conduct of the Elicitation Tasks sessions and the consequent naturalness of the data. To start with, the volume of the corpus, that is, the quantity of language produced in each session, varied even within the same level. The type of activity, often determined how much language was produced, and by how many participants. The resulting transcribed data, naturally, consisted of fifteen hours of the various speech samples of unequal size, with different structure and non-uniform turn taking patterns for each of the three levels.

As explained earlier (3.4), since there is no accurate count for the total amount of speech output, I have worked out a Mean Discourse Level (MDL) measure to bring about some degree of quantitative comparability to the data. At three arbitrary points on the counter of the tape player -- 150, 300, and 450 -- I ran each tape for exactly two minutes, and transcribed the entire text for 6 minutes for each session. The number of words per minute was then computed for each session. The mean number of

words per minute computed for each of the three levels of proficiency formed the bases for a conversion factor of raw numbers for across-level comparisons. The conversion factor was used to eliminate the uneven distribution of CSs which resulted from the differences in the rate of speech or the rate of producing language (see p.216 and p.233 for illustration).

I shall first discuss the results in general and then follow the order of my classification of CSs, which in turn is motivated by the specific objectives of my study -- exploring the role of the level of proficiency in the use of the CSs by the Malaysian subjects in unstructured and structured NNS-NNS interaction , and considering its pedagogic implications. The three main categories of achievement strategies -- Linguistic, Non-Linguistic and Interactional -- reflect three components of language communication knowledge of manipulating the code, of supplementing the code, and of negotiating meaning through the code.

Table 12 which follows presents a breakdown of the actual observed recorded number of the various CSs for all three levels of proficiency. It indicates that most of the strategies were used by learners at all three levels, and that TL-based strategies, particularly those based on paraphrasing and circumlocution, were the most frequent ones at all levels.

		Poor	Intermed	Fluent	Total	
LINGUISTIC	NON-TL BASED	Borrowing	24	6	0	30
		Foreignizing	6	21	15	42
		Direct transl.	6	6	6	18
		Language switch	3	-	-	3
		Total	39	72	21	165
	TL - BASED	Word coinage	-	18	12	30
		Chunking	-	3	6	9
		Direct speech pattern	9	3	30	42
		Repetition	24	21	27	72
		Emphasis	-	27	12	39
		Repair	-	27	12	39
		Paraphrase	30	60	48	138
		Synonym	24	21	24	207
		Description/Explanation	39	69	42	150
		Circumlocution	33	6	27	66
		Verbal Gesture	9	9	3	21
	Total	168	237	231	834	
	Non-linguistic	Mime	9	9	-	18
		Gesture	15	24	21	60
Para. & Non-linguistic		17	9	3	42	
Total		34	42	24	120	
Interac-tional	Direct appeal	3	6	45	54	
	Indirect appeal	150	90	51	291	
	Check	15	9	12	36	
	Adm. of Ign/Abandon	12	6	-	18	
	Adm. of Ign/Apologize	15	21	12	48	
Total	195	132	120	447		
Grand Total		453	444	396	1296	

Table 12. CSs - Observed and Recorded

Occasionally some figures can appear (disproportionately) large because the majority of the strategies represented by these figures may have been the contribution of one or two learners whose overuse of those strategies may be idiosyncratically atypical. For instance, 60 of the 90 instances of indirect appeal at the Intermediate level are attributable to two users, and 39 of the 45 direct appeals at the Fluent level were by the same

person. Consequently, I have made a terminological distinction between frequent strategies, which occur more often, and popular strategies, which are used by more learners.

Two points need to be reiterated. First, although the data consisted of about 15 hours of spoken communication, the actual numbers of CSs in many categories often are not large enough for statistically significant empirical generalizations. However, this study can indicate directions for investigation on a larger scale and suggests issues deserving more attention. The findings, therefore, are more suggestive than decisive and confirmatory.

Secondly, not all raw figures are completely nor equally representative of all the learners at any of the three levels. Due to the difficulties encountered in getting subjects for the oral elicitation tasks sessions during the 9 months study, I found myself with a disproportionate number of subjects from the Malay ethnic background (70 subjects compared to ~~the dismal number~~ of 16 Indian subjects and 12 from the Chinese ethnic group). Moreover, the individual contributions of the participants both in the production of speech and use of CSs varied considerably, and the recorded CSs, therefore, do not distribute evenly among all participants. The quantitative generalizability of the use of the CSs indicated by these figures is hence affected by the idiosyncratic distribution of the CSs among the learners.

Tables 13a, b and c reorganise the information in Table 12. Table 13a summarizes and presents the total number of strategies used by each level of learners in an aggregate form. Table 13b represents the information in 13a with the raw figures converted to the MDL conversion formula (see page 216). Although the raw figures (Table 13a) appear to show a numerical increase in the use of CSs with an increase in proficiency, the converted figures (Table 13b) indicate a slower trend. Except in two cases (the use of TL-based strategies by the Intermediate learner and the use of the Interactional strategies by the Advanced learners), the converted numbers consistently suggest a decrease in the use of CSs with increased proficiency. An X^2 analysis of the data in 13a and 13b indicated significant across-level differences in the use of CSs at the level of $p < .01$ for the converted figures. This is consistent with the conclusion of Poulisse 1981 (cited in Poulisse et al. 1984:83) that 'beginning learners use more CpS (Compensatory Strategies) than advanced learners'. The percentage of the total number of CSs used is fairly evenly distributed, with a slight hint of downward trend.

level	linguistic		non-linguistic	interactional
	non-TL -based	TL -based		
Poor	39	174	51	132
Inter- med.	29	255	42	69
Fluent	7	306	24	126

Table 13a. Summary of CS (Raw Figures)

level	linguistic		non-linguistic	interactional
	non-TL -based	TL -based		
Poor	39	174	51	132
Inter- med.	29	222	36.3	60
Fluent	21	195	15.3	80.1

Table 13b. Summary of CSs (Converted Figures)

The converted figures from table 13b are derived from the following formula:

$$N \% = \frac{N}{T} \times 100 \text{ or } T \% = \frac{T}{N} \times 100$$

Where T = MDL (Mean Discourse Length for each session)
N = raw figures

i.e. T for Fluent group = 157 T for Middle group = 115
T for Poor group = 100

Table 13c shows the figures in 13b as percentages of use at each level (read vertically for each category).

Level	linguistic		non-linguistic	interactional
	non-TL -based	TL -based		
Poor	48%	30%	49%	48%
Inter- med.	35%	37%	35%	22%
Fluent	17%	33%	16%	30%

Table 13c Summary of CSs (percentages)

level	linguistic		non-linguistic	interactional
	non-TL -based	TL -based		
Poor	12(8%)	24(16%)	15(10%)	18(12%)
Inter- med.	15(10%)	33(22%)	6(4%)	15(10%)
Fluent	12(8%)	33(22%)	6(4%)	15(10%)

Tabel 14. Popularity of CSs

Table 14 shows the popularity of the 3 groups of strategies in terms of the percentage of learners using the strategies at least once at each level. It appears that both the frequency and popularity of CSs are higher with low proficiency learners. Except for TL-based strategies, fewer learners use fewer strategies as proficiency increases.

The two (TL and non-TL based) linguistic strategies display very different patterns in their across-level trends for popularity and frequency. Non-TL based strategies show reduced frequency and popularity with increased proficiency, only, the line of decreasing popularity is not as steep as that of frequency. Thus for non-TL based strategies, TL proficiency appears to have a greater influence on the number of times learners use CSs than on the number of learners who use CSs. However, there is need for further investigation to determine what factors may have an impact on the use of CSs at higher proficiency levels, particularly since the use of TL-based strategies does not bear out a categorical claim that the use of CSs decreases as TL proficiency increases.

Furthermore, TL-based strategies are maximally and uniformly popular with all three levels. The across level variation in the frequency of use is not reflected in the popularity at all. All learners continue to use TL-based strategies, but they appear to use them less often. In other words, increase in proficiency does not eliminate the use of any TL-based CS, but it may reduce the frequency of their occurrence. Such a tendency would be a logical indication of progress towards NS competence since the NSs subjects have also been observed to use some of the CSs occasionally (see Tarone 1977).

The interactional strategies are more popular than the non-linguistic strategies at all three levels. In addition, both groups of strategies are more popular and frequent at the initial level than the other two levels. For these two groups of strategies the move from low to mid-level proficiency seems to be important since further increase in proficiency does not produce any great change in popularity. Perhaps this is because at a low proficiency level more people need to use CSs of all types, but with the attainment of a certain (mid-level) proficiency, the learners appear to retain dependence more on their linguistic strategies than on non-verbal and interactional means to overcome communicative problems strategically.

5.7.1 Linguistic Strategies

=====

Linguistic strategies are further divided into non-TL based and TL-based strategies, the former covering strategies where the

learners rely on and utilize information from other codes available to them, and the latter covering strategies where the learners exploit their TL resources creatively. The rationale for such a division was given earlier (1.2). The results seem to justify the division since they seem to operate differently, drawing on different kinds of knowledge as indicated by the different across-level frequency and popularity of the two sections.

I shall first analyse and discuss non-TL based CSs and then go on to the TL-base ones.

5.7.2 Non-TL Based Strategies

=====

Four different though somewhat related strategies - **borrowing, foreignizing, direct translation and language switch** -- have been identified as belonging to this group. The use of all four strategies draws primarily upon the base language resources of the speaker, but in different ways. In the process-based approach to classification and labelling by Poulisse and Bongaerts 1987, all these four would be labelled as simply linguistic strategies. Further distinction among them was considered unnecessary as the conceptual process involved in all four is dependence on base languages. But apart from some linguistic and pedagogic arguments for maintaining a distinction among them, my study provides some empirical guidance for doing so too.

The data that I collected shows different trends across proficiency levels for Borrowing and Foreignizing and across L1 groups for Direct translation against Borrowing and Foreignizing. Borrowing appears to decrease with TL proficiency, while Foreignizing tends to increase. There are four times as many Borrowings at the Poor proficiency level as there are at the Intermediate level and there is no borrowing at the Fluent level. It appears that the lower the proficiency in the TL, the greater the dependence on borrowed items from the speaker's other language resources. Part of the growing independence from base language resources with growing proficiency in TL may be attributed to increases in TL vocabulary. However, one could speculate that a good part of the independence may also be because of an increase in overall TL competence contributing to a greater ability to exploit TL resources more fully -- in other words, greater strategic competence. If limited knowledge of the TL can preclude the use of certain CSs (Paribakht 1984), it is conceivable that better command of the TL will assist in and enhance the use of TL-based strategies, reducing the need for dependence on base languages.

The trend of Foreignizing across proficiency levels goes the other way. Foreignizing is the CS where the learners use a word from a non-target language but modify it to look like an English word. There are nearly four times as many Foreignizings at the Intermediate level as there are at the Poor level. The two strategies of Borrowing and Foreignizing are thus not just different in

their surface realization, but also in their frequency of use by learners at different levels of proficiency, and hence my argument for keeping them distinct and separate. A possible explanation for this could be that as learners go up the proficiency levels, they get a better "feel" for the morpho-phonology of the TL, and therefore are capable of what Bongaerts call 'morpho-phonological creativity' (1987). They are thus able to retrieve from their non-TL vocabulary storage words that are TL-like or could be modified to look like TL words. The trend of morpho-phonological creativity should continue into the fluent level too. Only, at this level, the better proficiency reduces the need for dependence on non-target languages and also increases the awareness of interlingual semantic differences between cognates, and thus may account for the slight reduction in the use of Foreignizing at the Fluent level. Also, Foreignizing could be successfully done as to escape detection.

The qualitative difference in morpho-phonological creativity is fairly clear in the data. Most of the Foreignized words at the poor proficiency level carry a heavy Malay accent and one of these is spoken with an uncertain rising tone of an indirect appeal. The few Foreignizations from Malay at the intermediate level, spoken with only a slight Malay accent, sound more "Englishy" and are uttered more confidently. The ones at the fluent level do not sound like anglicized words of foreign words at all, but are more like wrong lexical choices. They are considered Foreignizations mainly because of the existence of

cognates in languages the speakers have access to with meanings partially coinciding with intended TL meaning. (see "God's kudrat"- p.406). Similiar phenomena were observed by Blum and Levenston 1977, who report such false cognate borrowings between English and Hebrew. The implications of the relations between sense of language distance and non-TL based CSs will be taken up later in Chapter 6.

The CSs **Borrowing** and **Foreignizing** are used by the Malaysian subjects whose dominant language is **Malay**. This is in keeping with the mother-tongue characteristic awareness theory of Kellerman 1977 and the language distance theory of Corder 1978. It appears that an educated L2 learner has intuitive notions about language distances including the adaptability and acceptability of borrowings between languages. These notions of language distance and mutual borrowability cannot all be based on historical or genetic relationship, for the phenomenon is not universal among speakers of all Indonesian-Malayo languages. The notion thus must be based on a combination of historical, genetic relational, political and typological factors. In any case the hypothesis by Tarone (1977:202) that 'the learner's first language background in itself will not bias her towards any particular strategy preference' needs closer examination since my data suggests that at least with reference to non-TL based strategies, **Borrowing** and **Foreignizing** are more popular and

frequent among learners whose base language is Malay.

While Borrowing and Foreignizing seem to be CSs favoured by speakers who have access to languages they consider near enough to English to trigger transfer strategies, Direct Translation too seems to appear to be equally constrained by the **language distance factor**. My data suggests that the actual instances of Direct translations seem to be confined to the Malay subjects who are from the poor proficiency group. But these instances of Direct translations are not always lexical. They appear to be a result of a dependence on one's base language(s) at a more abstract semantic/conceptual level than what is involved for Borrowing and Foreignizing.

Example 1:

=====

Subject 87: ...the orientation was bad..because the people..
the seniors uhm..they like..like uhm..**the fence is
eating the rice...**they are the ones... must help us
but they..they are the one who was bad....show bad
examples..

[subject is using direct translation of a Malay proverb to convey her frustrations of the attitude of the seniors who in her opinion have let the freshmen down during the orientation period]

(excerpt taken from a free narration activity - see p.396 in Appendix for full transcript).

Examples 2:

=====

Subject 83: this picture is an...uhm...**dream** .it's not true..
just for fun...picture for fun...

(subject maybe using the term "**dream**" here to mean " an **imaginary picture**" resulting from day-dreaming. "**Dream**" is one of the Malay synonym for "**imaginary**")

(excerpt taken from picture description activity
- see p. 391 for full details)

The last strategy in this category, **Language Switch**, happens when the learner switches from English to another language for some length of time continuously. Learners often do this in aside conversations with their L1 peers, and in my data too there are several instances of sotto voce asides between learners who share the same base languages. But as a communication strategy in the middle of actual communication in the TL English, there are only a few instances of Language Switch in my whole data, when the learners switched into L1 (Malay) half jocularly to avoid saying something in English that would involve a certain degree of loss of face. One of these instances is shown below:

Example

=====

Subject 82: there is a store...and there was a man..**cuba nak merompak... kedai ni..kedai emas nilah kan..apa lagi..**
[lit.transl."attempt to rob..this store..this jewellery store..what else?"]..this man came to the store..
(excerpt taken from re-tell story activity based on cartoon strips - see p.390 for full details)

The general absence of socio-emotional triggers for such code in the classroom and the strict enforcement of the 'talk in English only' policy by teachers may have been contributing factor for the infrequency of Language Switch.

To sum up, the nature and the spread of TL-based strategies in the data provide enough justification for the various individual strategies to be kept separate as well as to be grouped together in one more general category. As proficiency in the TL increases, Borrowing decreases and Foreignizing shows greater degree of

morpho-phonological creativity. The different trends of the distribution of individual strategies across proficiency levels and across language groups follow logical patterns and have important pedagogic implications. Language distance appears to be a constraint on the use of the lexical transfer strategies of all three strategies, Borrowing, Foreignization, and Direct Translation as they are shown to be constrained by the base language background of learners.

5.7.3 TL Based Strategies

=====

TL-based strategies are the most frequent and popular strategies with all three proficiency levels. These form 89% of the linguistic strategies and 58% of the overall total of strategies in my data. Table 13c (see p.216) indicates that there is only a slight across-level difference in the percentage share of TL-based strategies used. That is (reading the second column of Table 13c vertically), given the same Mean Discourse Level, each level would account for nearly a third of the total number of TL-based strategies. But these figures when compared to the corresponding use of non-TL based strategies by each level, present an interesting picture. Table 15 shows the use of Non-TL based and TL-based CSs used by the levels. The figures show the actual numbers involved, to depend less on the Non-TL based strategies and more on the TL-based strategies as proficiency in the TL improves.

Level	Non-TL Based	TL-based
Poor	18%	82%
Intermediate	12%	88%
Fluent	6%	94%

Table 15.

The Use of Linguistic Strategies by all three groups

(the above figures are expressed as percentages of total linguistic strategies used by each group.)

These findings are in agreement with those of Bialystok 1983, who found that less advanced learners depended more on L1-based strategies, and that learners with advanced TL proficiency used fewer L1-based strategies, and of Poulisse 1981 (cited in Poulisse et al 1984), who found that there was a shift from Interlingual (L1-based) strategies to Intralingual (IL-based) strategies.

In my data individual TL-based strategies show varying trends across proficiency levels. I shall now discuss with some detail those CSs which provide interesting speculation and those whose across-level distribution signify potential pedagogic implications.

Word Coinage

=====

Although the actual instances are no more than 30 in total, Word Coinage as a strategy has been used by 12 learners at the Fluent level, by 18 at the Intermediate level and none at the Poor level. (This number is actually revealing in that unless the experiment is specifically set up to induce lexical creativity in

the subjects, for instance, in most of the controlled elicitation tasks set up in this study, the subjects were not likely to make up new words). As a strategy, Word coinage involves lexical, morphological and syntactic creativity on the part of the learner as instanced by the following examples taken from the data collected:

hand-watch	meaning	wrist watch
hair store	meaning	beauty salon
brainiac	meaning	a very brainy person or a genius
creativity man	meaning	very creative man
knock signs	meaning	damaged parts (of a car) as a result of an accident

The distribution of the strategy of Word Coinage (no occurrence at the lowest level and most popular at the highest and the Intermediate level) suggests that such creative inventiveness is a result of greater communicative confidence caused by a better command of the language.

Simplification

=====

There are a few instances in the data where learners have used simplified structures as a communication strategy, particularly when they are very anxious to argue a point and do not want their attention or concentration distracted by the syntactic complexity of the sentence .The following is an example of the use of such

strategy:

Example

=====

Subject 88 : you have an orientation period o.k.? And they have these student leaders, o.k.? They tell you to do many many things like..wake up at 3 in the morning! clean their clothes! go! go! go! singing songs until you sick! they shout at you o.k.? unfair all...life hard! (excerpt taken from a free narration activity - see p.399 for full details)

Such instances are too complex to analyze as they involve text and discourse analysis, which are outside the scope of this study. So I have focussed on one particular type of structural generalization -- **embedding of sentences in direct speech pattern (DSP)** to avoid having to make the necessary temporal and deictic changes characteristic of English reported speech. Learners of all three levels in this study have used this strategy. Generally the use of direct speech patterns could be attributed either to the learners' ignorance of speech patterns protocol in English or to a lack of confidence in their language ability and the resulting unwillingness to use a structure they are uncomfortable with. In almost every instance where the speaker repeats or reports what someone else said, the DSP is used, and almost all of these were instances where a native speaker would use reported speech. This particular strategy appears to suggest the possibility of persistent resistance to the acquisition and automatization of reported speech patterns by the learners.

Repetition

=====

Paribakht 1982 found that her subjects used repetition to make up for failed communication attempts. She also found that the frequency and popularity of repetition decreased with increasing proficiency. Although the actual number of occurrences is again not very large, the use of repetition as a whole in my data does

not appear to be wholly related to the proficiency level of the learner. Furthermore, the purpose of repetition does not seem to be to compensate for failed communication. In my data learners have used repetition of words, phrases and even sentences mainly for 3 purposes -- to fill and cover speech planning time, to emphasise a point, and to repair or self-correct what learners think are erroneous utterances. I have considered emphasis repetitions and filter repetitions together and have kept repair repetitions separate, as I believe repetition for repair has different psycholinguistic implications.

There are 162 instances of emphasis/filter repetitions from 72 different people, 45 from Poor and Intermediate and 27 from Fluent. There are slight differences in the surface realizations of emphasis repetitions across levels, and these differences broadly reflect the learners' proficiency differences. The following are two examples from Poor (Subject 83) and Intermediate (Subject 85) level. The excerpt is taken from a debate among 3 subjects on the topic : "A woman's place - home or the office?" (see p. 392 and 395 for full details):

Example:

=====

Subject 83 : But look at now..look at before. Now if you tell your wife "please..err..bring..I want some water", she'll say, "go and take it". But before..they cannot say that..like our grandmother..They can't say that. If her husband say "I want water" she run to get water. But look now..err..teenager very uhm..very rude..they shout at their mother..when they marry they shout at their husband..not like before..

Subject 85 : I think the main reason for more divorce is because women are not accepting the situation. There is a lot of wives who were accepting things because they didn't have independence. Because they were not able to work, they accept more things. But now they have more independence..they are more able...they are more able!..before they were not independent, and that's why they're..because they accept.. not because they agreed to it but.. they cannot do anything. They had to stay.

Both speakers are speaking on more or less the same theme -- the liberated woman and family life. Only subject 85, the Intermediate level learner, uses fuller sentences and a more elaborate style, and therefore appears more tautologically wordy. In sum, it appears that learners at all levels use repetition to emphasize although the surface realization may get more linguistically sophisticated with higher levels of proficiency.

An example of repetition as a filler to fill thinking/planning time is given below. The speaker is from the Intermediate level group.

Example

=====

Subject 85 : And America..I think American girls....young. Young people look like....American people look like...American young people look like..older than their age, I think.

(excerpt taken from an open discussion on the theme "independence at an early age" - see p. 396 for full details).

The context and subsequent conversation clarifies that the speaker was looking for a word like 'precocious', and all the time she was searching for the right word, she filled the time by using repetition as a filler and finally came up with an acceptable paraphrase 'older than their age'. The few instances of filler repetitions in my data do seem to support one of the

points made by Tarone and Yule 1983 that NNS-NNS communication contains repetitions as fillers to buy more time for information processing and that such fillers help maintain communication.

There are also instances of repetition for repair or self-correction at the Poor level. The examples are as follows:

Example

=====

Subject 2 : I'm not so happy about the syllabus now but maybe the **problem ..the problem** is to...**the problem** is the students.. because I think no...no response...ahh..to improve the language of the student..I think the **Pusat Bahasa** [dir.transl. "Language Center"] must ahh..change the **syllabus...**the **syllabus** must try to...to...give opportunities to students how they can speak in English

(see p.386 for full details)

Although there may be Transfer of Training (Selinker 1972) factors that can cause a learner to be grammar conscious, by and large self-repair can be considered a sign of self-monitoring (McLaughlin 1980) and a concern for the formal accuracy of what one is saying. The instances of repair in my data include examples of lexical, morphological and syntactic repairs. A tentative conclusion that can be made here is that awareness and concern for the formal correctness of one's speech as a result of an ability to self-monitor does not develop in the early stages of language learning, unless it has been induced by Transfer of Training.

Replacement Strategies

=====

I am using Replacement Strategies as a cover term for what in my general analysis have been identified as 4 different strategies -

- Paraphrase, Synonym, Description/Explanation, and Circumlocution. All these strategies involve attempts by the learners to replace or substitute a TL concept or word unavailable to them by other TL elements. The essential strategic planning activity involved in the exercise of these strategies is similar in that the learners fully stretch their TL resources by exploiting the various semantic relations in order to find replacements for the formal realizations of their intended meanings. Considered as a class, Replacement Strategies are the most important CSs both in term of frequency of occurrence and in their popularity. In this study the 4 replacement strategies make up 75% of TL-based strategies, 67% of linguistic strategies and 44% of the overall total of CSs. Generally, these strategies form the core of L2 based or TL-based strategies in most classifications in the literature.

Strategies	Poor	Intermed.	Fluent	Total
Paraphrase	30	60	48	138
Synonym	27	33	42	102
Description/ Explanation	60	12	60	132

Table 16a Replacement Strategies --- Raw Figures

The results of the analysis of Replacement Strategies are shown in Table 16 a,b and c. (see also Bar Graphs no.: 9 in the Appendix). Table 16a shows the raw figures in each section. Table 16b shows the converted figures using the MDL conversion factor. Table 16c read horizontally shows the percentage contribution of each proficiency level to the total in that category. Table 17 shows the popularity of the strategies, that is, how many people at each level used the strategy and in brackets the number of people are shown as percentages of the total participants.

Strategies	Poor	Intermed.	Fluent
Paraphrase	30	51	30
Synonym	27	29	18
Description/ Explanation	60	11	38.1

Table 16b. Replacement Strategies -- Converted Figures

Strategies	Poor	Intermed.	Fluent
Paraphrase	27%	46%	27%
Synonym	33%	34%	33%
Description/ Explanation	55%	10%	35%

Table 16c. Replacement Strategies - Percentages

Replacement Strategies	Poor	Intermed.	Fluent
Paraphrase	15(10%)	21(14%)	15(10%)
Synonym	15(10%)	18(12)%	18(12%)
Description/ Explanation	12(8%)	12(8%)	15(10%)

Table 17. Popularity of Replacement Strategies

The use of Paraphrase as a CS increases initially with an increase in proficiency and then decreases more or less to the earlier level with further increase in proficiency. It is possible that initially the learners didn't have enough language to paraphrase and that at the higher proficiency levels they didn't need to do much paraphrasing as their language abilities were good enough without having to use paraphrastic strategies.

A somewhat reverse trend is seen in the use of Description/Explanation. Fewer learners use fewer CS of Description/Explanation as their proficiency increases from Poor to Intermediate level. But as their proficiency increases to the Fluent level, their use of this strategy also seems to increase. However, this increase in the frequency should be interpreted very tentatively because most of the instances of this strategy are all attributable to the same learners. In other words, out of a total of 150 Explanation/Description, 84 were by the same 15 learners, suggesting that an individual's personality, training, etc. may be a strong factor in a learner's choice of these CSs.

Although the Poor learners and Fluent learners both seem to use Circumlocution, the surface realization of these at these two levels reflect the differences in their language proficiency. At the Poor level, the language used is rather simple, basic and sometimes even crude but at the Fluent level, the learners show

greater sophistication and clarity of phraseology (phrasal/sentence structure). Below are given 4 illustrations, 88 and 89 are from the Poor group (see p.400 and p.402) and 90 and 91 from the Fluent group (see p.405). The concepts they are trying to communicate are given in square brackets.

Examples:

=====

Subject 88 : ..don't have to use very bad words..not good for children to hear..very bad words..not nice...good people don't..

[= vulgar language/profanity]

Subject 89 : I like to see my relative..very young boy..he is my sister's baby..baby boy...how to say..he is my..my relative..

[= nephew]

Subject 90 : ..the wire..the wire become twisted..among her foot..

[= entangled]

Subject 91 : my uncle..he..he doesn't like to be with people ..he live alone..sometimes he doesn't see anybody for many months..his house is very far from other people..he do everything alone

[= a recluse]

(Note: The above examples are taken from excerpts based on free narration activities where the subjects were told to speak for 2-3 minutes on topics of their own choice - see 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 for further descriptions of such activities).

The following three examples of circumlocution taken from excerpts of a free narration activity are from the Poor, Intermediate and Fluent group respectively will also show the progressive improvement in surface realizations:

Examples:

=====

Subject 88 : say my neighbour buy very nice car...new and style...I look and see how nice...but it for him ..not for me..I want the car but cannot take..his car...that is him...not for me..I must buy one if I want..my..cannot take him car

[Thou shall not covet thy neighbour's property - see p. 366]

Subject 89 : It's not..yes, from government, like er...all the people must get er..must take elementary school. But it is not necessary if...anyone with..the school, when he..er.. finish elementary school, the government don't punish..

[Only elementary education is compulsory - see p. 402]

Subject 90 : Like in Malaysia..where if you are caught with a certain amount of drugs..you get severe punishment like hanging.. in other countries you get severe punishment too but for other deeds like murder... these severe punishment are set up by the government to discourage people from such deeds

[capital punishment - see p.404]

Paribakht 1984 found that difference in knowledge of TL affects the surface realization of CSs. My findings regarding the surface realizations of the Replacement Strategies seem to agree with hers in the use of extensive substitution strategies of description/explanation and circumlocution, increasing TL proficiency will at some stage even out the preference for lexical or non-lexical strategies as the more fluent learners seem to use both strategies equally and ambivolitionally.

To sum up, the data suggests that irrespective of the actual numbers involved, learners tend to use fewer non-TL based CSs and they use more IL-based CSs as their proficiency increases. Although several strategies are used with more or less equal frequency and popularity with learners at all three levels, the surface manifestations of some of the CSs reflect the growing TL competence and confidence of the higher level learners. The non-TL based strategies of Borrowing and Foreignizing are preferred

more by learners who have access to base languages that are perceived to be 'near' English. Replacement Strategies are the most common and most preferred Linguistic Strategies for learners at all levels. Although different sets of Replacement Strategies show different across-level trends, low level learners prefer non-lexical Replacement Strategies, middle level learners prefer lexical Replacement Strategies and high level learners show no preference.

5.7.4 Non-Linguistic Strategies

=====

Compared to Linguistic Strategies, Non-Linguistic Strategies were few in number. While Linguistic Strategies made up 65% of the total number of strategies, the Non-Linguistic Strategies, consisting of Mime, Gestures and other non-verbal communication devices accounted for only 9%. With such small numbers, quantitative analysis is virtually impossible. But perhaps the most important point about Non-Linguistic Strategies is not so much their numbers but their very existence, the very fact that learners do resort to them both in support of and in lieu of language.

Although Mime and Gesture are both kinesic modes of non-verbal communication and the two often overlap, the taxonomic reason for keeping them separate has already been mentioned (4.3). There is also some empirical evidence here to motivate their separation. Gesture appears to be much more successful as a CS than Mime, at

least in a classroom situation. There are 6 instances of Mime, 3 each at the Poor and Fluent level. Only in two of these six instances is there any indication of the users having even limited success in communicating the intended meaning, and in one of these two cases the Mime was supported and supplemented by Gesture and a good many contextual clues. On the other hand, 54 of the 60 instances of gestures (15 at the Poor level, 24 at the Intermediate level and 21 at the Fluent level) succeeded in eliciting the intended word or expression from the teacher or the peers. So Gestures have a confirmed 90% success rate against a lower ^{percentage} 33% for Mime.

Para-linguistic and other non-linguistic strategies ¹⁰, in terms of their frequency, popularity and range, appear to be used a lot more by low proficiency learners. There is only one instance of para-linguistic strategy at the Fluent level:

Example:

=====

the lengthened, drawn out articulation "browwww..n" and "pinnnnnnk" to indicate uncertainty about the colour of the wall the learner is trying to describe.

At the Intermediate level, the 9 instances of non-linguistic behaviour are all by the same learner in the course of the same communicative task, and consist of the use of diagrams and sketches to describe i) items in a laboratory and ii) an apple with a human face. However, at the Poor proficiency level, there are 27 instances of Paralinguistic Strategies, used by 15 people.

The nature of these vary very much as shown by the following examples:

1. **Intense interjections and desk-thumping to show anger and frustrations at inability to linguistically communicate the learner's strong feelings on a provocative topic.**

Example:

=====

Subject 87: ...I think woman should stay at home and look after the children..if not these children will not grow into..responsible people..influenced by western..

Subject 85: not every children who has mother working grow up bad!
< >Subject 87: I tell you it can really be bad!..

Subject 85: but uhm..err..not true all the time..how to say?
(long pause) the mother..the mother..

Subject 87: no! if you really think about it you will agree with me...it's really bad for the children...they need a moth....< >Subject 87: no! no! How to say..
(thumps her fist on the table loudly in frustration) I don't know how to say it but err... the children don't need...

(excerpts from debate - "A Woman's place - home or office?" please refer to p. 397 for full details)

2. **Stressing of the modal 'can' to communicate will power.**

Example:

=====

Subject 85: It is up to us to make our live useful
..to contribute to the world..we can do it
..if we really believe..
(see p.395)

3. **Use of onomatopoeia as a language substitute for the unknown word.**

Example:

=====

Subject 91: ..he didn't realized that there is oil inthe pail..so when the fire-cracker got in..it uhm..boom! uhm..man got hurt at back..
(see p. 405)

In general, despite the unassuming numbers, there seems to be an overall trend for a decrease in the use of non-linguistic

strategies with increasing language proficiency as indicated by the data collected.

5.7.5 **Interactional Strategies**

=====

Interactional Strategies, like non-linguistic strategies have not generally been studied by analysts and researchers. In this study their frequency is fairly high. They are about 3 times as frequent as non-linguistic strategies or non-TL based strategies. Direct and Indirect Appeals together accounted for nearly two-thirds (62%) of the Interactional Strategies. However, the raw figures for Appeal are very difficult to interpret quantitatively because of an unusual incompatibility between Frequency and Popularity. The frequency (raw figures) and popularity of Appeals are shown in Table 18. The total frequency is given at the top of each kind of Appeal and the breakdown of how many uses by each user is given underneath the total for each of the three levels.

Table 18 shows that poor learners have used substantially more Indirect Appeals than the others. But nearly all of them are by the same subjects. In the same fashion, compared to Poor and Intermediate figures for Direct Appeal appear somewhat lopsided with a handful of individuals being responsible for over 80% of the total instances. It appears that an understanding of idiosyncratic personality features may be necessary to explain the use of interactional strategies.

	Poor	Intermediate	Fluent
Frequency	150	90	51
Indirect Appeal	27 45	18 3	21 9
Popular	36 21 21	42 9	9 18 3
Frequency	3	6	45
Direct Appeal			
Popular	3	6	39 6

Table 18. Frequency and popularity of Appeals

However, at least one other tentative observation can be made. Indirect Appeal appear to be preferred more by learners of all proficiency levels. High proficiency learners can sometimes move from Indirect to Direct Appeal. This phenomenon did not happen at all with the other two levels.

Examples:

=====

Subject 85 : the one is about..like the neck...the cylinder
 ..like a bottle with a long neck and a big..how
 to say? (pointing to the item)

Subject 84 : I don't understand... (look at Subject 85 for help)
 (see p. 401 for full details)

Appeals as CSs are difficult to study and analyse in normal and spontaneous interaction because of the variation in interlocutor receptivity to appeal-like behaviour from the learner. What superficially looks like an Appeal in the learner's speech is

often confirmed as an Appeal by the analyst because the interlocutors perceived unintended 'conditional relevance' (see Faerch and Kasper 1983c:231) in it and hence respond to it by helping out. Appeals are interesting cooperative strategies for the sociolinguist^{-ics'} teacher too because they are what Schegloff (et al 1977: 363) call 'self-initiated other repairs', and as such are attempts by learners to seek socially negotiated solution to a psycholinguistic problem. For the language teacher, they are not just confessions of ignorance but expressions of motivation to communicate and possibly learn.

The success of an Appeal depends on a variety of factors like the attitude of the interlocutor(s) towards the urgency of the user's problem, towards the need to help out and towards the priority of face-saving over cooperation. Needless to say, the success of an appeal also depends on the interlocutor's understanding of what is being appealed for as well as his ability to help out the speaker. A determined learner with enough proficiency can make a Direct Appeal for a word giving specific semantic information and making the conditional relevance of his appeal unequivocal as in

the following example:

Example 1

=====

Subject 1 : Yes, I have many problems..I think that because uh
..I think..at my house..I thinklah..my house before
now...uh..no...uh...kemudahan apa?

[lit.transl. "what is the word for facilities?"]

Interviewer: facilities!

Subject 1 : yes..no facilities like television and so on and I
think it is more problem to me to learn English..

(see p. 383)

Example II

=====

Subject 1: I think teachers must be..do comprehension...and
..perbualan apa?
[lit.transl."what is the word for conversations?"]

Interviewer: conversations! (see p. 383)

The last strategy, Admission of Ignorance, is used more by Poor and Intermediate learners than by Fluent learners. The two lower levels have used it as a prelude to both trying to abandon talking about something as well as apologizing for their inability to communicate the right meaning. Fluent learners, however, having never had to abandon either the topic or the message, uses this strategy only to mitigate occasional inadequacy of language. The strategy has decreasing necessity with increasing proficiency. It is used by 12 (8%) people at the Poor level, 6 at the Intermediate (4%) and nil at the Fluent level. It seems logical that increased proficiency brings increased communicative ability. At the same time, it creates increased prestige in TL society, bringing need for face-saving. This would make high proficiency learners less willing to overtly admit their linguistic inadequacy.

To sum up, a qualitative analysis of the data shows that in spontaneous, natural learner-learner communication, the learners are much ^{more} concerned with the conveying of the message than with the grammatical accuracy, and that in anxiety-free learning

situations, linguistic inadequacy does not usually seriously impede the learner from trying to convey his message in the TL. On the contrary, learners at all levels of proficiency, under the right conditions, are motivated to stretch their competence and also to supplement their IL resources with non-verbal communicative means. The communication strategies the learners use to overcome the communicative inadequacies of their transitional TL competence are not employed discretely, but as a part of a complex mix of linguistic, non-linguistic and interactional communicative devices.

A quantitative analysis reveals that learners from all three levels of proficiency generally used similar strategies and that all learners preferred, both in terms of frequency of use and popularity, linguistic, interactional and non-linguistic strategies in that order. TL-based strategies were maximally and uniformly popular with learners of all three levels. The level of proficiency of the learners influenced their use of communication strategies mainly in two ways. As proficiency in the TL improved, there was progressive reduction in the overall number of strategies used as well as in the learners' dependence on non-TL based strategies. The most frequent strategies for all learners were the TL-based Replacement Strategies. In some but not all cases, the surface realizations of the strategies across levels reflected the differences in TL proficiency.

These results are more suggestive and provocative than conclusive. More research on similar lines with more vigorous specifications and control over the variables is needed for a conclusive verification of the trends identified.

The following section of this chapter will now focus on the comparisons between the native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers' (NNS) data collected during the study.

5.8. Comparison of NNS and NS Data

=====

In this last section of the chapter, I would like to highlight ~~on~~ some of the findings of this research on the NNS and NS data. A great deal of variability may be observed in the linguistic means used by both NS and NNS to describe the pictures that they see or any other acts of reference in my study. I believe that this is because strategic competence involves the ability to select an effective means of performing an act of reference, one which enables a particular listener to identify the intended referent. Thus, strategic competence is gauged not by degree of correctness (as with grammatical competence) but rather by degree of success, or effectiveness. Clearly, individuals may be able to successfully communicate their intended meanings without necessarily demonstrating a great deal of accuracy in target language ~~linguistic~~ form¹¹. In addition, more than one linguistic form may prove to be successful under different circumstances, with different learners. Perhaps, alternative linguistic expressions (such as descriptions of objects) must be used in

situations where a listener is unfamiliar with an entity or where the speaker 'does not know the name for it'.

In fact, I believe that the range of expressions available to any speaker will prove to be dependent on at least three factors:

- the speaker's linguistic knowledge;
- the speaker's knowledge of the world; and
- the speaker's assessment of the listener's knowledge of the language and the world.

For example, science students have knowledge about science apparatus usually found in laboratories which allow them to refer to these items far more effectively than those of us who are not familiar with the inner workings of say an elaborate laboratory apparatus. Where the listener shares this knowledge, the science student-speaker's effectiveness in referring to the parts of the gadget will be relatively high; where the listener does not share the knowledge, the range of effective expressions available to the science student-speaker is likely to be greatly reduced. The range must be further reduced when one or the other of the interlocutors does not have an adequate mastery of the language itself, and thus does not know the relevant linguistic expressions.

Thus, when individual speakers perform their strategic competence in making acts of reference, we may expect to observe a range of linguistic expressions, and we may expect that range to be defined by at least the three factors to come into play regardless of whether the speaker is a native speaker of English or a learner.

In this section of the chapter, I would like to discuss some of the variability in the NNS-NS data that I had collected during this study. To start with, please refer to Table A where I have listed some of the linguistic expressions used during the elicitation tasks sessions. In some cases, simple nominals were used ('three beakers', 'three long things') but in other cases a range of more complex nominal expressions were used. It is important to observe that while the native speakers employed a range of referring expressions, and the non-native speakers employed a different range of referring expressions, those ranges overlapped. In general, the data shows a wider range of expressions appearing in this group. Possibly the NSs were more in agreement as to the level of detail required to identify an object.

One difference between NSs and NNSs is to be found in the degree of specificity, or level of detail, required in the encoding of the message. In deciding what to include and what to leave out of a message, there seems to be a level of detail which members of the NS group all agree upon. NNSs may provide more, or less, detail than this. The strategy of 'over-elaboration' (Tarone, 1988), where NNSs give more detail than the NSs, occurred very frequently in our study. Examples of 'over-elaboration' on the part of learners occurred when they had to refer to the "hair steamer" in the course of narrating a story. (see Table B).

TABLE A

=====
Language used to describe a Science apparatus - a cylinder:
=====

Non-native speakers
=====

- NNS20: ...in the right hand side..there is a..a...cylinder...
NNS22: ..it is like a bottle..uhm...which have a long neck and quite a half a square bottom...
NNS23: ..there is three long things on the desk..
NNS24: ..the first thing looks like a bottle and has a semi-circle.....
NNS33: ..the first one has a..vase with a stand and then it is coming with a..bit like a half shape of a bottle
NNS34: ..one of them is round one with a long neck...
NNS37: on the lower shelf you have a long neck beaker with a flat bottom..

Native speakers
=====

- NS16 :on the top line..is a kind of a..vase with a long stem..and rounded at the bottom..
NS20 :here are 3 different types of flasks..I can't tell you their names..they are just vessels carrying fluids...
NS24 : ...on the top shelf..left hand side..there is what looks like..uhm...a brandy glass upside down with a bottom...
NS25 : ..there is what you could call a lollipop on a stick..upside down..

=====
TABLE B
=====

Descriptions of a "hair-steamer" used in salons
(i.e. a dryer to help perm and curl hair)
=====

Non-native speakers
=====

- NNS82:there's one girl covering in...this..uhm..it use an electric... got wire connected with a plug so one lady...
NNS82:I think she wants to perm her hair or something..so they put a.. a..machine over the hair..I think to curl the hair or something...
NNS83: ..a woman goes to a salon..and they put this thing..very hot thing on her hair..with wires at the back..
NNS88: ...in the process of perming and drying up her hair they used an equipment ..this equipment was of..electrical in nature...

Native speakers
=====

- NS3 :..she's sitting comfortably under this hair-dryer and day dreaming..
NS10 : ..so this lady sits herself comfortably under this dryer..
NS16 :...so she did her up and put her under the dryer..and what happens..
NS12 :..under this very serious looking machine and she....

A good example of over-elaboration is NNS88's extended definition. Note that none of the NS group bothered to try and specify that this was a particular type of dryer. On the other hand, there are areas where the NNS group provided less detail than the NS group. In another task, referring to the physical features of a caricature of Albert Einstein (see material numbered B2 in the Appendix), for example, a group of NNSs referred only to his small limbs and long hair but neglected to describe his strange looking eyes and bushy eyebrows. This may evidence a kind of avoidance among the NNS group - viz: avoid describing what you decide you don't have to describe - a possible attempt to simplify their speaking task. NNSs, thus, need to learn what level of detail is required in order for a typical listener to identify an object, to ensure the success of the communicative act.

On the other hand, what would count as over-elaboration in native discourse may fulfill a useful metalingual and metacommunicative function in crosscultural communication, serving to clarify the learner's intended semantic and pragmatic meaning. From other areas of IL discourse, it has become apparent that rather than following target norms in crosscultural communication, it may be more appropriate to use conversational procedures than take account of the increased risk of miscommunication. Through this increased phatic activity, the learners contributed to maintaining the discourse in a situation where mutual comprehensibility could not be taken for granted.

Janicki's (1986) study found that learners may feel a stronger need than NSs to establish, rather than presuppose, common ground. Instead of relying on the interlocutor's co-operation in reconstructing the implicit justification for requesting, and consequently performing the request without external modification, NNSs may therefore prefer to "explicitise" the reasons for exerting an imposition on their interlocutor. According to this argument, learners do not only invest more energy in face work - which, after all, could be done in many other ways. Rather, they appear to prefer a more transparent communicative style than do NSs.

Other studies on NNS-NS interaction also reported similar phenomena. Stemmer (1981) reports that intermediate learners of English display a tendency towards 'complete responses', i.e. repeating (part of) their interlocutors' initiating act when this is not functionally motivated, instead of using shorter and more efficient procedures such as ellipsis and pro-forms. In the same data, Faerch (1981) notes the learners' preference for propositional explicitness where NSs would prefer shorter and more explicit modes of expression (e.g. "Would you like to drink a glass of wine with me" instead of "how about a glass of wine?"). Moreover, in their studies of compensatory strategies used by NNSs for solving referential problems, Bongaerts et al (1987) and Tarone and Yule (1987) observe that the learners produce

overcomplex and long winded utterances as compared to NSs of English.

These results from different areas of IL discourse tentatively suggest a universal trend for language learners to give preference to the conversational maxim of *manner* (or clarity), over the maxim of quantity (or parsimony) when these two maxims are in conflict. From the learners' point of view, *explicitising* may function as a playing-it-safe strategy of communication. Implementing such a strategy presupposes, of course, a rather well developed linguistic competence, a condition met by the intermediate to high intermediate learner groups reported on in most of the literature and in this study.

In the concrete picture description activities included in this study, we may assume that in some cases the speakers encountered a problem in referring to some of the entities involved (see p. 3.4.2 and 3.4.3) for details of such activities). Some seem to have been searching for a more precise nominal expression than the one they ended up producing; we presume this in some cases because the speakers tell us so, and in others because of hesitation and/or laughter on the part of the speaker, and a preponderance of more complex nominal expressions. In the research literature, the linguistic (and in some cases the non-linguistic) signals used by speakers in place of the more precise linguistic expressions have been referred to as 'communication strategies'. But clearly, such communication strategies are a

subset of the full range of linguistic expressions which may be observed when speakers refer to entities with the purpose of enabling listeners to identify them. It is hard for any researcher of course to be able to tell whether any given speaker is using a communicative strategy or not - i.e. whether the expression produced is precisely the expression the speaker desires, or whether it is a substitute for some, more precise expression which the speaker would prefer to use.

One way of establishing whether communication strategies have been used because of some lack of linguistic resources is to have individuals perform the same task in both their languages with the same interlocutor; where a speaker uses one linguistic expression in the L2, we might guess that the learner has used a communication strategy, in order to compensate for some deficiency in either his own linguistic resources for English or those of his listener. That is the reason why I ~~have~~ asked the Malay learners of English to describe a series of cartoon strips, first in Malay (L1) then in English. The native version preceding the English version, was supposed to reveal exactly what the learner wanted to say in English, i.e. his "intended meaning" (Varadi, 1973:5).

Similar methods to establish a learner's intended meaning have been used by later investigators of communication strategies, notably by Elaine Tarone and associates. They have, however, concentrated their analyses on tape recordings of spoken rather

than written material. Some of the reasons for this are that speech is spontaneous and (compared to 'test' communication) more like 'real' communication than writing, and that spoken narratives reveal also the pauses, hesitations, and corrections that learners make while struggling with their task. It is due to these reasons that in this particular study, I decided to focus more on the spoken narratives rather than the written form in this research study.

I would like now to report some of my observations of the occurrence of the communication strategies from the data that I collected. By referring to the more salient characteristics of the C.S. used in the NNS-NS interaction, I hope to refine and further substantiate some of my observations reported here.

5.9 Occurrence of already documented communication strategies

=====

At this point I would like to discuss 6 others CSs - circumlocution, approximation, mime, literal translation, language switch and appeal to authority as they occurred quite frequently in my NNS-NS data and thus merit further illumination.

5.9.1 Circumlocution

=====

Circumlocution, in which the speaker describes the properties of the target object or action (i.e. the colour, size, shape, function, etc.), occurred in NNS/NS accounts such as these:

- NS16 : the first thing it is like a bottle...uhm..which is...
have a long neck and quite a square at the bottom...
the body looks like a pyramid..and have a ...neck but
it is not too long as before..as the above..
(see p.407 for details)
- NNS83 : the colour is dark....the size is small..it is made of
glass (see p.393)
- NS18 : this is round thing..for collecting water (see p.407)
(excerpts taken from concrete picture
description activity -refer to task 2
picture 2 in p.127 and materials B4 in
Appendix)

5.9.2 Approximation

=====

Approximation, in which the speaker uses a term which shares a number of semantic features with the target lexical item or structure, occurred in this sort of NNS account:

- NNS87 : It is a kind of sphere.. (see p. 398)
- NNS81 : And the second thing...a sphere...a round thing..
(see p.389)
- NNS81 : It is a kind of something like a container (see p.389)
- NNS88 : And the shape is like a pyramid.. it has a three sides
.....Not close on top but has an opening with tube on
top..like a pyramid (see p.401)
(excerpts taken from concrete picture
description activity - refer to B4 in
Appendix).

Note that NNS87 and NNS81 above approximate by using a superordinate term (sphere,'shape') and then indicate that the target item is related to that term by hyponymy. NNS81 uses a type of approximation which might be termed analogy (see Paribakht, 1982), offering the term 'container' as an analogy to the target 'beaker'. And NNS88 uses the analogy type of approximation as well, likening a conical flask to a pyramid, and then, by means of circumlocution, indicating which properties of the two objects in the analogy differ.

The number of factors governing the choice of communication strategies on the part of the learner is fairly large. These

factors seem to be dependent on two main variables: a learner variable and a situation variable. The learner variable includes factors such as the learner's age, his learning level or stage of proficiency, his mother tongue, his knowledge of languages other than the mother tongue and the foreign language being communicated, and, finally, his personality characteristics. The situation variable, on the other hand, includes factors such as the foreign language being communicated, the target items being communicated (lexical vs. syntactic), the type of communication (real-life vs. test situation, motivated vs. unmotivated, written vs. spoken, one-way vs. two-way communication), and the language background of the interlocutor/experimenter (native speaker of the learner's target language vs. fellow foreign-language learner) (cited from Palmberg, 1984:115).

5.9.3 **Mime** ====

The communication strategy of mime seemed to be used fairly frequently in these interactions by most NNS. Fortunately, some of the NNS-NNS interaction have been video-taped in this study, so we may have some systematic record of speakers' use of this communication strategy. In my observations, there were, in fact, two types of mime; in one case, mime took the place of a desired structure or items, as in (see p. 391):

NNS83 :...she was not strong..tired ...walk so slow...
(mimics the look of tiredness and slowness of the walk)

More frequently, mime accompanied a speaker's use of other

communication strategies, as below where the speaker uses circumlocution and mime simultaneously:

NNS87 : And the shape is...like a bottle..and the bottom part is like this (demonstrate the shape with her fingers)

NNS88 : she is..she is big (mimics the "big")...got child.. (use hand gestures over her stomach to indicate pregnant person)

(excerpts taken from p.398 and p.399 in Appendix)

5.9.4 Literal translation

=====

It is of no surprise to notice that the strategy of literal translation was used by some NNS in this study - because although the "pairing up" of the subjects was such that each of them are from a different ethnic group, the listener in each dyad has either the ability to speak or to understand the native speaker of the speaker (the national language being the medium of instruction in all primary and secondary schools and mandatory passes are required in order to be admitted to university level). In my opinion, the use of L1-based strategies like literal translations, borrowings, language switch, foreignizing etc. by the subjects of this study would have been very different if they had to interact with a native speaker. Unfortunately, NNS/NS interaction cannot be carried out in this study due to reasons already mentioned earlier.

The success of literal translation as a communication strategy depends to a great extent on the speaker's assumption that either (a) the hearer knows the speaker's native language, or (b) the speaker's native language and the target language are similar

enough in structure that a literal translation from the NL might in fact be a cognate in the TL. In this study, all the instances of literal translation we have been able to document thus far were produced by the first possibility. Examples of the use of this strategy are as follows :

Example 1

======(see p.386)

NNS2 : ...ah...when he see the smoke (pause)...and the third picture..he is surprise when the police come and he..stand on the pail..finally, he's confused that his buttocks was fired. [lit.transl."burnt"]

Example 2

======(see p.389)

NNS3 : ...The police arrested one..a people [lit.transl. "one person"] thirty five years.. responsible to steal the motorcycle and buying it by...very cheaper in the village. He arrested during motorcycle...reported lost...

Example 3

======(see p.389)

NNS3 : ah...the story is about Hari Raya (a Muslim's festival) and then in this cartoon says one of the boys..one of the boys... have a fire...flower [lit.transl. "fire-cracker"] ...he throws the fire flower in the pail and then...

Example 4

======(see p.386)

NNS2 : ...First..firstly, the big problem [lit.transl."main problem"] ...I understand what other people speak but I can't speak well... responsible...to response...

Thus, it can be said here that both **language switch** and **appeal to authority** (Tarone and Yule, 1987) also occurred in this study.

5.9.5 Language switch

=====

Language switch, which is related to the strategy of literal translation described above, relies solely on the assumption that the hearer knows the speaker's native language. It is used when the NL term or structure appears in the discourse with no change

in pronunciation and word form. The speakers in this study especially the Malay speakers have been observed to attempt to use this strategy with one another. Example: (see p.390)

NNS82 : ...He's wearing ...**kalong-kalong** [lit.transl."chains"]
and erm... [suddenly burst into a string of L1 phrase]
macam kain cawat yang orang selalu pakai kat hutan..

5.9.6 **Appeal to authority** =====

The other communication strategy, i.e. appeal to authority was also noted for its occurrence in this study. The listener, sharing the language and information to respond to such an appeal, was noted for being appealed to for assistance on many occasions especially by the Malay speakers from the lower proficiency group of subjects. Examples:

Example 1 (see p.384 for full details)
=====

NNS1 : ...ah..throw this **manchis** [Malay word for matches] into
the pail..I think..in the pail have many oil and rubbish
and then when the..**manchis** into the pail..the
fire...**meletop apa?**
[lit.transl."what is the word for exploded?"]

Interviewer: exploded

NNS1 : yes!..it exploded there..

Example 2
===== (see p.388 for full details)

NNS3 : ...The..in this **kartun** [Malay word for cartoon], I can
see that is the boys who is wearing a..**songkok**
[Malay word for cap] and a..**baju Melayu** [Malay word for
Malay male garment] and he playing with the...**mercun**
apa?
[lit.transl."what is the word for fire-crackers?"]

Interviewer: fire-crackers!

NNS3 : playing with fire-cracker..and then he..

Newly observed aspects of communication strategy use
=====

Certain aspects of communication strategy use are clearly in evidence in these NNS-NNS interactions which have not been mentioned in previous studies on communication strategies - possibly because these previous studies have focused on another sort of interaction altogether. In this study, I have observed three new types of communication strategy in use in these interactions, all of which seem to serve the same general function of providing the listener with several opportunities to identify the object or entity involved: **replication, explication, and over-explicitness.**

Little attention has been focused, in past study of communication strategies, on the frequent repetitions which characterize NNS English spoken production. One type of repetition occurs when the NNS appears to stall, trying to find a word or phrase to convey the message. An extended example of this type of repetition is illustrated below:

Example:

===== (see p. 387)

NNS3 : I think..I can't...I can't..cannot..can't...can't
..when I speak...I can't speak in proper grammar...

This type of repetition occurs in varying amounts, throughout many of the NNS data. This phenomenon, however, may not be of primary interest in the study of how NNS set about communicating their intended messages. But it is certainly of interest as a clue to points in the discourse where the speaker is having

difficulty finding an appropriate TL expression to convey the intended meaning, much as one would find such clues as in the composing outloud technique of writing. The difference between NNS and NS accounts appear to be in the amount of repetition of this type. Within the set of NNS accounts there is no variation in the amount of repeated words or phrases. This type of repetition, with its accompanying pausing and incomplete structures, certainly contributes to the general impression of lack of fluency in the NNS speech. It is not always easy to tell whether the use of repetition is serving the function of a production strategy (that is, as a means of 'buying time' to allow the speaker to formulate a plan for the next segment of discourse), or that of a communication strategy, in providing the listener with another chance to hear and process the information. The repetition of a part of a story for example could serve either function.

On the other hand, some repetitions do seem to be produced when the listener non-verbally indicates that the message as first formulated has not been clear. The speaker, in response, repeats the message as originally stated. In the first example below, NNS86 repeats the term 'eyes' six times:

Example:

=====

NNS84 : draw an apple...big one...on the full page..uhm..now draw the eyes..on the top part..err..two eyes on top...you know...like human eyes..two human eyes o.k.? then draw a pair of nose below the...(looking at the drawing as drawn by the listener)..eyes! draw two eyes...

(see p.393 for full details)

Throughout this monologue, the listener ~~was~~ looked puzzle, and the speaker continued trying repetition in response.

A less extended type of repetition, which seems to share similarities with the approximative strategy, occurs when the speaker repeats the term, not exactly, but in paraphrase. Given the elicitation situation in which our data were produced, one might expect that each NNS would attempt to make sure that the NNS listener had every opportunity to understand the conveyed message. This general motive may be behind the frequent use of the 'paraphrase', or 'double-barrelled' type of repetition which occurs in our data. Let us consider some examples:

NNS20: a headmaster, a man
NNS22: a long stick, bamboo stick
NNS22: the scenery, the jungle
NNS40: vehicle, car
NNS40: accessory, necklace
NNS41: cylinder, bottle
NNS83: fight, quarrel
NNS84: doll, puppet
NNS85: big enough, grown up
NNS90: freckles, spots

Examples such as these may be indicative of a communication strategy used by the NNS when using English to convey a message to another NNS. In each case, the speaker is giving an alternative identifying term, not necessarily a synonym, to reinforce the first term used. The pattern does not necessarily illustrate a 'general term - specific term' sequence, but seems more a result of providing two chances for the listener to identify, roughly, the entity or action involved.

Possibly deriving from the same NNS-listener effect is a strategy which could be tentatively characterized as 'explication' (Tarone and Yule 1987). It is not a repetition of an expression or of an alternative expression, but rather a spelling-out of what is meant by the expression used. An example from one of the narratives may clarify this strategy:

Example: (Taken from Concrete Picture Description activity)

=====

NNS87: the second thing..a sphere..round bottom (p.398)

NNS88: last bottle..triangular..has three sides..like pyramid
(p.401)

It seems as if this speaker has attempted to make certain that the relevant graphic features of 'sphere' and 'triangle' are known to the listener. In a similar way, in the following extract the speaker has decided to explicate what aspects of the identified object should be known:

Example:

=====

NNS84: it is like a head-dress..you wear it on your head...and
uhm..there are feathers on it..colourful feathers...
(see p.393 for full details)

The appearance of such 'explicitness' may be a reflection of the communication situation in which the listener is not a NS and so the NNS speaker has to gauge how much the listener knows of the language being used as the communicative medium. It is, of course, a strategy which has drawbacks in interpersonal terms, since the listener may not take kindly to having English words (which he may know) explained to him/her by another NNS. Despite this risk however, this strategy will clearly be a useful device if the speaker cannot be expected to know. From a pedagogical point of view, it is a strategy which should be encouraged while

providing the NNS with the means to use the strategy, suitably hedged, to inform, the listener without the implication of ignorance on the listener's part.

Native speakers too occasionally meet with language difficulties, but second language learner strategies are much more frequent than the communication strategies native speakers use in such situations, and not so difficult to recognize. By reference to the mother-tongue version the intended meaning can be fairly reliably established in test situations, especially if completed with interviews (proposed by e.g. Jordens, 1977). Furthermore, interviews are useful in the classification of strategies. Another way of establishing the difference is to ask the speaker whether the referential expressions ~~s~~he used were in fact acceptable in communicating their intended meanings. This approach is fraught with other problems, notably lapses of memory on the part of the speaker, and the whole issue of whether speakers use strategies consciously or not.

Another approach, useful for the second-language teacher, is to avoid making any distinction at all between communication strategies and other sorts of referring expressions, but merely to note any differences in the way NSs and NNSs perform the same task. Where differences are observed, there may be valuable teaching points to be found. After all, one of the goals of the teacher is simply to provide students with the linguistic resources they need to be effective in performing communicative

acts. The pedagogical goal must therefore be to teach students both the relevant simple nominal expressions they are likely to need for particular tasks, and also the linguistic resources that they can perform communicative tasks with the same degree of success as native speakers. What teachers want to avoid is clearly different behaviour on the part of the NNSs - e.g. the abandonment of a message when the student does not know the word for the entity.

Newly observed aspects of NNS/NS data

=====

In addition to the above CSs used, the data also reveals some very interesting NNS/NS differences. Most of these observations have never been reported in any studies on CSs. For easier reference, there follows a list of the differences found between the non-native speakers and native speakers speech corpus:

A. Discourse structure

=====

Sentence structure:

NNS: contain **more subordinating sentence structures**

NS: contain **more coordinating sentence structures**

The native speakers' speech corpus tend to contain fewer complete sentences as more coordinating sentences are used in contrast to the vast amount of subordinating sentences contained in the non-native speakers speech. A lot of factors may contribute to this phenomenon, one of which could be the written-based mode that predominates most of the formal language training the NNS usually gets. Most language classes are dependent on textbooks or some form of writings and so most of the formal language training that language learners get is in the written mode where incomplete

sentences are virtually non-existent. This formal training in using complete sentences then carries over into the oral performance aspects, influencing them in their speech performance in English. The native speakers on the other hand, are exposed to both oral and written elements of their language and use the former mode more often in their everyday lives as speakers of that language.

Role of pauses/hesitations signs:

NNS: stalling for time to think of unknown term/phrase

NS: more for temporising, place holding while speaker organize thoughts

There is certainly a big difference in the use of pauses/hesitations between the non-native speakers and native speakers. More often than not, the pauses/hesitations are used by the non-native speakers to "buy more time" for themselves while they try to recall or seek ways to find the required TL item/phrase. Native speakers on the other hand, use the pause/hesitation not so much because they have difficulties in getting the correct language item but more as "place-holders" while they organize their thoughts in their attempt to think of the next thing to say.

B. Stream of consciousness

=====

NNS: poor to middle group does not reflect this at all
but the fluent group does

NS: most of them reflect this ability..

Example: (taken from an excerpt of a role-play activity - p.409)

=====

NS26: ...well Ms. Jones..what have you got to say for yourself?

NS24: I'm really sorry Dr.Smith but I really cannot hand in the assignment to you today

NS26: What? You cannot hand in the assignment today! Do you realize what this could do to your grades?

NS24: (laugh) ...boy you're tough on me! I'm really sorry but I was ill and so could you give me a few more days to finish

it?

NS26: No! I'm sorry but I'm fed-up with all your excuses..no I'm not going to give you another chance..you'll just have to accept an "F" I'm afraid for your mid-term grades..

NS24: (laugh) I'm going to get you for this! But Dr.Smith! You can't do this to me..(laugh)

NS26: (laugh)

The above utterances such as,"boy you're tough on me!" and "I'm going to get you for this!" by Subject 24 is obviously referring to Subject 26 (the person) as oppose to the role Dr.Smith which Subject 26 had assumed. This is just one of the many examples that occurred during many of the NS-NS interaction to illustrate my second point i.e. that the stream of consciousness still prevails over the communicative activities in most of my native speakers speech corpus even when they are in the midst of a serious discussions or role-playing.

This phenomenon of going back and forth from "~~make~~-believe role-playing" to "conscious thoughts of reality" (never before documented in any studies on CSs), is also a feature among the very fluent group of speakers in my non-native speakers' data. In both groups, special care has been taken to ensure that each of the participants in the role-plays are comfortable with their role-partners and their roles so as to avoid any embarrassment or awkwardness in playing the required roles. However, as most of the native speakers and only the very fluent speakers among the non-native speakers reflected this tendency, this may suggest that a certain amount of proficiency and mastery over the TL language, is needed before one can handle the role-plays with more ease and confidence such that other mental "activities"

can be included while one is attending to the language needs at hand. This strategy may be utilized to fill in the empty slots while the speaker organized their thoughts to his/her next line of thoughts. The poor to Intermediate group does not reflect this tendency because they were too busy attending to the language "forms" required by the role-plays and thus, were very much preoccupied with the language tasks at hand, adhering rigidly to the protocols and conventions involved with the activities.

Another reason could be the amount of exposure to similar language situations such as those of role-playing. The more the speaker is exposed to different language situations that require spontaneous oral responses in contrast to the more expected language drills that don't require novel language responses, the more at ease s(he) is during such interactions. Role-plays are in a sense, very similar to real everyday language situations where one is under ~~the~~ pressure to use the target language in real time as the language situation calls for immediate language responses that must be appropriate to the context at hand. There is very little time for "planning" such as that found in formal classroom work and very few learners with inadequate TL knowledge can handle such situations with ease, let alone those who are unaccustomed to such pressures. With more exposure and practice, the language learner may soon learn to relax and consequently, focus more on relaying the content rather than worrying about the form of their messages.

C. Self-Directed utterance

=====

NNS: except for the more fluent speakers, most of the subjects
does not reflect this practice

NS: most of them reflect this practice

Examples 1:

=====

NS16 : Well...I couldn't get to do the assignment last weekend
because I had to go home to be with my family..it was my
parents' golden anniversary you see..I had to be there..

NS12 : But couldn't you take the assignment with you there and
try to finish them whenever you could find the time?

NS16 : But that's impossible...I had so much to do..the parties
..the cakes to bake...**what am I saying?** (laugh) I don't
even know how to bake anything.. (laugh)

(excerpt taken from a role-play - "errant student
apologizing to a lecturer for late work" -
see p. 410 in Appendix)

Example 2:

=====

NS22 : yeah..but it's not as if...oh! I'm going to blow this one
.. (laugh) can't seem to do this with a straight face..

(laugh) o.k!.o.k! I did wait for you outside the cinema
Noreen! I really did!

(excerpt taken from a role-play - "late for a
date" - see p. 410 in Appendix)

Example 3:

=====

NS1 : There's bottles and stuff in this picture..I don't quite
know...**what are these called?** (speaking in a low voice to
herself)..well..these are things you used in the lab
anyway..

(excerpt taken from a concrete picture
description - see p. 411 in Appendix)

Unlike the feature of B) stream of consciousness described above,
the self-directed utterances are also reflected in most of the
native speakers' speech corpus and among the very fluent group of
non-native speakers. Again, a certain level of proficiency in
English seems to be a prerequisite before such a strategy can be
utilized by the language learner and it is used also as "fillers"
to buy more time for the speaker so he could think of the next
thing to say. Thus, this is also one of "temporising", as
mentioned earlier in B) above.

D. Strategic Approach

=====

By strategic approach, I meant the degree to which the speaker places responsibility on the listener to interpret the message.

NNS: less dependence on the listener to interpret

NS: more dependence on listener to interpret

As mentioned earlier (see 5.6), in contrast to the native speakers, most of the non-native speakers in my study felt they need to **make sense** of everything that they say. Thus, every utterance maybe very explicit in form and sometimes even redundant because they feel their messages may not be understood otherwise. This is also linked to the use of complete sentences as already discussed in A) above and the use of other language features that would help to make their messages more explicit to the listener. Native speakers on the other hand, apparently, leave the comprehension load more to the listener. The listeners are expected to make sense of what the speakers had said themselves and this phenomenon is especially common during informal exchanges. This maybe because the native speakers assume that the listeners share the same "schematic knowledge" which would enable them to understand the utterances in the same way that they do and it is this assumption which often causes a great deal of misunderstanding and confusion during such NNS-NS interactions.

E. Story-telling format

=====

NNS: most of the subjects follow closely to the story-telling format especially among less fluent group

NS: more informal

Using cartoon strips, the subjects were coaxed to retell the story-line to either me, as the researcher or their peers and it was during these sessions that this feature is elicited. The majority of the non-native speakers tended to follow strictly to the story-telling format i.e. flow of story based on beginning to end of story-line, or the creation of names of characters in the cartoon strip, etc. This is especially common among the very poor to Intermediate group of subjects.

The fluent speakers however, tended to be more flexible and sometimes even very creative by focusing more on the significant parts of the story like creating and elaborating on the epilogue or the morale of the story and drawing out the story-line from these parts instead of starting from the beginning to the end (following the dictated sequence). Some of the native speakers too reflected this tendency, adding new dimensions and sophistication to the story-line in the process. Needless to say, a high level of proficiency in English seemed to be essential before such a strategy can be utilized as only the subjects from the top fluent group seem to reflect this tendency. The confidence and ease in the use of elaborate and sophisticated TL item makes it possible for the fluent subjects to include other creative elements into their speech performance whereas most of the concentration and energy are spent in seeking the required TL item and language structures, resulting in the more rigid conformity to simple basic story-line among the poor group of subjects.

In spite of the difficulties involved in precisely defining the phenomenon, there is no doubt that even the very fluent speakers sometimes experience a problem when referring to entities, and that they resort to alternative means of identifying that referent. This is particularly common in attempts to communicate in a foreign language. Obviously, some of these communication strategies will be more successful than others. The initial reaction of learners unused to dealing with problems in communication, is to avoid communicating at all in such situations - and clearly such avoidance does not lead to either communication of intended meaning, or to the development of the resources needed to deal with future communication problems.

What sorts of linguistic resources are needed for the effective use of communication strategies? We may obtain a clue by looking at the strategies typically used by native speakers who are confronted by similar communication problems. On the whole - as it turns out, NSs are more likely than NNSs to use the strategies of circumlocution and approximation (Tarone and Yule 1983). These strategies require certain basic or 'core' vocabulary (see Carter 1982), and sentence structures useful for describing such things as shape, size, colour, texture, function, analogy, hyponymy, and so on. ESL students who are developing strategic competence will need to develop such linguistic resources. In my research I have found that only a handful of advanced ESL students are able to use terms such as 'end', 'topside', 'strap' or 'oval' (these terms refer to the session where the subjects were asked to

describe a piece of scientific equipment) - all useful expressions for describing entities. Certain linguistic expressions will prove to be useful again and again as similar exercises are repeated.

Communication strategies may be essential to learners both in order to learn - to develop their interlanguage and in order to communicate. The potential possibilities of using communication strategies to promote language learning is certainly limitless but further research in this area is necessary to clarify the significance of the strategies and how we could best utilize them in SLA.

The concluding chapter which follows ~~will~~ will summarize the findings of this study and its implications for Language Pedagogy. A discussion on future directions for studies on communication strategies in general will then conclude this last section of my dissertation.

Chapter 6

=====
Conclusions, Implications and Future Directions
=====

6.1 Conclusions of the study
=====

The objectives of this study were to see how the use of communication strategies by the Malaysian learners was related to their level of proficiency in English, to compare the use of the CSs among natives and non-native speakers of English and, lastly, to explore some of the implications in relation to language pedagogy.

With regard to the first objective, it was found that there was a slight but general trend towards a progressive reduction in the overall use of detectable CSs as well as the use of non-TL based CSs, with increasing proficiency in the TL. However, individual strategies exhibited varying patterns of frequency and popularity across levels. Increase in proficiency thus generally resulted in a decrease in the use of CSs as well as in the shift from Non-TL based to TL-based strategies. The base language background of the learners appeared to influence the use of some non-TL based strategies. The surface realization of some but not all strategies reflected the differences in TL proficiency. There was no evidence tying the frequency and popularity of the CSs to any single factor. The results by and large agreed with the conclusions of some empirical studies, notably those of Galvan and Campbell 1979, Poulisse 1981, Paribakht 1982, Bialystok 1983,

Labarca and Kanji 1984, and Baskaran 1987. Even so, there were areas of difference that seemed to indicate that the findings of studies based on limited frames under test conditions do not always coincide with the results of studies that are based on natural data consisting of spontaneous natural discourse. It was also found that the unstructured task elicited significantly more L1-based and IL-based strategies from all the subjects regardless of their proficiency levels. A post hoc analysis of these data suggests that students of a language may go through a period of maximum exploitation of the IL-based strategies which peaks and then drops off as they become more proficient in the language.

As for the second objective mentioned above, that of comparing the nature of use of the CSs among non-native and native speakers of English, the data collected suggests that there are many similarities observed between the use of the CSs by the very fluent non-native speakers group and that of the native speakers. The poor to middle proficient group of non-native speakers reflected more contrast and differences when compared to the native speakers (see 5.5.). The fluent group on the other hand, tend to reflect similar traits to the native speakers in their use of the CSs and in the use of sentence structure, role of pauses/hesitations, stream of consciousness, use of self-directed utterances, strategic approach and story telling format (see 5.8)

The third objective, that of exploring some of the implications

of communication strategies, particularly for language learning, will be pursued in this chapter.

6.2 Implications for Language Pedagogy

=====

The study of communication strategies can contribute generally to language learning and teaching both directly and indirectly in many ways. The language learners' communicative behaviour in the process of TL interaction contributes to information about aspects of their acquisition process (Seliger and Long 1983, Faerch and Kasper 1983b, Long and Porter 1985). Communicative strategies are also very much part of the learner's communicative behaviour (Faerch and Kasper 1983b). Again, CSs, as part of the language learner language (Corder 1978) in action, can also throw light on the developmental aspects of the learner's IL. Furthermore, the complex interaction between CSs and LSs (Corder 1983b, Bialystok 1984) underscores the value of CSs as potential LSs (see chapter 5). Finally, the notion of communicative competence (Hymes 1972) has in recent years emphasized the importance of actual interactive communication in language learning and has made the approach, goals and methods of language teaching more communication-oriented (Canale and Swain 1980, Canale 1983, Yalden 1983 Widdowson 1978). It has been shown that language courses and teaching that emphasize only grammatical competence do not produce communicative competence, but on the other hand, a communicative component in language courses increases not only communicative abilities but also

grammatical accuracy (Savignon 1972, Montgomery and Eisenstein 1985, Long and Porter 1985).

There are a growing number of applied linguists and second language learning specialists who hold that strategic competence, made up of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies that may be called into action to compensate for breakdown in communication due to performance variables or to insufficient competence (Canale and Swain 1980:30), is an integral part of communicative competence, and so should, ideally, be taught to second language learners as part of their instruction in second language communication (for example, Terrell 1977; Palmberg 1978b; Canale and Swain 1980; Paribakht 1982, 1984, 1985a and b, 1986; Faerch and Kasper 1983b, Haastrup and Phillipson 1983, Tarone 1984, 1985).

Canale (1984) even suggests that teachers should themselves adopt the use of CSs both in order to ensure the comprehensibility of teacher talk to the learners and to be a model for the learners. This is because the communicative situations in which these learners may later find themselves will definitely be highly unpredictable. It is necessary, therefore, to teach them to use skills they may already possess naturally in the L1: how to express uncertainty as to the appropriateness of the language they use and, of course, much more basically, to describe or approximate concepts and words they do not know or that cannot be

instantaneously retrieved, to form or coin words on the basis of derivation rules, to implicitly or explicitly ask their interlocutor for help etc. In short, we should give these students a chance to develop a range of communication strategies in the L2 by sensitizing them, where necessary, to a large variety of CSs, and by providing them with L2 verbalizations of these strategies.

In their daily practice language teachers may notice that not every learner is equally adept in using CSs or, for that matter, commands the same range of CSs. Certainly in young learners strategic competence in the L1 is still developing and what they do not command in the L1 they cannot put to use in the L2 (Paribakht 1985:142). Foreign language teaching has a role to play here. This role has been pointed out in the literature on CSs. Harding (1983:40), Haastrup and Phillipson (1983:156), Faerch and Kasper (1983:55) and Tarone (1984:132) all claim sensitization of the (young) learner to CSs to be a task of foreign language teaching as well as training the verbalization of CSs. Even if the learner is reasonably sensitive to CSs it does not follow that s/he will use them appropriately or that s/he will be able to verbalize them. It is surely this kind of observation that prompted Faerch and Kasper's statement "...by learning how to use communication strategies appropriately, learners will be more able to bridge the gap between pedagogic and non-pedagogic communicative situations" (1983: 56). If

therefore, traditional classroom learning does not produce skilful L2 strategy users and if we think it important that our learners should be able to get by in real communication with speakers of the L2, we shall have to pay some serious attention to CSs in our L2 lessons.

The results of this study also have important implications for IL studies in general and for language pedagogy in particular. The nature and type of CSs, the manner in which they are realized, the preference for particular CSs by particular learners and the trends shown by different strategies across proficiency levels, all indicate that the use of CSs is a dynamic phenomenon, which in some measure corresponds and correlates to the developmental changes in the learner's IL. It is necessary for language teachers to realize the importance of CSs as a link between the linguistic and communicative abilities of the learners and to adopt methods and techniques that are sensitive to the learners' strategic competence. This approach will not only benefit the learner but also, ultimately, make us more enlightened teachers.

Some of the findings of this study are relevant to language pedagogy indirectly through their implications for the theoretical and developmental aspects of second language learning and for the nature and state of the learner's interlanguage. The

overall across-level trend of decreasing dependence on CSs in general and on non-TL based strategies in particular, can be seen as an indication of the learner's growing confidence and competence in the use of the target language as proficiency increases. Moreover, the different across-level trends shown by the non-TL based strategies of **Direct translation and Borrowing** address some theoretical assumptions regarding the interaction between the base languages and the target language as sources of linguistic information in the IL of the learner. The fact that the source of all observed instances of borrowing and direct translation, can be traced back to the national language, **Malay**, irrespective of the dominant L1 or base languages of the user, lends some support to the notions of perceptions of language distance.

The use of **Borrowing** and **Direct Translation** in my data appears to be conditioned by perceptions of language distance since no borrowing or direct translations can be observed from any other base languages of the other two non-Malay groups like Chinese or Tamil, etc. Thus, the Malay language may be perceived to be not too distant from English to permit its use as a resource. This lends support to the theory of perception of language distance, indicating that learners with base language perceived close to English may have an IL continuum and exhibit a learning strategy based primarily on recreation of lexical items. Learners whose base languages are perceived as closer to the TL may therefore share, at least for the purpose of vocabulary acquisition, the

same built-in syllabus (Corder 1987, Bailey et al 1974) and may therefore respond in a similar manner to teaching techniques that exploit the learners' base language vocabulary resources.

Also learners with access to languages that are not merely perceived to be close to the TL but also provide cognates have communicative advantages. According to Kellerman 1977, their IL permits greater 'hybridisation' and 'projection', which is 'the process of extrapolating from the NL (native language) to produce a supposed TL sentence on the assumption that the two languages are the same (or close to one another) (Kellerman, 1977:85). Their IL also allows 'conversion', which is the 'application of what is already known about the relationship between NL and TL to the process of projection' (p.90). A language teacher can help productively exploit the processes of 'hybridisation', 'projection', and 'conversion' and facilitate learning by acknowledging and reinforcing successful instances of restructuring efforts.

The decreasing dependence on the non-TL based CSs and the increasing preference for TL-based proficiency may provide a measure of a diachronic variability (Bialystok and Smith 1985) of the IL system of the learner in the direction of NS speech, for the CSs used by NSs of any language are normally based exclusively on that language. The process involved is quite similar but manifested in different ways. For instance, native speakers may choose to use formulaic phrases or fillers as place

holders while they are formulating or organising their line of thought. IL learners, on the other hand, use these fillers to "buy time" while they try to recall the required TL term.

Although the exact relations between communication strategies and learning strategies are complex and as yet unclear, there is some evidence here to support the hypothesis that some CSs may result in learning (Corder 1978, Palmberg 1982, Bialystok 1984, Tarone 1984). There are a few instances in this study where some CSs like Direct appeal have resulted in the learners' apparent internalization of the concerned TL item. (the learner subsequently produces it and uses it correctly). For example see p.386 for Subject no.:1 subsequent use of the word "event".

Feedback received from CSs may be useful for the learners' hypothesis formation and thus the continual upgrading of their IL grammar. The theoretical interest, then, in studying the interlanguage speaker's communication strategies lies in their relation to learning. How do these strategies lead to learning, that is, the development of the interlanguage grammar? The risk-avoiding strategies (too often encouraged in the classroom because they do not produce errors), can scarcely lead to learning. If we are never prepared to operate beyond our self-assessed capacities then we never enlarge our knowledge.

Of course, the learners will make all sorts of grammatical, lexical, sociolinguistic and discursal mistakes. This is a

natural phenomenon and should not worry us too much. Indeed, in accordance with our communicative objectives, we give our learners a chance to practise using the L2 for communication with native speakers (and others who speak it) and not as native speakers. This means that our first task is to train them "not for perfection but for communication" (Pattison, 1987) ¹². On the other hand, the use of communication strategies may all yield in principle, learning outcomes. If a guess is accepted by our interlocutor, then the form is incorporated into our repertoire as part of the target language. A translation or borrowing that succeeds is similarly incorporated. Those that fail provide information about the limits of the target language. Analogizing errors (overgeneralization of a learned rule) may be evidence of guessing which proved unsuccessful. It can be said here that we may learn something about the scope of a rule by doing such guessing. Thus, principled guessing and hypothesis testing can be considered as one and the same thing.

I have spoken about strategies that are available to learners both in order to learn - to develop their interlanguage - and in order to communicate, and how these may be related. What is implicit in what I have said is that these represent options, not, of course, necessarily conscious options, but a set of alternatives nonetheless. The moment we introduce the notion of alternatives we must necessarily abandon the idea that we are all programmed to learn in the same way, and it becomes relevant to enquire into the circumstances that incline us to adopt one or

another strategy. In discussing, for example, the notion of language distance as a factor in causing learners to adopt one rather than another strategy of learning, we may ask where does the concept of language distance come from? Or, in the case of borrowing, where does the concept of language-specific or unique features come from?

We can suppose that there are several possibilities - the learner's experience of learning the language, the stereotyped attitudes of the community, or the beliefs of his teachers. When it comes to selecting a risk-avoiding strategy of communication as against a risk-taking strategy, this may be determined by the nature of the interaction the speaker is engaged in - whether he is more concerned at the moment in maintaining contact with his interlocutor than with passing on some piece of information he has available, i.e., whether the interpersonal function of language prevails over the ideational function on a particular occasion (Halliday, 1973). It may also have to do with personality factors : is he a risk-taker or not? Many studies on CS have confirmed that personality factors, rather than the learner's L1 background, will determine strategy preferences (Tarone 1977:202; Haastrup, Phillipson 1983:154).

Research shows that risk-taking and accuracy are negatively correlated (Beebe, 1983; Brumfit 1983; Schachter 1974). We must therefore choose between the two. One principled way to do this is to distinguish among the goals of language use in different

settings. If the goal is to communicate as much as possible, risking error by using partially acquired structures is highly justifiable. If teachers want students to attempt difficult structures, to talk a great deal, and to volunteer new information when communicating, they must expect that accuracy levels will go down. These behaviours increase the risk of making an error, and naturally, more errors will be made. Of course accuracy is still important for academic standards, central to good discipline, and important to efficient communications.

On the other hand, communicating (i.e. getting the point across) too is equally important. Clearly, a compromise position is needed here. It is fairly clear that it is the risk-taking strategies which are most likely to result in unacceptable utterances. But this merely highlights the principle that it is by taking risks that we develop our interlanguage, that we learn. The pedagogical moral of this is obvious : the encouragement of the learners to take risks even at the expense of committing errors and, by implication, a willingness on the part of the teacher, beyond what is usually found in most classrooms, to accept error as a sign of motivation for learning, or indeed a strategy of learning, and not something to be deprecated, let alone penalized. As Holley and King (1975) say:

"A case can be made for permitting and even encouraging foreign language students to produce sentences that are ungrammatical in terms of full native competence. This would allow the learner to progress like a child by forming a series of increasingly complete hypotheses about the language."

The language learner's situation can sometimes be said to be somewhat similiar to that of infants or very young children who are beginning to grasp some of the basic rudiments of the mother-tongue. The feedback they receive from their adult interlocutors is almost related to their utterances and not to their form, that is, their inadequacy or otherwise as attempts at communication.

What seems certain is that we can discern in the speech of individuals distinct personal preferences for certain communicative strategies. Of course there are other factors that make an individual learner use a particular strategy in a particular situation. So far, there have been studies of possible relationships between the preference for a particular communication strategy by a learner and factors such as mother-tongue (Palmborg 1978a, b), age (Taylor, 1975), level of proficiency (Ickenroth 1975, Rubin 1975), and personality characteristics (Tarone 1977). These affective and social factors which influence learning are poorly understood, but may all be expected to account for the variability we may find both in terms of sequence and speed of movement which overlays the basic pattern of interlanguage development (cf. ^cShumann, 1975).

However, we need more information about idiosyncratic factors in IL variability because, as Palmborg (1982:83) observes, "precisely how communicative strategies promote or inhibit learning should be resolved by research, not by speculation".

As well as variation between learners there is also variation between situations. One overall difference is between those who acquire the L2 through self-structuring "informal" interaction with native speakers and those who acquire it by structured "formal" teaching in a classroom.

Research (Raupach, 1983 :207; Tarone,1984:128) has shown that so-called "street-learners" (in contradistinction to "classroom learners") who have acquired the L2 in the L2 environment are extremely skilful strategy users. "Classroom learners", are generally speaking, nothing of the kind- at least, they use only a limited number of mostly non-verbal and rather primitive types of CSs as reported by Raupach 1983:207 and Willems, 1987:354. Ellis (1985:186) also reported similiar findings:

"..learners may use fewer strategies in a classroom environment, particularly if the pedagogic focus is on correct L2 use, rather than on fluent communication. The situation is definitely a factor in influencing the type of strategy used."

If therefore, traditional classroom learning does not produce skilful L2 strategy users and if we think it important that our learners should be able to get by in real communication with speakers of the L2, we shall have to pay some serious attention to CS in our L2 lessons.

In this concluding chapter, I want to look at how researchers have attempted to answer the question posed in the introductory chapter, "Can we teach learners how to overcome their oral

communication problems?". In other words, how far are the learner variables and strategies outlined in this dissertation important in the classroom and, as Reiss (1981) puts it, "Can our knowledge of the successful language speaker aid the unsuccessful language learner?" (p.121)

Research done in this area has really been an attempt to formalize what good teachers and learners have known and have been doing for a long time. Its importance lies in the fact that if we can isolate and identify those strategies which the good language speaker uses, then it **may** be possible to assist the less able learners by passing on to them some of the techniques and strategies which their more successful classmates utilize.

The findings relating to some CSs have more direct implications for language teaching. CSs like Foreignizing and Word coinage provide clues about the learners' morpho-phonological 'feel' for the TL. A Spanish speaker's Foreignizing may suggest the possibility that the learner has mentally correlated English nominal suffix '..ity' with Spanish '..idad'. (Baskaran, 1987 : 128). Subsequent occurrences of similiar foreignized forms would confirm the internalization of a productive process of transferred morphological creativity.

Similarly, word coinage like 'hair-store' for beauty salon, pens_vion-man for pens_vioner, etc.(see p. 227 for more examples) suggest awareness of compounding as a popular if not predictably

productive process of English word formation. Instances of word coinage showing morphological creativity together with instances of repetition for repair can provide clues about the storage of the learner's morphological and lexical information as well as about the automatization of unmarked forms (Faerch and Kasper 1983c). In this respect CSs provide information to the teacher about the state of the interlanguage development of the learners in much the same way as errors do to the error analyst. The teacher can try to identify which set of rules are too difficult to automatize even at advanced levels of proficiency (e.g. direct speech patterns) and use open discussion instead of language drills to generate more natural speech out of the learners as a better means of testing the internalization of structures. In this way teachers can then develop communicative exercises for remedial reinforcement of structures that are found to resist automatization.

Learners should be taught certain Achievement Strategies to overcome their communicative difficulties. In order to make this possible, linguistic and behavioural symptoms of speech planning must be further investigated (essays in Dechert and Raupach 1980) and made known to teachers. Every learner of a foreign language must, for example, have techniques of paraphrase at his/her disposal. S/He must be able to restructure sentences whenever s/he runs into difficulties. S/He must know how to appeal for help, how to ask, how to be grateful afterwards. S/He must have repair strategies at his/her disposal whenever s/he realizes that

~~realizes that~~ s/he has made a mistake. S/He should even be made to get used to falling back on strategies like borrowing or literal translation, however with accompanying expressions that s/he knows about the emergency character of these techniques. Taking these suggestions seriously will mean for teachers that they have to depart from a number of long-established habits. The advice is not that they should be negligent towards errors, but they should regard them as unavoidable occurrences in the learning process which - most importantly the learner (and not the teacher) must overcome.

As I have said earlier, all of us - not just our pupils - have a natural tendency to use CS when communication problems arise. More often than not we do so automatically. Skilfulness in using them is of great importance to convey what we mean, to fulfill our needs or get things our own way. Our command of CSs in our mother-tongue is usually adequate for our needs (although some L1 speakers may display a rather limited range of, often primitive, CSs). However, this is usually not the case when we (have to) use a foreign language that we do not speak fluently. If, for instance, we lack control of simple gambits like "erm..what d'you call it.." when we want to play for time in order to revise our planning or to retrieve a word, we may lose our turn in the

discourse. If we do not have simple verbal tricks at our command for descriptions of lexical items we do not know ("it's used in.."; "You can find it in..."; "It's oval shaped or square and has four legs..." etc.) and can in no way influence the course of the interaction, we will tend to feel handicapped and our interlocutor will find it hard to take us seriously.

In this study, the more native-like strategies like paraphrasing, synonym and circumlocution (Replacement Strategies) are found to be the most frequent and popular strategies of all. This probably indicates that the CSs are triggered more consistently by lexical gaps than by anything else. The various strategies the learners use to solve their problems of finding the right word or phrase in the TL cover a good range of semantic relations. The results of the analysis of these strategies have great relevance for the teaching of vocabulary, for it is in this way that a teacher normally explains the meanings of new lexical items which cannot be taught through ostensive techniques.

For instance, it was noted earlier that Synonym was a Replacement strategy whose surface realizations did not appear to differ across proficiency levels. Thus, if learners at all levels are more or less sensitized to the use of synonymic and antonymic relations, the teacher can exploit these relations to explain meanings of words to learners of all levels with equal success. The popularity and the frequency of each semantic relation across

levels can serve as an indicator of the potential success of using those relations for teaching purposes. For instance, Description/Explanation can be expected to be more successful at the lowest level, paraphrase and circumlocution relations can be used at the middle level, and nearly all the relations more or less in the same measure at the highest level. The teacher can also overtly encourage learners to use strategies involving all semantic relations effectively and successfully so as to improve their overall strategic competence.

In the words of Littlewood (1984:87):

"..other strategies such as paraphrase or adjusting the message, may not help the learners to expand their repertoire, but help them to become fluent with what they already possess".

I would like to add to this that at the same time learners, by using **CSs**, will become more acceptable as interactants and enlarge for themselves their chances to learn the language.

Although by and large learners are more concerned with getting their ideas across than with being grammatically accurate, they do occasionally perform self-repair. The use of repetition for repair by learners indicates that learners are monitoring their speech not just for grammatical accuracy but also for right word choice and correct use of prepositions. It is significant that in my study only the very top ~~highest~~ group use this strategy and so show signs of monitoring. Obviously a certain minimum level of proficiency is necessary before one can have enough cognitive

energy released to allow speech monitoring and run parallel to speech planning and production.

Two aspects of the Interactional Strategy of Appeal are particularly relevant pedagogically. First, the learner can be encouraged to make successful appeals, by providing specific semantic information about the required TL item. Second, the use of these appeals may act as fillers, to hold both the interlocutors' attention and the speaker's turn while the speaker is taking time for planning or retrieving speech segments, can, and should be encouraged by the teacher particularly since both of these are strategies native speakers adopt successfully.

Classroom Activities

=====

Given what we know about the nature of strategic competence, what sorts of classroom activities are likely to promote the development of strategic competence? Experience with elicitation tasks used in our research has led us to suggest the following criteria be used in evaluating any classroom activity designed to foster strategic competence.

First, at the initial phase, students must be provided with carefully-designed communicative tasks. We must make up for the missing language environment by confronting learners with the foreign language in a planned and structured way. The teacher should choose a particular set of elicitation materials like the use of very specific topics. Since it is an important feature of strategic competence that the speaker is able to convey the

intended meaning, then it is really necessary for the teacher to know what the speaker intends to convey. The teacher must therefore decide what the speaker is to describe or identify. It will then be not such a daunting matter for the teacher to determine the student's degree of success in the attempt to convey this very specific meaning. Care must be taken here that the elicitation materials give enough room for natural communication behaviour to take place. We can take it for granted that there is never only one utterance for a communicative goal and a semantic concept:

"..however much we try to match content with communicative needs, the learners will only be able to communicate successfully in everyday situations if we help them towards a communicative ability which is sufficiently flexible and creative to go beyond the needs we predicted."
(Littlewood, 1981:94)

Speaking in a foreign language is always connected with choosing between alternatives, with making decisions and, thus, with possible problems. Learners must not be spared from these problems, but must learn how to solve them.

In addition to providing very specific topics, the teacher should ideally provide topics which lie both within and outside areas of the student's expertise. Such topics would provide speakers with practice in assessing a listener's expertise in some area of knowledge, and force them to resort to the use of communication strategies in cases where referring expressions are not known, or not shared with the listener. For example, Reiss (1981) suggests

that communication between students in the classroom can be facilitated by using two-ways and one-way tasks. In one way tasks, one of the participants (usually the teacher or the native speaker) has all the information, whereas in two way tasks both have some information and real negotiation is needed to extract meaning from the conversation.

Thus, the task must create a reasonable facsimile of communicative behaviour. Minimally, there must be a listener who does not already know the information being communicated. Asking the speaker to describe an item which the interlocutor can be presumed to know very well creates an odd situation. It is better if the listener is not an 'all knowing' teacher. One of the key elements of strategic competence is the ability to assess the level of knowledge (of the world and the language) shared with one's partner. This may rule out the teacher, if necessary. Next, it helps if the listener clearly has a need to know the information being communicated by the speaker. The listener has a definite task to perform and a role to play in the communicative interaction. This sets up what is surely a more natural interaction than one in which the listener has no idea what her role is. These criteria should be used to evaluate any classrooms exercises that have the goal of promoting strategic competence.

This is to create a kind of classroom environment where students are willing and eager to try out their communication strategies.

Pedagogically, there maybe other approaches which the ~~classroom~~ teachers can adopt to make this possible. Long and Porter (1985) advocate the use of group work in classrooms, where meaning is negotiated between non-native speakers. They call this "interlanguage talk" and suggest that it makes "an attractive alternative to the teacher-led 'lock-step' mode and viable classroom substitute for individual conversations with native speakers" (p.207). Long and Porter offer five pedagogical arguments for the use of group work in second language learning. These are the potential of group work :

- i) for increasing the quantity of language practice opportunities;
- ii) for improving the quality of student talk,
- iii) for individualising instruction,
- iv) for creating a positive affective climate in the classroom and,
- v) for increasing student motivation.

As far as affective variables and strategies are concerned, Reiss (1981) remarks that personality factors pose the greatest complexities in language learning. As language teachers we cannot change students' personalities from timid to assertive or from apathetic to adventurous. But Reiss suggests that we use several approaches to facilitate language learning in the classroom. We can familiarize ourselves with the potential, interests and aspirations of our students so that, with proper pacing and a series of carefully structured activities, all can experience a measure of success. Secondly, we can create a non-threatening classroom climate in which unassertive students feel comfortable and where they are encouraged to succeed in an atmosphere of comradeship and understanding. Thirdly, in order to avoid false

expectations, we can give our students an explanation of the process of language learning. As Chastain (1975) remarks:

Each teacher should do what he or she can to encourage the timid, support the anxious and loose the creative. (p. 160)

Turning now to communication strategies in the classroom, Stevick (1976) recommends treading warily. He points out that an over-insistence on 'fluency' by the teacher may threaten the student's self image. A person who sees himself as a 'strong silent type' for instance, will resist verbal interaction more than someone with an 'outgoing gregarious self concept'. I think also that students from certain cultures, notably those of South East Asia, are likely to resist an attempt to make them highly 'communicative' in the classroom much more than those from Western cultures (cf. Politzer and McGroarty's findings 1985 : 103-120). This may be partly because there is more emphasis on 'accuracy' in the teaching of English in, for example, Japan; whereas in Europe or the USA there is likely to be more emphasis on 'fluency'.

Under the category of "fluency" we have generally subsumed, with a negative connotation, such aspects as hesitation phenomena, back tracking, reformulation, abandoning a sentence or a portion thereof, and the like. Native-listener expectancies and native-speaker performance in that regard should cause us to have a second look at the issue. All of the phenomena just mentioned are

part of native speaker behaviours, so in themselves they cannot be evidence for assessing a non-native speaker's fluency. However, aside from the rather obvious difference in quantity with which such features are likely to occur in non-native speech, we should seek to find more enlightened ways of looking at qualitative differences.

For example, it seems that among the very fluent non-native speakers of English, there are strong **expectations** for chunked forms in speech - formulaic language use in the broad sense of the word. This is not to be confused with a memorized inventory of phrases and sentences. Rather, it serves to remind us that for speakers to function efficiently at this level, it is crucial that they have available a highly elaborated storehouse of complex form/meaning units of appropriate stylistic register. This frees processing capability for the complex relationships between concepts which the speaker must juggle at this level. Often these chunks are formalized in languages as collocational restrictions where retrieval of one part automatically triggers retrieval of the remaining elements, such as in an expression like "at grass-roots level". These chunks are situated at the point where syntax and lexicon overlap, and are often referred to as idioms. The utilization of these rehearsed "chunks" are essential in freeing the speaker to handle the demands of more complex propositions. In other words, we should learn not to interpret our insistence on creativity as an insistence on

novelty, but rather should see the speaker as performing a careful balancing act between meeting the speech community's expectations, linguistic and otherwise, and successfully communicating individual meanings.

To return once more to the phenomenon of pauses and hesitations, a number of researchers (Chafe 1984 ; Dechert 1983; Dechert and Raupach 1980; Deese 1980 ; Good and Butterworth 1980) have pointed out that there are many reasons for hesitating and pausing. Therefore, before forming hasty judgements about lack of fluency indicating linguistic deficiencies (see also Fillmore 1979), we should ask ourselves whether we are observing strategic pauses for the sake of planning, whether backtracking occurred as a way of message refinement, whether restatement actually signalled taking account of the listener by reading gestures or judging listening behaviours, and so on.

Finally, teachers can also encourage greater communicative efforts from ~~the~~ learners by trying to refrain from modelling the required TL speech forms for the learners (as many teachers indeed do in their teacher talk) both when requesting comprehensible output from them and when responding to learner appeals. This is in relation to the fluency/accuracy theory that the learner can only be expected to focus on only one target

skill at a time - either fluency or accuracy of form and not both at the same time.

In many cases the performance errors of a learner will reflect his inadequate knowledge and control of target language forms; but conversely, his target language utterances may not always reveal his linguistic inadequacy such as in the case of 'avoidance phenomena'. Schachter 1974 was one of the first to show that error-free language performance did not necessarily indicate superior competence, as learners tended to confine their performance to linguistic forms they were familiar with and avoided forms they were unsure of (see also Kleinmann 1978 and Brumfit 1983).

Communicative approaches to language teaching emphasize intelligible communication more than grammatical accuracy. If the teacher's objective is to encourage and promote fluent communication in the TL, grammatical accuracy may somewhat have to be sacrificed during communicative activities. The learners are much less likely to be uninhibitedly communicative if they are made conscious of grammatical errors or are required to concentrate on the production of error-free sentences. The teachers, therefore, have to be more tolerant of ungrammaticality in real communicative situations involving learners if communicative competence is the goal of language teaching. As Corder (1978:84) says:

"...it is by taking risks that we develop our interlanguage, that we learn. The pedagogical

moral of this is obvious: the encouragement of the learner to take risks even at the expense of committing errors and, by implication, a willingness, a willingness on the part of the teacher, beyond what is found in most classrooms, to accept error as a sign of motivation for learning, or indeed a strategy for learning, and not something to be deprecated, let alone penalized.

Communication strategies are crucial tools learners need in order to overcome their communicative limitations as well as to augment their communicative abilities. The lower the competence in TL, the greater the dependence on CSs, and also, according to Terrell 1977, the greater the need for CSs. A communicative curriculum can incorporate a strategic component into it along the lines suggested by Paribakht 1986 of Canale 1983, with the highest weighting for the component at the lower levels. Teachers can provide actual instruction in the use of CSs -- linguistic, non-linguistic and interactional, and also provide opportunities for practising the strategies in order to improve the communicative abilities of the learners both inside and outside the classroom (see Tarone 1984 and Paribakht 1985).

Apart from encouraging the learners to use non-linguistic and interactional strategies, there are many ways in which a teacher can teach CSs. One way, for instance, would be to identify metalinguistically, exemplify, discuss and practise the various strategies. Alternatively, the teacher could use an approach similar to those suggested by Norrish (1983:89) of sampling a group of learners' output over a period of time to get an idea about common and particular problems and the development of the

group through a series of 'interlanguages'. The surveys would be interpreted, in order to investigate the communication strategies used by learners to express their meanings in the TL as well as to establish a set of points for 'remedial work'. He recommends the use of the "spiral syllabus" (cited from Corder 1983) to teach new TL items/forms (p.114). In a "spiral syllabus", the same items recur in different uses and different complexities, so that the new TL items/forms are introduced and re-introduced with different functions to the language learner. Thus, when the particular items are eventually introduced formally to the learner, (s)he will be in a very much better position to learn them, since (s)he will already have used them.

The teacher could also isolate strategies that are found to be most popular and frequent (e.g. TL-based strategies in this study), treat them as core strategies and provide practice in the use of these by setting communicative tasks that will challenge the linguistic ability of the learners. In my data for instance, some of the elicitation tasks produced some successful instances of **Circumlocution** and **Paraphrase**.

Reiss (1981) for example, recommends that, in order to motivate learners to communicate and increase oral practice, instruction should be personalized. She remarks that students enjoy talking about themselves and their experiences, so the materials of the textbooks should be related to the students by using the students themselves as examples to illustrate points by vocabulary and

structure, by using various questioning techniques to elicit personalized answers and by creating situations for spontaneous interaction. As a matter of fact, this approach has always been the core of most good (ESL) teaching technique especially at the primary level. This approach would be entirely valid with students from Western cultures but it might create some possible problems with those from other backgrounds.

In addition to genuine communication of the type advocated above, Wesche (1979) strongly recommends role play simulations as being a strategy useful in facilitating communication and encouraging fluency.

Given that appropriate classroom communication activities are provided, how ought they^{to} be used? First, it is important to establish an objective baseline for performance on these tasks by asking native speakers of English to perform them. If our goal is to provide learners with the skills they need to perform their strategic competence with the same degree of effectiveness as native speakers, then we do not need some notion of idealized NS performance, but facts about the way NSs actually perform the same tasks. We may then be able to compare the level of detail provided by NSs and NNSs in completing communicative tasks such as for example in describing objects.

Students should be provided with core vocabulary useful for the strategies of circumlocution and approximation, either by instruction before the tasks are undertaken, or by inductive

instruction during the classroom exercise itself. In fact, while focussing upon the development of the students' strategic competence, it is most effective to use an inductive approach throughout with these tasks. One such approach might take advantage of evidence that individuals often perform speaking tasks like this better if they have previously played the role of listener (Anderson, Yule and Brown, 1984). Thus, samples of native speakers speech (in cassettes or video-recorded form) displaying the specific CSs for instance, circumlocutions, maybe played in a class of language learners while each of these learners were provided with copies of the listener's task. These classroom observers might be asked to arrive at their own assessment of the speaker's success in performing the task, and to list alternative expressions to the ones used by the speaker. Such procedures would enable students to learn from one another as well from their own speaking performance.

Another activity using ^{an} inductive approach would be to ask student observers to identify strategies which speakers use when they are unable to use a precise name for an entity, and to assess the degree of success of various strategies. Such an activity amounts to asking students to develop their own taxonomies of communication strategies - an exercise which might help them develop an awareness of the frequency with which communication problems arise in the real world, and the variety of linguistic

resources available to speakers for the resolution of such problems.

Students should also be asked to assess the success of the initial strategy used by a speaker in performing, for example, an act of reference. I hypothesized that certain initial strategies may be more effective and economical than others. In a classroom exercise where learners are asked to refer to objects so that listeners can identify them, these objects may be presented as sets : some objects are easier to identify when the speaker begins with expressions like 'It's a kind of....'; another group of objects seems easiest to identify in terms of function; and a final set of objects seems easiest to identify when the speaker initially identifies the 'associated circumstances' or 'context of occurrence'. Suggesting possible best initial strategy, or even sequences of strategies, seems to be useful in the second language. The concentrated effort of transmitting concrete meaning seems to provide the necessary condition to get the acquisition process going. The strategies evoked and practised in performing tasks mentioned above, coupled with an affective component (get the learners to be emotionally engaged in getting the job done), appear to be extremely useful in a host of situations and basic to our development. Varied and often motivating exercises such as mentioned above offer our learners training in building up a basic "strategic competence" somewhat comparable to the one learners get in the foreign country.

Classroom activities which aim to teach 'the spoken language' must provide instruction and practice in all the components of communicative interaction. In this paper I have argued that we can do a better job of helping students to develop at least one of these components, strategic competence, by defining our goals more clearly than heretofore.

In summary then, it would seem that teachers of ^{English as a} second language must take student personality and affective variables into account. Above all, they should make themselves aware of a wide variety of successful strategies and techniques for language learning. Then, with the cooperation of the better language learners, they can perhaps help less able students to increase their level of competency. This can be achieved by making language learners aware of the elements of strategic competence and of the strategy style of themselves and their fellow learners. Thus, a learner can learn quite a lot from a study of his own strategic competence.

As seen from a learning perspective it is evident that the more communicative situations the learner engages in and the greater the variety, the more possibilities he has not only for practising his IL but also for constructing hypotheses about L2 and getting them tested. Communication Strategies then are essential tools for L2 production and reception. All strategies can help to expand resources but what is more important is their main contribution in keeping the channel open. Even if the

learner is not provided with the particular structure he needs, he will be exposed to a number of other structures, of which he may constitute a suitable intake for his learning strategies to operate on (cited from Ellis, 1985:187). As Hatch (1987c:434) argues, the most important thing of all is to encourage the L2 learners not to give up.

Communication strategies are one of the main ways of keeping conversation going in addition to their role of negotiating meaning. In addition to that, CS also help to develop what language has already acquired through their L1:

"Other strategies - such as paraphrase or adjusting the message ["self-repair"] may not help the learners to expand their repertoire, but help them to become fluent with what they already possess".
(Littlewood, 1984:87)

Incorporating the learner's ability to handle communication strategies as an integral part of his general communicative competence has been suggested by Canale and Swain (1980), who refer to this ability of using communication strategies as the learner's 'strategic competence'. As seen within a larger perspective, a strategic approach to L2 learning and communication is in perfect line with cognitivist ideas of the creative aspects of language. More specifically, in its focussing on the totality of the learner's communicative ability, the notion of a strategic competence is in accordance with recent attempts to rehabilitate the learner's knowledge and abilities

from communication in the first language as a potentially valuable factor in L2 learning and communication.

Many researchers have argued that since language teaching is only successful if language learning takes place, the more we know about language learning the better we can teach; real progress in language teaching comes not so much from innovations in syllabus design or teaching techniques as from basing teaching on better information about learning (Cook, 1986:3). Besides, as language teachers we are naturally interested in the way language learning takes place. Studies on Communication Strategies can offer us insights into how learners deal with linguistic problems. In the words of Chris Candlin (1985:p.XIV); "Learners' language offers us 'windows' on their covert cognitive behaviour, giving us clues as to how they go about thinking and planning". As I've mentioned earlier, these insights will not only benefit the learners but make us more enlightened teachers.

I should like to conclude this section of my dissertation with a quotation from Reiss, who succinctly sums up what the teacher can do to aid the less able students in his or her classroom:

Specifically, foreign language teachers can:

- 1) inform students honestly about the task of learning a language, the work involved, and the rewards to be gained;
- 2) create the kind of classroom climate in which students

- feel comfortable and involved;
- 3) aid students in developing certain cognitive styles helpful in language learning..,
 - 4) help students develop the art of inferencing by making them aware of clues for intelligent guessing;
 - 5) personalize language instruction whenever feasible in order to motivate students to express themselves readily;
 - 6) ask students to monitor each other's speech and thus take an active part, not only in learning but also in teaching;
 - 7) seek out opportunities for students to use the language outside the classroom;
 - 8) present all material in a meaningful manner and, in turn, expect students to attend to both structure and meaning from the onset;
 - 9) ask successful language learners to serve as informants regarding strategies, techniques and study skills;
 - 10) encourage slow students to experiment freely until they find their own particular learning style. (1981 : 127)

6.2 Future Directions

=====

The systematic study of CSs is a relatively new field and so the study is still in its infancy. My exploratory study of the general nature, type and distribution of the CSs of ~~the~~ Malaysian learners has revealed some useful lines of further research. There is a need for more intensive and thorough investigations of specific individual strategies learners initiate and use in communicating in a target language. I have found that in the more unstructured oral communication sessions, CSs are sparsely and unpredictably distributed. In order to have a statistically significant number of strategies, a more detailed study would have

to be based on a very large amount of data recorded with sophisticated high fidelity equipment, preferably on a video-tape as used in this study, so that **non-verbal information** too can be incorporated. Such a study would also need to use more than one rater for analysing the data to establish objective reliability of analysis. The interviewers and interviewees should also comprise NNS-NS groupings so that contrast could be made between the data collected from interlocutors from the same language background and with those that are not.

Most of the work on CSs done so far has been on linguistic strategies. Little detailed systematic study has been made of non-linguistic interactional strategies. My study suggests that non-linguistic and interactional strategies are very much present in unstructured communication and deserve more attention. There are also indications in my study that, like linguistic strategies, these strategies ~~too~~ may be influenced by the non-verbal and interactional behaviour patterns of the learner's native culture. Oriental students, for instance, sometimes agreed with the teacher formally without intending to agree with the content, partly as a culture-conditioned discourse strategy of avoiding confrontations, particularly with authority figures, and partly in order to avoid having to talk further. A detailed study of paralinguistic, kinesic and interactional strategies, especially from an ethnographic point of view, will, contribute to an understanding of the 'culture permeability' of the learners' IL,

that is the extent of the permeation of the non-target cultures into the IL.

on CS,
In the literature, there has been speculative analysis of the relations between CSs and LSs, and the relations are variously described as reciprocal, hierarchical and taxonomic. However practically no empirical research has been done to explore and establish the exact nature of the relationship. My study has shown instances that support the reciprocal relationship in that some CSs like Appeal have also functioned as LSs to the extent that they have resulted in the learner internalising the concerned TL item. However, there are also instances where learners seem to fail or refuse to internalize the results of the successful appeals. A study that investigated the precise nature of the relationship with reference to the conditions, environments and parameters under the CSs function of Appeals will greatly enhance the pedagogic relevance of CSs and of strategic competence.

There has been some study of the effective use of the CSs in terms of success rate (Paribakht 1992, Bialystok 1983) and in terms of comprehensibility ratings (Ervin 1979). Although I haven't pursued the issue of success in the use of CSs in the study, there are examples in my data that indicate that the success of a CS from the point of view of the intelligibility of the target concept to interlocutors does not depend solely on the explicitness, descriptive power or elegance of the CS, but also

on ~~the~~ situational and contextual information as well as the general communicative rapport between the interlocutors. A study of all these aspects that contribute to the comprehensibility and hence the communicative success of a strategy in dyadic as well as multipartite communication will be very useful for ^{establishing} the pedagogic priorities of strategic competence.

In learner groups there are what Seliger 1977 calls High Input Generators (HIGs) and Low Input Generators (LIGs). In open learner-learner communication, more CSs are likely to be attributed to HIGs merely because they produce more language than the others. But there is some indication in my study that better strategic abilities are not necessarily attributed to greater quantity of speech output. It would be interesting and useful to investigate empirically if there indeed are any differences between HIGs and LIGs in the nature, type and success of the CSs they use.

Finally, most of the information about factors that contribute to the choice of any particular CS by a speaker is speculative (Tarone 1977; Corder 1978, 1983) except for ^a very few studies like Fakhri 1984 and Baskaran 1987, which looked at the relation between CSs and discourse type, ^{and} Bialystok and Frohlich 1980, which studied the effect of the communicative task on CSs. My study indicates that the distribution of CSs is sensitive to a number of factors. There is scope for empirical studies about the relation between CSs and several other factors like learner's

personality, sociolinguistic background of the learners, distance between the base and target languages, the reception or perception strategies of the interlocutors (both native and non-native) and the role relationship between the interlocutors.

In conclusion then, the study of communication strategies can provide insights into ways in which interlanguage changes and develops as language learners become increasingly proficient in the target language. Thus, studies on CS have implications for both second language acquisition theory and language pedagogy. By making language learners learn from a study of *their* own strategic competence and of the strategy style of themselves and their fellow learners, I believe that many of the L2 learners would benefit from greater consciousness of the positive advantages that communication strategies ~~could~~ offer. I would like to end this dissertation with a brilliant quotation from Faerch and Kasper (1983:157) which sums ^{up} the objective of this study quite succinctly:

"If by teaching we mean passing on new information only there is probably no need to 'teach' strategies...But if by teaching we also mean making learners conscious about aspects of their (already existing) behaviour it is obvious that we should teach them about strategies..".

NOTES

1. The PIF Project. For details of this project see Faerch 1979 and for details of the data it uses see Faerch 1982.
2. Communicative strategies are by no means confined to IL or L2 performance. CSs in one's L1, particularly at the lexical level, are actually quite normal and acceptable (Tarone 1981, Shaaban 1978), and have also been investigated (Paribakht 1982, Raupach 1983).
3. Interestingly enough, prefabricated pattern is seen as a communicative strategy by Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976).
4. For an account of the interplay between equal status-cooperation, supportive "help out" strategy and face saving, see Faerch and Kasper (1984).
5. It can be argued that the three terms may not strictly signify the same thing. Reception can be attitudinal and hence extralinguistic, while interpretation and perception are different but related psycholinguistic processes. However, existing literature does not make this distinction and I shall make such a distinction only when necessary.
6. This distinction between Reduction Strategies and Achievement Strategies has caught on and quite a few studies have chosen to concentrate on Achievement strategies alone as they tend to show more what learners do rather than what they don't. See Haastrup and Phillipson (1983) and Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman (1984).
7. From an analyst's point of view, there could be a theoretical distinction between errant and strategic behaviour in that errors are part of IL considered as a product while strategies are part of IL as a process. This distinction has been explored by Bialystok and Smith 1985. However, both errors and strategies are recoverable only from overt language performance data, which is a product of linguistic behaviour.
8. Bongaerts and Poulisse 1987 have pointed out that often two CSs, identified as different on the basis of their surface realizations, will utilize the same 'criterial attributes' of the target concept. They argue that to consider them different on the basis of surface differences will fail to capture the important underlying similarities in the user's conceptual process in the exercise of the strategies. The authors therefore advocate a process-based approach to CS taxonomy instead of the existing product-based ones. In their process-based taxonomy, there are two basic types of CSs --

Linguistic Strategies and Conceptual Strategies. The former involves the exploitation of the speaker's knowledge of the correspondences between the rule systems. The latter entails the use of the knowledge of the TL, knowledge of the world, and the holistic and analytic manipulation of the intended concepts.

9. There may also be other pragmatic, interactional and instrumental reasons for choosing this style with brief staccato structures as a rhetorical mode of discourse. In fact, native speakers often adopt this structure when they are being sarcastic or are patronizingly "talking down" to someone etc...but those pragmatic reasons are irrelevant here and they do not affect the main point that simplification has been used as a CS.
10. The upward intonation of an indirect appeal has not been included in this category and so is not recorded as a paralinguistic strategy. However, wherever relevant, they have been recorded as Appeals.
11. Of course the "success" of the communicator depends to a great extent on the success of the receiver too. There are also problems in the specifications of what constitute "successful" and "unsuccessful" communication and the analyst is forced to consider other factors or criteria when exercising some form of "testing" the issue. As such analyses are too complex to discuss here, I have chosen to omit such discussion in this section as it lies beyond the scope of this study.
12. This quote comes from an introduction to a workshop on "communicative language learning" given by Pat Pattison Pattison for alumni of Interstudie Institute for Teacher Education in Nijmegen, Netherlands in 1987.

REFERENCES

- Abbs, Brian and Freebairn, Ingrid. 1977. Starting Strategies. London : Longman.
- Abbs, Brian, and Freebairn, Ingrid. 1979a, Building Strategies, Students' Book. London: Longman.
- Abbs, Brian, and Freebairn, Ingrid. 1979b. Building Strategies, Teachers' Book. London: Longman.
- Abdullah, H. 1981. "Some Issues and Problems in Implementing Bahasa Malaysia as Medium of Instruction in Tertiary Education" in National Language as Medium of Instruction(ed.) by Asmah H.O. and Noor Ein, M.N. (ed.) Kuala Lumpur : Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Abercrombie, David. 1956. Problems and principles in Language Study. London : Longman.
- Adjemian, Christian. 1975. "On the nature of interlanguage". Language Learning 26 pp. 297-320.
- Alatis, James E. 1985. "Comments on C. Brumfit's article 'Creativity and constraint in the language-classroom' in English in the World - Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures ed. by Randolph Quirk and Henry G. Widdowson pp. 161-163. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press/ British Council.
- Alderson, J. Charles and Hughes , Arthur. 1981. ELT Documents 111 - Issues in Language Testing. London: The British Council, Central Information Service.
- Alisjabana, T.S. 1974. "Language Policy, Language Engineering and Literacy in Indonesia and Malaysia" in Advances in Language Planning (ed.) by Fishman A.J. The Hague, Mouton. pp. 341-416.
- Allen, Edward D. 1984. "Shared nomenclature: an analysis of students' communicative strategies in a foreign language". Foreign Language Annals 17/2 pp. 103-8.
- Allen, J. P. B. 1984. "General Purpose language teaching : a variable focus approach" in General English Syllabus Design: ELT Documents 118 ed. by C. Brumfit pp. 61-74. Oxford : Pergamon Press.
- Allen, J. P. B. ,M. Frolich, and N. Spada. 1984. "The Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching : An Observation System" in On TESOL '83 ed. by J. Handscombe, R. A. Orem and B. P. Taylor. pp. 231-252. Washington D. C.: TESOL.

- Allen, V.F. 1965. On Teaching English to Speakers Of Other Languages Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Allwright, Richard. L. 1980. "Turns, topics and tasks : patterns of participation in language learning and teaching" in Discourse Analysis in Second Language Research ed. by D. Larsen-Freeman. pp 165-87. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Allwright, Richard L. 1983. "Classroom-Centered research on language teaching and learning" TESOL Quarterly 17/2 pp. 191-204.
- Allwright, Richard L. 1984a. "The importance of interaction in classroom language learning" Applied Linguistics 5/2 pp.156-171.
- Allwright, Richard L. 1984b. "Why don't learners learn what teachers teach? The interaction hypothesis" in Language Learning in Formal and Informal contexts ed. by D. M. Singleton and D. G. Little. pp. 3-18. Dublin : IRAL
- Alptekin, Cem. 1981. "Socio-psychological and pedagogic considerations in L2 acquisition" TESOL Quarterly 15/3 pp. 275-284.
- Alptekin, Cem and Margaret Alptekin. 1984 "The question of culture: EFL teaching in non-English-speaking countries" ELT Journal 38/1 pp.14-19
- Altman, Howard B. (ed.) 1972. Individualizing the Foreign Language Classroom : Perspectives for Teachers. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Altman, Howard B and C. Vaughan James.(eds.) 1980. Foreign Language Teaching : Meeting Individual Needs. Oxford Pergamon Press.
- Aono, Akira, and Paula Hillis. 1979. One ESL learner's system for communication in English: a pilot study. Unpublished manuscript. ESL Center, University of Washington.
- Arndt, Valerie. 1987. "First and foreign language composing : a protocol - based study". British Applied Linguistic Journal no.:2 pp. 98-113.
- Asher, James J. 1977. Learning Another Language Through Actions: The Complete Teacher's Guidebook. Los Gatos, Cal.: Sky Oaks Productions.
- Asmah Hj. Omar. 1974. "Language Planning and Education Policy in Malaysia: An account of efforts to establish Malay as the medium of education". Paper submitted to the VIIIth World Congress of Sociological, Toronto, August, 1974.
- Aston, Guy. 1986. "Trouble shooting in interaction with learners: the more the merrier". Applied Linguistics 7/2 pp. 129-43.
- Altman, Howard B. and C. Vaughan James. (eds.) 1980. Foreign Language Teaching : Meeting Individual Needs. Papers from the first

Pergamon Institute of English Seminars, Oxford 1979. Oxford:
Pergamon Press.

- Andersen, R. 1977. "The Impoverished state of cross-sectional morpheme acquisition/accuracy methodology, or, the leftovers are more nourishing than the main course" Working Papers on Bilingualism Vol. 14 pp. 47-82.
- Anderson, A., G. Yule and G. Brown. 1984. "Hearer-effects on speaker performance". First Language vol. 5 pp. 23-40
- Bailey, C.J. 1973. Variation and linguistic theory Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Bailey, N. C. Madden and S. Krashen. 1974. "Is there a natural sequence in adult second language learning?" Language Learning 24/2 pp. 235-243.
- Ballard, V.S. 1970. Frequent errors in French T.Bull 5/2 pp.1-6.
- Baskaran, P.N. 1987. Communication Strategies in ESL. Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of South Carolina.
- Bates, E. 1976. Language and Context. New York : Academic Press.
- Beebe, Leslie M. 1983. Risk-taking and the language learner. In Seliger and Long. pp. 36-66.
- Ben Zeev, s. 1977. "The Influence of bilingualism on cognitive strategy and cognitive development" Child Development vol.48. pp. 1009-1018.
- Beretta, Alan and Alan Davies. 1985. "Evaluation of the Bangalore Project" ELT Journal. 39/2 pp. 121-127.
- Bialystok, Ellen and Maria Frölich. 1977. "Aspects of Second Language Learning in Classroom settings" Working Papers on Bilingualism. vol. 13 pp. 1-26.
- Bialystok, Ellen. 1978. "A Theoretical Model of Second Language Learning" Language Learning 28 pp. 69-84.
- Bialystok, E. 1979. "The role of conscious strategies in second language proficiency". Canadian Modern Language Review 35: pp 372-394.
- Bialystok, Ellen and Frolich Maria. 1980. "Oral Communication Strategies for Lexical Difficulties" Interlanguage Studies Bulletin Utrecht 5 pp. 3-29.
- Bialystok, Ellen. 1982. "On the relationship between knowing and using linguistic forms" Applied Linguistics 3 pp. 181-206.

- Bialystok, E. 1983. "Some factors in the selection and implementation of communication strategies". In Strategies in Interlanguage Communication. eds. C.S.Faerch and Kasper 1983d, pp. 100-118.
- Bialystok, E. 1984. Strategies in interlanguage learning and performance. ed. by Alan Davies, C.Criper, and A.P.R. Howat, pp. 37-48. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bialystok, E. and Michael Sharwood-Smith. 1985. "Interlanguage is not a state of mind: an evaluation of the construct for second language acquisition". Applied Linguistics 6/2 pp. 101-17.
- Bickerton, D. 1974. "Creolization, Linguistic Universals, Natural Semantax and the Brain" Working Papers, 6, no.:3, 1974, Dept.of Linguistics, University of Hawaii.
- Bickerton, D. 1975. Dynamics of a Creole system. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Blum, Shoshana and Levenston .1977. Strategies of communication through lexical avoidance in the speech and writing of second language teachers and learners and in translation. ERIC Documents ED 1329280
- Blum, Shoshana and Levenston , Eddie A. 1978. "Lexical Simplification in Second Language Acquisition" Studies in Second Language Acquisition 2/2 pp. 43-64.
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana. 1982. "Learning to Say what you Mean in a Second Language". Applied Linguistics 3. pp. 29-59.
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana and Levenston , Eddie A. 1983. "Universals of Lexical Simplification" In Faerch and Kasper, A Corpus of Learner Language. Copenhagen : Department of English, Copenhagen University.
- Bolinger, D.L. (ed.) 1972. Intonation. Harmondsworth, Middx: Penguin Books.
- Bolinger, D.L. 1976. Teaching Oral English London: Longman.
- Bongaerts, Theo and Nanda Poulisse. 1987. "Communicative Strategies in L1 and L2 : same or different?". Paper presented at the 21st Annual TESOL convention, Miami.
- Bongaerts, Theo; Nanda Poulisse and Kellerman, E. 1987. "The Use of Retrospective Verbal Reports in the Analysis of Compensatory Strategies". Introspection in Second Language Research ed.by Faerch and Kasper. Multilingual Matters v.30 pp.213-229.
- Bongaerts, Theo; Nanda Poulisse and Kellerman, E. 1987. "Strategy and System in L2 Referential Communication". Second Language Acquisition In Context ed.by Ellis, R. Prentice Hall International (UK) Ltd, Great Britain.

- Boomer, D.S. and Laver, J.M. 1968. "Slips of the Tongue". in B.J ed. Disorders of Communication III/1.
- Bowers, R. 1980. "The individual learner in the general class" in Foreign Language Teaching: Meeting Individual Needs ed. by Howard B. Altman and C. Vaughan James pp. 66-70 Oxford : Pergamon Press
- Bowers, R. 1980a. Verbal Behaviour in the Language Teaching Classroom Unpublished Ph.D Thesis. University of Reading.
- Boomer, D.S. and Laver, J.M. 1968. Slips of the Tongue B.J. Disorders of Communication III.no:1.
- Butterworth, B. 1980. Language Production. Vol. I and II. London : Academic Press.
- Butterworth, G. and Hatch, E. 1978. "A Spanish-speaking adolescent's acquisition of English syntax. Second Language Acquisition : A Book of Readings. ed. by Hatch, E. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House. pp. 231-245.
- Breen, Michael and Christopher Candlin. 1980. "The essentials of a communicative curriculum in language teaching" Applied Linguistics 1/2 pp. 89-112.
- Brodersen, Dorthea and Gibson, Kirsten M. 1982. "Kommunikationsstrategier i folkeskolen - en undersogelse af 12 elevs intersprog for og efter undervisning i kommunikationsstrategier". Sproglarerer 7. pp. 26-36
- Brown, H.D. 1976a. "Discussion of Systematicity and Stability/Instability in Interlanguages in Brown (ed) 1976b. pp. 135-140.
- Brown, H.D. 1976b. Papers in Second Language Acquisition. Language Learning Special Issue No:4.
- Brown, P., and S. Levinson. 1978. "Universals in language usage : politeness phenomenon". In Questions and Politeness. Strategies in Social Interaction. ed. E.N.Goody, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press. pp. 56-289.
- Brown, R. and Frazer. 1964. "The Acquisition of Syntax" in Bellugi, U. and Brown, R. (eds.): The Acquisition of Language, Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol.29, No.:1.
- Brown, Roger. 1973. A First Language. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Brown, R.W. 1973. "Development of the first language in the human species. American Psychologist, Feb 73. pp. 97-100.

- Brumfit, C.J. 1978. "'Communicative language teaching: an assessment'" in P.Stevens (ed.) In Honour of A.S. Hornby. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brumfit, Christopher J. 1979. "Notional Syllabuses - A reassessment". System 7/2 pp. 111-116.
- Brumfit, Christopher J. 1981. "Notional syllabuses revisited : a response ". Applied Linguistics. 2/2 pp. 90-92.
- Brumfit, Christopher. 1982. "Some humanistic doubts about humanistic language teaching" in Humanistic Approaches. An Empirical View. ELT Documents 113. ed. by the British Council. pp. 11-19. London : The British Council.
- Brumfit, Christopher. 1984b. "The Bangalore Procedural Syllabus". ELT Journal. 38/4 pp. 233-241.
- Brumfit, Christopher. 1984c. Communicative Methodology in Language Teaching. The Roles of Fluency and Accuracy. Cambridge : Cambridge Press.
- Brumfit, Christopher. 1985. "Creativity and constraint in the language classroom". in English in the World : Teaching and Learning the Language and the Literatures. ed. by Randolph Quirk and Henry G. Widdowson. pp. 148-157. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press/British Council.
- Brumfit, Christopher, Helen Lunt and John Trim (eds.) 1985. Second Language Learning : Research Problems and Perspectives. London: Center for Information on Language Teaching and Research.
- Bruner, Jerome S. 1972. "The nature of learning" in Teaching School Physics ed. by John L. Lewis. pp. 43-53. Harmondsworth : Penguin/UNESCO.
- Bruner, J. 1975. "The ontogenesis of speech acts", Journal of Child Language Vol.:1/2.
- Burt, M.K. 1975. "Error analysis in the adult EFL classroom" in TESOL Quarterly 9/1 pp. 53-65.
- Burt, M., Dulay, H and Hernandez, E. 1973. Bilingual Syntax Measure. New York : Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Burt, M., and Kiparsky, C. 1972. The Gooficon. Rowley: Newbury House.
- Burt, M. and Kiparsky, C. 1975. "Global and local mistakes" in Shumann and Stenson New Frontier.
- Byrne, D. 1976. Teaching Oral English London: Longman.

- Canale, Michael and Merrill Swain. 1980. "Theoretical bases of Communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing" Applied Linguistics 1/1 pp. 1-47
- Canale, Michael and Merrill Swain. 1983. "From communicative competence to communicative language pedagogy" In Richards/Schmidt 1983, pp. 2-28.
- Cancino, H., Rosansky, E.J. and ^cShumann, J. 1974. "Testing hypotheses about second language acquisition: the copula and negative in three subjects" Working Papers on Bilingualism 3. Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
- Candlin, Christopher. N. 1981. The communicative teaching of English: Principles and an exercise typology. London: Longman.
- Candlin, Christopher. N. 1984. "Syllabus design as a critical process" in General English Syllabus Design ELT Documents. 118 ed. by Christopher Brumfit. pp. 29-46. Oxford : Pergamon Press.
- Carroll, John B. 1977. Characteristics of successful second language learners. Viewpoints on English as a Second Language, ed. by Marina Burt, Heidi Dulay and Mary Finochiaro. pp. 1-7. New York : Regents.
- Carroll, Brendan J. 1980. Testing Communicative Performance. An Interim Study. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Cathcart, R. W.; M. A. Strong and L. W. Fillmore. 1979. "The Social and Linguistic behaviour of good language learners". On TESOL '79: The Learner in Focus. ed. by C. A. Yorio, K. Perkins, D. Schachter. Washington, D. C. : TESOL.
- Celce-Murcia, M. 1978. "Simultaneous acquisition of English and French in a two-year-old." In Second Language Acquisition : A Book of Readings ed. Evelyn Hatch. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, pp. 38-53.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1984. "Some reasons for hesitation" in Deborah Tannen and Muriel Saville Troike (eds) Perspectives On Silence N.J. : Ablex pp.77-89.
- Chastain, K. 1975. "Affective and ability factors in Second Language Acquisition". Language Learning vol.25. pp. 153-161.
- Chaudron, C. 1977a. "A descriptive model of discourse in the corrective treatment of learners' errors". Language Learning 27. pp.29-41
- Chaudron, C. 1977b. "Teachers priorities in correcting learners' errors in French immersion classroom". Working Papers on Bilingualism. vol.12. pp. 21-44.

- Chaudron, C. 1979. "Complexity of ESL teacher's speech and vocabulary explanation/elaboration". Paper presented at TESOL Convention Boston.
- Chaudron, Graig. 1986. "The interaction of quantitative and qualitative approaches to research: a view of the second language classroom". TESOL Quarterly 20/4 pp.709-717.
- Chai Hon Chan. 1971a. "The socio-cultural, psychological and historical background leading to the establishment of the Malaysian educational system. An unpublished M.A. Dissertation University of Malaya.
- Cherry, L. 1979. "A sociocognitive approach to language development and its implications for education" in O.Garnica and M. King (eds.) Language, Children and Society. Oxford Pergamon Press.
- Cheeseman, H.R. 1946. Annual Report on Education in the Malayan Union for the period 1st April 1945 to 31st December 1946.
- Chitravelu, Nesamalar. 1985. The Status and Role of English in Malaysia. A research report prepared for the United States Information Agency in Dec 1985.
- CILT. 1984. Communicative Language Learning and the Teacher. London : CILT.
- Clark, Herbert H. and Clark, Eve V. 1977. Psychology and Language. New York : Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Clyne, M. 1968. Zum Pidgin-Deutsch der Gastarbeiter. Zeitschrift fur Mundarforschung 35. pp. 130-9.
- Cohen, A.D. 1976. "The acquisition of Spanish grammar through immersion". Canadian Modern Language Review 32 pp. 562-574.
- Cohen, A.D. and Robbins, Margaret. 1976. "Towards Assessing Interlanguage Performance : the Relationship between Selected Errors, Learners' characteristics, and Learners' Explanations" in Language Learning 26 pp. 45-66.
- Cohen, A.D. and Swain, M. 1976. "Bilingual education : the Immersion Model in the North American context" In J.E. Alatis and K.Twaddle (eds) English as a second language in bilingual education. Washington, D.C:TESOL pp. 55-64.
- Conrad, A. and Joshua Fishman. 1977. "English as a World language : the evidence" in The Spread of English ed. by J. Fishman, R. Cooper and A. Conrad. pp. 3-76. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Corder, S. P. 1967. "The Significance of Learners' Errors". IRAL 5 pp. 161-170.

- Corder, S. P. 1971a. "Idiosyncratic dialects and error analysis" IRAL 5 pp. 161-170.
- Corder, S. P. 1971b. "Describing the language learners language". In Interdisciplinary approaches to language. CILT Report and Papers 6 pp. 57-64.
- Corder, S.P. 1971c. "'Simple codes' and the source of the second language learner's initial heuristic hypothesis". Studies in Second Language Acquisition Vol: 1/1
- Corder, S. P. 1973. Introducing Applied Linguistics. London: Penguin.
- Corder, S. P. 1974a. "The elicitation of interlanguage" In G. Nickel (ed) special issue of IRAL on the occasion of Bertil Malmberg's 60th birthday. Heidelberg: Groos. pp. 51-63.
- Corder, S. P. 1977. "Lingua continua and the interlanguage hypothesis" Papers from the Vth Neuchatel Colloquium, 1975.
- Corder, S.P. 1978. "Language-learner language". In Understanding Second and Foreign Language Learning. ed J.C. Richards, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House pp. 71-93.
- Corder, S.P. 1980. "Second Language Acquisition Research and the Teaching of Grammar". Plenary address at BAAL Conference.
- Corder, S.P. 1981. Error Analysis and Interlanguage. Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Corder, S.P. 1983. Strategies of Communication. In Faerch and Kasper , pp. 175-96.
- Cook, V.J. 1973. "The comparison of language development in native children and foreign adults". IRAL XI/1 pp. 13-28.
- Cook, V.J. 1977. "Cognitive Processes in Second Language Learning". IRAL XV/1 pp. 1-20.
- Cook, V.J. 1981. "Some uses for second language research" in Native and Foreign Language Acquisition. by H. Winitz, New York Academy of Sciences.
- Cook, V.J. 1985. "Chomsky's Universal Grammar and second language learning" Applied Linguistics vol.6
- Cook, V.J. 1986. "The Basis for an Experimental Approach to Second Language Learning". in Experimental Approaches to Second Language Learning. Pergamon Press, Great Britain.
- Cook, V. 1986. "Experimental Approaches Applied to Two Areas of Second Language Learning Research : Age and Listening-based Teaching

- Methods. in Experimental Approaches to Second Language Learning. Pergamon Press, Great Britain.
- Cook, V. 1986. "Do second Language Learners have a Cognitive Deficit? in Experimental Approaches to Second Language Learning. Pergamon Press, Great Britain.
- Cook, W.A. 1979. Case Grammar: Development of the Matrix Model Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Coulter, Kenneth. 1968. "Linguistic Error Analysis of the Spoken - English of Two Russians" Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Washington.
- Coulthard, Malcolm. 1977. An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. London :Longman.
- Council of Europe. 1981. Modern Language Programme 1971-1981. Strassbourg: Council of Europe.
- Crystal, David. 1969. Prosodic Systems and Intonation in English. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Cross, T. 1977. "Mothers speech adjustments: the contribution of selected child listener variables " in C.Snow and C.Ferguson (eds.) Talking to Children Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Cross, David. 1987. "A language policy for EFL?" System 15/1 pp. 43-45
- Cummins, Jim. 1984. "Implications of bilingual proficiency for the education of minority children" in Language Issues and Educational Policies : Exploring Canada's Multilingual Resources. ed. by P.Allen and M. Swain. pp. 21-34. Pergamon Press.
- Cummins, Jim. 1984. "The minority language child" in Bilingual and Multicultural Education: Canadian Perspectives. ed. by S. Shapson and V. D'Oyley. pp. 71-93. Clevedon, Avon : Multicultural Matters.
- Curran, C.A. 1976. Counseling - Learning : A Whole - Person Model for Education. New York : Grune and Stratton.
- Curran, C.A. 1976. Counseling - Learning in Second Languages. Apple River, III.: Apple River Press.
- Dahlan, H.M. 1976. The Nascent Malaysian Society: Developments, Trends and Problems Kuala Lumpur, University Keb. Malaysia.
- Dahlan, H.M. 1976. "An Overview" In The Nascent Malaysian Society : Developments, Trends and Problems. Kuala Lumpur, University Kebangsaan Malaysia pp. 1-10.

- Damiani, Maria, Sticchi. 1983. "The non-native teacher of English : a paradox?" Perspectives 7/3 pp. 1-16.
- Davies, Alan. 1981. "Review of Communicative Syllabus Design by John Munby, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1978" TESOL Quarterly 15/3 pp. 332-336.
- De Camp, D. 1971. "Towards a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum." In D.Hymes (ed) Pidginization and Creolization of languages. Cambridge University Press.
- Dechert, Hans W. 1980. "Pauses and Intonation as Indication of Verbal Planning in Second Language Speech Production : Two examples from a Case Study" in Hans W. Dechert and Manfred Raupach (eds) Temporal Variables in Speech. The Hague: Mouton. pp. 271-85.
- Dechert, Hans W. 1983a. "How I am sorry is done in a second language". In Faerch and Kasper. pp. 175-96.
- Dechert, Hans.W. 1983b. "The Competing Plans Hypothesis (CPH) Extended to Second Language Speech Production" in Robert J. Di Petro, William and Alfred Wedel (eds) The First Delaware Symposium on Language Studies, D.E.: University of Delaware Press. pp. 269-82.
- Dechert, Hans W, and Manfred Raupach. (eds.) 1980. Temporal Variables in Speech : Studies in honour of Frieda Goldman -Eister The Hague: Mouton, (Janua Linguarum 86).
- Dechert, Hans W. and Raupach, Manfred (eds.) 1984. Transfer in Production. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.
- Deese, James. 1980. "Pauses, Prosody and the Demands of Production in Language". in Hans and Dechert and Manfred Raupach (eds) Temporal Variables in Speech. The Hague: Mouton. pp.69-84
- De Villiers, J. G. and P.A. de Villiers. 1973. "A cross-sectional study of the acquisition of grammatical morphemes in child speech". Journal of Psycholinguistic Research vol. 2 pp. 267-278.
- Dickerson, L. 1975. "The learners' interlanguage as a system of variable rules" TESOL Quarterly 9 pp.401-7.
- Dickerson, W.B. 1976. "The Psycholinguistics unity of language learning and language change" Language Learning 26/2 pp 215-31.
- Dickinson, L. 1978. "Autonomy, Self-directed learning and individualization in Individualization in Language Learning ELT Documents 103. London: The British Council.

- Di Pietro, R.J. 1976. "Contrastive patterns of language use: a conversational approach. The Canadian Modern Language Review vol.: 33/1.
- Di Pietro, R.J. 1978. "Verbal Strategies, Script theory and conversational performances in ESL" in C. Blatchford and J. Schachter (eds) on TESOL : Washington D.C. TESOL
- Di Pietro, R.J. 1981b. "Discourse and real-life roles in the ESL classroom" TESOL Quarterly: vol.15/1
- Di Pietro, R.J. 1981c. "Language culture and strategic interaction in the classroom" Mimeo. Intercultural Development Research Association. Bilingual Education Service Centre: Houston
- Dittmar, N. 1984. "Semantic features of pidginized learner varieties in German". In R. Andersen (ed.) Second Languages: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective. Rowley, MA: Newbury House. pp. 243-70.
- Dittmar, N. and B. Rieck. 1979. An exploratory study of verbal organisation of L2 tense marking in an elicited translation task by Spanish immigrants in Germany. Unpublished paper. Berlin : Freie Universitat.
- Dulay, H.C. and Burt, M.K. 1972. "Goofing: an indicator of children's second language learning strategies" Language Learning 22 pp. 235-51.
- Dulay, H.C. and Burt, M.K. 1973. "Should we teach children syntax?" Language Learning 23/2 pp. 245-58.
- Dulay, H. and M.K. Burt. 1974a. "Natural Sequences in child second language acquisition". Language Learning vol. 24 pp. 37-53.
- Dulay, H.C. and Burt, M.K. 1974b. "A new perspective on the creative construction hypothesis in child second language acquisition" Working Papers on Bilingualism 4 pp. 71-98. Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Dulay, H.C. and Burt, M.K. 1974c. "Errors and strategies in child language acquisition". TESOL Quarterly 8 pp 129-36.
- Dulay, H.C. and Burt, M.K. 1974d. "You can't learn without goofing: an analysis of children's second language errors" In J.C. Richards (ed) Error Analysis
- Dulay, H. and Burt, M. 1978. "Some remarks on creativity in language acquisition" in W. Ritchie (ed.) Second Language Learning Research. New York : Academic Press.
- Duskova, L. 1969. "On sources of errors in foreign languages." IRAL 7 pp. 11-36.

- van Dijk, Teun A. 1977. "Context and Cognition : Knowledge Frames and Speech Act Comprehension" Journal of Pragmatics 1 pp. 211-232.
- Eckman, F. 1977. "Markedness and the Contrastive Analysis hypothesis" Language Learning 27 pp. 315-380.
- Edmondson, Willis. 1977. "Gambits in foreign language teaching" In H. Christ and H.E. Piepho (eds) KongreBdokumentation der:7: Arbeitstagung der Fremdsprachendidaktiker. Limburg: Frankonius. pp. 45-48.
- Edmonson, W. 1981. Spoken Discourse : a model for analysis Harlow : Longman.
- Edmundson, Willis J. 1985. "Discourse worlds in the classrooms and in foreign language learning". Studies in Second Language Acquisition. 7/2. pp. 159-68.
- Eisenstein, Miriam. 1986. "Alternatives in second language research: Three Articles on the State of the Art" TESOL Quarterly 20/4 pp. 683-687.
- Ellis, David. 1984. "Common factors amongst successful foreign language teachers" NALA vol. 15 pp. 17-19.
- Ellis, Rod. 1980. "Classroom interaction and its relation to second language learning" RELJ Journal 11/2 pp. 29-48.
- Ellis, Rod. 1982. "Informal and formal approaches to communicative language teaching" ELT Journal 36/2 pp. 73-81.
- Ellis, Rod. 1984. "Communicative strategies and the evaluation of communicative performance". ELT Journal 38/1 pp. 39-44.
- Ellis, Rod. 1985. Understanding Second Language Acquisition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, R. and G. Wells. 1980. "Enabling factors in adult-child discourse " First Language, no.:1 :pp. 46-62.
- Ericsson, K.A., and H.A. Simon. 1980. "Verbal reports as data". Psychological Review 87: pp. 215-251.
- Ericsson, K.A. and Simon H.A. 1984. Protocol Analysis. Verbal Reports as Data". Cambridge. london: MIT Press.
- Ervin, G. 1979. "Communicative strategies employed by American learners of Russian". Modern Language Journal 63 pp.329-34
- Ervin-Tripp, S. 1978. "Is Second language-learning like the first?" in E. Hatch(ed.) Second Language Acquisition .Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

- Faerch, Claus. 1979. Research in Foreign Language Pedagogy - The PIF Project. Department of English, University of Copenhagen.
- Faerch, C. 1980. "Describing interlanguage through interaction: problems of systematicity and permeability" Working Papers on Bilingualism, 19:pp. 59-78.
- Faerch, C. and G. Kasper. 1980. "Processes in foreign language learning and communication" Interlanguage Studies Bulletin 5/1:pp.47-118.
- Faerch, C. and Kasper, G. 1981. "Pragmatic knowledge - rules and procedures". Applied Linguistics vol.:5 pp. 214-215
- Faerch, c. 1982. A Corpus of Learner Language. Department of English University of Copenhagen.
- Faerch, Claus. 1983a. "Inferencing procedures and communication strategies in lexical comprehension". In Breen, Michael P and Candlin, Christopher N. (eds.), Interpretive strategies in language learning . Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- 1983b. A Corpus of Learner Language. Copenhagen : Dept. of English, Copenhagen University.
- 1983c. "Giving Transfer a Boost". Scandinavian Working Papers on Bilingualism 2.
- 1983d. "Rules of thumb and other teacher-formulated rules in the foreign language classroom". In Kasper, Gabriele (ed.) Learning, teaching and communication in the foreign language classroom. Arhus : Arkona.
- Faerch, Claus and Kasper Gabriele (eds.) 1983b. "On identifying communication strategies in interlanguage production" In Strategies in Interlanguage Communication. London: Longman. pp. 201-237.
- Faerch, C. and G. Kasper. 1983c. "Plans and strategies in interlanguage communication" In Strategies in Interlanguage Communication .eds C. Faerch and G. Kasper. London: Longman. pp. 20-60.
- Faerch, C. and G. Kasper. 1984. "Two ways of defining communication strategies". Language Learning 34.pp. 45-63.
- Faerch, Claus, Haastrup Kirsten and Phillipson Robert. 1984. Learner Language and Language Learning. Multilingual Matters 14.
- Faerch, C. 1986. "Procedural knowledge as a component of foreign language learners communicative competent". AILA Review vol:3 pp. 7-23.

- Fakhri, Ahmad. 1984. "The use of communication strategies in narrative discourse: a case study of a learner of Moroccan Arabic as a second language". Language Learning 34. pp. 15-37.
- Fathman, A. 1975. "The relationship between age and second language productive ability". Language Learning vol. 25. pp. 245-253.
- Fathman, Ann, K. 1980. "Repetition and correction as an indication of speech planning and execution processes among second language learners." Towards a Cross-Linguistic Assessment of Speech Production, ed. by Hans W. Dechert and Manfred Raupach pp. 77-85. Frankfurt : Lang.
- Federal Publications Sdn.Bhd. 1970-1971. "Language Planning and Education Policy in Malaysia : an account of efforts to establish Malay as the medium of education", paper submitted to the VIIIth World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, August 1974.
- Felix, S.W. 1978. "Some differences between first and second language acquisition " in N.Watsonson and C. Snow (eds.) The development of Communication New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Felix, Sascha W. (ed.) 1980. Second Language Development - Trends and Issues. Tubingen : Gunter Narr.
- Felix, Sascha W. 1981. "The effect of formal instruction on second language acquisition". Language Learning 31/1 pp. 87-112.
- Ferguson, C.A. 1964. "Babytalk in six languages" In Gumperz and Hymes (eds) The Ethnography of Communication Special no. of American Anthropologist 66/6 Part 2. Washington: American Anthropologist Assoc.
- Ferguson, C.A. 1971. "Absence of copula and the notion of simplicity: a study of normal speech, babytalk, foreigner talk, and pidgins". In Pidginization and Creolization of Languages (ed.) by D.Hymes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ferguson, C.A. 1975. "Towards a characterization of English foreigner talk" Anthropological Linguistics 17 pp. 1-14.
- Ferguson, C.A. and De Bose, C. 1977. "Simplified registers, broken language and pidginization" In Valdman A. Pidgin and Creole linguistics Bloomington : Indiana University Press.
- Fitikides, T.J. 1967. Common Mistakes in English London: Longman.
- Fraunfelder, Uli, and Remy Porquier. 1979. "Les Voies d'apprentissage en langue étrangère." Working Papers in Bilingualism 17 pp. 37-64.
- Frawley, W. 1984. "Prolegomenon to a theory of translation". In W.Frawley (ed.) Translation : Literary, Linguistic.

- and Philosophical Perspective. New Jersey: Associate University Press. pp. 159-78.
- French, F.G. 1949. Common Errors in English : their cause, prevention and cure. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fifth Educational Conference of Malaya: Official Report of the Proceeding, held in August 1939.
- Fillmore, C.H. 1968. "The case of case" in E.Bach and R. Harms (eds.) Universals in Linguistic Theory New York : Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Fillmore, C.H. 1979. "On fluency" in Charles J.Fillmore and Daniel Kempler and William S.Y. Wang (eds.) Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behaviour. New York: Academic Press . pp. 85-101.
- Fishman, Joshua, A. 1982. "Sociology of English as an additional Language " in The Other Tongue : English Across Cultures ed. by Braj Kachru. Urbana, Illinois : University of Illinois Press pp. 15-21.
- Frauenfelder, U. and Porquier, R. 1979. "Les Voies d' apprentissage en langue etrangere" Working Papers on Bilingualism 17 pp. 37-64.
- Fries, C.C., and A.C. Fries. 1961. Foundations for English Teaching. Tokyo: Kenkyusha.
- Frölich, Maria, Nina Spada and Patrick Allen. 1985. "Differences in the Communicative Orientation of L2 Classrooms " TESOL Quarterly . 19/1 pp. 27-57.
- Fox, Robert. 1966. Role-play Methods in the Classroom. Chicago Science Research Association.
- Ferguson, G. 1983. "The consequences of errors: a study of some judgements of error gravity in a sample of written compositions". unpublished MSc. assignment, University of Edinburgh.
- Gagné, Robert M. (ed). 1967. Learning and Individual Differences. Columbus : Charles E. Merrill.
- Gaies, S. J. 1977. "The nature of linguistic input in formal second language learning : linguistic and communicative strategies in ESL teachers' classrooms' language" in ON TESOL '77 ed. by D. H. Brown, C. A. Yorio and D. Crymes pp. 204-212 Washington, D.C.: TESOL.
- Gaies, Stephen J. 1983. "The investigation of language classroom processes" TESOL Quarterly. 17/2 pp. 205-217.

- Gaies, S.J. 1986. "Validation of the noise test". In R. Grotjahn C. Klein - Braley and D.K. Stevenson (eds.) Taking their Measure : The Validity and Validation of Language Tests Quantitative Linguistics 30. Bochum : Brockmeyer.
- Galvan Jose, and Russ Campbell. 1979. "An examination of the communication strategies of two children in the Culver City Spanish Immersion program. The Acquisition and use of Spanish and English as First and Second Languages. ed. by R. Anderson pp.133-50. Washington D.C.: TESOL.
- Galvan, J. and Campbell, R. 1979. "An examination of the communication strategies of the children in the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program" In Andersen, Roger (ed) The Acquisition and use of Spanish and English as First and Second Languages. Washington, D.C.: TESOL.
- Gardner, P. L. and S. M. Taylor. 1980. "A Transmission - Interpretation scale" British Journal of Educational Psychology. 50/2 pp. 186-187.
- Gardner, R. and W. Lambert. 1972. Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Gardner, R. C. 1983. "Learning another language: a true social psychological experiment" Journal of Language and Social Psychology. 2/2, 3 &4. pp. 219-239.
- Gass, Susan. 1979. "A review of Interlanguage Syntax : Language Transfer and Language Universals" Language Learning 34/2 pp. 116-130.
- Gass, Susan and Larry Selinker. 1983. (eds.) Language Transfer in Language Learning Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Gass, S.; Selinker, L; Preston D. and Madden Carolyn. 1989. Variation in Second Language Acquisition : Discourse and Pragmatics. Multilingual Matters no: 49. England.
- Gattegno, C. 1972. Teaching Foreign Languages in Schools : The Silent Way. Second ed. New York : Educational solutions.
- George, H.V. 1972. Common errors in language learning Rowley: Newbury House.
- Gerloff, P. 1984. From the inside out : "Using talk-aloud protocols to assess second language learner translation processing". Unpublished Doctoral Qualifying Paper. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Graduate School of Education.
- Gerloff, P. 1986. "Second language learners' reports on the interpretative process : Talk-aloud protocols of translation". In J. House and S. Blum-Kulka (eds.) Interlingual and Intercultural Communication. Tübingen : Narr. pp. 243-62.

- Grauberg, W. 1971. "An error analysis in German of first year university students. In G. Perren and J. Trim (eds) Application of Linguistics. London : Cambridge University Press.
- Gregg, Kevin, R. 1984. "Krashen's Monitor and Occam's Razor" Applied Linguistics 5/2 pp. 79-100.
- Gregg, Kevin R. 1986. "Review of The Input Hypothesis : Issues and Implications by Stephen D. Krashen." TESOL Quarterly. 20/1 pp. 116-122.
- Greis, Naguib. 1985. "Toward a better preparation of the non-native ESOL teacher" in ON TESOL '84 : A Brave New World for TESOL ed. by Penny Larson, Elliot L. Judd and Dorothy S. Messenschmitt. pp. 17-324. Washington D.C.: TESOL
- Grice, H.P. 1975. Logic and Conversation, Syntax and Semantics 3 : Speech Acts, ed. by P. Cole and J.L. Morgan pp. 41-58. New York: Academic Press.
- Goffman, e. 1967. Interaction Rituals. Essays of Face-to-Face Behaviour. New York: Anchor Books.
- Guba, Egon G. 1981. "Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries". Educational Communication and Technology Journal. 29/2 pp. 75-91.
- Guba, Egon G. and Yvonna S. Lincoln. 1982. "Epistemological and Methodological bases of Naturalistic Inquiry" Educational Communication and Technology Journal 30/4 pp. 233-252.
- Greenfield, P. and J. Smith. 1976. The Structure of Communication in Early Language Development New York: Academic Press.
- Good, David A and Brian L. Butterworth. 1980. "Hesitation as a Conversational Resource - some Methodological Implications" in Hans W. Dechert and Manfred Raupach (eds) Temporal Variables in Speech. The Hague: Mouton. pp.145-52
- Grosjean, Francois. 1980. Temporal variables within and between languages. Towards a Cross-linguistic assessment of speech production. ed. by Hans W. and Manfred Raupach pp. 39-54. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Grosjean, f. 1982. Life with Two Languages. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Gumperz, J.J., and D. Hymes (eds.). 1977. Directions in Socio-linguistics : The Ethnography of Communication New York: Holt ; Rinehart and Winston.

- Haastrup, Evelyn. 1978 (ed.) Achievement strategies in learner/native speaker interaction. In Faerch and Kasper pp.140-58.
- Haastrup, K. and Phillipson, Robert. 1983. "Achievement Strategies in Learner/Native Speaker Interaction". In Strategies in Interlanguage Communication (eds) by Faerch and Kasper. London: Longman.
- Hakuta, Kenji. 1974. "Prefabricated patterns and the emergence of structure in second language acquisition". Language Learning vol.24. pp. 287-98.
- Hakuta, Kenji. 1976. "A case study of Japanese child learning English". Language Learning 26. pp. 321-51.
- Halliday, M. A. K., Angus McIntosh, and Peter Strevens. 1964. The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching. London : Longman.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1970. "Language Structure and Language Function". In J. Lyons, (ed.), New Horizons in Linguistics. Harmondsworth: Penguin. pp. 140-165.
- Halliday, Michael. 1973. Explorations in the Functions of Language. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1975. Learning how to Mean : Explorations in the Development of Language. London : Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, Michael. 1978. Language as Social Semiotics. London : Edward Arnold.
- Hamayan, Else V, F. Genesee, G. Tucker. 1977. "Affective exposure in second language learning". Language Learning 27 pp. 225-41.
- Hamayan, Else V and Tucker, G. Richard. 1979. "Strategies of Communication used by Native and Non-Native Speakers of French". Working Papers on Bilingualism 17. pp. 83-96.
- Hammarberg, B. 1973. "The insufficiency of error analysis" in J.Svartvik (ed) Errata
- Hansen, J., C. Stansfield. 1981. "The relationship of field dependent -independent cognitive styles to foreign language achievement" Language Learning 31 pp. 349-67.
- Harding, P. 1983. "Discourse as self-expression - on the reduced personality of the second language learner". Applied Linguistics vol.1/3 pp. 262-70.
- Harmer, Jeremy. 1982. "What is Communicative?" ELT Journal. 36/3 pp. 164-168.
- Harmer, Jeremy. 1984. "Balancing activities : a unit planning game." ELT Journal. 38/2 pp. 91-97.

- Harvey, O. J. , M. Prather, B. Jack, White and J. Hoffmeister. 1972. "Teachers' beliefs, classroom atmosphere and student behaviour" in The Social Psychology of Teaching ed. by A. Morrison and D. McIntyre. pp. 215-229 Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Hatch, Evelyn. 1972. "Some studies in language learning" Working Papers in TESL 6 Los Angeles: University of Los Angeles. pp. 29-36.
- Hatch, E. 1974. "Second languages acquisition -- Universals?" Working Papers on Bilingualism vol. 3. pp. 1-17.
- Hatch, E. (ed) 1978. Second Language Acquisition. A Book of Readings. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Hatch, E. and Wagner-Gough, J. 1976. "Explaining sequence and variation in second language acquisition". In Language Learning, Special Issue 4, pp. 39-57.
- Hatch, Evelyn and H. Farhady. 1983. Research Methods and Statistics for Applied Linguistics. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt. 1975. Sprache und Kommunikation ausländischer arbeiter. Kronberg / Ts.
- Henning, Grant. 1986. "Quantitative methods in language acquisition research" TESOL Quarterly 20/4 pp. 701-708.
- Henzl, V. 1979. "Foreigner talk in the classroom" IRAL Vol.: XV11/2: pp.159-65.
- Hernandez-Chavez, E. 1977. "The development of semantic relations in child second language acquisition " in M.Burt, H. Dulay and M.Finocchiaro (eds.) Viewpoints on English as a Second Language Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Hockett, C.F. 1948. "A note on Structure", Linguistics no.:14.
- Holec, Henri. 1980a. Autonomy and Foreign Language Learning. Strasbourg : Council of Europe.
- Holec, Henri. 1980b. "Learner training : meeting needs in self-directed learning" in Language Teaching : Meeting Individual Needs by Howard B. Altman and C. Vaughan James pp. 29-45. Oxford : Pergamon Press.
- Holec, Henri. 1980c. "Learner-centred communicative language teaching: needs-analysis revisited" Studies in Second Language Acquisition 3/1 pp. 26-33.
- Holley, F. and J.K.King. 1975. "Imitation and Correction in Foreign Language" in Schumann, J.H. and N.Stenson, (eds.) New Frontiers.

- Hosenfeld, Carol. 1977. "A Preliminary investigation of reading strategies of successful and non-successful second language learners" System . 5/2 pp. 110-123.
- House, Juliane and Kasper, Gabriele. 1981. "Politeness Markers in English and German" In Coulmas, Florian (ed) Conversational Routine. The Hague pp. 157-185.
- Howatt, Anthony. P. 1984. A History of English Language Teaching. London : Oxford University Press.
- Huang, J. and E. Hatch. 1978. "A Chinese child's acquisition of English" in E. Hatch (ed.) Second Language Acquisition Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Huebner, T. 1979. "Order of acquisition vs. dynamic paradigm: a comparison of method in interlanguage research" TESOL Quarterly Vol.:13/1:pp.21-28.
- Hughes, Arthur and Trudgill, Peter. 1979. English accents and Dialects : An Introduction to social and regional varieties of British English. London : Arnold.
- Hussein Onn. 1971. "Education in Malaysia, a talk given by Yang Berhormat Datuk Hussein Onn, Minister of Education, at a seminar for members of parliament, senators, and state legislative assemblies, at the Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur. Ministry of Information of Malaysia.
- Hyltenstam, K. 1977. "Implicational patterns in interlanguage syntax variation". Work in Progress 10. Dept. of Linguistics University of Edinburgh.
- Hyltenstam, K. 1978. "Variation in interlanguage syntax". Working Papers . Lund, Sweden : Lund University.
- Hyltenstam, Kenneth and Manfred Pienemann (eds) 1985. Modelling and Assessing Second Language Acquisition. Clevedon Avon : Multilingual Matters.
- Hymes, Dell. 1972. "On Communicative Competence" in Sociolinguistics Selected Readings ed. by J. B. Pride and J. Holmes. pp.269-293. Harmondsworth : Penguin.
- Ickenroth, Jacques. 1975. On the Elusiveness of Interlanguage. Utrecht Mimeograph.
- Jain, Mahavir P. 1968. "Error Analysis : Source, Cause and Significance" in Richards, Jack C. (ed.) 1974, Error Analysis. London: Longman. pp. 189-215.
- Jakobson, R. 1956. "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbance". in Fundamentals in Language.

- Jakobson, R. 1968. Child Language Aphasia and Phonological Universals New York: Humanities Press.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1973. "Functions of Language". In Allen, J.P.B. and Corder, S. Pit (eds.), Readings for Applied Linguistics. The Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics, vol. 1. London : Oxford University Press pp. 53-57.
- James, C. 1971a. "The exculpation of contrastive linguistics" In G. Nickel (ed) Papers in contrastive linguistics London: Cambridge University Press.
- James, C. 1971b. Foreign language learning by dialect expansion. Paper read to PAKS Symposium , Stuttgart.
- James, C. 1974. "Linguistic measures for error gravity" Audio - Visual Language-Journal 12/1 pp. 3-9.
- James, C. 1975. "Judgements of error gravities" ELS, July 1975.
- James, Carl. 1980. Contrastive Analysis. London : Longman.
- Janicki, K. 1986. "Accommodation in native speaker-foreigner interaction". In J. House and S. Blum-Kulka (eds) Inter-lingual and Intercultural Communication. Tubingen: Nar. pp. 169-78.
- Johannsson, F.A. 1973. "Multiple contact analysis" In Svartvik (ed) : Errata: Papers in Error Analysis. Gleerup, Lund pp. 48-54.
- Johannsson, S. 1973. "The identification and evaluation of error in foreign languages: a functional approach". In J. Svartvik (ed) Errata
- Johannsson, Stig. 1978. Studies of Error Gravity. Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.
- Johannsson, Stig. 1973. "The Identification and Evaluation of Errors in Foreign Languages : A Functional Approach" In Svartvik 1973 pp. 102-114.
- Johnson, Keith. 1982. Communicative Syllabus Design and Methodology. Oxford : Pergamon.
- Johnson, Keith. 1983. "Syllabus design : possible future trends" in Perspectives in Communicative Language Teaching ed. by Keith Johnson and Don Porter pp. 47-68. London : Academic Press.
- Johnson K. and D. Porter. 1983. (eds) Perspectives in Communicative Teaching. London : Academic Press. Inc.
- Johnson, Keith. 1984. "Review of The Communicative Syllabus: Evolution Design and Implementation by Janice Yalden, Oxford : Pergamon

- Press, 1983" TESL Canada Journal/Revue TESL Canada 1/1 pp. 93-95.
- Johnson, K. and Morrow (eds) 1978. Functional Materials and the Classroom Teacher. University of Reading.
- Jordens, P. 1977. "Rules, Grammatical Intuitions and Strategies in Foreign Language Learning" Interlanguage Studies Bulletin Utrecht 2/2 pp. 5-76.
- Jorgensen, Norman J. 1984. "Communicative Strategies as phenomenon related to boundaries of ethnicity". Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 5/3 and 5/4 pp. 317-22.
- Kasper, G. 1979a. "Communication strategies : modality reduction" Interlanguage Studies Bulletin vol.4/2 pp. 266-83.
- Kasper, G. 1979b. "Errors in speech act realization and use of gambits". Canadian Modern Language Review vol.35 pp. 395-406.
- Katz, J.J. 1964. "Semi Sentences" in Fodor J.A. and Katz J.J. "The Structure of Language"
- Kellerman, E. 1974. "Elicitation, lateralization and error analysis". York Papers in Linguistics 4 University of York.
- Kellerman, E. 1977. "Towards a characterization of the strategy of transfer in second language learning" Interlanguage Studies Bulletin Utrecht 211 pp. 58-145.
- Kellerman, Eric. 1978. "Giving learners a break : Native Intuitions as a source of predictions about transferability" Working Papers on Bilingualism 15 pp. 59-92.
- Kellerman, Eric and Sharwood Smith, Michael. (eds.) 1984. Cross - Linguistic Influence in Second Language Acquisition and Performance. London : Pergamon.
- Kennedy, Chris. 1986. "Innovation for a change - Teacher Development and innovation". Paper presented at the ELTJ 40th Anniversary Symposium in London October, 1986.
- Kennedy, C. 1984. Language Planning and Language Education. Allen Urwin: Great Britain.
- Klaus, Georg and Buhr, Manfred (eds) 1976. Philosophisches Wörterbuch. Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut.
- Kleinmann, H. 1977. "Avoidance behaviour in adult second language acquisition". Language Learning 27:pp. 93-107.
- Kleinmann, H. 1978. "The strategy of avoidance in adult second language acquisition. Language Learning 27. pp. 93-107.

- Knapp, Mark L. 1978. Nonverbal communication in Human Interaction 2nd Edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Knapp-Potthoff, Annelie. 1977. "Linguistische Pragmatik und Fremdsprachenunterricht - Probleme eines Verwertungszusammenhangs" Linguistische Berichte 50 pp. 58-75.
- Krashen, Stephen D. 1977. The Monitor model of adult second language performance. Viewpoints in English as a Second Language. ed. by Marina Burt, Heidi Dulay and Mary Finocchiaro. pp. 152-61. New York : Regents.
- Krashen, Stephen D. 1978. "Is the 'Natural Order' an artifact of the bilingual syntax measure?" Language Learning 28/1 pp. 187-191.
- Krashen, Stephen D. 1979. "A response to McLaughlin 'The Monitor model : some methodological considerations'" Language Learning. 29/1 pp. 151-167.
- Krashen, Stephen D. 1981. Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning. Oxford : Pergamon Press.
- Krashen, Stephen D. and Tracy D. Terrel. 1983. The Natural Approach- Language Acquisition in the Classroom. Oxford : Pergamon .
- Labarca, Angela and Rajai Kanji. 1984. Beginning French interactants' communication strategies. ERIC Documents ED 249798.
- Labov, William. 1972. "The Study of Language in its Social context" In Giglioli 1972. pp. 283-307.
- Labov, W. 1972. "Some principles of linguistic methodology" Language in society 1 pp. 97-120.
- Lado, Robert. 1957. Linguistics across Cultures. Ann Arbour: The University of Michigan Press.
- Ladousse, Gillian, P. 1982. "From needs to wants : Motivation and the language learner" System 10/1 pp. 29-37.
- Ladousse, Gillian, P. 1987. Role-play : Resource Book for Teachers OUP: Oxford Oress.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1975. Language and Woman's Place. New York : Harper and Row.
- Lantolf, J.P. and Frawley W. 1983. "Non-linguistic Parameters of Inter-Language Performance: expanding the research paradigm" In the Ninth LACUS Forum, 1982. ed. by John Morreal pp. 457-473. Columbia, SC: Hornbeam.
- Lantolf, J.P. and Frawley W. 1984. "Second language performance and Vygotskian psycholinguistics : implications for L2 teaching"

- In the Ninth LACUS Forum 1983. ed. by John Morreal pp. 81-114
Columbia, SC: Hornbeam.
- Larsen-Freeman, D. 1976. "An explanation for the morpheme acquisition order of second language learners" Language Learning vol.26 pp. 125-34.
- Leech, Geoffrey N. 1980. Explorations in Semantics and Pragmatics. Amsterdam : John Benjamins.
- Lee, William R. 1983. "English as a World Language : Implications for teaching". Perspectives 7/3 pp. 31-40.
- Lehtonen, J. and K. Sajavaara, K. 1980. "Phonology and speech processing". In Contrastive Phonology ed. by Julius Groos: Heidelberg.
- Lehtonen, J. and K. Sajavaara. 1983. "Acceptability and ambiguity in native and second language processing" . In Psycholinguistics and Foreign Language Learning ed. by H. Ringbom Abo: Abo Akademi.
- Leithwood, Kenneth A. 1981. "The dimensions of curriculum innovation" Journal of Curriculum Studies. vol. 13 pp. 25-36.
- Lemon, Nigel. 1973. Attitudes and Their Measurement. London : B. T. Batsford.
- Leontiev. Alexei A. 1981. Psychology and the Language Learning Process. (anonymously trans. from 1975 Russian text) Oxford Pergamon Press.
- Le Page, Robert. 1964. The National Language Question: Linguistics Problems of Newly Independent states. OUP:London
- Le Page, Robert. 1985. "An outsider's view of research needs in second language learning" in Second Language Learning : Research Problems and Perspectives. ed. by Christopher Brumfit, Helen Lunt and John Trim pp. 20-28. London : CILT
- Le Page, R. and David De Camp. 1960. Jamaican Creole: an Historical Introduction to Jamaican Creole" by R.B. Le Page and Four Jamaicans Creole texts (ed) by David de Camp. London: McMillan.
- Levenston, E.A. 1971. "Over-indulgence and under-representation - aspects of mother tongue interference" .In G.Nickel (ed) Papers in Contrastive Analysis. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Levenston, Eddie A and Shoshana Blum. 1977. Aspects of lexical simplification in the speech and writing of advanced adult learners. The notion of Simplification, Interlanguages and Pidgins and their relation to second language pedagogy. ed. by

S. Pit Corder and Eddie Rouler pp. 51-71. Geneva : Droz and Neuchatel Faculte des Lettres

Levin, Joel. 1977. Learner Differences : Diagnosis and Prescription. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Lightbown, P.M. 1983. "Exploring relationships between development and instructional sequences in L2 acquisition " in Classrooms Oriented Research in Second Language Acquisition ed. by Seliger, H. and Long, M. Rowley Mass.: Newbury House.

Lincoln, Yvonna S. and Egon S. Guba. 1985. Naturalistic Inquiry. London : Sage Publications.

Linnarud, Moira. 1975. Vocabulary and Sentence Connection in Written Free Production. Some comparisons between student performance in Swedish and English. Malmo : Lararhogskolan i Malmo.

Linnarud, M. 1975. Lexis in free production . An analysis of the lexical texture of Swedish students' written work. Report 6. Dept. of English . Lund University.

Littlewood, William T . 1981. Communicative Language Teaching : An Introduction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Littlewood, William T. 1982. "The Changing role of the teacher in the foreign language classroom" The British Journal of Language Teaching 20/1 pp. 5-8.

Littlewood, William T. 1984. Foreign and Second Language Learning Language Acquisition Research and its Implications for the Classroom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Littlewood, William T. 1984. "Review of The Natural Approach : Language Acquisition in the Classroom by Stephen D. Krashen and Tracy Terrel. Oxford : Pergamon and San Francisco : Alemany 1983" ELT Journal 38/3 pp. 217-218.

Livingstone, Carrol. 1983. Role-play in Language Learning. Harlow: Longman.

Logan, Gerald. E. 1980. "Individualized foreign language instruction: American patterns for accomodating learners differences in the classroom" in Language Teaching : Meeting Individual Needs. ed. by Howard B. Altman and C. Vaughan James. pp. 94-110 Oxford : Pergamon Press.

Long, Michael H. 1980. "Inside the "Black Box": Methodological issues in classroom research on language learning" Language Learning 30/1 pp. 1-42.

Long, Michael H. 1983. "Native speaker/non-native speaker conversation and the negotiation of comprehensible input. Applied Linguistics 4/2 pp. 127-41.

- Long, Michael H and P. Porter. 1985. "Group work, Interlanguage talk second language acquisition." TESOL Quarterly 19 pp. 207-28
- Lowe, Tim. 1981. Beyond Knowledge and Skills in the Training of ESOL Teachers : Developing Confidence, Critical Awareness and Self-Reliance. unpublished M. A. Dissertation - ESOL Depart. ULIE.
- Lyons, John. 1977. Semantics. vols 1-2. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Mackey, W. F. 1965. Language Teaching Analysis. London : Longman.
- Malaysia, Government of. 1981. Third Malaysian Plan. Kuala Lumpur. Govt. Printer.
- Malaysia, Government of. 1983. Fourth Malaysian Plan. Kuala Lumpur. Govt. Printer.
- Malaysia, Government of. 1984. A Survey of the Reading Habits and Interests of Malaysian People. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka: Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- Macnamara, J. 1973. "The cognitive strategies of language learning". In J. Oller Jr. and J.C. Richards (eds.) Focus on the learner: Pragmatic Perspectives for the language teacher. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House. pp. 57-65.
- McDonough, S. 1986. Psychology in Foreign Language Teaching. 2nd Edition. London: Allen and Unwin.
- McLaughlin, Barry. 1980. Towards a theory of speech processing : some methodological considerations. In Dechert and Raupach pp. 291-98.
- McLaughlin B. 1978. "The Monitor model : some methodological considerations" Language Learning 28/2 pp. 309-332.
- McLaughlin B; T, Rossman; and G. Macleod. 1983. "Second language learning: an information-processing perspective". Language Learning 33. pp. 135-58.
- Martin, Marilyn, A. 1978. "The Application of spiraling to the teaching of grammar" TESOL Quarterly. 12/2 pp. 151-161.
- Mead, Richard. 1982. "Review of John Munby; Communicative Syllabus Design. Applied Linguistics 3/1 pp. 70-77.
- Moore, John. 1980. Survey of Professional Needs for English: A Summary Unpublished research document of University of Malaya Spoken English Project.
- Montgomery, Carol, and Miriam Eisenstein. 1985. "Real reality revisited: an experimental communicative course in ESL" TESOL Quarterly 19/2 pp. 317-34.

- Morrow, K., and K. Johnson. 1979. Communicate. Cambridge : Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Munby, John. 1978. Communicative Syllabus Design. A Sociolinguistic Model for Defining the Content of Purpose-Specific Language Programmes. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Naiman, Neil. 1974. "The Use of Elicited Imitation in Second Language Acquisition Research" Working Papers on Bilingualism 2 pp. 1-37.
- Naiman, Neil, Maria Frohlich, H. Stern, and Angela Todesco. 1978. The Good Language Learner Research in Education Series 7. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Nehls, Dietrich. 1974. "Fehleranalyse versus Kontrastive Analyse". In G. Nickel and A. Raasch (eds) Kongressbericht der 5, Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für angewandte Linguistik (IRAL Sonderband GAL '73) Heidelberg : Groos.
- Nemser, William J. and Slama-Cazacu, Tantiana. 1970. "A Contribution to Contrastive Linguistics" Revue roumaine de linguistique vol. 15. pp. 101-128
- Nemser, W.J. and Slama-Cazacu, T. 1970. "Contact analysis: a psycholinguistic approach" Revue Romaine de Linguistique 15 pp 2.
- Nemser, William. 1971. "Approximative systems of foreign language learners" IRAL vol.9. pp. 115-123.
- News Straits Times. August 1, 1987. Malaysia.
- News Straits Times. December 9, 1985. Malaysia.
- Nickel, G. 1971a. "Contrastive linguistics and foreign language teaching . In G. Nickel (ed) Papers in Contrastive Linguistics. London: CUP.
- Nickel, G. 1971b. "Problems of learners' difficulties in foreign language acquisition . IRAL 9/3 pp. 219-27.
- Nickel, G. 1973. "Aspects of error analysis and grading". In J. Svartvik (ed) Errata vol.30 pp. 32-40
- Noss, R.B. 1982. Language Teaching Issues in Multilingual Environments in Southeast Asia. SEMED, RELC, Singapore.
- Noss, R.B. 1984. An Overview of Language Issues in Southeast Asia : 1950-1980. Oxford University Press
- Noss, R.B. 1986. "The Status and Role of English Language in Asean Countries : A Regional Assessment". A Research Report prepared for the U.S Information Agency.

- O'Malley, J.M; R.P. Russo; and A.U. Chamot. 1983. A review of the literature on learning strategies in the acquisition of English as a second language : the potential for research applications. Rooslyn, VA: Inter-American Research Association, Inc.
- Oxford-Carpenter, Rebecca. 1985. "Second language learning strategies: what the research has to say". ERIC/CLL News Bulletin 9/1 pp. 1-4.
- Palmberg, Rolf. 1978a. Strategies of second language communication. CIEFL Bulletin 14/2 pp. 1-8.
- Palmberg, Rolf. 1978b. "On communication strategies and their pedagogic implications". Tempus 8 pp.21-2.
- Palmberg, Rolf. 1979a. "On the functions of laughs in second language communication". Paper presented at the First Nordic Symposium on Interlanguage : Helsinki.
- Palmberg, Rolf. 1979b. "Investigating Communication Strategies" in Palmberg, Rolf (ed.) Perception and Production of English: Papers on Interlanguage. Publications of the Department of English Abo Academic pp. 53-75.
- Palmberg, Rolf. 1982. "On the relationship between communication strategies and learning strategies". Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 83.pp. 81-88.
- Palmberg, R. 1984. "On the use of lexical avoidance strategies in Foreign language Communication". Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics 18 pp. 135-142.
- Palmer, H.E. 1917. The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages. Reprinted. London : Oxford University Press 1968.
- Paulston, Christina Bratt. 1974. "Linguistic and communicative competence" TESOL Quarterly vol.8/4 pp. 347-361.
- Pawley, A. and Frances H. Syder. 1983. "Two puzzles for linguistic theory : native-like selection and native-like fluency". In Jack, C.R and Richard W.S.(eds.)Language and Communication London: Longman pp. 191-227.
- Penyata Jawatan-Kuasa Pelajaran Malaysia 1956.
- Perkins, K. and D. Larsen-Freeman. 1975. "The effects of formal language instruction on the order of morpheme acquisition".Language Learning 25.pp. 237-43.
- Pica, Teresa. 1983a. "The role of language context in second language acquisition" Interlanguage Studies Bulletin pp. 101-23.

- Pica, T. 1983b. "Adult acquisition of English as a second language under different conditions of exposure" Language Learning vol.33/4 pp. 465-97.
- Pica, T 1985. "Linguistic Simplicity and Learnability : Implications for language syllabus design" in Modelling and Assessing Second Language Acquisition. ed. by Kenneth Hyltenstam and Manfred Pienemann. pp. 137-151 Evon : Multicultural Matters.
- Pica, T. 1985. "The selective impact of classroom instruction on second language acquisition" Applied Linguistics vol. 6/3
- Pica, Teresa. 1986. "Interlanguage adjustments as an outcome of NS-NNS negotiated interaction". Paper presented at the AAAL Conference New York.
- Pienemann, Manfred. 1984. "Psychological constraints on the teachability of languages" Studies in Second Language Acquisition vol. 6/2.pp. 186-214
- Pienemann, Manfred. 1985. "Learnability and Syllabus Construction" in Modelling and Assessing Second Language Acquisition. ed. by Kenneth Hyltenstam and Manfred Pienemann. pp 23-75 Evon : Multicultural Matters.
- Piepho, H.E. 1974. Kommunikative Kompetenz alsu berge ordnetes Lernziel des Englischunterricht. Dornsbuurg-Frikkenhofen: Frankonius.
- Piepho, H. E. 1981. "Establishing objectives in the teaching of English". In C. Candlin (ed.), The Communicative Teaching of English : Principles and Exercise Typology. London: Longman.
- Piranian, D. 1979. "Communication Strategies of Foreign Language Learners : a Pilot study". Unpublished manuscript, Dept. of Slavic Linguistics University of Washington.
- Platt, John and Weber Heidi. 1980. English in Singapore and Malaysia: status, features, functions. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Plath, D.W. 1975. Adult Episodes in Japan Leiden, Netherlands.
- Politzer, Robert, L and Louis Weiss. 1972. The Successful Foreign Language Teacher. Philadelphia, Pa.: The Center for Curriculum Development
- Politzer, Robert L. 1983. "An exploratory study of self reported language learning behaviours and their relation to achievement". Studies in Second Language Acquisition. 6/1 pp. 54-68.
- Politzer, Robert L. and Mary McGroarty. 1985. "An exploratory study of learning behaviours and their relationship to gains in

- linguistic and communicative competence". TESOL Quarterly. 19/1 pp. 103-123.
- Poulisse, Nanda. 1981. Communication strategies :a comparative analysis: Unpublished paper. Department of Applied Linguistics, University of Nijmegen.
- Poulisse, Nanda; Bongaerts, Theo and Eric Kellerman. 1984. "On the use of compensatory strategies in second language performance". Interlanguage Studies Bulletin 8/1 pp. 70-105.
- Poulisse, N; Bongaerts T and Kellerman, E. 1986. "The use of Retrospective verbal reports in the analysis of compensatory strategies" in Faerch, C. and Kasper, G. (eds.) Introspection in Second Language Research. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Porter, J. H. 1977. "A cross-sectional study of morpheme acquisition in first language learners". Language Learning 27/1 pp. 47-62.
- Porter, P.A. 1983. Variations in the conversations of adult learners of English as a Function of Proficiency level of the participants. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.
- Purschel, Heiner. 1975. Pause und Kadenz. Interferenzerscheinungen bei der englischen intonation deutscher sprecher. Tübingen: Neimeyer.
- Prabhu, N. S. 1985. "Coping with the unknown in language pedagogy" in English in the World Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures. ed. by Randolph Quirk and Henry G. Widdowson. pp. 164-173. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press/ British Council.
- Prabhu, N. S. 1986. "Correspondence from N. S. Prabhu" ELT Journal 40/1 pp. 77.
- Proceedings of the Federal Council, F.M.S. 1915. Kuala Lumpur: Govt. Printer, Malaysia.
- Quirk, Randolph; Greenbaum, Sidney; Leech, Geoffrey and Svartvik, Jan. 1972. A Grammar of contemporary English. London : Longman.
- Rahman, Dato' Abdul. 1960. Educational and Review . Govt. Printer: Malaysia.
- Rajagopal, Subramaniam. 1976. "A Study of the role of attitudes and motivation in the acquisition of English as a second language by fifth form Malay-medium pupils in Selangor". Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis. University of Malaya.
- Raupach, Manfred. 1980 Cross-linguistic descriptions of speech as a contribution to "Contrastive Psycholinguistics". Towards a Cross-linguistic Assessment of Speech Production. ed. by Hans W. Dechert and Manfred Raupach. pp. 9-22. Frankfurt: Lang.

- Raupach, Manfred. 1983. "Analysis and evaluation of communication strategies". In Faerch and Kasper. pp. 199-209.
- Razak, Tun Abdul. 1956. Educational and Review. Govt. Printer: Malaysia.
- Regulations for Malay Vernacular Education in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States (Education Code, Part V) Second and Revised Edition. 1936.
- Report of the Committee on Malay Education, Federation of Malaya, 1951.
- Report of the Education Committee 1960. Kuala Lumpur: Govt. Printer, Malaysia.
- Report on the Implementation of the Recommendation of the Education Review Committee 1960, Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1971.
- Report of the Board of Studies on Department of Language of University of Malaya. 1971.
- Report of the Educational and Review Committee 1979. Govt. Printer, Malaysia.
- Report of the Education Committee 1982. Kuala Lumpur: Govt. Printer, Malaysia.
- Reissman, K. 1974. "Contrapuntal conversations in an Antiguan village" in Brauman, R. and Scherzer, J. (eds)
- Reiss, M.A. 1981 "Helping the unsuccessful language learner". The Modern Language Journal. vol.65 pp. 121-28.
- Richards, J.C. 1971a. "A non contrastive approach to error analysis". ELT 25 pp. 204-19.
- Richards, J.C. 1971b. "Error analysis and second language strategies" Language Sciences 17. pp. 12-22.
- Richards, J.C. 1972. "Social factors, interlanguage and language learning". Language Learning 22/2 pp. 159-88.
- Richards, Jack C. 1973. Error analysis and second language strategies Focus on the Learner ed. by John W. Oller, Jnr. and Jack C. Richards pp. 114-35. Rowley : Newbury House.
- Richards, Jack C. (ed.) 1974a. Error Analysis. London : Longman.
- Richards, J.C. 1975. "Simplification : a strategy in the adult acquisition of a foreign language : an example from Indonesian/Malay" Language Learning vol. 25. pp. 115-26.

- Richards, Jack C. (ed.) 1978. Understanding Second and Foreign Language Learning, Issues and Approaches. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Richards, Jack, C. 1983. "Communicative needs in foreign language learning". ELT Journal 37/2 pp. 111-119.
- Richards, J.C and Sampson G.P. 1974. "The study of learner English". In J.C.Richards (ed) Error Analysis
- Richards, Jack C and Schmidt, Richard W. (eds.) 1983. Language and Communication. London : Longman.
- Riley, P. 1977. "Discourse networks in classroom interaction : some problems in communicative language teaching" Mélanges Pédagogiques 1977. pp. 109-120.
- Roberts, J.T. 1986. "Role-Plays". Unpublished PhD. thesis. University of Washington.
- Rogers, A. 1978. "Remarks on the analysis of assertion and the conversational role of speech acts". In Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society 4 pp. 190ff.
- Rogers, A.J. 1980. "Language Situation in Malaysia". A Reference document on language situations in the SEAMEO countries. unpublished.
- Rogers, A.J. 1982. "Malaysia - Language Teaching Issues" in Multilingual Enviroments in Southeast Asia.(ed.) by Noss, R.B. SEMED, RELC, Singapore.
- Rogers, Carl R. 1969. Freedom to Learn. Columbus, Ohio : Charles E. Merrill.
- Rogers, E. M. and F. F. Shoemaker. 1971. Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach. 2nd. Edition. New York : Free Press.
- Rosansky, E. 1976. "Methods and morphemes in second language acquisition " Language Learning 26/2 pp. 409-425.
- Rubin, Joan. 1975. "What the good language learner can teach us." TESOL Quarterly. 10/1 pp. 77-98.
- Rubin, J. 1981. "The study of cognitive processes in second language" learning". Applied Linguistics. vol.2/2 pp. 117-31.
- Rubin, Joan, and Deborah Thompson. 1982. How to be a More Successful Language Learner. Boston : Heinle and Heinle .
- Sacks, Harvey. 1972. An initial investigation of the usability of conversational data for doing sociology. Studies in Interaction. ed. by David Sudnow. pp. 31-74. New York : Free Press
- Sajavaara, Kari. 1978. "The Monitor Model and Monitoring in Foreign Language Speech Communication" in Gingras, 1978: pp. 51-67.

- Sajavaara, Kari. 1980. "Psycholinguistic Models, Second Language Acquisition, and Contrastive Analysis" mimeo, University of Jyväskylä.
- Sajavaara, Kari, Lehtonen, Jaako and Korpimies, Liisa. 1980. "The Methodology and Practice of Contrastive Discourse Analysis" in Papers in Discourse and Contrastive Discourse Analysis Depart. of English, Jyväskylä University.
- Sajavaara, Kari, and Jaako Lehtonen. 1980. "The analysis of cross-language Communication : Prolegomena to the theory and methodology. Towards cross-linguistic Assessment of speech production." ed. by Hans W. Dechert and Manfred Raupach pp. 55-76. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Samarin, W.J. 1971. "Salient and substantive pidginization". In D. Hymes (ed) Pidginization and Creolization of languages. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Savignon, S. 1972. "Teaching for Communicative Competence: A research Report". Audiovisual Language Journal 10/3 pp.153-163.
- Savignon, S. 1983. Communicative Competence : Theory and Classroom Practice. Reading, Mass.: Addison - Wesley.
- Savignon, S. 1985. "Evaluation of Communication Competence - The ACTFL Provisional Proficiency Guidelines". The Modern Language Journal vol.69 pp. 129-34.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel. 1982. The ethnography of communication. Oxford : Blackwell.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel. 1985. "From context to communication: Paths to Second Language Acquisition". LSA/TESOL Forum Lecture delivered at Georgetown University, Washington DC: July 23, 1985.
- Schachter, J. 1974. "An error in error analysis". Language Learning vol. 24 pp. 205-214.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A.; Jefferson, Gail; Sacks, Harvey. 1977. "The Preference for Self-Correction in the Organization of Repair in Conversation". Language vol.53 pp. 361-382.
- Schmidt, R. 1977."Sociolinguistic variation and the language transfer in phonology" Working Papers in Bilingualism vol.12 pp. 79-95.
- Schmidt, M. 1980. "Co-ordinate structures and language universals in interlanguage ". Language Learning vol. 30 /2.
- Schumann, Francine. M. and John H. Schumann. 1977. "Diary of a language learner : an introspective study of second language learning" in On TESOL '77 ed. by Douglas H. Brown, Carlos Yorio and Ruth Crymes. pp. 241-249. Washington D. C. : TESOL.

- Schumann, John. 1974. "The Implications of interlanguage, pidginization and creolization for the study of adult second language acquisition" TESOL Quarterly vol. 8/2 .
- Schumann, J. and Stenson, N. 1975. New Frontiers in second language learning. Rowley: Newbury House.
- Schumann, J.H. 1975. "Affective factors and the Problem of Age in Second Language Acquisition". Language Learning vol. 25/2 pp. 209-236
- Schumann, John H. 1976. "Social Distance as a factor in second language acquisition" Language Learning. vol. 26/1 pp. 135-143.
- Schumann, John H. 1976. "Second language acquisition : the pidginization hypothesis". Language Learning 26/2 pp. 391-408.
- Schumann, J.H. 1978. The Pidginization Process: a Model for second lang. acquisition. Rowley: Newbury House.
- Scollon, R. and Scollon, S.B.K. 1980. "Athabaskan-English interethnic communication". in Scollon, R. and Scollon, S.B.K. Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interethnic Communication. Norwood, N.J. Canada : Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Scollon, R; Scollon, S.B.K. 1983. "Face in inter-ethnic communication" In Richards/Schmidt 1983, pp. 156-190.
- Searle, J. R. 1969. Speech Acts - An Essay in the Philosophy of Language. Cambridge : Cambridge University press.
- Searle, S. R. 1976. "The Classification of illocutionary acts" Language in Society 5/1 pp. 1-23.
- Seliger, Herbert W. 1979. "On the Nature and Function of Language Rules in Language Teaching" TESOL Quarterly 13 pp. 359-369.
- Seliger, Herbert W and Long, Michael. (eds.) 1983. Classroom Language Acquisition and Use: New Perspectives . Rowley, Mass.: Newbury house.
- Seliger, H.W. 1977. "Does practice make perfect? A study of interaction patterns and L2 competence" Language Learning 27/2 pp. 263-278.
- Seliger, Herbert W. 1983. "Learner interaction in the classroom and its effect on language acquisition". Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Selinker, Larry. 1969. "Language Transfer" In General Linguistics 9 pp. 67-92.
- Selinker, L. 1972. "Interlanguage" International Review of Applied Linguistics 10 pp. 209-231.

- Selinker, Larry and Gass, Susan (eds.) 1983. Language transfer in language learning. Rowley Mass.: Newbury House.
- Shaaban, K. 1978. "Code-switching in the speech of educated Arabs". Journal of the Linguistics Association of the South-West vol. III/1 pp. 7-19.
- Sharwood-Smith, Michael. 1979. "Strategies, Language Transfer and the Stimulation of the Second Language Learner's Mental Operations" Interlanguage Studies Bulletin Utrecht 4 pp. 66-83.
- Sharwood-Smith, Michael. 1981. "Consciousness-raising and the second language learner" Applied Linguistics, 2/2 pp. 159-167.
- Sharma, C.L. 1980. "Ethnicity, Communal Relations and Education in Malaysia" in Southeast Asian Journal of Educational Studies vol.16 nos.1/2 Pan Pacific, Singapore.
- Sinclair, J. M. and R. M. Coulthard. 1975. Towards an Analysis of Discourse - The English used by Teachers and Pupils. Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Sinclair, J. M. and D. Brazil. 1982. Teacher Talk. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Slama-Cazacu, T. 1971. "Psycholinguistics and contrastive studies". Zagreb Conference on English-Contrastive Projects. Zagreb: Institute of Linguistics.
- Slama-Cazacu, T. 1974. "Theoretical interpretation and methodological consequences of 'regularization' ". In Further developments in contrastive studies. Romanian - English Contrastive Analysis Projects. Bucharest University Press.
- Slama-Cazacu, T. 1977. Dialogue in Children The Hague: Mouton.
- Slobin, D. 1973. "Cognitive prerequisites for the development of grammar" in C.Ferguson and D.Slobin (eds) Studies of Child Language Development. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Stein, Gabrielle. 1979. "Nuclear English: Reflections on the structure of its vocabulary" Poetica vol.10 pp. 64-76.
- Stemmer, B. 1981. Kohasion im gesprochenen Diskurs deutscher Lerner des Englischen (=Manuskripte zur Sprachlenforschung 18) Bochum : Seminar fur Sprachlenhrforschung der Ruhr - Universitat
- Stenson, Nancy. 1975. "Induced Errors" In Schumann, John and Stenson, Nancy (eds.) New Frontiers in Second Language Learning. Rowley Mass.: Newbury House.
- Stern, H. H. 1975. "What can we learn from the good language learner?" Canadian Modern Language Review 31. pp. 303-18.

- Stern, H. H. 1983. Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stern, H. H. 1984. "Review and discussion" in General English Syllabus Design. ELT Documents 118. ed. by Christopher Brumfit pp. 5-12. Oxford : Pergamon Press/British Council.
- Steven, R. 1988. "The use of mixed-ability groups in classroom interaction". Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation. Harvard University .
- Stevick, Earl W. 1980. Teaching Languages : A Way and Ways. Rowley. Mass.: Newbury House.
- Stovall, M. 1977. "Strategies of communication in ESL learners". In Carol Henning (ed.) Proceedings of the Los Angeles Second Language Forum. Los Angeles : UCLA pp. 76-84.
- Strevens, Peter. 1980. Teaching English as an International Language. Oxford : Pergamon Press.
- Strevens, Peter. 1983. "Teacher training and the curriculum" Recherches Pédagogiques IUT Grandes Ecoles n. 1 Juin 1983 pp. 11-28.
- Strong, Michael. 1984. "Integrative motivation: Cause or result of successful second language acquisition" Language Learning 34/3 pp. 1-14.
- Svartvik, J. 1973. Errata: Papers in error analysis. Lund : Gleerup.
- Swain, Merrill. 1975. "Changes in errors : random or systematic?" Paper presented at the Fourth International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Stuttgart.
- Swain, Merrill. 1985. "Comments on Brumfit's article 'Creativity and constraint in the language classroom' " in English in the World - Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures ed. by Randolph Quirk and Henry G. Widdowson. pp. 158-160. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press/ British Council.
- Swain, M. Dumas, G and Naiman, N. 1974. "Alternatives to spontaneous speech: elicited translation and imitations as indicators of second language competence. Working papers in Bilingualism 3. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Swan, Michael. 1985. "A critical look at the Communicative approach" (1) and (2)"ELT Journal 39/1 pp. 2-12 and 39/2 pp.76-87
- Takahashi, T. 1989. "Impact of the listener on the L2 learner". In Selinker, L. and M. Gass (eds.) Variation in Second Language Acquisition : Discourse and Pragmatics. Multilingual Matters. pp. 245-275.
- Tarone, E. 1977 "Conscious communication strategies in interlanguage : a progress report". In On TESOL '77: Teaching and Learning English

- as a Second Language : Trends in Research and Practice.(eds.) by H. Douglas Brown, Carlos Yorio, and Ruth Crymes. Washington, D.C.: TESOL, 1977: pp. 194-203.
- Tarone, Elaine. 1978. "The Phonology of Interlanguage" In Richards 1978. pp.15-33.
- Tarone, E. 1979. "Interlanguage as a chameleon". Language Learning29. pp. 181-91.
- Tarone, E. 1980. "Communication Strategies, Foreigner Talk and Repair in Interlanguage" Language Learning 30 pp. 417-431.
- Tarone, E. 1983. "Some thoughts on the notion of communication strategy". In Strategies in Interlanguage Communication(eds) by Faerch and Kasper. London: Longman.
- Tarone, E. 1984. Teaching strategic competence in the foreign language classroom. Initiatives in Communicative Language Teaching. ed. by Sandra J.Savignon and Margie S.Berns. pp. 127-36. Reading: Addison-Wesley
- Tarone, E. 1985. "The arm of the chair is when you use for you to write". Developing strategic competence in a second language. Paper presented at the BAAL Conference, Edinburgh.
- Tarone, E. Cohen, A; and Dumas, G. 1976. "A closer look at some inter-language terminology : a framework for communication strategies". Working Papers in Bilingualism 9 pp. 76-90.
- Tarone, E. Frauenfelder, U., and Selinker, L. 1976. "Systematicity/variability and stability in interlanguage systems". Language Learning Special Issue 4 : pp. 93-134.
- Tarone, E. and George Yule.1983. "Communication strategies in East-West interaction". Paper presented for the Conference on English as an Interactional Language. Discourse patterns across cultures. East-West Centre, Hawaii.
- Taylor, B.P. 1971. "How are words from 2 languages organized in bilinguals memory" Canadian Journal of Psychology 25 pp. 228-40.
- Taylor, B.P. 1974. "Toward a Theory of Language Acquisition" Language Learning 24 pp. 23-35.
- Taylor, B.P. 1975. "The Use of Over-generalization and Transfer Learning Strategies by Elementary and Intermediate students of ESL" Language Learning 25 pp. 73-107.
- Taylor, B.P.1977. "Exploring Community Language Learning". In On TESOL '79 (eds.) by C. Yorio et al, Washington, D.C.:TESOL pp. 80-84.

- Terrel, Tracy. 1977. "A natural approach to second language acquisition and learning". Modern Language Journal 61. pp. 325-37.
- Thomas, Jenny. 1983. Cross-Cultural Pragmatic Failure. Applied Linguistics 4 pp. 91-112.
- Todd, Lorento. 1974. Pidgins and Creoles. London: Routledge.
- Tongue, R.K. 1974. The English of Singapore and Malaysia. Singapore : Eastern Universities Press.
- Trim, John L. M. , R. Richterich, Jan Van Ek, David A. Williams. 1973. Systems Development in Adult Language Learning. Strasbourg : Council of Europe.
- Trim, John L. M. 1980. "The Place of needs-analysis in the Council of Europe Modern Language Project" in Foreign Language Teaching : Meeting Individual Needs. ed. by Howard B. Altman and C. Vaughan James pp. 46-65. Oxford : Pergamon Press.
- Troike, R. 1967. "Receptive competence, productive competence and performance". Georgetown Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies vol.20 pp 63-9.
- Trudgill, Peter and Hannah, Jean. 1982. International English. London: Arnold.
- Upshur, John A. 1979. "Functional Proficiency Theory and a Research Role for Language Testing" in Eugene J. Briere and Frances Butler Hinofotis (eds) Concepts in Language Testing : Some Recent Studies. Washington DC:TESOL pp. 75-100.
- Upshur, J. 1983. "Measurement of individual differences and explanation in the language sciences". In A.Z. Guiora (ed.) An Epistemology for the Language Sciences. Michigan : University of Michigan. pp. 99-140.
- Varadi, T. 1973."Strategies of target language learning communication". Paper presented at the VI Conference of the Romanian-English Linguistics Project in Timisoara, Romania.
- Varadi, Tamas. 1980."Strategies of target language learner communication: message adjustment". Paper presented at the VI Conference of the Romainan-English Project in Timisoara.
- Varadi, Tamas. 1983. "Strategies of target language learner communication message adjustment". In Strategies in Interlanguage Communication (eds) by Faerch and Kasper. London: Longman.
- Van Ek, Jan. A and L. G. Alexander. 1975. Threshold Level English. Oxford : Pergamon Press.

- Van Ek, Jan. A. 1975. Systems Development in Adult Language Learning: the Threshold Level - Strasbourg : Council of Europe.
- Van Ek, Jan A. 1976. The Threshold Level for Modern Language Learning in Schools. London : Longman.
- Van Lier, Leo. 1984. "Analysing interaction in second language classrooms" ELT Journal 38/3 pp. 160-169.
- Varonis, E. and S. Gass. 1985. Non-native/non-native conversations: a model for negotiation of meaning". Applied Linguistics 6. pp. 71-90.
- Vygotsky, L.S. 1962. Thought and Language. Cambridge : MIT Press
- Wagner, Johnnes. 1983. "Dann du tagen eineee - weisso platte - An analysis of Interlanguage communications in instructions". In Faerch and Kasper pp. 159-74.
- Wagner, Gough, J. 1975. "Comparative studies in second language learning". CAL/ERIC/CLL Series on Languages and Linguistics no.26.
- Wardaugh, Ronald. 1970. "The Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis" TESOL Quarterly 4 pp. 123-130.
- Ward^hough, R. 1986. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Basil Blackwell, Great Britain.
- Watson, J.K.P. 1984. "Cultural Pluralism, Nation-Buiding and Educational Policies in Peninsular Malaysia" in Language Planning and Language Education Allen Urwin.
- Wells, Gordon. 1981. Learning Through Interaction. Language at Home and in School. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Wenden, Anita. L. 1983. "The process of intervention" Language Learning 33/1 pp. 103-121.
- Wenden, L. Anita. 1985. "Learner strategies". TESOL Newsletter xix.5 pp. 1-4
- Wenden, L. Anita. 1986. "Helping language learners think about learning" ELT Journal 40/1 pp. 30-70.
- Wesche, M.B.1981. "Language Aptitude Measures in Streaming, Matching Students with Methods, and Diagnosis of Learning Problems". In Diller,K.C. Individual Differences and Universals in Language Learning Aptitude. Rowley, Mass.:Newbury House. pp. 119-154.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1978. Teaching Language as Communication. Oxford : Oxford University Press.

- Widdowson, Henry G. 1979. Explorations in Applied Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1983. Learning Purpose and Language Use. Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1984a. "The incentive value of theory in teacher education" ELT Journal 38/2 pp. 86-90.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1984b. "Educational and pedagogical factors in syllabus design" in General English Syllabus Design. ELT Documents 118. ed. by C. Brumfit pp. 23-27. Oxford : Pergamon Press.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1984c. Explorations in Applied Linguistics 2. Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1985. "Against dogma: a reply to Michael Swan" ELT Journal 39/3 pp. 158-161
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1986. "The roles of teacher and learner" Opening Address at the 1986 IATEFL Conference. Brighton. Published in ELT Journal 42/2 pp. 83-88.
- Wilkins, David, A. 1972. The Linguistic and Situational Context of the Common Core in a unit/credit system. Ms. Strasbourgh : Council of Europe.
- Wilkins, David. A. 1983. "Some issues in communicative language teaching and their relevance to the teaching of languages in secondary schools" in Perspectives in Communicative Language Teaching ed. by Keith Johnson and Don Porter. pp. 23-46 London: Academic Press.
- Willis, Jane. 1981. Spoken Discourse in the ELT Classroom : a System of Analysis and a Description M. A. Dissertation. University of Birmingham.
- Willems, J. 1987. "Interaction analysis and achievement : An experiment ". In J.R. Green (ed.) Foreign Language Education Research : A Book of Readings. Chicago : Rand McNally pp. 153-165
- Wode, H. 1976. "our early stages in the development of L1 negation". Journal of Child Language vol.4 pp. 84-102.
- Wode, H. 1978. "Free vs. bound forms in three types of language acquisition ". Interlanguage Studies Bulletin vol.3 pp. 6-22.
- Wode, H. J. Bahns, H. Bedey and W. Frank. 1978. "Developmental sequence: an alternative approach to morpheme order" Language Learning 28/1 pp. 175-185.
- Wolfson, Nessa. 1986. "Research methodology and the question of validity" TESOL Quarterly 20/4 pp. 689-699.

- Wolfson, Nessa. 1983. "Rules of Speaking". In Richards and Schmidt 1983 pp. 61-88.
- Wong, Irene. 1983. "Simplification features in the structure of colloquial Malaysian-English". In Varieties of English in Southeast Asia. (ed.) by R.B.Noss. pp. 125-149.
- Yalden, Janice. 1980. "Current approaches to second language teaching in the U. K." System 8/2 pp. 151-156.
- Yalden, Janice. 1983. The Communicative Syllabus ; Evolution, Design and Implementation. Oxford : Pergamon Press.
- Yalden, Janice. 1984. "Syllabus design in general education : options for ELT" in General English Syllabus Design. ELT Documents 118 ed. by C. Brumfit pp. 13-21. Oxford : Pergamon Press.
- Yule, George and Elaine Tarone. 1987. "Eliciting the performance of strategic competence. Developing Communicative Competence". ed. by R. Scarcella; E. Anderson; and S. Krashen. New York : Harper and Row.
- Zimmermann, R. 1987. "A models of lexical search in L1-L2 translation In H.W.Deichert (ed.) Interlingual Processes. Tübingen: Narr.
- Zuengler, J. 1982. "Applying accommodation theory to variable performance data in L2" Studies in Second Language Acquisition vol.4/2 pp. 181-92.
- Zobl, H. 1980. "Accommodating the categorical side of language learning in syllabus design" TESL Talk 11. pp. 56-62.
- Zobl, H. 1980a. "Developmental and transfer errors; their common bases and (possibly) differential effects on subsequent learning" TESOL Quarterly 14 pp. 469-479.
- Zobl, H. 1980b. "Contact-induced language change, learner-language, and the potentials of a modified CA" Paper presented at the Los Angeles Language Acquisition Research Forum UCLA.
- Zobl, H. 1980c. "The formal developmental selectivity of L1 influence on L2 acquisition". Language Learning 30 pp. 43-57.
- Zydatiss, Wolfgang. 1976. "Learning problem Expanded-Form - A performance analysis" IRAL 14. pp. 351-371.

APPENDIX A

Name : _____ Year : _____ Class: _____

Survey Questionnaire . Learning English as a Second Language

Please complete this questionnaire as accurately as you can. Fill in the empty boxes provided with your responses by indicating () in the appropriate spaces provided.

Your answers will be kept confidential.

A. Background information

1. Age: _____ years _____ months.

2. Name of Institute/college _____ What year? _____

3. Sex : Male ()

Female ()

4. (i) Race : Malay ()

Chinese ()

Indian ()

Others ()

(specify: _____

5. Level of education

Name of school / year

standard 1-6

form 1-5

form 6

Dip/Bachelor/Master's degree

6. Guardian's occupation

7. Mother's occupation

8. Number of years of learning English in an academic setting _____

9. Results of English test scores:

SRP/LCE examination _____

SPM/MCE examination _____

STPM/HSC examination _____

1119 (121) English _____

English course at institute/college (if any):

1st. year result _____

2nd. year result _____

3rd. year result _____

ELTS/SAT/TOEFL score _____

10. For this question (a) to (d), please indicate your responses by ticking () in the appropriate bracket provided. You may tick off more than one response if you use more than one language.

- a) What language do you use when you talk to your parents?
Bahasa Malaysia () English ()
Chinese () Others * ()
Tamil () * please specify _____
- b) What language do you use when you talk to your older siblings?
Bahasa Malaysia () English ()
Chinese () Others * ()
Tamil () * please specify _____
- c) What language do you use when you talk to your younger siblings?
Bahasa Malaysia () English ()
Chinese () Others * ()
Tamil () * please specify _____
- d) What language do your parents use when they speak to one another?
Bahasa Malaysia () English ()
Chinese () Others * ()
Tamil () * please specify _____

11. Where have you been living during the past 2 years?

Name of place or town _____ State _____

Please put a tick () in the appropriate brackets provided to indicate your answer.

12. Your neighbours

The majority of your neighbours are:

Malay () Indian ()
Chinese () Others * ()
English () *(specify : _____)

13. What language is predominantly used by your neighbours?

Malay () Indian ()
Chinese () Others * ()
English () *(specify: _____)

14. What are their occupations?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

15. Your friends

i) Who is your closest friend?

- | | |
|-------------|---------------------|
| Malay () | Indian () |
| Chinese () | Others * () |
| English () | * (specify : _____) |

ii) The majority of your friends are:

- | | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| Malay () | Indian () |
| Chinese () | Others * () |
| English () | * (specify: _____) |

iii) What language do you use when you talk to your friends who are of the same race as you?

- | | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| Malay () | Indian () |
| Chinese () | Others * () |
| English () | * (specify: _____) |

iv) What language do you use when you talk to your friends who are not of the same race as you?

- | | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| Malay () | Indian () |
| Chinese () | Others * () |
| English () | * (specify: _____) |

16. How many hours do you watch television per day?

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Less than 1 hour () | 3-4 hours () |
| 1-2 hours () | more than 4 hours () |

17. What are your favourite TV programmes? Specify what language is used.
(e.g. News (language : Bahasa Malaysia))

1. _____ (language: _____)
2. _____ (language: _____)
3. _____ (language: _____)

In this section you are required to select only one answer from the many responses provided. Please indicate the appropriate answer which would reflect your feelings best (only one answer per question) by ticking (✓) in brackets provided:

1. I am studying English because:

- () I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job
- () One needs a good knowledge of at least one foreign language to demonstrate one's educational level
- () It will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people
- () A knowledge of English will enable me to become a better educated person
- () It is a subject taught in school
- () I am interested in the British/American culture and people

2. In comparing myself to my classmates, I feel I am

- () more interested in the English language than they are
- () not as interested in the English language as they are
- () equally interested in the English language as they are

3. If English were not taught as part of the Malaysian school syllabus, I might have:

- () opted not to study the language
 - () taken up the course at other private institution
 - () tried to acquire it through the use of books, reading the newspaper, watching television, and through oral practice of the language
 - () answer not listed above
(specify : _____)
-

Below are statements often expressed in learning English as a second language. Indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement by circling the appropriate letter code.

The letters are coded this way:

SA - STRONGLY AGREE

A - AGREE

U - UNCERTAIN

D - DISAGREE

SD - STRONGLY DISAGREE

Example: 1) Every person needs to learn at least one foreign language.

SA A U D SD

If you strongly disagree with this statement, circle SD as shown.

SA A U D (SD)

On the other hand if you generally agree with the statement, you would indicate your agreement like this:-

SA (A) U D SD

There are no right or wrong answers, but please answer frankly and honestly.

4. English language is my favourite subject compared to my other subjects

SA A U D SD

5. My impression of individuals who speak in English is very negative

SA A U D SD

6. I would enjoy working at some stage in the future with someone who speaks in English

SA A U D SD

7. I wouldn't like to see my children growing up as fluent speakers of English

SA A U D SD

8. I hate talking in English

SA A U D SD

9. I think in English all the time

SA A U D SD

Name : _____
Year : _____ Class : _____

Please use the following answer code code for all the question in this section:

- 1 - VERY OFTEN
- 2 - OFTEN
- 3 - SOMETIME
- 4 - SELDOM
- 5 - NEVER

10. Do you think you have any problems in expressing your thoughts/ideas/feelings in English 1 2 3 4 5
11. My problems are most apparent in:-
- oral English 1 2 3 4 5
 - written English 1 2 3 4 5
 - both oral and written production 1 2 3 4 5
12. If you were facing some problems in expressing yourself in English, which of the following responses would you most likely make, to overcome your communicative problem?
- a. Borrow a word or two from my mother tongue because I don't know the English equivalent to it. 1 2 3 4 5
- Example:
"In the rural areas, the Malaysian ladies woremmm what we called the "kain sarong" at home".
- b. Borrow a word from my mother-tongue as described in (a) but this time, I will try to make the word "kain sarong" sound English by making the necessary phonological adjustment. 1 2 3 4 5
- c. Make a word-for-word translation from Malay to English. 1 2 3 4 5
- Example:
"kain Sarong" can be literally translated to "cloth wrap
- d. Avoid the topic of "kain sarong" altogether so that I don't have to deal with it at all. 1 2 3 4 5

Answer Code:

- 1 - VERY OFTEN
- 2 - OFTEN
- 3 - SOMETIME
- 4 - SELDOM

13. Have you ever attempted using the following strategies in overcoming your speech problem?

- a) **Creating** your own word/phrase in place of the unknown word. 1 2 3 4 5
- b) **Reducing** the message to only the essentials 1 2 3 4 5
Example:
original message : "The man with the curly brown hair came up to speak to me."

reduced message : "The man came up to speak to me."
- c) By rephrasing the sentence such that the main idea is still retained. 1 2 3 4 5
Example :
original message: " I have three sisters"

after being rephrased : "My father has three daughters"
- d) **Appeal** for help from the person you are talking to (to provide the unknown word/phrase) 1 2 3 4 5
Example: "How do you say...?"
- e) Use **body language** to express what you don't know. 1 2 3 4 5
Example: pointing a finger at the unknown for instance your blue sweater to indicate the colour blue.
- f) Indicating that you don't understand what is being said to you although you do understand parts of the message. 1 2 3 4 5
- g) requesting further clarification on only the specific parts which you don't understand. 1 2 3 4 5

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF MATERIALS USED FOR ORAL

PERFORMANCE TASK SESSIONS

CODING	Page No.
=====	
B1 Picture Description Activity Picture 1 - A native of Malaysia	365
B2 Picture 2- Caricature of Albert Einstein	366
=====	
B3 Concrete Picture Description Picture 1 - Human Face on an Apple	367
B4 Picture 2 - Items in a Science laboratory	368
=====	
B5 Describe and Match Cartoon Strips sequence Cartoon Strips 1. Catching a Thief	369
B6 Cartoon Strips 2. A Clever Dog	370
B7 Cartoon Strips 3. "Guilt"	371
B8 Cartoon Strips 4. Disaster at a Salon	372
B9 Cartoon Strips 5. "Sorry Sir!"	373
B10 Cartoon Strips 6. Wet Paint	374
B11 Cartoon Strips 7. Fishing at the Golf Course	375
B12 Cartoon strips "An Exciting Day"	376
=====	

B 1

DESCRIBE WHAT YOU SEE ACTIVITY

Picture 1. A Native of Malaysia



B2

DESCRIBE WHAT YOU SEE ACTIVITY

Picture 2. Caricature of Albert Einstein



B3

DESCRIBE AND DRAW ACTIVITY

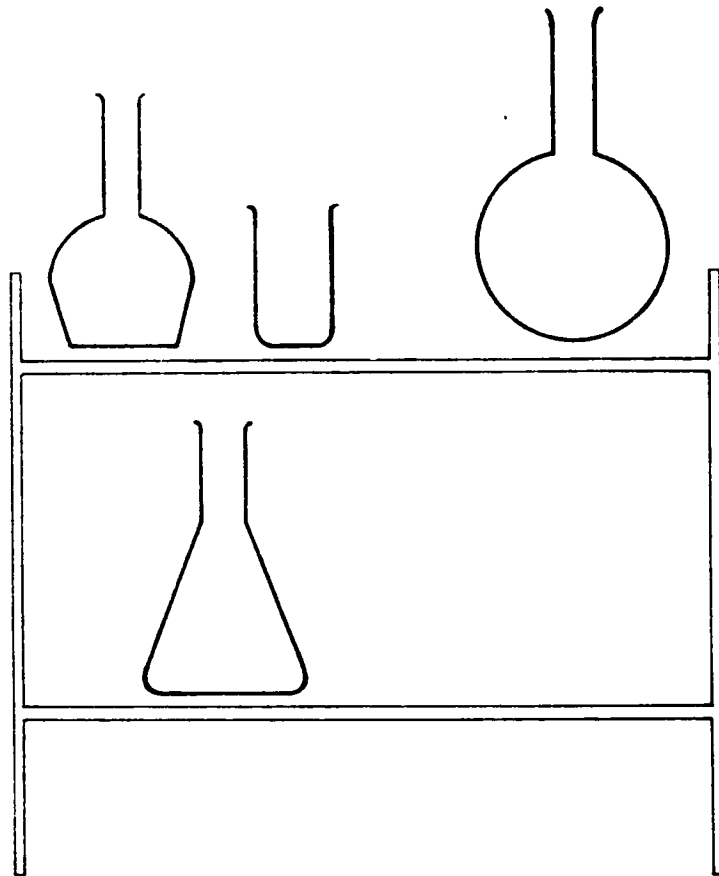
Picture 1. A Human Face on An Apple



B4

DESCRIBE AND DRAW ACTIVITY

Picture 2. Items in a Science Laboratory



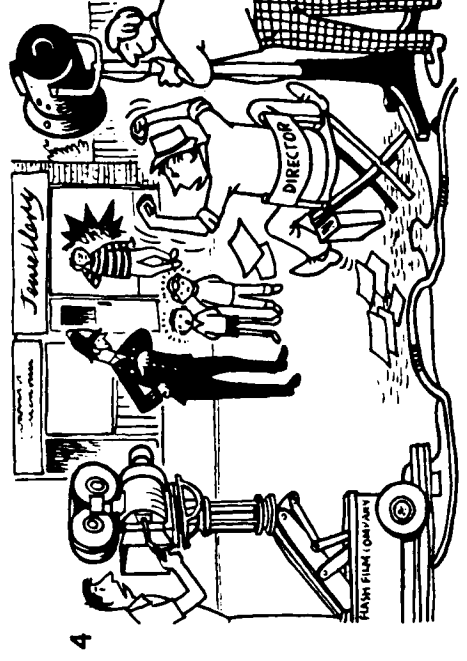
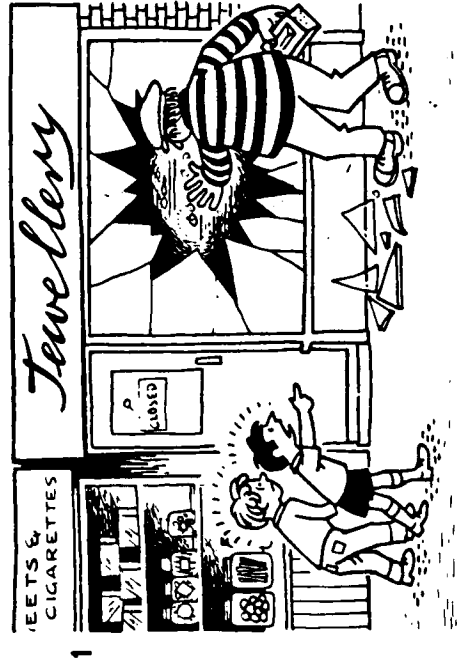
Simple sketch of laboratory equipment for use as a **Describe and Draw** subject

DESCRIBE AND MATCH

B5

Cartoon Strips 1. Catching A Thief

Catching a thief

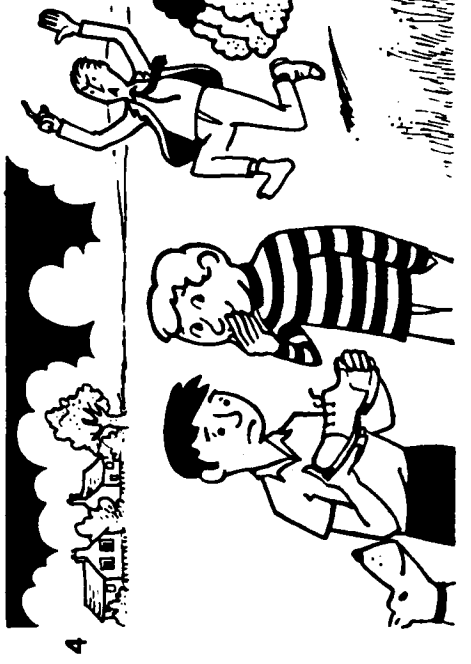
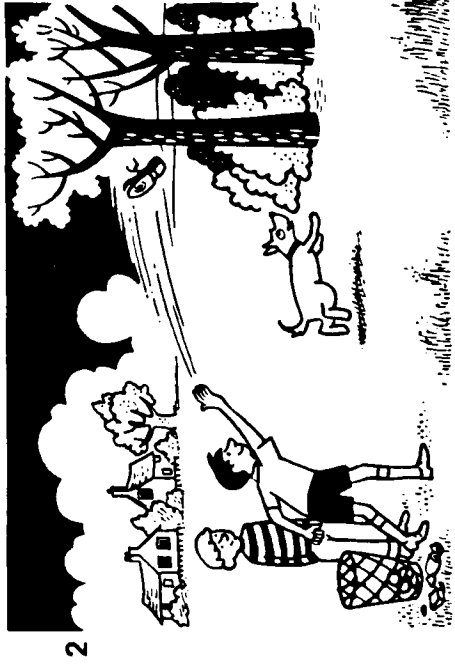
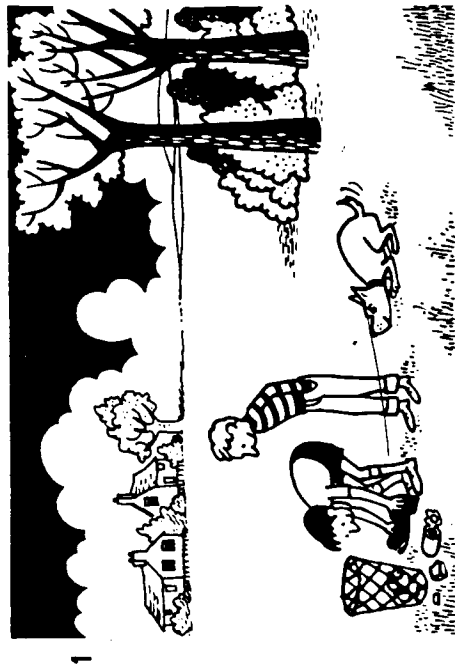


B6

DESCRIBE AND MATCH CARTOON STRIPS

Cartoon Strips 2. "A Clever Dog"

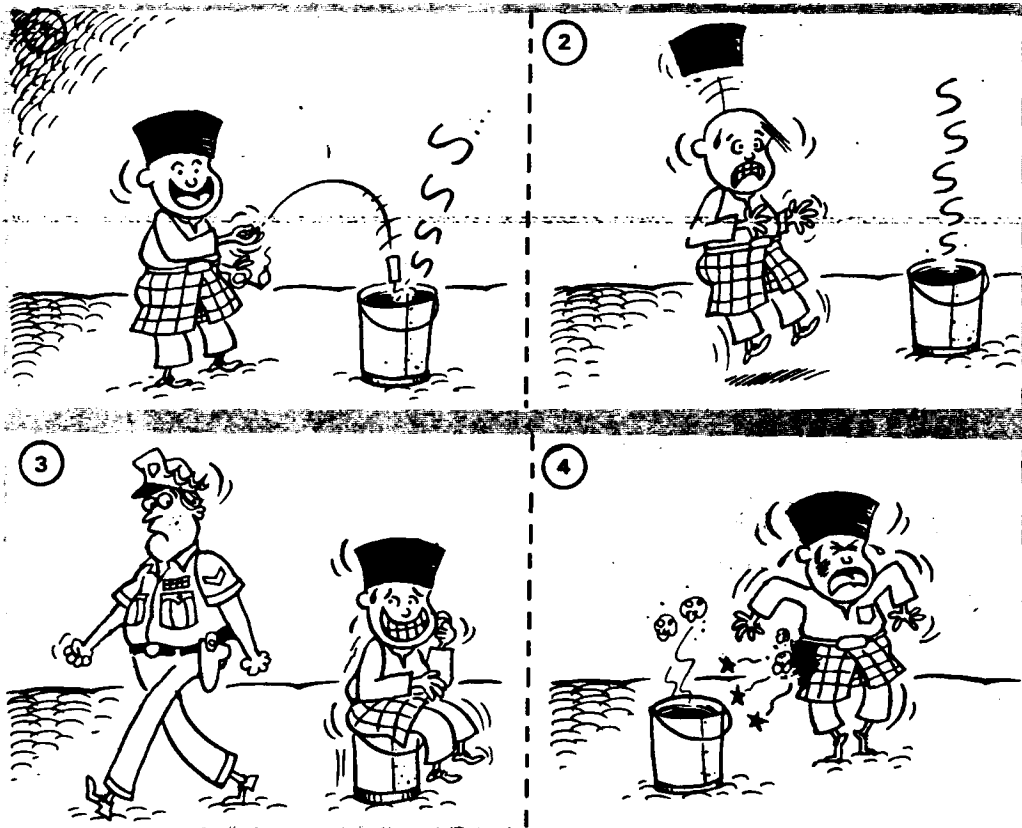
A clever dog



B7

DESCRIBE AND MATCH

Cartoon Strips 3. "Guilt"



B8

DESCRIBE AND MATCH CARTOON STRIPS

Cartoon Strips 4. "Disaster at a Salon"

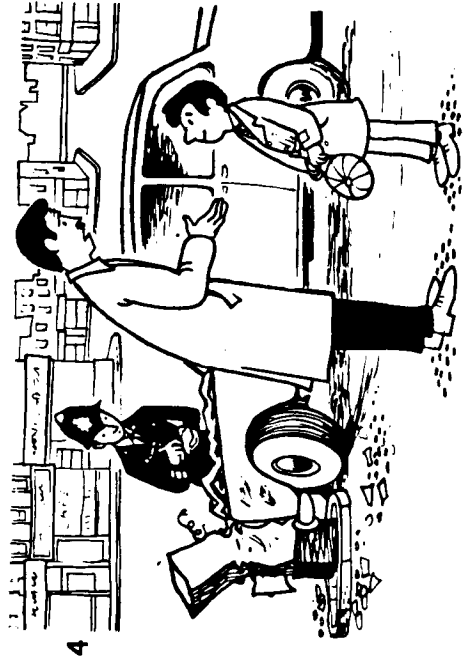
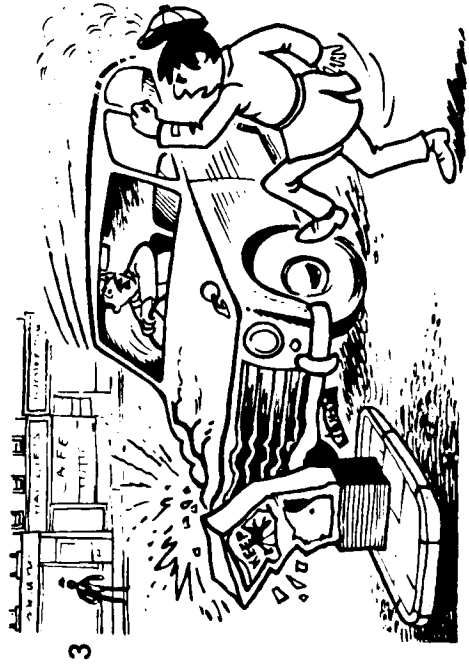
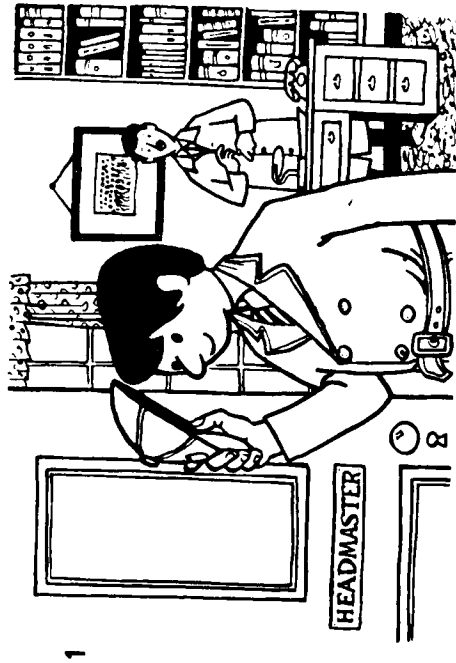


B9

Describe and Match

Cartoon Strips 5. "Sorry Sir!"

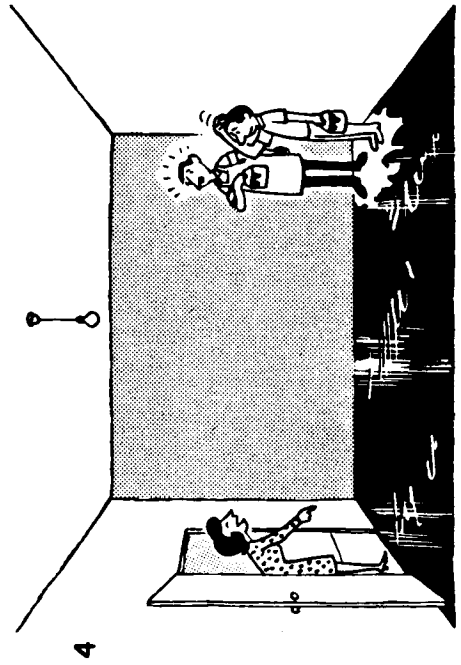
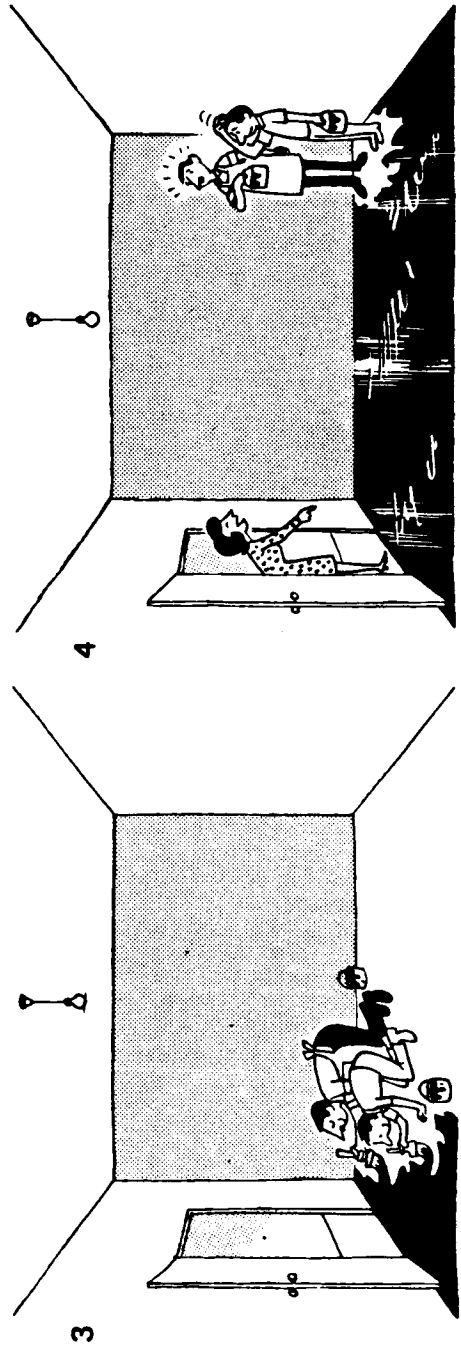
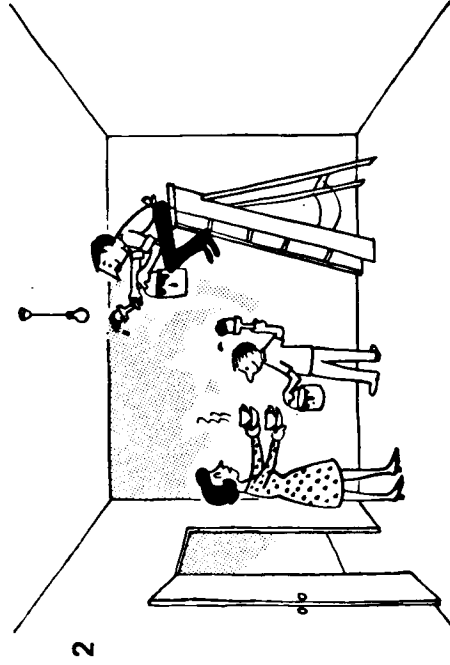
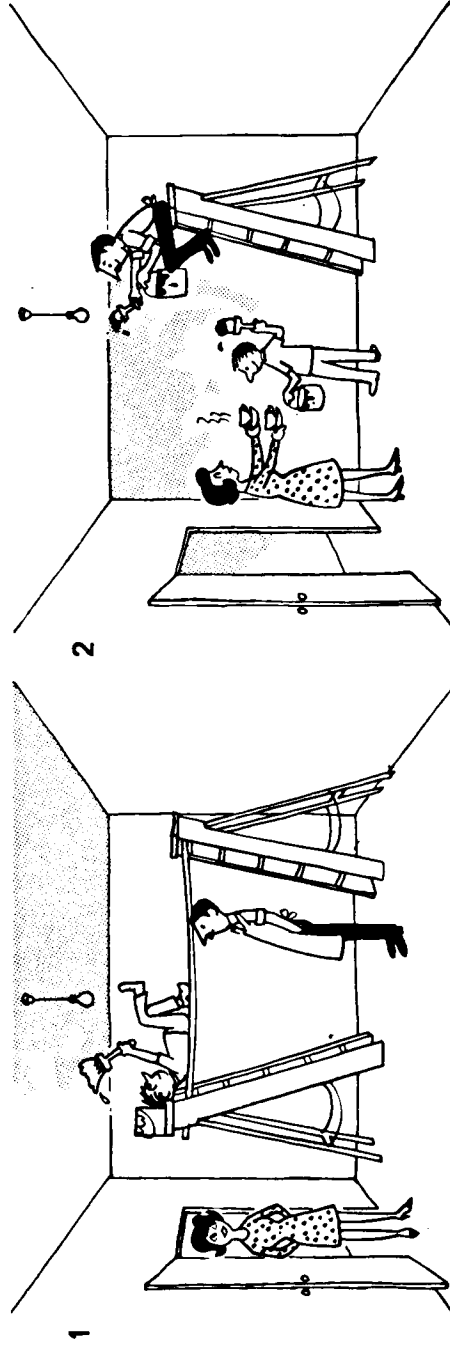
'Sorry, sir!'



DESCRIBE AND MATCH
Cartoon Strips 6. Wet Paint

B10

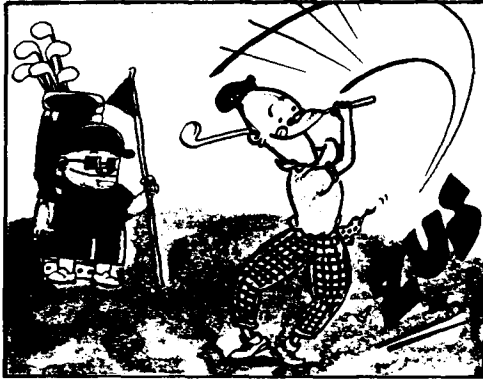
Wet paint



B 1 1

DESCRIBE AND MATCH

Cartoon Strips 7. Fishing at the Golf Course



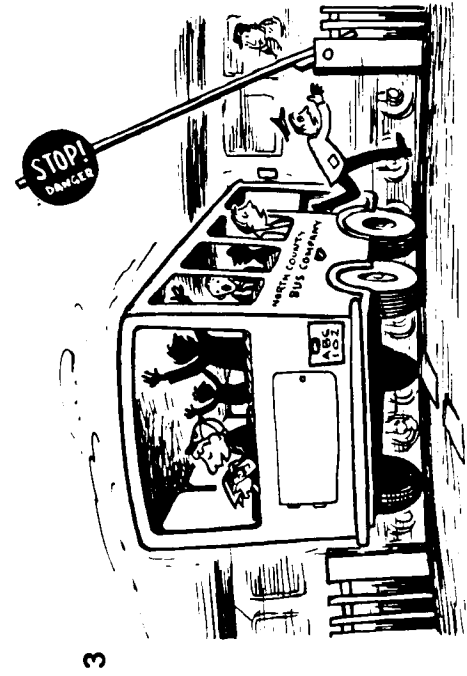
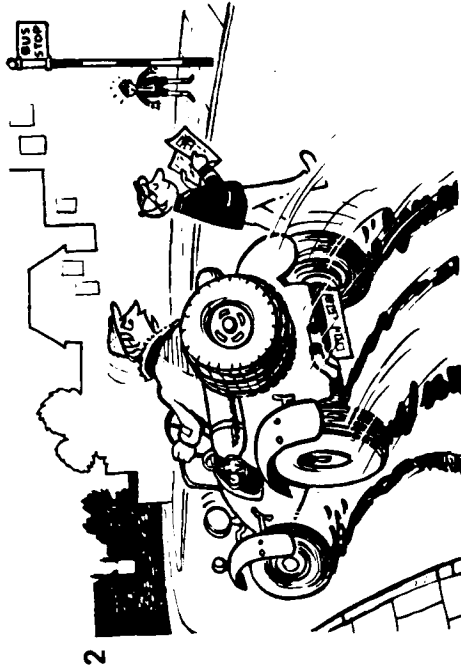
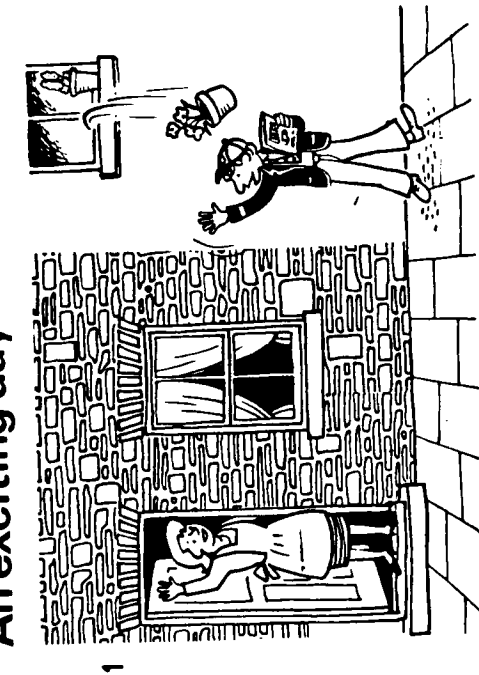
PENULIS/PELUKIS: LEE

B12

DESCRIBE AND MATCH

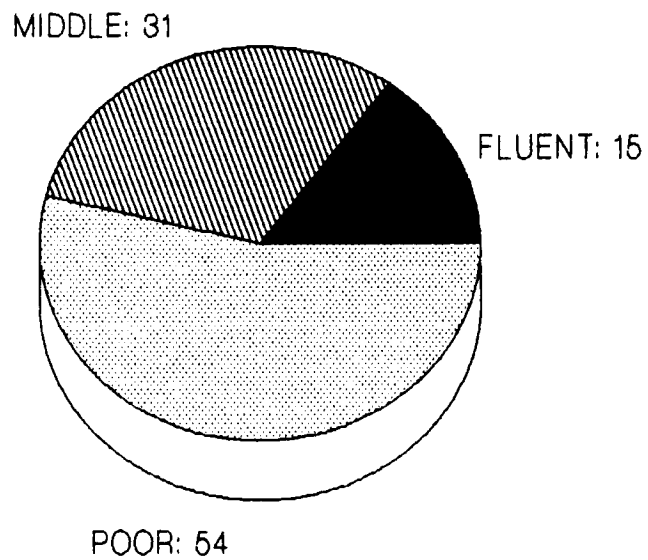
Cartoon Strips 8. An Exciting Day

An exciting day



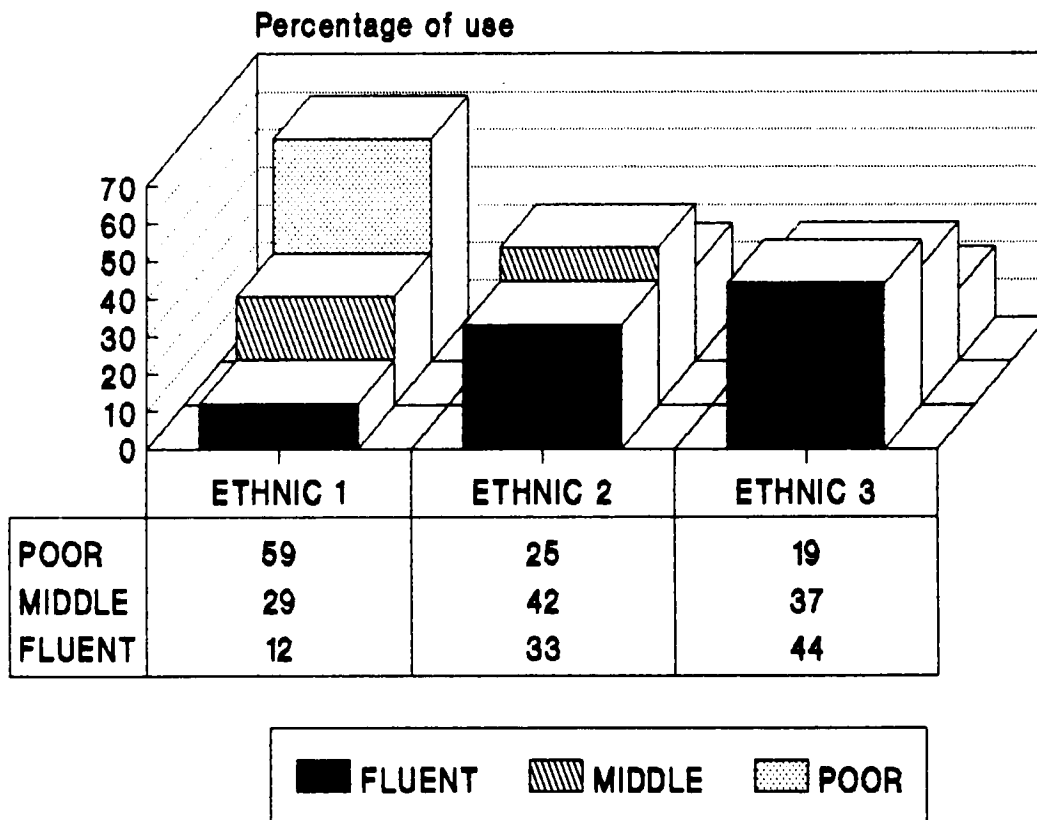
APPENDIX C1

FLUENCY RATING OF S.P.M. RESULTS



Pie chart No:1

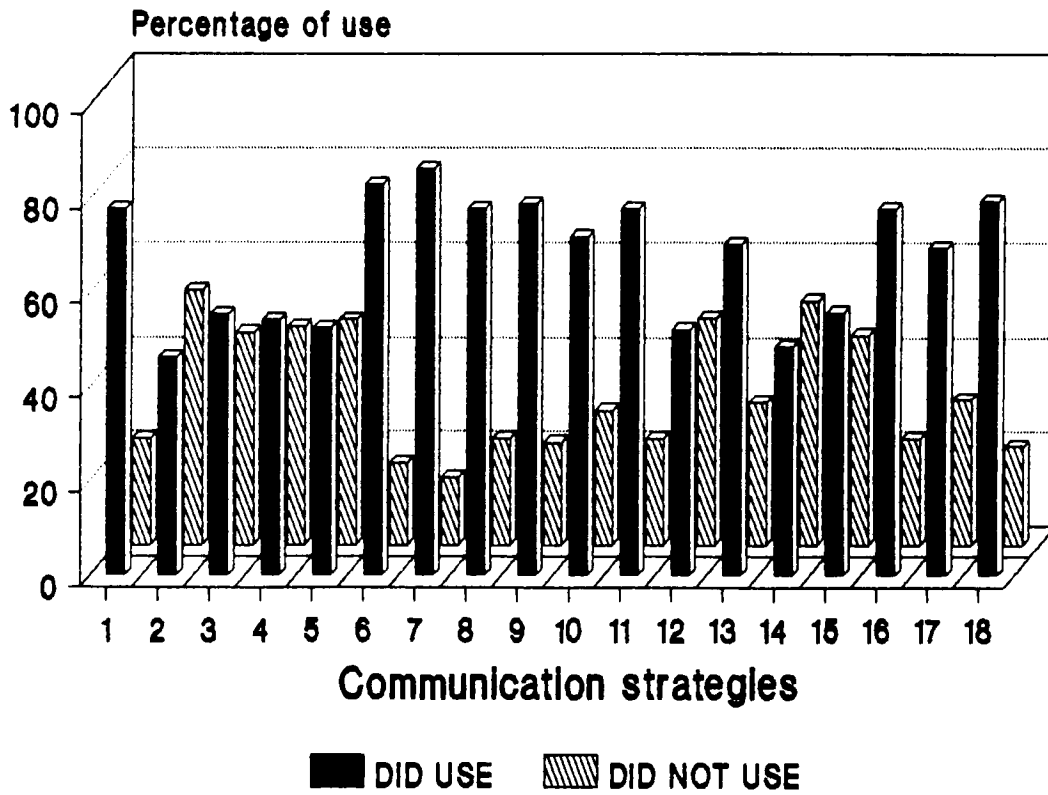
FLUENCY RATING AMONG THREE ETHNIC GROUPS



Bar graph No:1

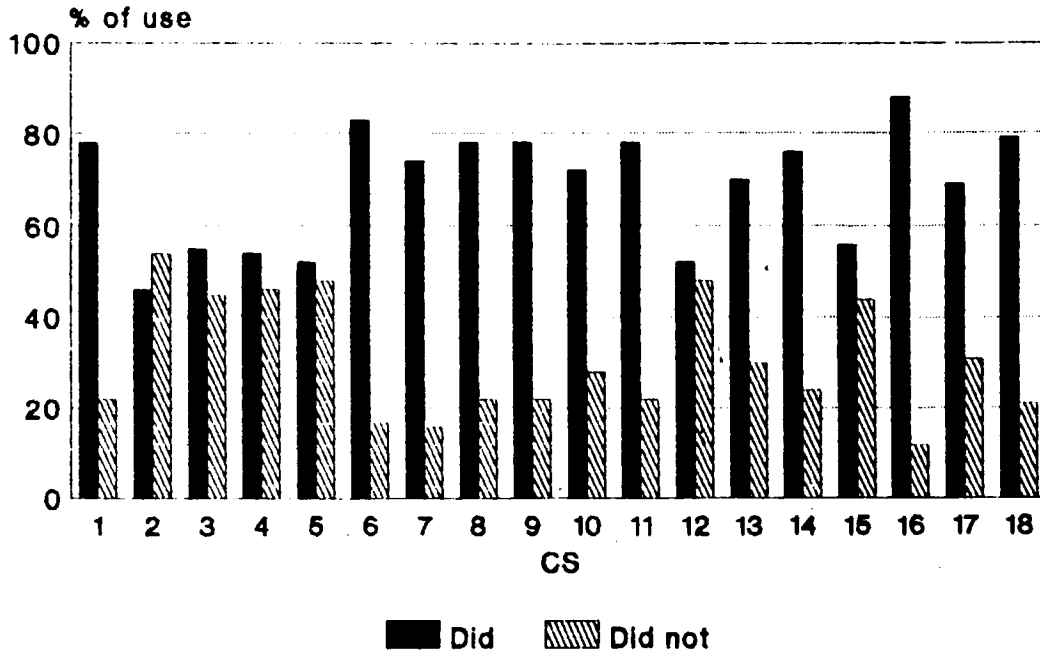
APPENDIX C3

USE OF COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES AMONG ALL SUBJECTS

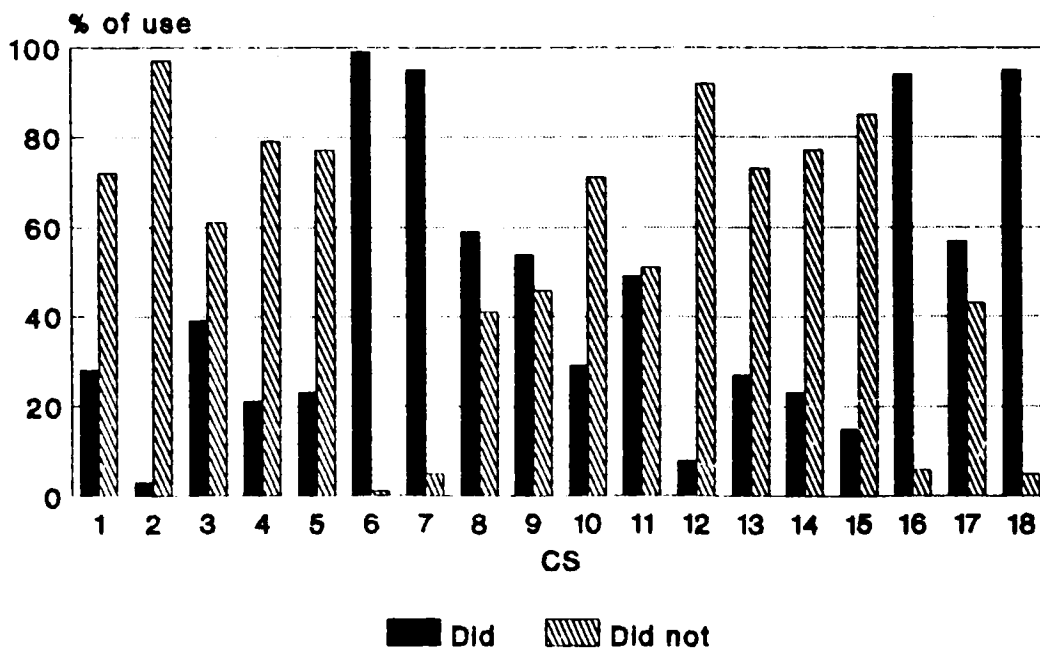


Bar graph No:2

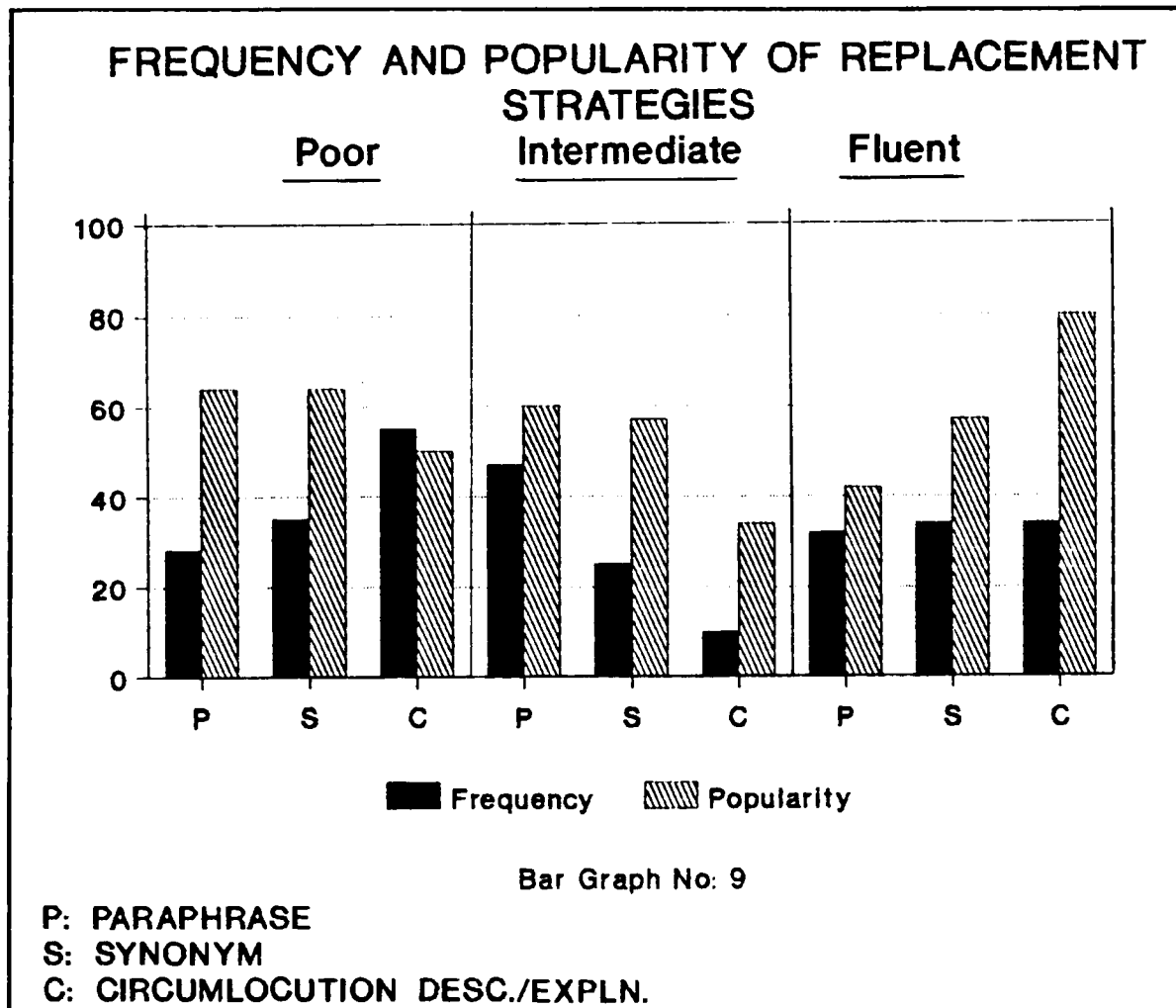
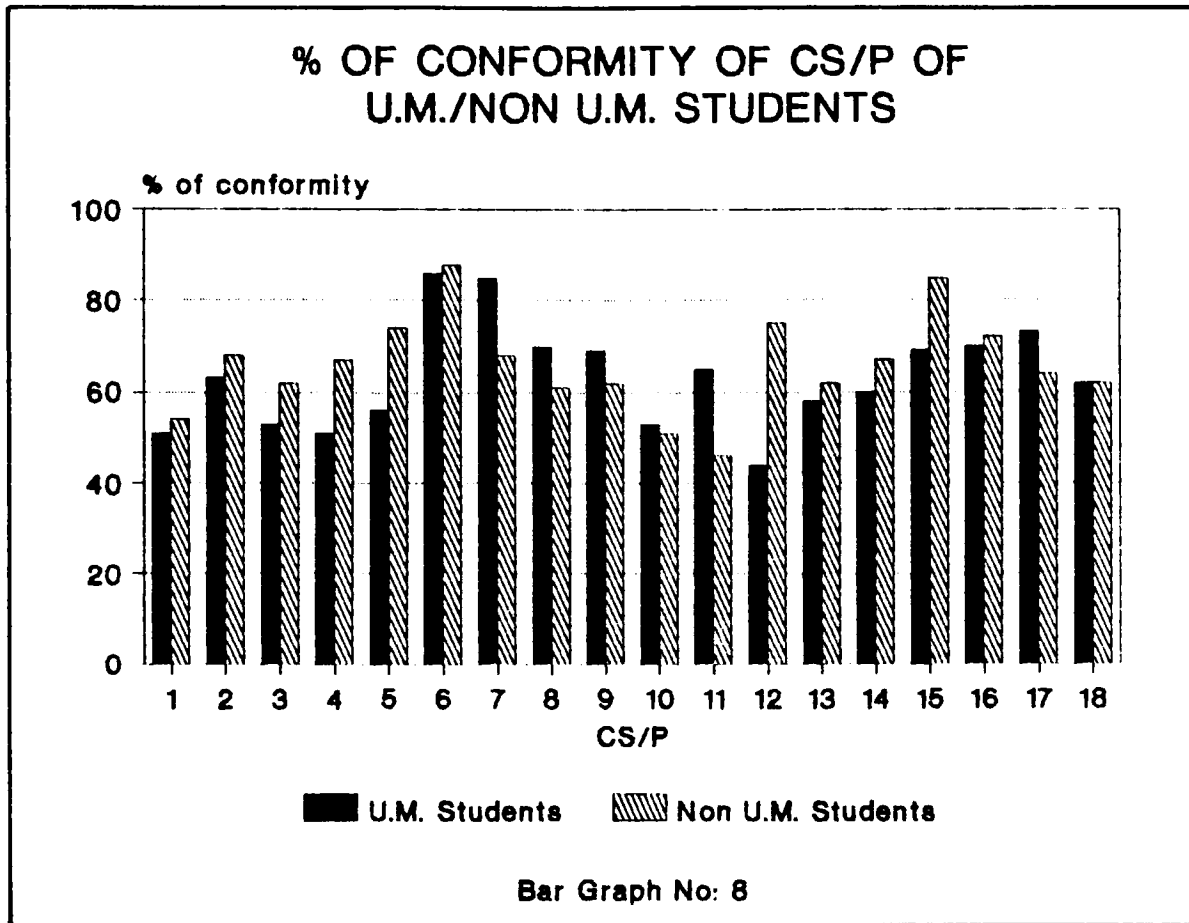
PROFILE OF STUDENTS' RESPONSES ON C.S. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE



PROFILE OF USE OF C.S. ON ACTUAL PERFORMANCE TASKS



Bar Graph No: 6



APPENDIX D

Samples of NNS and NS Data

Conventions of Transcription

- [] --- direct translation of the L1 word/phrase to English.
- () --- contextual background information about text/topic/subject
- < > --- overlapping speech
- --- unfilled pauses
- *** --- unclear stretch of speech
- (?) --- authenticity of the previous word uncertain
- (????) --- word unclear and hence untranscribable
- ! --- high tonal patterns, sound effects, interjections, etc.

Subject no.: 1
Faculty : Academy of Islam
Ethnic group/Year: Malay/ third year
Task 1: Free dialogue
Topic : Subject's background info.

Interviewer: Can you start by introducing yourself to me?
Subject 1 : I have eh..mother..father and three sisters..
Interviewer: Three sisters?
Subject 1 : uhm...(nod)
Interviewer: Where..where are you from?
Subject 1 : Trengganu (East coast of Malaysia)
Interviewer: Trenggany?
Subject 1 : (nod)
Interviewer: Can you tell us about your educational background..
former schools?
Subject 1 : ehm..I study English uhm..standard one to six...
and then I study...I learn at Sekolah Kebangsaan
Lembah Pradu..I (look at interviewer for help)
Interviewer: resume my studies...
Subject 1 : oh yes! I renew my studies at Sekolah Kebangsaan
Tok Jerih uhm...I learn at this school..uhm..from
standard one to five and then I renew my studies
at College Zainal Abidin
Interviewer: Can you tell us a little bit about your hobbies?
Any hobbies?
Subject 1 : I ...like reading..learning and (laugh) cooking...
Interviewer: Yes..alright..can we start right away then? wait!
before that..can I ask you a question? Do you have
any problems in language...in learning English as
a second language?
Subject 1 : Yes..I have many problems...I think that because
uhm...I think at my house..I thinklah (Malay
colloquial use of suffix)...my house before now
uh..no..no..err..kemudahan apa?
[dir.transl."what is the word for facilities?"]
Interviewer : facilities!
Subject 1 : ah..no..no facilities like television and so on
and I think it is more problem to me to learn
English as a second language...
Interviewer: I see...Are you happy with the English syllabus?
Subject 1 : Yes..
Interviewer: Oh you are quite happy with the way things are..
but perhaps you would like to give some sugges-
tions as to how the teachers can improve? Any
suggestions?
Subject 1 : I think teachers must be..do comprehension and err
perbualan apa?
[dir.transl." what is the word for conver-
sations?."]
Interviewer: conversations!
Subject 1 : ah! yes! and conversations between teachers and
students...

Interviewer: so..alot more oral activities..
Subject 1 : yes..

Task 2: Describe and Match Cartoon Strips
Cartoon Strips 2. "Guilt"

Interviewer: let's move to the cartoon strips. This is a cartoon strip and it tells a story. Can you retell the story?

Subject 1 : (looking at the cartoon strips)...uhm..I think.... I thinklah Muslim..throw a fire into the pail..I think..in the pail have many oil and rubbish and then when the **manchis** [dir.transl."**matches**"] into the pail..the fire...**meletop apa?** [dir.transl."**how do you say exploded?**"]

Interviewer: exploded

Subject 1 : ah! the fire exploded and then..he..he..before this he don't think the fire and...the rubbish and the oil exploded and then he sit on the pail

Interviewer: the what happens?

Subject 1 : and the after that...the..err..**punggong apa?** [dir.transl."**what is the word for buttocks?**"]

Interviewer: oh..uhm..the back of his..< >Subject 1: yes! after the back of his...err...**terbakar apa?**

[dir.transl."**how do you say burnt?**"]

Interviewer: burnt

Subject 1 : ah..got burnt

Task 2: Describe and Match Cartoon strips
Cartoon Strips 1: catching A Thief

Interviewer: now for the last one..another cartoon strip.. can you retell the story please?

Subject 1 : looking at this cartoon strip..I think at this cartoon...a thief want..to take the ticket and she want to say..pay back the robbery..and then I think he don't have uhm...money...after that he..**menumbok apa?**

[dir.transl."**how do you say punched?**"]

Interviewer: punched!

Subject 1 : hah! he start to punch the **mirror** [Malay synonym for the word "glass] and the two boys...see what he do...and then he...I think he take...**apa ni?**

[dir.transl."**what is this?**"]

Interviewer: try to continue on your own..

Subject 1 : and then...the boy..the two boys...want to catch the robbery...after that three...three person two boys and one girl..uhm..and they are..**peristiwa apa?**

[dir.transl."**how do you say event?**"]

Interviewer: this event.

Subject 1 : ah! this event and the two boys...the two boys

catch the robbery and they...they..tarik apa?
[dir.transl."how do you say pulled?"]

Interviewer: pull!

Subject 1 : they pull the shirt..her..his shirt..and pull the
hair...one pull the shirt..and one pull the hair..
and then I think 3 person at the picture number
three (subject meant the third sequence)
told others..tell...wartawan apa?
[dir.transl."how do you say reporters?"]

Interviewer: reporters!

Subject 1 : yes..reporters to take pictures what about...oh..
what word you teach just now? oh! event! this event!

Task 1: Translation

Interviewer: o.k. this is a newspaper article...It's in Bahasa
Malaysia. Can you translate them into English?

Subject 1 : (long pause)o.k... Police catch one boys about
thirty five years. I think the police catch the
two boys because he...maybe he..he robbery the motor
cycles and buying... and sells..uhm...harga murah?
[dir.transl."how do you say at a cheap price?"]

Interviewer: cheap price!

Interviewer: ah! cheap sales and buying them cheap sales..and
sells the cheap sales at the kampung. The boy....
uhm..di tahan apa? [dir.transl."how do you say
arrested?"]

Interviewer: arrested!

Subject 1 : the boy arrested at the...semasa menunggang apa?
[dir.transl."how do you say while riding?"]

Interviewer: while riding!

Subject 1 : yes! while riding...the boy arrested while riding..

Subject no. : 2

Faculty: Academy Islam

Ethnic group/Year: Malay/third year

Interviewer: Do you want to start by introducing yourself to me?

Subject 1 : I am a student..second year! eh! no! third year! in
faculty Usuluddin of University of Malaya..uhm..
my..I want to introduce..I want to tell about my
family...yeah!..my background family...I'm the
oldest and have four brothers and four sisters and
my father and my mother just a housewife..my hobby
reading...

Interviewer: what kind of things do you like to read?

Subject 1 : I like to read story books and economic books..
Interviewer: Do you have any problems in acquiring English as a second language here at University of Malaya? Do you have any language problems in English?
Subject 1 : I have most problems in English. Firstly...firstly the **big problem** [" big" as used here maybe a synonym for "main"]...I understand what other people speak I can't speak well..responsible...response...
Interviewer: Why do you think you have such problems?
Subject 1 : I think we all in the faculty not very (?)practise in English..
Interviewer: oh! so very little opportunities to speak the language!
Subject 1 : Yes!
Interviewer: Are you satisfied with the English syllabus here? Do you have any suggestions perhaps to share.. to improve the language classes here?
Subject 1 : I'm not so happy about the syllabus now but maybe the problem...the problem is to..no response ah..to improve the language of the students..I thinks the Pusat Bahasa [dir.transl."Language Centre"] must ah...change the syllabus...the syllabus must try to...to give opportunities to students how they can speak English.
Interviewer: hum! I see! Well..thank you

Task 2: Describe and Match the Cartoon Strips

Cartoon strips 2. "Guilt"

Interviewer: Now for the second session. This is a cartoon strip. Can you retell the story in English?
Subject: O.K. I just try.
Interviewer: Ya.
Subject: This picture show the..the boys..ahh..play..play this one (look at interviewer for help) and he throw out..in the pail. In the second picture, he showed, when he see..... what's this? (look at interviewer for help)
Interviewer: smoke
Subject: ahh..when he see the smoke...(pause) and the third picture. He is surprise when the police come and he..stand on the pail..Finally, he's confused that his buttocks was fired.
Interviewer: Thank you. Now for the second cartoon strip. Do exactly the same thing.
Subject: This picture is about catching a thief. First picture indicate the situation that once robber wants to rob one shop and two boys investigate. The second...ah..the boys..the two...both of boys chased him and the third picture, the two boys catch the thief.The fourth picture show that this situation is just shooting film.

Task 1: Translation

Interviewer: Yes. Now for the last task. This is a newspaper clipping. Can you translate it into English?
Subject: The man that..eh...believed thief motorbike was catch. The police was catch one man thirty five years...that's responsible eh..that's believed responsible to ..to thief motorcycle and buy it with the cheaps..cheap price in village and he...(point at the word "arrested" for help)
Interviewer: arrested
Subject: He arrested when he...(point at the word as an attempt to ask help from interviewer)
Interviewer: riding a motorcycle
Subject: when he was riding a motorcycle that's reported.
Interviewer: Thank you.

Subject number : 3

Faculty: Academy Islam

Race/Level: Malay/third year student

Interviewer: Good morning! Shall we begin? Can you start by introducing yourself to us? Tell us a little bit about your family.
Subject: Yes. My name is Norsiah Ramli. I born in Klang, Selangor. I have 10 brothers and sisters. My father was death about three months ago. My mother is a housewife. And I am the third of my family.
Interviewer: Can you tell us a little about your family?
Subject: My father..when my father..died....he works as a police and he always on transfers from place to another place..and the first time...my early... study...I study at the place in Ipoh...from standard 1 to 4. Then I continue my studies at MGS Selangor there until SPM exam..
Interviewer: Can you tell us a little bit about your hobby?
Subject: About my hobbies..The hobbies that I like is to.. is cooking reading, sewing and I also like doing craft work
Interviewer: Can you tell us if you have any language problems in acquiring English as a second language? Maybe in oral or written English?
Subject: Yes. I think I **can't** ...I **can't**..**cannot**..when I speak..I **can't** speak in proper grammar.
Interviewer: I see. Why do you think you have such problems? Do you have have any reasons ?
Subject: I think that I..when ..reading..reading..the types I want to read is too hard..I can't understand...
Subject: So you have reading problems.
Subject: Yes, Reading and also talking.
Interviewer: so what do you suggest the teachers here should do?
Subject: do more oral speaking..

Task 2: Describe and Match Cartoon strips

Cartoon Strips 1: Catching A Thief

- Interviewer: Let's run along to the second session quickly.
(giving subject the cartoon strip) This is a cartoon strip. Can you retell the story in English?
- Subject: (looking at the cartoon strip) The theme of the story is catching a thief and I see there is...there is..... **penggambaran apa?**
[lit transl."how do you say filming?"]
- Interviewer: filming
- Subject: The story is about a man who is wearing .. **baju belang apa?**
[lit.transl."how do you say striped shirt?"]
- Interviewer: striped shirt
- Subject: He is wearing a striped shirt and he is broking down the window..Suddenly..two boys saw the man and the man...then.. they..**kejar apa?**
[lit.transl."how do you say chased?"]
- Interviewer: chased
- Subject: and the...I can see the second picture. The man is handing a watch..at the end..the boys catch the man and they...(use body language to indicate the word "hit")
- Interviewer: hit
- Subject: they hit him. The boys is not...doesn't know the man is on..the shooting and they were surprise. The director of the video films is very angry because the boys disturb..had disturb the shooting.
- Interviewer: Yes, thank you.

Task 6: Role Plays

Situation 1: errant student apologizing to lecturer

Subjects: 1 and 2

- Subject 1: Good morning teacher! I'm sorry I cannot pass up my work today because...uhm.. I have not finish it
- Subject 2: Why?
- Subject 1: I have many problems..I cannot do the work when I think of...uhm..problems..
- Subject 2: Of course your problem is **disturbing...is disturbing you...but you must not forget...your study must come first...you cannot play...do this! o.k.?**
- Subject 1: o.k.! Tomorrow I will pass up my work...

Task 2: Describe and Match Cartoon strips

Cartoon Strips 2: "Guilt"

- Interviewer: Yes. This is the second cartoon strip. Can you do the same thing?
- Subject: The..in this cartoon, I can see that is the boys who is wearing a **songkok** and a **baju Melayu**
[lit.transl."Malay cap" and "Malay male garment" respectively] and he is playing with the .. **mercun apa?** [lit.transl."how do you say fire-crackers?"]

Interviewer: fire crackers
Subject: He's putting the fire-cracker in the pail..suddenly he saw ...a policemen. He's very frightened and then he's sitting at the pail. After the police has leave, the boy feel very hot and the effect is her..her..shirt is..**apa terbakar?**
[lit.transl."how do you say burnt?"]
Interviewer: burnt
Subject: His shirt is burnt

Task 1: Translation

Interviewer: Yes, thank you. now this is a newspaper clipping. It's in Bahasa Malaysia. Can you translate it in English?
Subject: (looking at the newspaper clipping then pointing to the unknown word in an attempt to get help from interviewer)
Interviewer: arrested
Subject: The man who is a..suspicious..what?(pointing to another unknown word)
Interviewer: steal
Subject: ..stealing motorcycles is...The police arrested one uhm...a **people**..[dir.transl."one person"]...thirty-five years...responsible to steal the motorcycle.. buying it by...very cheaper in the village. He arrested during motorcycle...reported lost..
Interviewer: Thank you.

Task 2: Describe and Match Cartoon Strips

Cartoon strips 2. "Guilt"

Subject 3: ah..the story is about **Hari Raya** [a Muslim's festival...and then in this cartoon says..one of the boys...have a fire **err..fire flower** [dir.transl."fire-works"]..he throws the fire-flower in the pail and then...he got hurt..

Subject no.: 81
Faculty : law
Year/Ethnic group: 3rd year/Indian

Task 2 : describe and draw

Picture 2: items in a Science laboratory

Subject 81: These are items in a lab. The first one is on the top shelf on your left hand corner..it is something like a container...but it is round at the bottom... very round bottom and it has a long neck.o.k.?
(looking at subject 76). The second item is just a plain glass beaker..a round thing.. (looking at herpartner's drawing).yes! yes! the third item is also like the first one..but this time the round bottom has a flat surface to it..(using hand gestures to potray the item)..yes! like that!...the fourth item is on the second shelf in the middle stance..it has a triangular-shaped glass bottom

with a long neck..I've forgotten what they call these in the Science lab?

[looking at Subject 76 for help]
what are these called?

Subject 76: Oh those! yeah..uhm..they are conical flasks if I'm not mistaken..

Tasks 3: Describe and Match cartoon strips

Cartoon Strips 4: Disaster at the salon

Subject 81: This lady wants to perm her hair so she goes to a beauty salon and...the assistant of the shop puts in the curlers..so she did her up and put her under the dryer...and what happens..what happens next was after this lady sat under this very serious looking machine and she..started to go to sleep...the person who did her hair up tripped over the wires connected to the machine behind her and as a result...the machine fell and covered the lady's hair..it was a short circuit or something... but the end result was the lady's hair got burnt...

Subject no.: 82

Faculty : education

Year/Ethnic group: 2nd year/Chinese

Cartoon Strips 1. Catching A Thief

Subject 82: there is a store...and there was a man..**cuba nak merompak** [lit. transl."**attempt to rob**"]...the man came to the store...and steal the watches..watches.. two boys..catch him and they climb on him..there.. the people see them..then they go to see policeman.. he gave them reward..

Task 3: Describe and Match cartoon strips

Cartoon Strips 4 : Disaster at the salon

Subject 82: this lady...I think she wants to perm her hair or something..so they put a...a...machine over her hair..I think to curl the hair or something..so she sits there for some time. Then an accident happen. The shop assistant got her left leg around the wire which was connected to the machine. The machine broke and fell over the lady's head and her hair got burnt. The lady was very upset and the shop assistant was very scared and red in the face...

Task 2 : Describe What You See

Picture 1: a native of Malaysia

Subject 82: he's wearing **kalong-kalong** [lit. transl."**chains**"] and erm.. (suddenly burst into a string of L1 phrase) **macam kain cawat yang orang selalu pakai kat hutan..**

Interviewer: could you do it in English please?

Subject 82: oh! sorry! yes...he is wearing also many feathers in his hair..looked very serious...and there is a little boy at the back...must be at an exhibition ..he looked very..very serious and it looked like a very hot day..that's all..

Subject no.: 83

Faculty: Academy of Islam

Year/ethnic group: second year/Malay

Task 2: Describe and Match Cartoon Strips

Cartoon Strips 1: Catching A Thief

Subject 83: The first picture shows a man in white shirt thief ..thief... some jewellery..

Subject 84: steal some jewellery! (correcting her partner)

Subject 83: yes..steal some jewellery..he goes to jewellery shop and then steal some jewellery...two boys saw...the man...and they catch him because he was thief..some people also saw him thief the things...the two boys catch him and beat him...the police saw this and stop them in third picture..

Subject 84: third picture?

Subject 83: yes...o.k.?

Subject 84: (rearranging the cartoon strips)

Task 2: Describe What You See

Picture 2: caricature of Albert Einstein

Subject 83: this picture is an...uhm...**dream** [subject maybe trying to use direct translation here as the Malay word for an abstract could be translated as "dream"] ..it's not true..just for fun...picture for fun... picture of a man with big head..very long white hair..he looks very funny..

Interviewer: why is that?

Subject 83: well...he has small legs..small hands but big head... look like uhm...an ant (laugh)..he got a stick in hand...got tree at..behind...that's all..

Task 3: Free narration - Group Discussion

Topic : Mothers

Subject 83: I have a mother..she is 65 years old. Not so old but she has many illnesses....she was not strong..tired ...walk so slow... (mimics the look of tiredness and slowness of the walk) sometimes she doesn't do any work all day..just sleep and we have to feed her,

bathe her, comb her hair..do everything..for her..
it's hard for her..she cannot help being old but I
know she's very unhappy...when she was younger...she
works so hard

Subject 92: all mothers like that! they all cannot sit..want to
work all the time..my mother also like that

Subject 83: yes..very very active woman..and when she's busy..
she's happy...some people are happy only when they
are busy and when she cannot do any work..she feels
very unhappy..she always cries..says she's useless
now..(grows sad and quiet)

Task 2: Group Discussion

Topic: Woman's liberation

Subject 83: But look at now..look at before. Now if you tell
your wife "please..err..bring..I want some water",
she'll say, "go and take it". But before..they
cannot say that..like our grandmother..They can't
say that. If her husband say "I want water" she run
to get water. But look now..err..teenager very
uhm.. very rude..they shout at their mother..when
they marry they shout at their husband..not like
before..it is very changed

Task 6: Free narration

Topic : Work ethics

Subject 83: ..that's the problem...so from morning to night
everybody must go out to work whether they like it
or not because they must find money to..ehm..support
their family..to put food on the table..sent..sent
their children to school..but for some people it is
a hobby..because they are rich..poor people go
out to work because they must..they don't like it
because their job is not important..office-boy...
delivery boy...but it pays them money but for rich
people they do it because it's fun..sometimes it
gives them a reason to live..(laugh) I always
believe rich people must find work to make them
feel normal..because they have everything...so many
people do things for them..they don't have the
pleasure to enjoy doing these..simple things
like..ehm..going to shop for food all these servants
to do these things..washing their car..I always help
my father wash his car and it's a pleasure to me
(laugh) after you clean the car and waxed them..you
sit back and watch the car shine in the sun..oh!
it's a very good feeling..but I think the rich will
never feel any of this..

Task 5 : Free narration

Topic: description of a wonderful friend

Subject 83: I got a birthday present by my friend yesterday...it

is really beautiful...the colour is dark...the size is small... it is a...erm...it made of glass... very..very nice decoration for...erm... house...you put it on table...make house look nice...I showed it to everyone...they also like it..

Subject no.: 84

faculty/Race/year : English/Indian/3rd year

Task I: describe what you see

Picture 1: a native of Malaysia

Subject 84: This is a picture of a Malaysian native..don't know from what tribe but he is wearing his traditional warrior costume.. complete with..what looks like a head-dress...you wear it on your head..and uhm.. there are feathers on it..colourful feathers...He is also wearing alot of jewellery on his arm and also around his chest and waist..Quite an interesting facial expression..that's all..

Task 2: Describe and Draw

Picture 1: Human face on an apple

Subject 84: draw an apple...big one on a full page..uhm...now draw the eyes..on the top part...two eyes on top..(looking at Subject no: 85) you know...like human eyes..two human eyes o.k.?

Subject 85: (looked puzzled)

Subject 84: then draw a pair of nose below the...(looking at the drawing of Subject no.:85)...eyes! draw two eyes..

Subject 85: like this?

Subject 84: yes! yes! that's it...now draw the nose..yes! yes! now draw the mouth..

Subject 85: big or small?

Subject 84: not so big..ordinary size..smiling mouth...

Subject 85: like this?

Subject 84: uhm..bigger...yes! that looks o.k. Want to see the actual picture? (showing the picture to her partner)

Subject 85: oh! like that! (laugh)

Task III: Group discussion

Topic 1: The right to vote

Subject 84: We all have the right to vote..Must use this right well..

Interviewer: Do you go out to cast your vote on election day?

Subject 84: Yes I do! you know when we get to the place..place where people put their name to choose the leaders of the country...well...vote place? voter's house?... where the people put the cross on the paper and put the paper in the box...?

Interviewer: Yes..go on..

Subject 84: Well..sometimes I even work there..they pay quite well and I like being there..I can vote and make money at the same time (laugh)..everytime election takes place..I always make sure I get a job there..my uncle..he is quite an important man in UMNO (political organization) and he always know when things happen and he tells me when to go and apply for the job..uhm about voting..sometimes I think I am not voting for the person but the party...I like I don't like the lady who is now our MP for Daerah Banting (name of a district in Malaysia) but if I don't vote for her the PAS (a rival political party) will win...and make things worse..at least this lady is UMNO member and they..they will look at her and tell her if she does any wrong..so even though I don't like her.. I still vote for her..

Subject 87: yes..but at least you get to vote..some countries you vote but there is already..uhm..already their paper there..

Interviewer: paper already there? I don't understand?

Subject 84: she meant there is cheating..the political parties want to win..they make sure they win..so what you vote don't count.. they win anyway..

Subject 90: yes..that can happen..but I think in our country.. not bad.. no cheating..

Task 4: Group discussion

Topic 2: Personal opinion on the subject of religion

Subject 84: Well..life is quite tough.. can be so hard...God creates..alot of challenges and obstacles but you are not a doll... < > Subject 87: you mean..you are not a puppet..

Subject 84: yes..we are not a puppet..not a doll..There is the right path to happiness and there is also the wrong way to hell..you pick which one you want to go and as I've said..you are not a doll your future lies in your hands...religion provides you with the guidance and with it you can make out which way to go for your own safety...

Subject 85: It is up to us to make our live useful..to contribute to the world..we can do it..if we really believe..

Subject 87: but you must also know how to go? Sometimes there are things..you get lost and confused..so you need..uhm..need people like the priest..the teacher..the parents..friends.. to help you when..you get confused or else you cannot make the right decision..sometimes you get emotional..

Subject 88: yes..we always make the wrong decision when we get emotional

Subject 84: that's why God create our brains..so we should be able to think carefully..not let our emotions take over..

Subject no.: 85

Faculty/Race/year: English/Chinese/third year

Task 2: Group discussion

Topic 1: A woman's place - office or home?

Subject 85 : I think the main reason for more divorce is because women are not accepting the situation. There is a lot of wives who were accepting things because they didn't have independence. Because they were not able to work, they accept more things. But now they have more independence..they are more able...they are more able!..before they were not independent, and that's why they're..because they accept.. not because they agreed to it but.. they cannot do anything. They had to stay...what can they do?..no money..where to go..who will give food..they are scared to run any where..they think it is going to be worst..so they stay...with their husbands unhappy but at least there is food and place to sleep..

< > Subject 88: they get beaten if they try to run anywhere..

Subject 86: yes..and now not like that..woman also help their husbands to bring money in..husbands now not old-fashioned like olden days..they feel better..not have to work so hard... because the wife helps to make his responsibilities less..

Subject 88: and also husbands today..now help in the kitchen too .. they help with the children..last time..you will never find them

in the kitchen.. < > Subject 85: oh! I think they are the same..not many are modern Maybe in America

but in Malaysia
they are still so
so..primitive

Subject 88: Maybe not Malay husbands but Chinese ones
now o.k. already..(laugh) marry Chinese
man..don't marry these stupid Malay ones..

Subject 85: (laugh)

Free narrative

Topic 2: Growing up with responsibilities

Subject 85: Here in Malaysia..a bit difficult to grow up. Our
parents are so protective..don't do this..don't do
that..we cannot even try to be independent until we
are old and has jobs and married..not like in other
countries..like America..everyone there must be
independent even at young age because their
parents wants them out..don't want to keep
on feeding them..I don't know..so different here..
and America..I think American girls...young. Young
people look like...American people look like...
American young people look like..older than their
age, I think. I have a pen-pal from California..we
have been friends a long time..She sent pictures to
me..she is only 16 years old but she look..(laugh)
like if she is Malaysian I think she is 26 you
know..really big and wear clothes like for old...
no...26 wear..I don't know what they eat..Must
be all that MacDonalld (laugh)

Task 2: Group discussion

Topic 3: Growing up

Subject 85: As we are all big enough..we have to shoulder some
responsibilities..which we didn't think we have to
when we were little..things like looking after our
parents..to see that they are o.k. physically...if
not we are obliged to take them to the doctors if
they are ill.. and also things like giving them
enough money so they can support themselves just as
they have supported us when we were still in
school...we also have our brothers and sisters to
take care of..it's quite a tough position
really..quite demanding...but that's what life is
about..

Subject No.: 87

Faculty/Race/Year: Education/Malay/3rd year

Task 1: free narration

Topic: First year at college

Subject 87: ...the orientation was bad..because the people..the
seniors uhm..they like..like uhm..**the fence is eating
the rice..** [subject is using direct translation of
a Malay proverb to convey her frustrations of the

attitude of the seniors who in her opinion have let the juniors down]. they are the ones... must help us but they..they are the one who was bad...show bad examples..

Interviewer: Tell me how? How did they show bad examples to you?

Subject 87: uhm..they shout at you..they don't help..only shout.. make you feel bad..I don't know how to get to library ..so I ask them.. they don't show me the way..they seniors..they must help... we.. new..new students..how we know! they shout..I was so angry..I feel so bad..

Interviewer: maybe they want you to be independent..they want to train you to find out things for yourself..not depend on anybody..they want you to be able to do things by yourself..perhaps you learn and remember better through mistakes....

Subject 87: ah! not true..I don't like it..this is not training.. this only make you feel bad..if you feel bad how can you learn anything..I don't agree (became silent)

Task 2: debate

Topic: A woman's place - home or at the office?

Subject 87: ...I think woman should stay at home and look after the children..if not these children will not grow into..responsible people..influenced by western...

Subject 85: not every children who has mother working grow up bad... < >Subject 87: I tell you! it can really be bad..

Subject 85: but uhm...err..not true all the time..how to say? (long pause)..the mother..the mother...

Subject 87: no! if you really think about it you will agree with me..it's really bad for the children...they need a moth.... < >Subject 85: no! no! how to say...**(thumps her fists on the table loudly in frustration)**...I don't know how to say it but err. the children don't need mother all the time..the the..how to say people who looked after the children?

Subject 87: you mean..baby-sitters?

Subject 87: yes!

Subject 87: why are you so angry? I cannot talk like this...can we do this some other time? (looking at the interviewer)

Interviewer: o.k.

Tasks 2: Describe and draw

Picture 2 : Items in a lab

Subject 87: You have to draw 4 items..three of them on top..top flat level..and one on the bottom level.. The first item is a science instrument..and the shape is...like a bottle..the bottom part is like this (demonstrate the shape with finger gestures) o.k.? get that? (looking at the picture drawn by partner) ..yes! It has a long neck..yes! yes! like that! and the second thing..sphere...round bottom glass...a... round bodied flask..with a flat bottom and an open glass neck that is quite long... this item is certainly bigger than the other two... o.k.? the last item..is on bottom level..and the shape is like a pyramid...it has a three sides...Not close on top but has an opening with tube on top..like a pyramid. (looking at her partner's drawing)..yes..it has a long neck too..go straight up..yes! I suppose that looks like my drawing..

Task 3: Free narrative

Topic 1 : Life on campus

Subject 87: Where I live there is a place where you can eat outside your dorm..you know when you are fed-up with dorm food you can go there..must pay of course but better..the eating place is not like restaurant ...you have here (using his left hand) many stores with different food..then you take your food and move along the line here (drawing the physical set up of a cafeteria)...you pay at the end of the line..no one to ask you what you want..you take food yourself..canteen? oh no!...uhm..

Interviewer: oh you mean a self-catering cafeteria sort of thing!

Subject 87 : yes..like that kind of shop... so it's not bad..I can go there when I have some money..if not eat at the dorm..free..no need to pay..food bad but just shut-up and eat..no money..no talk!
(laugh)

Subject no.: 88:

Faculty: Education

Race/year: Malay/second year

Task 3: Describe And Match cartoon strips

Cartoon Strips 4: Disaster at a beauty salon

Subject 88: Jane goes to the beauty salon to have her hair permed and tinted. So they put the curlers on and in the process of perming and drying up her hair they used an equipment...this equipment ...this equipment

was of...electrical in nature..It's this big machine which they put over her head and she sits there till it's done. Before that..in the midst of it all...one of the shampoo girl tripped over a wire and this causes the machine to fall over Jane's head. Jane's hair got all burnt as a result and the cartoon strip ends with Jane looking very furious and the shampoo girl all flustered and frightened.

Task 3: Describe and Draw Cartoon Strips

Cartoon Strips 2: a clever dog

Subject 88 : the first picture..the boy..the boy is with his friend in..in..the..**padang apa?**

[dir.transl."how do you say field?"]

Interviewer: field

Subject 88 : ah..yes..in the field...so his friend throw one shoe in the field..and ask dog go and get it..the third picture dog get the shoe...fourth picture..a man came out and he looked angry I don't know why..maybe...dog bite his leg..

Task 1: Free narrative

Topic 1: Orientation Period revisited

Subject 88 : you have an orientation period o.k.? And they have these....there is another group of students who control the place..I don't know how to say in English. perfect..pre.. I don't know...they tell you to do many many things...like wake up at 3 o'clock!! clean their clothes! go! go! go! singing songs until you sick! they shout at you o.k.? unfair all...life hard! but you must do it..in the end..you learn alot ..you are friends with the seniors..before..you look at them and don't like them...now I know they are good..they just want me to be strong..they try make everybody talk to everybody..if no orientation I won't talk to them...now it's good..

Task 5: Free narrative

Topic 2: Friendship

Subject 88: I have a very nice friend..She is...she is...she is big (mimics the "bigness") ..got child..(use hand gestures over her stomach to indicate pregnant person) so she cannot do many jobs. Just rest and take easy...I visit her and cook for her sometimes ..It should be like that..She is a good friend.. very woman...some woman like man..act like man but she is very woman..different y'know..a woman is **very...so smooth..yah...soft!...not strong...** but some woman like man..she not like that....

Task 2: Group discussion

Topic 3: Hardship builds character

Subject 88 : sometimes we want more things..other people one because better than ours....say my neighbour buy

very nice car...new and style...I look and see how nice...but it for him ..not for me..I want the car but cannot take..his chair..that is him...not for me..
[Thou shall not covet thy neighbour's property]

Interviewer: I don't understand what you are trying to say?

Subject 85: she meant..even though your neighbours have more.. better things than you..you cannot take them and use them..although life is so unfair..you may need them more than your neighbour but you must not < > Subject 88: God has something when he do this..maybe when you are poor you are better..good but if rich..you very bad..very bad man

Subject 85: yes..I believe most rich people are bad anyway... (laugh) all of them only think about themselves ..they think they are so special...they don't realize without the money they are nothing..no brains..maybe there are good rich men in this world..but (laugh) I have never met them..must be very few..Most rich people are all bloody bastards!

Subject 88 : why you use..I don't know what to say here....don't have to use very bad words...not nice for lady here to hear..very bad words..not nice...how to say? good people don't..(pause) just say what you want to say and go..
(Subject meant to say " don't use vulgar language /profanity")

Task 3: Free Narration

Topic 4: War and Its Implications

Subject 88: Many countries now war..terrible..use many weapons.. all new different types..many people die..more painful now than before and they use new tactics ..use many tricks.. But if necessary in other country...er...they use ehh...plaaaants! For no knows the people no..no saw that the tank...
(note : subject meant to explain the word "camouflage") so the color trick people..they don't see..they get killed.. also now use uhm...special water..throw from sky..down..very powerful..people skin get...uhm..get... burnt.
(note: subject meant to say "acid rain") and they die very quickly..terrible war now...everywhere...

Interviewer: I'm sorry I don't understand what you are trying to say here?

subject 88: you know..they use this..chemical..very dangerous for health they kill...all these modern things..very fast kill..before not so terrible..now..very bad... more modern..more dangerous.. not progress..but very bad..

Task 2: Describe and draw

Picture 2 : Items in a laboratory

Subject 88 : there is three glass..in the picture...one glass is like a cup...you know...

Subject 89 : oh..you mean like a beaker?

Subject 88 : yes..(looking at the picture drawn approvingly) yes! like that! The next glass is round at bottom and has a long neck...yes..draw like that..next is also a round glass..but bigger (looking at her partner's drawing) no! bigger! yes! and this time on the top ..there is a glass..the glass is big and roundnext..also another cup...like before but with with long neck..

Subject 89: like this?

Subject 88: yes! yes! and the one is about..like the neck..the cylinder..like a bottle with a long neck and a big.. uhm..how to say? uhm..

Subject 89: I don't understand...

Subject 88: Put the 3 things you draw on the top table! yes! yes! now on the bottom table..one more glass..it is flat at bottom but it has triangle body.. you know..triangle? like this ! (use hand gestures to indicate the shape)..yes! last bottle..triangular.. like a pyramid...has three sides..with long neck make it go up..o.k. that is all.

Subject no.: 89

Faculty : Engineering

Race/Year: Malay/second year

Task 2: Free narrative

Topic 1: Life

Subject 89: Life..you need to be happy..don't err...don't make problem..if there is something small...small..see it small..don't make big...

[note: subject meant to say don't exaggerate the truths in life]...uhm..you must take it easy..if not..(laugh) you will..I don't know..go crazy..must relax..not so worry..worry so much also not good..you cannot sleep..and problem still there ..not go away..and you worry..you be sick..and have to go hospital..more money need..(laugh)

Task 3: Free narrative

Topic 2 : favourite nephew

Subject 89: I like to see my relative..very young boy..he is my **sister's baby..baby boy**...how to say..he is my..my relative..

(subjects meant to say "nephew")

Interviewer: you mean he is your nephew!

Subject 89: yes! oh..it's nephew?

Interviewer: yes.

Subject 89: uhm..every Saturday..sometimes I go and take him to the park play..play with swing..he likes it..play with ball..he is so cute..so small..uhm..5 years old...well that what I like to do

Task 4: Group discussion

Topic 3: Education

Subject 89: It's not..yes, from government, like er...all the people must get er..must take elementary school. But it is not necessary if...anyone with..the school, when he..er.. finish elementary school, the government don't punish...

[note: subject meant to express "only elementary education is compulsory"..you can not go and it's o.k. but you go because it's good for your
...uhm...future..job...but it's in your...hands
...nobody can say you must...all you decide...]

Subject 83: oh..she meant it's not compulsory..is that what you meant?

Subject 89: yes! no punishment if you don't go to school..

Subject 83: but it's for your own good that you must go to school..

Subject 89: I know that! but what I want to say is..it won't..it won't harm you..the police won't touch you..your mother if you don't go..

Subject 83: yes..but I wish they would..in this country..there are so many children who don't have any future ... because they don't go to school..especially in small town..

Subject 89: (angrily thumps her hands down)
I am not saying this ...you don't understand me!
(thumps her fists down on the table again)

Subject 83: hang on a minute! hey! calm down! I am not trying to prove that you are wrong..Heavens sake..can't we have a normal conversation here without you getting all angry!

Interviewer: right! Let's all take a break and calm down..

Task 2: Group Discussion

Topic 4: Witch doctors versus medical doctors

Subject 89 : ..you know when you get sick..you don't want to go to doctor....uhm..very busy..you go to man...he not doctor...

Interviewer: I don't quite understand what you mean..

Subject 89 : the man..the man not doctor..he sells uhm..cure..

Interviewer: is he a chemist? He sells medicine?

Subject 89 : no! no! chemist!

Interviewer: where do you go to see this man? In a shop?

subject 89 : uhm...sometimes you can go to his house..sometimes he come and see you..he can cure you..he very good with uhm..how you say..leaves..roots..good leaves make you better..no more sick after you eat..

Interviewer: oh! you mean medicinal herbs?

Subject 89: yes..he like magic..use white clothe..burnt the leaves...say something magic and like doctor..but not doctor..don't go.. don't go to school and learn but he very good..like doctor... can cure you..he learn many years...

Interviewer: oh you mean he's like the traditional medicine man?

Subject 89 : yes! yes! medicine man..that I want to say..so hard (laugh) you see I wanted to say the **pawang** [lit.transl."witch doctors"] because that's what we call them in the village..he can also cure me like the doctor...he use different things ...dry leaves ..uhm..water...he reads some Quran in them and ask me to drink the water..Two days after that all my sickness is gone..so I don't know..sometimes I think the **pawang** knows more than the..the doctor..there are some sickness only the pawang can cure..you go to doctor for many years no..nothing..you go to pawang you cure..quickly..don't know..depends..

Task 3: Free narration

Topic 5: a bad dream

Subject 89: When I was a little girl...my auntie took me to a.. zoo.. we want see the gorillas and the tigers. When we go..uhm... (pause) one place where there are many tigers..we stop there..there was ice-cream man selling there..and I wanted ice-cream...so I cry ..cry..and she take some money and buy one..I stand there and watch the tigers..we went home..I was very tired..I sleep.. and dream I was at the zoo..The jail was opened and the tigers came out and I ask my auntie to run..and she take me in the car.. My aunt ..we..our car..run..run..run..but the tiger is behind us..it was so real..not like dream..I cry and cry and stand up on the...chair?

Interviewer: seat!

Subject 89: seat...and my auntie woke me up and I after..I got sick 3 days (laugh)

Task 2: Describe and Match cartoon strips

Cartoon strips 3: "Guilt"

Subject 89: First picture..er..it's not clear, er..maybe er..a
pail? (rising intonation)

Interviewer: yes!

Subject 89: yes..there is a man he walks near a **cup**..he has a
cigarette in hands..he saw police man near ..
and he want to throw cigarette but cannot since it
is the law cannot throw...ehm.. **sampah**
[lit.transl. "**rubbish**"] in street...so the boy..the
sit on the **cup**..he afraid..police man...he sit on
cup..and smoke come out of **cup**..he burnt...his
back..

Subject no.: 90

Faculty/Race/Year: Education/Chinese/second year

Task 4: Group discussion

Topic 1: Law and society

Subject 90: Some law is good..like in this country nobody can
carry guns..if you have..trouble..you will be
punished...punishment is terrible..you get hang ..
..but in other countries..o.k... Like in Malaysia
..where if you are caught with a certain amount of
drugs..you get **severe punishment** like hanging..
in other countries you get **severe punishment** too
but for other deeds like murder...these **severe**
punishment are set up by the government to
discouraged people from such deeds
(capital punishment)

Task 3 :Free narrative

Topic 2: Friendship

Subject 90: I have this very nice friend. She is really the best
friend anybody can have. She is small and has these
very nice brown spots on her..I don't know what you
call them..but they make her looked very pretty..

Interviewer: you mean freckles?

Subject 90: ah..yes! freckles.. these brown spots is so cute!
she is so sweet and kind...I live in the same place
as she..we go to school together..sometimes I go
with her when she go home to see her family..all
her family is like her..very nice..She is very
clever but she never act one..not like some
people..when they get high marks they want to tell
everybody but she..she just keep quiet..nobody knows
she has the highest marks...she is also not
selfish..she teach me what I don't understand....
some people don't let you see their work..their
writings but she always try ..try to help other
people..I really like her..she also an..artist..very

good...she draws many pictures and one..eh..one..
it's er..a work of art in the wall to...to..
decorate..and it comes out from the wall..
[note: later it was discovered that subject
meant "a relief" here]
it..it won first prize in contest..very good..very
nice...it's so beautiful...she take 3 months to make
that..

Task 2 : Describe and Match Cartoon strips

Cartoon strips 4: Disaster at a salon

Subject 90: there's this lady who wants to perm her hair..she
goes to a beauty salon...and got her hair permed.
They used this hair dryer on her head and she sits
there for some time.. suddenly a girl behind her got
her..there is this..the wire..the wire become
twisted..among her foot..(subject meant to say
"entangled") and this caused the machine to toppled
over the customer's head..and burnt her
hair to cinders..she became very upset..

Subject no.: 91

Faculty/Race/Year: Engineering/Malay/second year

Task: Describe cartoon strips

Picture 1: A Malaysian scene

Subject 91 : in this picture I see a young man..he is walking
down a road ..he has a fire-cracker in his hand..
then a policeman came and since this is..fire -
are illegal in Malaysia..uhm ..the man became
frightened..he threw..he threw the fire-cracker in
a pail..nearby...he didn't realized that there is
oil in the pail..so when the fire-cracker got
in..it uhm... boom! uhm..man got hurt at back..

Task: Free narrative

Topic: Importance of religion

Subject 91 : my uncle..he..he doesn't like to be with people..he
live alone..sometimes he doesn't see anybody for
many months..his house is very far from other
people..he do everything alone
(subject meant to say her uncle is a "recluse")
and maybe it is because he is too obsessed with his
way of looking at things..his views about life ...
about religion..he is so frustrated that other
people don't share the same views about religion
with him that he decided to live without them...
religion can really do alot of damage sometimes I
think..but people believe in it and obey..it is
sometimes good...sometimes bad..if good..you don't
feel lost..nobody can make you bad..you have
religion or these inside and it helps you..some
people kill themselves because inside empty
no religion..no beliefs..so life so boring...no
..no...meaning but not too much..like some people

in Malaysia throw T.V.very very religious...they say TV bad for morale...they don't like TV, they don't like Western..they don't like Science.. all no good but not true..we must think first what is good or bad carefully..not all good..not all bad..

Free Narrative

Topic : Life

Subject 92: I don't know...sometimes I think it's..err.. it's...uhm..God's kudrat...cannot escape... [dir.transl. for kudrat = "fate"].. (learner creates a new word = L2 + Malay word to convey message) you will get it in the end... you do bad things or good things..everthing is paid back to you..nobody escapes..God will find a way to hurt you when uhm...say you hurt others no need to wait till you die for God's punishment..

Task 2: Describe and Match Cartoon Strips

Cartoon Strips 1 : Catching A Thief

Subject 91: In this cartoon strip..the thief..the thief want to..want to..err..**merompak apa?** [dir.transl."rob?"] I don't know how to say... but it is a crime.. (look at interviewer for help)

Subject no.: 92

Faculty/Race/Year: Engineering/Malay/second year

Task 3: Free narrative

Topic 1: a bad dream

Subject 92: one night I dream a very bad dream..I was walking inside one house..the house is so DARK! and we walk, walk and walk around .. around the house till we are tired

Interviewer: we? who else is with you?

Subject 92: my friend from the same village..we are good friends..we go everywhere together..in the dream..he was walking with me... and this house is also in the village..very old house..we don't like to walk there ...people..old people say the house is not safemany people die in there..and in the dream I was inside that house...I was really scared (laugh)..I woke up wet..my shirt was all wet..I...I.. perspire?

Native speakers Data

=====

Task 2 : describe and draw

Picture 2: items in a Science Laboratory

- NS16: There is 3 things on a two-floor shelf...On the top line...is a kind of a....vase with a long stem... and rounded at the bottom no! no..let me put it this way...the first thing is like a bottle with a long neck..and quite a square..at the bottom...the body looks like a pyramid...and have a...neck but it is not too long as before..as the above.. as the things above it..on the top line..there is three things.. one is round..with flat bottom..and long neck.... second..small cup.. glass cup..third..long big round glass for water and has long neck too..that's all..
- NS20: here are three types of flasks...I can't tell you their name.. they are just vessels carrying fluids. The first one is a long neck vessel with a round bottom. They are glass vessels. The second one next to it is a small round glass container for collecting water. There is 3 vessels on the top shelf and one on the bottom shelf. The third vessel next to the small round glass container is a big round bottom flask..with a long neck..the last vessel on the bottom shelf is a strange one. It has three sides like a triangle and it has a long neck too..
- NS24: now draw me four items...first of all these items are on a two-tiered shelf..o.k. that is..there's two levels to the thingy....on the top shelf..left hand side..there is what looks like..uhm...a brandy glass upside down with a bottom... yes..you've got it! the second item is a round plain beaker....uhm..it is a kind of something like a container..looking at her partner's drawing) no! smaller than that... much smaller..yes! next.. is a..bigger brandy glass..very very round at the bottom..with a long glass neck attached to it..yes! that's good..the last item is on the bottom shelf...it is triangular..they call it a conical flask..I think..also with a long neck...
- NS25: You have to draw 4 items on a two levelled shelf....The first three is on the top shelf..and the fourth is on the bottom level..The first one is what you would call a lollipop on a stick..upside down.. I mean this item has a bottom that is like a sphere...round bottom..They are all science apparatus..there are 4 of them..so I have just described to you the first item. Do you think you can draw that?

NS16: I'll try...

NS18: Just draw a picture of a lollipop upside down first..yes! yes! then where the stick is supposed to be...is the long neck attached to the item so you can pour liquids down through this long tube..yeah that would do..(Looking at Subject 86's drawings)... the second item is this round thing..for collecting water..it's an ordinary beaker I think at least that's what they used to call it back when I was in school...yes! yes! like that (looking at the drawings of her partner). The third item is a glass beaker and the shape is like a pyramid..it has three sides..not close on top but has an opening with tube on top...like a pyramid..

Task 2: Describe and Match cartoon strips

Cartoon strips 4: Disaster at the salon

NS3 : this lady..let's call her Jane..wants to perm her hair..I think so she goes to this beauty parlour and they fixed her hair up with curlers and everything ..and then..picture two....she's sitting comfortably under this hair-dryer and day dreaming... when this disaster happens..the shop assistant accidentally tripped over this wire which I presumed is attached to the ..Jane's hair dryer..the thingy which she is sitting under.. and this in turn causes the wire to pull on the thingy..and as a result of that..the thingy broke and fell on Jane... covering all of her hair and so her hair got burnt...Jane of course was furious as you can see in picture three and in the last picture..the shop assistant looked pretty worried ..she probably will get the sack..and Jane is all burnt up..fuming at the shop assistant..

NS10 : The story is about this lady..who goes to a salon to get her hair done..after getting her hair cut and tinted, they put in the curlers and...so this lady sits herself comfortably under this dryer...this great massive thing over her head...unfortunately there is another woman in the picture..must be the hair-stylist...she got her leg entangled in the wire which causes the dryer to go into some sort of short-circuit and as a result of that..the lady's hair got very burnt and she would probably cause alot of commotion judging from the look of her face..(laugh)

NS16 : Susan wants to look real nice for her new year's ball and so the morning before that..she went to get her hair done..she went to the salon and the hair stylist...so she did her up and put her under the dryer..and what happens..next..is really quite

unexpected..someone tripped over the wire which somehow is connected to the dryer and Susan's hair got burnt because of that..she looked quite a sight at the end of the picture... with her hair all black and burnt and the hair stylist..looking all red and flustered..

NS12 : Well..the story begins with this nice-looking lady going into a salon to get her hair done..they put her..under this very serious looking machine and she...sits there all relaxed and happy when disaster struck..the lady..the shop assistant accidentally got her foot entangled in the wire leading to the machine that was drying or whatever..her hair..and so the sudden jerk on the machine..broke it..and it fell on this poor lady's head..she of course got very angry because her hair is now all burnt and she started to get angry at the shop assistant who looked all dazed and flushed..

Task 6: role-plays

Situation 1.: errant student apologizing to lecturer for late work

Subject no.: 24 and 26

NS26: ...well Ms. Jones..what have you got to say for yourself?
NS24: I'm really sorry Dr.Smith but I really cannot hand in the assignment to you today
NS26: What? You cannot hand in the assignment today! Do you realize what this could do to your grades?
NS24: (laugh) ...**boy you're tough on me!** I'm really sorry but I was ill and so could you give me a few more days to finish it?
NS26: No! I'm sorry but I'm fed-up with all your excuses..no I'm not going to give you another chance..you'll just have to accept an "F" I'm afraid for your mid-term grades..
NS24: (laugh) **I'm going to get you for this!** But Dr.Smith! You can't do this to me..(laugh)
NS26: (laugh) yes I can! I'm the teacher here..what I say goes!
NS24: oh please..please Dr.Smith..I promise you..it won't happen again.. please give me a chance..I will get them done a week from today.. please..I'm begging you..(laugh)
NS26: well..in that case..alright! but I want them done in three days not one week..
NS24: Boy! you sure drive a hard bargain..(laugh) o.k.! o.k.! I will get them done in three days..
NS26: Good day Ms. Jones!

Task 6 : Role-Plays

Situation 1.: errant student apologizing to lecturer for late work

Subjects no.: 16 and 12.

- NS16 : Well...I couldn't get to do the assignment last weekend because I had to go home to be with my family..it was my parent's golden anniversary you see..I had to be there..
- NS12 : But couldn't you take the assignment with you there and try to finish them whenever you could find the time?
- NS16 : But that's impossible...I had so much to do..the parties ..the cakes to bake...**what am I saying?** (laugh) **I don't even know how to bake anything.** (laugh) uhm..yes ..you see I had to take care of my parent's golden anniversary party and there was so much work to do..you know what it's like..please don't be hard on me... I promise you the assignment will be in your mail-box first thing on Monday.just give me another chance and I will show you that this won't ever happen again..
- NS12: o.k...but if I don't see the assignment next Monday..you can be sure there will be no more compromise..I will definately give you an "F".
- NS16: yes..oh! thank you! good-bye Ma'am!
- NS12: Good-bye!
-

Task 6 : role-Plays

Situation 2. : late for an appointment

Subjects no. 22 and 23

- NS23: late as usual Jane! It's 3 o'clock now and I thought we agreed to meet at one o'clock sharp!
- NS22 : yeah..but it's not as if...**oh! I'm going to blow this one** .. (laugh) **can't seem to do this with a straight face....** (laugh) o.k!.o.k! I did wait for you outside the cinema Noreen! I really did! but you had already gone I guess..so I went home..
- NS23: of course Noreen..I waited for two straight boring hours ..did you really expect me to be there after that?
- NS22: but it wasn't my fault Noreen..The tube..I don't know.. there was a fire in one of the coach and so we all had to get down..and wait for them to clear the tracks and by the time the next train came...it was already 2 o'clock..I would have been here already if the bloody train left on time..
- NS23: there is no need to use bad language here Noreen..some things are not meant to be and our friendship is obviously one of them..(laugh)

NS22: what do you mean? You can't give up on us just because I was late for a date!

NS23: well...goodbye Noreen! I wish you well!

NS22: (laugh) hang on a minute! hey I don't know how to carry on from here... (laugh) this wasn't suppose to be in the story.. (laugh)

NS23: (laugh) I can't do it anymore..I quit! (laugh)

Task 2: Describe and draw

Picture 2: items in a Science Laboratory

Subjects : 1 and 3

NS1 : There's bottles and stuff in this picture..I don't quite know... **what are these called?** (speaking in a low voice to herself)..well.. these are things you used in the lab anyway.. (long pause after which subject refused to go on with the session)

NS3 : Come on Shelley! Give it a try...just tell me what they look like!

NS1 : No..I don't want to do this..please can we do yours instead?

NS3 : You mean you want me to do mine now?

NS1 : Yeah..

Interviewer: It's o.k. Jane..do your bit now..

(Subject later reveals that she decided not to talk about the items since she didn't know the correct scientific terms for them)

Task 2: Describe and Draw

Picture 1: human face on an apple

NS3 : o.k. now..draw a picture of an apple..a big apple about the size of the paper itself..

NS1 : (drawing the picture)

NS3 : go on..fill up all the space..yeah..now this apple happens to be a special kind..it has a human face on it..so draw two eyes on top..

NS1 : here? (pointing at top part of the apple)

NS3 : yes..two big beautiful eyes..with long curly eye-lashes!

NS1 : Does it have any eye-brows?

NS3 : I was going to come to that..let's finish with the eyes..

NS1 : Is this alright?

NS3 : Yes..that'll do..now the eye-brows..these are rather medium in length and in thickness..just an ordinary kind .. of...oh wait! On second thoughts..they are kind of go up..(use finger gestures to indicate the shape) like an arch in the middle..yeah..like that..now the lips..