University of London

Institute of Education

ESOL Department

Ph.D. Thesis

"Communicating and Learning Strategies

in English as a Foreign Language:with

particular reference to the Greek

Learner of English"

Sophia [C.] Papaefthymiou-Lytra

Thesis Supervisor : Prof. H.G. Widdowson

1981

ABSTRACT

The aim of the research reported in this thesis is to investigate the 'ways and means' that non-native speakers (and in particular, Greek learners of English) as well as native speakers of English make use of to communicate and solve problems of unhearings, mishearings, misunderstandings and lack of shared knowledge as they negotiate meanings in order to do a problem solving task. A number of taped conversations were discoursally analysed. It was found that all participants have used similar communicating/ learning strategies to organize and manage interaction in English. These strategies are distinguished into two categories: the constitutive features and the regulative features of communication. The former are made up of the overall interaction structure strategy, topic development strategy and the minimal communicating strategy. The latter are made up of strategies that regulate interaction organization and management when crises in communication arise. Participants use similar strategies to communicate because the cognitive processes that language users rely on to communicate and learn through language seem to be similar. Actually they seem to be part of the 'knowledge and experience' language users develop when mothers/adults interact with them to help them mature cognitively/perceptually/socially/linguistically in order to become competent members of the society. L_2 learners seem to have transferred this 'knowledge and experience' from L_1 to L_2 communication. The findings suggest that processes and strategies should make up the category of communication universals. They may also lead to 'learn-as-you-communicate' developments in ELT where learners may actively use their 'knowledge and experience' as processes and strategies to communicate and learn, inside or outside the classroom. Exploitation of processes and strategies

may also influence syllabus design, teaching materials, teacher/
learner roles and classroom methodology in an EFL situation in
particular.

C O N T E N T S

page

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to many people for helping me to make this
thesis a reality. I would like to express my appreciation:

to the School of Philosophy, University of Athens for the paid
leave-of-absence I was granted;

to my students at the English Department, University of Athens,
who participated in the experiments with enthusiasm;

to the Administration of state and private schools who allowed
me to conduct experiments at their schools:

> The University of Athens Experimental High School
>
> Pierce College High School at Agia Paraskevi
>
> Zografos School of English
>
> British Council Institute
>
> Hellenic-American Union School of English
>
> The International Centre School of English

to my supervisor Professor H.G. Widdowson, whose constructive
comments on my work were instrumental in my own learning;

to my parents and my husband for their loving support and encour-
agement; and finally,

to my children, Vally, aged 9, and Christos, aged 7, who, by
having to learn English as a second language in England, were
instrumental in my own appreciation of foreign/second language
learning as an alternative way of doing things.

Introduction

Recent developments in ELT have stressed the need for developing not only the learners' linguistic skills but also their communicative abilities in the L_2 so that they may become able to use the foreign language as a tool to communicate. It is common knowledge, however, to all practising teachers that L_2 learners do manage to find ways to communicate in the foreign language, no matter how poor their knowledge of the foreign language might be. The ways and means, however, that learners make use of to achieve this end are not clear to us. This has led Rivers and Temperley, 1978 - when they are discussing criteria for evaluating learners' interaction - to write:

> "... The quality of the interaction will be judged by other criteria: ability to receive and express meaning, to understand and convey intentions, to perform acceptably in all kinds of situations in relation with others. The means by which the student attains these desirable goals will be a function of personal learning strategies.* We can allow these full play through the provision of a wide choice of activity options, but we cannot determine for others what they shall be."
> (Rivers & Temperley, 1978:60)

(* The emphasis is mine.)

The present research is directed towards discovering what these ways and means are and what decides the selection of one over the other. In other words, the research aims at discovering the strategies foreign language learners (with particular reference to the Greek learner of English) make use of to sustain interaction with native speakers as well as non-native speakers in a verbal encounter. Especially I hope to locate the strategies interactants resort to in order to get messages across, negotiate meanings and keep the conversation going in face-to-face interaction.

In Chapter 1 I briefly discuss recent developments in ELT, namely, the notional/functional and the discourse-orientated

developments, and concentrate more on reservations expressed about
these developments. My main argument is that these developments
have overlooked the fact that communication is a psychological as
well as a sociological phenomenon. The sociological aspects have
outweighed psychological considerations which can lead to such
questions as how people learn to communicate and what is the
nature of communication beyond the sociological perspective.

In Chapter 2 I discuss how children learn to communicate
non-verbally first, and later on verbally, within the context of
the interactionist approach. Verbal communication presupposes
a certain cognitive and perceptual maturity in children. During
the non-verbal stage of communication, children develop their
communicative intent which serves functions that are not culture-
specific and learn many rules of communication, not as overt ling-
uistic behaviours but as psychological cognitive processes. In
his/her efforts to learn to communicate, the child is greatly
aided by the strategies mothers use in mother-child interaction.
These strategies are as much learning strategies as communicating
strategies. The same strategies the child makes use of later on
when talking to younger children.

In Chapter 3 I discuss the nature of communication in terms of
purpose of communication and communicative backgrounds of success-
ful communication; also in terms of development of communication
in face-to-face interaction and meaning in communication from the
point of view of a participant in an event, as well as of an out-
sider to the event as a function of selection and application of
strategies by speakers/hearers in natural communication. The
discussion about learning to communicate (Ch.2) and about the nature of
communication (Ch.3) leads to the argument that communication is

the outcome of the interaction of two types of knowledge: knowledge as product (i.e. linguist code, ritual culture-specific considerations, knowledge of the world at large) and knowledge as process (i.e. psychological cognitive processes) that decide on the selection and application of one strategy over another to achieve cohesion and coherence in communication. Communication can be realized in actualized language behaviour verbally or non-verbally. Knowledge as process and strategies constitutes a language user's 'knowledge and experience' of how to communicate and learn through language. As such they are universal and, therefore, transferable from one language to the other. Consequently, native and non-native speakers are expected to make use of similar strategies to communicate. And, indeed they do!

In Chapter 4 I discuss the Experimental Design. Pairs of non-native speakers, as well as pairs of non-native and native speakers were asked to construct a jigsaw puzzle. Participants, however, did not share the same factual and possibly linguistic information about the jigsaw. Consequently, they were expected to reveal the strategies they make use of to bridge information gaps, to sustain communication and negotiate meanings as they would be cooperating to do the task they were assigned, namely, to reconstruct the jigsaw puzzle.

In Chapter 5 I briefly discuss approaches to communication analysis and the difficulty discourse analysts face in order to incorporate all features involved in communication in one model for pedagogical purposes. Next I discuss a model of analysis of foreign language communication as a model of competence in organizing and managing discourse. The model is a modified version of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of classroom interaction

analysis. I discuss the structural and functional aspects of the
strategies participants (non-native speakers as well as native
speakers) make use of to communicate and learn through language.
The strategies identified are distinguished into two kinds:
macro-strategies and micro-strategies. The macro-strategies are:
topic development, overall interaction structure and the minimal
communicating strategy. They constitute what I have called the
constitutive features of foreign language communication. The
micro-strategies are strategies the participants make use of when
there are crises in communication such as unhearings, mishearings,
misunderstandings, lack of shared knowledge or silences, and con-
stitute what I have called the regulative features of foreign
language communication.

In Chapter 6 I discuss the functional properties of micro-
strategies in terms of the general and specific functions they
serve; the interpretive procedures that become suspended in the
course of interaction; how normalization of interaction is achiev-
ed, by picking up the appropriate strategy; who initiates, who
acts; their place in interaction and how they can be recognized.
Micro-strategies help interactants to regulate and sustain commu-
nication.

In Chapter 7 I discuss the pedagogical implications of the
findings reported in the present research. The findings support
learner-centred, 'learn-as-you-communicate' developments in LT.
Such developments require a change in syllabus design, classroom
methodology and teacher and learner roles in the classroom,
especially the EFL classroom.

In Conclusions and Further Research I summarize the findings,
I discuss the short-term and long-term consequences of the research

reported here and I suggest areas where further research might
be undertaken.

Chapter 1

The State of the Art

1.1 New Developments in ELT

It has long been accepted that knowing a language does not just involve knowledge of linguistic forms. Language is always used in a social context and cannot be fully understood without reference to it. Choice and understanding of linguistic forms depend on features of the social situation and the social conventions held in a particular society, as is shown in the work done in the philosophy of language (Austin, 1975; Searle, 1965), the sociology of language (Fishman, 1972; Gumperz, 1968); the ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1972b, Labov, 1972b), and interaction analysis (Sacks et al. 1974; Goffman, 1976; Schegloff, 1971).

Searle, for instance, discusses the conditions that must hold true for certain speech acts to be realized as such, basing his concept on the general notion of authority. He is mainly concerned with the meaning of the sentences and focusses more on the intentions of the speaker and the conventional linguistic devices he might use to put across his intentions. Labov, on the other hand, sets up his conditions as discourse rules and attempts to show how utterances can be interpreted as actions by reference to them. The rules have to do with social constraints like rights and obligations. His orientation is sociological whereas Searle's is philosophical.

Also Hymes argues that we cannot talk about language in terms of linguistic competence only, as is advocated by Chomsky, 1965, but we must talk about a language user's communicative competence, that is, his ability to use language appropriately. As Hymes (1964, 1972a) maintains, language users learn what to say to whom, when, and where. For Hymes, communicative competence means the

speaker's ability to produce appropriate utterances, not only grammatical sentences, because as Hymes observes, "A person who chooses occasions and sentences suitably, but is master only of fully grammatical sentences is at best a bit odd. Some occasions call for being appropriately ungrammatical." (Hymes, 1972a : 272)

In short, language is now viewed as a powerful instrument for doing things with words (as argued by the philosophers of language), as well as an accurate exemplification of the social conventions, beliefs and class divisions of a society as argued by sociologists, sociolinguists and ethnomethodologists.

ELT has been influenced by this shift of emphasis from the code to the language in use. The new developments are the notional/functional approach and the discourse-orientated approach. I shall briefly refer to them and concentrate more on reservations expressed about the functional/notional developments as well as the discourse-orientated developments.

1.2 The Notional/Functional Developments in ELT

In the realm of ELT the notional/functional approach was the first outcome of the new explorations in the nature of language.

This shift of emphasis from the situation in the situational approach to the intentions and purposes of the speaker in a more communicatively orientated approach to ELT was based on the research done by a team of experts under the auspices of the Council of Europe, (cf. Wilkins, 1973b, 1976b; Trim, 1976; Van Ek, 1975). The philosophy behind this approach to teaching and learning has been that the individual uses language (be it his L_1 or L_2) to express his intentions and purposes, to say

what he has chosen to say. He does not choose linguistic reali-
zations imposed on him by the external situation $\underline{1}/$ as is the
case with the situational approach. If this were not the case,
then individual speakers would not be able to go against the
situation and social constraints if they chose to do so. As a
result, communicative acts, such as humour, irony, disrespect
and so on, would not be known to us if choices of linguistic rea-
lization were merely imposed by the physical and social conven-
tions of a situation.

The exponents of the notional/functional approach maintain
that syllabuses and teaching materials should not be based on
linguistic grading but on the learners' needs, that is, what
purposes the learners want to learn the L_2 for. The learners
needs will tell us what notions/functions they want to express
in the L_2 for communication purposes and in which situations.
Then it can be decided what forms are appropriate for the reali-
zation of these notions/functions. Finally, the appropriate ling-
uistic realizations may be presented cyclically around certain
themes and topics. Teaching materials of this type, for instance,
can be found in Strategies (Abbs B. et al.) 1975; Encounters,
(Jupp T. et al.) 1980, among many others. (For further discussion
about notional syllabuses see Wilkins, 1976b.)

$\underline{1}/$ However, this may be the case in ritualized routines such as
         those reported by Labov, 1972c; Watson, 1975; Frake, 1964,
         among others. Labov, for instance, has worked out the rules
         for ritual insults, a language game Negro boys play in Harlem,
         New York. The participants in the game call names at each
         other as well as at each other's close relatives. In choos-
         ing the names the boys follow the rules of the game, starting
         from bad language and gradually moving to the worst possible
         language, as if on a scale of delicacy. The steps to
         follow are determined by the situation.

The aim of the notional/functional approach is to ensure that the learners know how functions and notions relevant to their   needs and the situations they are expected to be involved in are realized. The learners are then expected to use this knowledge to express their own intentions and purposes in situations they may be personally involved in.

Reservations, however, have been voiced about the notional/ functional approach as a basis for communicative language teaching. (cf. Widdowson, 1978a; Brumfit, 1978a; Hill, 1977). The main points that have been argued against it are:

   a. the difficulty in devising a taxonomy of functions/ notions that will feed back in syllabuses and teaching materials.

   b. the lack of sound grading of functions and their linguistic realizations lead to language-like rather than real language behaviour, and

   c. the insufficient attention paid to learner's own learning strategies.

Besides, I would argue here, the notional/functional approach to ELT stresses the learners' active role as speakers, that is, the learners' productive abilities, since it primarily aims at developing the learners' ability in how to ask questions; how to invite; how to refuse and so on. The other side of the communication process, that is, the receptive abilities of the learner in the context of the 'listemner who will become the next ratified speaker' has not been seriously considered. Generally speaking, this issue has been overlooked by all other approaches to ELT, too.

Communication, however, is a cooperative enterprise between participants in a   speech   event, who are members of the same

linguistic community. It involves a give-and-take process from
one individual to the other, as a speaker and listener inter-
changeably, where negotiation of meaning and compromise between
participants constantly takes place. This process is based on
an interaction of topic, the biographies of the participants,
their role, status and setting where taking the other's perspec-
tive into account is crucial for understanding communication. A
communicative approach to ELT, therefore, ought to consider both
productive and receptive abilities of participants in a communica-
tive event as complementary, not as two individual skills. In
Chapter 3 I shall discuss in detail why I think this is import-
ant for a communicative approach to ELT.

1.3 The Discourse-Orientated Developments in ELT

The above mentioned reservations on the notional/functional
developments led some scholars to look at coherent discourse as a
basis for communicative language teaching.

The exponents of discourse-orientated development in ELT
(cf. Widdowson, 1972a, 1976b, 1978b; Candlin, 1975, 1976a, 1978)
are especially concerned with the ways in which the nature of
communication as an active process might be made clear to the
language learner, that is, how

> "the exchanges between interlocutors are theoretically
> patterned and how understanding of these exchanges, and
> in particular their internal sequencing, depends on
> understanding the cultural, interpersonal and dynamic
> components of the speech situation."
>
> (Candlin, 1975 : 73)

It is hoped, therefore, that by discoursally analysing a number
of interactions relevant to the needs of the learners and the set-
ting, one can reach some conclusions on how functions and their
linguistic realizations are interrelated in the act of communica-

tion. This knowledge may feed back into syllabuses, LT mater-
ials and communicative exercises (simulations, role-playing).

Candlin et al., 1976, for instance, *describe* how
taped doctor-patient cubicle consultations were discoursally
analysed. The resulting function networks were then fed back in-
to teaching materials and communication practice exercises for
foreign doctors who came over to Great Britain for postgraduate
studies. Also in Fox, 1978, it is reported how Anglophone Cana-
dian Public Servants' telephone conversations were discoursally
analysed. The results of this analysis *were* fed back into teaching
materials and communication practice exercises, where emphasis is
given in the interplay of functions in coherent discourse. The
materials were prepared for Francophone Public Servants in the
government of Canada who must have a competent knowledge of
English to handle telephone inquiries.

1.4 Reservations about the Discourse-Orientated Developments in ELT

I would suggest, however, that there might be several reser-
vations about the discourse-orientated developments in ELT, simi-
lar in scope to those expressed about the notional/functional
developments.

First, what is the nature of discoursally analysed materials?
Can discoursally analysed materials make clear to the learner the
dynamic process of communication that constantly involves nego-
tiation of meaning in a purposeful collaboration of the partici-
pants? It seems important to carefully consider the nature of
discoursally analysed interactions for teaching purposes in the
context of face-to-face interaction. And this I will attempt
to do in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2 pp.89-93.

Second, this approach to ELT is concerned with the pattern-

ing of function networks and the interplay of functions in coherent discourse, in other words, strategies for handling communication.

Do we really need to teach the learners communicating strategies or are they part of the 'knowledge and experience' the learners learned while learning their L_1, as argued by the interactionist approach to language learning? I shall discuss this issue in detail in Chapter 2. Suffice it to say now that the present research has come to the conclusion that interaction organization is part of the 'knowledge and experience' language users have of what language is used for and how it is used. This 'knowledge and experience' the L_2 learners learned through L_1 and is transferred from L_1 to L_2 communication. This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Third, as with the audio-lingual, situational and functional/ notional developments in ELT, the discourse-orientated developments have paid insufficient attention to learners' own learning and communicating strategies in the act of communication. The former refer to the strategies learners employ in learning what they do not know but need to know in order to communicate; in other words, the way in which they handle lack of shared knowledge. The latter refer to the ways and means learners make use of to communicate, as well as how learners overcome such communicating problems as unhearings, mishearings or misunderstandings in the act of communication. Generally speaking, the discourse-orientated developments like the functional/notional ones rely heavily on the sociological aspects of language in use in actual communication. As a result the psychological aspects of language in actual communication are overlooked. "The generation of

communication," however, "is a psychological and sociological phenomenon, operating within a cultural field and contextual constraints" as Blount remarks (Blount, 1975 : 6). The discourse-orientated developments, therefore, can be better seen as a method-ological approach to developing the communicative abilities of the L_2 learners rather than a learning theory. However, as the present research indicates, the very communicative abilities this approach is aiming at developing in the L_2 learners are the learners' own communicating and learning abilities. I shall dis-cuss these issues in detail in Chapters 2 and 3. See also Chap-ters 5 and 6.

Of course, the importance of handling problems in communica-tion and of advancing the learners' knowledge of the L_2 has al-ready attracted the attention of several scholars. However, it has been seen simply as a problem of metacommunicative activities and as a teaching device, and not as an integral part of the com-municating process.

Kimball and Palmer, 1978, for instance, argue that there are two kinds of output in the communicative activity they call ' dialog game' [2] :

_____

[2]   Kimball & Palmer, 1978, report a communicative activity of
        theirs, which they call 'dialog game'. The 'dialog game'
        is an activity where a pair of learners is given a network
        of functions relevant to a specific situation with specific
        roles, such as, for instance, a clerk and a customer in a
        shop. The learners are expected to reproduce the dialogue,
        supplying the correct linguistic realizations. The choice
        depends on the situation, the roles the learners play and
        the actual meaning of what the previous speaker has said.
        In the 'dialog game' either the functions to be performed
        are given and the learner-participants supply the actual
        linguistic realizations for each function, or a list of
        possible linguistic realizations for each function for the
        learners to choose from, are supplied.

"a. The Formal Output which constitutes the dialogue
that the players construct.

 b. The Informal Output which constitutes the 'talk'
about the information in the dialogue.

    The players must engage in this kind of talk either
to answer the question [3] or when something has gone
wrong, such as when one does not understand the
other or feels the other has selected the wrong
alternative."
                      (Kimball & Palmer, 1978 : 20)

Kimball and Palmer, therefore, make a distinction between the
dialogue, i.e. the formal output, in other words, what has run
smoothly in the dialogue game, and the 'talk' i.e. the informal
output, in other words, what went wrong in the dialogue game.

Candlin, 1975, on the other hand, stresses the need for a
'metalanguage' that will allow the learners to talk about the
language they are learning. Talking about the L_2 formally and
functionally, he argues, is a technique to improve the learners'
knowledge of the L_2 so that they can understand "the cultural,
personal, and dynamic components of the speech situation." So
at Lancaster, he adds, the doctor students were encouraged to
talk about discourse development in teaching materials and to
criticize what was wrong in their performance or their fellow
students' performance in communicative activities such as role-
playing and simulations.

These scholars stress the importance of metacommunicative
talk as a teaching device so that learners can improve their
knowledge of the L_2 in terms of grammaticality and acceptability
of utterances as well as pragmatics of language use. However, as
research in mother-child, child-child interaction analysis has
shown (I will discuss this issue in detail in Chapter 2), meta-

---

[3]   A general (comprehension) question on the information
exchanged by the learners in the formal output is usually
expected to be answered after the activity is over.

communicative talk, which I would define as 'talking about what went wrong and how not to do it again, in other words, learn what you do not know in terms of grammaticality and acceptability of utterances as well as pragmatics of language use in the context of a natural verbal encounter', is part and parcel of the actual interaction. It is not something one deals with after one has finished the conversation. Suffice it to say now that the ability to deal with metacommunicative talk in interaction, is part of a language user's communicative competence both as communicating and learning abilities and is part of the 'knowledge and experience' the learner has already learned while learning the L_1. As the present research indicates, L_2 learners do transfer their ability to learn and communicate as 'knowledge and experience' from L_1 to L_2 communication as a first basis of learning and communicating through language. I would define, therefore, a language user's 'knowledge and experience' as 'knowledge and experience about how to communicate and learn through language'. The reasons why metacommunicative talk needs to be an integral part of the foreign language learning-teaching process and not simply metacommunicative activities or a teaching device will be discussed below, in section 1.5.

Finally, how can teaching materials based on discoursally analysed interactions be graded for classroom presentation? This question does not seem to have been positively answered yet.

1.5 Metacommunicative talk: an integral part of the language learning and communicating process

When the language user is engaged in a communicative situation he is expected to use language (be it L_1 or L_2) in context in order to exchange messages. The notion of context has been

broadened to include the linguistic and the cultural norms of the community (in terms of accuracy and appropriacy, Hymes, 1972b), the communicative intent of the participants in the event, their personality and attitude to both the topic and each other inter-changeably playing the roles of speaker/hearer, as well as their roles and status in society.

The information exchanged between participants in an event can be classified into three different types. The first is sometimes referred to as <u>cognitive information</u> (i.e. exchange of message) (Laver & Hutcheson (eds.) 1972). This, they write, is

> "the propositional or purely factual content in the linguistic signals exchanged."
>
> (Laver & Hutcheson (eds.) 1972 : 11)

The content and the form of the linguistic signals, they argue, evoke in the listener a particular moral, cognitive and affect-ive awareness and allow him to respond appropriately. This aware-ness is the result of the listener's socialization within the norms and constraints of his society, his sensitization to various ord-erings of society as these are made substantive to various roles he is expected to play. Participants in an event structure and perceive the world through the language they have learned to use as a means of communication (Bernstein, 1972a).

The second kind of information exchanged is the so-called <u>indexical information</u> (i.e. expression of attitudes) (Abercrombie, 1967, reported in Laver & Hutcheson, 1972 : 11). This is inform-ation about the speaker himself. The listener uses this informa-tion to draw inferences about the speaker's identity, attributes, attitudes and mood. Participants in conversation use all the com-municative strands - linguistic, paralinguistic, extralinguistic - of conversation for a variety of purposes. They use these strands

"to announce their individual identity and personal
characteristics, as well as to state their view of
the social and psychological structuring of the
conversation."
                        (Laver & Hutcheson (eds.) 1972 : 12)

Participants usually project indexical information

"in order to define and control the role they play
during the conversation."
                        (Laver & Hutcheson (eds.) 1972 : 11)

The third kind of information exchanged in conversation

is called <u>interaction-management information.</u> (Laver & Hutche-

son (eds.) 1972)   Participants exchange interaction-management

information in order to initiate and terminate the interaction

in a   mutually acceptable way, as well as to indi-

cate the transitions within the conversation from one stage to

another. This exchange
          ∧ enables the participants to control the time-sharing

of the conversation, in terms of who should get or keep the floor

and when he should yield it to the other participant (Sacks et

al., 1974).

All this information is exchanged in communication by parti-

cipants in an event. The L_2 learners already know how to handle the

exchange of information as 'knowledge and experience' of how to

communicate from L_1. The important issue of what constitutes a

language user's 'knowledge and experience' about how to communicate

and learn in the context of L_1 learning will be discussed in

detail in Chapters 2 and 3. Suffice it to say here that communi-

cation is a dynamic process that requires the listener and the

speaker to constantly engage themselves in the act of interpret-

ation and production. Correct interpretation and production, how-

ever, can only be achieved if participants engage their knowledge

of use and usage of the language and their communicative experience

with reference to the situation in which the utterances are spoken,

the preceding linguistic context, their knowledge of each other and the topics they might discuss with each other and bring these to bear in the act of interpretation and production. The key to successful communication is the participants' sharing information relevant to the event they are participating, and using it appropriately for production and interpretation purposes. (cf. Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion on this issue.) The ability to participate in communication as a competent speaker/ listener constitutes a language user's communicative competence.

It is not, therefore, too difficult to identify the crucial problem that the language learner constantly faces in L_2 communication. When he attempts to communicate in the foreign language, he discovers that he does not yet know that society's cognitive orientation, nor the linguistic and cultural norms which are used to express 'cognitive information', 'indexical information' and 'interaction-management information' <u>linguistically</u>.

Does that, then, mean that he is not expected to engage in free face-to-face communication because his knowledge of the L_2 is poor in all respects? We cannot ask him to engage in a communicative situation only after he has learned the necessary repertoire for a particular communicative situation. Such an approach to language teaching will be frustrating to the learner. What the learner really wants is immediate results, otherwise he lacks adequate motivation and he considers L_2 learning a waste of time. Frustration, as studies have shown (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) leads to dropping out of courses and to negative attitudes towards L_2 learning.

What the learner urgently needs, I would argue here, is to

be able to bridge the gaps and solve problems of lack of shared
knowledge of the L_2 as well as problems of unhearings, mishearings
and misunderstandings on the spot, if communication is not to
break down. In other words, he needs to handle metacommunica-
tive talk as he communicates. The gaps and the problems over
knowledge not shared by both hearer and listener might refer
to substantive information (i.e. a matter of content of the con-
versation) or to L_2 linguistic and ritual norms, such as norms
of sequencing (Labov & Fanshel, 1977), participants' rights and
obligations (Labov, 1972a), background expectancies (Garfinkel,
1967) role and status (Cicourel, 1973), linguistic code, appro-
priacy (Hymes, 1972b) and so on, which act as constraints and
resources for correct interpretation to function. For as Hymes
puts it

> "One and the same sentence, the same set of words in
> the same syntactic relationship may be now a request,
> now a command, now a complaint, now an insult, depend-
> ing upon tacit understanding within the community.
> These understandings....involve recognition by the
> speaker and hearer of certain utterances as conven-
> tional ways of expressing or accomplishing certain
> things....pertaining to certain genres....and involve
> specific ways of interpreting speech in relation to
> its verbal and social context."
> (Hymes, 1972b : XXIX)

It is obvious that the whole spectrum of the foreign lang-
uage in terms of accuracy and appropriacy, cannot be taught, nor
learned, to the level of a native speaker's competence. This is
not feasible p e d a g o g i c a l l y, if the learner
is ever going to use the foreign lang-

uage to communicate.

On the other hand, no language programme, no matter how it is specified, can really foresee the actual needs of the learner in every communicative situation he may be involved in. The learner, and in particular the EFL learner, will only be able to acquire bits and pieces of the L_2 for communication purposes through his formal teaching classes, assuming, of course, that a more cognitive communicative approach is followed. Therefore, unless the learner manages to bridge gaps as they crop up, in accordance with the situational demands, he will never manage to communicate effectively. Thus we come to the point where the learner's knowledge of the L_2 is limited, whereas his needs to use the L_2 as a means of communication may be limitless. It is important for him to avoid possible pitfalls as he has done and still does in his mother tongue (I discuss this point in detail in Chapter 2) when problems arise, namely, using appropriate strategies to talk about language. The strategies which facilitiate communication are as much communicating strategies as learning strategies. (I shall discuss this issue in detail in Chapters 2 and 6).

These communicating and learning strategies will allow the learner to modify and enlarge his knowledge of the L_2 of all three types of information exchanged in communication, and facilitate his communicative ability in the L_2 in the light of each new situation he is involved in, thus turning a communicative situation into a learning situation. So the learner is able to learn as he communicates what he needs, when he needs it, from whoever he interacts with, which makes such a 'learning-while-you-communicate approach to ELT' a truly learner-centred

one. (I shall discuss this point in detail in Chapter 7).
Furthermore, th   ...ion of what constitutes a standard language
(British English, American English, Australian English and so on)
and consequently the factors involved in   a sociolinguistic
definition of language in use (Hymes, 1972b; Fishman, 1972)
cannot be predetermined as a kind of "fixed formality of ling-
uistic etiquette to which all must conform". What is a norm in
a community reflects the experiences, history, life style and
interaction problems (in the ethnographic sense) of that commu-
nity. Therefore norms of this kind cannot be established for
ELT. Variation is to be accepted as influenced by other stand-
ards. Learners may come across a variety of native speakers of
English, coming from different communities. They need to be able
to learn on the spot the use and usage differences inherent in
these varieties of English in order to communicate successfully.
The L_2 learner will always be a life-long learner by definition.
He will know less than his L_1 co-interactant and possibly his L_2
co-interactant in the ELT classroom. Therefore he needs to have
at his disposal such communicating and learning strategies that
will allow him to make use of his limited knowledge to cater for
his limitless aim: to communicate in a variety of communicative
situations and with various co-interactants whose knowledge of
the L_2 may be better than his or worse than his.

It is important, therefore, for an approach that aims at
developing the L_2 learners' communicative competence, to prepare
them to cope with the unpredictable, that is, the new information
they may come upon as they are interacting, be it a new linguis-
tic form or a new cultural constraint and so on, as the case
arises in interaction. In other words, it is important for the

learner to become aware of the communicating/learning strategies which will help him to bridge the gaps of 'shared rules of inter-pretation' (Cicourel, 1973), of 'common sense shared knowledge' (Garfinkel, 1967).

It is common knowledge, however, that learners do manage to communicate in the L_2 when the occasion arises, no matter how awkwardly. Rivers and Temperley have this to say about it:

> "Linguistically gifted students will always develop confidence (in using the L_2 in true communication) with or without special guidance."
> (Rivers & Temperley, 1978 : 17)

Only the learner himself can teach us how he does manage *in* the end to communicate in the L_2. In other words, what strategies he makes use of to communicate and learn, what strategies he uses to talk about language and thus *develop* his existing knowledge of the L_2 and expand it.

The identification of these communicating and learning stra-tegies and their possible application in the EFL classroom is the central issue of the present research (cf. Chapters 5, 6, 7). However, in order to understand the nature of these strategies I shall first try to define how the child learns and develops his ability to communicate, and especially the role of mothers/care-givers and the ways and means, that is, the strategies, they make use of to help the child to learn and to develop his ability to communicate. This I will attempt in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, however, I shall try to define the nature of communication.

Chapter 2

Learning to Communicate and Learn through Language

In this chapter I shall first briefly try to define how the child learns and develops his ability to communicate. In other words, I shall try to define the 'knowledge and experience' the L_2 learner has had from learning to communicate and learn with other members of the society he lives in. Second, I shall review the strategies mothers/adults and eventually the children themselves use to communicate and learn while they are communicating.

It is the argument of this thesis that the'knowledge and experience' language users have from learning to communicate and learn in the L_1 can be positively transferred from L_1 to L_2 to facilitate L_2 learning and communication.

2.1 Approaches to Language Learning

Three basic approaches to language learning have been developed so far: the behaviourist, the nativist, and the interactionist approach.   Although the two terms 'language learning' - 'language acquisition' have been taken to mean the same thing, Halliday, 1975b, points out that the two phrases are not synonymous in all senses but indicate two different approaches. To talk of 'language acquisition', he argues, is to imply that there is something 'out there' which the child must add to its possessions while remaining itself neutral to the process involved. This 'something' is usually conceived of in terms of the structures of the adult language. On the other hand, Halliday argues, to talk of 'language learning' is to put the emphasis upon the process itself and to see the child as an active participant in the process. The distinction proposed by Halliday has

important consequences for ELT.[4] I shall discuss this issue in detail in Chapter 7.

Of the three approaches behaviourism and nativism could be viewed as approaches to language acquisition (see below), whereas the interactionist approach, with its emphasis on process and the child's active participation, could be viewed as an approach to language learning (see below).

The exponents of the behaviourist approach maintain that the environment heavily influences the child (cf. Skinner, 1957). Children acquire the linguistic behaviours which are presented and reinforced by the environment.

The nativist approach is advocated by such theorists as Lenneberg, 1967, and Chomsky, 1965, among others. These theorists maintain that children learn to talk because they are either biologically or innately prepared to do so.

The main criticism against these two approaches to language acquisition is that they take the child's role to be a passive one. Language is something 'out there' that the language learner child is expected to acquire either because he is influenced by the environment or because he is biologically or innately prepared to do so.

The interactionist approach, on the other hand, has attempted to explain language learning by emphasizing the active participation of the child in terms of the child's strategies for actively interacting with linguistic and non-linguistic aspects

-----

[4]   In the context of L_2 acquisition, Krashen, 1976, also makes a distinction between language acquisition and language learning. I shall discuss his views in Chapter 7, section 7.1.

of the environment in the course of his development. Language

learning is largely determined by the active engagement of the

child in using the linguistic signals of communication he is

exposed to (as he does with the non-linguistic signals) and by

the ways in which individuals in the environment respond and

react to what a child   says and does. This approach to language

learning takes the child to be an active seeker and processor

of new information, selectively paying attention to the environ-

ment as he communicates. Learning to communicate through lang-

uage involves a natural two-way process where the child and

the environment (human and physical) interact and influence each

other in a reciprocal way.

Interactionist psychology (cf. Bruner, 1975b, 1977, 1978;

Ryan 1974) has mainly dealt with the 'ways and means' i.e. stra-

tegies mothers/caregivers as well as children, make use of to

communicate non-verbally as well as verbally. Verbal communi-

cation, however, presupposes a certain perceptual, conceptual

and cognitive maturity in the children (cf. Section 2.3). It is

cognitive psychologists like Piaget and his followers who have

mainly dealt with the learning and development of perceptions,

concepts, cognitive structures and abilities, as well as thought

and resoning in children. These two psychological approaches

seem to be complementary. Indeed, several psychologists (cf. Sin-

clair de Zwart, 1973; Bloom & Lahey, 1978; Sinclair, 1978;

Karmiloff-Smith, 1979) are clearly pointing the way towards blend-

ing these two approaches into a unified theory. I believe that

this unification may have important consequences for EFL, since

EFL learners are perceptually/conceptually/cognitively/ (and

linguistically) developed when they get into learning the T.L.

2.2 The Interactionist Approach: Basic Assumptions

Snow, 1977b, discusses three basic assumptions that hold true about language learning in the interactionist approach. Firstly, she argues, language learning is the result of a process of interaction between mother and child as they attempt to communicate. Communication takes place in a context of content/form/use (Bloom and Lahey, 1978) which begins in early infancy and to which the child makes as important a contribution as the mother. This contribution is crucial to the child's cognitive, emotional and social development, as well as to his language learning. Learning to communicate is characterized by two basic stages: the non-linguistic stage, where other means but verbal presentation are used by the child for communication purposes, such as vocalizations, gestures, eye-movement etc; and the linguistic stage where the child more and more relies on language as phonological presentation to express his communicative intent.

The second assumption that underlies this approach is that the child's ability to express his communicative intent verbally largely depends on his cognitive and perceptual development (cf. Section 2.3 for a detailed discussion). This development takes place during the sensorimotor period (cf. Piaget, 1954) of the child's development (also Dore, 1978; Bruner, 1978; Halliday, 1975b).

The third assumption that underlies this approach refers to the child's producing simplified registers (a result of the child's active processing of content/form/use in an interactive situation). Interactionist psychologists consider it a communicative ability, the learning of which by the child is as interes-

ting and important as the learning of adult patterned syntax
and phonology.[5]/

Acceptance of these assumptions has been furthered by the
results of mother/child interaction research. Much of the
mother's speech to babies and young children can be explained
as an attempt to establish a conversation and to keep the con-
versation going by giving the child the maximum opportunity to
function as a participant in the interaction, aiming at helping
him to develop cognitively/perceptually/socially/linguistically
(Snow, 1978). Mothers, that is, help the child to develop his/
her capacities so that he/she can eventually become a competent
member of the society.

Language learning, therefore, is the result of the relation-
ship between the speech children hear and what they see and do;
in other words, it depends on the interaction of content/form/
use in the social context (Bloom & Lahey, 1978). Bruner defines
it thus:

> "Language acquisition [6]/ occurs in the context of an
> 'action dialogue' in which joint action is being
> undertaken by infant and adult."
>
> (Bruner, 1975b : 55-56)

2.3 Learning to communicate in the interactionist approach

2.3.1 The development of a child's communicative intent as 'knowledge and experience'

Bruner, 1978 argues that many of the conventions that under-

---

[5]/ Schumann, 1975, 1978, has emphasized this process of simpli-
fication for the acquisition of the L_2 in his pidginization
hypothesis. See also Ervin-Tripp, 1974.

[6]/ Bruner does not follow the distinction between language
learning and language acquisition argued for by Halliday,
1975b.

lie the use of language are learned prior to the onset of the
phonological presentation of language, because the child must
be first cognitively and perceptually mature enough before he
attempts to articulate. As Bruner points out, "speech makes
its ontogenetic progress in highly familiar contexts" that have
already been well conventionalized by the infant and his mother/
caregiver. I take these familiar contexts to mean not only the
physical environment, where mother-child interaction is taking
place, but also all cognitive, indexical and interaction-
management information (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.5 for defini-
tion of terms) relevant to the activity mother and child are
engaged in. In this sense, Bruner goes on "it is not extrava-
gant to say that initial language at least has a pragmatic base
structure" (Bruner, 1978 : 22). Also Dore, 1978b, discussing
the ontogenesis of speech acts, considers the child's preling-
uistic communicative experience and conceptual development along
with the grammatical input (which he views as "linguistic hypothe-
ses") as necessary conditions for learning to express speech
acts linguistically. For Dore grammar in this sense is a formal
marking of a prior semantic intention.

Bates, 1976, also strongly argues that pragmatics is the
first and primary structure in the ontogenesis of language.
Psycholinguistic research (cf. Brown, 1973) has suggested that
syntax might be derived ontogenetically from semantics. Bates,
however, carries this suggestion a step further, proposing that
semantics is derived ontogenetically from pragmatics. Charles
Morris, 1946 defined pragmatics thus: "Pragmatics is that portion
of semantics which deals with the origin, uses and effects of
signs within the behaviour in which they occur" (reported in

Moerk, 1977 : 29); in other words, it is "the relation of signs

to interpreters". (Charles Morris, 1946, reported in Moerk,

1977 : 7).

Bates, 1976, however, considers Morris's definition rather

narrow and focuses on "the multiple epistemological levels in

language use", shifting from action to mental object and agrees

with the pragmatist philosopher Charles Pierce's (1932) original

distinctions of icons-indices-symbols. She defines pragmatics

as "the study of indexical rules for relating linguistic form

to a given context" and adds that these rules are of particular

interest for the study of cognitive development in children

(see especially Bates 1976 : 2-3). Bates argues that if, as

Austin, 1962, notes "to say something is to do something" then

the content of the child's early utterances is built out of the

"child's early procedures or action schemes". Semantics, there-

fore, is derived from efforts to do things with words. And

Bates concludes:

> "Language is a powerful and complex tool, an artifi-
> cial system that is created by the child in the same
> way that it evolved historically (...) in an effort
> to make meaningful things happen."
>
> (Bates, 1976 : 354)

Similarly, Halliday argues that the child develops his

meaning potential to express his communicative intent through

an interaction with his environment, physical and human. He

maintains that any child has learned to express it in

infancy and has used it to serve him in

> "functions which exist independently of language
> as features of human life at all times and in
> all cultures."   (Halliday, 1975b : 66)

Halliday has distinguished two basic Phases in a child's func-

tional language development. In Phase I Halliday 1975b argues
a child's communicative intent is expressed through functions of
language which can be identified separately in individual utter-
ances. He   distinguishes six different developmental functions
in infants and young children expressed by different vocalizations
or utterances. These functions are: Instrumental - Regulatory -
Interactional - Personal - Heuristic - Imaginative. Later on,
Halliday argues, that a seventh function must be added, the
Informative function of language, which is a dominant function
in the adult use of language. These functions, Halliday argues,
serve two generalized ones: the pragmatic and the mathetic
functions. Utterances of instrumental or regulatory nature serve
pragmatic functions, whereas utterances of personal or heuristic
nature that contribute to the child's learning about his/her
environment serve mathetic functions. In Phase II, however, al-
ready in the second year, Halliday argues, both pragmatic and
mathetic functions, the two generalized ones, are served by the
same utterance. Thus children can satisfy their material needs
and regulate the behaviour of others around them, while at the
same time they use language to represent what they see and hear
around them as they learn more about the relations of objects
and of the social conventions in their environment. Eventually,
Halliday argues, as the child develops into adolescence and adult-
hood he learns to use the language to express the three basic
metafunctions identified in adults. Thus the individual func-
tions converge in three major ones: the Ideational, the Inter-
personal and the Textual.

As the research indicates, a   child (and for that reason

the L_2 learner) has 'knowledge and experience' (of which he may not be conscious, of course) that his communicative intent has developed because of a pragmatic need for it. It was not determined solely by the language used in his environment. Consequently, I would define communicative intent as 'a child's pragmatic need to do things and learn through interacting with and manipulating the environment (human and physical) around him.'

2.3.2 The Verbal presentation of a child's communicative intent

Every child, however, is reared in a society where linguistic and social norms as overt behaviours differ from one another. The matching of the appropriate linguistic realizations and culture-bound ritual constraints (Goffman, 1976) with the child's expressing his communicative intent verbally is the work of the adults who, as Bruner, 1978, argues, "generally and often unconsciously impute communicative intent to the cries, gestures, expressions and postures of newborns as well as vocalizations and utterances of infants and children" (Bruner, 1978 : 25). This intent may be interpreted in terms of any of the Jakobsonian functions, Bruner, 1978, argues, expressive-poetic-conative-phatic-metalinguistic-referential. (cf. Halliday, 1975b; also pp.29-30).

Working along similar lines, Ryan, 1974 argues that what a child utters in early stages is difficult to understand, if not unintelligible within a context of interaction with adults. Adults, however, are motivated to understand the child's utterances, so, Ryan argues, "Children experience verbal interchanges with their mothers. During these the mother actively picks up, interprets, comments upon, extends, repeats and sometimes misinterprets what the child had said", (Ryan, 1974 : 99). All this

in an attempt to build up shared knowledge between herself and the child on which mutual understanding may be based. Bruner, 1978, reports that observations would confirm that _Ryan's view_ holds true of even 3-month-old babies and their mothers. Ryan, 1974, emphatically states that the grammarians' adherence to well-formedness and semantic sense has obscured the role of these interpreted exchanges in preparing the child for language use. Ryan, 1974, also argues that mothers not only interpret the child's gestures and vocalizations in conative terms .... what he wants .... but also in terms of Grice-like maxims like 'sincerity' (i.e. "He is really faking when he makes that sound.") and 'consistency' (i.e. "Won't you please make up your mind what you want.") And all this, she adds, takes place in a social environment where sequencing, turn-taking and feedback are all relevant at the earliest stages of language development (cf. Bruner, 1975a, 1977; Shatz & Gelman, 1977) and eventually are necessary conditions for linguistic communication. (Ryan, 1974 : 99-100) (cf. Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion about the communicative backgrounds of successful communication).

To sum up, the child develops his communicative intent out of a pragmatic need for it in an attempt to discover and interact with the social and physical environment around him. And this is characteristic of all human beings. In this search the child is greatly helped by the doings and sayings of the adults around him. So the primary function of the speech of adults directed to a developing child is to help him discover the world around him (social and physical) and the conditions and interrelationships that hold it together and to provide social, cognitive and linguistic information about it. All this takes place

in an attempt to build up a common ground for sharing knowledge
that will allow communication (non-linguistic and later on
linguistic) to function. Eventually the child learns to express
his communicative intent linguistically, within the context of
the linguistic and social norms prevailing in the society in
which he is reared, for mutual understanding.

2.3.3 The components of communicative competence

In the context of the interactionist approach, learning to
communicate non-linguistically as well as linguistically is taken
to be the result of the interaction of these three basic domains
of knowledge: linguistic-social-cognitive which the child learns
in highly familiarized activities. These domains of knowledge
are interrelated and interdependent since all are aspects of the
same unitary development of the individual. Lewis and Cherry,
1977, present the following two versions of this interaction
(see Figures 1. and 2. below), that exemplify well enough the
philosophy of learning to communicate through language that under-
lies the interactionist approach.

Figure 1.   Figure 2.
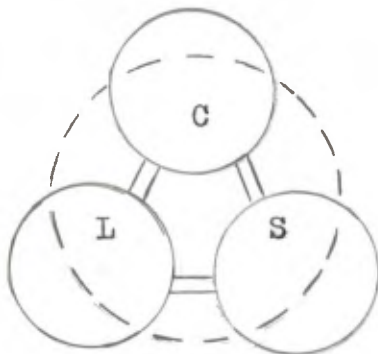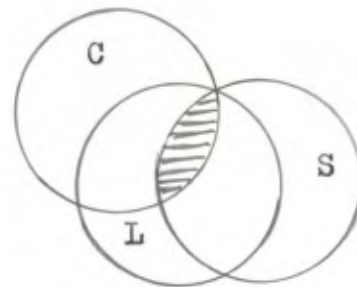
Individual   Communicative Competence

Legend : L = Linguistic
          S = Social
          C = Cognitive
                              (From Lewis & Cherry, 1977 : 231)

Version a. defines the interrelationship of linguistic, social and cognitive knowledge the individual is constantly learning as a result of his interaction with his environment. This knowledge is presented as a dynamic flow, in a state of constant change which exists within and without the individual since learning never stops (cf. Grimshaw, 1977). This version of the model covers both the pre-linguistic and the linguistic stages of a child's developing ability to communicate.

In version b. the relationship of linguistic-social-cognitive knowledge exists as the interaction of the three domains. The outcome of this interaction is the communicative competence of the child, that is, the child's ability to use language as a means of communication in the society in which he is reared.

In terms of the present research, I take cognitive knowledge to mean the cognitive orientation of an individual in terms of structures, abilities, processes and strategies as defined in the works of Piaget, 1954; Piaget and Inhelder, 1968, 1973; also in Sinclair de Zwart, 1973; Bruner, 1975b, 1978, among others. I take social knowledge to mean knowledge of the social norms and beliefs that are accepted and respected in a society. And, finally, I take linguistic knowledge to mean knowledge of the formal phonological and linguistic presentation of language in terms of a language user's knowledge of linguistic rules and phonological rules as accepted in a particular society.

Within this unified framework, Lewis and Cherry argue, important developmental linguistic phenomena can be observed. This development, they maintain, is "conceptualized as a gradual differentiation among the various domains and an awareness of the way

they are expressed through language" (Lewis & Cherry, 1977 :
233). Children, of course, do not learn passively the conven-
tional forms of adult language through which the three domains
of knowledge are expressed; rather they are engaged in structur-
ing the conventions in the process of interaction heavily rely-
ing on semantics and pragmatics, as research in L_1 child-child
interaction has shown (cf. Keenan & Klein, 1975; Keenan, 1977b,
Shields, 1978).

In this active reconstruction of the social reality around
them they are greatly helped by the strategies mothers/care-
givers use to facilitate communication between the developing
child and his environment, human and physical. These strate-
gies I shall discuss in the next section.

2.4 Mothers'/Caregivers' Strategies

In this section I shall discuss the strategies mothers/
caregivers use to help their children develop cognitively/percep-
tually/socially/linguistically through sharing knowledge with
them, so that children can become competent members of the society.
By using appropriate strategies mothers do not only, as Ryan, 1974,
observes, interpret the child's gestures and vocalizations in
conative terms, but also in terms of Grice-like maxims. So
mothers/caregivers teach the children ways and means to achieve
a common ground of shared knowledge so that communication can take place.
Eventually, children themselves make use of these or similar stra-
tegies when they attempt to communicate to achieve the same end,
a common ground between themselves and their listeners.

All strategies discussed in this section are semantically
related to the child's utterances in an interactive situation.

Cross, 1977, labels such strategies as expansions, maternal self-repetitions etc. discourse features since they become an integral part of interaction where they are employed by mothers. Cross's view that strategies become an integral part of inter-action has important consequences for the real function of these strategies in natural communication. Suffice it to say now that, as the present research suggests, mothers/caregivers' strategies are overt learning strategies but covert communicating strate-gies.

2.4.1 Simplicity and Redundancy

As research in L_1 mother-child interaction has shown, mothers/caregivers' speech to children is characterized by flex-ibility. It is always well-tuned to the child's needs in differ-rent contexts and is progressively modulated to the child's dev-eloping capacities, which may refer to the cognitive/perceptual/social/linguistic abilities of the child relevant to a given communicative situation. (cf. Ervin-Tripp, 1978). This flex-ibility results in two important strategies: simplicity and redundancy of mothers' speech to children. These are the effects of specific modifications to the child's needs necessitated by what he says or tries to say, as much as by his attentiveness and comprehension (cf. Snow, 1977b). On this issue Shatz & Gelman, 1977, argue that mothers/caregivers talking to children modify their speech because they take into account the context/sensitive constraints operating in such a conversational inter-action. The constraints are conditioned by the developing capa-cities of the other participant, i.e. the child, as well as by the situation.

This adjustment, I would argue, is relevant to the cooper-
ative principle in communication and is an exemplification of
it (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.3.2 for a detailed discussion). In
other words, a participant in a communicative event must take
the other's perspective into account; here the adult participant
takes the child's perspective into account. Unless the partici-
pants cooperate and constantly keep in mind each other's orien-
tation, communication cannot take place because the two partici-
pants represent two divergent worlds that do not have a common
ground to interpret each other's messages (cf. Gumperz, 1977).
By bearing in mind each other's perspective, participants allow
their two worlds to become convergent and thus communication
becomes possible. Shatz, 1974, reports that children also make
use of these strategies. As early as four years old they are
able to make use of them and do modify their speech accordingly
when talking to two-year-olds along the same lines as adults do.

2.4.2 The 'here-and-now' strategy

Another learning strategy exemplified in mother's speech to
children is its here-and-nowness. Mothers talk to their children
about their immediate context. Mothers/caregivers refer to what
the child is already attending to, or direct the child's atten-
tion to something in the context. By doing so, they effectively
limit themselves to discussions of what the child can see and
hear, what he has just experienced or is just about to experience,
what he might possibly want to know about the current situation.
When the mother and the child are engaged in a joint action they
purposefully collaborate to determine what can be taken for
granted as an intersubjective shared knowledge (Rommetveit, 1978;

Schutz,1967), that is, as old information. What cannot be taken

for granted is the new information (i.e. cognitive/perceptual/

social/linguistic) which the child is expected to learn at the

'here and now' of a conversational exchange where all learning

takes place, as Kjolseth, 1972, has argued. (cf. Chapter 3,

section 3.4.1) This strategy serves a double function. On the one

hand, the child learns the new information relevant to a parti-

cular activity, and, on the other hand, he learns a basic commu-

nicating principle, the need to share the other's perspective for

communication to function. (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.3.2 for

a detailed discussion).

The important result of these interactions between children

and adults is the insights the children gain about how to apply

the rules of linguistic and social norms in an interactive situa-

tion. In other words, they learn the language along with the way

their society cognizes the world and the social and linguistic

rules it adheres to.

The same strategy is also employed by children to make them-

selves understood. Lily Fillmore, for instance, argues that

children "did not talk much about topics which were not directly

related to the current play activity and they (the children) gen-

erally created contexts to make what they were saying clear and

interpretable. They did this by means of gestures, demonstra-

tions, sound effects and repetition." (Lily Fillmore, 1976 : 695)

2.4.3 The Expansion Strategy

Mothers' speech to children is also characterized by what

has been referred to as the expansion strategy. (Cross, 1977).

When employing the expansion strategy mothers/caregivers seem to

be doing two things. On the one hand, they acknowledge the child's

utterance through repetition, and, on the other hand, they expand
on it from their own perspective. Brown & Bellugi, 1964, also
Lieven, 1978, consider such an expansion primarily interpretative
of the child's utterance. Mothers, they argue, aim at providing
the child with precise information for them to learn rather than
correcting; explicit corrections, they found, were extremely
rare. Bloom et al., 1976, also argue that children pay attention
to and learn from input that is slightly more advanced than their
own speech. Expansions, however, I would argue here, also draw
the child's attention to the rules of interaction such as the
"maxim of quantity" (Grice, 1967) that is, supply enough and well
documented information. (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.3.2 for a detail-
ed discussion).

Arguing along similar lines, Blount, 1977, reports two stra-
tegies, or features as he calls them, he has identified in adult-
child communication in Luo. These are exaggerated intonation [2]
and repetition. By repetition he actually means expansion, as
discussed here, rather than exact repetition.

2.4.4 Maternal Self-repetitions Strategy

Another learning strategy mothers make use of is the so-
called maternal self-repetitions strategy (Cross, 1977). Mothers,
Cross argues, use this strategy in an attempt to draw the child's
attention or to help the child understand them. Ervin-Tripp,
1978, on the other hand, argues that repetition also functions as

----

[2] This strategy can be also found in English as well as in
Greek adult-child discourse. To my knowledge, however,
intonation in general has not been fully researched yet as
a learning/communicating strategy in the context of L_1.
For the importance of intonation in ELT, see Brazil et al,
1980.

control over turn-taking to sustain a dialogue rather than a mono-
logue. (cf. Sacks et al., 1974; Cicourel, 1973).

Savić, 1978, also reports a similar strategy employed by
mothers/caregivers in an attempt to help the child understand them
and keep the conversation going in Serbocroatian (see especially
Savić, 1978 : 223).

It seems that this strategy serves a double function, too.
On the one hand, mothers make use of it to help the child learn rele-
vant new information whenever they are not sure the child has
understood them; on the other hand, they make use of it to open
up or keep open the channel for effective communication to func-
tion.

2.4.5 Self-answer Strategy

Another strategy mothers make use of in mother/child inter-
action is that of self-answer, where mothers supply an answer to
the immediately preceding maternal question in an attempt to help
the child comprehend the preceding maternal question (Cross, 1977).
So mothers want to make sure that, on the one hand, knowledge is
shared for communication to proceed, and, on the other hand, the
channel is kept open, so that they can sustain a dialogue, not
a monologue.

2.4.6 Semantic Extensions Strategy

Another strategy isolated in mother-child interaction is the
so-called semantic extensions strategy. This is a strategy that
primarily focuses on the topic of the child's utterance and ex-
tends it linguistically, thus functioning as reinforcement and
additional input to the topic. (Cross, 1977 after Cazden, 1972).

Corsaro, 1977, discusses a similar strategy that aims at

extending and clarifying the topic of the child's utterance. He
calls them 'topic-relevant acts' (cf. Corsaro, 1977). In that
the adult participant in an exchange goes beyond the utterance
and offers an interpretation in line with the established topic.
Corsaro, 1975, calls this type of topic-relevant acts 'leading
questions'. He considers them as a type of 'normative expan-
sion'. The adult participant expands the child-participant's
interpretation of a specific event to an adult normative perspec-
tive. The expanded interpretation is then offered to the child
for confirmation (Corsaro, 1977).

It can be argued, that semantic extensions strategy is a
learning as well as a communicating strategy. The function of
semantic extensions or topic relevant acts is to reconfirm that
both participants are within the 'joint action' and share all
information relevant to the topic well enough to continue their
conversation. On the other hand, they adhere to and exemplify
the cooperative principle. The adult wants to make sure that his
perspective is somehow similar in scope to the child's perspec-
tive.

2.4.7 Clarification Requests Strategy

Corsaro, 1977, discusses the structural features, the form
and the function of the so-called clarification requests strategy
as he has isolated them in interactions between children and
adults. The analysis of their function and form provides insights
into how interactants manage to maintain ongoing interaction and
develop a common ground for mutual understanding.

Corsaro, 1977, has worked out a classification scheme of the
linguistic form and function of clarification requests involving

four distinct types. The first type of a clarification request
has to do with communicative difficulties which arise when one
participant does not clearly hear the speech of the other parti-
cipant, when the channel, that is, is not clear.

The second type of a clarification request is to gain a cla-
rification or repetition of an utterance heard but not clearly
understood. Merritt, 1976, calls this type of clarification
requests 'replay sequences'. Jefferson's (1972) 'side sequences'
may also be classified as clarification requests of this type,
but which serve a different function: the listener corrects a
mistake made by the speaker.

In the third type, the adult participant marks or fills in
the child participant's turn or place in interaction e.g.

```
B-F*  :  I got this (= shoebox)
F-B   :  Oh, you want to buy some shoes, huh?
B-F   :  Yes.
F-B   :  O.K.
(...........)
```
<div align="right">(Corsaro, 1977 : 189)</div>

The fourth type of clarification request is a reaction to
the speech of another interactant which was not expected. In
this case the clarification request specifies surprise on the part
of its employer, i.e. M-B: You don't? as in the following example:

```
M-B** :  It's their anniversary.
B-M   :  Oh.
M-B   :  A long long long time.
B-M   :  I don't believe this.
M-B   :  You don't?
B-M   :  No.
```
<div align="right">(Corsaro, 1977 : 190)</div>

---

*   B stands for Bill, F stands for father
**   M stands for mother, B stands for Bill

It is not only adults that make use of this strategy, but also children, as young as 2 years old, do so, as Garvey, 1975, reports. Garvey studied pairs of children aged between 2 and 4 years in natural interactions. She also found that even the youngest children when they bothered to answer clarification requests addressed to them, did not answer at random, which suggests that they already knew many of the conversational rules (cf. 'Be relevant').

Clarification requests serve a double function. On the one hand, interactants make sure that they are within the joint activity, sharing relevant information; on the other hand, they adhere to and exemplify the importance of the maxims of "manner", "quality" and "relevance" for children.

2.4.8 Prompting, Prodding, Modelling and Rhetorical Questions Strategies

Moerk, 1975, 1976, for English, and Söderbergh, 1974, for Swedish (cf. Bloom & Lahey, 1978, especially Ch.IX; also Gaies, 1977) report that parents also use prompts, prodding, modelling and rhetorical questions as strategies to monitor communication with children in an attempt to keep the interaction going, as well as to find out how much they know or have comprehended of the relevant information, i.e. cognitive, social, linguistic for the successful accomplishment of the joint activity.

By employing the prompting strategy, for instance, mothers/ caregivers invite the child to supply the linguistic expression for something s/he knows by asking questions such as "What's this?" or "This is what?". By employing the prodding strategy mothers/ caregivers make it verbally clear that they want the child to participate in the joint activity by asking such questions as

"Can you say ..." or "Say ...". By employing the modelling stra-
tegy mothers/caregivers supply the linguistic expression that a
child may not know, in order to facilitate his/her verbal parti-
cipation in the joint activity. Finally, by employing the rheto-
rical questions strategy mothers/caregivers open up the channel,
make it verbally clear that they want the child to participate
in the joint activity while at the same time they suggest the
topic/game they will be involved in in the joint activity.

To sum up, the discussion about the functions of the learn-
ing strategies mothers/caregivers make use of indicates that these
strategies are overt learning strategies since mothers/caregivers
make use of them to help the child develop his capacities cogni-
tively/perceptually/socially/linguistically. However, they are
also covert communicating strategies since they facilitate commu-
nication   in a given situation. (cf. Chapter 3 for
a detailed discussion). Mothers/caregivers use these strategies
to help the child develop his communicative abilities. I would
define communicative abilities in the context of oral communica-
tion as a 'language user's abilities to communicate as well as
learn what is relevant, appropriate and intelligible for the suc-
cessful accomplishment of communication as he is interacting'.

All activities where mothers and children participate in the
joint action take place in context. There the child actively se-
lects what is relevant, appropriate and the like, thus slowly
building up his world, which is also the world of the society in
which he is reared.

Now that I have examined how children develop their communi-
cative intent and learn to communicate non-verbally and later on
verbally, as well as what strategies mothers make use of to help

them achieve this end, I shall discuss communication in an attempt
to define more precisely the nature of communication through which
language is learned.

Chapter 3

Communication

In this chapter I shall try to define the nature of communi-
cation. In particular I shall examine the purpose of communica-
tion, the factors and processes involved in successful communica-
tion, as well as the strategies which are the outcome of the inter-
action of the first two in the act of communication; in other
words, the communicative backgrounds of communication. I shall
also examine the development of communication in face-to face inter-
action and meaning in communication as a result of the selection and
application of strategies interactants make use of in the act of
communication. All this will be examined in an attempt to define
the constituents of the 'knowledge and experience' a language
user has about how to communicate through language in the context
of a (cognitive) interactionist approach as defined in Chapter 2.

3.1 General aim of communication

Communicating in the L_2 as compared with communicating in
the L_1 is similar from the point of view of the general aim of
communication. People of all cultures communicate when they want
to exchange messages (thoughts and opinions) or express feelings
and attitudes, in other words, to exchange cognitive and affect-
ive information. The exchange of messages and expression of feel-
ings is a sharing of information, i.e. sharing of knowledge.
And all this takes place in a give-and-take process where parti-
cipants in an event interchangeably become a speaker and a listen-
er.

The purpose of communication is not simply to exchange some
information but also worthwhile information. Otherwise speakers
simply do not indulge in talk, as awkward silences suggest when
people get together but do not have anything worthwhile to impart

to each other. Sacks, 1972, in particular, considers "news-
worthiness of messages" a communication rule in American-English
society (cf. Goffman, 1976).

The general aim of communication is at the heart of any
communicative event and goes beyond cultures and societies
(cf. Hymes, 1972b; Bauman & Sherzer (eds.) Introduction, 1974).
And as such I would take it to be part of the 'knowledge and
experience' of what language is used for, that the L_2 learner
brings with him from L_1.

3.2 Behavioural means of communication

This sharing of information relies on all channels of commu-
nication through which information is exchanged by participants
in a face-to-face communicative event. As Abercrombie, 1968/
1972, put it:

> "We speak with our vocal organs, but we converse
> with our entire bodies; conversation consists of
> much more than a simple interchange of spoken
> words."   (Abercrombie, 1972 : 64)

Other forms of communication interwoven with speech include
facial expressions; eye-contact; gestures and
postures; body orientation, proximity and physical contact.

The behavioural means for communicating information at our
disposal could be broadly classified as follows:

:: Vocal versus non-vocal behaviour.

:: Verbal versus non-verbal behaviour.

Vocal behaviour consists of all the actions involved in pro-
ducing speech. Non-vocal behaviour includes such factors as ges-
tures, posture and so on. Verbal behaviour is the use of actual
words; non-verbal is all vocal and non-vocal conversational

behaviour which is not verbal in the sense given above. (Laver &
Hutcheson (eds.) 1972 : 12).

In this present study, however, when I talk of conversation
in face-to-face interaction I refer to vocal and verbal behaviour
only, that is, a restricted type of conversation. The aim of
the research is to identify the strategies L_2 learner-speakers
make use of to communicate orally. The experimental design, there-
fore, emphasizes reliance on the spoken language only for communi-
cation purposes and excludes any other channel of communication.

3.3   The communicative backgrounds of successful communication

The communicative backgrounds of successful communication
have been defined differently by different scholars. There is a
common point of reference for them all, however. They all con-
sider sharing of these backgrounds a prerequisite to successful
communication (cf. Chapter 2, expecially mothers' strategies).
For as Gumperz, 1977, rightly argues:

> "How can we be certain that our interpretation of what
> activity is being signalled is the same as the activity
> that the interlocuter has in mind, if our communicative
> backgrounds are not identical?"
>
> (Reported in Candlin, 1978 : 9)

Kreckel, 1978, for instance, defines the circumstances under
which communication is accomplished. She argues that communica-
tion is accomplished when interactants share the same code in a
particular domain and have the same shared knowledge of the world
at large. (See especially Kreckel, 1978 : 97-101). She defines
code as

> "the external product of cognitive processes structur-
> ing different communicative situations and regulating
> the selection and organization of specific communica-
> tive acts out of a repertoire of available ones.
>
> (Kreckel, 1978 : 100)

Kreckel, if I understand her correctly, considers code as the external product of an internal interaction of cognitive processes for interaction organization and management over the knowledge that a speaker has of different communicative situations and of specific communicative acts.[8]/ She considers communication as the outcome of the interaction of the other two variables on each other. In short, she sees three variables involved in code, making up along with domains and knowledge of the world at large the communicative backgrounds of communication. These communicative backgrounds must be shared between participants in the act of communication if participants in an event are to understand each other.

In my opinion, Kreckel's definition for the accomplishment of successful communication demonstrates the psychological and the sociological aspects of communication. For I take cognitive processes for interaction organization and management to represent the psychological variable of communication, whereas knowledge of communicative acts and events in the broader context of domain, and knowledge of the world at large as conventionalized socially accepted norms, rules and conventions, to represent the sociological variable of communication. However, it is not quite clear which way code goes, which she considers as the external product of communication. I shall deal with this point again in relation to Hymes' definition of communicative competence which I shall discuss presently.

_____

[8]/   Kreckel, 1978, defines communicative acts as "socially meaningful units of verbal and/or non-verbal behaviour which transmit a particular message." (See also p. 47 for a classification of behavioural means for communicating information.)

Hymes defines communicative competence as follows:

"I should take competence as the most general term for
the capabilities of a person (....). Competence is
dependent upon both (tacit) knowledge and ability for
use. Knowledge is distinct, then, both from competence
(as its part) and from systematic possibility (to
which its relation is an empirical matter)."

(Hymes, 1972a : 282)

The three variables involved in his definition are: (tacit)
knowledge, ability for use and competence which depends on the
first two. In terms of Kreckel's definition I take Hymes' (tacit)
knowledge to mean a speaker's knowledge of different communica-
tive situations, communicative acts, domains, knowledge of the
world at large and so on (see also section 3.3.1 this chapter).
I take Hymes' ability for use to mean relevant cognitive process-
es for interaction organization and management, (see also section
3.3.2 this chapter) whereas I take Hymes' competence to mean the
outcome of the interaction of the first two on each other as in-
ternal procedures, (see also section 3.3.3 this chapter) not as
the external product as Kreckel defines it. Of course, Hymes dis-
cusses communicative competence from an ethnomethodologist's point
of view. He, therefore, ignores the psychological aspects of com-
municative competence. I shall not, however, consider it far fet-
ched if I try to make the connection between the psychological
and the sociological aspects of communicative competence. I be-
lieve that we may distinguish between competence as internal pro-
cedures and verbal or non-verbal behaviour as the external mani-
festation of competence.

Hymes himself (1971/1972a) makes a similar point when he
writes that verbal behaviour is a manifestation of a language
user's communicative competence and has both grammatical and prag-

matic aspects; it is a "reflection of implicit knowledge or competence both of grammar and of use." Hymes' view supports the argument proposed here that competence is the internal procedures which are the result of the internal interaction of knowledge and ability (in Hymes' terms) or knowledge and cognitive processes (in Kreckel's terms) on each other. Kreckel does not seem to make this distinction clear. Her argument that code is "the external product of an internal interaction" seems to overlook competence as a psychological cognitive ability. However, the distinction between competence as internal procedures and verbal behaviour as a manifestation of a language user's communicative competence seems very important. For it allows us to accommodate both verbal and non-verbal behaviour as manifestations of communicative competence, which manifestations, of course, may differ from society to society.

Although there may be some epistemological objections about it, I will hereafter use the following terms to denote these four variables in the context of oral communication.

Knowledge as product 9/ to mean a language user's knowledge of culture-specific linguistic and social norms and conventions as substantive information;

Knowledge as process 9/ to mean a language user's cognitive orientation, cognitive processes and abilities for interaction organisation and management for face-to-face interaction;

9/ The terms 'product' and 'process' have already been used by Garfinkel, 1967, in the context of meaning in communication (cf. section 3.4.2 this chapter for a detailed discussion) as well as by Candlin and Breen, 1979, in the context of teaching materials for EFL/ESL (cf. Chapter 7, section 7.11). In both cases the terms are used to mean different things from each other and from the meanings employed in the present research.

Strategies to mean the internal procedures activated by the interaction of knowledge as process and knowledge as product on each other. Strategies demonstrate a language user's ability to organize and manage the communication process in a natural communicative encounter.

Actualized language behaviour to mean the external outcome of communication which demonstrates a language user's knowledge of and ability to use his/her L_1 accurately and appropriately, in other words, his/her communicative competence. This external outcome can be recorded, studied and analysed and it is the means through which we may investigate and examine the other three variables involved in actual communication.

It must be stressed, however, that there is no hierarchy of importance to be established among the four knowledge systems in a verbal encounter. They are all equally essential for participants to achieve situated meaningful communication. This interaction is exemplified in Figure 3 on p.53.

Figure 3.
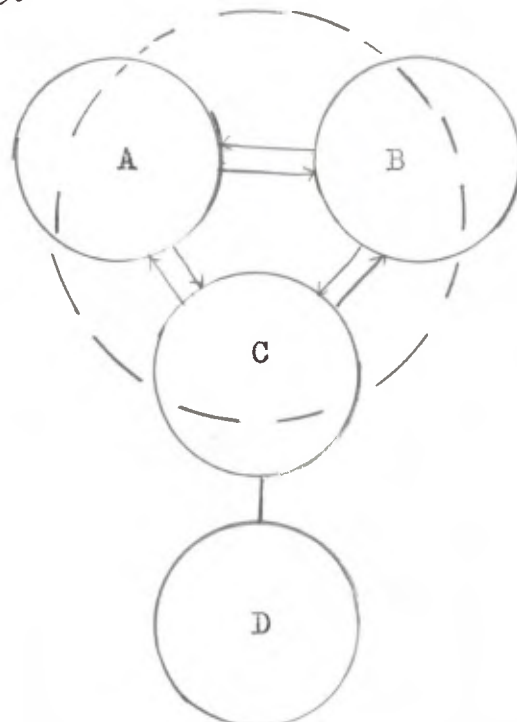
Legend : A - Knowledge as product
B - Knowledge as process
C - Strategies
D - Actualized language behaviour

The three top circles A, B, C represent the three knowledge
systems of product, process and strategies. The arrows indicate
how these knowledge systems constantly interact with each other
in the act of communication. This interaction is dynamic and is
in constant flow while participants are communicating, indicated
in the figure with the broken circle. Strategies may be the re-
sult of the interaction of knowledge as process and product on
each other, but they also become part of them and are taken into
account for the next step forward in interaction. They are all
constraints and resources for the development of interaction.
Internal procedures may be verbalized as actualized culture-
specific language behaviour. They may be also manifested as non-
verbal behaviour, such as silences, physical actions (i.e. attack-
ing somebody, and so on) or movements as in the case with playing

games like chess and so on. In either case they indicate the participants communicative competence, that is, their ability to participate in coherent interaction or their ability to play a game well enough, and so on. (cf. Chapter 5, section 5.6.1, also Footnote 19, p.129).

To sum up, I would suggest that in the context of a (cognitive) interactionist approach to learning to communicate through language, the four basic variables identified as communicative backgrounds to successful communication should be divided into two basic categories, namely, psychological and sociological since communication is a psychological and sociological phenomenon. (cf. Blount, 1972). The psychological categories are: cognitive processes for interaction organization and management and internal procedures, a language user's competence to communicate to some purpose. The sociological categories are: knowledge of usage, of communicative acts, events, settings domains, knowledge of the world at large and so on as substantive culture-bound information and verbal as well as non-verbal behaviour as a manifestation of a language user's communicative competence always culture-bound. In non-verbal behaviour, I include paralinguistic and extralinguistic behaviour as well as making the right moves when one is playing a game like chess. In this case non-verbal behaviour may not be culture-bound.

As research indicates, knowledge as process and strategies seem to be universal (ch. Chapters 5 and 6), whereas knowledge as product as well as actualized (verbal and non-verbal) language behaviour seem to be culture-specific and different from society to society.

I shall now attempt to discuss in some detail the first three
variables as communicative backgrounds involved in successful
communication. I shall not deal with the fourth variable because
it is not the aim of the present research to identify the actual
linguistic realizations the strategies.

   The discussion of the first three variables will be
mainly based on the work of Garfinkel, 1967, Hymes, 1964, 1972,
Labov, 1972, Sacks et al., 1974, Cicourel, 1973, Grice, 1967,
Kjolseth, 1973, Goffman, 1971, 1976 and Widdowson, 1976, 1978,
1979. They all deal with different aspects of the properties of
shared knowledge as product, process, or strategies, and their
interaction in natural communication. However, with the excep-
tion of Cicourel, all other scholars who have dealt with aspects
of the properties of what I have called 'knowledge as process'
have dissociated it from cognitive psychology where it rightly
belongs. (cf. section 3.3.2 this chapter).

3.3.1 Background knowledge as product

Successful communication is accomplished when participants in
an event share knowledge as product, as process and strategies.
Participants use this shared knowledge for production and inter-
pretation purposes. As argued, shared knowledge as product is
the accumulation of a language user's linguistic competence (in
the Chomskyan sense), social competence in the ethnomethodologi-
cal sense, as well as knowledge of the world at large as defined
by Labov, 1972a. This knowledge constitutes what 'everyone knows'
(Garfinkel, 1967) who is a member of a particular speech communi-
ty. Kjolseth, 1972 calls it background knowledge and defines it
thus:

"Background knowledge is what <u>anyone</u> knows is always
relevant anywhere and any time."
<div align="right">(Kjolseth, 1972 : 61)</div>

Kjolseth argues that this knowledge is equally relevant to
any communicative exchange in any setting in a society. Kjolseth,
1972, proposes three important and essential variables of back-
ground knowledge:

"1. It is possessed and sanctioned by a more or less
inclusive population of members.

2. It is known in a particular mode of relevance.

3. It has socio-temporal locus of relevance."
<div align="right">(Kjolseth, 1972 : 61)</div>

But what are the constitutive   components of this
background knowledge in the context of face -to-face inter-
action? I would argue that these components are: knowledge
of the linguistic rules of usage, of the sociolinguistic rules
of use, as well as knowledge of communicative situations as speech
events (Hymes, 1964, 1972), domains (Fishman, 1972), networks of
communicative acts, i.e. discourse patterning and relevant culture-
specific, as well as non-specific, information of the world at
large.

Rules of usage represent the language user's knowledge of the
formal linguistic system of his language, his linguistic competence
in the Chomskyan sense (Chomsky, 1965). For Chomsky (1965) linguis-
tic competence is concerned with tacit knowledge of language struc-
ture. This knowledge, Chomsky argues, is not commonly conscious or
available for spontaneous report, but necessarily implicit in what
the ideal speaker-listener may say. This knowledge allows a speaker

to produce and understand an infinite set of sentences, which makes his language, as performance, creative.

Sociolinguistic rules of use refer to the conditions and constraints that apply to individual speech acts and networks of speech acts to achieve a specific function and can be said to constitute a language user's basic communicative source of reference (Widdowson, 1976, 1979). The work of Austin, 1975, Strawson, 1964 and Searle, 1969, on the illocutionary force of sentences and the felicity conditions for a speech act to be taken as intended is directed towards a formulation of such rules of use. The philosophers of language focus more on the intentions of the speaker and how they are manifested through his choice of language. Searle, like Austin, maintains that in speaking a language we attempt to "communicate things to the hearer by means of getting him to recognize our intention to communicate just those things." (Searle, 1969 : 43). Meaning, however, as Searle argues, is more than "a matter of intention, it is also a matter of convention". (Searle, 1969 : 45). Here I would like to point out that conventions result in institutionalized background knowledge, 'what everyone knows' (Garfinkel, 1967). When communicating, participants rely on conventions to make their intentions clear. And as Searle points out in an analysis of illocutionary acts, "we must capture both the intentional and the conventional aspects of them, and especially the relationship between them". (Searle, 1969 : 45). Searle, Austin and others in this line have mainly worked with decontextualized data. Others, however, have worked out sociolinguistic rules of use in longer stretches of discourse.

Labov, 1972a, for instance, discusses the conditions that should prevail for an utterance to be heard as a request for

action (or command). Such rules, which are shared by all members
of a linguistic community, take into consideration roles, duties
and obligations as they are accepted by all members of the commu-
nity. These considerations constitute part of the background
knowledge that all members share. These rules contain "the social
construct of the shared knowledge" which Labov, 1972a, argues is
not normally part of a linguistic rule. These are the rules of
interpretation and production which will eventually relate "what
is said" .... questions, statements, imperatives .... to "what is
done" .... requests, refusals, assertions, demands, insults, cha-
llenges, retreats, and so on. (Labov, 1972a : 254).

A language user's background knwoledge also includes know-
ledge of what constitutes a speech event as defined by the ethno-
graphy of speaking. Any instance where language is used as a means
of communication Hymes calls a "speech event". He defines a
speech event thus:

> "The term speech event will be restricted to activities
> that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use
> of speech. An event may consist of a single act, but
> it will often comprise several."
>
> (Hymes, 1972b : 56)

He then works out the factors involved in a speech event
which influence the selection of linguistic items by the speaker.
These are: setting, participants, purpose, key, channel, message
content, genre of discourse. These variables can constitute a
matrix against which any speech event may be examined and analysed,
regardless of the language and the cultural background. (cf. Bau-
man & Sherzer (eds.), Introduction, 1974). In other words, these
features seem to be common characteristics of different languages
and cultures.

Choice of topic and language in a speech event is always
conditioned by the broader context of domain. Fishman, 1972,
defines domains sociologically "in terms of institutional con-
texts or socio-ecological-co-occurrences". School, family, neigh-
bourhood, church, work, for instance, are characterized as do-
mains, that is, recognizable units within a community that share
their own norms of interaction and interpretation. Domains,
Fishman argues, enable us to understand how language choice and
topic are related to socio-cultural norms and expectations. Both,
he adds, are appropriate for analysing an individual's behaviour
in face-to-face verbal encounters.

Domains have also been characterized at a different level,
that of socio-psychological analysis. Fishman, 1972, reports
that Bomer, 1947, and Barber, 1952, have characterized domains
along the following matrix: intimate-informal-formal-intergroup
based on a socio-psychological analysis. The domains defined in
this fashion were then correlated with domains at the societal-
institutional level, as defined by sociology. The formal domain
was found to coincide with religious-ceremonial activities; the
intergroup domain consisted of economic and recreational activi-
ties as well as interactions with governmental-legal authority,
etc. (Fishman, 1972 : 19-20).

Domains may differ in their detailed characteristics from
setting to setting and from society to society. Domains of a multi-
lingual society, for instance, may be different from those found
in an immigrant-host context or a bilingual context (Gumperz and
Blom, 1972). However, domains are common features of societies,
no matter how institutionalized they may be. Relevant research,
for instance, has shown that the dimension of social distance,

i.e. formal-informal and so on, appears to be universal in language as in social life. (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1978).

Interactants also have knowledge of all the rules of interaction that are sanctioned and accepted in their society.
(cf. Frake, 1964; Sacks & Schegloff, 1973; Sacks et al., 1974).
Participants in an event know the rules of turn-taking, of interrupting, of getting, holding and relinquishing the floor and so on, as they are accepted in their society.

The last but not least constituent of background knowledge as product is that of shared knowledge of the world at large.
Knowledge of the world at large refers to substantive culture-bound information about role-relationships and status, institutionalized routines and situations which are not normally part of linguistic rules (cf. Labov, 1972a), interpersonal verbal rituals (cf. Goffman, 1972) and so on. Of course, it goes without saying that this culture-specific information differs from society to society, but I would argue here that its indispensability for the accomplishment of successful communication is part of any language user's 'knowledge and experience', as is the knowledge of domains discussed above, for instance.

As mentioned, Labov, 1972a, has argued that shared knowledge of the world at large is not always part of linguistic rules.
To exemplify his point, he quotes the following example and discusses the complex relationship holding between the following pair of sentences:

A : Are you going to work tomorrow?
B : I am on jury duty.

(Labov, 1972c, reported in
Coulthard, 1977 : 65)

For Labov the rule operating here for B's utterance to be heard as an answer to A's question depends on shared knowledge of the world, as content always culturally-bound and known by all members of the society and to which a speaker can allude or appeal. In this case, Labov writes, A will assume that there is a proposition known to both which connects B's utterance to A's question, that is, if someone is on jury duty he cannot go to work. "Failure to locate such a proposition," Labov argues, "may reflect a real incompetence." (Labov, 1972c, reported in Coulthard 1977 : 65).

To sum up, knowledge as product constitutes a language user's knowledge of the "rules" of the language in terms of usage and use, that is, knowledge of "what to say to whom, when and where" as substantive information. (cf. Widdowson, 1976, 1979).

3.3.2 Background knowledge as process

Knowledge as product makes up one aspect of the background knowledge that participants in an event bring with them in a communicative situation. The other aspect of the background knowledge that activates the process of selection of 'what is relevant, appropriate and intelligible' for a particular communicative event out of the vast resources of a language user's knowledge as product, is what I have called knowledge as process. Labov and Fanshel, 1977, I would argue, make reference to it when they argue that the application of sequencing rules between the actions performed in communication depends upon "particular knowledge" shared among participants in the event. (Labov & Fanshel, 1977 : 73). This particular knowledge I take to be the participants' shared knowledge as process.

I would suggest that the constituents of this knowledge as process should be the cognitive processes and cognitive structures that are sanctioned and accepted in a society, in other words, the way a particular society is cognizing the world as structure and process. (Piaget, 1954; also Bruner, 1975, 1978; Sinclair de Zwart, 1973; Bloom & Lahey, 1978); (cf. Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on learning to communicate in the context of the (cognitive) interactionist approach.). However, which are the processes that decide the selection of 'what is relevant, appropriate and intelligible' for a particular communicative event in a natural verbal encounter? I would argue that the work done by ethnomethodologists, sociolinguists and philosophers of language deals with the properties of these processes.[10] They are well exemplified by the work of Cicourel, 1973; Grice, 1967; Labov, 1972a and Goffman, 1971, 1976. I shall briefly discuss the nature of this aspect of background knowledge making reference to their work.

A. Cicourel, 1973

Cicourel, 1973, defines knowledge as process, or as he calls it, interpretive procedures, thus:

> "They are not "rules" in the sense of such general
> policies or practices like operational definitions
> or legal and extra-legal norms, where a sense of
> 'right' and 'wrong' pre-or proscriptive norm or
> practice is at issue. Instead they are part of all
> inquiry yet exhibit empirically defensable proper-
> ties that advise the member about an infinite

---

[10] I would like to put forward a point which I will not pursue any further since it is outside the scope of the present research. I would suggest that for a better understanding of language learning and language development in the context of EFL, the work of cognitive psychologists, interactionist psychologists (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.1, pp.23-25),as well as of ethnomethodologists, sociologists and philosophers of language should be considered as complementary.

collection of behaviour displays and provide him
with a sense of social structure."

(Cicourel, 1973 : 51)

Cicourel has isolated six properties of interpretive proce-
dures. These are:

1. The reciprocity of perspectives

2. The et cetera assumption

3. Normal forms

4. Retrospective-prospective sense of occurence

5. Talk itself is reflexive

6. Descriptive vocabularies as indexical expressions.

Cicourel maintains that "interpretive procedures prepare and
sustain an environment of objects for inference and action vis-à-vis
culture-bound world view and the written and "known in common"
surface rules" (Cicourel, 1973 : 52). He takes them to be in-
nate in the human being. Thus he argues they make up the deep
structure of communication whereas the culture-bound world view
and the written and "known in common" that differ from society to
society (and even from group to group within a society) make up
the surface structure of communication.

His approach, which distinguishes between interpretive procedures
and surface rules is influenced by generative linguistics where
semantic properties are attached to deep structure. Thus he man-
ages to maintain in cognitive sociology the Chomskyan distinction
of surface structure - deep structure in linguistics (Chomsky,
1965). Cicourel argues that both the acquisition of linguistic
rules and of norms presupposes interpretive procedures.

Cicourel's approach, that interpretive procedures are innate
and make up the deep structure of communication, is not followed

in this research, rather as I have argued in Chapter 2, interpretive procedures as cognitive processes are learned and developed as the child learns how to communicate non-verbally first and later on verbally. It is   the main aim of communication as well as the factors involved in successful communication that renders features and properties of it pancultural ᴧthan innate predisposition. (See section 3.5 this chapter for a detailed discussion on this issue).

The very properties Cicourel attributes to interpretive procedures are important for us here. These properties are based on and make explicit the importance of "background expectancies", "common sense shared knowledge" (Garfinkel, 1967) that participants in an event must share if they are to understand each other. Thus they determine which aspects of background knowledge as product are relevant, appropriate and intelligible in the act of communication. In terms of the present research I take Cicourel's interpretive procedures to describe properties of what I have called knowledge as process, whereas "the culture-bound world view and the written and known in common" to describe what I have called knowledge as product (see section 3.3.1). The present research indicates that the properties of the processes Cicourel describes seem to be common in all languages but they may differ as substantive information (cf. Keenan, 1977a).

The first property Cicourel describes is that of the <u>reciprocity of perspectives</u>. Cicourel, 1973, describes this property as follows: (after Schutz, 1953, 1955)

    a.   "Speakers in an event take for granted that each would probably have the same experience of the immediate scene if they were to change places, and

    b.   (unless it is proved otherwise) the speaker and hearer both assume that each can disregard, for the purpose at hand, any differences originating in their personal ways of assigning meaning to, and deciding the relevance of, everyday life activities, such

> that each can interpret the environment of
> objects (actual verbal behaviour) they are both
> attending in an essentially identical manner
> for the practical action in question."
>
> (Cicourel, 1973 : 52-53)

Thus interactants can assume that "their descriptive accounts or utterances will be intelligible and recognizable features of a world known in common and taken for granted". (Cicourel, 1973 : 53). Cicourel does stress the importance of some common ground shared between participants in an event. This common ground can be as much a matter of cognitive processes i.e. knowledge as process, as a matter of "known in common and written down" culture-bound information i.e. knowledge as product. Unless there is a common core to start with, communication is unintelligible. (cf. Chapter 2, especially section 2.3.2).

The second property is that of "the et cetera assumption". As Garfinkel, 1964, suggests, understanding requires that a speaker and a hearer assume the existence of common understandings (i.e. shared knowledge) of what is being said "when the descriptive accounts are seen as obvious and even when not immediately obvious" (Cicourel, 1973 : 53). This assumption, Cicourel argues, serves the important function of "allowing things to pass despite their ambiguity or vagueness, or allowing the treatment of particular instances as sufficiently relevant or understandable to permit viewing descriptive elements as appropriate." (Cicourel, 1973 : 53).

Cicourel maintains that this property relies upon particular elements of language itself, for instance, lexical terms, phrases, idiomatic expressions or "double entendres" and paralinguistic features of exchanges for indexing (Garfinkel, 1967) the course of

meaning of the conversation. Language, therefore, verbal as well
as non-verbal carries meaning that goes beyond the three distinct
layers of phonology, morphology/syntax and semantics per se and
is conventionalized by society to serve its purposes for efficient
communication to function among its members. Searle also argues
along these lines when he writes that meaning is more than "a
matter of intention, it is also a matter of convention". (Searle,
1969 : 45).

The third property Cicourel, 1973, discusses is what he calls
"normal forms" which is expressed through verbal behaviour. For
Cicourel, the first two properties presume the existence of certain
"normal forms" of acceptable talk upon which participants in an
event rely for assigning sense to their intentions and purposes.
Competent members of society, Cicourel argues, recognize and employ
normal forms in daily interaction under the assumption that all
communication is "what everyone knows". (Garfinkel, 1964 : 237-8).

The property of normal forms is invariant to a given society,
but always culture-bound, and includes "commitments to a normative
or value-oriented conception of appropriateness". (Hymes, 1971).
In terms of this research I take the property of normal forms to
be exemplified in actualized language behaviour as linguistic rea-
lizations employed by the participants in an event (see section
3.3.4).

The fourth property Cicourel attributes to interpretive pro-
cedures is that conversation also depends "on speaker's and hearer's
ability to postpone deciding what was intended before until later".
This property enables the speaker and hearer "to maintain a sense
of social structure despite deliberate or presumed vagueness on
the part of the participants in an exchange." (Cicourel, 1973 : 53).

Practical examples of this property are, for instance, a speaker's ability to talk on topic and be understood, instead of talking on the previous speaker's utterance (Sacks, 1972) or participants' ability to understand overt or covert violations of maxims in conversation (Grice, 1967).

The fifth property Cicourel discusses is that of "talk is reflexive". Cicourel does not refer to the content of talk but "simply to its presence during speech and the expectation that particular forms of speech will give a setting the appearance of something recognizable and intelligible". (Cicourel, 1973 : 55).

Features of reflexivity for Cicourel are:

a. "the timing of speech (as opposed to deliberate or random hesitation and alterations of normal forms, intonational contours).

b. the timing of periods of silence or such occasional reminders of normal speech, like "uh, huh, I see, ah," which reflexively guide both speaker and hearer throughout exchanges."

(Cicourel, 1973 : 55)

Practical examples of the reflexivity of talk on turns and turn-taking are to be found in Sacks et al. (1974), on points of possible completion in Jefferson (1973) and on conversational rules of turn-taking in Duncan (1972, 1973, 1974).

The sixth property Cicourel attributes to interpretive procedures is that of "descriptive vocabularies as indexical expressions". Cicourel draws on Garfinkel, 1967, to support this property. Garfinkel, 1967, argues that members in a society rely upon the existence and use of descriptive vocabularies for handling exchange of information and description of activities. He considers these vocabularies as an index to the society's experience.

Cicourel, 1973, argues that the significance of conversational

(or written) indexical expressions is not merely a problem of
pragmatic context, but it must also be part of the common know-
ledge, of "what everyone knows" (Garfinkel, 1967) in order to
decide the indexicality or value (Widdowson, 1978b) of an utter-
ance or some part of the utterance. It is this commonly shared
oral dictionary that allows members of a society to carry on con-
versation. Although realizations of this property as well as of
normal forms are culture-specific, as cognitive processes they
are a necessary pre-requisite to any successful verbal communica-
tion. As such I would argue here that they are part of the 'know-
ledge and experience' a language user has learned while learning
his mother tongue.

To sum up, with regard to the properties of interpretive
procedures that Cicourel, 1973, describes, I take them to be des-
criptions of cognitive processes language users learn and develop
while learning a language, their mother tongue. The function of
these cognitive processes which are indispensable to any natural
communicative event is to decide what is within and without the
joint activity in a communicative event. The interaction of these
processes over knowledge as product results in strategies (see
section 3.3.3). It seems that it is knowledge as product that
renders actualized language behaviour culture-specific and differ-
ent from society to society.

Cicourel, however,   not only describes properties of
interpretive procedures but he also indicates what interactants
might do if interpretive procedures are suspended. He observes
that "When the appearance of the speaker and hearer or talk is
not viewed as recognizable and intelligible such that the et
cetera assumption cannot overcome discrepancies or ambiguities,

efforts will be made by participants in the event to normalize
the presumed discrepancies." [11]/ (Cicourel, 1973 : 53-54).
Cicourel's observation has important implications for L_1 and L_2
learning. The question that immediately arises is "How do mem-
bers of a society manage to normalize the presumed discrepancies
and allow the interaction $\wedge$ to proceed "? In other words, what "strate-
gies" do they make use of to achieve this end in the course of
interaction? Goffman has also raised this point of corrective
action in Goffman, 1971, 1976. Whereas Goffman explicitly states
what this corrective action participants may have at their dis-
posal is (see pp.75-76), Cicourel does not pursue the matter any
further. I shall refer to this point again in detail in section
3.3.3.

B.   Grice, 1967

Grice, 1967, on the other hand, discusses some other proper-
ties of knowledge as process which are also prerequisites to suc-
cessful communication. These conventions, as he calls them, are
also common sense knowledge among members of a society. They re-
flexively guide participants in an event to decide how much of
the overall background knowledge they have, they can make use of
in a specific communicative situation as the interaction unfolds.
Participants in an event are obliged to look not only for ways of
expressing themselves, but also for ways of making sure that the
vast expressive resources of face-to-face interaction (cf. Labov,

---

11/   Cicourel's sociologically oriented view about participants'
       efforts to normalize the presumed discrepancies is similar
       in sense to the reduction of dissonance or incongruity in
       psychology. (cf. Festinger, 1957; Brown, 1962, 1965)
       (Reported in Cicourel, 1973 : 54).

1972b; Cicourel, 1973; Garfinkel, 1967) are not employed to convey something unintended and irrelevant to what preceded or to what will follow. The overriding convention, for Grice, is what he calls the "cooperative principle" which requires ∧that the speaker to be cooperative since communication is a cooperative effort. This cooperation Grice represents in four general principles (or in Cicourel's terms, properties) which he calls maxims. These are:

1. The Maxim of Quantity: Make your contribution no more and no less informative than is required.

2. The Maxim of Quality: Say only that which you both believe and have adequate evidence for.

3. The Maxim of Relation: Be relevant.

4. The Maxim of Manner: Make your contribution easy to understand.

For Grice the maxims are normative rules that can be violated without violating the cooperative principle. In this case, however, the speaker must make the violation overt so that the listener can realize that the maxim has actually been violated intentionally. Intentional overt violations, Grice maintains, lead to conversational implicatures. If the speaker violates a maxim covertly or unintentionally and therefore the listener does not realize it, then accurate and effective communication breaks down because events are no more AB-events but ∧they are A-events and B-events (Labov, 1972b), or in other words, knowledge is not shared. Intentional covert violations, Grice argues, produce lies, whereas unintentional violations lead to a less malevolent breakdown in communication.

The cooperative principle and the four maxims, Grice argues, constitute a type of social contract that influences the very

interpretations the listener attaches to what a speaker has said.
And on these interpretations the listener builds his own produc-
tions when he himself becomes the ratified speaker. This type of
social contract functions in the same way as Cicourel's proper-
ties and Labov's 1972b, AB-events. I take them all to describe
properties of the same shared knowledge as process, that is, of
cognitive processes, that participants in an event bring with
them as sources for interpretation and production in natural
communication.

C.   Goffman, 1971, 1976

Goffman, 1976, has also looked at properties of knowledge as
process but he has described them from a different point of view.
In natural communication he distinguishes two basic variables
interacting on each other: the system constraints and the ritual
constraints.

He defines system constraints as "the transmission require-
ments for utterances and the arrangements made in terms of condi-
tions to facilitate the extended flow of talk." (Goffman, 1976 : 263).
Goffman argues that system constraints refer to such features of
conversation as turn-taking, signals that include a rerun, holding
of channel requests and interrupting a speaker in process (cf.
Sacks et al., 1974; Jefferson, 1973, 1972; Duncan, 1973); back-
channel feedback cues (cf. Duncan 1972, 1973, 1974); initiating
and terminating a conversation, introducing new topics (cf. Sacks
and Schefloff, 1973; Schegloff, 1972) as well as norms that
"oblige respondents to reply honestly with whatever they know that is relevant and no
more" (cf. Goffman, 1976 : 264).

Goffman, 1976, maintains that system constraints are culture-

free formulations, they are pancultural. Sacks et al., 1974,
also tend to support this view. I would like to argue here that
Goffman must take system constraints to be pancultural, not as
substantive information, but as cognitive processes. Goffman,
of course, does not make the distinction clear because his
orientation is sociological, not psychological (see also Chapter 2,
section 2.3 and 2.4 for a detailed discussion on the issue from
the point of view of psychology).

Goffman also argues that participants in an event   not only
make sure that their utterances convey the intended meaning and
are understood, but they are also "motivated to preserve every-
one's face" and by doing so "they then end up acting so as to pre-
serve orderly communication". For Goffman, 1976, preserving every-
one's face makes up the category of ritual constraints in communi-
cation. Goffman, 1976, defines ritual constraints, that is, the
feelings of participants for each other, as the considerations
that

> "sustain and protect through expressive means what
> can be supportively conveyed about persons and
> their relationships."
>
> (Goffman, 1976 : 303)

Ritual constraints, Goffman argues are culture-specific. Here
again I would like to distinguish between ritual constraints as
cognitive processes and ritual constraints as substantive informa-
tion. Ritual constraints as cognitive processes seem to be part
of any language user's cognitive orientation and knowledge as
process which reflexively guide him what to say, to whom, when
and where without violating interactants' status, rights and obli-
gations to each other. Ritual constraints, however, as substan-
tive information are culture-specific and part of a language user's
knowledge as product (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1978 , where they

discuss "process" and "product" aspects of politeness across
cultures and languages. However, they do not make clear the
distinction   proposed in the present research).

To exemplify his views on ritual constraints, Goffman, 1976,
quotes the following example and discusses the ritual constraints
operating on this interchange.

(i)   A : Do you have the time?
(ii)   B : Sure. It's five o'clock.
(iii) A : Thanks.
(iv)   B : (Gesture) It's okay.
                    (Goffman, 1976 : 265)

The first utterance, Goffman argues, serves as a request but
it also functions to neutralize the potentially offensive conse-
quence of a demand on somebody else. Goffman calls this utterance
a 'remedy'.

The second utterance, he argues, demonstrates that the poten-
tial offender's effort to nullify offense is acceptable and he
calls it a 'relief'. An item that particularly attends to ritual
constraints is B's "Sure". By employing it, B indicates his will-
ingness to answer the request immediately. This is necessary be-
cause by the time B looks at his watch and tells the time there has
been a short lapse of time filled in with silence. Silence is one
of the options open to a potential speaker if he does not want to
take the offered floor. B wants to avoid this awkward situation
by using "sure" before he gives his answer. Had he not done so,
Goffman argues, A might have considered that he took the request
offensively by letting silence prevail until he gave his answer.
The third utterance is a display of gratitude for the service
rendered and for its provider not taking the claim on himself.
It can be called 'appreciation'. The last utterance, Goffman

argues, demonstrates that "enough gratitude has been displayed
and thus the displayer is to be counted off as a properly feeling
person" who has adequately attended to the ritual constraints
imposed on such an occasion by their culture. This final utter-
ance Goffman calls 'minimation' (Goffman, 1972 : 139-43; also
reported in Goffman, 1976 : 265).

Participants in face-to-face interaction, therefore, do not
merely attend to and accomplish the doing of actions, that is,
they do not merely operate on system constraints but they also
attend to the ritual constraints as they are determined by their
culture. Successful communication, Goffman maintains, depends on
the necessary balance between system and ritual constraints as
the occasion demands it. Distinguishing between system and ritual
constraints is, of course, a convenient way to talk about them.
In fact, any act performed during talk will carry ritual signifi-
cance, some indirectly (see, for instance, utterance (i) in Goff-
man's example, p.73), others directly. Those that carry direct
ritual significance, Goffman argues, seem to be specialized for
this purpose - ritualized in the ethnological sense - and play a
special role in conversation (see, for instance, utterance (iii)
in Goffman's example cited on p.73). The controlling purpose of
these utterances is to give praise, blame, thanks, support, affec-
tion, or show gratitude, disapproval, dislike, sympathy, or greet,
say farewell and so forth (Goffman, 1976). Goffman argues that
part of the force of these utterances comes from the feeling they
directly convey, and that only little of the force derives from
the semantic content of the words.

As pointed out already (cf. pp.68-69) participants in an event
will make efforts "to normalize presumed discrepancies if 'the

et cetera assumption' cannot overcome discrepancies or ambiguities"
(Cicourel, 1973). Cicourel's normalization of discrepancies, I
would suggest, refers both to system constraints and ritual con-
straints (in Goffman's terms) when he writes "When the appearance
of the speaker and hearer or talk is not viewed as recognizable
and intelligible.... efforts will be made by participants in the
event to normalize the presumed discrepancies". (Cicourel, 1973 :
53-54).

Goffman, 1971, indeed, discusses the corrective action at
participants' disposal when the speaker's biography of himself
and the image of himself that seems to have just been expressed,
willingly or unwillingly, contradict each other. At such times,
Goffman argues, the individual is likely to try to integrate the
incongruous events by means of certain strategies and tactics.

He distinguishes two basic categories of corrective action :
the "defensive practices" when the participant employs the stra-
tegies to protect his own projection of self, and the "protective
practices" or "talk" when a participant employs them to save the
definition of the situation projected by another.[12]/

This remedial work, Goffman, 1971, argues, is achieved
through:

1. Accounts, such as explanations, excuses, pretexts.

2. Apologies, they may occur before or (usually) after
   the offence has taken place.

---

[12]/ Goffman, 1971, also distinguishes supportive rituals. He
   defines them as "phenomenally different acts that seem to
   have some sort of formal features in common, some sort of
   shared interpersonal theme." He distinguishes different
   classes in accordance with the function they serve, for
   instance, congratulation, commiseration, condolences,
   greetings, leave-takings etc.

3. <u>Excuses and disclaimers</u>. Through these acts
   participants in an event try to save face.
   (Goffman, 1961)

4. <u>Requests</u>, they typically occur before the question-
   able event or at the latest, during its initial
   phases. Goffman, 1971, defines a request as con-
   sisting of "asking licence of a potentially offend-
   ed person to engage in what could be considered a
   violation of his rights. The actor shows that he
   is fully alive to the possible offensiveness of his
   proposed act and begs sufferance. At the same time
   he exposes himself to denial and rejection."

To sum up, system and ritual constraints as cognitive process-
es are part of the 'knowledge and experience' language users have
and are part of their knowledge as process (cf. Brown & Levinson,
1978). But as substantive information that is, knowledge as pro-
duct, they may be different from society to society.

D. Labov, 1972b

Labov, 1972b, discusses the importance of the knowledge both
participants equally share, i.e. AB-event, or may have independent-
ly of each other, i.e. A-event, B-event for the production and
interpretation of utterances. So, he argues, the rule for an utt-
erance declarative in form to be interpreted as a request for con-
firmation depends on the distinction of A-events and B-events. In
other words,

> "If A makes a statement about a B-event it is heard
> as a request for confirmation."
>
> (Labov, 1972b : 254)

I would take Labov's rules for interpretation and production
based on AB-events to describe properties of the shared knowledge
as process that interactants bring with them in a communicative
situation. This shared knowledge helps them to interpret a speaker's
utterances and produce their own so that communication can proceed

smoothly.

In this section I have outlined some of the properties that describe a language user's knowledge as process. This knowledge as process helps him to selectively choose out of his vast resources of knowledge as product what is relevant, appropriate and intelligible for a particular communicative event. Selection processes are activated as a result of the interaction of background knowledge as process over background knowledge as product in the context of a given communicative event where all parameters, human as well as physical, are taken into account. This interaction results in strategies, the internal procedures for interpretation and production. I shall discuss strategies in the next section.

3.3.3 Strategies: the internal procedures

Strategies are the internal procedures of communication realized in actual performance. This performance is the external product of communication and can be studied by an analyst, whether oral or written. I take strategies to mean "the way we realize the communicative import of language in use". (cf. Widdowson, 1976, 1978, 1979). I would suggest that my strategies should be similar in scope with those Widdowson, 1976, 1979, calls procedures. The strategies are distinguished in two broad categories in accordance with their function in actual communication. These are cohesive strategies and coherent strategies.

In distinguishing between cohesive and coherence strategies I also follow the distinction as is proposed and defined by Widdowson, 1976, 1979. By cohesive strategies, that is, I mean

the way "language users may employ rules of usage to realize the
propositional development of language in use" (Widdowson, 1978)
in a specific communicative event. The work of Sacks, 1972, for
instance, on 'membership categorization devices' or that of Hall-
iday and Hasan, 1976, on grammatical cohesion, describe some of
the rules of usage the selection of which exemplifies cohesion
strategies in the act of communication. By coherent strategies
I mean the way in which "language users realize what communica-
tive act is being performed in the expression of particular
propositions and how different acts are related to each other"
in actual communication. (Widdowson, 1979 : 146). The work of
Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Frake, 1964; Goffman, 1976;
Mishler, 1975a, 1975b; Merrit, 1976; Corsaro, 1977; Labov &
Fanshel, 1977, among many others, refers to different types of
coherent strategies participants make use of in communication.
Some coherent strategies refer to the overall interaction struc-
ture of communication in relation to the topic and the biograph-
ies of the participants. Others refer to the segmentation of
interaction in a step-by-step development, as the participants
interchangeably become speakers and listeners. Still others are
used to restore normality in interaction either because partici-
pants do not share relevant information or because of mishearings,
unhearings or misunderstandings. This corrective action may refer
either to system or ritual constraints.

I would suggest, therefore, that coherent strategies should
be distinguished into two categories. The distinction can be
based upon the overt or covert function they serve in actual com-
munication. So coherent strategies such as overall interaction
structure, segmentation of interaction etc. I would classify as

overt communicating strategies. However, as the main aim of communication is to impart worthwhile information, in other words, new information, these overt communicating strategies are also covert learning strategies (cf. Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion). Yet, some of the strategies participants in an event use to restore normality because of lack of shared knowledge, I would classify as overt learning strategies and covert communicating strategies since they mainly aim at developing shared knowledge as well as at restoring the shaken equilibrium between participants. And in this category there also fall the strategies mothers make use of to help their children develop their learning and communicating abilities, and which children themselves will eventually use for the accomplishment of successful communication. (cf. Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion). For as Grimshaw, 1977, argues, L_1 learning never stops though we are sometimes less attentive to the facts of continuing phonological change and of continuing learning of both appropriateness rules (Hymes, 1972a) and of strategies [13] for getting things socially accomplished with talk.

Depending on the functions these strategies serve in natural communication I will classify them as follows: communicating strategies (such as overall interaction structure, topic development, minimal communicating strategy) may make up the macro-strategies or constitutive features of interaction, because they are "sine qua non" for interaction relevant anywhere and any time. (See chapter 5 for a detailed discussion on the constitutive

---

[13] By strategies he means things like firing someone, breaking with a sweetheart, expressing condolences and so on.

features of(L_2)communication). On the other hand, communicating
strategies to restore normality because of lack of shared know-
ledge, unhearings, mishearings and/or misunderstandings may make
up the micro-strategies or regulative features of interaction.
Their function is to regulate the communication process at the
'here and now' of a conversational exchange whenever there is a
crisis. (See Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion on the regula-
tive features of (L_2) communication). Knowledge of strategies,
along with knowledge as product and process, make up a language
user's background knowledge which he brings with him in any com-
municative event as a first source of interpretation and produc-
tion.

3.3.4 Actualized language behaviour

Actualized language behaviour is the linguistic realizations
or vocal behaviour employed by participants in an event to express
their communicative intent. It is culture specific and differs
from society to society, and from subgroup to subgroup within a
broader society. As already stated I will not discuss actualized
verbal or vocal language behaviour because it is outside the scope
of the present research.

3.4 Selecting and applying strategies

The nature of interaction, however, which involves a step-
by-step development, renders background knowledge insufficient
for an understanding of interaction in progress where partici-
pants interpret, produce and negotiate meanings interchangeably,
selecting and applying strategies as the development of inter-
action demands it. It is necessary, therefore, for a better under-
standing of interaction in progress, to try to define the rela-

tionship of shared knowledge and developing interaction. This
relationship is the result of the application of strategies for
interpretation and production by the participants, and demon-
strates the communicating and learning nature of interaction.
Then, it is important to try to define meaning in interaction
from the point of view of the participants in interaction who
apply strategies for communication to function, as well as from
the point of view of an outsider in interaction who watches
others' doing things with words. Finally, I shall relate them
both to L_2 participants' knowledge and experience as language
users.

To define the relationship of shared knowledge and develop-
ing interaction I shall base the discussion on a model worked
out by Kjolseth, 1972. To define meaning in communication I
shall refer to the writings of Garfinkel, 1967; Schutz, 1967 and
Labov, 1972a.

3.4.1 Shared knowledge and developing interaction

Language users do not make use of all this background know-
ledge as product, process and strategies in every communicative
event they are involved in as the interaction develops. On the
contrary, they selectively choose out of this vast shared know-
ledge what is relevant, appropriate and intelligible for a
particular communicative event. This process of selection is
the result of the application of appropriate strategies relevant
to a specific communicative event and the participants' "self-
role" and "other-role". This process of selection, I think, is
well exemplified in a model proposed by Kjolseth, 1972. Kjolseth
discusses the relationship of shared knowledge for interpreta-
tion and production with developing natural communication. He

sees this relationship as a dynamic but narrowing down process. This narrowing down process is the result of the selection and application of strategies strictly relevant to a particular setting as a whole, as well as from conversational exchange to conversational exchange and from speaking turn to speaking turn as the interaction unfolds.

So Kjolseth, 1972, argues that while background shared knowledge is essential, it is itself insufficient "for members' methods of making situated sense of occasional indexical performances", in other words, this background shared knowledge is not enough for participants to interpret and produce context-dependent utterances. Further knowledge, Kjolseth, 1972, argues, is essential and participants do have shared knowledge other than background, which is relevant to a specific setting. Kjolseth, 1972, calls this foreground knowledge. He defines foreground knowledge thus:

> "Foreground knowledge is what anybody knows is cate-
> gorically relevant for the duration of this setting."
> (Kjolseth, 1972 : 62)

So language users who are about to participate in an event select out of the vast resources of their background knowledge these coherence and cohesion strategies which are relevant, appropriate and intelligible for the duration of this setting. This process of selection is the result of the interaction of participants' knowledge as process and product on each other where setting, roles, rights and obligations are taken into account. This interaction determines the overt communicating strategies of interaction structure, overall topic development and minimal communicating strategy of communication for a specific communica-

tive event, that is, the constitutive features of communication.
The constitutive features of communication are realized in actual-
ized language behaviour and are available for examination as co-
herent macro-strategies. (cf. section 3.3.3 this chapter, as well
as Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion on this issue).

Kjolseth, 1972, however, argues that foreground knowledge
(that is, as process, product, strategies) may be good for making
sense of a communicative event as a whole, but it is not enough
for making sense of communication from conversational exchange to
conversational exchange.[14] So Kjolseth proposes two other aspects
of knowledge also shared by interactants, the emergent grounds
knowledge and the transcedent grounds knowledge.

Kjolseth defines emergent grounds knowledge thus:

> "Emergent grounds knowledge is 'what we know is speci-
> fically relevant here and now at this episode'."

> (Kjolseth, 1972 : 65)

This is knowledge relevant to a particular exchange and is
restricted to   participants only because as Kjolseth writes,
"we" the participants are "witnesses and representatives of this
knowledge" and each use of the emergent grounds exemplifies this
"we". (See also section 3.4.2 this chapter for a detailed discuss-
ion on meaning in communication). This dimension of knowledge,
Kjolseth argues, has its domain of relevance sharply restricted
to an occurring exchange here and now, whereas background and
foreground knowledge are essential only for coming to terms with
what the other's performance means at the beginning of the inter-

---

[14] A conversational exchange is here defined as a minimal con-
versational unit usually made up of three turns (cf. Chap-
ter 5, section 5.6 for a detailed discussion on conversa-
tional exchanges).

action and overall throughout it. Emergent grounds knowledge as process, product, strategies is reorganized and evolved by each new exchange and is essential for making sense of the other's performance at the level of conversational exchanges.[15/] This process of reorganization and evolution is the result of the application of appropriate coherent and cohesion strategies relevant to a specific conversational exchange. Selection of an appropriate strategy depends on topic development, role and status of participants, the physical and cultural constraints of the exchange and what was said before or what will follow. These strategies are available for examination as coherent micro-strategies, that is, the regulative features of interaction. (cf. Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion on this issue.)

The intimacy and uniqueness of emergent grounds shared knowledge for understanding a conversation has also been stressed by Garfinkel, 1967. Garfinkel maintains that interaction is dynamic evolving around "you and me" who are interacting and who may share knowledge that is not to the understanding of an outsider although all of us (you and me and him) may be members of the same speech community and we do share "what everyone knows" or in Kjolseth's terms, background and foreground shared knowledge. (See section 3.4.2 this chapter for a detailed discussion.)

[15/] The actual contents of the emergent grounds in a setting at a specific exchange have been characterized in a number of ways. Turner, 1962, for instance, speaks of "the situated evolution of tentative roles"; Van de Vate, 1966, speaks of "the situated language usage collectively legislated"; Moerman, 1968, notes that in natural conversation "context is built up by aligning actions and actors"; Kjolseth, 1968, depicts the emergent grounds as "a conversational resource composed by a structure population of relevances with variable degrees of tolerance"; Cicourel, 1970, refers to "unfolding contingencies"; Collins, 1967, speaks of "the development of a situational culture". (Reported in Kjolseth, 1972 : 65)

The emergent grounds of conversation evolve very rapidly as the interaction unfolds and unless a participant in an event is a skilled enough co-interactant his interpretation of the performance will be slow. Kjolseth himself stresses the fact that L_2 speakers will face even more problems in interpreting and producing from conversational exchange to conversational exchange because they will participate in the emergent grounds t when their L_1 co-interactants are already sharing emergent grounds t + 2 or 3. (Kjolseth, 1972 : 67)

Kjolseth, however, argues that the three types of knowledge discussed so far are still insufficient for making sense of real performances in interaction at the level of speaking turn to speaking turn. Kjolseth maintains that there is also a fourth type of knowledge shared between participants on the grounds that "normal events have a retrospective-prospective sense of occurence for members" (cf. also Cicourel, 1973; Grice, 1967). He calls this type of shared knowledge transcedent grounds shared knowledge.

Kjolseth, 1972, gives the following definition for transcedent grounds shared knowledge:

> "Transcedent grounds shared knowledge 'is what we
> know is potentially relevant here and now at this
> episode'."
> (Kjolseth, 1972 : 67)

Kjolseth maintains that transcedent grounds knowledge, like emergent knowledge, is situationally redistributed and reorganized as well as equally variable. The distinguishing feature between emergent and transcedent knowledge is that the former is real and objective (and, of course, available for examination in actualized language behaviour), whereas the latter is unrealized and potential. However, Kjolseth argues, when transcedent grounds shared knowledge

is adequately realized, it passes into emergent grounds knowledge.

This knowledge is not unlimited, but only situationally transcedent or "what is for members potentially relevant, appropriate and intelligible here and now". (Knolseth, 1972). For each speaking turn, Kjolseth argues the potential transcedent grounds are "actually a list of alternative, limited yet relevant responses of potential intelligibility, relevance and appropriateness". In terms of the present research, I would argue here, that transcedent grounds are actually a list of alternative cohesion and coherent strategies that may be applicable in a particular conversational exchange from speaking turn to speaking turn. For Kjolseth the fact that the inappropriate response or rather strategy realized in actualized language behaviour would be evident to both parties demonstrates that the members of a speech community "share defining criteria determining what is within and without the bounds of potential relevance". (Kjolseth, 1972 : 70) Transcedent grounds, for Kjolseth, like emergent grounds, are shared. These defining criteria are conditioned by the constraints of the preceding interaction, the current topic, the facts of the situation such as status and role, the current speaker's intentions, the biographies of the participants, norms of interaction and the like, in other words, participants' transcedent grounds knowledge as product, process and strategies.

Kjolseth maintains that there is no hierarchy of importance to be established among these separate grounds. All grounds are constraints and resources and are all equally essential for the meaningful development of interaction. Similarly, as I have argued in section 3.3 this chapter, there is no hierarchy of import-

ance to be established among the contents of these grounds, namely, product, process, strategies, and of course, actualized language behaviour as a manifestation of communication. For, they are all equally essential for participants to achieve situated meaning as are the grounds of shared knowledge.

The relationship of these grounds exemplify a macro-strategy of a narrowing down process for the successful accomplishment of communication. However, when participants in an event communicate, in principle, they also impart to each other (in other words, they learn from each other) new cognitive, indexical and interaction-management information. Step-by-step negotiation of meaning and learning is a matter of participants' sharing product, process, strategies at emergent grounds. Kjolseth maintains that as soon as a conversational exchange is over all new knowledge exchanged passes into foreground knowledge for the duration of this setting. (cf. pp.52-54 where the relationship of strategies, processes and product for the development of communication is discussed.) Whereas as soon as the interaction is over all new knowledge exchanged passes into participants' background knowledge. Although Kjolseth does not make it clear his suggestion indicates the learning nature of communication.

I would argue, therefore, that participants in an event achieve negotiation of meaning through a narrowing down process of selection and application of strategies, but they achieve learning through a reverse process of expansion of their respective shared knowledge (of all four types) as the interaction comes to its conclusion. Figure 4 on p.88 schematically indicates these reciprocal processes that demonstrate the two-fold aim of any interaction: overt communication and covert learning, as argued

tries to explain common understanding in communication in socio-
logical terms. As a result, he overlooks the psychological pro-
cesses involved in natural communication. I raised this point
again in section 3.3.2 where I discussed the properties of the
cognitive processes that make up participants' knowledge as pro-
cess in natural communication.

Garfinkel, 1967, then distinguishes two types of meaning in
communication, the "product" meaning and the "process" meaning
of common understanding. The terms product and process are de-
fined differently by Garfinkel and by myself for the purposes
of the present research.(See pp.51-52 for a definition of the
terms knowledge as product and process).

Garfinkel, 1967, has based this distinction on Weber's con-
cept of Begreifen and Verstehen, each with its distinct character
as method and knowledge (cf. Schutz,1967). As "product" common
understanding is thought to consist of a shared agreement on
culture-specific substantive matters; as "process" it consists
of various methods whereby something that a person says or does
is recognized to accord with a rule. The process meaning of
common understanding, Garfinkel argues, is presumably based on
background expectancies, that is, shared knowledge as substan-
tive information and as rules of interpretation.

To exemplify the distinction between product and process,
Garfinkel, 1967, reports an experiment he conducted with his
students. He asked them to report what was actually talked about
by a husband and wife in a piece of conversation. He attributes
his students' failure to report what was actually talked about,
to the two different meanings of common understanding that exist
in communication. One is the "product" meaning "what everyone

knows" and the other is the "process" meaning which is dynamic
and evolves around "you and me" who are interacting and who may
share knowledge which is not understandable by an outsider al-
though all of us (you and me and him) may be members of the same
speech community and we do share "what everyone knows". There-
fore, Garfinkel argues, interactants in the process of communi-
cation develop their own intimate shared knowledge, on which
their methods as communication strategies (see p.52 for a defini-
tion) depend and to which an outsider cannot have access. In
terms of the present research I take this intimate knowledge to
be what Kjolseth calls emergent and transcedent grounds shared
knowledge in natural communication (cf. section 3.4 this chapter),
and to decide the regulative features of interaction.

Schutz,1967, on the other hand, distinguishes three differ-
ent meanings for the same action. He writes ".... the meaning
is necessarily a different one (a) for the actor; (b) for his
partner involved with him in interaction and having thus with
him a set of relevances and purposes in common; and (c) for the
observer not involved in such relationship". (Schutz,1967 : 24-
25). Schutz's interpretation of meaning for the actor, for his
partner and for the observer leads to two important consequences:
firstly, we have but a chance to understand the other's action
sufficiently for the purpose at hand and secondly, to increase
this chance, we have to search for the meaning the action has for
the actor. Schutz then postulates the "subjective interpretation
of meaning" as a principle of constructing "course-of-action
types", that is, strategies in communication. Schutz specifies
the subjective meaning thus:

"the subjective meaning an action has for an actor is
unique and individual because it originates in the
unique and individual biographical situation of the
actor".

(Schutz,1967 : 35)

In terms of the present research I would argue that subjective
interpretation of meaning depends on the actor and his partner
sharing emergent and transcedent grounds knowledge and thus
selecting and applying strategies which may not be to an under-
standing of outsiders.

Similarly, Labov, 1972a, makes a distinction between inter-
action in process and discourse as a finished product in the
hands of the analyst. He writes that we rely mainly upon our
intuition to distinguish coherent discourse from incoherent dis-
course. Labov, then, argues that the problem discourse analysts
face is to show how one utterance follows another "in a rational,
ruled-governed manner" in order to form "sound judgements and
interpret sequences of utterances" as the participants in conver-
sation do. (Labov, 1972a : 252). The observer, therefore, and
for that reason the discourse analyst, cannot really say what was
talked about since they did not share the "you and I" and "here
and now" (Garfinkel, 1967; Schutz, 1967; Kjolseth, 1972)
intimate shared knowledge developing in the unfolding communica-
tion.

In terms of the present research, I take the product mean-
ing of common understanding, based on the constitutive features
of communication, to be accessible to both participants and out-
siders (and for that reason the discourse analyst) because it
depends on background and foreground knowledge as product, process
and strategies shared by all. The process meaning of understand-

ing, however, based on the regulative features of communication, is accessible only to the participants in an event because it depends on their emergent and transcedent grounds knowledge (Kjolseth, 1972) as product, process and strategies shared only by the actor and his/her partner. This distinction bears important consequences for ELT. I shall discuss this issue in Chapter 7.

3.5 Communication Universals

Successful negotiation of meaning depends on an interaction of the two types of knowledge (knowledge as product and knowledge as process) which result in coherent and cohesive strategies. Strategies, as argued, become actualized through culture-specific language behaviour. These knowledge systems all language users possess. It is knowledge as process and strategies, however, that oblige the participants to make sure that the expressive resources of face-to-face interaction are not employed to convey something unintended but that they accomplish the doing of something as the circumstances require it. Shared knowledge as product, process, strategies and actualized language behaviour allows participants in an event to interpret and produce verbal and non-verbal behaviour accordingly and conduct themselves in accordance with their interpretation and production. In interacting with each other participants in a communicative situation are continually giving each other instructions as to the intentions, social character, their biographies and the like. Understanding of these instructions depends on the knowledge they share as substantive culture-bound information, cognitive processes and strategies.

Although vocal/non-vocal, verbal/non-verbal realizations
are culture-specific, the principles operating behind them as
processes and strategies seem to be universal/pancultural
(cf. sections 3.3 and 3.3.2 this chapter; also Chapter 2).
This leads to the argument that although knowledge as product
and actualized language behaviour may be different from society
to society, knowledge as process as well as strategies as in-
ternal procedures may be common to all of them. Bruner suggests
that what might be innate about language learning is not linguis-
tic innateness, as Chomsky, 1965, has argued, but "some special
features of human action and human attention that permit lang-
uage to be decoded by the uses to which it is put". (Bruner,
1975b). Thus knowledge as process and strategies, the psycho-
logical categories of communication, may make up what I would
like to call 'communication universals'. This view seems to be
supported by relevant research in cognitive psychology, inter-
actionist psychology, functional development of language, social
psychology and ethnomethodology. However, further research is
required to prove this point. (cf. Chapter 2, 3, 5, 6 and Con-
clusions.)

With reference to the L_2 learner, it is obvious that the
learner gets into learning the L_2 knowing how to use language
(his L_1) to communicate. He has learned all the necessary know-
ledge as process and strategies for face-to-face interaction for
learning and communicating purposes. Consequently the learner
may transfer this 'knowledge and experience' from L_1 communica-
tion to L_2 communication as a general strategy for communicating
and for learning any new linguistic, social and cognitive inform-
ation he might not know as he communicates. It is only after we

make this assumption that we can accept Rivers and Temperley's conclusion that "Linguistically gifted students will always develop confidence (in using the L_2 in true communication) with or without special guidance". (Rivers & Temperley, 1978 : 17) (See also Introduction.) Consequently native speakers and non-native speakers are expected to make use of similar strategies to communicate and learn.

In order to prove this hypothesis right, I set up an experiment which would allow the participants (non-native speakers and native speakers) to get involved in the joint activity where natural verbal and vocal communication is required to accomplish the joint action, and where information gaps between participants in the event need to be bridged if they were to do the task. The participants (non-native speakers as well as native speakers) were expected to make use of appropriate strategies for communicating and learning purposes. The aim of the present research is to identify these strategies and try to define the processes that decide the selection of one strategy over the other as a system of options. However, I shall first discuss the experimental design in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

The Experimental Design

4.1 Purpose of the Experimental Design

The purpose of the experiment   was to collect free
interaction data of Greek learners of English in natural L_2 com-
municative situations or mixed communicative situations.

A natural communicative situation is defined as a situation
where genuinely newsworthy cognitive and affective information
is exchanged between participants.   An L_2
communicative situation has been defined as a situation where L_2
learner-speakers interact among themselves in or outside an EFL
classroom situation. A mixed communicative situation has been
defined as a situation where L_2 learner-speakers interact with L_1
speakers. It was decided to set up an experiment to elicit con-
versational data which could then serve as the basis of an 'inter-
action analysis' of non-native communication   in an
attempt to discover how L_2 learners (with particular reference
to the Greek learner of English) communicate with other native
speaker as well as non-native speaker co-interactants. As already
stated, the present research aims at discovering the strategies
learners make use of for communicating and learning purposes in
natural L_2 communication. I will then try to define these strate-
gies in the light of the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3 and com-
pare them with the strategies used by native speaker participants.

To achieve this goal, pairs of subjects were asked to do a
problem-solving task. The task was to put together a jigsaw puzzle
using the L_2 as a medium of communication. The task was so de-
signed as to create information gaps of factual information be-
tween the subjects. The subjects were also expected not to share
all relevant background, foreground, emergent and transcedent

grounds knowledge as product, possibly knowledge as process
(especially in mixed communicative situations) and strategies
relevant to the task in question. It was hoped that the Greek
learners of English would reveal the learning strategies they
make use of to bridge gaps over non-shared factual or non-
factual information, as well as the communicating strategies
they make use of to monitor and sustain communication in the L_2.
It was expected that these strategies would be similar to those
L_1 speakers use in order to communicate (cf. Chapters 2 and 3).
For verification purposes the experiment was also replicated
with two native speaker subjects (see also section 4.4.1).

4.2 Real-life situation characteristics and their relevance to the experimental design

A game-playing situation was decided upon as the best way to
collect natural interaction data because it shares all basic
characteristics with real life situations. These characteris-
tics (after Goffman, 1961) are as follows:

(a) First, game-playing involves a step-by-step development
of "meaningful happenings" (Goffman, 1961) in order to achieve
the final goal. In our case, the subjects had to identify
the pieces and slowly reconstruct the jigsaw puzzle. They
could go about it either from top to bottom or from bottom
to top; or from left to right, or from right to left, or
from the frame to the centre or from the centre to the frame
(see Appendix I a', b', c').

(b) Second, game-playing also involves a "schema of express-
ion and interpretation" (Goffman, 1961) which depends upon
the steps to follow for the successful completion of the
game, as is the case, for instance, with a game of chess.

In other words, the subjects will have to negotiate mean-
ings for production and interpretation strictly relevant
to the situation, in order to do the task.

(c) Third, in playing a game participants also take up the
"game-generated roles or identities" (Goffman, 1961) and
conduct themselves in accordance with their roles as parti-
cipants in communicative events do in real-life situations.
In our case the subjects play the roles of two partners of
equal status in the joint activity. They will both be
seeking genuine and worthwhile information from each other
in order to do the task. The subjects would not simply
be playing roles assigned to them by the experimenter, as
is usually the case in role-playing activities and simula-
tions. In Turner's (1962) terms the subjects would be role-
making, they would not be role-taking. Turner defines role-
making as the case where the individual imposes on the role(s)
his personal characteristics, motivations, intentions, exper-
ience in relation to other roles and the situation as a whole;
whereas in role-taking the individual simply enacts, brings
to light the role(s) assigned to him by the society or the
role(s) he has willingly undertaken "as if roles had unequi-
vocal existence and clarity". (Turner, 1962 : 21-23).

To sum up the first three characteristics, games are world-
building situations and they seem to display in a simple way the
structure of real life situations. Game-playing is built around
an interaction of context, meaningful language in use and roles
that involve role-making processes. It is for these three basic
characteristics of game-playing that educators and language acqui-

sition researchers consider game-playing activities important

for the cognitive/perceptual/social/linguistic development of

the children (cf. Piaget, 1951; Bruner, 1977, 1978; Ryan, 1974

and others, for mother-tongue learning; Peck, 1978 for second

language learning.).

(d) A fourth important characteristic of game-playing is

the spontaneous involvement of the participants in the act

of playing. Goffman has this to say about what he calls

the "organismic psychobiological nature" of spontaneous

involvement:

> "When an individual becomes engaged in an activity
> whether shared or not, it is possible for him to
> become caught up by it, to be spontaneously involv-
> ed in it. A visual and cognitive engrossment
> occurs, with an honest unawareness of matters other
> than the activity. By this spontaneous involve-
> ment in the joint activity, the individual becomes
> an integral part of the situation, lodged in it
> and exposed to it."
> (Goffman, 1961 : 40)

Game-playing activities will help the subjects concen-

trate on the problem to be solved and not on the language it-

self. Because of the given context the subjects are expected

to be highly motivated to attend to the precision, adequacy,

appropriacy and relevance of what they say in relation to

the context and their partner's performance. Long & Casta-

nos, 1976, as well as Allwright, 1976, have similar things

to say about their learners' performance in lego construct-

ion experiments.

(e) Finally, this type of game was decided upon because of

the information gaps it could create for the subjects. The

information gaps were of two kinds:

(i) lack of shared knowledge‸as factual information, thus
  rendering the task worth doing for the participants
  because of the newsworthiness of messages to be
  exchanged;

                                             about the jigsaw

(ii) lack of shared knowledge of the L_2 as product, possi-
  bly as process and/or strategies. This type of non-
  shared knowledge cannot be pre-determined; nor is it
  something to be desired.

The   task   is expected to look more like a
natural joint activity than an experiment. The subjects
themselves are expected to find out how much they share of
the relevant but necessary knowledge as product, process and
strategies and then find 'ways and means' (i.e. relevant
strategies) to bridge the gaps of non-shared knowledge.

All characteristics of games discussed here are similar to
those found in real life communicative situations, that is, the
types of situation the learner-subjects may encounter in L_2 com-
municative situations and in mixed communicative situations in-
side and outside the classroom.

4.3 The Subjects

The subjects participated in the experiments on a voluntary
basis. No pre-test was administered to them to discover the ex-
tent of their knowledge of English. The experimental design aimed
at discovering the communicating/learning strategies the learners
would employ to achieve maximum communicative effect with whatever
knowledge of English they might have in a problem-solving situa-
tion. It is the main hypothesis of this thesis that the learners
regardless of age, classroom methodology, teaching materials,

non-native speaker teacher or native speaker teacher, contact

with the language outside the classroom and so on, will use simi-

lar strategies to negotiate meanings in L_2 communication. Learn-

ers will transfer their communicative ability as 'knowledge and

experience'about how to communicate from L_1 communication to L_2 com-

munication. To verify the hypothesis the subjects who participa-

ted in the experiment came from different schools. Teaching

materials and classroom methodology were different. Some had had

non-native speaker teachers only, others had had native speaker

teachers too. Some had had contact with the language outside

the classroom, others none at all. Some had known their partners

in the experiment for a long time, others for a few minutes.

Almost half of them were adolescents, the other half were adults.

Most of the experiments were conducted with pairs of Greek learn-

ers of English. Some, however, were conducted with pairs of Greek

learners and native speakers of English. (See also 4.4.1).

The age of the subjects ranged from 12 years to 40 years old.

It was decided to use only adolescent and adult learners in the

experiments because they are fully developed cognitively/percep-

tually/socially/linguistically in L_1. They have mastered commu-

nication in the L_1 and, consequently, have had all 'knowledge and

experience' of norms of interaction, norms of interpretation and

production as well as all substantive culture-bound information

and knowledge of the world at large. These are necessary factors

to successful communication as research in learning to communicate

and communication has shown (cf. Chapters 2 and 3).

The subjects' exposure to English as a foreign language

ranged from two years to ten years of instruction in an EFL situa-

tion. I would define the EFL situation as 'the teaching of English

as a foreign language which is most often conducted by a non-native speaker teacher when the L_2 is not the L_1 of the social milieu nor a lingua franca, but rather a three-to-four-hour-a-week classroom language'. Broadly speaking, they could be described as of second year beginners level to advanced level.

The subjects came from various <u>schools of English</u>. Some attended state high schools where English is taught as a foreign language, others attended private evening schools of English. Still others attended such schools as the British Council Institute in Athens and the Hellenic-American Union School of English, also in Athens. Others were students at the English Department, University of Athens. The subjects had been exposed to a variety of <u>teaching materials</u> and <u>classroom methodology</u> ranging from the traditional grammar-translation methods and materials to audio-lingually and situationally orientated methods and materials. Most of the subjects had had <u>non-native speaker teachers</u>, some, however, had had <u>native speaker teachers</u>, too. Most of them had had no contact with the English language outside the classroom; very few had had some contact with the language outside the classroom, either through reading for pleasure, or travelling in an English-speaking country or making occasional acquaintances with some English-speaking tourists in Greece.

Finally, the <u>length of time</u> the participants in an experiment had known each other varied. In the L_2 communicative situations most subjects knew their partners for a short or long period of time. Some had known each other for a few weeks, others for several years. The subjects were either classmates or attended the same school and had met each other during breaks. In the mixed communicative situations the participants had not known

each other before. They met some time before they were to do the task.

4.4 Description of the experimental design

Two subjects took part in each experiment. The subjects were sitting at either end of the table with an opaque screen in-between. The purpose of the screen was to exclude any other channels of communication (such as gestures, eye-contact, and so on) and to reinforce reliance on the spoken language only for communication purposes (cf. Chapter 3, p.47). A telephone conversation, for instance, would also involve the same parameters in order to achieve effective communication (cf. Schegloff, 1972).

As argued in Chapter 3, communication can only take place if participants in an event share the same knowledge as product, process, strategies and actualized language behaviour (cf. Chapter 3, pp.51-80).   The task was designed in such a way as to create information gaps between the participants, which they would be expected to bridge in order to do the task.

So one of the participants had the complete picture of the jigsaw puzzle as it appears on the cover of the box (see Appendix I, a, b, c.). In the transcriptions (see Appendices II, III, IV) this participant is designated by the letter X. The other participant had the broken jigsaw pieces (see Appendix I, a', b', c'). In the transcriptions, this participant is designated by the letter Z. Z did not know what the complete picture looked like, nor did X know which part of the complete picture each jigsaw piece showed. There were, therefore, information gaps between the participants. If the subjects were to do the task, they had to make use of appropriate strategies to bridge these gaps of

factual information. Apart from that the Greek subjects were
also required to use the L_2 to negotiate meanings. But they could
not know in advance whether they and their co-participant (be it
a native speaker or a non-native speaker) shared the necessary
knowledge of the L_2 for production and interpretation purposes
relevant to the task in question. In other words, they could
not know in advance whether they shared relevant background,
foreground, emergent and transcedent ground knowledge as product,
process and strategies (cf. Chapter 3). Whenever the subjects
did not share such knowledge of the L_2 they were expected to
use appropriate strategies to bridge gaps of shared knowledge to
complete the task. The Greek subjects were expected to transfer
these strategies from L_1 communication to L_2 communication as part
of their 'knowledge and experience'about how to communicate and learn
through language.

4.4.1 Total number of experiments

The total number of experiments is 34, distributed as follows:

Table 1

	Adolescents	Adolescents Adults	Adults	TOTAL
L_2 communicative situation	12	1	15	28
mixed communicative situation	2		3	5
L_1 communicative situation			1	1
TOTAL	14	1	19	34

Of the total number of experiments, 28 experiments were per-
formed by pairs of Greek learners in an L_2 communicative situation

(see Appendix II, for instance, for sample transcriptions of such an experiment). 5 experiments were performed by pairs of one Greek learner of English and one native speaker of English in a mixed communicative situation (see Appendix III for sample transcriptions of such an experiment). Finally, one experiment was performed by adult English native speakers (see Appendix IV). The last experiment was conducted for verification purposes. The aim was to identify and compare the communicating/learning strategies the native speakers *in that experiment* would use between themselves with those they would use with their non-native speaker partners. Suffice it to say now that all participants, native and non-native speakers, used similar strategies to bridge information gaps as well as to monitor and sustain communication. (cf. Chapters 5 and 6 for a detailed discussion on these issues).

4.4.2 Instructions

The following instructions were given to the subjects before they started on the task. The instructions were given in English. They were given in Greek on the subjects' request only, whenever some of them did not understand the instructions because their knowledge of English was poor.

> "You and your partner are going to play a game. You are
> requested to use only English in order to communicate.
> You will sit at opposite sides of the table. Between you
> there will be the screen so that you cannot see each other.
> You will be given a jigsaw puzzle. One of you will be
> given the complete picture of the jigsaw puzzle as it
> appears on the cover of the box, the other will be given
> the jigsaw pieces at random order. Whoever will have the
> complete picture won't know which part of the picture each
> piece shows. Whoever will have the jigsaw pieces won't
> know what the complete picture looks like. You are asked
> to reconstruct the jigsaw puzzle picture. The person with
> the complete picture will help the other to fit the jigsaw
> pieces together. All pieces must be used. Agree with
> each other how you would like to play the game by giving
> instructions, for instance, or asking for help and so on."

Most of the subjects did not know much about jigsaw puzzles.
It is a kind of game that had *only* been recently introduced to the toy
shops in Athens. Most subjects, therefore, were not familiar with
these unless they had had younger brothers and sisters.

After the instructions were given, the experimenter left
the room. It was decided it would be inhibiting for the partici-
pants if the experimenter, whom they *had* met for the first time, was
present. And as most of the subjects admitted later, it was the
first time they *had* used English to communicate in a natural situa-
tion.

4.4.3 Place

The experiments took place in one of the unoccupied class-
rooms of the schools the subjects attended. The conversations
were taped in a portable Sony tape-recorder.

4.4.4 Time

The experiments lasted from about a quarter of an hour to
thirty-five minutes. Mean length of experiments, twenty-five
minutes. The length of time depended on the amount of shared
meanings the subjects happened to have about the jigsaw puzzle
picture (factual information) as well as knowledge of the L_2 to
interpret and produce utterances in coherent interaction in the
L_2 relevant to the task in question. It seems that the more
participants in an event know in common the better and quicker
they can negotiate meanings to achieve the desired goal of the
conversation. Whereas the less participants share in common the
more time they will spend to advance the necessary shared know-

ledge if they are to do the task.[16] In other words, they will
have to employ relevant strategies to advance the missing shared
knowledge.

4.5 Transciption of conversational data

Transcripts were made of the conversational data. In decid-
ing the type of transcription to employ, I was guided by three
considerations: clarity of presentation; ease of reference for
the type of interaction analysis discussed in Chapter 5; and
the need to preserve in the transcript such conversational fea-
tures as hesitation, interruption, self-correction and simulta-
neous speech.

No reconstruction of the data has been attempted. The data
have been numbered from speaking turn to speaking turn for ease
of reference.

The symbols used in the transcript are as follows:

/   self correction

(....)   hesitation

    interruption

    simultaneous speech

X:: or Z:: Two pairs of double dots after X's
            or Z's numbered speaking turn indi-
            cate that the ratified speaker con-
            tinues his/her utterance uninterrup-
            ted while the other participant in

---

[16] Relevant to this point made here are Wall's (1968) and Chafe's
      (1970) findings reported in Bruner, 1978 : 42. Wall found
      that the mean length of dialogues between children and parents
      was shorter than that of dialogues between the same children
      and strangers. Chafe argued the difference found in the mean
      length by Wall can be explained in terms of new non-shared
      information and old or shared information between partici-
      pants in interaction, children and parents, on one hand;
      children and strangers on the other. Chafe maintained that
      old and new information is handled grammatically in different
      ways.

the game comes in not to get the
floor but to monitor conversation
through back-channel cues, these
'much appreciated interruptions'
(cf. Duncan, 1972, 1973; Goffman,
1976).

Interactant is not a ratified speak-
er, he monitors interaction through
back-channel cues.

To distinguish two moves played in
the same turn from each other.

Chapter 5

Towards an Analysis of Foreign Language Communication
The Constitutive Features of Foreign Language Communication

5.1 Approaches to Oral Communication Analysis

A short review of the literature clearly shows that a single approach to oral communication analysis cannot fully account for all features involved in communication to achieve negotiation of meaning in interaction in the making. Some researchers, for instance, have looked at isolated structural features of conversation such as adjacency pairs (Sacks, 1967, 1968; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973); turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974); side sequences and their function (Jefferson, 1972); insertion sequences and their function (Schegloff, 1972); couplet linkage in counter service interaction (Merritt, 1976); or clarification requests, their form and function in monitoring interaction between children and adults (Corsaro, 1977). Others have looked at the sociolinguistic variables operating and influencing the structure of the basic unit in their data, especially one type of an act of communication, namely, questioning as an exemplification of power and authority relationships (Mishler, 1975b). Other researchers, however, have considered the topic variable as the most important feature in interaction and based their analysis on it (Dore, 1978a; Clancy, 1972).

Still others have looked at conversation from a shared knowledge point of view, namely, what and how much participants in an encounter must know in common if they are to understand each other and negotiate meanings (Psathas & Kozloff, 1976 on direction giving instructions; Labov & Fanshel, 1977, on therapeutic discourse). Labov & Fanshel also attempted to write sequencing rules operating from action to action in the production of cohe-

rent discourse.

Some other researchers have also looked at the structural side of whole chunks of oral communication. They examined interaction beyond the segment of two-item pairs, couplets or small chunks in an attempt to incorporate in their analysis such important features of oral communication as topic, tactics or roles, and tried to work out complete models of discourse analysis (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975, on classroom interaction; Goldberg, 1975, on giving cooking instructions over the telephone; Frake, 1964, on drinking in Subanun).

The variety of approaches and the different features of communication each one deals with indicate the multifaceted character of interaction and the plurality of the variables interacting on each other in the act of communication. These variables are the system and ritual constraints as defined by Goffman, 1976; (cf. Chapter 3) the topic, especially change of topic and topic development (Clancy, 1972; Dore, 1978a; Sacks & Schegloff, 1973); the situation, physical and cultural (Hymes, 1972; Gumperz, 1970); and the biographies of the participants, which include role, status, their knowledge of the language (be it L_1 or L_2 if they are communicating through the medium of L_2) and knowledge of the world at large; (cf. Labov, 1972a; Schutz, 1967). Hence it seems rather difficult to come down with an interaction analysis model for pedagogical purposes that could capture the dynamic interaction of these variables on each other, that is, the process meaning of communication via an examination of the product of interaction. In Chapter 3, pp.89-93 I have discussed the two meanings of interaction as process and product and the difficulties an analyst faces in defining the process through the product.

Consequently, the model of interaction analysis I will present in this chapter is only a descriptive model for the conversational data in question, and is, of course, based on the product meaning of interaction. As such, the proposed model is not an a priori model that can fit well enough each possible L_2 interaction. The number of variables involved in interaction in general as well as the unpredictability involved in the L_2 participants' knowledge of the foreign language do not allow us to work out a model of interaction analysis good enough to fit any communicative situation our learners will be involved in. The proposed model indicates the way the present analyst sees interaction development in the data and can be useful for theoretical speculation as well as for drawing pedagogical implications for ELT (cf. Chapter 7 for pedagogical implications). However, before I discuss the proposed descriptive model, I shall first briefly discuss the background knowledge that a non-native speaker participant brings with him when he sets about communicating through the medium of L_2 (cf. Chapter 3 for the background knowledge an L_1 language user has). And second, I shall briefly discuss the domains of knowledge the interaction of which results in L_2 communication in the context of a (cognitive) interactionist approach to communicating through language (cf. Chapter 2).

5.2 The non-native speaker participants' background knowledge

The non-native speaker participants have already learned one language, their mother tongue. In terms of the interactionist approach of learning how to communicate through language, it means that the participants are perceptually and cognitively developed (cf. Chapter 2). Their cognitive orientation is of

course built around a sense of social structure as it is recognized and considered appropriate in their society (Cicourel, 1973). They have learned to verbalize their communicative intent in the L_1 conforming to all system and ritual constraints as norms of interaction organization and rules of interpretation and production, as well as to the appropriate and relevant normal forms and oral vocabularies for the indexing of experience which are specific to their society (Cicourel, 1973) (cf. Chapter 3). The participants have also developed conceptual schemata (cf. Bloom & Lahey, 1978, especially Part II) of how to handle particular topics for topic development and topic change, in our case how to go about games of the type they were asked to play (cf. Chapter 4), though they might or they might not have played this particular game before. Furthermore, they also have knowledge of the world at large as substantive information.

All this constitutes their background knowledge as product, process and strategies which is relevant any time and anywhere in L_1 natural communication. When the non-native speaker participants get engaged in foreign language communication, in this background knowledge of theirs there is also included whatever knowledge of the L_2 as product, process, strategies and actualized language behaviour they may have about how to express themselves. It will be misleading to assume that when learners get engaged in L2 communication they leave their personality, their communicating and learning strategies, as 'knowledge and experience' behind and can put on a different personality or learn new strategies altogether. Suffice it to say now that as the present research indicates L_2 learners transfer their communicating and learning strategies as

'knowledge and experience' from L_1 to L_2 communication. Further-
more, both L_2 learners and native speakers have made use of simi-
lar communicating and learning strategies.

5.3 The domains of knowledge in foreign language communication

As stated in Chapter 2, in a (cognitive) interactionist
approach L_1 natural communication is the result of the interac-
tion of the three domains of knowledge i.e. cognitive, social,
linguistic, with the environment (physical and human) (cf. Chap-
ter 2, pp.33-35).

In foreign language communication, I would argue that L_2
natural communication is also the result of the interaction of
the following three domains of knowledge systems$_\wedge$participants _17/_
in an event have, namely, of cognition, of the foreign language
as linguistic rules and of the foreign language as sociolinguis-
tic rules of language use relevant to the event they are involved
in (see Figure 5 below). The interaction of these three results
in foreign language communication.

Figure 5.
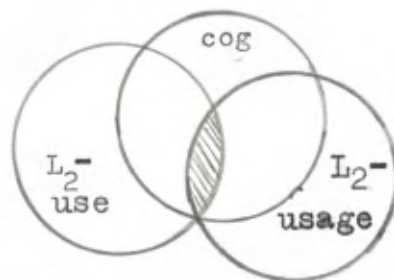
Foreign language communication

Legend : cog   = cognition
          L2-use   = L2 as sociolinguistic rules of use
          L2-usage= L2 as linguistic rules of usage

_17/_ Children have been excluded from my research because they
       are not yet fully cognitively and perceptually developed.

As the research indicates, of the three domains the domain

of cognition is transferred from L_1 communication as 'knowledge

and experience', about how to communicate and learn through language.

The domain of cognition, therefore, can be defined in terms

of (a) the cognitive abilities participants have as 'knowledge

and experience' for interaction organization and management, and

(b) in terms of the decision-making processes of which strategies

are appropriate, intelligible and relevant for the successful and

orderly completion of a social verbal encounter that participants

have as 'knowledge and experience' from learning to communicate in

L_1 (cf. Figure 1, p.33; also Footnote 19, p.129).

The domains of the foreign language of the participants can

be defined in terms of the foreign language as usage and use, L_2

learners may use to express their communicative intent in a parti-

cular L_2 communicative event.

The domain of cognition mediates between the domains of L_2-use

and L_2-usage. Their interaction results in foreign language commu-

nication as the coherent macro-and micro-strategies participants employ

for the negotiation of meaning (cf. Chapter 3 for a detailed dis-

cussion on these issues). As already stated, it is the aim of this

research to identify these strategies, discover the processes that

help the speaker to
decide upon the functional value of these strategies and suggest pos-

sible applications of these in the ELT classroom. These strategies,

however, do not only indicate how participants communicate but

also how they learn (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.3, pp.48-55). Conse-

quently, such an approach to communicating and learning can also

lead to a model of foreign language learning. However, a detailed

investigation of this issue is outside the scope of the present

research.

5.4 The model of analysis

The model of analysis I have decided upon has been based on
that proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975. However, it has
been modified to suit the needs of an interaction pattern where
both participants have equal rights and obligations for the
smooth development and successful completion of communication.
I have decided to use a rank scale descriptive system because
of its flexibility and its basic assumption.

5.4.1 Summary of the levels and ranks in the model

Content categories	Interaction organization and management categories	Categories of the foreign language of the participants as linguistic realizations in grammatical terms
topic	overall interaction structure	
subtopic	conversational exchange	
	turn	sentence
	move	clause
	act	group
		word
		morpheme

The levels and ranks of content and interaction organization
and management describe the coherent macro-strategies, that is,
the constitutive features of communication, that participants
selected and applied as appropriate, intelligible and relevant
out of a number of potential ones in order to make sense. The

third level and ranks of the foreign language of the participants
in the model describe the cohesive and coherent strategies parti-
cipants selected and applied out of a number of potential ones as
actualized verbal language behaviour

5.4.2 Explanation of levels and ranks in the model

(a)   The level of content is defined in terms of topic de-
velopment, shifts in topic and topic change. For the data under
consideration there are two ranks in the level of content:

1.   topic or subject of conversation (here the topic is
       the reconstruction of the puzzle).

2.   subtopic each one of the discrete points that make up
       the topic (here each part of the jigsaw that is being
       gradually reconstructed).

Participants may reconstruct the jigsaw starting from
top to bottom or from left to right and vice versa. They may also
move from the centre to the frame or from the frame to the centre.
It is up to them to decide how they will go about the non-linguis-
tic organization of their interaction.

(b)   The level of interaction organization and management
is defined in terms of the macro-strategies employed for the over-
all organization and management of conversation, as well as in
terms of the micro-strategies employed by participants for the
step-by-step development of conversation as one utterance ini-
tiates and the other proceeds to achieve the end result of a
particular communicative situation, here, to reconstruct the jig-
saw puzzle.

The level of interaction organization and management
is made up of five ranks. The highest rank is that of the overall

interaction structure. It is made up of three distinct phases:

1. The opening phase.

2. The negotiation phase

3. The closing phase

(See section 5.5 for a detailed discussion.)

The overall interaction structure is a macro-strategy that reflects the coherent organization of interaction into smaller units easily recognizable and demonstrates the negotiating nature of interaction. This rank depends on and exemplifies the participants' foreground shared knowledge (cf. Chapter 3, p.82). This top rank corresponds to the topic rank of the level of content. In principle the phases of the overall interaction structure of a conversation may be predicted in advance, but not the length, the subject-matter and the strategies the participants might use in each phase.

The next rank below is that of the conversational exchange (see also 5.6 for a detailed discussion). Dore defines conversational exchanges as

"a series of speaking turns which share a topic and in which reciprocal illocutionary relations are displayed."
(Dore, 1978a : 276)

Conversational exchanges may be short or long (Cole et al., 1978). In the model conversational exchanges deal with discrete points of the topic i.e. the subtopics. The rank of conversational exchange corresponds to the second rank of the level of content that of subtopic. The micro-strategy employed in a conversational exchange depends on the communicative intent of the speaker and the pragmatics of the situation in relation to the topic, the partici-

pants' knowledge of the L_2 and their roles *in* the "here and now"
and reflects the participants' emergent grounds shared knowledge
(cf. Chapter 3, p.83). Topic development, that is, selection and
order of subtopics to accomplish the task, however, is unpredic-
table and uncontrollable. It is up to the individual partici-
pants in an event to decide and negotiate between themselves the
topic development that suits them best. Topic development (here,
how to play the game) depends on the conceptual schemata the par-
ticipants have learned and share about how to handle this topic,
the knowledge of the L_2 they share relevant to the topic in ques-
tion and that of the world at large. It is   impossible,
therefore, to predict participants' micro-strategies both as in-
ternal procedures and as actualized language behaviour at the
rank of a conversational exchange.

The next rank below is that of turn, two or more
turns (at least one for each participant) make up the higher rank
of a conversational exchange. The rank of turn constitutes a
participant-subject's speaking turn. A speaking-turn is defined
in terms of a speaker's utterance issued when the speaker is
holding the floor (Sacks et al., 1974). This rank of the level
of the interaction organization and management corresponds to
the rank of the sentence in the level of the foreign language of
the participants. The rank of turn is made up of one or more
moves, that is, the next below rank. I retain Sinclair's et al.,
1975, definition for the rank of move. They define move as the
smallest free unit, smaller than an utterance, although it has

a structure in terms of acts. [18]/

Moves can be coexistent with utterances i.e. speaking turns, or an utterance may contain two moves, one facing backwards finishing off the latest conversational exchange, and the other facing forwards initiating a new conversational exchange. This rank is necessary to accommodate such micro-strategies in conversational exchanges as in coupling, for instance (see section 5.6.5).

The lowest rank of the level of the interaction organization and management is the act. One or more speech acts make up a move.

(c)   The level of the foreign language of the participants as linguistic realizations is made up of five ranks. The rank scale of grammar categories suggested by Halliday, 1961, seems to suit best a rank scale descriptive system of interaction. The top rank of the grammar categories corresponds to the rank of turn in the level of interaction organization and management.

To sum up, the levels and the ranks of content and of the interaction organization and management describe the macro-strategies participants employed to negotiate meanings in the act of communication. The level of content reflects the participants'

---

[18]/ The term "move" has also been used by Goffman, 1969, and Merritt, 1976. Goffman, 1969, uses the term "turn" to refer to a speaker's moment and opportunity for choice, and "move" to refer to the action he takes consequent on deciding to play his turn now. (Goffman, Strategic Interaction, 1969 : 89-90).
Merritt, 1976, uses the term "move" to mean an utterance issued by a speaker. She distinguishes between elementary moves and conflated moves. An elementary move is an utterance that is interpreted or responded to only one social act/speech act or move; a conflated move is an utterance that has a multiple function.

ability to handle topics, that is, the non-linguistic organiza-
tion of communication. The level of interaction organization
and management reflects the participants' knowledge of and abi-
lity to use the (foreign) language functionally and coherently
in L_2 interaction. The level of the foreign language of the par-
ticipants reflects their knowledge of and ability to use the for-
mal properties of the foreign language as normal forms and index-
ical expressions correctly in terms of usage and cohesion in L_2
interaction. Putting it another way, a language user's communi-
cative competence (be it L_1 or L_2) is manifested through the
accurate use of the system of the language as well as through the
appropriate use of the functional properties of it in coherent
discourse. These three levels and their ranks are realized in
actualized language behaviour, are accessible to examination and
demonstrate the product meaning of communication.

In the next two sections I shall discuss in some detail the
macro-strategies employed in the two top ranks of the level of
interaction organization and management, that is, the overall
interaction structure and the structure of the type(s) of a
conversational exchange encountered in the data, namely, the
constitutive features of (foreign) language communication. In
this chapter, I shall deal with the interactive acts performed
by the speakers in the conversational exchanges. In Chapter 6,
I shall discuss the functional properties that the different
structural types of a conversational exchange take on as commu-
nicating and learning micro-strategies for the smooth development
of L_2 interaction.

5.5 Overall Interaction Structure

As stated, the conversations share a similar structure as a whole. I have called this macro-strategy overall interaction structure. The overall interaction structure is made up of three distinct phases:

1. The opening phase

2. The negotiation phase

3. The closing phase

In the opening phase the participants, native speakers and non-native speakers alike, share information about what the jigsaw puzzle looks like overall. Either participant can start the conversation, there is no hard and fast rule about who would open up the communication channels. So, in some cases it is the participant who has got the complete picture in front of him/her (always marked with the letter Z in the transcriptions) who will start the conversation (see examples 1, 2 and 3 below).

Ex 1 Zografos School of English 19/1-3 * (Adolescents, non-native speakers)

1Z: Well, I think that you must take the pieces that
     they have a line at the end $\overline{/\!/}$ **

2X: A line?

3Z: Yes. So that you can make the square in the (inaudible)
     It's a picture of Donald and Scrooge that they found
     a big box of gold coins and they are to the roof-room $\overline{/\!/}$

---

*   In each example there is included the name of the school
     where the experiment took place, then the coding number
     that the experiment has, and after the dash the numbered
     speaking turns quoted as examples.

** In Chapter 4, pp.107-8 there is a list of the symbols used
     in the transcription and their explanation.

Ex 2 <u>Experimental High School</u> 14/1-3 (Adolescents, non-
native speakers)

1Z: Well, it's a picture that it might be a garden and

we have a house that we make some (...) (...) ⌉

2X: What? ⌋

Z:: and we have a duck and a car with three other ducks.

Ex 3 <u>Hellenic-American Union School of English</u> 2/1-4 (Adults,
X = non-native
speaker

1Z: Oh, Maria ⌉   Z = native speak-
er)

2X: Yes.   ⌋

Z:: This picture shows two ducks, Donald Duck.

Do you understand what a duck it?

3X: Yes.

4Z: O.K. There are two Donald Duck pictures.

In other cases, however, the participant (always marked with

the letter X in the transcriptions) who has the jigsaw pieces

initiates the conversation requesting his/her co-participant to

give him/her a quick general description of the jigsaw puzzle

picture (see examples 4, 5 and 6 below).

Ex 4 <u>Zografos School of English</u> 5/1-8 (Adolescents, non-
native speakers)

1X: Uhm, uhm. Τί εἶναι αὐτό; (What's the picture about?)

2Z: One duck he is speak / she is speak in / to the three

duck / the three ducks. Three ducks are on a car.

Car is in the road. Opposite the / inside the road is

a field (...) and a tree.

Ex 5 <u>Gogos School of English</u> 1/1-5 (Adolescents,
                                      X = native speaker
                                      Z = non-native speaker)

1X: Tell me what to do.

2Z: Yes.

3X: What is the picture about?

4Z: It's a train on the (...) besides the train it's a road.

5X: O.K. A road, let me see.

Ex 6 <u>Adults, native speakers</u> 1/1-3

1X: Let me put the pieces with the coloured sides up so

     that $\not\!\not\!T$

2Z: O.K. I'll tell you more or less what's happening in

     the picture. It's just a Donald Ducky picture with

     the two ducks / two ducks in a loft looking at a

     treasure chest of gold coins.

3X: O.K.

In the <u>negotiation phase</u> the two participants negotiate the
reconstruction of the jigsaw puzzle piece by piece either working
from top to bottom, or from left to right, or from the frame to
the centre. This phase is usually long. The total number of turn-
takings varies from 50 to about 150 turns (see, for instance, Appen-
dix II a) tt 4X - 140X; Appendix III a) tt 5X - 141X; Appen-
dix IV a) tt 6Z - 118Z).

In the <u>closing phase</u> the two participants bring the task to
an end. This phase might be short, a total of a few turns (see
for instance Ex 7, Ex 8, Ex 9).

Ex 7 <u>Experimental High School</u> 1/135-136 (Adolescents, non-
                                                native speakers)

135X: I think I finish. Yes. I finish.

136Z: O.K.

Ex.8 <u>Gogos School of English</u> 1/141-142 (adolescents,
<div align="right">X = native speaker
Z = non-native speaker)</div>

   141X: Oh, O.K. Never mind. And then (laughter) $\diagup$

           I finished it.

           There is a / Oh, alright. There is room.

           O.K. Right.

   142Z: Yes.

Ex 9 <u>Zografos School of English</u> 21/89-93 (Adolescents, non-
<div align="right">native speakers)</div>

   89X: I finished.

   90Z: All of it?

   91X: Yes.

   92Z: Great!

Sometimes, however, the closing phase might be long. After the
reconstruction of the jigsaw pieces some participants recycled
the exchanged information to make sure that the reconstructed
picture matched the complete picture (See for instance Ex 10).

Ex 10 <u>Zografos School of English 19/73-89</u> (Adults, non-
<div align="right">native speakers)</div>

   73X: It's O.K. I found it.

   74Z: We finished. Check.

   75X: It's Donald and Scrooge at the middle. They are
        in front of an open box with / with gold coins. There
        are two windows at the roof. That's it. It's O.K.

   76Z: Is it any ladder down on the floor?

   77X: Yes, at the left.

   78Z: Is there any candlestick near Scrooge?

   79X: Yes. The first window on the left is opened.⌐

   80Z: ⌈and the⌉   ⌋

    X : ⌊and the⌋ other.

   81Z: Yes.

82X: Some book at right? $\mathbb{Z}$

83Z: Is there any toy?

84X: What? Any toy?

85Z: Yes.

86X: What's that?

87Z: Toy.

88X: An, yeah, near Scrooge.

89Z: I guess it's O.K.

In such cases the closing phase is   long.

The overall interaction structure exemplified a macro-
strategy the participants (non-native as well as native speakers
of English) selected out of a number of potential ones in order
to make sense across the interaction as a whole in this particu-
lar setting. This is part of the participants' foreground shared
knowledge, "what anybody knows is categorically relevant for the
duration of this setting" (Kjolseth, 1972, also Chapter 3). The
L_2 learner-subjects have transferred overall interaction structure
for this setting from L_1 communication to L_2 communication as part
of their 'knowledge and experience' about how to communicate.

The overall interaction structure, as it is described here,
is   similar   to Dore's (1978) 'phase structure' of taped
interactions between teachers and nursery pupils doing tasks, to
Candlin's et al., (1976) 'operational phases' of interactions in
cubicle consultations, as well as to Sinclair & Coulthard's (1975)
discourse category 'transaction' (cf Golderberg, 1975; Frake,
1964; Psathas & Kozloff, 1976).

5.6 The conversational exchange

In order to better understand the minimal communicating stra-

tegy at the rank of conversational exchange *that* participants selected out of a number of potential ones, I shall first discuss *the* convergence of two divergent worlds and how convergence i.e. advancing shared knowledge, takes place through interaction (cf. section 5.6.1).

In section 5.6.2 I shall discuss the structure of the minimal communicating strategy of a conversational exchange as one macro-strategy *that* participants have made use of in order to achieve convergence of knowledge. This minimal communicating strategy of a conversational exchange exemplifies how participants make sense *in* the 'here and now' of a conversational exchange in relation to the pragmatics of the situation (physical and social).

In section 5.6.3 I shall discuss an analysis of the minimal communicating strategy *in terms of* interactive acts.

In section 5.6.4 I shall discuss the features of types of communicative strategies encountered in conversational exchanges other than the minimal communicating strategy. I shall *also* discuss these strategies *in terms of* interactive acts. These other types of communicative strategies are not only the result of the participants' negotiating meanings but also of their need to overcome crises in communication such as mishearings, unhearings, misunderstandings and/or bridging information gaps other than gaps referring to content. However, the functional properties of these strategies for the management of interaction will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

5.6.1 Convergence of knowledge

As argued in Chapter 3, communication is possible if participants share the same communicative backgrounds (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.3). The experiment is so designed as to create information

gaps between the participants. The participants (native speakers as well as non-native speakers) can only communicate if they bridge these gaps. Information gaps refer to the topic, that is, the jigsaw puzzle. X, for instance, has the jigsaw pieces at random order. He/she does not know what the complete picture looks like. Z has the complete picture. He/she does not know which part of the jigsaw each piece shows. Information gaps may also concern gaps in knowledge of the foreign language the participants need to share in order to express meanings relevant to the topic. Neither can know in advance how much of the foreign language they share when negotiating meanings relevant to the topic. For each non-native speaker participant brings with him his own background knowledge of the L_2. Participants in a communicative event must find out how much they share and bridge the gaps of non-shared information as the interaction unfolds. If they are to do the task X to know as much as Z and Z as much as X.

The development of shared knowledge of factual and linguistic information about the jigsaw between the participants as they are reconstructing the jigsaw puzzle bit by bit can be clearly shown in the following schema (cf. Figure 6, p.128)

Figure 6.
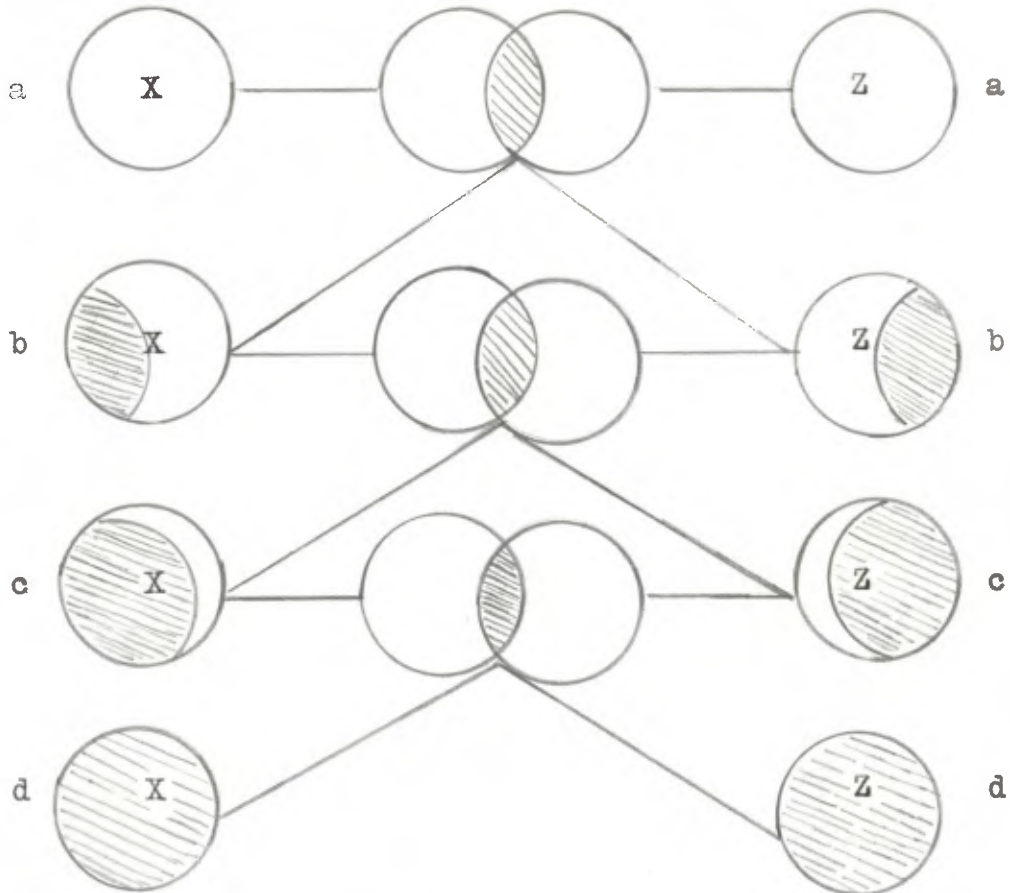
The two top circles a.X and a.Z indicate the two different worlds that participants represent. This lack of shared knowledge may refer to the background, foreground, emergent and/or transcendent grounds knowledge that participants   bring with them to a communicative event as factual and/or linguistic information. Divergence, therefore, may refer either to the setting as a whole, here how to do the jigsaw, or to a particular exchange, here how to do   a particular bit of the jigsaw, as the interaction unfolds. On the other hand, convergence of knowledge, that is, sharing of information, takes place smoothly as the interaction proceeds. This is schematically shown in Figure 6. The darkened parts of the circles indicate convergence of knowledge, that is, the information that is now shared between the two participants. The white parts indicate the non-shared information between the

participants. At the end of the task both participants share

all information relevant to the setting. Their worlds, there-

fore, become convergent as d.X and d.Z in Figure 6 (p.128) indi-

cate. This achievement∧is *of the convergence* shown in *the structure of interaction.*

Sharing of knowledge in this experiment can only be achieved

through language since the subjects cannot see each other (cf. Chap-

ter 4). Language is a means of achiev∧*ing* interaction,

it is not interaction itself.[19]/ In order to achieve this end

participants employ whatever strategies they consider appropriate

for successful communication. I have defined <u>strategies</u> in oral

communication as the way we employ our background knowledge as

product, process and strategies in realizing the communicative

import of language in use as a specific contribution to a develop-

ing interaction (cf. Chapter 3, pp.77-80).

As the research indicates, both native and non-native speaker

participants knew how to achieve convergence of two divergent

worlds. They have indeed used similar strategies to achieve this

end (cf. sections 5.6.2 and 5.6.3). For this is part of the 'know-

ledge and experience' the subjects have ∧ *acquired* from∧how to communi- *learning*

cate and learn *in* L_1. The strategies the

participants employed to achieve this end are as much communi-

cating as learning strategies, that is, participants use the same

---

[19]/ Interaction i.e. exchange of messages can also take place
through body language, facial expressions, signals etc. where
no language as such is used (cf. Chapter 3, p.47 "Behaviour-
al means of communication"; also Chapter 4, p.103). Goffman,
1957, for instance, refers to the social conditioning that
allows people not to collide when they are walking in the
street. The behaviour to follow, he argues, depends on the
shared knowledge/common sense knowledge walkers have concern-
ing this particular activity. If, however, something goes
wrong and walkers do collide, push or elbow each other etc.,
they may resort to language with an "Oh, I'm sorry" and so on
or they may nod to each other to restore the shaken equili-
brium. Language is just one of the means of sharing inform-
ation, possibly the most refined one.

strategies to facilitate communication between themselves as well
as to achieve convergence of two divergent worlds. This need for
convergence of knowledge in interaction guides the participants
to select appropriate strategies that can best suit their pur-
poses *in* the "here and now" of a conversational exchange where
learning takes place, as   has been argued in Chapter 2.

5.6.2 The minimal communicating strategy (i.e. overall interaction strategy)

Convergence of knowledge is sustained and achieved through
questioning. Snow, 1978, argues that questions are posed in
mother-child interaction in order to establish joint attention
and to confirm that experiences are being shared in the immediate
context. The importance of questioning for the development of
shared knowledge has also been stressed by other researchers in
child cognitive/perceptual/social/linguistic development (cf. Bru-
ner 1975b, 1977, 1978; Bloom & Lahey, 1978).

The participants in the experiment were also seeking conver-
gence of knowledge. The minimal communicating strategy that
emerges is that of the "Question-Answer" type, where participants
are questioning one another to achieve convergence of knowledge.

On closer examination, however, it became clear that it would
be wrong to take a two-turn conversational exchange as the minimal
communicating strategy for data analysis at the rank of a conver-
sational exchange. A conversational exchange either short or
long is not only a linguistic unit, it is also a unit in an inter-
action sequence, and as such each speaking turn is not simply an
utterance but also a social action (Merritt, 1976). As a result,
the minimal communicative unit of analysis will have to be explained

both in terms of system constraints (Goffman, 1976), that is, as
a linguistic unit as well as in terms of ritual constraints (Goff-
man, 1976), that is, as a social unit where participants in the
event also aim at sustaining interpersonal relationships and
their society's sense of social structure through the language
they choose to make use of, as well as the interactive sequences
they employ. Researchers (cf. Sacks, 1972a, Schegloff & Sacks,
1973) have considered adjacency pairs as the minimal unit for
interaction analysis. However, the need to explain the minimal
communicative unit in terms of both system and ritual constraints
renders adjacency pairs of the Question-Answer type topically
orientated as minimal communicative units rather irrelevant.
I would rather argue that the minimal communicative unit is a
three-part one, not a two-part one. This three-part minimal com-
municative unit can be made up either of purely linguistic turns
only or of a combination of linguistic turns and non-linguistic
ones. It seems that only a three-part minimal communicative unit
can be explained both in terms of system and ritual constraints.
To prove my point I shall discuss the following hypothetical
examples.

Let's consider first a Q-A adjacency pair or two-turn con-
versational exchange, a hypothetical example:

1. A: Can you help me move the cupboard, George?

   B: Yes, of course.

This exchange can be perfectly explained in terms of system con-
straints. A requests B's help. A's utterance is in an interro-
gative form. B responds positively to that by employing appro-
priate linguistic expressions (cf. Labov, 1972 b). However, this
two-utterance unit cannot indicate the ritual constraints opera-

ting **in** such a situation. In a real life situation A is expected
to say something to acknowledge the service kindly offered when
requested. So something in the line of:

A: Thanks / Oh, good / Come on, Let's do it now, then.

would follow if the speaker were to obey the social norm that *states:*
if you are given help/service, you ought to acknowledge it (cf.
Goffman, 1954, 1959, 1976). The first speaker (A) also has the
option **to** acknowledge the service kindly offered by using body
language (i.e. gestures or eye contact etc.) instead of using
verbal language. This option, however, does not render the three-
part minimal unit invalid (see also p.135).

If we go back to our example and instead of an acceptance
following the request for help we replace it with a refusal, then
we will have:

2. A: Can you help me move the cupboard, George?

B: Sorry, I'm in a hurry

o r

I'm so sorry. I'll miss my bus if I'm late.

or something *similar* to *that*. In this case it is important that
A makes it clear *that* he understands and *that* there are no hard feelings
left because he did not get the help he expected. In Goffman's
terms, A will have to make use of a strategy of 'protective prac-
tices' or 'talk' to save the definition of the situation projec-
ted by the other participant. A might say something like:

A: Oh that's all right. We can do it some other time.

and so on. The function of the third part is to reduce tension,
establish good will and avoid hostility (Goffman, 1957, 1959,

1976). It is true, however, that A has, of course, the option
of saying nothing at all. This, however, would make it crystal
clear that he was hurt by B's refusal to help him, in other
words, it is a "silence to be heard" (Sacks et al., 1973).

I would like to suggest, therefore, that the basic unit for
interaction analysis should be a three-part one. Otherwise, an
adjacency pair type of unit will not be much different from the
Q-A pair of the structural approach (cf. Stimulus/Response in
behaviourism) where only the system of the language is attended
to, but not the social aspects of it.

The view that the basic interaction analysis unit at the
level of the conversational exchange should be a tri-part one is
also supported by other researchers. Mishler (1975b), for in-
stance, argues that a question requires a response, but the re-
sponse demands a further response to terminate the exchange.
Mishler found that in question-initiated and sustained conversa-
tions the "dialogue minimal unit" consists of three successive
utterances:

1. Question

2. Response utterance

3. Confirmation from first speaker

He considers the third element necessary since the questioned
has the right to know how his answer was received (also Soring,
1977). Dore, on the other hand, takes the matter a step further
and argues that the sequencing of conversation in a three-part
unit topically orientated not only demonstrates the essentially
negotiating nature of conversation "it also brings into relief
the kind of rights one takes and moves one makes in our mutual

manipulation through talk" (Dore, 1978a : 277). Dore, there-
fore, takes sides with Goffman who argues that conversational
sequences should be explained both in terms of system constraints
and ritual constraints.

Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975, also argue that the minimal unit
of analysis at the rank of conversational exchange is a tri-
partite one.

Finally, Goffman, 1976, questions the utlity of adjacency
pairs as the minimal unit of analysis, but takes a different
road. He quotes the following brief encounter:

>   A : (enters wearing new hat)
>   B : (shakes head) No, I don't like it.
>   A : Now, I know it's right.
>   (Goffman, 1976 : 290)

and argues that in this   encounter we can see spoken "moves"
(see Footnote 18, p.119 for a definition of the term) and non-
linguistic ones interacting. Therefore, he concludes, it would
be misleading to accept the notion of adjacency pairs and ritual
interchange [20] as the basic unit of conversation. What is basic
to natural talk, he goes on to say, might not be a conversational
unit at all but an interactional one, something of the order of:

>   1.   mentionable event
>   2.   mention
>   3.   comment-on-mention

----

[20] Ritual interchanges have been defined in the literature in
      terms of such social encounters as greetings, leave-takings
      and so on. (cf. Sacks & Schegloff, 1973).

This sequence, he argues, gives us a three-part unit, the first part of which *may* not involve speech at all.

It seems that Goffman excludes the purely three-part linguistic unit as discussed above in favour of what he calls an interactional unit. I would argue, however, that both are two sides of the same coin, i.e. variations of the basic communicative unit that can demonstrate the working interrelationships of both system and ritual constraints. A minimal communicative unit can be made up of purely linguistic moves or a combination of **mentionable** event(s) and linguistic moves as defined by Goffman. In fact, the minimal three-part communicative unit, identified in the data, is either a purely linguistic *unit* or an interactional unit as defined by Goffman, 1976. Furthermore, I would like to suggest that, contrary to what Goffman, 1976, argues, ritual interchanges are also three-part communicative units. I would consider that the interactants' coming face-to-face when they meet or before they leave each other, constitutes the first part of the sequence what Goffman has called a "mentionable event". The ritual interchanges that follow, for instance, are actually made up of three moves. The first one is non-linguistic.

1. (participants' meeting each other - "a mentionable event")	1. (participants' leaving each other - "a mentionable event")
2. A : Hi.	2. A : Good-bye.
3. B : Hi.	3. B : Good-bye.

Participants employ ritual interchanges as a means to sustain interpersonal relationships and reinforce the sense of social structure their society adheres to. In this sense ritual inter-

changes fulfil the basic aim of communication, that is, they convey worthwhile information and sustain convergence of two worlds.

5.6.3 Analysis of the minimal communicating strategy

The minimal communicating strategy is made up of three parts that comprise three different moves. Following Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975, I will label them as follows:

1. the opening move (O)
2. the answering move (A)
3. the follow-up move (F)

See pp.141-43 for an analysis of some examples of conversational exchanges.

In a purely linguistic communicating strategy the first and the third move are played by the same speaker. Only the second move is played by the other participant (cf. Ex.11, Ex.12, Ex.19, pp.141-43). In a communicating strategy where linguistic and non-linguistic moves are combined, either the first move or the third move can be non-linguistic, that is, "mentionable events" (cf. Ex.18, Ex.15, pp.141-43).

In this minimal communicating strategy each move coincides with a speaking turn. Each speaking turn is made up of one act (cf. Ex.11, 19X, p.143), or a series of acts (cf. Ex.12, 61X, p.141). These acts, which will be described in this chapter, are different in kind from Austin's illocutionary acts and Searle's speech acts. They are defined principally by their function in the discourse by the way they initiate succeeding discourse activity or respond to earlier discourse activity (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). They are interactive acts in the sense described by Widdowson:

"Interactive acts are essentially ways of organiz-
ing the discourse itself and are defined by their
internal function."

<div align="right">(Widdowson, 1979 : 138)</div>

In labelling the acts I will follow Sinclair & Coulthard's
(1975) terminology. However, some acts may be defined different-
ly.

Mentionable events are here defined in terms of the physi-
cal situation (cf. Goffman's example quoted on p.134, also my
definition of pauses as silences to be heard, see p.140), or the
social situation relevant to an event. The role, the status,
the rights and obligations of the participants, their interper-
sonal relationships and their sense of social structure, I think,
may constitute mentionable events in their own right.

The Opening Move

As already stated, the opening move may be realized linguis-
tically or non-linguistically. When realized linguistically the
speaker very often performs the act of elicitation. The function
of this interactive act is to elicit factual or linguistic infor-
mation about the topic or the organization and management of
interaction. In grammatical terms an elicitation is realized as
an interrogative or as an affirmative followed by a realized or
understood tag question. (cf. Ex.11, 19X, Ex.13, 118X, pp.141,
142).

The opening move, however, can also be realized non-linguis-
tically. The situation, physical and/or social, initiates the
conversational exchange. See, for instance, Ex.14, 20Z - 21X,
p.142. Z, who has got the whole jigsaw picture, is actually
responding to the situation that obliges him to give instructions
to X so that they can do the task.

See also Ex.15, Ex.16, Ex.17, pp.142-43.

To sum up, the opening move can be realized as an act or as an event:

1. elicitation (el)

2. a mentionable event

The Answering Move

The answering move is usually realized linguistically in the data. It may be made up of one of the following acts:

1. a reply   (rep)

2. a directive   (d)

3. an informative (inf)

A reply is an act performed by the second ratified speaker. Its function is to provide appropriate linguistic response to an elicitation. Grammatically it is usually realized by an affirmative or by short lexical items, such as "Yes", "No", or by phrases such as "I don't know".

A directive is an act performed by the first ratified speaker in the conversational exchange in response to the situation. Its function is to direct and guide the listener about what to do next so that they may complete the task. Grammatically it is usually realized by an imperative or an affirmative including an appropriate modal verb (see Ex.14, 20Z; Ex.15, 12Z, p.142).

Finally, an informative is an act performed by the first ratified speaker in the conversational exchange in response to the situation. Its function is to provide more factual or linguistic information to the listener relevant to the subtopic or the organization and management of interaction. Grammatically, it is usually realized as an affirmative. (See, for instance,

Ex.16, 22Z; Ex.17, 75Z, pp.142-43.

The Follow-up Move

The follow-up move is either realized linguistically or non-linguistically. When realized linguistically it is usually realized as one of the following acts:

1. an accept   (acc)

2. an acknowledge (ack)

3. a reject   (rej)

An accept may follow a reply, an informative or a directive. Its function is to indicate that the listener has heard what the previous speaker has said and considers the reply, the informative or the directive appropriate. It is realized by a small class of items such as "Yes", "I see (it)", "We are going (= doing) very well", or a repetition of the previous speaker's utterance, see, for instance, Ex.12, 63X; Ex.13, 120X; Ex.14, 21X; Ex.16, 23X; pp.141- 43.

However, if the speaker has heard what the previous speaker has said but considers the reply, the informative or the directive inappropriate, he employs a reject (see Ex.27, 103X, p.151).

Finally, an acknowledgement may follow a reply, an informative or a directive. Its function is to show that the speaker has heard and understood what the previous speaker has said. And if it is a directive the speaker will do as directed. (See Ex.11, 21X; Ex.15, 13X; Ex.17, 77X, pp.141- 43).

The follow-up move may also be realized non-linguistically. It is somehow replaced by pauses (see for instance, Ex.18, 43X; p.143).   I n e x a m p l e 18,   for instance, X neither acknowledges nor rejects nor accepts 42Z. His pause and change

of subtopic seem to be due to pragmatic reasons. It seems
that X has not yet identified the pieces of the jigsaw for
which he has been given information in 42Z, so he leaves the
matter open. He proceeds to initiate a new exchange by intro-
ducing another subtopic, hoping it will thus be easier for
him to identify the pieces. (See also section 5.6.5 on coup-
ling).

Considering these pauses in context, they seem to mean some-
thing in the line of "Wait till I check my pieces once more and
then I'll tell you if your answer is appropriate or inappro-
priate". In other words, it's "a silence to be heard" (Sacks
et al., 1973). In a way, it is a pseudo-two-part sequence.
A series of such two-part sequences should be distinguished
from a chaining sequence where there are no pauses intervening
(cf. p.144).

To sum up this section, the minimal communicating macro-
strategy in the data can be a purely linguistic one or a combi-
nation of linguistic and non-linguistic moves. The chart below
indicates the minimal communicating macro-strategy as a system
of possible options available to participants in an event and
the decisions they may make in the act of communication after
they have taken into consideration the pragmatics of the situa-
tion, their communicative intent and their rights and obligations.

Moves	Opening	Answering	Follow-up
Acts	**either** elicitation	reply	ack
or		directive	acc
Events	or mentionable event(s)	informative	reject
			pause
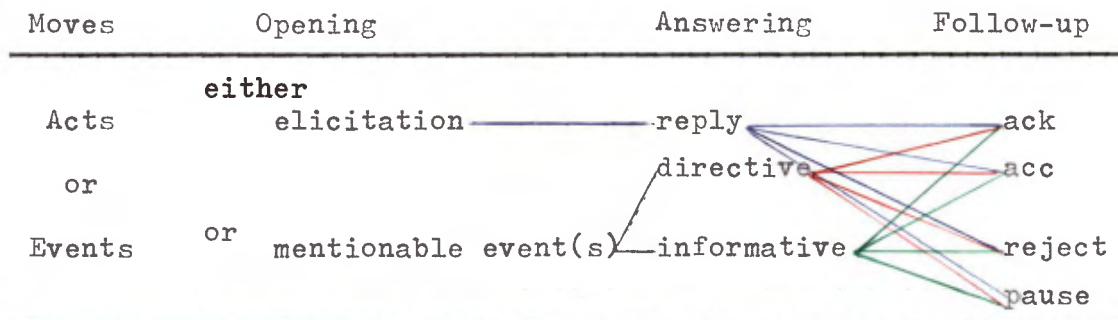
The overall interaction structure and the minimal communicating strategy make up the macro-strategies of a particular interaction in natural communication. Macro-strategies are - sine qua non - features of natural communication and may be predetermined.

Hence I have called them constitutive features of communication (cf. Chapter 3, p.77). They make up the product meaning in communication (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.4.2) and are accessible both to participants in an event and outsiders to the event.

Some examples from the data:

Ex.11 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   5/19-21   <u>Moves</u> <u>I.A.</u>*
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

			Moves	I.A.
19X:	Is there a house?		O	el
20Z:	Yes, is / is the / is an old house		A	rep
21X:	Mhm.		F	ack **
			↓	↓

Ex.12 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   14/61-63
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

			Moves	I.A.
61X:	What's this with the blue colour and white? What's this? Door?		O	el
62Z:	It's the sky.		A	rep
62Z:	Ah, the sky.		F	acc
			↓	↓

---

*   The initials I.A. stand for interactive acts..

**   The arrows indicate that the interaction may continue and may take any form from the point of view of interaction organization and management.

Ex.13 <u>Experimental High School</u>   1/118-120   Moves I.A.
(Adolescents, non-native speakers)

    118X: In the picture we can see all the
            train or part of the train?   O   el

    119Z: The whole train. The whole engine.
            Only the engine.   A   rep

    120X: Ah, only the engine.   F   acc

                                           ↓   ↓

Ex.14 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   15/20-21
(Adolescents, non-native speakers)

    20Z: You can start from the sky which is
          at the top and left.   O   M.E.*

    21X: Yes, I see it. Ποῦ, γαμότι, δέν   A   d
         ταιριάζει.   (i.e. Where on earth can
                      I put it, it does not
                      fit)
         Oh, yes.   F   acc

                                           ↓   ↓

Ex.15 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   7/12-13
(adults, non-native speakers)

                                         O   **M.E.**
    12Z: First you make the Scrooge   **A**   **d**

    13X: Yes. ⌐ Where the scones on the head?

                                  F ⌐O ack⌐ el

                                   ↓   ↓

Ex.16 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   15/22-23
(Adolescents, non-native speakers)

                                         O   M.E.
    22Z: There is a little car in the left.   A   inf

    23X: I know I have / Oh, yes.
         We are going very well. ⌐ The grass   F ⌐O ack⌐ el
         where is this?

                                       ↓   ↓

---

*   The initials M.E. stand for mentionable event(s).

Ex.17 <u>British Council Institute</u>   1/75-77   <u>Moves</u> I.A.
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

		Moves	I.A.
		O	M.E.
75Z:	Peter, there are two boxes, one with money. It is brown and white.	A	inf
76X:	Yeah.		
Z:	and the other is brown only		
77X:	Yes.	F	ack

Ex.18 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   2/41-43
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

41X:	What can you see from the door?	O	el
42Z:	I can see an open window, some boxes (...) they are on the wall.	A	rep
43X:	(pause) Are the wheels in front of Donald, behind him?	F O	pause el

Ex.19 <u>Gogos School of English</u>   1/112-114
(adolescents, X native speaker
Z non-native speaker)

112X:	Does the post go all the way up the picture?	O	el
113Z:	Yes.	A	rep
114X:	It does. All right. O.K.	F	acc

5.6.4 <u>Analysis of other types of communicating stategies</u>

The flow of interaction, however, is not always carried out in conversational exchanges that are made up of strategies as short and clear-cut as the three-move ones discussed so far. Nor is transition from conversational exchange to conversational ex-change always taking place when a three-move exchange is completed. Conversational exchanges can be longer or shorter.

Moves, too, do not always coincide with a speaking turn. On the contrary, in a speaking turn

there may be more than one move played. The structure of these
communicating strategies may look more complex than the struc-
ture of the minimal communicating macro-strategy. The functional
properties of these strategies for convergence of knowledge or
interaction organization and management to solve crises in commu-
nication, are of equal if not of more importance for the success-
ful completion of communication. Participants make use of them
to regulate natural communication when problems arise. Hence,
I have called them regulative features of interaction in natural
communication. They make up the micro-strategies of a particu-
lar interaction (cf. Chapter 3, p.77). Selection and application
of these depends on the intimate shared knowledge that partici-
pants in an event develop and they make up the process meaning
in communication (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.4.2). In this section
I shall discuss their features as interactive acts. In Chapter 6,
however, I shall discuss their functional properties in natural
communication.

These other communicating strategies encountered in the
data are:

      1.   chaining

      2.   insertion sequences

      3.   coupling

1.   Chaining sequences

Chaining is a strategy made up of a number of pairs of
opening and answering moves usually finishing off with a follow-
up. The opening moves are usually realized as elicitations, the
answering moves as replies and the follow-up move as an ack or
an acc. See, for instance, Ex.20 and Ex.21 on p.145.

Ex.20 <u>British Council Institute</u>   1/124-134   <u>Moves</u> <u>I.A.</u>
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

		Moves	I.A.
124X:	What colour is the floor?	O_1	el_1
125Z:	Brown.	A_1	rep_1
126X:	What colour is the money?	O_2	el_2
127Z:	I / I don't know.	A_2	rep_2
128X:	What colour's the box?	O_3	el_3
129Z:	Brown. Brown and white.	A_3	rep_3
130X:	The piece of paper?	O_4	el_4
131Z:	White	A_4	rep_4
132X:	The books?	O_5	el_5
133Z:	Red, uhm, uhm, red and green	A_5	rep_5
134X:	Yeah.	F	ack

Ex.21 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   7/111-116
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

111Z:	Have you made the gold box / books / boxes?	O_1	el_1
112X:	Yes.	A_1	rep_1
113Z:	Donald Duck, Scrooge, ladder?	O_2	el_2
114X:	Yes.	A_2	rep_2
115Z:	Windows?	O_3	el_3
116X:	Yes.	A_3	rep_3

Chaining sequences may be of the following format structurally:

Moves	I.A.
O_1	el_1
A_1	rep_1
O_2	el_2
A_2	rep_2
O_3	el_3
A_3	rep_3
F	$[ack \cdot acc]$ (optional)

The follow-up move in chaining (when there is one) is played by the first ratified speaker and initiator of the exchange. This also supports the argument that the minimal communicative unit cannot be a two-turn one, but a three-turn one. Chaining sequences serve different functions in natural communication for convergence of knowledge and the organization and management of interaction. The functional properties of chaining sequences I shall discuss in Chapter 6.

2. Insertion sequences

Insertion sequences make up an important type of communicating and/or learning strategies at the rank of conversational exchange that serve a variety of functions for convergence of knowledge and the organization and management of interaction whenever there are crises in the communication process. See, for instance, Ex.22, 20Z-21X; Ex.23, 56X-57Z and especially Ex.25, 44Z-45X and 45X-47Z, where one insertion sequence follows the other:

Ex.22 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   14/19X-22Z   <u>Moves</u> <u>I.A.</u>
     (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    19X: Can you say / can you tell me how many O_1 el
           pieces is the car?

    20Z: What how many pieces? O_2 el

    21X: You think A_2 rep

    22Z: I can't help in that case.... A_1 rep

Ex.23 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   7/55Z-58X
     (adults, non-native speakers)

    55Z: The box is open. A_1 rep

    56X: The box? O_2 el

    57Z: Is open. A_2 rep

    58X: Yes. / Where is the box?   F / O_3ack / el

Ex.24 <u>Adults, native speakers</u>   1/14-17

    14Z: ...on the floor there is lying something A_1 rep
           that looks like a golf bag, possibly.

    15X: A golf bag? O_2 el

    16Z: Is a bag of some kind. A_2 rep

    17Z: And // O_3 inf

Ex.25 <u>Experimental High School</u>   1/43-47 <u>Moves</u> <u>I.A.</u>
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    43X: It's near the train a felt? O_1 el

    44Z: Uhm? Can you repeat the pond / the O_2 el
          question?

    45X: I told you / I ask you if you have / A_2 rep
          if a felt is near the train.

    46Z: A felt? O_3 el

    47X: I feet / a feet is near the train. A_3 rep

Ex.26 <u>Hellenic-American Union</u>
    <u>School of English</u>   3/1-4
    (adults, X = non-native speaker
            Z = native speaker)

    1Z: Oh Maria   O   M.E.

    2X: Yes

    Z:: This picture shows two ducks, Donald A_1 inf
          Duck. Do you understand what a duck
          is? O_2 el

    3X: Yes. A_2 rep

    4Z: O.K. There are two Donald Duck   F A_3 ack inf
          pictures.

    Insertion sequences capture the important notion that the embedded or inserted sequence(s) is relevant and subordinate to the primary sequence. The presupposition is "if you answer my question I will answer yours", or "if you make your point clear or you clear up the channel, I will tell you if I agree or disagree with you." Once the embedded sequence is completed, the conditional relevance of an answering move or a follow-up move to re-establish the flow of interaction where it was halted is automatically reinstated.

Structurally, insertion sequences may be of the following formats:

either A

$$
\begin{array}{cl}
\underline{\text{Moves}} & \underline{\text{I.A.}} \\[4pt]
O_1 & el_1 \\[4pt]
O_2 & el_2 \\[4pt]
A_2 & rep_2 \\[4pt]
A_1 & rep_1 \\[4pt]
F_1 & \left[ack \cdot acc \cdot rej \right]_1
\end{array}
$$

or B

$$
\begin{array}{cl}
\underline{\text{Moves}} & \underline{\text{I.A.}} \\[4pt]
O_1 & \left[el_1 \cdot M.E. \right] \\[4pt]
A_1 & \left[rep_1 \cdot \left[d \cdot inf \right] \right]_1 \\[4pt]
O_2 & el_2 \\[4pt]
A_2 & rep_2 \\[4pt]
F_1 & \left[ack \cdot acc \cdot rej \right]_1
\end{array}
$$

or C

$$
\begin{array}{cl}
\underline{\text{Moves}} & \underline{\text{I.A.}} \\[4pt]
O_1 & M.E. \\[4pt]
A_1 & \left[inf \cdot d \right]_1 \\[4pt]
O_2 & el_2 \\[4pt]
A_2 & rep_2 \\[4pt]
F_2 \diagup A_1 \cdot O_3 & \left[acc \cdot acc \right]_2 \diagup \left[inf \cdot d \right]_1 \cdot el_3
\end{array}
$$
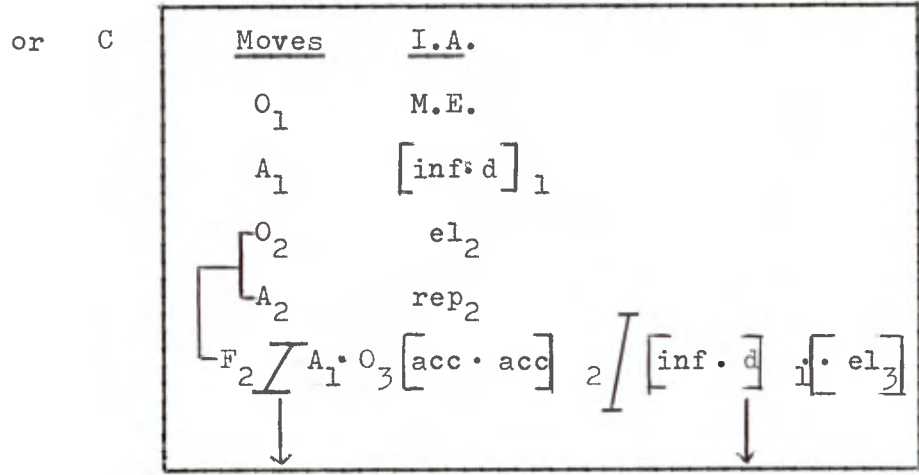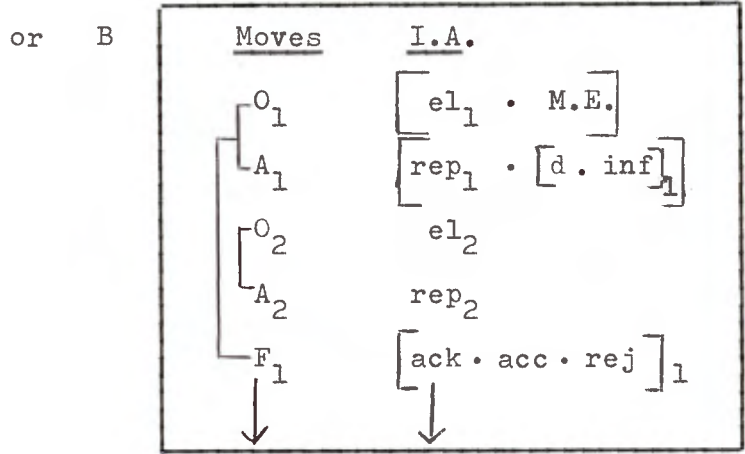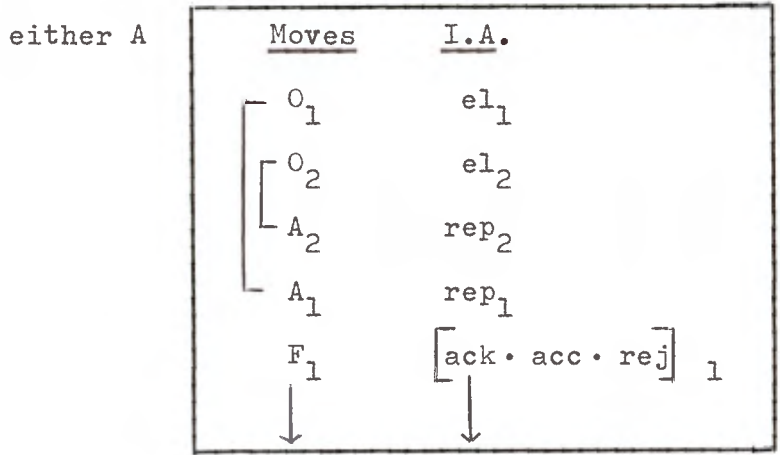
where moves $O_1 \cdot A_1$, $A_1 \cdot F_1$ and $A_1 \cdot \left[A_1 \cdot O_3 \right]$ make up the primary sequence and moves $\left[O_2 \cdot A_2 \right]$ or $\left[O_2 \cdot A_2 \cdot F_2 \right]$ make up the inserted or embedded sequence. The charts above indicate a system of possible

options for communicating/learning strategies available to par-
ticipants and the decisions they may make in the act of commu-
nication after they have taken into consideration the pragmatics
of the situation, their communicative intent and their rights
and obligations.

This type of communicating/learning strategies has come
into the literature under different terminology. Schegloff, 1972,
calls them insertion sequences (I have also retained this term).
Merritt, 1976, calls them embedded sequences; Corsaro, 1977,
calls them clarification requests, whereas Jefferson, 1972,
calls them "side sequences". Some of these scholars have dealt
with the structural features of certain types of these strate-
gies only, others with their functional properties, too.

Although these strategies share similar structural fea-
tures, they take on different functional values as the partici-
pants employ them to regulate the actual interaction. I shall
discuss the functional properties of them for the smooth develop-
ment of natural communication in Chapter 6.

3.   Coupling

However, important phenomena with special functional value
take place not only across the conversation as a whole (cf. sec-
tion 5.5) or within a conversational exchange from speaking turn
to speaking turn (cf. sections 5.6.3 & 5.6.4), but also within
a speaking turn. A speaking turn may contain more than one pro-
position, either related to each other (cf. Chapter 6, The Ex-
pansion Strategy, section 6.3.3) or one proposition finishing
off the last exchange whereas the other starts off a new one.
This strategy has come into the literature as coupling (Merritt,

1976).

Coupling is a communicating strategy defined in terms of
transition from one conversational exchange to the other. It
enables the ratified speaker to play two moves in the same turn;
in other words, to do two things: to respond to the previous
speaker's utterance and then to become an initiator himself
(cf. Merritt, 1976), see for instance Ex.27, 104X; Ex.28, 140X;
as well as Ex.18, 43X; Ex.16, 23X; pp.142-43.

Ex.27 <u>Experimental High School</u>   1/100-104 Moves I.A.
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    100X: What is between the train and the⌐   O   el
    101Z: Tank.   ⌡

      X:: Tank?

    102Z: Nothing / Oh. A blue /⌐   A   rep
    103X: Impossible.   ⌡   F ⌿O rej⌿el

      Z:: A part of a blue thing.

    104X: A part of a blue thing! ⌿And the
           car / the blue car is near the /
           the businessmen?

Ex.28 <u>British Council Institute</u>   1/138-140
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    138X: What / what behind Scrooge?   O   el
    139Z: Nothing.   A   rep
    140X: Nothing. ⌿ Behind Donald?   F ⌿O acc⌿el

    The ratified speaker either introduces a new subtopic alto-
gether or deals with a different aspect of the same subtopic. In

* The symbol ⌿ separates the two moves from each other
  played by a participant in the same turn.

Ex.27, 104X, for instance, X indirectly rejects Z's answer and then initiates an elicitation on another subtopic himself. In Ex.28, 140X, however, X accepts Z's reply and goes on to initiate an elicitation on another subtopic. (See also Ex.26, 4Z, p.148).

Coupling, however, may not$_\wedge$ *only* be introduced after the third move in the conversational exchange but also after the second move, see, for instance, Ex.29, 8Z; Ex.30, 8Z; also Ex.15, 13X; Ex.16, 23Z and Ex.18, 43X, pp.142-43.

Ex.29 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   21/5-8   <u>Moves</u>   <u>I.A.</u>
       (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    5X: There are three men in the picture,
        two of them are close.   O   inf

    6Z: Yes.

    X:: One is far.

    8Z: Yes. What are they doing? Is   A⟋O   ack⟋el
        there any car in the picture?

Ex.30 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   2/7-8
       (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    7X: And the children?   O   el

    8Z: They are in the car. Anything   A⟋O   rep⟋el
        else?

Selection of the coupling strategy depends on pragmatic grounds. It speeds up the conversation and allows both participants in interaction to initiate conversational exchanges and put to$_\wedge$ *the* test of relevance and appropriateness shifts in topic or rather subtopics. Merritt, 1976, reports that she has identified similar sequences in her counter service data.

To sum up, the charts on p.153 indicate a system of possi-

ble options for coupling moves available to participants and the
decisions they may make in the act of communication after they
have taken into consideration the pragmatics of the situation,
their communicative intent and their rights and obligations.

either A

Moves	I.A.
O	el
A	rep
F ⌐O	[ack · acc · rej · pause] ⌐ el

or B

Moves	I.A.
O	**el**
A ⌐O	rep⌐ el

or C

Moves	I.A.
O	M.E.
A	[d · inf]
F ⌐O	[ack · acc · rej · pause] ⌐ el

In Chapter 6 I shall discuss the functional properties of
the micro-strategies which make up the regulative features of na-
tural (foreign) language communication.

Chapter 6

The Regulative Features of Foreign Language Communication

6.1 Communicating and learning micro-strategies

The regulative features of foreign language communication
have been defined as communicating and learning micro-strategies
which hearer-speakers make use of to advance shared knowledge
and/or to restore normality in communication where there is the
possibility of a potential break-down in communication or when
one has actually occurred.

The importance of strategies to restore normality in commu-
nication has been repeatedly emphasized in the literature. Ci-
courel, for instance, stresses the fact that "when the appear-
ance of the speaker and hearer or talk is not viewed as recogni-
zable or intelligible.....efforts will be made by participants
in the event to normalize the presumed discrepancies." (Cicourel,
1973 : 53-54; also Chapter 3, pp.68-69). Goffman, 1976, 1971,
also emphasizes that when discrepancies arise participants in an
event resort to certain "repairs" to restore the "shaken equili-
brium". Goffman argues that the appropriate use of repairs in communi-
cation is regulated by the ritual constraints operating in a so-
ciety (cf. Chapter 3, pp.75-76).

As argued in Chapter 1, it is very important for L_2 learner-
participants in an event to be able to bridge gaps of informa-
tion over shared knowledge as product and process in interaction
whenever there is a need for it as the communication unfolds.
Some of the strategies identified in the data regulate the commu-
nication process and restore normality through learning when
there is a need to advance shared knowledge as product and/or
process in communication. Others open up communication after si-
lences, or restore rapport and "save face" between interactants

when any unhearings, mishearings, misunderstandings or lack of
shared linguistic knowledge of the L_2 appear. The strategies
discussed in this chapter are seen in the context of a social
encounter where participants in an event interchangeably become
listeners and speakers. These strategies are communicating
strategies because they are employed to monitor interaction,
but they are also learning strategies because they are employed
to negotiate new meanings in the context of a social encounter
(cf. Chapter 2, section 2.4). The choice of one strategy over
the other depends on pragmatic grounds, that is, on the immediate
communicative needs of the speaker and/or the hearer in the act
of communication as they negotiate meanings to exchange mess-
ages. To make such decisions   interactants in
an event need to make judgements about the situation, as well
as about what they both know or need to know to understand each
other.   They   also need   to decide what is re-
levant, appropriate and intelligible in L_2 use and usage in order
to produce and interpret the exchanged messages. The ability to
take the listener's perspective into account when formulating
messages is a major requirement for the development of language
use and its communicative potential. And it is exactly in the
development of language use and its communicative potential that
these strategies can help a language user (here an L_2 language
learner user) to further his knowledge of the language, thus
changing a communicative situation into a learning situation. Non-
native speaker participants learned to make such decisions to
achieve coherence in communication while learning to communicate
in the L_1 and have transferred them as processes and strategies
from L_1 communication to L_2 communication (cf. Chapter 3, espe-

cially sections 3.3.2, 3.3.3, 3.4, 3.5). In fact, both native speaker participants and non-native speakers made use of similar strategies.

Here I would like to open a parenthesis and briefly comment on the "communication strategies" discussed by such scholars as Tarone et al., 1976, and Varadi, 1973, (see also Kellerman E., 1978; Tarone E., 1977; and Corder S.P., 1978a). Tarone et al., 1976, define communication strategies as "a systematic attempt by the learner to express and decode meaning in the target language in situations where the appropriate systematic target rules have not been formed" (reported in Hamayan E. and Tucker G., 1979 : 78). I would suggest that the strategies referred to by these scholars are not similar in scope to those discussed in the present research. "Communication strategies" as defined by the above-mentioned scholars are actually either production or comprehension strategies seen in the context of the individual learner as he tries to express or decode meanings.

On the other hand, the strategies discussed by Hatch in Hatch ed. 1978 and Hatch et al., 1978, are seen in the context of a verbal communicative encounter, but they are considered from a rather limited point of view. They are taken to be the strategies native speakers employ to facilitate communication with non-native speakers. As the present research indicates, however, the same strategies are used by non-native speakers and native speakers to facilitate reciprocal communication.

Also Schwartz, 1980, discusses repair work for the negotiation of meaning between non-native speakers. She deals with self-repair and other-repair both as linguistic and extralinguistic

behaviour. Some of the linguistic repairs she discusses are si-
milar to those discussed in the present research. However, she
simply discusses the structural features of them and the sources
of trouble, be it phonological, syntactic, lexical and so on.
Her scope of discussion is different from the scope and purpose
of the present research. However, her research supports the view
of communication universals in conversation proposed here. This
is because her subjects, non-native speakers of non-European
background, have used similar strategies to negotiate meanings.
The processes therefore that govern selection of one over another
ought to be similar (see also Conclusions). She has also empha-
sized the teaching nature of other-repair, which supports the view
taken in this research that communicating strategies are also
learning strategies.

The strategies identified in the data are as follows:

    1.   the building-up strategy

    2.   the summing-up strategy

    3.   the expansion strategy

    4.   the elaboration strategy

    5.   the replay strategy

    6.   the repetition strategy

    7.   the back-channel cues strategy

    8.   the clarification request strategy

    9.   the interruption strategy

   10.   the restatement strategy

   11.   using the L_2 strategy

   12.   using the L_1 strategy

In this chapter I will discuss the functions the regulative
features of foreign language communication serve in natural commu-

nication in the light of the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3. I
will define them in terms of

(a) their focus in the event in the light of Hymes' (1964,
1972) components of a communicative event (cf. Chapter 3,
section 3.3.1).

(b) their function for sustaining Grice's (1967) maxims in
action (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.3.2).

(c) their function in developing interaction and shared
knowledge as defined by Kjolseth, 1972 (cf. Chapter 3, sec-
tion 3.4.1).

(d) their function for sustaining and restoring Cicourel's
(1973) interpretive procedures (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.3.2).

(e) their function in serving system and ritual constraints
as defined by Goffman (1971, 1976) (cf. Chapter 3, section
3.3.2).

I will also define the strategies in terms of

(a) who initiates, who acts (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.4).

(b) whether they are overt communicating strategies and
covert learning strategies, or vice versa (cf. Chapter 2,
section 2.4).

(c) their place in interaction and how they can be recog-
nized (cf. Chapter 5).

6.2 An overview of strategies and their function in natural communication

6.2.1 Summary of strategies from the point of view of their general function as overt communicating/ covert learning strategies and vice versa

Strategies serve	Overt communicating strategy, covert learning strategy	Covert communicating strategy, overt learning strategy
1. the building-up strategy		X
2. the summing-up strategy		X
3. the expansion strategy	X	
4. the elaboration strategy	X	
5. the replay strategy	X	
6. the repetition strategy	X	
7. the back-channel strategy	X	
8. the clarification request strategy	X	
9. the interruption strategy	X	
10. the restatement strategy	X	
11. using the L_2 strategy	X	
12. using the L_1 strategy		X

6.2.2 Summary of strategies from the point of view who initiates, who acts

Strategies serve	Speaker-initiated listener-acted upon	listener-initiated speaker-acted upon	speaker-initiated speaker-acted upon	listener-initiated listener-acted upon
1. the building-up strategy	X			
2. the summing-up strategy	X			
3. the expansion strategy			X	
4. the elabora-tion strategy			X	
5. the replay strategy		X		
6. the repetition strategy		X		
7. the back-chan-nel cues stra-tegy	X			
8. the clarifica-tion request strategy	X	X		
9. the interrup-tion strategy				X
10. the restate-ment strategy				X
11. using the L_2 strategy		X	X	
12. using the L_1 strategy	X	X	X	

6.2.3 Summary of strategies from the point of view of their focus in a communicative event (Hymes, 1964, 1972).

Strategies serve	Focus on addressor	Focus on addressee	Focus on channels	Focus on codes	Focus on settings	Focus on message form	Focus on the event	Focus on topic
1. the building-up strategy							X	X
2. the summing-up strategy							X	X
3. the expansion strategy								X
4. the elaboration strategy								X
5. the replay strategy						X		
6. the repetition strategy		X						
7. the back-channel cues strategy				X				
8. the clarification request strategy		X						**X**
9. the interruption strategy							X	X
10. the restatestrategy						X		
11. using the L_2 strategy				X				
12. using the L_1 strategy				X				

6.2.4 <u>Summary of strategies from the point of view of their function with reference to Grice's four</u> maxims

Strategies serve	The maxim of quantity	The maxim of quality	The maxim of relation	The maxim of manner
1. the building-up strategy	X	X	X	X
2. the summing-up strategy	X	X	X	X
3. the expansion strategy	X		X	
4. the elaboration strategy	X	X		
5. the replay strategy	X	X		
6. the repetition strategy	X	X	X	X
7. the back channel cues strategy	X	X	X	X
8. the clarification request strategy	X	X	X	X
9. the interruption strategy			X	X
10. the restatement strategy		X		X
11. using the L_2 strategy	X	X	X	X
12. using the L_1 strategy	X	X	X	X

6.2.5 Summary of strategies from the point of view of their function with reference to Kjolseth's (1972) shared knowledge in developing interaction

Strategies serve	Foreground shared knowledge	Emergent grounds shared knowledge	Transcendent grounds shared knowledge
1. the building up strategies	X	X	
2. the summing up strategy	X	X	
3. the expansion strategy			X
4. the elaboration strategy		X	
5. the replay strategy		X	
6. the repetition strategy		X	
7. the back-channel cues strategy		X	
8. the clarification request strategy	X	X	
9. the interruption strategy		X	
10. the restatement strategy		X	
11. using the L_2 strategy		X	
12. using the L_1 strategy		X	

6.2.6 Summary of strategies from the point of view of their function with reference to Cicourel's (1973) interpretive procedures

Strategies serve	The reciprocity of perspectives	The et cetera assumption	Normal forms	Retrospective - prospective sense of recurrence	Talk itself is reflexive	Descriptive vocabularies
1. the building-up strategy	X	X		X		
2. the summing-up strategy	X	X		X		
3. the expansion strategy	X	X	X			X
4. the elaboration strategy	X	X	X	X		
5. the replay strategy	X	X	X	X		
6. the repetition strategy	X	X		X		
7. the back-channel cues strategy	X	X	X	X		X
8. the clarification strategy	X	X		X	X	
9. the interruption strategy	X	X		X		
10. the restatement strategy	X	X		X		
11. using the L_2 strategy	X	X	X	X		X
12. using the L_1 strategy	X	X	X	X		X

6.2.7 <u>Summary of strategies from the point of view of
their function with reference to Goffman's
(1971, 1976) system and ritual constraints</u>

Strategies serve	System constraints overtly	Ritual constraints covertly	
		defensive strategies	protective strategies
1. the building-up strategy	X		X
2. the summing-up strategy	X		X
3. the expansion strategy	X	X	
4. the elaboration strategy	X	X	
5. the replay strategy	X		X
6. the repetition strategy	X	X	
7. the back-channel cues strategy	X		X
8. the clarification strategy	X	X	
9. the interruption strategy	X		X
10. the restatement strategy	X		X
11. using the L_2 strategy	X	X	
12. using the L_1 strategy	X	X	

6.3 The strategies

In this section I will discuss each strategy separately within the framework suggested in 6.1, p.158.

6.3.1 The building-up strategy

The building-up strategy is topic or event orientated. In Hymes' (1964, 1972) terms the focus is on the topic of the event and entails functions having to do with content or the event. This strategy mainly serves the functions of topic/event priming and topic/event continuing. Focus on the event itself, Hymes argues, entails whatever functions are comprised under meta-communicative types of function.

This is a speaker initiated, listener acted upon strategy. The speaker sees suspended the following properties of interpretive procedures (Cicourel, 1973): the reciprocity of perspectives, the et cetera assumption, the retrospective prospective sense of occurrence, because he and his listener do not share content/event information of which to build succeeding interaction. By employing this strategy the speaker aims at advancing detailed shared knowledge on factual information as foreground knowledge (Kjolseth, 1972) relevant to the topic as a whole, or at advancing detailed shared knowledge of factual information as emergent grounds knowledge relevant to the subtopic of a particular conversational exchange (Kjolseth, 1972). He thus orientates himself to his partner in communication and makes sure that he knows as much as his partner about the topic or the event so that they can communicate freely. By doing so the speaker observes the overall cooperative principle that implies respect and mutual observance to all four maxims (Grice, 1967).

This strategy is an overt learning strategy and a covert communicating strategy. The speaker requests information from the listener or supplies information to the listener. This strategy helps them share the same environment (physical, social, factual), which is a necessary prerequisite for successful communication (cf. Chapter 3). As Shields (1978) maintains, it is as important for learners to learn how to share the same environment as to learn to differentiate between environments and viewpoints. As such it is a strategy that serves the system constraints overtly and the ritual constraints covertly (Goffman, 1971, 1976). Otherwise, potential lack of shared knowledge may lead to a communication breakdown which the speaker tries to avoid at all costs, unless he makes use of it as a potential way of terminating the interaction. It is, therefore, a protective strategy the speaker employs to save the situation.

Structurally, the building-up strategy is of two types. It may be made up of a series of elicitations the value of which is that of requests for information. I take value to mean "the meaning sentences or parts of sentences assume when they are put to use for communicative purposes" (Widdowson, 1978 : 11). They are followed by replies the value of which is to supply responses to the requests usually terminated with an ack or an acc initiated by the first ratified speaker in the exchange (cf. Chapter 5, section 5.6.4: Chaining) who thus indicates his gratitude for having been supplied with enough information through his participant's responses. This type is of the format:

X: el_1 ————————————————⟶ request for information

Z: rep_1————————————————⟶ response : information granted

X: el_2 $\longrightarrow$ request for information

Z: rep_2 $\longrightarrow$ response : information gran-
ted

X: $\overline{|ack \cdot acc|}$ (optional) $\longrightarrow$ gratitude and termination of
exchange

$\downarrow$

A building-up repair strategy might also be a series of
informatives the value of which is to supply content information
to the listener. The listener accepts, acknowledges or rejects
it (cf. Chapter 5, op.cit.), whereas sometimes s/he expounds on
his response, adding relevant information. This type is of the
format:

X: inf_1 $\longrightarrow$ information given

Z: rep_1 $\longrightarrow$ information accepted/acknow-
ledged or rejected

X: inf_2 $\longrightarrow$ information given

Z: rep_2 $\longrightarrow$ information accepted/acknow-
ledged or rejected

X: inf_3 $\longrightarrow$ information given

Z: rep_3 $\longrightarrow$ information accepted/acknow-
ledged or rejected

X: $\overline{|ack \cdot acc|}$ (optional) $\longrightarrow$ gratitude and termination of
exchange

$\downarrow$
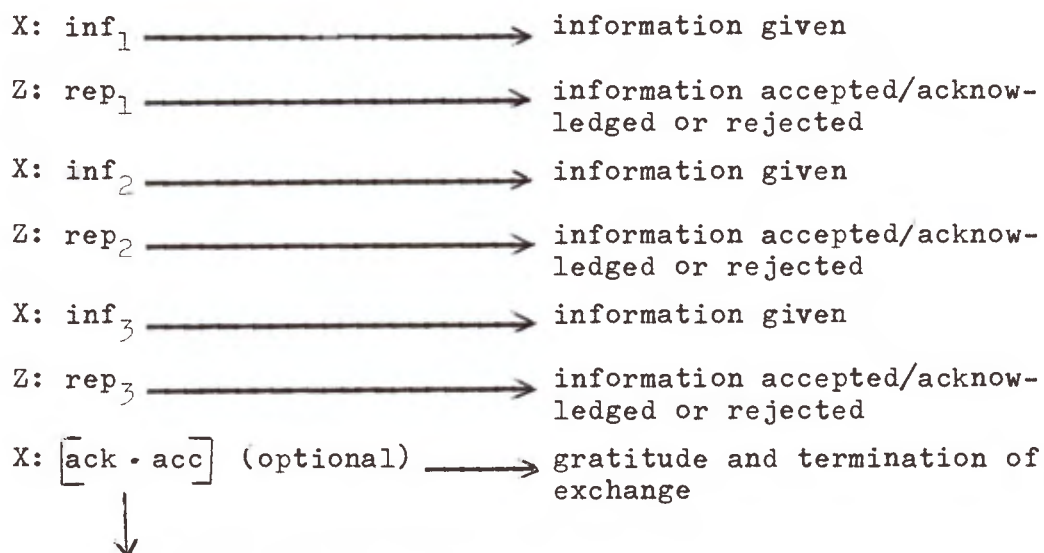
Examples from the data:

Ex.31 <u>British Council Institute</u>   1/124-134
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

   124X: What colour is the floor?

   125Z: Brown.

   126X: What colour is the money?

   127Z: I / I don't know.

   128X: What colour's the box?

   129Z: Brown, brown and white.

130X: The piece of paper?

131Z: White.

132X: The bookses?

133Z: Red, uhm, uhm, red and green.

134X: Yeah.

Ex.32 Zografos School of English   21/18-23
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

18X: I can see a green car. Is there another one?

19Z: No. It's the only one at the picture.

20X: Are there any horses, anyone in the picture?

21Z: No. There is only the three men and the train.

22X: Because I see some (inaudible).

23Z: Uh? Uh? No. You can see another one on the train.

Ex.33 Hellenic-American Union School of English   1/20-25
(adults, X = native speaker
         Z = non-native speaker)

20X: ...Are there some books in the right hand bottom
     corner?

21Z: Yes, there are.

22X: Is there a ladder in the bottom left?

23Z: Yes, there is.

24X: How many people are there in the picture?

25Z: Two Donalds.

Ex.34 Adults, native speakers   1/10-14

10X: The next piece / the next piece probably continues
     the ladder and leads on to the floor of the loft
     with an old bag lying

11Z: Yes, a green thing, sort of a skirting load, isn't it?

12X: Yeah, around the entrance to the loft.

13Z: Yes, and what comes next to the ladder?

14X: That's / the hole comes up in the loft and then on

the floor there 's lying something that looks
like a golf bag possibly.

6.3.2 The summing-up strategy

The summing-up strategy is also topic or event orientated.
In Hymes' (1964, 1972) terms the focus is on the topic or the
event and entails functions having to do with content or the
event. This strategy mainly serves the function of topic/event
continuing. As with the building-up strategy, focus on the event
itself also entails whatever functions are comprised under meta-
communicative functions.

This is also a speaker initiated, listener acted upon stra-
tegy. The speaker sees suspended the following properties of
interpretive procedures (Cicourel, 1973): the reciprocity of
perspectives, the et cetera assumption, the retrospective-pros-
pective sense of occurrence because he and his listener (his co-
participant in interaction) may not share enough content/event
information on which to build succeeding interaction. By making
use of this strategy the speaker wants to ascertain that knowledge
                                         either
of factual (content/event) information as foreground knowledge
(Kjolseth, 1972) relevant to the topic/event as a whole, or

as emergent grounds knowledge (Kjolseth, 1972) relevant to
a particular conversational exchange, is actually shared. Thus the
speaker orientates himself to his listener and makes sure that
both share the same environment as topic or event. It is after
this possible information gap has been closed that interpretive
procedures can work again and allow the participants in the event
to communicate uninhibited. By doing so the speaker observes the
overall conversational principle that implies respect and mutual
observance of all four maxims, and expects his listener and part-

ner in the joint activity to comply with it too, so that they
can both share the same world view in order to sustain and
develop interpretive procedures.

Like the building-up strategy, the summing-up strategy is
a covert communicating strategy, but an overt learning strategy.
The speaker wants to ensure that foreground or emergent grounds
knowledge (Kjolseth, 1972) is shared for interpretive procedures
to function. As such it is a strategy that serves the system
constraints overtly. But it is also a protective strategy which
speakers may employ to save the situation and thus serves the
ritual constraints covertly. (Goffman, 1971, 1976).

Structurally the summing-up strategy is made up of series
of elicitations the value of which is that of requests for con-
firmation. They are followed by replies the value of which is
responses for confirmation or for rejection. It is usually ter-
minated with an accept or acknowledgement initiated by the first
ratified speaker who thus shows his gratitude for the information
provided and considers it enough for communication to function
at this point. The speaker usually employs this strategy in
order to recapitulate what has been done or said so far (cf. Chap-
ter 5, section 5.6.4). The format of this strategy is as follows:

$$X: el_1 \longrightarrow \text{request for confirmation}$$

$$Z: rep_1 \longrightarrow \text{response: confirmation/ rejection}$$

$$X: el_2 \longrightarrow \text{request for confirmation}$$

$$Z: rep_2 \longrightarrow \text{response: confirmation/ rejection}$$

$$X: el_3 \longrightarrow \text{request for confirmation}$$

$$Z: rep_3 \longrightarrow \text{response: confirmation/ rejection}$$
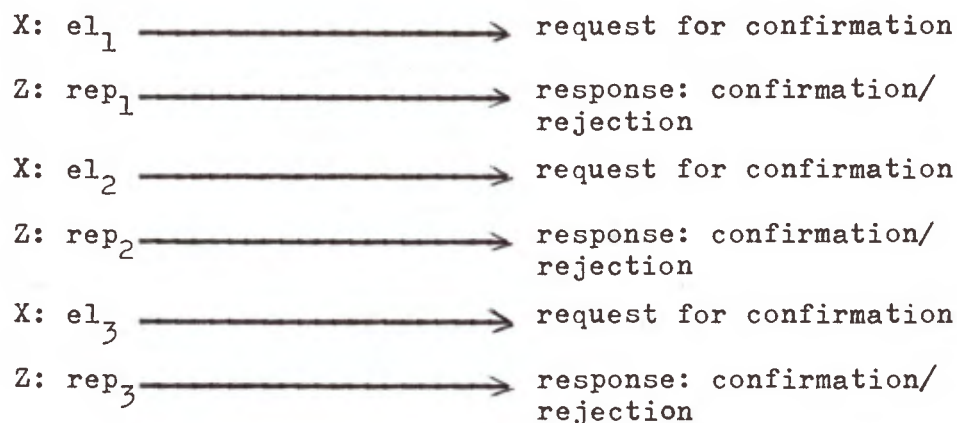
$$\text{X:} \begin{bmatrix} \text{ack} \cdot \text{acc} \end{bmatrix} (\text{optional}) \longrightarrow \text{gratitude/termination of exchange}$$

Examples from the data:

Ex.35 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   14/107-112
    (non-native speakers, adolescents)

    107X: Under the grass there is a wooden box.

    108Z: Yeah.

    109X: Under / near the wooden box is Donald Duck.

    110Z: Yeah.

    111X: Up to Donald Duck there is the sky.

    112Z: No.

Ex.36 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   14/195-200
    (non-native speakers, adolescents)

    195X: Donald Duck is trying to stop the car, right?

    196Z: Yes.

    197X: Inside the car there are two children.

    198Z: Three children.

    199X: You can see them?

    200Z: Yes, three faces.

Ex.37 <u>Gogos School of English</u>   1/44-48
    (adolescents, Z = non-native speaker
                X = native speaker)

    44Z: The one of them is below but there is one which
           is not below the train.

    45X: So there are two of them.

    46Z: Yes, there are two.

    47X: And there is one above and one below.

    48Z: Yes.

6.3.3 The Expansion Strategy

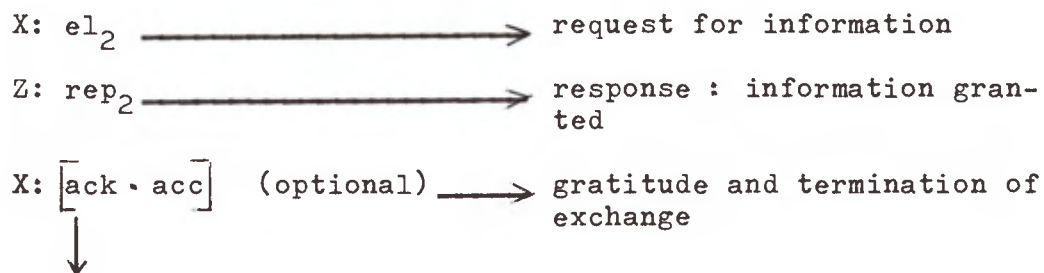The expansion strategy is topic orientated. In Hymes'
(1964, 1972) terms the focus is on the topic and entails func-
tions having to do with content. This strategy mainly serves
the functions of content-advancing.

This is a speaker initiated, speaker acted upon strategy.
The speaker fears that the factual or semantic information con-
veyed in his proposition may not be understood by his listener
because of bad syntax or wrong choice of vocabulary or possible
lack of shared knowledge. He may fear tnat his listener may not
share transcedent grounds knowledge of what is potentially rele-
vant to the "here and now" (Kjolseth, 1972) from speaking turn
to speaking turn in tnis conversational exchange. As a result,
he sees suspended the following properties of interpretive pro-
cedures: the reciprocity of perspectives, the et cetera assump-
tion, normal forms and descriptive vocabularies (Cicourel, 1973).
The speaker, then, employs the expansion strategy in order to
provide the listener with additional general or specific informa-
tion related to his proposition on a particular subtopic in a
conversational exchange to facilitate communication. So the first
part of his proposition may carry general factual or semantic
information whereas the proposition(s) that follow, the number of
which can be anything from two propositions to n propositions,
may carry more specific factual or semantic information shifting
down analytically from the whole to the parts e.g. Ex.39, 19X:
Side? The opposite side? In other cases, a specific proposition
or propositions may be followed by a general proposition shifting
upwards from the parts to the whole, e.g. Ex.38, 49X.

The speaker thus adheres to the maxims of quantity and relevance phenomenally contradicting the maxims of quality and manner (Grice, 1967). This strategy is an overt communicating and a covert learning strategy. The speaker wants to make sure that transcedent$^{\eta}$ grounds knowledge or emergent grounds knowledge is shared for interpretive procedures to function, as such it is a strategy that serves the system constraints overtly and the ritual constraints covertly, because potential lack of shared knowledge may cause a communication breakdown. It is therefore a defensive strategy the speaker employs to protect his own projection of self (Goffman, 1971, 1976).

Structurally, the expansion strategy may be

either A   X: $el_{1,2,3...n}$ $\longrightarrow$ requests for information (1,2,3...n propositions)

Z: rep $\longrightarrow$ response to supply information

$\downarrow$

or B   X: el $\longrightarrow$ request for information

Z: rep 1,2,3...n $\longrightarrow$ response to supply information (1,2,3...n propositions)

$\downarrow$

Where a proposition of el_1 or rep_1 may carry general factual or semantic information load followed by propositions of $el_{2,3...n}$ or $rep_{2,3...n}$ which may carry more specific factual or semantic information load. (See Ex.38, 49X; Ex.39, 19X; Ex.40, 49Z). It may also be the case where proposition of el_1 or rep_1 may carry specific information whereas the last proposition of el_n or rep_n may carry general information. (See Ex.41,16-18Z; also cf. Chapter 2, section 2.4, especially 2.4.3).

Examples from the data:

Ex.38 Zografos School of English   14/47-50
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

    47X: The wooden box is / where is it?
           Because I think I have found it.

    48Z: Where is it?

    49X: Is beside the car, behind the car?
           Where is it? Under the grass?

    50Z: Yes, under the grass.

Ex.39 Zografos School of English   2/17-20
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

    17X: Where is the tree?

    18Z: It's at the top.

    19X: Side? The opposite side?

    20Z: No, at the same side with the basket.

Ex.40 Hellenic American Union School of English 2/49-52
(X = non-native speaker; Z = native speaker)

    49Z: What do you see when you look at Scrooge?
           You see his hat, his eyes?

    50X: Yes.

    51Z: Do you see / he has a red coat. Do you see his red
           coat?

    52X: Yes, yes.

Ex.41 Adults, native speakers   1/13-19

    13X: ...and what comes next to the ladder?

    14Z: That's / the hole comes up in the loft and then
           on the floor there's lying something that looks
           like a golf bag possibly. ⌐

    15X: A golf bag?   ⌐

    16Z: A bag of some kind π

    17X: and π

18Z: something discreet on the ground.

19X: I've got a piece of that. It's sort of a browny
       colour continuing to pinky red.

6.3.4 The elaboration strategy

The elaboration strategy is topic orientated. In Hymes'
(1964, 1972) terms the focus is on the topic and entails func-
tions having to do with content-advancing. This is a speaker
initiated, speaker acted upon strategy. The speaker sees sus-
pended the following properties of interpretive procedures: the
reciprocity of perspectives, the et cetera assumption, the retro-
spective sense of occurrence, and normal forms (Cicourel, 1973).
Suspension of interpretive procedures leads to a breakdown of
communication. The speaker fears that his communicative intent
may not have been understood, and as a result his listener may not
share emergent grounds knowledge of "what is relevant at the 'here
and now'" (Kjolseth, 1972). So he elaborates on the previous
message of his by adding relevant more specific factual or seman-
tic information about it although it has already been acknowledged
or accepted (see Ex.42, 3Z; Es.43, 41Z; Ex.44, 287Z; Ex.45,
30Z). Thus the speaker indicates his willingness to co-operate
with his partner in the negotiation of meaning by overtly adher-
ing to the maxims of quality and quantity (Grice, 1967). He there-
fore contributes whatever information he thinks is necessary in
order to get meanings across to his partner in conversation.

The elaboration strategy is an overt communicating strategy
since it sustains and develops interpretive procedures and a co-
vert learning strategy since it contributes to developing a
shared environment and a common world view between the partici-
pants. This strategy attends to system constraints overtly and
ritual constraints covertly (in Goffman's (1971, 1976) terms).

It is a defensive strategy the speaker employs to protect his own projection of self and indicate his willingness to co-operate in order to achieve the desired goal of the conversation.

Structurally, it is an utterance semantically relevant to the previous utterance issued by the same speaker. It usually follows after an ack or an acc. (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.4, especially 2.4.6). As an interactive act I consider it a reply or an informative since it is an elaboration on the speaker's first reply or informative. The format of an elaboration strategy is as follows:

either A   or B

X: el   M.E.   where rep_2 or

Z: rep_1 inf_1 $inf_2 \Longrightarrow$ a

X: $\lceil$ack·acc$\rceil$ $\lceil$ack·acc$\rceil$ semantic or factual
                                             elaboration of rep_1
Z: rep_2 inf_2 or inf_1

$\downarrow$ $\downarrow$
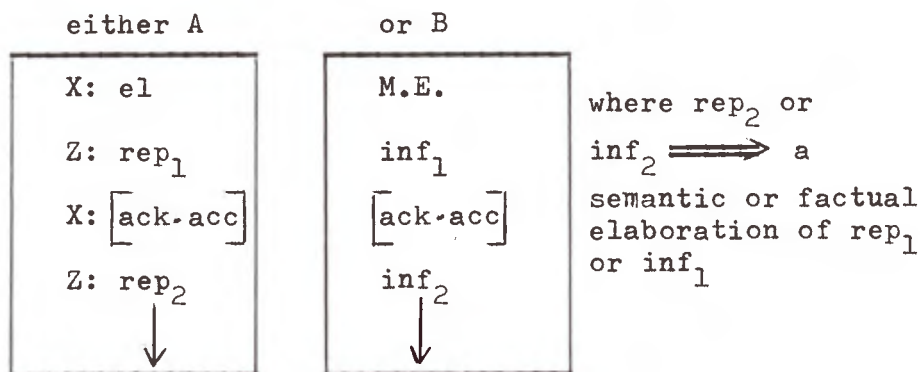
Examples from the data:

Ex.42 Experimental High School   1/1-3
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    1Z: It's a railway station with a tank.

    2X: Yes.

    3Z: It's a railway station with a tank, a big tank.

Ex.43 Zografos School of English   14/39-41
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    39Z: It's an old car.

    40X: An old car. Yes, I see.

    41Z: An old type of car.

Ex.44 <u>Hellenic American Union School of English</u>   4/285-287
      (adults, X = non-native speaker
              Z = native speaker)

   285Z: Above that is a tank.

   286X: There is a tank. That's what it is.

   287Z: An oil tank. $\diagup$ Have you found it?

Ex.45 <u>Adults, native speakers</u>   28-31

   28Z: ...The corner / the next corner pieces: carrots,
          looks like carrots and books.

   29X: Carrots and books. Oh, there are some $\diagup\diagup$

   30Z: A red book and a green book.

The basic structural difference between the expansion stra-
tegy and the elaboration strategy is that the expansion strategy
is employed across one speaking turn, whereas the elaboration stra-
tegy presupposes a new speaking turn.

6.3.5 The replay strategy

The replay strategy is message-form orientated. In Hymes'
(1964, 1972) terms it entails functions having to do with the
message itself or the form of the message. It is a listener ini-
tiated, speaker acted upon strategy. The speaker rephrases his
message shifting from general information to more specific infor-
mation when he realizes from his listener's reaction that he has
not understood his communicative intent. Because of this lack of
understanding the speaker sees suspended the following properties
of interpretive procedures: the reciprocity of perspectives, the
etcetera assumption, the retrospective-prospective sense of occur-
rence and normal forms (Cicourel, 1973). This is because transcen-
dent grounds knowledge, what is potentially relevant, appropriate

and intelligible at the "here and now" (Kjolseth, 1972) is not shared between speaker and listener. As a result communication breaks down.

The speaker as a co-operative co-interact_aovertly adheres to the maxims of quality and quantity (Grice, 1967) making sure, each time he paraphrases his message, his contribution is as informative and true as is required shifting down the scale from a general information message to a specific proposal information message.

This is an overt communicating strategy and a covert learning strategy. The speaker employs this strategy to avoid a potential breakdown in communication when he realizes that his message has not come across. It is a covert learning strategy because it also helps interactants to share the same environment, the same world view as product on which interpretive procedures as process depend. This strategy sustains and develops system constraints overtly and ritual constraints covertly (Goffman, 1971, 1976), since the speaker employs it as a protective strategy to save the definition of the situation projected by another and allow communication to continue uninterrupted.

Structurally, the replay strategy is made up of a number of el-rep pairs. The value of the elicitations may be that of requests for information or confirmation. The value of the replies is that of responses to requested information or confirmation. Elicitations or replies shift down the scale from general propositions to more specific ones. See, for instance, Ex.46 where proposition 3X: Who is in the car? does not propose a particular response, whereas specific propositions e.g. Ex.46, 5X: Who is the driver? shifting down to 7X: The driver is Duck? propose

an element of related general proposition's answer-set as a correct response.

General propositions in replies may also create problems of association of meaning between the utterance and the situation (here the jigsaw puzzle) either because of the non-native speaker's limited knowledge of the L_2 or because the listener was busy sorting out his/her jigsaw puzzle pieces, see Ex.47, 100Z: ...looking at the treasure chest. Proposition 102Z is shifted down to a semantically paraphrased proposition as is 102Z: They are looking at the big box with the money (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.4, especially 2.4.4).

The format of a replay strategy is as follows:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
X: \quad el_1 & \text{where } el_2 \Longrightarrow \text{a replay of} \\
Z: \quad rep_1 & el_1, \text{ where } rep_2 \Longrightarrow \text{a} \\
X: \quad el_2 & \text{replay of } rep_1 \\
Z: \quad rep_2 &
\end{array}
$$
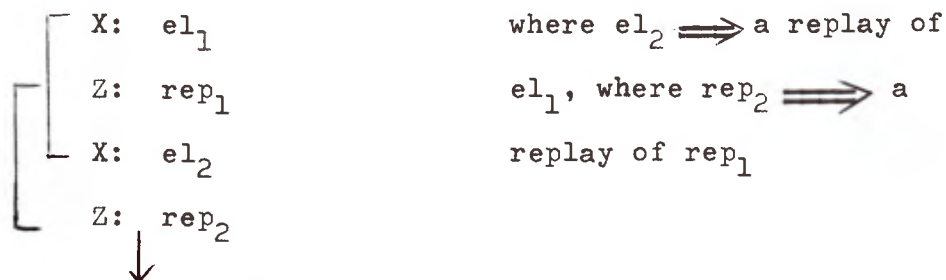
Examples from the data:

Ex.46 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   5/3-8
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

3X: Who is in the car?

4Z: The car is in the road.

5X: Who is the driver?

6Z: Uhm, the driver?

7X: Mhm. The driver is duck?

8Z: The old duck is in the road.

Ex.47 <u>Hellenic American Union School of English</u> 1/99-102
      (adults, X = non-native speaker
              Z = native speaker)

  99X: Where are the two Donalds? Are
        ⌈they in front of the ⌉big box?
        │   │
 100Z: │They are in the middle│
        Yes, they are in the middle of the picture
        looking at the treasure chest.

 101X: What? I don't know.

 102Z: They are looking at the big box with the money.

Ex.48 <u>Hellenic American Union School of English</u> 1/99-102
      (adults, X = non-native speaker
              Z = native speaker)

        . . . .

  56Z: Then you've got a skylight.

  57X: Yes, I see. Yes.

  58Z: And then ⫫

  59X: No, I haven't. Sorry.

  60Z: You haven't got a skylight?

  61X: No, sorry. I'm trying to see / What colour is the
        skylight?

  62Z: Well, you've got a blue frame, then there is a light
        blue on this white sky.

  63X: Yes, I've got that.

The basic structural difference between the elaboration stra-
tegy and the replay strategy is that the elaboration strategy pre-
supposes one speaking turn, whereas the replay strategy presupposes
two or more turns.

6.3.6 The repetition strategy

The repetition strategy is channel orientated. In Hymes'
(1964, 1972) terms it entails functions having to do with the chan-
nels. Its main function is to clear the channel and maintain

contact and control of noise, both physical and psychological in relation to other components of the communicative event. It is a listener initiated, speaker acted upon strategy. The listener employs this strategy to indicate that the previous ratified speaker's message was not heard and requests a repetition of it. He thus declares that emergent grounds knowledge "What is relevant in the 'here and now' at this episode" is not shared for communication to proceed and a breakdown is inevitable (Kjolseth, 1972). The listener sees suspended the following properties of interpretive procedures: the reciprocity of perspectives, the et cetera assumption, and the retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence (Cicourel, 1973). Because of unhearings speaker and listener cannot share the same environment and world view on which interpretive procedures for the negotiation of meaning depend. By employing the repetition strategy the listener has at his disposal a means to avoid a breakdown in orderly communication and re-establish social contact between the participants in the event. Consequently it is an overt communicating strategy and a covert learning strategy. It is a learning strategy because it facilitates sharing of emergent grounds knowledge. As such it is a strategy that overtly attends to the overall co-operative principle which implies respect and mutual observance of all four maxims (Grice, 1967) and attends to system constraints overtly and ritual constraints covertly (Goffman, 1971, 1976). The listener usually employs one of a number of linguistic realizations such as "I didn't hear you", "Sorry", "Can you repeat it again?" and so on to indicate he has not heard the speaker's utterance and requests a repetition of it. The interrogative pronoun "What?" is extensively used by non-native speakers, especially in begin-

ners' levels to request a repetition of the speaker's utterance, because they may not be familiar with appropriate linguistic realizations to request repetition. The listener makes use of the repetition strategy as a defensive strategy to protect his own projection of self (Goffman, 1971, 1976).

Structurally, a conversational exchange with a repetition strategy employed by the listener may be of the following formats:

$$\text{either A} \quad \begin{array}{l} X: el_1 \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} Z: el_2 \\ X: el_1 \end{array}\right. \\ Z: rep_1 \downarrow \end{array} \qquad \begin{array}{l} \text{where } el_2 \Longrightarrow a \\ \text{request for repetition} \end{array}$$

$$\text{or B} \quad \begin{array}{l} X: el_1 \\ Z: rep_1 \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} X: el_2 \\ Z: rep_1 \end{array}\right. \downarrow \end{array} \qquad \begin{array}{l} \text{where } el_2 \Longrightarrow a \\ \text{request for repetition} \end{array}$$
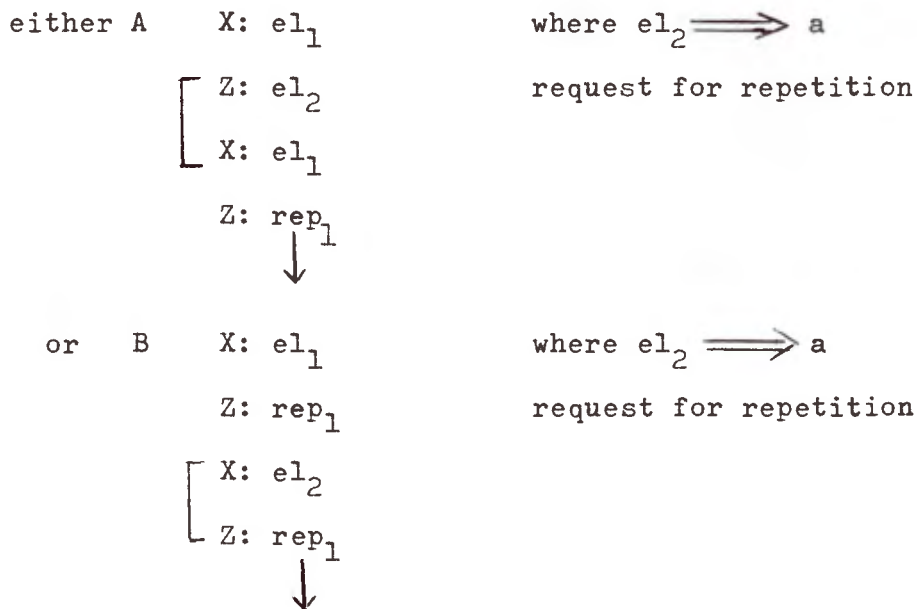
As an interactive act it is an elicitation, the value of which, however, is that of a request for repetition. It is usually realized in specific linguistic realizations such as: "Can you repeat the question?" or "What did you say?" and so on. (cf. Chapter 2, 2.4.8, especially the Prodding strategy). The utterance that follows the request of repetition is either a verbatim repetition of el_1 or rep_1, or it is slightly rephrased. (See Ex.49, 45X; Ex.50, 15X; Ex.51, 13X).

Examples from the data:

Ex.49 <u>Experimental High School</u>   1/43-45
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    43X: It's near the train a felt?

    44Z: Uhm? Can you repeat the pond / the question?

    45X: I told you / I ask you if you have / if a felt
          is near the train.

Ex.50 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   15/13-15
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    13X: Is right of the Donald this? The door.

    14Z: What did you say?

    15X: The door it is right of Donald?

Ex.51 <u>Gogos School of English</u>   1/11-14
      (adolescents, Z = non-native speaker
                 X = native speaker)

    11X: Are the tracks near the bottom or are they near /
          where are they in the picture?

    12Z: What?

    13X: Where / where are the tracks in the picture?

    14Z: Down

6.3.7 <u>Back-channel cues strategy</u>

The back-channel cues strategy is code orientated. In Hymes'
(1964, 1972) terms it entails functions having to do with the code
in relation to other components in communication. The main func-
tion that this strategy serves is the identification of an element
of the code used in conversation.

This is a speaker initiated, listener acted upon strategy.
As the speaker speaks he comes to an unpredictable stop. Either
because he does not know or does not remember the appropriate

linguistic realization(s) to express himself, he hesitates trying to think of the relevant linguistic realization or an appropriate equivalent one. As a result the listener sees an imminent breakdown in communication and suspension of the following properties of interpretive procedures: normal forms and descriptive vocabularies as well as the reciprocity of perspectives, the et cetera assumption and the retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence (Cicourel, 1973). Thus the listener gets the floor faithfully adhering to the overall co-operative principle that implies respect and mutual observance to all four maxims (Grice, 1967) and supplies the appropriate linguistic realization(s). He does not keep the floor for himself. As soon as he has supplied the appropriate linguistic realization(s) the first ratified speaker gets the floor back and continues from where he had stopped.

If the listener does not make use of this strategy at his disposal, emergent grounds knowledge will not be shared of what is relevant to the "here and now" in this conversational exchange on which to build succeeding interaction (Kjolseth, 1972). It is, therefore, an overt communicating strategy and a covert learning strategy. It is a learning strategy because the first ratified speaker will learn this new code item on the spot or if he has simply forgotten it he will bring it back to memory in context. The back-channel cues strategy overtly serves system constraints but covertly serves ritual constraints since the listener makes use of it as a protective strategy to save the definition of the situation projected by another (Goffman, 1971, 1976). This strategy strongly supports Kjolseth's (1972) argument that transcendent grounds knowledge is shared; otherwise, the listener will not be able to exercise this capacity. See Ex.52, 121Z, 122Z;

Ex.53, 80X, 86X. (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.4, especially 2.4.8:
The Modelling strategy).

This strategy may be employed by the listener half-way in
any interactive act performed by the speaker (such as elicita-
tions, directives, informatives, replies and so on). It may be
of the following format structurally:

X: Y   where $Y \Longrightarrow$ any interactive
                                act, half-way realized ling-
                                uistically.

Z: back-channel cues
     strategy

X:: Y_1 where $Y_1 \Longrightarrow$ X continues his
     $\downarrow$ utterance after Z supplied
                                not-known or remembered ling-
                                uistic realization(s).

Examples from the data:

Ex.52 Zografos School of English   7/120-122
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

   120X: Donald and Scroo ge near the books / the box.
           Uhm, uhm.

   121Z: Look

     X::   Looks at the box.   Uhm, uhm.

   122Z: of coins

     X::   Yes.

Ex.53 Hellenic American Union School of English   3/79-86
      (adults, Z = non-native speaker
              X = native speaker)

    79Z: ...Donald's hat is blue
           with uhm, uhm and the yellow uhm, uhm

    80X: Yes, the yellow scarf.

     Z::   Yes. His hands are white.
                                        ⌐
    81X: Mhm.   ⌐
           ....

```
 Z::   ... the centre is red or something ┐
85X:   Yes.                               ┘
 Z:    with yellow uhm, uhm.
86X:   Oh, spots.
 Z::   Yes.
```

The back-channel cues communicating and learning strategy
discussed in this section should be distinguished from the purely
communicating strategy discussed by Duncan (1973, 1974) (see, for
instance, Ex.53, 81X and 85X). This communicating strategy is
used to monitor interaction. The participant in the event employs
it to make clear to his co-participant that he is within the joint
activity and urges him to continue. It is usually linguistically
exemplified by a small set of lexical items, such as "Yes","Right"
or vocalizations such as "Uhm", "Mhm" and so on.

6.3.8 Clarification requests strategy

This is a topic orientated and channel orientated strategy.
In Hymes' (1964, 1972) terms it entails functions having to do
with the context or with the maintenance of contact and control
of noise, both psychological and physical. It may be a speaker
initiated, listener acted upon or a listener initiated, speaker
acted upon strategy. Its specific function is to clear up lack
of shared background expectancies, misunderstandings, unhearings,
mishearings or lack of back-channel cues as defined by Duncan,
1973, 1974.

Lack of shared background expectancies or misunderstandings
can arise for a number of reasons such as lack of shared cultural
interpretations between interactants (as is especially the case
in a mixed communicative situation where one participant in the

event is a native speaker and the other a non-native speaker);

differences in social perspectives where one participant is a

child and the other is an adult (Corsaro, 1977) as well as differ-

ences in the interpretive competence of the interactants to accom-

plish the "joint activity", that is, to maintain focus on the

event itself (Hymes, 1964) (cf. Ex.61, 41Z). The listener may

have heard the speaker but he may not have understood the value

of his utterance or he may have misunderstood it.

The clarification requests strategy is also employed to

clear up unhearings, not of whole utterances, as is the case in

repetitions (cf. section 6.3.6) but of a part of it. In a way the

listener has heard and understood part of the speaker's proposi-

tion but requests a clarification of the other part either because

he has not heard it clearly

or because he has not understood it.   The

speaker may also request a clarification if the listener has not

provided him with a feedback (i.e. back-channel cues) that the

speaker's message has come across to the listener and is compre-

hended.

Due to the factors discussed above, the general drift of

conversation is halted at an unpredictable point. As a result,

the speaker or the listener (whoever initiates the clarification

request) sees suspended the following properties of interpretive

procedures: the reciprocity of perspectives, the et cetera assump-

tion, the retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence (Cicourel,

1973) which will lead to a breakdown in communication. After the

clarification request has been granted an answer, the conversa-

tion picks up again where it ∧ left off and interpretive proce-

has been

dures are put back to work again.

(a)   The speaker-initiated, listener acted upon type of
clarification request speci_fic_ally functions as topic priming/topic
continuing and/or channel opening/opening-up-closings after si-
lences. In the case of topic priming/topic continuing the speak-
er aims at finding out whether the listener shares the same ass-
umptions and presuppositions on the topic _both_ as foreground _and_ emer-
gent grounds knowledge (Kjolseth, 1972) on which to build the
succeeding interaction. (See Ex.54, 105X; Ex.55, 60X; Ex.56,
48Z). In the case of channel opening/opening-up-closings after
silences the speaker makes use of this strategy to establish or
re-establish a common point of reference and open up social con-
tact with his prospective partner in communication. (See Ex.57,
83Z; Ex.58, 20Z; Ex.59, 126X). Children also use the same stra-
tegy when they want to start a conversation with an adult. They
usually initiate a conversation with a clarification request as
follows: "Daddy, do you know what happened to my dolly?" Thus
they open up the channel, establish the topic and initiate the
conversation. To achieve the same end other speakers may
employ such linguistic expressions as "Do you know...",
"Have you heard...", or "Can I help you...", and so on.

When a speaker employs the speaker-initiated, listener
acted upon clarification request strategy he adheres to the co-
operative principle that implies respect and mutual observance of
all four maxims and expects his partner to respond appropriately
in the context of the social encounter (Grice, 1967). It prim-
arily functions as a communicating strategy, but it is also an
indirect learning strategy since it does not only open up or

keeps open the possibility of social contact but also the sharing of a common environment for the partners in the act of communication. The speaker initiated, listener acted upon clarification request strategy attends to system constraints overtly and ritual constraints covertly and functions as a defensive strategy which the speaker employs to protect his own projection of self (Goffman, 1971, 1976).

Structurally, the topic priming/topic continuing, speaker initiated, listener acted upon clarification request strategy is of the following format:

$$X: \quad \left[\overline{el_1 \cdot inf \cdot d}\right] \diagup el_2 \qquad \text{where } el_2 \Longrightarrow \text{a}$$
$$Z: \quad rep_2 \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{clarification request}$$
$$X: \quad acc \diagup \left[\overline{rep_1 \cdot inf \cdot d}\right]$$
$$\downarrow$$
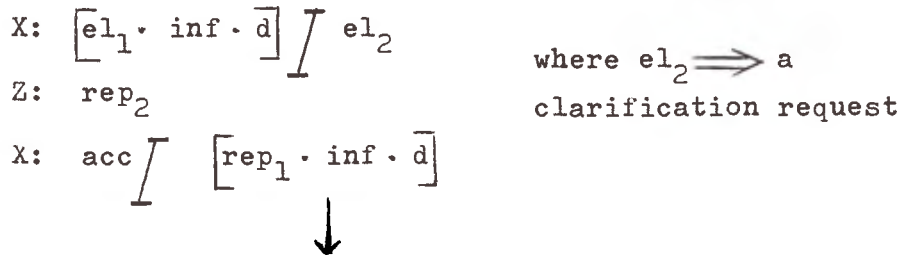
As an interactive act, the utterance is an elicitation; its value, however, is a request for clarification. The speaker initiated, listener acted upon clarification request and the response granted to it by the listener make up a   sequence that sets a common point of reference topically orientated for the participants in the event. The speaker builds succeeding interaction on this common knowledge. (See Ex.54, 105X; Ex.55, 60X; Ex.56, 48Z). Schegloff's (1972) insertion sequences are similar to this type of strategy.

Examples from the data:

Ex.54 Zografos School of English   21/103-109
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

      103X: I see green car, a wall and a big field with
             nice colours and trees.

*104Z: Trees? Where do you see the trees?

*105X: That's uhm / Do you see where is the car?

106Z: Yeah.

107X: Over it.

108Z: Really?

109X: Yes.

Ex.55 Gogos School of English   1/60-62
(adolescents, Z = non-native speaker
               X = native speaker)

60X: O.K.
        There is a fence. Where does the fence go, to
        the left, to the right or what? The fence / Do you
        know fence?

61Z: No.

62X: No. Fence uhm, uhm, O.K.

Ex.56 Adults, native speakers   1/47-49

47X: Yeah, that's it. Yes, I've got some gold coins now.

48Z: You've got some gold coins $\int$ Are you still working
        outside?

49X: No. I've got the / two pieces in the right hand
        side and still grow up.

The speaker initiated, listener acted upon clarification
request strategy for opening-up-the-channel/opening-up-the-chan-
nel after silences is structurally of the following format:

        SILENCE

        X: el   where an el $\Longrightarrow$ a
        Z: rep   clarification request
             $\downarrow$

Note that whereas 104Z is a listener initiated, speaker
        acted upon clarification request strategy (cf. p.193), 105X
        is a speaker initiated, speaker acted upon clarification
        request strategy.

The value of the interactive act elicitation is that of a clarification request, the function of which is to open the channel, establish social contact and set the topic for discussion.

Some examples from the data:

Ex.57 Experimental High School   1/81-85
      (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    81Z: ....He is like a businessman, a fat businessman.⌉

    82X: Yes.   ⌋

    Z:: high hat etc.

        S I L E N C E

    83Z: What have you done to the moment?

    84X: I have made the tanker.

    85Z: Yes.

Ex.58 Zografos School of English   19/18-21
      (Adolescents, non-native speakers)

    18Z: Over the ladder Scroo ge.

    19X: Just a minute.

        S I L E N C E

    20Z: Would you like some more details?

    21X: No. I'm working, trying the roof, the centre.

Ex.59 Hellenic American Union School of English   4/125-128
      (adults, Z = non-native speaker; X = native speaker)

    125X: It's kind of green, too.

         S I L E N C E

    126X: I can't find that one. Can we move on to something
           else?

    127Z: O.K. On the left hand side of the face⌉

    128X: Yes.   ⌋

    Z:: There must be a very dark piece.

The opening-up-the-channel/opening-up-the-channel after silences clarification request strategy mainly functions as an interaction-management strategy (cf. Sacks & Schegloff, 1973) and especially exemplifies the property of interpretive procedures: "talk itself is reflexive" (Cicourel, 1973).

(b) The listener initiated, speaker acted upon type of clarification request strategy functions as topic continuing (Hymes, 1964, 1972). The listener requests a clarification from the first ratified speaker either because he has not heard part of his utterance, so he has not understood his communicative intent, or he did not understand the value of his utterance although he had heard it.

The listener because of unhearings or misunderstandings sees suspended the following properties of interpretive procedures: the reciprocity of perspectives, the et cetera assumption, the retrospective-prospective sense of occurence which lead to a breakdown in communication (Cicourel 1973). The listener makes use of the clarification request strategy in order to question the speaker's adherence to the maxims of manner and relation and at the same time to request of him to be more co-operative (Grice, 1967). Listener initiated, speaker acted upon type of clarification request strategy primarily functions as a communicating strategy. However, it also functions as a learning strategy since listeners make use of this strategy to clarify differences in interpretive competence, social perspective or assumptions and presuppositions and thus share the same environment, in other words, learn what they might not have known in common so far. Thus, emergent grounds knowledge of what is relevant to the "here and now" in this conversational

exchange is shared between the interactants (Kjolseth, 1972) and
the flow of interaction can continue uninterrupted. This type
of clarification request strategy serves both system and ritual
constraints in interaction. It serves system constraints because
it helps the listener to share new information with the speaker
and ritual constraints because it is a means for the listener to
avoid a breakdown in communication. The listener makes use of it
as a defensive strategy to save his own projection of self (Goff-
man, 1971, 1976).

Structurally the listener initiated, speaker acted upon
strategy is of the following format:

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{X: } \begin{bmatrix} \text{el}_1 \cdot \text{inf} \cdot \text{d} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{Z: } \text{el}_2 \\
\underline{\text{X: } \text{rep}_2} \\
\text{Z: } \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\text{rep}_1 \cdot \text{ack} \cdot \text{acc} \cdot \text{rej}} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

where $\text{el}_2 \Longrightarrow$ a
clarification request
where $\text{rep}_2 \Longrightarrow$ a
response to it
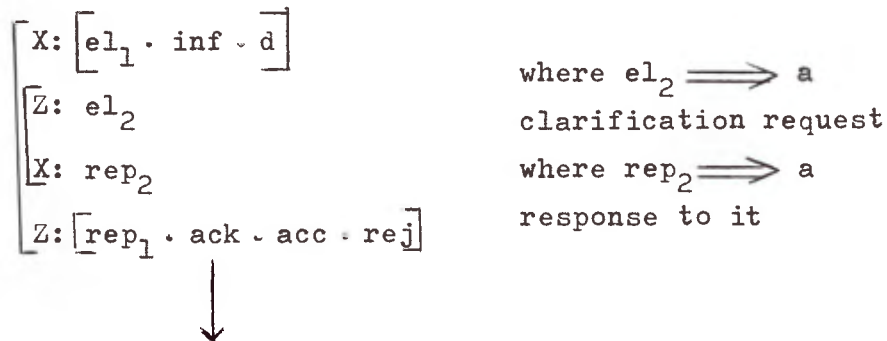
The listener initiated, speaker acted upon clarification
request and the answer granted to it make up a pair of an insert-
ed sequence that comes in between the primary pair of
$\begin{bmatrix} \text{el}_1 \cdot \text{inf} \cdot \text{d} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{rep}_1 \cdot \text{ack} \cdot \text{acc} \cdot \text{rej} \end{bmatrix}$. Only after the second rati-
fied speaker's request is satisfied is he ready to grant a re-
sponse to the first speaker's initial utterance and continue the
interaction from where it was left off. (cf. Chapter 2, section
2.4.7).

Examples from the data:

Ex.60 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   19/27-30
       (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    27X: The piece with the lamp, where is it?

    28Z: The ?

    29X: The lamp

    30Z: The lamp is in the roof.

Ex.61 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   16/40-42
       (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    40X: Yes, there is a tree, trees better. Clear sky
        and everything round are beauty.

    41Z: Are beauty?

    42X: My picture is very nice. It has many colours,
        beauty colours.

Ex.62 <u>Gogos School of English</u>   1/94-96
       (adolescents, Z = non-native speaker
                      X = native speaker)

    94X: Where does the green part go?

    95Z: The green?

    96X: There is a greenish yellow and some bricks but I
        don't know / here I have something .....

6.3.9 The interruption strategy

This is also a topic or event orientated strategy. In Hymes'
(1964, 1972) terms, it has to do with functions relevant to con-
tent and the organization of the interaction. This is a listener
initiated, listener acted upon strategy. This strategy serves
two specific functions: first, the listener may make use of it
in order to interrupt the speaker and let him know that a part
of his message was not heard or understood and therefore emergent
grounds knowledge of what is relevant to the "here and now" of

this conversational exchange was not shared (Kjolseth, 1972).
As a result communication cannot go on. The listener then re-
quests a recycling of the information from a certain point onwards.
By interrupting the speaker, the listener invites him to adhere to
the maxims of relevance and manner in his performance (Grice,
1967). The listener's interruption suggests that he sees suspen-
ded the following properties of interpretive procedures: the
reciprocity of perspectives, retrospective-prospective sense of
occurrence and the et cetera assumption (Cicourel, 1973). Thus
a breakdown in communication has occurred. The listener makes
use of this protective strategy to save the definition of the si-
tuation projected by another (Goffman, 1971, 1976) as an overt
communicating strategy and a covert learning strategy. (See Ex.63,
3X).

The strategy serves a second function, too. A listener may
make use of it in order to interrupt the speaker, get the unre-
linquished floor and move the conversation in another direc-
tion, introducing a new subtopic. In this case the interruption
strategy mainly functions as an overt communicating strategy for
interaction management (cf. Sacks & Schegloff, 1973). (See Ex.64,
63X; Ex.65, 39Z).

Structurally, the interruption strategy is of the following
format:

either A   X: $\left[\text{inf}_1 \cdot \text{el}_1 \cdot \text{d}_1 \cdot \text{rep}_1 \right]$ where interruption strate-
                                   gy $\implies$ appropriate
            Z: interruption   linguistic realization
               strategy + el followed by an el

            X: $\left[\text{inf}_2 \cdot \text{el}_2 \cdot \text{d}_2 \cdot \text{rep}_2 \right]$

$$\downarrow$$

The listener usually initiates the interruption employing such
linguistic expressions as "Just a minute, please", "Wait a sec-
ond", and so on. Then, there follows an elicitation the value of
which is to request recycling of the whole message or part of it.

or B   X: $\left[\text{inf}_1 \cdot \text{el}_1 \cdot \text{d}_1 \cdot \text{rep}_1 \right]$

         Z: interruption stra-   where interruption stra-
            tegy   tegy $\Longrightarrow$ appropriate
            + $\left[\text{d} \cdot \text{inf} \right]$ linguistic realization
         X: $\left[\text{ack} \cdot \text{ack} \cdot \text{rej} \right]$ followed by a d or an inf

In the second case, the listener usually initiates the
interruption employing such linguistic expressions as "Just a
minute, please", "Wait a second", and so on. Then, there follows
an informative or a directive the value of which is to introduce
a new subtopic in the conversation. (See Ex.65, 39Z; Ex.64, 63X).

Some examples from the data:

Ex.63 Zografos School of English   14/1-3
     (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    1Z: Well it's a picture that might be a garden and we
         have a house that we make some (....) some
         (inaudible)

    2X: What?

    Z:: and we have a duck and a car with the three
         other ducks $/\!/$

    3X: Just a minute. Where are you? You first said that
         it might be a garden and then what did you say?

    4Z: Uhm. There is a house.

Ex.64 Zografos School of English   14/62-63
     (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    62Z: I don't know his name. I see only his doors. $/\!/$
    63X: Just a minute, please. I see some pieces blue.
          What's this with blue and white?

Ex.65 <u>Gogos School of English</u>   1/36-41
        (adolescents, Z = non-native speaker
                        X = native speaker)

    36X: Bricks is / after the train there is a road,
           after the road there is some stones.

    37Z: Oh, O.K. After the train. Mhm.

    38X: Uhm $\sslash$

    39Z: Wait a second. O.K. There is a ladder.

    40X: Where is the ladder?

    41Z: Yes. Where does the ladder go?

The difference between the repetition and the listener
initiated, speaker acted upon clarification request strategies,
on one hand, and the interruption strategy on the other is that
in the former the listener requests a repetition or a clarifica-
tion when he becomes the ratified speaker. In the latter the
listener interrupts the ratified speaker, gets the floor and
requests recycling of information or initiates a new subtopic.

I have grouped together the last three strategies to be
discussed and I have called them metacommunicative strategies
because they deal with the metacommunicative functions of lang-
uage overtly. Participants in an event employ them to talk about
language (cf. Candlin et al., 1976).

These communicating and learning strategies are:

        The restatement strategy

        Using the L_2 strategy

        Using the L_1 strategy

6.3.10   <u>The restatement strategy</u>

This is a message-form orientated strategy (Hymes, 1964,

1972). It is a listener initiated, listener acted upon strategy.
The listener is not quite sure about the value of the speaker's
utterance. As a result, he sees suspended the following proper-
ties of interpretive procedures: the reciprocity of perspectives,
the et cetera assumption, the retrospective-prospective sense
of occurrence (Cicourel, 1973). Because of the suspension of
interpretive procedures due to the listener's inability to under-
stand the value of the speaker's utterance, a breakdown in commu-
nication is inevitable. The listener, therefore, restates the
illocutionary force of the speaker's utterance before he proceeds
to respond appropriately. In this way the listener wants to make
sure that emergent grounds knowledge in this conversational ex-
change is shared (Kjolseth, 1972). The listener also questions
the speaker's adherence to the maxims of manner and quality
(Grice, 1967), because his utterance did not seem intelligible
enough. By restating the utterance, the listener reinstates
interpretive procedures and the co-operative principle in communi-
cation. After reinstating the semantic meaning of the previous
speaker's utterance and being proven right (otherwise, the first
ratified speaker would have objected to the listener's restate-
ment) the listener considers the previous speaker's proposition
old information to be taken for granted as emergent grounds shared
knowledge and builds the succeeding interaction on it. This stra-
tegy is an overt communicating strategy and a covert learning
strategy. The listener by making use of it attends to system con-
straints overtly and ritual constraints covertly as a protective
strategy to save the definition of the situation projected by
somebody else (Goffman, 1971, 1976). (See Ex.66, 40Z; Ex.67,

135Z;   Ex.68, 38Z).

Structurally, the format of the restatement strategy se-
quence may be

either A   Z: el_1

X: $Y \cdot rep_1$

Z: $\boxed{ack \cdot acc \cdot rej}$ ↓

where Y $\Longrightarrow$ restatement
strategy interactively
realized as an el.

or   B   Z: $\boxed{inf \cdot d}$

X: $Y \cdot \boxed{ack \cdot acc \cdot rej}$ ↓
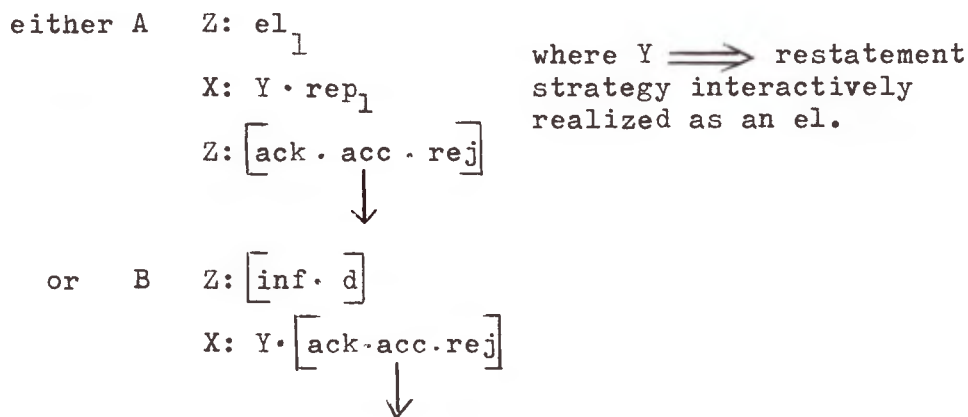
When the listener, say X, restates the value of the Z's
utterance he employs an elicitation, the value of which is a
request for confirmation of the restated utterance. Hatch,
1978a, in Hatch ed., 1978 , has also identified a similar stra-
tegy in her native speaker - non-native speaker interaction data.
However, she considers it   a strategy primarily employed by
native speakers in order to make sense of the non-native speaker's
utterances. As the research indicates, however, native and non-
native speakers make use of it for similar reasons and purposes.
(See Ex.66, 40Z;   Ex.67, 135X;   Ex.68, 38Z).

Some examples from the data:

Ex.66 Zografos School of English   15/39-42
        (adolescents, non-native speakers)

39X: Where is the upside of the picture?

40Z: What is it? There must be a tree.

41X: A tree?

42Z: Yeah.

Ex.67 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   21/134-137
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

    134X: I can't understand the red thing because of
             the kind of shape.

    135Z: Well, what is it, eh? Maybe is a road under
             the ground, you know.

    136X: Yes, but a road in this place!

Ex.68 <u>Gogos School of English</u>   1/37-40
(adolescents, Z = non-native speaker
                 X = native speaker)

    37X: .....O.K. There is a ladder.

    38Z: Where is the ladder?

    39X: Yeah. Where does the ladder go?

    Z::   It's down the train.

6.3.11 Using the L_2 strategy

This is a code orientated strategy. In Hymes' (1964, 1972)
terms, focus on the code entails such functions as are involved
in learning and checking on the identity of an element of the
code used in conversation and the like. It may be a speaker
initiated, speaker acted upon strategy, or a listener initiated,
speaker acted upon strategy.

(a)   A speaker in an event is often placed in a situation
where he cannot express himself appropriately either because he
has not learned the relevant linguistic realization or because
he does not remember it. As a result, he cannot put across an
idea or a feeling he wants to communicate to his listener and a
breakdown in communication is imminent, accompanied by the sus-
pension of the following interpretive procedures: the recipro-
city of perspectives, the et cetera assumption, the retrospective-

prospective sense of occurrence, normal forms and descriptive
vocabularies as indexical expressions (Cicourel, 1973). To
avoid this awkward situation the speaker resorts to explana-
tions, definitions, descriptions, synonyms, paraphrasing or
erroneously extending the meaning of known linguistic realiza-
tions semantically relevant to what he wants to say in order to
convey and negotiate meanings. Very often he accompanies his
utterance with a "Do you understand?" or "You know what I mean"
addressed to the listener to make sure that his communicative
intent has been conveyed   (cf. Ex.69, 108Z; Ex.70, 97Z;
Ex.71, 217X; Ex.72, 94Z; Ex.73, 52Z) and, therefore, emergent
grounds knowledge in the "here and now" in this conversational
exchange (Kjolseth, 1972) is now shared as old information and
on which to build the succeeding interaction. This is an overt
communicating strategy and a covert learning strategy where the
speaker is showing his willingness to observe the overall conver-
sational principle that implies respect and observance of all
four maxims (Grice, 1967). Although it serves system constraints
overtly, it also serves ritual constraints covertly. Speakers
use it as a defensive strategy to save face (Goffman, 1971, 1976).

Some examples from the data:

Ex.69 Zografos School of English   15/107-108
       (adolescents, non-native speakers)

    107X: What about the grass?

    108Z: There is the thing we put the things we don't
           need. (i.e. bin) Do you understand?

Ex.70 <u>British Council Institute</u>   1/97-100
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

   97X: It is one Hoover (i.e. broom)
         You understand Hoover? Where are they / Where are
         this / Where is it?

   98Z: Yes. ⌐

   99X: Where? ⌐

   Z::   Yes. Yes. On / of / in one box.

Ex.71 <u>Zografos School of English</u>   14/217-224
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

  217X: Because I see something it might / there might be
         wheels. You don't understand the word "wheels"?

  218Z: Yes. Will you describe?

  219X: Oh, no I can't,/ the car is running ⌐

  220Z: Yes.

    X:: With what is running every car? In every car there
        are four. Two in one side and two in the other. ⌐

  221Z: Yes.

    X:: What / how we call them? I think, I'm not sure,
        I think we call them wheels. W-H-E-E-L-S.

  222Z: Well, I / Yes, I have understood.

Ex.72 <u>Hellenic American Union School of English</u>   2/94-95
(adults, X = non-native speaker
        Z = native speaker)

   94Z: .... / Above the box I can see some books and the
         books are red, green and purple. ⌐There is also⌐

   95X: ⌐Just a minute.⌐

   Z::   a broom. Do you know what a broom is?
         Well, a broom is something you sweep with, you clean
         with.

Ex.73 <u>Adults, native speakers</u>   1/50-53

   50Z: .... a diagonal beam or something like that
         (...) and a broom.

   51X: And a broom? (....) Oh, Yes (....) I can't find
         that one.

52Z: A brush handle, you know what I mean.

53X: Oh, yes. I know. Hang on. That's it.

(b) Very often, however, the listener may not understand the meaning of a lexical item in the speaker's utterance. He then puts forward a request for an explanation of the meaning of that item . He employs such linguistic realizations as "I don't un*d*erstand so-and-so" or "I don't know so-and-so", (see Ex.74, 34Z) to make his intentions clear.

Ex.74 <u>Gogos School of English</u>   1/31-35
      (adolescents, Z = non-native speaker
                    X = native speaker)

31X: Mhm. What's he holding?

32Z: What?

33X: What's the man holding?

34Z: Uhm, I can't understand 'holding'.

35X: O.K. ....

The implication of the utterance is "Can you explain it, please." This is because lack of shared knowledge of the meaning of this lexical item results in a suspension of interpretive procedures. After an explanation of the semantic meaning of the lexical item is granted interpretive procedures *return* to normal, emergent grounds shared knowledge is shared and communication can continue.

Structurally, the listener initiated, speaker-acted-upon

L_2 strategy is of the following format:

$$X: \left[el_1 \cdot inf_1 \cdot d_1 \cdot rep_1 \right] \qquad \text{where } el_2 \Longrightarrow \text{a request}$$
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} Z: \quad el_2 \\ X: \quad rep_2 \end{array} \right. \qquad \qquad \text{for explanation}$$
$$Z: \left[el_3 \cdot inf_2 \cdot d_2 \cdot ack \cdot acc \cdot rej \right]$$
$$\downarrow$$

As an interactive act, the utterance is an elicitation, its value, however, is that of a request for explanation. The request for explanation and the response granted make up an inserted sequence. After the response is granted shared knowledge as process, product and strategies is restored and communication can continue uninhibited.

This type of using the L_2 strategy is an overt learning strategy and a covert communicating strategy. The listener uses it as a defensive strategy to save face, because otherwise his lack of understanding the speaker's communicative intent will lead to a communication breakdown. Consequently it is a strategy that attends to system constraints overtly and ritual constraints covertly. The difference between a speaker initiated, listener acted upon clarification request strategy (cf. section 6.3.8) and a listener initiated, speaker acted upon using the L_2 strategy lies in the value of the utterances. The utterances are also realized differently linguistically.

6.3.12 Using the L_1 strategy

This is also a code orientated strategy (Hymes, 1964, 1972). It may be speaker initiated, listener acted upon (cf. Ex.75, 43Z; Ex.76, 51X) or listener initiated, speaker acted upon (cf. Ex.77, 171X). Finally, it may be speaker initiated, speaker acted upon (cf. Ex.78, 21X). In the last case, the speaker wants to express personal feelings, emotions and attitudes such as anger, distrust, boredom etc. but he has not yet learned the appropriate linguistic realizations for these acts in order to express himself in accordance with the situated constraints. Thus he resorts to his L_1 to express his personal feelings and emotions but quickly

shifts back to the L_2 after having used the L_1 as a means to avoid contrived language and a breakdown in natural communication (See Ex. 78, 21X).

Both speaker and listener make use of this strategy to avoid suspension of the following interpretive procedures: the reciprocity of perspectives, the et cetera assumption, the retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence, normal forms and descriptive vocabularies as indexical expressions (Cicourel, 1973) and to allow communication to proceed uninhibited in the "here and now" of a conversational exchange making sure that emergent grounds knowledge is shared (Kjolseth, 1972). This is a covert communicating strategy and an overt learning strategy. Both speaker and listener observe the overall co-operative principle (Grice, 1967). They make use of any means that are at their disposal to negotiate meanings so that they can complete the task. By employing this strategy participants attend to system constraints overtly and ritual constraints covertly. It is used as a defensive strategy to save face and keep the conversation going (Goffman, 1971, 1976). The speaker initiated, speaker acted upon and listener initiated, speaker acted upon strategies are employed by native speakers as well, when they happen to know the equivalent Greek lexical item and made use of it to negotiate meanings with their non-native speaker interlocutor (cf. Ex. 79, 22Z; Ex.80, 35X).

In data reported by Long, 1977, also Hatch et al., 1978, there is also a similar use of the mother tongue by non-native speakers. However, these scholars discuss use of mother-tongue from the point of view of interference only, not as a communicating and learning strategy.

Some examples from the data:

Ex.75 Zografos School of English   16/42-43
       (adolescents, non-native speakers)

   42X: ....What did you see again from these things?

   43Z: A house, a small house.   Πῶς τό
         λένε σκεπή;   (How do you say "roof" in
                       English?)
         Donald, what type writing.

   44X: I notice writing W.D. Donald Duck Wooden Jigsaw
         Puzzle.

Ex.76 Zografos School of English   7/51-53
       (adolescents, non-native speakers)

   51X: O.K. In the corner down left there is
         Πῶς τό λένε σκάλα;   (How do you say "ladder" in
                             English?)

   52Z: Ladder.

   53X: O.K.

Ex.77. Zografos School of English   14/167-172
         (adolescents, non-native speakers)

   167X: You can't tell it?

   168Z: Because I don't know this name.

   169X: You don't know. Can you tell me in Greek?

   170Z: I have told you.

   171X: What? The house is μώβ; (purple)

   172Z: Yes, the door.

Ex.78 Zografos School of English   15/20-21
       (adolescents, non-native speakers)

   20Z: You can start from the sky which is at the top and
         left.

   21X: Yes. I see it. Ποῦ, γαμότι,
         δέν ταιριάζει.   (Where on earth do you mean? It
                         doesn't fit here)
         Oh, yes. We are going very well.

Ex.79 <u>Hellenic American Union School of English</u> 2/20-25
(adults, X = non-native speaker
          Z = native speaker)

    20X: ....After the books ⌐

    21Z: Yes.   ⌐

     X:: What (....) uhm.

    22Z: There is a box, uhm (laughter) κουτί. (=box)

    23X: Yes.

    24Z: O.K.?

    25X: Κουτί. What colour is the box?

Ex.80 <u>Gogos School of English</u>   1/35-38
(adolescents, non-native speakers)

    35X: ....Do you know where the bricks are? Bricks.

    36Z: Yeah.

     X:: Stones. Πέτρα. Where do they go? (= stone)
          Because I have some bricks but I can't uhm //

    37Z: Bricks is / after the train there is a road, after
          the road there is some stones.

    38X: Oh, O.K. ....

In short, there are communicating and learning micro-
strategies that participants, native speakers and non-native spea-
kers alike, have made use of to regulate interaction and learn
what they do not know in the act of communication as the inter-
action unfolds.

In the next chapter I shall discuss the pedagogical impli-
cations of the research reported here for foreign language teach-
ing with particular reference to English as a foreign language.

Chapter 7
Pedagogical Implications

The discussion of the nature of communication and the
communicative backgrounds of communication, the discussion of
learning to communicate in the context of a (cognitive) inter-
actionist approach, as well as the discussion of the constitu-
tive and regulative features of foreign language communication
have allowed us to define more clearly what is the 'knowledge
and experience' language users learn as they try to communicate
with other members of their society.

As the findings of this research indicate, all language
users develop (psychological) cognitive processes, abstract cog-
nitive structures and concepts. They also develop their communi-
cative intent, they become aware of the communicative potential
of their language and learn appropriate learning and communica-
ting strategies both as 'knowledge and experience' and as sub-
stantive culture-based information. For each language user these
strategies are realized in different linguistic codes and ritual
constraints as they are accepted in their society. The language
user's 'knowledge and experience' of how to communicate and learn
through language constitutes what I have called communication uni-
versals (cf. Chapters 2 and 3, also 5 and 6). The cognitive pro-
cesses that guide a language user to express his communicative
intent by selecting one learning and/or communicating strategy
over another as the occasion demands it, may be transferred from
one language to another as a first source of interpretation and
production. Consequently, when the adolescent or adult language
learner comes to class to learn a foreign language he also brings
with him the pragmatics of his communicative intent, as well as
of his learning and communicating strategies as 'knowledge and
experience' of how to do things with words. This 'knowledge and
experience' is part of the learners' communicative competence

(Hymes, 1972). An approach that considers L_2 teaching as an alternative way of doing things one can do in his mother tongue (Widdowson, 1978, 1979) may use this 'knowledge and experience' as a basis on which to build foreign language learning.

I shall now discuss how the findings of the present research may develop into a learner-centred approach to ELT in the context of EFL. In my discussion I will refer to syllabus design, the teacher's and the learner's role as well as classroom methodology.

7.1 Syllabus Design

A language teaching syllabus should conform to three basic principles: firstly, what the teaching-learning objectives of the course are; secondly, how these objectives are to be achieved; and thirdly, to what extent the objectives have been achieved and whether they have been appropriate. So, the basic components of a syllabus are: Purposes, Methodology and Evaluation. (Breen and Candlin, 1980).

To decide on the teaching-learning objectives of the course we have to consider four points :

1. the learners, their needs, and the teaching situation;

2. the implicit theory of language and language learning in the course;

3. the materials that will exemplify target performance;

4. the communicative activities that will give learners a chance to participate in actual and natural communication.

In order to define learners and their needs it is important to have such information as age and possibly sex, interests and reasons for learning the language, (cf. Van Ek, 1975), previous knowledge of the L_2 learners might have, and so

on. As for the teaching situation, a syllabus designer will have to consider matters such as number of teaching sessions per week, number of pupils in class, teacher's knowledge of and abilities (i.e. competence) in L_2, classroom arrangement, and possible provision of media to be used in class. All these are questions that the syllabus designer has to take into account in defining the objectives of his syllabus. The syllabus designer will also decide on the implicit theory of language and language learning which will underlie the objectives. The view of language taken in the present research as a basis for syllabus design is that of language as communication, which is characterized by variable relationships between form and function in terms of a dynamic process of sharing and negotiating meanings, where participants in a communicative event learn what they do not know of the L_2, in terms of accuracy and appropriacy, as they communicate. This view takes into account the language learner's cognitive/perceptual/social development as processes, not as substantive culture-bound information. Actual linguistic production (be it L_1 or L_2) is the external representation of a language user's previously developed abilities. Miming or sign language, for instance, are other ways of doing just that.

The crucial and constant variable in a view of language as communication is shared knowledge. This shared knowledge (cf. Chapter 3) is basically of four types: shared knowledge as product, process, strategies and actualized language behaviour. As I have argued in this thesis, shared knowledge as process and strategies is part of the 'knowledge and experience' that any language user learns as he communicates. Knowledge as product,

and actualized language behaviour, however, are culture-specific,
they contain such matters as the code, sociolinguistic rules,
ritual constraints, substantive information, and the like (cf.
section 3.3.1 and 3.3.4). A syllabus designer will make pro-
visions that teaching materials help learners develop and prac-
tice sharing all types of shared knowledge as well as both types
of meaning in communication. Each type of meaning aims at develop-
ing different aspects of shared knowledge. Teaching materials
that exemplify the product meaning of communication aim at de-
veloping the learners' shared knowledge as product and as actual-
ized language behaviour, whereas teaching materials in the form
of activities where the learners are personally involved exem-
plify the process meaning of communication and rely heavily on
the learners' shared knowledge as process and strategies. Teach-
ing materials, therefore, can be seen as instances of target
repertoires that can exemplify to the language learner how know-
ledge as process, interacting on a different knowledge as product,
produces instances of coherent communication in the L_2. They can
precisely make clear to the learner how similar learning and
communicating strategies can be realized in the L_2 code while
attending to the social conventions of the L_2 society; in other
words, how native speakers of the language "negotiate meanings
and make sense of the environment adhering to the rules of co-
hesion and coherence in discourse relevant to their language and
their society." (Widdowson, 1978). Thus it becomes clear to
the learner how others have handled a particular conversation
under certain situational constraints.

Teaching materials, as representations of target communi-
cation, are instances of communication as a finished product,

that is, how others have managed negotiation of meaning under certain constraints. In Garfinkel's terms the learner plays the role of an outsider who is watching and listening but he cannot have access to the actual process meaning of communication. Teaching materials, no matter of what degree of authenticity, cannot supply the learner with the process meaning of communication but only with the product meaning of communication. Authenticity is taken to mean materials authentic to a native speaker's communicative knowledge and abilities as well as to the learner's abilities and expectations (Widdowson, 1979). The learner can only develop and understand process meaning in communication if he himself is involved in communication, and is, therefore, sharing the intimate shared knowledge that develops between "you and me" who are interactants in a communicative event (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.4.2).

Following the distinction advocated by Halliday, 1975b, between language learning and language acquisition, I would like to suggest that teaching materials which represent the product meaning of common understanding   result in language acquisition since the learner as an outsider is passively watching what others are doing or have done in a communicative situation. Thus language is something "out there" that is offered to him as school knowledge (Barnes, 1976). I would suggest that there should also be a parallel to that in L_1. Children do not only actively participate in events,   they also listen and watch others doing things with words. This I would consider as language acquisition. Language learning (in Halliday's terms) takes place when the learner himself is involved in communication and makes use of the necessary communicating/learning strategies.

Thus school knowledge becomes action knowledge (Barnes, 1976)
as it is tried out in actual communication where the language
learner exercises his abilities as 'knowledge and experience'
on a different code and ritual constraints in order to negotiate
meanings. Krashen, 1976, 1977a, also distinguishes between
language learning and language acquisition. Krashen's distinc-
tion is in a way similar to Halliday's but he uses the terms the
other way round from Halliday. Krashen argues that language
acquistion seems to occur when the learner is exposed to natural
or informal linguistic data and he is actively involved with it.
In terms of the present research I take Krashen's active involve-
ment to mean instances of natural communication where the lang-
uage learner freely exercises his own abilities on the L_2 code
and ritual constraints for communicating and learning purposes.
On the other hand, language learning, he argues, occurs in arti-
ficial or formal linguistic environments where rule isolation and
feedback are attended to. In formal environments (such as a
grammar lesson) the learner develops a monitor, Krashen, 1977b,
argues,that helps him feed acquired chunks with correct rules if
he has enough time to do so. In terms of the present research
I take Krashen's monitor to mean a language learner's L_2 know-
ledge as product which feeds external behaviours as cohesive
and coherent strategies with accurate and appropriate L_2 ling-
uistic realizations.

The findings of the present research point to an overall
approach to ELT which I would call a 'learn-as-you-communicate'
approach to ELT.

7.1.1 <u>Syllabus content</u>

It is important that the syllabus provides for both meanings
of common understanding in communication: the product meaning
and the process meaning. These are the two axes around which
a syllabus for the teaching of language as communication can
evolve. Teaching materials, as texts and exercises based on
discoursally analysed target repertoires, will provide for the
product meaning of common understanding that results in L_2 know-
ledge as product. Communicative activities, however, which re-
quire personal involvement in terms of learners' attitudes,
values and emotions, can   *allow them*

to communicate and learn through language based on the idea-
tional, interpersonal and textual functions of language (Halli-
day, 1975b) that are universal as processes but culture-specific
as product (cf Chapters 2 and 3). In such an approach, L_2 lear-
ning is considered an alternative way of handling the 'knowledge
and experience' the learner has had from learning his mother
tongue. Teaching materials aiming at exemplifying to learners
the product meaning of common understanding I would call <u>product</u>
<u>materials</u>; whereas teaching materials aiming at making the learn-
ers aware of the process meaning of common understanding in the
L_2 I would call <u>process materials.</u>

Candlin and Breen, 1979, have already suggested a distinc-
tion between product materials and process materials. As pro-
duct materials they classify materials used so far for teaching
purposes because these materials (they argue) are based on finish-
ed discourse and have mainly exemplified the end product of tea-
ching and learning. Communicative language teaching, they argue,
needs to be based on process materials where interpreting and

expressing meanings as well as negotiating meanings in the L_2 are
exemplified and practised. These materials only can serve the
process of teaching and learning. However, as the discussion of
discourse meanings in Ch.3 has shown, any discoursally analysed
target repertoire, either authentic or contrived, cannot be con-
sidered except as a finished product where the product meaning
of common understanding can be exemplified. The process meaning
of common understanding is only known to the participants who
take part in an event. Target repertoires cannot make clear the
subjective meaning in interaction nor can they teach it to the
learners. Subjective meaning is unique and individual, it can
only develop out of participation in unfolding communication
where the learner can test and expand his "inner criteria" of
accuracy, appropriacy and relevance in using the L_2. The research
reported here on the nature of interaction leads us to conclude
that communicative language teaching based on discoursally ana-
lysed target repertoires still covers only one aspect of L_2 com-
munication, that of the "product" meaning of common understanding,
in other words, background expectancies, (Garfinkel, 1967) back-
ground knowledge (Kjolseth, 1972). Learners, of course, do need
this background knowledge of the L_2 if they are to communicate
through the L_2. It will serve them along with their knowledge as
process and strategies as a first source for interpretation and
production in a communicative event.

As argued in Chapter 3, the "process" meaning of common
understanding cannot be predetermined and therefore it cannot
be taught to the learner. It only develops in actual inter-
action, based on emergent and transce*n*dent grounds knowledge,
and it is only shared by the participants in an event (cf. Chap-
ter 3). Eventually the process meaning of common understanding

becomes part of the individual's background expectancies (Gar-
finkel, 1967) or background knowledge (Kjolseth, 1972) after
the speech event is over. Consequently, it is only through
actual participation in L_2 interaction that the learner learns
how to handle the L_2 as a means of communication. In doing so
he actively engages his learning and communicating strategies
in order to develop the shared-by-the-L_2-speech community "inner
criteria" of accuracy, relevance and appropriacy.

In the light of the present research, teaching materials
such as discoursally analysed target repertoires and exploita-
tion exercises for the development of the four skills of listen-
ing, speaking, reading and writing, as well as extensive reading
materials, will constitute the product materials in the syllabus
and will help the learners to develop their L_2 knowledge as pro-
duct. Task-orientated activities and games can make up the pro-
cess materials in the syllabus where the learner can bring to
bear his knowledge as process to interact on his L_2 knowledge
as product in order to express, to interpret and to negotiate
meanings. The four skills (reading, writing, listening, speaking),
the product materials aim at developing in learners, are the
means through which the abilities to interpret, express and nego-
tiate will be manifested later and gradually become refined.

To sum up, the content of thesyllabus is expected to demon-
strate and exemplify the following four principles:

1. firstly, to help the learners discover how native
    speakers negotiate meanings through cohesion and co-
    herence strategies and how these are realized ling-
    uistically.

2. secondly, to help the learners become aware that
   they   already have the necessary competence (know-
   ledge as process and strategies) to participate in
   natural communication;

3. thirdly, to help them to acquire the necessary L_2 know-
   ledge as product in all four skills relevant to their
   needs, inside or outside the classroom, in order to
   do things in an alternative way; and

4. fourthly, to help them to practise making use of the
   relevant strategies to communicate and learn when
   they are actually involved in the act of communica-
   tion, activating their knowledge as process.

7.1.2 Product materials and their content for the develop-ment of the product meaning of common understanding - knowledge as product

As I have argued earlier, the product meaning of common under-
standing depends on the participants' background knowledge as pro-
duct. The aim of product materials in the syllabus is just that.
To provide learners with L_2 background knowledge as product (cf.
Chapter 3, section 3.3.1). Product materials, therefore, should
provide the learners (as outsiders in a communicative event) with
the following information:

(i)   the varying relationships of forms and functions and
the meaning potential of these linguistic forms.

(ii)   the ways in which exchanges between co-interactants
are cohesively and coherently patterned and how an understanding
of these exchanges, and in particular their internal sequencing,
depends on understanding the semiotic system of the foreign lang-
uage through which the ideational, interpersonal and textual

functions of language are expressed. In other words, the learner

is invited to associate his existing knowledge as process (his

'knowledge and experience' of what it is to use a language for

communicating and learning purposes) with a new code and new

ritual constraints (which are culture-specific). This associa-

tion may also require some reorientation of his knowledge as

process as conditioned by the L_2 cultural and societal constraints.

(iii) behavioural and conceptual patterns as well as cultu-

ral presuppositions and assumptions exclusively related to the

foreign culture and how they are expressed and related linguis-

tically. All this is related to the speech situation in the broad

social sense and the "relevant other" (Turner, 1962) in terms of

role, status and how they influence the development of inter-

action and choice of one alternant over the other to convey com-

municative value. Thus syllabus content aims at helping learn-

ers become aware of the appropriate devices and conventions that

are part of the requirements for getting things done in the L_2

and develop a sensitivity for picking these up through conscious

knowledge.

(iv) characteristics of native speakers' spontaneous

speech, such as hesitations, ellipsis, redundancies, elisions,

abandoning of sentence structure due to expression difficulties

or lack of relevant factual information; shifts of topic, func-

tion and speech acts; competing for the floor, regaining the

floor, relinquishing the floor, feedback cues, and the relevant

linguistic forms in L_2 to achieve these ends.

(v) linguistic realizations of intentions, attitudes,

emotions and role relationships; supportive, defensive and pro-

tective rituals and how they are expressed through language in

terms of cohesion and coherence strategies.

(vi)   No matter how detailed an inventory for specific learners' needs might be, it cannot possibly foresee them to the last detail. Consequently, materials should also demonstrate the use of strategies to solve crises in communication (cf. Chapter 6). The processes that condition these strategies, as I have argued, are part of the learner's 'knowledge and experience' transferred from L_1. The learner, however, needs to become aware that similar processes to tackle crises in communication may be applied in L_2 communication as well. However, an overuse of such strategies in teaching materials will render the materials inappropriate. Native speakers of any language do not face crises in communication as often as L_2 learner-speakers   do because of their limited knowledge of the L_2. What's more, comedy writers make use of these very strategies to make a situation sound funny and cause laughter.   It is here, however, that the teacher can play an important role as a user and demonstrator of these strategies in the EFL classroom (cf. section 7.2 this chapter).

(vii) The syllabus should also provide a metalanguage for learner and teacher to share in order to talk, comment or gloss about the L_2 (Candlin, 1975) in an attempt to make them aware of   that part of language behaviour that any native speaker holds in his unconscious. So the learner can rationally move towards that "common sense" (i.e. knowledge as product - knowledge as process - strategies - actualized language behaviour) on which native speakers draw, and thus come to be aware of the necessary culture-bound preconditions for the understanding of

natural L_2 communication. For it is important for the learner
to learn, when he is confronted with a piece of spoken or written
discourse, not only what the interactants (or the writer) achiev-
ed, but how they managed to achieve what they have achieved.
In other words, what cohesion and coherence strategies have been
employed and how they are demonstrated through language.

For a general course the syllabus designer should aim at
developing the learner's background knowledge in all four skills.
This knowledge will make up the communicative backgrounds of
background knowledge as product and actualized language behaviour
on which the learner-interactant will rely to participate in
actual communication.

Last, but not least, a syllabus designer should make sure
that learners get enough practice in the L_2 linguistic code.
After all, it is also, or rather mainly through appropriate selec-
tion of linguistic realizations that appropriacy in language use
is demonstrated.

7.1.3 Process materials for the development of the process meaning of common understanding - knowledge as process

A syllabus should not only provide for the product meaning of
common understanding and knowledge as product, but it should also
provide for the process meaning of common understanding and know-
ledge as process. Communicative activities and games where the
learner is intentionally and emotionally involved as an active
participant in the event can constitute the other part of the
teaching materials, materials as process (cf. Chapter 4, section
4.2). Process materials will emphasize the learners' making
active use of their knowledge as process and strategies for

communicating and learning purposes in the context of the listener who will become the next ratified speaker and vice versa. In other words, the receptive and productive abilities of learners in L_2 should be regarded as complementary, not as individual skills (cf. Chapter 1). They can be based on problem-solving activities with overt information gaps such as factual information gaps determined by the teacher, as well as covert information gaps such as linguistic matters of accuracy and appropriacy which should be bridged for effective communication to function. Covert information gaps are uncontrollable and may differ from learner participant to learner participant since they depend on their background knowledge of the L_2. Materials as process may evolve around the two basic axes of: role-taking activities and role-making activities characterized in terms of the controlled and uncontrolled variables encountered in the activities.

7.1.4 Role-taking activities — Role-making activities

When the learner is simply enacting a role assigned to him by the teacher or the teaching materials, he is role-taking. However, when the learner is expressing his own intentions, motivation and linguistic choice interpreting, producing and negotiating meanings, he is role-making (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.2).

Role-taking activities could be further distinguished into two categories. In the first category there fall activities that require memorisation and enactment of a dialogue or conversation. Rivers, 1972, considers enactment of memorised conversation important. She argues that as soon as the learner acts out the dialogue, as soon as "he becomes John or Peter", he is communicating, not merely repeating. In terms of the present

research, I would argue that acting out dialogues will help the
learners develop an awareness of linguistic realizations rele-
vant to particular role identifications, turn-taking, back-
channel cues and so on. In other words, the learner is practi-
sing and developing his foreground shared knowledge of the L_2,
that is, how roles, topic, setting and communicative use of lang-
uage interact on each other to exemplify the native speaker's
way of handling communication in a particular setting.

In the second category there fall activities that allow the
learner a relevant freedom of choice. Freedom of choice may mean
the right to select among alternative realizations an appropriate
one that best suits self-role, other-role, topic and the situa-
tion as a whole. Or it may mean a recombination of known mater-
ial, i.e. a dialogue, to express similar meanings while self-role,
other-role, topic and the setting remain the same. Such role-
taking activities will help the learner to exercise his own pro-
cesses which are exemplified through the strategies he uses in
order to develop sensitivity and inner criteria for transcendent
and emergent grounds knowledge of what is potentially relevant *to*
the "here and now" or specifically relevant here and now at a
particular conversational exchange. When the learners are engaged
in such activities, they can be overtly encouraged to promptly
correct each other by picking up the right strategy to do so
whenever participants have selected or might select a wrong alter-
native. (See section 7.3.1 this chapter).

Role-taking activities prepare the learner for role-making
activities and games. In role-making activities and games the
learner practises and develops all four types of shared knowledge
on which interpretation, production and negotiation of meaning

depend. He and his partner in the joint action decide on topic
development, and communicative use of L_2, taking into account
each other's roles and perspectives as well as the physical and
cultural constraints of the situation. The learners make free
use of the constitutive and regulative features of foreign lang-
uage interaction as the need arises, thus making each communica-
tive situation a learning situation.

I shall now proceed to discuss some role-taking and role-
making activities and games in terms of the controlled and un-
controlled variables that characterize them. An analysis of the
variables involved in these activities and games will help the
teacher develop a better understanding of the communicative po-
tential of them for teaching and learning purposes. He will be
aware of which meaning of communication the learners are prac-
tising and which type of knowledge they are developing.

a.   Role-taking activities

I have divided role-taking activities into two categories in
accordance with the characteristics they share.

CATEGORY I

The following activities fall into this category:

1. Memorisation of dialogues for role enacting (Rivers, 1972).

2. Open ended dialogues)
) (Littlewood, 1978b)
3. Cued dialogues   )

4. Verbal descriptions of a hidden subject)
   (reporting)   ) (Allen and
) Valette, 1977)
5. Film strips (reporting what happened)   )

The above-mentioned activities and many other similar ones
share the following characteristics:

1. The setting is given

2. The roles are given

3. The intentions are given

4. Function networks are given

5. Form is given

6. The topic is given

The learners enact or play their dialogues and base their performance on recently taught materials. These types of exercise and activities help the learner to practise foreground knowledge relevant to a particular setting, namely:

1. Overall structure development

2. Overall interaction strategy (i.e. minimal communicating strategy)

3. Turn-taking (i.e. when and how to get, to relinquish or compete for the floor, making use of appropriate L_2 linguistic cues).

4. Topic development.

5. Function networks and corresponding linguistic forms in relation to role relationships and cohesion and coherence strategies related to a particular setting, as the L_2 native speakers understand, interpret and use them through the medium of L_2.

These activities will allow the learners to draw inferences about what ritual constraints and linguistic forms (i.e. knowledge as product) to associate with the knowledge as process and strategies they have learned through their L_1. They will also help the learners to associate L_2 culture-bound roles with ritual constraints, functions and forms. At the same time they will also be developing their speaking skill in L_2 (cf. Widdowson, 1978 : 67). All that knowledge eventually becomes part of the learner's background knowledge of the L_2 to which they will

turn whenever they are involved in real communicative situations. As such it is a valid learning strategy for the development of the learner's background and foreground knowledge of the L_2 and for drawing inferences about the interrelationship of the transferred knowledge as process and strategies, with the L_2 ritual constraints and the linguistic code.

CATEGORY II

The following activities and games fall into the second category of role-taking:

1. The dialogue game (Kimbal & Palmer, 1978)

2. Function games (Fox, 1978)

3. Simulation techniques (Littlewood, 1978b, 1981, Candlin et al., 1976)

4. Role-playing techniques (Morrow, 1979; Di Pietro, 1978: script theory and conversational performance; Littlewood, 1978a, 1981)

5. Playing games such as

    (a) Twenty questions

    (b) What's my line (involves a two-turn dialogue) (Shaw & Wilkinson, 1978; Giunchi, 1978)

The above-mentioned activities and games and many other similar ones share the following characteristics:

1. The setting is given

2. The topic is given

3. The roles are given

4. The intentions are given

5. Function networks are given

6. A list of alternative linguistic forms for each participant in the interaction is given. Participants are expected to choose the appropriate realization, basing their judgement on knowledge previously acquired/ learned.

The learners still practise and develop foreground shared knowledge but in these activities the appropriacy of the linguistic realization to be chosen is to be decided upon by the learner-participants in interaction. When this potential transcedent grounds shared knowledge is actualized, it becomes emergent grounds knowledge. The choice they are requested to exercise at the transcedent grounds knowledge gives the learners the opportunity to associate setting, roles and functions with actual linguistic realizations. This freedom allows the learner to move towards role-making. It also gives the learners the opportunity to make use of strategies to regulate and keep the flow of interaction going when a wrong potential option is actualized as emergent grounds knowledge by the other participant or the speaker participant himself.

b. Role-making activities and games

Role-making activities and games allow learners to be themselves. Some role-making activities and games are:

1. Combining arrangement techniques (Nation, 1979)

2. Jigsaw games (Geddes & Sturtridge, 1978; Byrne, 1979)

3. Strip stories (Allen & Valette, 1977)

4. Constructing a model from pieces, such as Lego games (Long, 1976; Allwright, 1976), or jigsaw puzzle construction (as in the experiments) (cf. Chapter 4: The experimental design)

5. Bridging factual information gaps (Littlewood, 1978b, 1981; Geddes & Sturtridge, 1978)

6. Sorting out pictures into logical sequence (Corder, 1978b)

7. Group activities (Byrne, 1979)

The above-mentioned activities and games and many other

similar ones share the following characteristics:

1. The setting is given

2. The topic is given

Apart from setting and topic the learner-interactants will have to negotiate between themselves and decide upon:

1. Overall interaction structure

2. Overall interaction strategy (i.e. minimal communicating strategy)

3. Turn-taking

4. Topic development

5. Cohesion and coherence strategies

basically relying on their communicative intent, their cognitive development and on their general background knowledge of the L_2 and of the world at large, as well as on their knowledge as process and strategies transferred from L_1. Furthermore, they will also have to negotiate between themselves role relationships (i.e. self-role, other-role, cf. Turner, 1962), intentions, function networks and linguistic forms as the interaction unfolds from conversational exchange to conversational exchange, and from speaking turn to speaking turn, in other words, as potentially transcedent grounds shared knowledge is actualized as emergent grounds shared knowledge. Whenever there is lack of shared knowledge and interpretive procedures are suspended, the learner-interactants can bridge the gaps by resorting to regulative strategies as the need arises (cf. Chapter 6).

Authentic problem-solving activities and games where solution of the problem is discovered by means of talk, may be ideal activities for a learner-centred learn-as-you-communicate

approach to language learning and language development. Learners may help each other learn, in a way teach each other, while indulging in a co-operative activity (cf. Chapter 2 about mother-child interaction; also Chapter 6 - Regulative features of foreign language interaction). Peck, 1978, argues that her findings from her research in L_1 child-L_2 child discourse support the view that L_2 children learners in ESL learn syntax and function from teacher-child discourse, whereas they learn function and semantics from L_1 child-L_2 child discourse. I would like to suggest that there might be a parallel situation in EFL. The L_2 learners may acquire function and syntax through product materials but they may really learn function and semantics through process materials. When engaged in activities and games they may have the choice to try out their acquired hypotheses about the meaning potential of the foreign language they are learning and confirm or reject them.

Role-making activities and games, therefore, will allow the learners to practise real learner-centred interaction in the classroom. The teacher can control setting and topic in communicative activities and games but s/he cannot control the process of interaction as is the case with role-taking exercises and activities. There is no way for her/him to control topic development, behavioural patterns, strategies, functions and forms down to every detail. The learners will decide on the relevant and appropriate constitutive and regulative features of (foreign language) interaction basing their judgement on the pragmatics of the situation, topic development, shared knowledge as process, product, strategies and actualized language behaviour as the interaction unfolds.

Thus the learners will develop their L_2 communicative competence, that is, their ability to use the L_2 as an alternative way to do things with words (Widdowson, 1978). In role-making activities and games emphasis falls on the communicative purpose of language in use, and not so much on the social purpose of language in use, since the social context of the classroom is rather limited. However, role-making communicative activities and games will help the learners become aware of the tools, i.e. strategies that can be relevant to an L_2 communicative situation anywhere and any time. So it is through communicating/learning strategies that the learner will be able to expand and develop his knowledge of the L_2 beyond the knowledge offered to him by the teaching materials and classroom teaching practice.

To sum up, the content of the syllabus will reflect the objectives set for the course from the point of view of the learners' needs and expectations, the theory of language and theory of language learning implicit in the syllabus. An approach that emphasizes 'learn-as-you-communicate' processes and attempts to deal with language as communication requires a classroom methodology that is compatible with it. It can view the classroom as a speech community where teacher and learners are co-participants and co-interactants in the teaching-learning process. The teaching-learning process is viewed as the sharing of new information, (i.e. factual, cognitive, affective, social) as it is expressed through the actual use of the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language in L_2 between teacher and learners; learners and learners, and learners and materials.

As for evaluation, it can be implicit in the materials and the methodology. Communicating to purpose, results in success

or failure in achieving this end. In communicative language teaching evaluation is not an outside measure for success or failure but is presupposed in the process materials to be used and the teaching-learning process which is viewed as sharing new information between teacher and learners, learners and learners, learners and materials.

7.1.5 Grading

Grading of syllabus content can be based on learning behaviours the learners are expected to learn. The minimal language teaching unit is the 'speech event' where both cohesion and coherence strategies can be exemplified. Choice of units may depend on learners' needs, abilities, experiences and expectations developing cyclically around relevant and appropriate themes. Grading is to take place on two levels, one level can deal with the product meaning of common understanding i.e. L_2 knowledge as product, and the other level with the process meaning of common understanding i.e. knowledge as process. These two levels do not run parallel to each other, but they interact with each other and result in cohesion and coherence strategies of normal communication as well as in regulative strategies, in case there should appear crises in the communication process. Product materials can provide the learners with the necessary background and foreground knowledge, in terms of linguistic forms, sociolinguistic rules and knowledge of the world at large which is specific to the foreign language and relevant to the learners' needs.

As the present research indicates, the new knowledge that the learner is required to learn from scratch is the L_2 linguistic code and how the social reality of the L_2 society is express-

ed through language. This seems to be necessary, for although communicating and learning strategies may be universal as processes they are culture-specific as overt linguistic realizations. To incorporate regulative strategies in teaching materials, however, it is necessary that relevant research is undertaken to identify the forms ᵢₙ ᵂʰⁱᶜʰ strategies are realized in the act of communication. The correlation between forms and strategies may vary in a scale of delicacy indicating, for instance, solidarity, mitigation, aggression, hostility and so on. The choice of the appropriate form may depend on the situation, role relationships and the biographies of the participants. Research on conditions for speech act analysis (cf. Searle, 1965, 1975) and discourse analysis (cf. Labov and Fanshel, 1977; Speier, 1972; Schwartz, 1980) can open up insights and indicate practices to follow for linguistic grading in the language classroom.

Linguistic grading is not to be strictly grammar-based, as has usually been the practice so far, but is to be balanced between grammar difficulty in terms of morphology and syntax, sociolinguistic usefulness in terms of learner needs, abilities, experiences and expectations, psycholinguistic potentiality in terms of learner learning strategies as well as pedagogical feasibility and applicability in terms of classroom methodology. So far linguistic grading has been mainly considered in terms of grammatical difficulty and frequency (cf. Alexander's "Look and Say", "Practice and Progress" among a plethora of situational and audio-lingual textbooks). The other variables have not been taken into account in linguistic grading. However, a cross-

reference of grammatically graded linguistic forms with the other variables suggested may provide us with a more useful inventory of graded linguistic forms for teaching purposes.

7.2 The teacher's and learner's role in the EFL classroom

Recent developments in communicative language teaching have repeatedly emphasized the need for the language teaching class-room to move from a teacher-dominated one where the teacher con-trols pupil learning, to a pupil-centred classroom where the non-intrusive teacher is expected to encourage active formula-tion of learning and help the learners develop their communica-tive ability in the L_2. Consequently a higher proportion of class time is expected to be devoted to communicative activi-ties, the use of games and simulation techniques, role-playing and group work (Valdman, 1978) where there is purpose and mean-ing in doing something. In such a learner-centred classroom the teacher's role has been broadly defined as that of a flexible resource centre characterized by non-intrusion in the process of learning. However, it has already been pointed out that this non-dominant role of the teacher requires careful interpretation so as not to be associated with teacher passivity or lack of commitment (Buckley et al., 1978).

As argued in section 7.1, teaching materials as product exemplify to the learner rules of usage and of the social and cultural conventions of the target language. The learner is thus helped to acquire background knowledge of the linguistic code, settings, situations, role-relationships and so on relevant to his needs. Product materials are usually expected to be based on L2 target repertoires. Whether these repertoires will be

authentic to L_2 actual discourse or authentic to purpose (Cand-
lin et al., 1979), that is, whether they may be edited in accor-
dance with the needs of the learners and the new language beha-
viours to be presented, is up to the syllabus designer to decide.
In either case the learner is confronted with L_2 discourse (wri-
tten or oral) for input purposes. The learner, therefore, and
the model of language presented to him through materials occupy
the two ends of a continuum (see Figure 7 below).

Figure 7.

LEARNER   Target repertoires
                                              (L_1 speaker's discourse)

This type of relationship has been involved in all teaching
developments in ELT, be it audio-lingual, situational, notional/
functional, or discourse-orientated. Depending on the approach
to follow, the teacher's role has either been that of a strict
controller (cf. the structural approach) or that of a more flexi-
ble, non-intrusive resource centre (cf. the communicative approach).
However, the teacher is not directly involved in the continuum,
but only as a good conductor who makes sure that the strings be-
tween learner and model are working properly. In the light of
the present research I would like to suggest that the teacher in
the EFL classroom should be part of the continuum and should occu-
py a very important place on it. For the relationship of learner
and target repertoires exemplified in Figure 7 has two weak points.

First, contrary to L_1 language learning where there have been
identified developmental stages in the appropriate use of lang-

uage as well as input strategies employed by mothers/caregivers
and aiming at the development of shared knowledge for interpre-
tation purposes (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.4), the L_2 learner is
directly presented with adult L_1 speaker discourse (Cook, 1969).
In teaching materials negotiation of meaning both at the level
of cohesion and coherence usually creates no problems for the
participants as is usually the case with all native speakers
whatever language they may speak. It is true, however, that
some current textbooks functionally and discoursally-orientated
try to utilize discourse network exercises and make use of such
conversational features as hesitations, pauses and requests for
clarification or confirmation (though they are not actually
dealt with as communicating/learning strategies, cf. Chapter 6)
in the conversations presented as models to the learner. (See,
for instance, Abbs et al., 1978).

The learner, however, faces all sorts of problems whenever
he attempts to use the L_2 he is learning in novel situations in-
side or outside the classroom where manipulation of the communica-
tive potential of language is constantly required, along with
the changing roles of listener-and-speaker. These problems
mainly refer to lack of shared knowledge as product. They may
be phonological, syntactic, lexical or semantic problems. Lack
of shared knowledge results in communication breakdowns. The
learner has been given no help on how to manage things when he has
reached such a point in conversation. He has been presented with
no "ways and means" of how to solve problems through appropriate
language use over lack of shared knowledge in natural communica-
tion. (It is true, however, that at the end learners do find

out how to solve problems by transferring their 'knowledge and experience' from L_1 communication to L_2 communication, as the present research indicates).

Second, the learner cannot identify himself with the models presented to him because there is a discrepancy between the learner's real situation and the L_1 speaker target repertoires in teaching materials. The use of language presented in teaching materials mirrors the ultimate aim - the product of teaching. The in-between stages are not indicated, nor considered. In a way, it is as if the child learning his mother tongue were required to use adult language as soon as he attempts to communicate verbally. This discrepancy between learner reality and model conversations in teaching materials leads him to frustration and lack of motivation since he cannot manage negotiation of meaning in the same way as the models he has been exposed to. Thus psychological and social distance (in Schumann's, (1978), terms) between learner and teaching materials increases and this may be extended to native speakers of the language.

To make up for the weaknesses of the model discussed in pp.234-36, I would like to suggest that there should be an intermediate stage between target repertoires (which mirror the learner's desired terminal behaviour) and the L_2 learner's developmental behaviour when he is learning to communicate in the L_2. The intermediate stage is that of the non-native L_2 language user, who can come in-between the language learner and the L_2 speaker discourse. In an EFL classroom (or any other foreign or second language classroom, for that reason), the non-native speaker teacher can play the role of the non-native language user. The teacher can become the link - the mediator-between L_1 native

speaker discourse and the learner. So the continuum presented
in Figure 7, p.234, can be amended as follows:

Figure 8

Learner |————|————| non-native L_2 language user (= teacher) |————|————| target reper-
toires
(= teaching
materials)
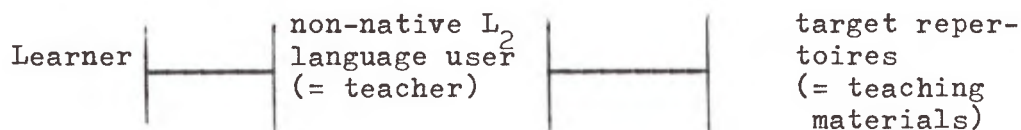
In the light of the present research I would argue that the
continuum presented in Figure 8 modifies a new pair of role-
relationships between teacher and learner. Corder, 1977c, who
discusses role relationships of teacher and pupil as approaches
to language teaching have changed, writes that in the grammar-
translation approach and the structural approach, the teacher
played the role of the <u>informant</u>, whereas the learner played the
role of the <u>information-seeker</u>. In the communicative approach
the teacher plays the role of the <u>producer</u> and the learner that
of <u>the actor</u>. So, he goes on to say, teacher and learner become
more equal partners in a co-operative enterprise where the learn-
er becomes increasingly responsible for the conduct of his own
learning and less dependable on the teacher. Expanding on Cor-
der's pairs of role-relationships I would suggest that the teacher
should play the role of the <u>non-native language user</u> and the
learner the role of the <u>non-native language learner user</u>. Both
can be equal partners in the language teaching-learning game and
can help each other to further their respective linguistic skills
and communicative abilities using the L_2 as a medium of communica-
tion.

7.2.1 Advantages of the suggested role-relationships

The suggested role-relationships between learner and teacher have important advantages for the foreign language classroom. The teacher's role can be somehow similar to that of the mother/caretaker in mother/child interaction (cf. Chapter 2). I see the teacher's role as an active participator in the classroom interaction modelling out strategies for the learners, indicating how language games in expressing, interpreting and negotiating meanings may be played, signalling how problems caused by lack of shared L_2 knowledge as product, mishearings or unhearings, and misunderstandings may be solved on the spot while they are communicating. In other words, the teacher can actively exemplify use of regulative strategies to solve communicating and learning problems (cf. Chapter 6). Native speakers face similar problems too. However, use of strategies is rather casual and rare. Strategies mainly refer to context and learning problems. They may also refer to problems of conceptual schemata or the linguistic code if participants in an event come, say, from different regional areas or different professions (Churchill, 1978). Although English native speakers and Greek L_2 learners make use of similar strategies, teaching materials with an overuse of these strategies will not sound authentic.

Furthermore, like mother's talk, teacher talk can also exhibit a constant adaptation to the present capacity and knowledge of learners and a high degree of relevance to the ongoing activity in the classroom. Teacher talk may demonstrate all characteristics of spontaneous speech such as hesitations, ellipsis, redundancy, elisions, abandonment of utterances half-way and

shifts in topic, function or speech acts if the teacher
has difficulties in expressing, interpreting or negotiating
meanings. The appropriate use of these characteristics
of spontaneous speech as well as of the regulative strategies
will depend on pragmatic grounds conditioned by the classroom
social context, the activity and the learner's knowledge of the
L_2. Of course, there is a fundamental difference between mother-
child situation and teacher-pupil situation. The mother is seek-
ing to help the child develop cognitively/perceptually/socially/
linguistically; whereas the L_2 learner is already cognitively/
perceptually/socially developed through his mother tongue, which
may make their job   easier since the L_2 learner
(adolescent or adult) can process highly abstract relationships,
in syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the L_2 and put cognitions
on the map easier. The non-native teacher can also help the learn-
er become aware that the knowledge as process he should make use
of in the act of L_2 communication (whereby it interacts with know-
ledge as product), he has already had as 'knowledge and experience'
from L_1. So the learner becomes aware that he can dissociate L_1
knowledge as product from knowledge as process and strategies
and associate knowledge as process and strategies to L_2 knowledge
as product. On the level of knowledge as process and the result-
ing communicating and learning strategies, there is a positive
transfer from L_1 to L_2. This transferable knowledge can consti-
tute the basic ground on which to build language learning as an
alternative way for doing things with words.

Furthermore, the non-native speaker teacher can set up a
model for the learner to identify himself with. Thus, the

intermediate stage of the non-native language user diminishes the psychological and social distance (in Schumann's terms) which exists between the learner and the target language and culture (see p. 236).   The teacher's linguistic skills and communicative abilities, since he relies on regulative strategies to express, interpret and negotiate meanings, can easier be within his/her reach than the native speaker's linguistic skills and communicative abilities. So far the teacher who knows the language well has been considered to be the best. The present research, however, suggests that a non-native speaker teacher who may not know the language well but has experience and can skillfully use a full range of communicating/learning strategies might be a better teacher than a native speaker. Of course, the learner definitely needs a native speaker model that can exemplify L_2 usage and social conventions for him, but he also needs a non-native L_2 language user model that can exemplify transfer of knowledge as process and appropriate use of a range of communicative/learning strategies to facilitate communication and learning. Appropriate use of strategies will allow him/her to manipulate his/her limited knowledge of the L_2 and expand it as the situation demands it. Thus s/he learns as s/he communicates.

L_2 communicative competence, therefore, should not simply mean to make use of known and practised functions and forms (cf. notional/functional developments) or to handle function networks (cf. discourse-orientated developments) in a novel or similar situation. In the first case the learner can express his intentions and purposes, in the second case provision is taken that he can also understand his interlocutors' intentions and purposes provided that he knows the relevant linguistic

realizations. The learner, however, cannot handle intended input or output information as form or function that exceeds his knowledge either as a speaker or as a listener. Handling of new information, however, is part of an L_1 language user's communicative competence (cf. Chapters 2 and 3), and it may also become part of the L_2 learner's communicative competence. Consequently, I would define an L_2 learner's communicative competence as 'the ability to manipulate known knowledge of the L_2 as well as the ability to handle new information that exceeds his knowledge either as a speaker or a listener'.

7.3 Classroom methodology

7.3.1 Regulative strategies and error correction

The discussion of the advantages of the suggested role relationships of the learner and the teacher leads to the question of how the teacher can demonstrate the appropriate use of strategies to learners in the classroom so that they may become aware of them and make use of them when they want to communicate. I would argue here that error correction could be the classroom way of trying to solve crises in communication. An unintelligible utterance, for instance, either addressed by the learner to the teacher or to some other learner, or by the teacher to the learner(s) creates suspense i.e. a crisis in communication, and requires further communication in order to solve the problem

Errors are always exploited for learning purposes. Long, 1977, for instance, suggests a model of a decision-making process for error correction. First, he defines errors as:

1. any phonological, morphological, syntactic or lexical deviance in the form of what students say from a standard variety of English which is attributable

to the application by the learner of incorrect
rules.

2. recognisable misconstrual of or lack of factual
information.

3. a breach of rules of classroom discourse, and

4. a bit of student language behaviour treated as an
example of 1, 2, or 3 by the teacher.

(Long, 1977 : 279)

Long then suggests that the decision-making process can be divided into three operational stages: input to decision-making, decision-making process, output overt behaviours. Long argues that the decision to be made in the second stage depends on certain factors that the teacher carefully considers before he corrects an error. These factors guide the teacher to select the right option for error correction.

Finally, to exemplify his point Long provides us with some examples of overt behaviours realizing the options he suggests, e.g.

S: He go to the park on Saturdays.

Teacher options for error corrections:

a. T: No
   or T: He go to the park on Saturday? (i.e. the student
         utterance repeated with rising intonation, pro-
         bably accompanied by some non-verbal cue such as
         raising eyebrows).

b. T: He go to the park on Saturdays?
   or T: He what to the park?

c. T: go or goes?
   or T: You missed the third person 's' off 'goes'.

(Long, 1977 : 290)

I would argue that these options for error correction which are realized as overt behaviours in the example above only manage

to establish the teacher's authority. The contant checking, correcting, testing and so on   tends to perpetuate the distinction between first learn through teaching, then practise. Long seems to consider error correction as a teaching device, more in line with punishment than an unexpected and unforeseeable break in the process of communication.

In learn-as-you-communicate approach to language learning, however, language teaching may eventually get away from the distinction of learning and teaching as two separate entities. Language learning and teaching can be seen as one process that takes place through social verbal interaction where learning, teaching and practising the language is a reciprocal experience for both participants: teacher-learner/learner-learner. A practical example of such a methodological approach in EFL can be error correction. Error correction may be looked upon as a message clarification element that aims at restoring the communication process by bridging the gap over shared knowledge due to ignorance, misunderstanding, unhearing, or mishearing, as is the case in natural communication. This view leads to the question whether classroom interaction can be considered as genuine communication. Different scholars hold different views. Valdman, 1978, for instance, argues that classroom verbal interactions are fully predictable and cannot be considered as instances of the communicative use of language, especially at the beginning and intermediate level. At best, he writes, the use of the TL in the FL classroom represents simulated communicative use.

I cannot agree entirely with such a view. I would like to suggest that classroom interaction should be viewed as a genuine communicative situation, since the general aim of communication

can apply here as in any other natural setting. Since language learning is viewed as an alternative way of doing things with words which heavily relies on the 'knowledge and experience' the learner has had from L_1, the learning of this new way becomes newsworthy because genuine information on all four levels, cognitive-perceptual-linguistic-social, is sought and given where learner and non-native speaker teacher can be seekers of this alternative knowledge on equal terms. Then errors can be treated as breaks in communication, where teacher and learner alike are at pains to clarify messages in order to secure shared knowledge and restore communication. I would suggest, therefore, that error correction by the teacher or other learner participant in a verbal encounter should be treated in the same way as mother/caregivers treat breaks in communication between themselves and their children (cf. Chapter 2). So error correction options (cf. Long, 1977, also p.242) can be replaced by regulative strategies which are part of the 'knowledge and experience' the learner has had from L_1. The examples below demonstrate use of regulative strategies as overt behaviours to eliminate crises in communication (i.e. in more traditional terms 'error correction').

> S: He go to the park on Saturdays. (I also use Long's
>   example.)

Teacher options:

a. T: Pardon?
        Can you repeat it, please?
        Sorry, I didn't hear you.
        (A repetition strategy can be used to signal
         there is trouble instead of a blunt "No" or
         repeating the sentence with a rising intona-
         tion accompanied by a non-verbal cue of, say,
         disapproval, as suggested by Long.)

b.   T: He does what on Saturdays?
             (A clarification request strategy can be used
             to signal to the speaker that there is trouble.
             Notice also that the use of "does" may ring
             bells for 'goes' the correct item. Compare
             with Long's suggestion "He what to the park?")

c.   T: What do we say in English - "he go" or "he goes"?
             (Using the L_2 strategy can signal to the speaker
             that there is trouble which may cause a crisis
             in communication.)

Mother/caretakers use similar strategies when interacting with children to help them develop cognitively/perceptually/socially/linguistically. Snow, 1977a, refers to these sequences as mini lessons in themselves, whereas Moerk, 1972, refers to them as language teaching sequences. The interactions, for instance, quoted by Moerk, 1972 : 241-242, Table 6, contain phonetic, semantic and grammatical instruction for the child to help establish shared knowledge for expression, interpretation and negotiation of meaning.

e.g.   Mother: What is Aida doing?
       Suzie (3,6): She is doing her clock.
       Mother: No, honey, she is winding her clock.
                        (from Moerk, 1977 : 240, Table 5)

It is interesting to compare the effect that strategies and choice of appropriate lexical items i.e. "honey" in Moerk's example, have on listener and the situation overall where error correction is treated not as a teaching device but as a breach in the communication process.

1.   Mother: No, honey, she is winding her clock.
                    (from Moerk, 1972 : 240, Table 5)

2. c.   T: What do we say in English - "go" or "goes"?
              (using the L_2 strategy to signal trouble
              in communication, see above.)

3.   c.   T: "go" or "goes"?
              T: You missed the third person 's' off 'goes'.
                          (Long, 1977 : 290, also p.242)

In all three cases, the aim of the speaker is to indicate that an error has occurred and ought to be corrected before communication can proceed. Errors that relate to morphology, syntax, lexis, assumptions, presuppositions etc. result in crises in communication, halting interpretive procedures. Although the aim of all three speakers is the same the overt behaviours they have decided upon indicate a different rationale behind error correction. In the first example, the mother is correcting the child's wrong choice but the use of 'honey' has a mitigating and un-authoritative effect on her utterance and the situation as a whole. Similarly, the function of the pronoun 'we' in the second example indicates solidarity and includes addressor-addressee (i.e. teacher-learner) thus eliminating psychological and social distance (cf. Schumann, 1978) between teacher and learner. On the contrary, the overt behaviours suggested by Long perpetuate the teacher's authority in the classroom and increase the distance between teacher, who knows all the answers, and learner, who is there only to learn.

The second example indicates a way towards changing class-room methodology from a means to impart knowledge from the teach-er to the learner, to real communication where language learning can take place through a process of social verbal interaction as in L_1. Such an approach to language learning heavily relies on the learners' 'knowledge and experience' from L_1. It seems reasonable to suggest that foreign classroom methodology should

thus develop towards a more unified teach-learn-practice free
interaction process. Thus the polarization of the present-day
practice, first teach for the learner to learn, then he may use
this knowledge to practise it in communicative activities could
be eliminated.

Conclusions and Further Research

In this section I would like to summarize the long-term and short-term consequences of the present research and make suggestions for further research.

a. As the research indicates, L_2 learners transfer their 'knowledge and experience' i.e. their knowledge as process on how to communicate and learn from L_1 to L_2 communication as a first source of interpretation and production. Furthermore, non-native speakers as well as native speakers (at least, those who took part in the experiments) have used similar strategies as internal behaviours to negotiate meanings, to sustain communication and solve crises in communication. These findings have led to the argument that although the participants' L_1 knowledge as product and actualized language behaviour are dissimilar, their L_1 knowledge as process and strategies may be similar. Knowledge as process and strategies seem to constitute what I have called communication universals which are realized in different codes and ritual constraints. To prove this point valid, however, further research is needed across languages and cultures that are not so akin as Greek and English.

b. The discussion of the nature of communication (cf. Chapter 3) as well as the model of oral communication analysis (cf. Chapter 5) presented in this thesis clearly indicate that it is rather difficult for a researcher to provide the teacher with an a priori model of communicative competence for pedagogical purposes. It seems rather more plausible to suggest that L_2 teaching and learning should heavily rely on the learners' 'knowledge and experience' of how to communicate and learn through language.

Such an approach to language learning may lead to 'learn-as-you-communicate' developments in ELT which take language learning and teaching as an alternative way of doing things with words. What's more, the distinction between language acquisition and language learning seems to offer a workable hypothesis, especially for foreign language learning/teaching. It may be argued that the learner acquires the foreign language through teaching materials as "school knowledge". However, when he is actively engaged in activities and games he turns "school knowledge" to "action knowledge" (after Barnes, 1976). So learning does take place, it may be argued, when the learner tries out his acquired hypotheses in the act of communication. Further research, however, is needed in language learning/acquisition and language development as an alternative way where the perceptual and cognitive development of the learners, as well as their communicating and learning abilities as 'knowledge and experience', are taken into account.

c. As already stated, the regulative features of communication are realized in a variety of linguistic forms in English. Each form may be differently conditioned in terms of situational constraints, ritual constraints, role relationships and the biographies of the participants. Obviously, further research is required *in* this direction. It is necessary to identify the linguistic realizations the strategies are expressed in and the felicity conditions (to use Searle's term) language users attend to when when they use them. Furthermore, strategies may be cross-referenced across L_1 and L_2 languages and cultures. It may be that some societies favour certain strategies more than

others. This type of research may provide us with an inventory
of linguistic realizations to feed into the teaching materials
where both sociolinguistic considerations in terms of the re-
search reported in Rintell, 1979, Keenan, 1977a and/or Schwartz,
1980, and, psycholinguistic considerations in terms of the re-
search reported in mother-child interaction (cf. Chapter 2) will
be taken into account. Such an inventory will go beyond the
purely linguistic inventory used so far in audio-lingual and si-
tuational materials or the type of inventory that primarily aims
at satisfying the social needs of the learners (cf. Van Ek, 1975).
It will be primarily based on psycholinguistic aspects of lang-
uage use for learning and communicating purposes. This inventory
may not be used for materials development and foreign language
classroom application unless it is cross-referenced with learners'
learning and communicating strategies, their needs, abilities,
experiences and expectations as well as classroom methodology in
terms of feasibility and applicability. These, I think, are the
long term consequences of the identified communicating and learn-
ing strategies in the context of communication universals.

However, there are also short-term consequences of the re-
search reported in this thesis. Teachers and learners alike may
consider the teach/learn process as a mutual exchange of news-
worthy information, which may influence their attitude to lang-
uage learning and teaching overall. The teacher may make direct
use of the communicating and learning strategies in the classroom,
say, when s/he is error-correcting (as suggested in Chapter 7,
section 7.3.1) or when s/he is communicating with learners in
short verbal encounters inside or outside the classroom. All this,

regardless of the actual teaching materials s/he may be current-
ly using. S/he may overtly draw the learners' attention to their
own 'knowledge and experience', make them aware of the importance
of strategies for communicating/learning purposes and finally
encourage them to make use of them when they communicate in
order to facilitate communication and learn. It goes without
saying, of course, that the teacher will also provide the learn-
ers with the appropriate linguistic realizations to express
these strategies as overt behaviours in English. After all, it
seems that the most important aspect of foreign/second language
learning and teaching still is how we can help our learners to
do through the medium of the foreign/second language what they
can do through their mother tongue, that is, how to negotiate
meanings accurately and appropriately in the target language.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbs B. et al. (1975)   Strategies, London: Longman

Abbs B. et al. (1978)   Challenges, London: Longman

Abercrombie D. (1968)   "Paralanguage", British Journal of
Disorders of Communication, Vol.3/1
Also in Laver J & S Hutcheson (eds),
1972.

Abrams K.& T. Bever (1969) "Syntactic structure modifies atten-
tion during speech perception and
recognition ", Quarterly Journal of
Experimental Psychology, Vol.21,
pp.21, pp.280-90.

Albert E. (1972)   "Culture Patterning of Speech Beha-
viour in Burundi", in Gumperz J & D
Hymes (eds), 1972.

Alexander L.G. (1976)   "Where do we go from here? A recon-
sideration of some basic assump-
tions affecting course design", ELT
Journal, Vol. 30/2.

Alexander L.G. (1977)   Some methodological implications of
Waystage and Threshold level, CCC/
EES (77) 13, Strasbourg.

Allen H.B. & R.N. Campbell Teaching English as a second language,
(eds) (1972)   N.Y.: McGraw-Hill (2nd Edition).

Allen J.P.B. & S.P. Corder The Edinburgh Course in Applied Ling-
(eds) (1973-1977)   uistics, Vols. I, II, III, IV, Oxford:
Oxford University Press.

Allen E.D. & R.M. Valette Classroom techniques: Foreign lang-
(1972/1977)   uages and English as a second lang-
uage, N.Y.: Harcourt, Bruce & Jova-
novich, Inc.

Allen J.P.B. & H.G. Widdow- "Teaching the communicative use of
son (1974)   English", IRAL Vol. 12/1

Allen J.P.B. & P. Van Buren Chomsky: Selected Readings, Oxford:
(1975)   Oxford University Press.

Allwright R.L. (1975a)   "Problems in the study of the teacher's
treatment of learner error", in Burt M.
& H. Dulay (eds), 1975.

Allwright R.L. (1975b) "Putting cognitions on the map: An attempt to model the role of cognitions in language learning", Paper read at the Third AILA Congress, Stuttgart, August.

Allwright R.L. (ed) (1975c) Working papers: Language teaching classroom research, University of Essex Dept. of Language and Linguistics.

Allwright R.L. (1976) "Language learning through communication practice ", ELT Documents 76/3, London: The British Council.

Anderson B.F. (1975) Cognitive Psychology: The study of knowing, learning and thinking, N.Y.: Academic Press.

Andersen R.W. (1979) "Expanding on Schumann's pidginization hypothesis ", Language Learning Vol.29/1.

d'Anglejean A. & G.R. Tucker (1973) "Communicating across cultures: an empirical investigation", Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol.4/1.

Annet J. (1969) Feedback and Human Behaviour, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Argyle M. (1974) The psychology of interpersonal behaviour, Harmondsworth: Penguin (2nd Edition).

Argyle M. (ed) (1976) Social Encounters: Readings in social interaction, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Argyle M. & J. Dean (1965) Eye contact, distance and affiliation ", Sociometry Vol.28, pp.289-304: also in Laver J. & S. Hutcheson (eds), 1972.

Austin J.L. (1975) How to do things with words: The William James Lectures delivered in Harvard University in 1955, Oxford: Clarendon Press, (2nd Edition).

Bach E. & R. Harms (eds) (1968) Universals in Linguistic Theory, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Bailey N., Madden C. & S. Krashen (1974) "Is there a "natural sequence" in adult second language learning?" Language learning, Vol. 24/2.

Bailey R.W. & J.L. Robinson (eds) (1973) Varieties of present-day English. New York: Macmillan.

Bales R.F. (1976) "The equilibrium problems in small groups', in Argyle M. (ed), 1976.

Barnes D. (1976) From communication to curriculum, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Barnes D. & F. Todd (1977) Communication and learning in small groups, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Baron J. & A. Kaiser (1975) "Semantic Components in Children's Errors with Pronouns', Journal of Psycholinguistic Research. Vol.4/4.

Barth F. (ed) (1969) Ethnic groups and boundaries. The social organization of culture difference, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Bates E. (1976) Language and context: The acquisition of pragmatics. New York: Academic Press.

Bateson M.C. (1975) "Mother-infant exchanges: the epigenesis of conversational interaction', in Aaronson A. & R.W. Rieber (eds). Developmental psycholinguistics and communication disorders, N.Y.: ACad. Sci. 263: 101-113.

Bauman R. & J. Sherzer (eds) (1974) Explorations in the ethnography of speaking, U.S.A.: Cambridge University Press.

Bell R.T. (1976) Sociolinguistics: Goals, Approaches and Problems, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.

Bellack A.A. et al. (1966) The language of the classroom, N.Y.: Teachers College Press.

Bennet T.L. (1978) "The speaker-hearer dichotomy in linguistic variation and the linguistic attitudes of second language learners', ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics, Vol. 39-40.

Berlyne D.E. (1974) "Information and motivation', in Silverstein A. (ed), 1974.

Berne E., MD (1980) Games people play: The psychology of human relationships, London: Penguin.

Bernstein B. (1964)   "Aspects of language and learning in the genesis of the social process", in Gumperz J.J. & D. Hymes (eds), 1964.

Bernstein B. (1966)   "Elaborated and restricted codes: Their social origins and some consequences", in Smith A. (ed), 1966.

Bernstein B. (1972a)   "Social class, language and socialization", in Moscovici S. (ed), 1972.

Bernstein B. (1972b)   "A sociolinguistic approach to socialization with some reference to educability", in Gumperz J. & D. Hymes (eds), 1972.

Berry J.W. & Dasen P.R. (1974)   Culture and Cognition: Readings in cross-cultural psychology. London: Methuen.

Berry M. (1975)   An introduction to systemic linguistics, Vol.1: Structures and systems, London: Batsford.

Berry M. (1977)   An introduction to systemic linguistics, Vol. 2: Levels and links. London: Batsford.

Bertkan J.S. (1974)   "An analysis of English learner speech", Language learning, Vol. 24/2.

Bever T.G. (1970)   "The cognitive basis for linguistic structures", in Hayes J. (ed), 1970.

Bever T.G. (1975)   "Psychologically real grammar emerges because of its role in language acquisition", in Dato D. (ed) Developmental Psycholinguistics, Theory and Applications, Georgetown University Round Table on languages and linguistics, Washington D.C. Georgetown University, School of Languages and Linguistics.

Bialystock E. (1978)   "A theoretical model of second language learning", Language Learning, Vol.28/1.

Bialystok E. & M. Frölich (1978)   "Variables of classroom achievement in second language learning", Modern Language Journal, Vol. LXII/7.

Bilmes J. (1976)   "Meaning and Interpretation", Semiotica, Vol. 16/2.

Blatchford C. & J. Schachter (eds), (1978)   On TESOL 1978. EFL Policies, Programs, Practices. Washington D.C.

Bleiberg S. & L. Churchill (1975) — Notes on confrontation in conversation", Journal of Psycholinguistic Research 4/3.

Bloch M. (1976) — "A review of Bauman R. & Sherzer J. (eds), Explorations in Ethnography of Speaking. C.U.P. 1974 ", Language in Society, Vol. 5/2.

Bloom B.S. (ed) (1956) — Taxonomy of educational objectives: the classification of educational goals, N.Y.: David McKay Company, Inc.

Bloom L., Rocissano L. & L. Hood (1976) — "Adult-child discourse: Developmental interaction between information processing and linguistic knowledge", Cognitive Pscychology, Vol.8, pp.521-552.

Bloom L. (1970) — Language development: Form and function in emerging grammars, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Bloom L. (ed) (1978) — Readings in language development, N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons.

Bloom L. & M. Lahey (1978) — Language development and language disorders, N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons.

Bloomfield L. (1962) — Language, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Blount B. (1972) — 'Parental speech and language acquisition: Some Luo and Samoan examples", Anthropolical Linguistics, Vol.14, pp.119-30.

Boden M. (1979) — Piaget, London: Fontana Modern Masters.

Bois-Simon L. (1978) — The use of dramatic techniques in the teaching of English as a foreign language. Travaux XXIII Université de Saint-Etienne. A memoir by Liliane Bois-Simon.

Boomer D.S. (1965) — 'Hesitation and grammatical encoding', Language and Speech, Vol. 8/1.

Boomer D.S. & J.D.M. Laver (1968) — "Slips of the tongue", British Journal of Disorders of Communication, Vol. 3/1.

de Bono Ed. (1978) — Teaching Thinking. London: Penguin.

Bosco F.J. & R.J.D. Pietro (1970)   Instructional Strategies: Their psychological and linguistic bases", IRAL Vol. 8/1.

Bratt-Paulston C. (1972)   "Structural drills: a classification" in Allen H.B. & R.N. Campbell (eds), 1972.

Brazil D., Coulthard M. & C. Johns (1980)   Discourse intonation and language teaching. London: Longman.

Breen M.P. & C.N. Candlin (1980)   "The essentials of communicative curriculum in language teaching", Applied Linguistics Vol.1/2.

Briere E.J. (1966)   "Quantity before quality in second language learning", Language Learning Vol. 16/1.

The British Council: English Teaching Information Centre   "Games, simulations and role-playing", ETIC Publications, 1977/1.

Broughton G. (1978)   "Native speaker insight", ELT Journal Vol. XXXII/4.

Brown D. Yorio C. & R. Crymes (eds) (1977)   On TESOL 1977: Teaching and learning English as a second language: Trends in Research and Practice, Washington D.C.

Brown H.D. (1976)   "Affective variables in second language acquisition", Language Learning, Vol. 23/2.

Brown G. (1973)   A first language: The early stages, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Brown G. (1975)   Microteaching: A programme of teaching skills, London: Methuen.

Brown G. (1978)   "Understanding Spoken Language", TESOL Quarterly Vol. 12/3.

Brown P. & S. Levinson (1978)   "Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena", in Goody E. (ed) 1978.

Brown R. & U. Bellugi (1964)   "Three processes in the child's acquisition of syntax", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 34, pp.133-151.

Brown R. & M. Ford (1961/ 1972)   "Address in American English", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 62, pp.375-85. Reprinted in Laver J. & S. Hutcheson (eds), 1972.

Brown R. & A. Gilman (1960/1972)   "The pronouns of power and solidarity", in Sebeok T.A. (ed), 1960. Reprinted in Laver J. & S. Hutcheson (eds), 1972.

Brown R.W. (1970)   Social psychology. N.Y.: Free Press.

Brumfit C.J. (1978a)   "Review of Wilkins: Notional syllabuses", ELT Journal Vol.33/1.

Brumfit C.J. (1978b)   "The English language, ideology and international communication: Some issues arising out of English teaching for Chinese students', ELT Documents: English as an international language.

Brumfit C.J. (1979)   "Notional syllabuses - a reassessment", System Vol.7, pp.111-16.

Brumfit C.J. & K. Johnson (eds) (1979)   The communicative approach to language teaching. London: Longman.

Brumfit C.J. (1980)   Problems and principles in English teaching. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Bruner J.S. (1971)   Toward a theory of instruction. Cambridge Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Bruner J.S. (1975a)   Entry into early language: A spiral curriculum. The Charles Gittins Memorial Lecture delivered at the University College of Swansea on March 13, 1975. University College of Swansea.

Bruner J.S. (1975b)   "The ontogenesis of speech acts", Journal of Child Language, Vol.2/1.

Bruner J.S. (1977)   "Early social interaction and language acquisition", in Schaffer H.R. (ed), 1978.

Bruner J.S. (1978)   From communication to language: A psychological perspective, in Marková I (ed), 1978.

Buchley I.R. & R. Freeze (1966)   "The distinctive features of pronominal systems', Anthropological Linguistics Vol. 8/8.

Buckley P. Samunda V. & A. Bruton (1978)   "Sensitizing the learner to group work", Practical Papers in English Language Education Vol. 1. Institute of English Language Education, University of Lancaster.

Burstal C. (1975)
"Factors affecting foreign language learning: A consideration of some recent research findings", Language Teaching and Linguistics: Abstracts Vol 8/1.

Burt M. & H. Dulay (eds) (1975)
On TESOL '75 New Directions in second language learning, teaching and bilingual education. Washington D.C.

Burt M. Dulay H. & M. Finocchiaro (eds) (1977)
Viewpoints on English as a Second Language. N.Y.: Regents Publishing Co. Inc.

Burt M. & H. Dulay (1978)
"Some guidelines for the assessment of oral language proficiency and dominance", TESOL Quarterly Vol.12/2.

Butterworth B., R.R. Hine & K.D. Brady (1977)
"Speech and interaction in sound-only communication channels", Semiotica Vol. 20/1-2.

Byers B.H. (1973)
"Testing proficiency in interpersonal communication", RELC Journal Vol.4, pp.39-47.

Byrne D. (1976)
Teaching oral English. London: Longman.

Byrne D. (1978)
Materials for language teaching: 1 interaction package. London: Modern English Publications.

Byrne D. (1979)
"Maps as a language teaching aid", Modern English Teacher Vol. 6/5.

Campbell R.N. & R. Wales (1975)
"The study of language acquisition", in Lyons J. (ed) 1975).

Campbell R.N. & P.T. Smith (eds) (1978)
Recent advances in the psychology of language: language development and mother-child interaction. N.Y. & London: Plenum Press.

Canale M. & M. Swain (1980)
"Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing", Applied Linguistics Vol. 1/1.

Candlin C.N. (1972)
"Sociolinguistics and communicative language teaching", ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics, Vol.16

Candlin C.N. (1974)
"An approach to treating extratextual function in a language teaching syllabus", in Corder S.P. & E. Roulet (eds) (1974).

Candlin C.N. (1975)   "Some metalinguistic problems in communicative language learning", in Corder S.P. & E. Roulet (eds) 1975.

Candlin C.N. (1976)   "Form, function and strategy: components of communicative course design", Mimeo. University of Lancaster.

Candlin C.N. (1976b)   "Communicative language teaching and the debt to pragmatics", Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, School of Languages and Linguistics, Washington D.C.

Candlin C.N., Leather J.H. & C.Y. Bruton   "Doctors in casualty: Applying communicative competence to components of specialist course design", IRAL, Vol. XIV/3.

Candlin C.N. (1978)   "Discoursal patterning and the equalising of interpretive opportunity", Paper prepared for a conference on English as an International and Auxiliary Language, East-West Culture Learning Institute. The East-West Centre, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 1-15.

Candlin C.N. & M.P. Breen (1979)   "Evaluating and designing language teaching materials", Practical Papers in English Language Education, Vol.2. University of Lancaster.

Carrol J.B. (1980)   Testing communicative performance: An interim study. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Carswell F.A. & R. Rommetveit (eds) (1971)   Social contexts of messages. London: Academic Press.

Cazden C.B. (1967)   "On individual differences in language competence and performance", Journal of Special Education Vol. 1/1.

Cazden C.B. (1970)   "The situation: A neglected source of social class difference in language use, Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 26/2.

Cazden C.B., John V. & D. Hymes (eds) (1972)   Functions of language and the classroom. N.Y.: Teachers College Press.

Chafe W.L. (1972)   "Discourse structure and Human knowledge", in Carrol J.B. & F. Freedle (eds), 1972.

Chandron Craig (1977)   "Descriptive model of discourse in the corrective treatment of learners' errors", Language learning, Vol. 22/2.

Chomsky N. (1965)   Aspects of a theory of syntax. Cambridge, Mass: The M.I.T. Press.

Chomsky N. (1968)   Language and mind. N.Y.: Harcourt, Bruce & World, Inc.

Churchill L. (1978)   Questioning strategies in sociolinguistics. N.Y.: Newbury House.

Cicourel A. (1970)   "The acquisition of social structure: Towards a developmental sociology of language and meaning", in Garfinkel H. & H. Sacks (eds) Contributions in Ethnomethodology, Indiana University Press.

Cicourel A. (1972)   "Basic and normative rules in the negotiation of status and role", in Sudnow D. (ed), 1972.

Cicourel A. (1973)   Cognitive sociology: Language and meaning in social interaction. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Clancy P. (1972)   "Analysis of a conversation", Anthropological Linguistics. Vol XIV/3.

Clark H.H. & S.E. Haviland (1977)   "Comprehension and the given new contract", in Freedle R.O. (ed), 1977.

Clellan S.F. (ed) (1967)   Cross-cultural approaches; Readings in comparative research. New Haven, Conn: HRAF Press.

Cohen A. (1975a)   "Error Analysis and Error Correction with respect to the training of language teachers", Vol. IX, Workpapers in Teaching English as a Second Language, UCLA.

Cohen A. (1975b)   "Error correction and the training of language teachers", Modern Language Journal, Vol. 59/8.

Cohen A. & M. Robbins (1976)   "Towards assessing interlanguage performance: The relationship between selected errors, learner characteristics and learner explanations". Language Learning Vol. 26/1.

Cohen L. & P. Salapatek (eds) (1975) — Infant perception: From semantic to cognition. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Cole P. & J.L. Morgan (eds) (1975) — Syntax and Semantics. Vol.3, Speech Acts. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Cole P. (ed) (1978) — Syntax and Semantics. Vol.9 Pragmatics. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Cole M., Dore J, Hall W. & G. Dowley (1978) — "Situation and task in young children's talk", Discourse Processes Vol.1/2.

Collins O. (1967) — "The elemental processes of simple interaction: A formulation", Human Organization Vol. 26, pp.6-21.

Conolly K. & J.S. Bruner (eds) (1974) — The growth of competence. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Cook V.J. (1969) — "The analogy between first and second language learning", IRAL Vol. 7/3.

Cook V.J. (1973) — "Competence and language processes", mimeo, reprints of AILA/BAAL Seminar. The Communicative Teaching of English, Lancaster University.

Cook V.J. (1977) — "Cognitive processes in second language learning", IRAL Vol. 15/1.

Cook V.J. (1978) — "Second language learning: A psycholinguistic perspective", survey article in Language Teaching and Linguistics: Abstracts Vol. 11/2.

Cook-Gumperz J. (1973) — Social control and socialization: A study of class differences in the language of maternal control. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Cook-Gumperz J. (1975) — "The child as practical reasoner", in Sanches M. & B.G. Blount (eds), 1975.

Cooper R.L. (1970) — "What do we learn when we learn a language?" TESOL Quarterly Vol. 1V/3.

Corder S.P. (1973) — Introducing Applied Linguistics. London: Penguin.

Corder S.P. & E. Roulet (eds) (1974) — Linguistic insights, in Applied Linguistics. Brussels: AIMAV and Paris: Didier.

Corder S.P. & E. Roulet (eds) (1975) — Some implications of linguistic theory for Applied Linguistics. Brussels: AIMAV and Paris: Didier.

Corder S.P. (1975)   "Interpretive procedures: Seeing, reading and understanding discourse", in Corder S.P. & E. Roulet (eds), 1975.

Corder S.P. & E. Roulet (eds) (1977)   The notions of simplification, interlanguages and pidgins and their relation to second language pedagogy. Brussels: AIMAV and Paris: Didier.

Corder S.P. (1977a)   "Language learners' initial heuristic hypothesis", in Studies in Second Language Acquisition, Vol. 1/1, Bllomington: Indiana University.

Corder S.P. (1977b)   "Language teaching and learning: A social encounter", in Brown D., Yorio C. and R. Crymes (eds), 1977.

Corder S.P. (1977c)   "Language continua and the interlanguage hypothesis", in Corder S.P. & E. Roulet (eds), 1977.

Corder S.P. (1978a)   "Learner language and learner talk", Audio-visual Language Journal, Vol. XVI/1.

Corder S.P. (1978b)   "Language distance and the magnitude of the language learning task", in Studies in Second Language Acquisition, Vol. 2/1. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Corsaro W. (1975)   "Sociolinguistic patterns in adult-child interaction", mimeo, paper presented at the 70th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco.

Corsaro W. (1977)   "The clarification request as a feature of adult interactive styles with young children", Language in Society Vol. 6/2.

Coulthard M. (1977)   An introduction to discourse analysis. Longon: Longman.

Crawford J.R. (1977)   "Utterance rules, turn-taking and attitudes in enquiry openers", IRAL Vol. XV/4.

Crick M. (1976)   Explorations in language and meaning: Towards a semantic anthropology. London: Malaby Press.

Criper C. (1975)   "Linguistics, sociolinguistics and current trends in communication based syllabuses", mimeo, paper presented to the 11th Regional Seminar at RELC Singapore.

Cross G.T. (1977)   "Mothers' speech adjustments: the contribution of selected child listener variables", in Snow C. & Ch. Ferguson (eds) 1977.

Curran Ch. (1972)   Counselling learning: A whole-person model for education. N.Y.: Grune & Stratton.

Crystal D. (1974)   Linguistics. London: Penguin.

Dale P. (1976)   Language development: Structure and function. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Danziger K. (1976)   Interpersonal communication. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Dato D. (ed) (1975)   Developmental Psycholinguistics: Theory and Applications. Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, School of Languages and Linguistics, Washington D.C.

Davidson D. & G. Hartman (eds) (1972)   Semantics of Natural Languages. The Hague: Mouton.

Davidson R. (1976)   "The role of metaphor and analogy in learning", in Levin J.R. & V.L. Allen (eds), 1976.

Derrick J. (1976)   The child's acquisition of language. N.Y.: N.F.E.R. Publishing Company.

Deyoe R. (1979)   "Techniques for teaching and evaluating conversational English", ELT Journal Vol. XXXIII/2.

Dickerson L.J. (1975)   "The learner's interlanguage as a system of variable rules", TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 9/4.

Diebold A.R. (1963)   "Code-Switching in Greek-English bilingual speech", Reports of the thirteenth annual round table meetings of linguistics and language study. Georgetown University, Monograph 15, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Dil A. (ed) (1973)

Language acquisition and communicative choice: Essays by S.M. Ervin-Tripp. Stanford University Press.

Disick R. (1975)

Individualising language instruction: Strategies and methods. N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, Inc.

Di Pietro R. (1978)

"Verbal strategies, script theory and conversational performance in ESL", in Blatchford C.H. & J. Schachter (eds), 1978.

Dore J. (1974)

"A pragmatic description of early language development", Journal of Psycholinguistic Research Vol. 3/4.

Dore J. (1975)

"Holophrases, speech acts and language universals" Journal of Child Language, Vol. 2/1.

Dore J. (1978a)

"Requestive systems in the nursery school conversations: Analysis of talk in its social context", in Campbell R. & P. Smith (eds), 1978.

Dore J. (1978b)

"Conditions for the acquisition of speech acts", in Markova I (ed), 1978.

Douglas M. (ed) (1973)

Rules and meanings: The anthropology of everyday knowledge. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Downey M. & A.V. Kelly (1979)

Theory and practice of education: An introduction. London: Harper and Row.

Dubin F. & E. Olshtain (1977)

Facilitating language learning: A guidebook for the ESL/EFL teacher. N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Dulay H. & M. Burt (1972)

"Goofing, an indication of children's second language learning strategies", Language Learning, Vol. 22/2.

Dulay H. & M. Burt (1973)

"Should we teach children syntax?" Language Learning Vol. 23/2.

Dulay H. & M. Burt (1974a)

"Natural sequences in child second language acquisition", Language Learning, Vol. 24/1.

Dulay H. & M. Burt (1974b) 'Errors and strategies in child second language acquisition', <u>TESOL Quarterly,</u> Vol. 8/2.

Dulay H. & M. Burt (1974c) 'A new perspective on the creative construction process in child second language acquisition', <u>Language Learning,</u> Vol. 24/2.

Dulay H. & M. Burt (1975a) "A new approach to discovering universal strategies of child second language acquisition", in Dato D. (ed), 1975.

Dulay H. & M. Burt (1975b) "Creative construction in second language learning and teaching", in Burt M. & H. Dulay (eds), 1975.

Dulay H. & M. Burt (1978) "Some remarks on creativity in language acquisition", in Ritchie W. (ed), 1978.

Duncan, S. Jr. (1972) "Some signals and rules for taking speaking turns in conversation", <u>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,</u> Vol. 23/2.

Duncan S. Jr. (1973) "Toward a grammar for dyadic conversation", <u>Semiotica</u> Vol. IX/1.

Duncan S. Jr. (1974) "On the structure of speaker-auditor interaction during speaking turns", <u>Language in Society,</u> Vol. 3/2.

Emerson J.P. (1969) "Negotiating the serious import of humour", <u>Sociometry,</u> Vol.32, pp.169-181.

Ervin-Tripp S. (1964) "An analysis of the interaction of language, topic and listener", <u>American Anthropologist,</u> Vol.66, pp.86-94. Also in Argyle M. (ed), 1976.

Ervin-Tripp S. (1971) "Sociolinguistics" in Fishman J. (ed) 1971.

Ervin-Tripp S. (1972a) "Sociolinguistic rules of address", in Pride J.B. & J. Holmes (eds), 1972.

Ervin-Tripp S. (1972b) "On sociolinguistic rules: Alternation and Co-occurrence", in Gumperz J. & D. Hymes (eds), 1972.

Ervin-Tripp S. (1974) "Is second language learning like the first?" <u>TESOL Quarterly,</u> Vol. 8/2. Also in Hatch E. (ed), 1978.

Ervin-Tripp S. (1976) "Is Sybil there? The structure of American directives", <u>Language in Society,</u> Vol. 5/1

Ervin-Tripp S. & C. Mitch-   Child discourse: Language, thought
chell-Kernan (eds) (1977)   and culture. Advances in the study
                               of cognition. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Ervin-Tripp S. (1978)   "Some features of early child-adult
                               dialogues", Language in Society,
                               Vol. 7/3.

Fanselow J.F. & R.H. Crymes   On TESOL '76, Washington, D.C.
(eds) (1976)

Fanselow J.F. & R.L. Light   Bilingual, ESOL and foreign-language
(eds) (1977)   teacher preparation: Models, prac-
                               tices, issues. TESOL, Washington,
                               D.C.

Farid A. (1978)   Developing the listening and speaking
                               skills, ELT Journal, Vol. XXXIII/1.

Fasold R.W. (1975)   "Review of J.L. Dillard's "Black Eng-
                               lish: Its history and usage in the
                               United States. N.Y.: Random House,
                               1972", Language in Society, Vol.4/2.

Fasold R.W. & R.W. Shuy   Studies in Language Variations:
(eds) (1977)   Semantics, Syntax, Phonology, Prag-
                               matics, Social Situations, Ethno-
                               graphic Approaches. Georgetown
                               University School of Languages and
                               Linguistics. Georgetown University
                               Press.

Fathman A.K. (1978)   "ESL and EFL learning: Similar or
                               dissimilar?" in Blatchford C. &
                               J. Schachter (eds), 1978.

Fielding G. & C. Fraser   "Language and interpersonal relations",
(1978)   in Markovà I (ed), 1978.

Fillmore Ch. J. (1973)   "May we come in?" Semiotica, Vol.9/1.

Fillmore L.W. (1976)   "Individual differences in second lang-
                               uage acquisition", mimeo. Asilomar
                               Conference on Individual Differences
                               in Language Ability and Language Be-
                               haviour, 1976, U.S.A.

Fine J. (1978)   "Conversation, cohesive and thematic
                               patterning in children's dialogues",
                               Discourse Processes Vol. 1/3.

Firth J.R. (1957a)   Personality and Language in society.
                               Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951.
                               In memory of J.R. Firth. London:
                               Oxford University Press.

Firth J.R. (1957b)   "The techniques of semantics", op. cit.

Fishman J. (ed) (1968)   A reader in the sociology of language. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman J.A. (1971)   "The sociology of language: An inter-disciplinary social science approach to language in society", in Fishman J. (ed), 1971.

Fishman J.A. (ed) (1971)   Advances in the Sociology of Language. Vol. I. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman J.A. (ed) (1972)   Advances in the Sociology of Language. Vol. II. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman J.A. (1974)   "The relationship between micro- and macro-sociolinguistics in the study of who speaks what language to whom and where", in Pride J.B. & J. Holmes (eds), 1974.

Ferguson C. (1976)   "The structure and use of politeness formulae", Language in Society, Vol. 5/2.

Flanders N.A. (1965)   Teacher influence, pupil attitudes and achievement: Studies in interaction analysis, Co-operative Research Monographs No.12, U.S. Government Printing Office.

Flanders N.A. (1970)   Analysing teaching behaviour. Reading, Mass: Addison Wesley.

Flavel J. et al. (1968)   The development of communication and role-taking skills in children. N.Y.: Wiley & Sons.

Fox J. (1978)   "TELEFUN: A pragmatic approach to functional learning materials development", TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 12/3.

Frake C.O. (1964)   "How to ask for a drink in Subanun", American Anthropologist, Vol. 66/6. Also in Pride J.B. & J. Holmes (eds), 1974.

Francis H. (1979)   "What does the child mean? A critique of the functional approach to language acquisition", Journal of Child Language, Vol. 6/2.

Freedle R.O. & J.B. Carrol (eds) (1972)   Language comprehension and the acquisition of knowledge. Washington, D.C.: V.H. Winston & Sons.

Freedle R.O. (ed) (1977) Discourse production and comprehension. Vol.1. In the series Discourse Processes: Advances in Research and Theory. N.Y.: Ablex Publishing Co.

Freedle R. & M. Lewis (1977) "Prelinguistic Conversations", in Lewis M. & L.A. Rosenblum (eds), 1977.

Freudenstein R. (ed) (1979) Teaching foreign languages to the very young, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Fried V. (ed) (1972) The Prague School of Linguistics and Language Teaching. London: Oxford University Press.

Fromberg D. (1976) "Syntax model games and language in early education", Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, Vol. 5/3.

Gagné R.M. (1975) Essentials of learning for instruction. N.Y.: Dryden Press.

Gaies S.J. (1977) "The nature of linguistic input in formal second language learning: linguistic and communicative strategies in ESL, teachers' classroom language", in Brown D., Yorio C. & R. Crymes (eds), 1977.

Gardner R.D. & W.E. Lambert (1972) Attitudes and motivation in second language learning. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Gardner R.V. & P.C. Smythe (1975) "Motivation and second language acquisition", Canadian Modern Language Review, Vol. 31/2.

Garfinkel A. & St. Hamilton (1976) Designs for foreign language teacher education. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Garfinkel A. (1967) Studies in Ethnomethodology. N.Y.: Prentice Hall.

Garfinkel H. & H. Sacks (eds) (1970) Contributions in Ethnomethodology. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Garfinkel H. (1972a) "Studies in the routine grounds of everyday activities", in Sudnow D. (ed), 1972.

Garfinkel H. (1972b) "Remarks on Ethnomethodology", in Gumperz J. & D. Hymes (eds), 1972.

Garvey C. (1975) 'Requests and responses in children's speech', Journal of Child Language, Vol.2/1.

Garvey C. (1977) "The contingent query: A dependent act in conversation", in Lewis M. & L.A. Rosenblum (eds), 1977.

Garvey C. & M. BenDebla 'An experimental investigation of contingent query sequences', Discourse Processes, Vol.1/1.

Garvie Ed. (1976) Break through to fluency: English as a second language for young children. Oxford: Basic Blackwell.

Geddes M. & G. Sturtridge (1978) 'Jigsaw listening and oral communication', Modern English Teacher, Vol. 6/1.

Geddes M. & R. White (1978) "The use of semi-scripted simulated authentic speech and listening comprehension", Audio-Visual Language Journal, Vol. XVI/3.

van der Geest T. (1979) "Some interactional aspects of language acquisition", in Snow C. & Ch. Ferguson (eds), 1977.

Gibson R.E. (1975) "The strip story, a catalyst for communication", TESOL Quarterly, Vol.9/1.

Giglioli P. (ed) Language and social context. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Gleason J.B. & S. Weintraub (1976) The acquisition of routines in child language "Trick or Treat", Language in Society, Vol. 5/2.

Gleason J.B. (1977) "Talking to children: Some notes on feedback", in Snow C. & Ch. Ferguson (eds), 1977.

Giunchi P. (1978) 'Understanding spoken discourse in a second or foreign language: Pedagogical considerations', ILT: Review of Applied Linguistics, Vol.41-42.

Goethals M. (1978) "Role-play in foreign language teaching. A description of the teaching strategy", ILT: Review of Applied Linguistics, Vol.41-42.

Goffman E. (1955) "On Face-work: An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction", Psychiatry, Vol. 18, pp.213-231. Also extract in Laver J. & S. Hutcheson (eds), 1972.

Goffman E. (1957)   'Alienation from interaction', Human Relations, Vol. 10.   Also extract in Laver J. & S. Hutcheson (eds), 1972.

Goffman E. (1959/1972)   The presentation of self in every-day life. London: Pelican (1972 Edition).

Goffman E. (1961)   Encounters: Two studies in the socio-logy of interaction. N.Y.: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc.

Goffman E. (1964)   "The neglected situation", American Anthropologist, Vol. 66/6. Also extract in Giglioli P. (ed), 1976.

Goffman E. (1971)   Relations in Public: Microstudies of the public order. N.Y.: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press. Also extract in Argyle M. (ed), 1973.

Goffman E. (1975)   Frame analysis. Harmondsworth: Peregrine Books.

Goffman E. (1976)   "Replies and responses", Language in Society. Vol. 5/3.

Goldberg J.A. (1975)   "A system of transfer of instructions in natural settings", Semiotica Vol. 14/3.

Goldman-Eisler F. (1968)   Psycholinguistics: Experiments in spontaneous speech. London & N.Y.: Academic Press.

Good C.H. (1977)   "Some structural aspects of casual conversation", UEA Papers in Linguistics (Norwish), Vol.4, (1977).

Goodenough W.H. (1965)   "Rethinking "status" and "role": toward a general model of the cultural organ-isation of social relationships", in Bouton M. (ed) Relevance of models for Social Anthropology. Praeger, 1965.

Goody E. (ed) (1978)   Questions and Politeness: Strategies in social interaction. London: Cambridge University Press.

Gordon D. & G. Lakoff (1975) "Conversational postulates", in Cole P. & J. Morgan (eds), 1975.

Greene J. (1975)   Thinking and language, London: Methuen.

Greenfield P.M. & J. Smith (1976) — The structure of communication in early language development: The child psychology series. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Grice H.P. (1968) — "Utterer's meaning, sentence meaning and word meaning", Foundations of Language, Vol.4, pp.225-242.

Grice H.P. (1975) — "Logic and conversation", in Cole P. & J.L. Morgan (eds), 1975.

Grimshaw A. (1977) — "A sociolinguist's point of view", in Snow C. and Ch. Ferguson (eds), 1977.

Guiora A.Z. et al. (1973) — "Language and person: Studies in language behaviours", Language Learning, Vol. 25/1.

Gumperz J.J. & D. Hymes (eds) (1964) — "The ethnography of communication', American Anthropologist Special Publication, 66(2).

Gumperz J.J. (1965) — Linguistic repertoire, grammars and second language instruction. Monograph series on Language and Linguistics 18, Georgetown University, Washington D.C.

Gumperz J.J. (1968) — "The speech community", in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, pp.381-6, Macmillan. Also in Giglioli P. (ed), 1972.

Gumperz J.J. (1970) — Sociolinguistics and communication in small groups. Working paper No.33, Language Behaviour Research Laboratory, 1970, University of Calif., Berkeley. Also in Pride J.B. & J. Holmes, 1972.

Gumperz J.J. (1972) — "On the communicative competence of bilinguals: Some hypotheses and suggestions for further research". Language in Society, Vol. 1/1.

Gumperz J.J. & J.P. Blom (1972) — "Social meaning in linguistic structures: Code-switching in Norway", in Gumperz J.J. and D. Hymes (eds), 1972.

Gumperz J.J. & D. Hymes (eds) (1972) — Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Gumperz J.J. and E. Hera-simchuk (1975)
"The conversational analysis of social meaning: A study of classroom interaction", in Sanches M. & B. Blount (eds), 1975)

Gumperz J.J. (1977)
"The conversational analysis of interethnic communication", in Lomar Ross E. (ed), Interethnic communication: Proceedings of the Southern Anthropological Society, Atlanta: University of Georgia Press.

Gurney R. (1973)
Language, brain and interaction processes. London: Arnold.

Gustar J. (1978)
"Cross-cultural perspectives", in Tajfel H. & C. Fraser (eds), 1978.

Hall E.T. (1963)
"A system for the notation of proxemic behaviour", American Anthropologist, Vol. 65, pp.1003-26. Also extract in Laver J. & S. Hutcheson (eds), 1972.

Halliday M.A.K. (1961)
"Categories of theory of grammar", Word Vol. 17/3.

Halliday M.A.K. (1967-8)
"Notes on transitiority and theme". Journal of Linguistics, Part I, Vol. 3/1; Part II, Vol. 3/2; Part III, Vol. 4/2.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1975a)
"Language structure and language function", in Lyons J. (ed), 1975.

Halliday M.A.K. (1975b)
Learning how to mean: Explorations in the functions of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday M.A.K., A. & R. Hasan (1976)
Cohesion in English, London: Longman.

Halliday M.A.K. (1978)
Language as a social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning. London: Edward Arnold.

Hamayan E.V. & G.R. Tucker (1979)
"Strategies in communication used by native and non-native speakers of French", Working papers on Bilingualism No.17.

Hamlyn D.W. (1970)
The theory of knowledge. London: Macmillan.

Hanzeli V. (1975)
"Learner's language: Implications of recent research", Modern Language Journal, Vol LIX/8.

Harris R. (1974)   "Effects of non-linguistic knowledge
                                    on language production", Journal of
                                    Psycholinguistic Research Vol. 3/4.

Harvey O.J. (ed) (1963)   Motivation and social interaction.
                                    N.Y.: Ronald Press.

Hatch E. (1974)   "Second language learning - univer-
                                    sals", Working papers on biling-
                                    ualism, Vol. 3, pp.1-17.

Hatch E. (1976a)   "The metalinguistic awareness of
                                    child second language learners",
                                    Paper for the USC-UCLA Second
                                    Language Acquisition Forum.

Hatch E. (1976b)   "Discourse analysis, speech acts
                                    and second language acquisition",
                                    in Ritchie W. (ed), 1978.

Hatch E., Shapira R. &   "Foreigner-talk discourse", ITL:
Gough J. (1978)   Review of Applied Linguistics,
                                    Vol.39-40.

Hatch E. (ed) (1978)   Second language acquisition: A
                                    book of readings. N.Y.: Newbury
                                    House.

Hatch E. (1978a)   "Discourse analysis and second
                                    language acquisition", in Hatch E.
                                    (ed), 1978.

Hatch E. (1978b)   "Apply with caution", in Studies in
                                    Second Language Acquisition, Vol.
                                    2/1. Bloomington: Indiana Uni-
                                    versity Press, 1978.

Hayes J. (ed) (1970)   Cognition and the development of
                                    language, N.Y.: John Wiley and
                                    Sons.

Hermann G. (1979)   "Some sociopsychological concepts
                                    and their implications for the
                                    individual learner", Views of Lang-
                                    uage and Language Teaching,
                                    Vol. 5/2.

Hill C.P. (1977)   "Review of Van Ek's threshold level",
                                    ELT Journal Vol. 31/4.

Hill L.A. & M. Dobbyn (1979)   A teacher training course for teach-
                                    ers of EFL. London: Cassel.

Holden S. (ed) (1978)   Visual aids for classroom inter-
                                    action. London: Modern English
                                    Publications.

Holzman M. (1972)   "The use of interrogative forms in
                      the verbal interaction of three
                      mothers and their children",
                      Journal of Psycholinguistic
                      Research Vol. 1/4.

Holzman M. (1974)   'The verbal environment provided by
                      mothers for their very young chil-
                      dren", Merrill Palmer Quarterly,
                      Vol.20, pp.31-42.

Hornby P.A. (ed) (1977)   Bilingualism: Psychological,
                          social, educational implications.
                          N.Y.: Academic Press.

Hymes D. (ed) (1964) Language in culture and society: A
                      reader in linguistics and anthro-
                      pology. N.Y.: Harper and Row.

Hymes D. (1964/1976) 'Toward ethnographics in communica-
                      tion: The analysis of communica-
                      tive events", American Anthropolo-
                      gist, Vol.66/6. Also in Giglioli P.
                      (ed), 1976.

Hymes D. (1971)   "Introduction to language in society",
                      Language in Society. Vol.1/1.

Hymes D. (1971/1972a) On communicative competence. Phila-
                      delphia: University of Philadelphia
                      Press. Also extract in Pride J.B. &
                      J. Holmes, (eds), 1972.

Hymes D. (1972b)   'Models of the interaction of language
                      and social life', in Gumperz J. &
                      Hymes D. (eds), 1972.

Hymes D. (1972c)   'Introduction to 'Functions of lang-
                      uage in classroom'", in Cazden C.,
                      John V. & D. Hymes (eds), 1972.

Jakobovits L.A. (1969)   "Second language learning and transfer
                          theory", Language Learning Vol.19/1.

Jakobovits L.A. (1970)   Foreign language learning: A psycho-
                          linguistic analysis of the issues.
                          N.Y.: Newbury House.

Jakobovits L.A. (1971)   "Implications of recent psycholing-
                          uistic developments for the teach-
                          ing of a second language', in Lung-
                          ton R. & C. Heinle (eds), 1971.

Jakobovits L. & B. Gordon The context of foreign language
(1974)   teaching. N.Y.: Newbury House.

Jacobs R. & P. Rosenbaum (eds) (1970) — Readings in English transformational grammar. U.S.A., Ginn & Company.

Jakobson R. (1960) — "Linguistics and Poetics", in Sebeok T.A. (ed), 1960. Also extract in Allen J.P.B. & S.P. Corder (eds), 1973. Vol. I.

Jefferson G. (1972) — "Side sequences", in Sudnow D. (ed), 1972.

Jefferson G. (1973) — 'A case of precision timing in ordinary conversation: overlapped tag positioned address terms in closing sequences", Semiotica Vol. 9/1.

Jefferson G. (1974) — "Error correction as an interactional resource", Language in Society, Vol. 3/2.

Johnson K. & K. Morrow (1976) — "Meeting some social language needs of overseas students", ETIC/ELT Documents (1976/2).

Johnson K. (1978) — "Syllabus design and the adult beginner", Modern English Teacher Vol. 6/2.

Johnson R. (1976) — "Two realms and a joke: Bisociation theories of joking", Semiotica Vol. 16/3.

Joos M. (1962) — The five clocks. N.Y.: Harbinger Books.

Jupp T. et al (1980) — Encounters. London: Heinemann.

Inhelder B. & A. Karmiloff-Smith (1978) — "Thought and Language", in Presseisen B.Z., Goldstein D., & M.H. Appel (eds), 1978.

Ingram J.B. (1979) — Curriculum integration and lifelong education. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Karmilloff-Smith A. (1979) — A functional approach to child language: A study of determiners and reference. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kearsley G. (1976)   "Questions and question asking in verbal discourse: A cross-disciplinary review", Journal of Psycholinguistic Research Vol. 5/4.

Keenan O.E. (1974)   Conversational competence in children", Journal of Child Language, Vo. 1/1.

Keenan O.E. & E. Klein (1975)   "Coherency in children's discourse", Journal of Psycholinguistic Research Vol. 4/4.

Keenan O.E. (1977a)   "The universality of conversational implicatures", in Fasold R.W. & R.W. Shuy (eds), 1977.

Keenan O.E. (1977b)   "Making it last: Repetition in children's discourse", in Ervin-Tripp S. & C. Mitchell-Kernan (eds), 1977.

Keller-Cohen D. (1976)   "Repetition in the non-native acquisition of discourse", paper presented at Child Language Research Forum, Standford, Calif. 1976.

Keller-Cohen D. (1979)   "Systematicity and variation in the non-native child's acquisition of conversational skills", Language Learning Vol. 29/2.

Kellerman E. (1977)   "Towards a characterization of the strategy of transfer in second language learning", in the Interlanguage Studies Bulletin - Utrecht: A journal of language pedagogy, Jan. 1977.

Kellerman E. (1978)   "Giving learners a break: native language intuitions as a source of predictions about transferability", Working papers on Bilingualism Vol. 15.

Kempson R. (1973)   "Presupposition: A problem for linguistic theory", Transactions of the Philological Society, 1973, 29-54.

Kennedy G. (1975)   "Conditions for language learning", in Oller J. & J. Richards (eds), 1975.

Kessen W. & K. Nelson (1978)   "What the child brings to language",
                               in Presseissen B.Z. et al. (eds),
                               1978.

Kettering J. (1975)   Developing communicative compe-
                               tence: Interaction activities
                               in English as a second language.
                               Pittsburgh: University of Pitts-
                               burgh Press.

Kimball M.C. & A.S. Palmer   "The dialog game: A prototypical
(1978)   activity for providing proper
                               intake in formal instruction",
                               TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 12/1.

Kjolseth R. (1972)   "Making sense: Natural language
                               and shared knowledge in under-
                               standing", in Fishman J. (ed),
                               1972.

Kleinmann H. (1978)   "The strategy of avoidance in
                               adult second language acquisi-
                               tion", in Ritchie W. (ed), 1978.

Klima E.S. (1964)   "Relatedness between grammatical
                               systems", Language, Vol. 40/1.

Kolers P. (1973)   "Translation and bilingualism",
                               in Miller G. (ed), 1973.

Kowal S., O'Connell D. &   "Development of Temporal pattern-
E. Slobin (1975)   ing and vocal hesitations in
                               spontaneous narratives", Journal
                               of Psycholinguistic Research,
                               Vol. 4/3.

Krashen S.D. (1976)   "Formal and informal learning
                               environments in language acqui-
                               sition and language learning",
                               TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 10/2.

Krashen S.D. (1977a)   "Some issues relating to the moni-
                               tor model", in Brown D., Yorio C.
                               & R. Crymes (eds), 1977.

Krashen S.D. (1977b)   "The monitor model for adult se-
                               cond language performance", in
                               Burt M., Dulay H. & M. Finno-
                               chiaro (eds), 1977.

Krashen S.D. (1978)   "Individual variation in the use
                               of the monitor", in Ritchie W.
                               (ed), 1978.

Kreckel M. (1978)   "Communicative acts: A semio-
                               logical approach to the empirical
                               analysis of filmed interaction",
                               Semiotica, Vol. 24/1-2.

Kuno S. & E. Kaburaki (1977)   'Empathy and syntax", _Linguistic Inquiry_, Vol. 8/4.

Labov W. (1965)   "Stages in the acquisition of Standard English", in Shuy R. (ed), 1965.

Labov W. (1968)   "The reflection of social process-es in linguistic structures", in Fishman J. (ed), 1968.

Labov W. (1969)   "The logic of non-standard English", in _Georgetown Monographs of Language and Linguistics_, Vol.22. Also in Giglioli, P. (ed), 1976.

Labov W. (1972a)   "The study of language in its social context", in Labov W., 1972b. Also extract in Pride J.B. & J. Holmes (eds), 1972.

Labov W. (1972b)   _Sociolinguistic Patterns_. Phila-delphia: University of Pennsyl-vania Press.

Labov W. (1972c)   "Rules for ritual insults", in Sud-now D. (ed), 1972.

Labov W. (1972d)   "On the mechanism of linguistic change", in Gumperz J.J. & D. Hymes (eds), 1972.

Labov W. & D. Fanshel (1977)   _Therapeutic discourse: Psycho-therapy as conversation_. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Lakoff G. (1972)   "Linguistics and natural logic", in Davidson D. & G. Harman (eds), 1972.

Lakoff R. (1970)   "Tense and its relation to parti-cipants", _Language_, Vol. 46/4.

Lakoff R. (1972)   "Language in context". _Language_, Vol. 48/4.

Lange D. (ed) (1974)   _Individualization of instruction_. The ACTFL Review of Foreign Lang-uage Education, Vol. 2., Nation-al Book Company.

Larsen-Freeman D. (1977)   "A rationale for discourse analysis in second language acquisition research", in Brown D., Yorio C. & R. Crymes (eds), 1977.

Larsen-Freeman D. (ed) (1980)   Discourse analysis in second language research, N.Y.: Newbury House.

Laver J. & S. Hutcheson (eds) (1972)   Communication in face to face interaction. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Lawton D. et al. (1978)   Theory and practice of curriculum studies. London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.

Leavitt H. & R.A.H. Mueller (1951)   "Some effects of feedback on communication", Human Relations, Vol. 4, pp.401-410. Also in Smith A. (ed), 1966.

Leech G. (1969)   Towards a semantic description of English. London: Longman.

Leech G. (1977)   "Language and tact", LAUT University of Trier Series A, Paper 46, 1977.

Leeson R. (1975)   Fluency and language teaching. London: Longman.

Lenneberg E. (1967)   Biological foundations of language. N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons.

Lester M. (ed) (1970)   Readings in applied transformational grammar. N.Y.: Holt Rinehart and Winton.

Levin J.R. & V.L. Allen (eds) (1976)   Cognitive learning and children: Theories and strategies. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Levin J.R. (1976)   "What have we learned about maximizing what children learn?", in Levin J.R. & V.L. Allen (eds), 1976.

Levine J. (1976)   "Some sociolinguistic parameters for analysis of language-learning materials", IRAL, Vol. XIV/1.

Levinson S.C. (1980)   "Speech act theory: The state of the art", Language Teaching and Linguistics Abstract, Vol. 13/1.

Lewis G.E. & C.E. Massad (1975)   The teaching of English as a foreign language in ten countries. International Studies in Evaluation IV. Stockholm, Sweden: Alinquist & Wiksell International.

Lewis M. & L. Cherry (1977)   "Social behaviour and language
                               acquisition", in Lewis M. &
                               L.A. Rosenblum (eds), 1977.

Lewis M. & L.A. Rosenblum   Interaction, conversation and
(eds) (1977)   the development of language.
                              N.Y.:   John Wiley & Sons.

Lieven E. (1978)   'Turn-taking and pragmatics: Two
                              issues in early child language",
                              in Campbell R.N. and P.T. Smith
                              (eds), 1978.

Linde Ch. & A.W. Labov   "Spatial networks as a site for
(1975)   the study of language and thought",
                              Language Vol. 51/4.

Lindenfeld J. (1972)   "The social conditioning of Syntac-
                              tic Variation in French", in Fish-
                              man J. (ed), 1972.

Lindenfeld J. (1978)   "Communicative patterns at French
                              market places", Semiotica Vol.
                              23/3-4.

Littlewood W.T. (1975)   The acquisition of communicative
                              competence in an artificial envi-
                              ronment. PRAXIS, 1975.

Littlewood W.T. (1978a)   Communicative language teaching.
                              Audio-Visual Language Journal,
                              Vol. 16/3.

Littlewood W.T. (1978b)   Oral communication ability. Mo-
                              dern Languages, Vol. LIX/1.

Littlewood W.T. (1979)   Communicative performance in lang-
                              uage-developmental contexts IRAL,
                              Vol. XVII/2.

Littlewood W.T. (1981)   Communicative language teaching.
                              N.Y.:   Cambridge University Press.

Litowitz B. (1977)   Learning to make definitions.
                              Journal of Child Language, Vol.
                              4/2.

Logan G. (1975)   Individualized foreign language
                              learning: An organic process.
                              N.Y.:   Newbury House.

Long M. (1975)   "Group work and communicative com-
                              petence in the ESOL classroom",
                              in Burt M. and H. Dulay (eds),
                              1975.

Long M.H. (1976) "Encouraging language acquisition by adults in a formal instructional setting", The British Council: ETIC/ELT Documents 1976/3.

Long M.H., Adams L., McLean M. & F.Z. Castanos (1976) 'Doing things with words - Verbal interaction in lockstep and small group classroom situation", in Fanselow J.F., R.H. Crymes (eds), On TESOL 1976, Washington D.C., 1976.

Long M.H. & F.Z. Castanos (1976) "Towards non-interference: Making second language learning more like the first", MEXTESOL Journal, Vol. 1/1.

Long M.H. (1977) "Teacher feedback on learner error: Mapping cognition", in Brown D., Yorio D. & A.R. Crymes (eds), 1977.

Lungton R. & C. Heinle (eds) (1971) Toward a cognitive approach to second language acquisition. Philadelphia: The Center for Curriculum Development, Inc.

Lunzer E.A. (1978) "Formal reasoning: a reappraisal", in Presseisen B.Z., Goldstein D. & M.H. Applel (eds), 1978.

Lyons J. (1969) Introduction to theoretical linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lyons J. (ed) (1975) New horizons in linguistics: Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Mackay R.W. (1974) "Conceptions of children and models of socialization", in Turner R. (ed), 1974.

Maclay M. & C. Osgood (1959) "Hesitation phenomena in spontaneous speech", Word, Vol. 15/1.

Macnamara J. (1972) Cognitive basis of language learning in infants. Psychological Review. Vol. 79/1.

Macnamara J. (1973a) "Attitudes and learning a second language", in Shuy R.W. & R.W. Fasold (eds), 1973.

Macnamara J. (1973b)   "The cognitive strategies of language learning", in Oller J. & Richards J. (eds), 1973.

Maley A. & A. Duff (1978)   Drama techniques in language learning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Malzone D. & E. Parker, 1979   "Question form analysis in discourse agreement between a mother and a language-learning child", Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, Vol. 8/1.

Markova I. (ed) (1978)   The social context of language. N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons.

Marcel A.J. & P.A. Carpenter (1977)   Cognitive process in comprehension. N.Y.: Lawrence Erlbawm Associates, distributed by John Wiley & Sons.

Mathiot M. & P.L. Garvin (1977)   "The functions of language: A sociocultural view", Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. 48/1.

Melia P.J. (1976)   An examination of the principles of the 'Notional Syllabus' in relation to practical foreign language teaching need, MA (Educ) thesis, Institute of Education, University of London.

Merritt M. (1976)   "On questions following questions in service encounters", Language in Society, Vol. 5/3.

Millar F. & L.E. Rogers (1976)   "A relational approach to interpersonal communication", in Miller G.R. (ed), 1976.

Miller G.A. (ed) (1973)   Communication, language and meaning: Psychological perspectives. N.Y.: Basic Books, Inc.

Miller G.A. (1974)   "Psychology, language and levels of communication", in Silverstein A. (ed), 1974.

Miller G.R. (ed) (1976)   Explorations in interpersonal communication, Vol. V. Sage Annual Reviews on Communication Research. N.Y.: Sage Publications.

Minsky M. (1975)

"A framework for representing knowledge", in Winston P. (ed), 1975.

Mishler E.G. (1972)

"Implications of teacher strategies for language and cognition: Observations in first-grade classrooms", in Cazden G., John V. & D. Hymes (eds), 1972.

Mishler E.G. (1975a)

"An exponential law of successive questioning", Language in Society, Vol. 4/1.

Misler E.G. (1975b)

"Studies in dialogue and discourse II: Types of discourse initiated by and sustained through questioning", Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, Vol. 4/2.

Moerk E. (1972)

"Principles of interaction in language learning", Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, Vol. 18/3.

Moerk E. (1974)

"Changes in verbal child-mother interactions with increasing language skill of the child", Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, Vol. 3/2.

Moerk E. (1975)

"Verbal interactions between children and their mothers during the pre-school years", Developmental Psychology, Vol. 11/4.

Moerk E. (1976)

"Processes of language teaching and training in the interactions of mother-child dyads", Child Development, Vol. 46.

Moerk E. (1977)

Pragmatic and semantic aspects of early language development. N.Y.: University Park Press.

Moerman M. (1973)

"The use of precedent in natural conversation: A study in the practical legal reasoning", Semiotica, Vol IX/3.

Mohan B.A. (1974)

"Do sequencing rules exist?" Semiotica, Vol. XII/1.

Moore T. (ed) (1973)

Cognitive development and the acquisition of language. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Morrow K. (1979)   "Asking questions', ELT Journal,
                                Vol. XXXIII/2.

Moscovinci S. (ed) (1972)   The psychosociology of language.
                                Chicago: Markham Publishing Co.

Moskowitz G. (1968)   "The effects of training foreign
                                language teachers in interaction
                                analysis", Foreign Language
                                Annals, Vol. 1/3.

McCawley J. (1968)   "The role of semantics in grammar",
                                in Bach E. & R. Harms (eds),
                                1968.

McHugh P. (1968)   Defining the situation: The org-
                                anization of meaning in social
                                interaction. Indianapolis:
                                Bobbs-Merrill.

McGinnies E. (1974)   "Communication viewed as social
                                control", in Silverstein A. (ed),
                                1974.

McKellar P. (1971)   Experience and behaviour. London:
                                Pelican.

McKnight A.C. (1976)   Large group conversation: Problems
                                for discourse analysis. Unpublish-
                                ed MA thesis. Linguistics Depart-
                                ment, University of Lancaster.

McTear M. (1975a)   "Potential sources of confusion
                                in foreign language lessons: The
                                rules of the game", paper present-
                                ed at the 4th International Con-
                                gress of Applied Linguistics,
                                Stuttgart, August, 1975.

McTear M. (1975b)   Structure and categories of for-
                                eign language teaching sequences,
                                mimeo, University of Essex.

McTear M. (1975c)   "Teaching as Negotiation", mimeo,
                                Presented at AILA Congress, 1975.

McTear M. (1979)   "Systemic-functional grammar: Some
                                implications for language teach-
                                ing", IRAL, Vol. XVII/2.

Naiman N., Frolich M. &   "The good language learner", Toronto:
H. Stern (1975)   Ontario Institute for Studies in
                                Education.

Nation P. (1976)   "Language teaching techniques",
                          English Language Institute,
                          Victory University of Welling-
                          ton, New Zealand.

Nation P. (1979)   "The combining arrangement: Some
                          techniques", English Teaching
                          Forum, Vol. XVII/1.

Nelson K. (1973)   "Structure and strategy in learn-
                          ing to talk", Monographs of the
                          Society for research in Child
                          Development, Vol. 44, pp.182-5,
                          1973.

Neutupny, Jiri (1968)   "Politeness patterns in the system
                          of communication", Proceedings in
                          the Eighth International Congress
                          of Anthropological and Ethno-
                          logical Sciences, Tokyo and Kyoto.

Newmark L. (1966)   "How not to interfere with language
                          learning", International Journal
                          of American Linguistics, Vol. 32/1.
                          Reprinted in Lester M. (ed), 1970.

Newmark L. & D. Riebel (1968) "Necessity and sufficiency in lang-
                          uage learning", IRAL, Vol. 6/2.
                          Reprinted in Lester M. (ed), 1970.

Ney J.W. (1974)   "Contradiction in theoretical
                          approaches to the teaching of for-
                          eign languages", Modern Language
                          Journal, Vol. 58/2.

Oller Jr., J.W. (1971a)   "Language use and foreign language
                          learning", IRAL, Vol. 9/2.

Oller Jr., J.W. (1971b)   "Transfer and interference as spe-
                          cial cases of induction and sub-
                          stitution", UCLA Workpapers in
                          TESL, Vol. V.

Oller Jr., J.W. & J.C. Rich- Focus on the learner: Pragmatic
ards (eds) (1973)   perspectives for the language
                          teacher. N.Y.: Newbury House.

Oller Jr., J.W. (1974)   "Expectancy for successive elements:
                          Key ingredients to language use",
                          Foreign Language Annals, Vol. 7/4.

Oller Jr., J.W. (1979)   Language tests at school. London:
                          Longman.

Osgood C.E. (1971)   "Where do sentences come from?", in
                          Steinberg D.D. and L.A. Jakobo-
                          vits (eds), 1971.

Osgood C.E., May W.H. & M.S. Moron (1975)   Cross-cultural universals of affective meanings. Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press.

Osgood C.E. (1976)   Explorations in semantic studies: Focus on meaning. Vol. I. Explorations in Semantic Space. The Hague & Paris: Mouton.

Palmer A. (1970)   "Teaching Communication", Language Learning, Vol. 20/1.

Palmer A. (1971)   "Communication versus pattern practice, or a live teacher is absolutely necessary", English Teaching Forum, Vol. 9/4.

Papaefthymiou-Lytra S.C. (1977a)   A problem-solving conversation between two non-native speakers. Error Analysis Project. Linguistics Dept., University of Lancaster.

Papaefthymiou-Lytra S.C. (1977b)   English language development of a five-year-old-non-native speaker child. Psycholinguistics Project, Linguistics Dept., University of Lancaster.

Paulston C.B. & M N. Bruder (1976)   Teaching English as a second language: Techniques and procedures: Cambridge, Mass: Wintrhop Publishers, Inc.

Paulston C.B.   "Developing communicative competence: Goals, procedures and techniques", MEXTESOL Journal, Vol. 1/1.

Papalia A. (1976)   Learner-centred language teaching: Methods and materials. N.Y.: Newbury House.

Pearce B.W. (1976)   "The coordinated management of meaning: A rule-based theory of interpersonal communication", in Miller G. (ed), 1976.

Peck S. (1978)   "Child-child discourse in second language acquisition", in Hatch E. (ed), 1978.

Perfetti C.A. & S.R. Goldman (1975)   "Discourse functions of thematization and topicalization", Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, Vol. 4/3.

Piaget J. (1954)   <u>The construction of reality in</u>
                                    <u>the child.</u> N.Y.: Basic Books.

Piaget J. (1970)   <u>Genetic epistemology.</u> N.Y.:
                                    Columbia University Press.

Piaget J. & B. Inhelder   <u>Mental imagery in the child.</u>
(1971)   N.Y.: Basic Books.

Pike K. (1966)   "Etic and emic standpoints for
                                    the description of behaviour",
                                    in Smith A. (ed), 1966.

Pimsleur P. & T. Quinn (eds)   <u>The psychology of second language</u>
(1971)   <u>learning.</u> Cambridge: Cambridge
                                    University Press.

Philips S.U. (1972)   "Participant structures and commu-
                                    nicative competence: Warm Springs
                                    children in community and class-
                                    room", in Cazden C., John V. &
                                    D. Hymes (eds), 1972.

Presseisen B.Z., Goldstein   <u>Topics in cognitive development:</u>
D. & M.H. Appel (1978)(eds)   <u>Vol. 2. Language and Operation-</u>
                                    <u>al Thought.</u> N.Y.: Plenum Press.

Pride J.B. (1973)   "An approach to the (socio) ling-
                                    uistics of commands and requests
                                    in English", <u>Archivum Linguis-</u>
                                    <u>ticum,</u> Vol. 4/1.

Pride J.B. & J. Homes (eds)   <u>Sociolinguistics.</u> London: Penguin.
(1972 /1974)

Psathas G. & M. Kozloff   "The structure of directions".
(1976)   <u>Semiotica,</u> Vol. 17/2.

Richards J.C. (1970)   "Error analysis and second language
                                    strategies", <u>Language Sciences</u>
                                    Vol. 17/1.

Richards J.C. (1973)   "A non-contrastive approach to
                                    error analysis", in Oller Jr. J.W.
                                    & J.C. Richards (eds), 1973.

Richards J.C. (ed) (1974)   <u>Error analysis: Perspectives on</u>
                                    <u>second language acquisition,</u>
                                    London: Longman.

Richards J.C. (1975)   "Simplification: A strategy in
                                    the adult acquisition of a foreign
                                    language: An example from Indo-
                                    nesian/Malay", <u>Language Learning,</u>
                                    Vol. 25/1.

Richards J.C. (1978) Understanding second and foreign language learning: Issues and approaches. N.Y.: Newbury House.

Richards M.P.M. (ed) (1974) The integration of a child into a social world. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Riebel D.A. (1971) "Language learning strategies of the adult", in Primsleur P. & T. Quinn (eds), 1971.

Rieke J.A., Lynch L.L. & S.F. Saltman (1977) Teaching strategies for language development. N.Y.: Grune & Stratton, Inc.

Riley P. (1975) "A model for the intergration of kinesics in discourse analysis", AILA Conference, Stuttgart.

Rintell E. (1979) "Getting your speech act together: The pragmatic ability of second language learners", Working Papers on Bilingualism No.17.

Ritchie W.V. (ed) (1978) Second language acquisition research: Issues and implications. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Rivers W.M. (1969) "From skill acquisition to language control", TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 3/1.

Rivers W.M. (1972a) Speaking in many tongues. Newbury House.

Rivers W.M. (1972b) Teaching foreign language skills. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Rivers W.M. (1978) "Language learning and language teaching - Any relationship?", in Ritchie W. (ed), 1978.

Rivers W.M. & M.S. Temperley (1978) A practical guide to the teaching of English as a second or foreign language. N.Y. & Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roberts J.M., Sutton-Smith B. & A. Kendon (1963) "Strategy in games and folktales", Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 61/2.

Roberts J.M. (1966) "Cross-cultural correlates of games of chance", Behaviour Sciences Notes: 131-44.

Rochester S.R. (1973)   "The significance of pauses in spontaneous speech", Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, Vol. 2/1.

Ruben J. (1975)   "What the 'good language learner' can teach us", TESOL Quarterly Vol. 9/1.

Rodgers T.S. (1978)   "Towards a model of learner variation in autonomous language learning", Studies in Second Language Acquisition, Vol. 2/1 (Bloomington, Indiana).

Roloff M.E. (1976)   "Communication strategies, relationships and relational changes", in Miller G. (ed), 1976.

Rommetveit R. (1972)   "Linguistic and non-linguistic components of communication: Note on the intersection of pscyholinguistic and social psychological theory", in Moscovici S. (ed), 1972.

Rommetveit R. (1978)   "On Piagetian cognitive operations, semantic competence and message structure in adult-child communication", in Markovà I. (ed), 1978.

Rommetveit R. & R.M. Blakar Studies of language: Thought and (eds) (1979)   verbal communication. London & N.Y.: Academic Press.

Romney A.K. & R.G. D'Andrade "Cognitive aspects of English kin (1964)   terms", American Anthropologist Vol. 66/3.

Rose A.M. (ed) (1962)   Human behaviour and social processes: An interactionist approach. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Roulet Ed. (1975)   Linguistic theory, linguistic description and language teaching. London: Longman

Rowlands D. (ed) (1972) Group work in modern languages. York: University of York.

Rutherford R. & A.M. Winks Persuasion dialogues in ELT. ELT (1978)   Journal, Vol. XXXIII/1.

Ryan J. (1974)   "Early language development: towards a communicative analysis", in Richards, M.P.M. (ed), 1974.

Sacks H. (1967-1968)   Lecture notes. Mineo. Univer-
                         sity of California at Irvine.

Sacks H. (1972a)   "An initial investigation of the
                         usability of conversational data
                         for doing sociology", in Sudnow D.
                         (ed), 1972.

Sacks H. (1972b)   "On the analysability of stories
                         by children", in Gumperz J.J. &
                         D. Hymes (eds), 1972.

Sacks H. Schegloff E. & "A simplest systematics for the
G. Jefferson (1974)   organization of turn-tasking for
                         conversation", Language, Vol. 50/4.

Sacks H. (1978)   "Some technical considerations of
                         a dirty joke", in Schenkein J.
                         (ed), 1978.

Sanches M. & B. Blount (eds) Sociocultural dimensions of lang-
(1975)   uage use. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Sandberg K. (1976)   "Mind, rules and cognitive bin:
                         Some implications for foreign
                         language teaching", Journal of
                         Psycholinguistic Research, Vol.
                         5/3.

Sankoff G. (1974)   "A quantitative paradigm for the
                         study of communicative competence",
                         in Bauman R. & J. Sherzer (eds),
                         1974.

Sapir E. (1949)   Language: An introduction to the
                         study of speech. N.Y.: Hart-
                         Davis.

Saussure F. de (1959)   Course in general linguistics.
                         (English translation by Wade
                         Basuin) N.Y.: Philosophical
                         Library.

Savić S. (1978)   "Strategies children use to answer
                         questions posed by adults (Serbo-
                         croatian speaking children from
                         1-3)", in Waterson N. & C. Snow
                         (eds), 1978.

Savignon D.J. (1974)   "Talking with my son: An example
                         of communicative competence", in
                         'Careers, communication and cul-
                         ture in foreign language teaching',
                         ed, F.M. Grittner, Skokie Ill.:
                         National Textbook Co.

Savignon S.J. (1978)   "Teaching for communication", Eng-
                         lish Teaching Forum, Vol. XVI/2.

Schaffer H.R. (ed) (1977)   Studies in mother-infant inter-
                             action. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Schegloff E.A. (1972)   "Notes on conversational practice:
                             Formulating place", in Sudnow D.
                             (ed), 1972. Also in Giglioli P.
                             (ed), 1976.

Schegloff E.A. (1972)   "Sequencing in conversational
                             openings", in Laver J. & S. Hutch-
                             eson (ed), 1972. Also in Fishman
                             J. (ed), 1972.

Schegloff E.A. & H. Sacks   "Opening up closings", Semiotica,
(1973)   Vol. VIII/4. Also in Turner R.
                             (ed), 1974.

Schegloff E.A., Jefferson G "The preference of self-correction
& H. Sacks (1977)   in the organization of repair in
                             conversation", Language, Vol. 53/2.

Scheff T.J. (1968)   "Negotiating reality: Notes on
                             power in the assessment of respon-
                             sibility", Social Problems,
                             Vol. 16/1.

Schenkein J. (ed) (1978)   Studies in the organization of
                             conversational interaction. N.Y.:
                             Academic Press.

Schiefelbusch R. & L. Lylle Language perspectives - Acquisi-
(eds) (1974)   tion retardation and intervention.
                             N.Y.: University Park Press (4th
                             printing).

Schulz R. (ed) (1978)   "Teaching for communication in the
                             foreign language classroom", Report
                             of the Central States Conference.
                             on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
                             Skokie, Ill: National Textbook Co.

Schumann J.H. (1975)   "Implications of pidgination and
                             creolization for the study of
                             adult second language acquisition",
                             in Schumann J.H. & N. Stenson
                             (eds), 1975.

Schumann J.H. & N. Stenson   New frontiers in second language
(eds) (1975)   learning. Rowley, Moss, Newbury
                             House.

Schumann J.H. (1976)   "Social distance as a factor in
                             second language acquisition", Lang-
                             uage Learning, Vol. 26/1.

Schumann J. (1978)   "Second language acquisition: The
                             pidginization hypothesis", in
                             Hatch E. (ed), 1978.

Schutz A. (1967) — Collected Papers I: The problem of social reality (edited and introduced by M. Natenson), The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Schutz A. (and Thomas Luckmann) (1973) — The structure of life-world. London: Heinemann.

Schwartz J. (1980) — "The negotiation for meaning: Repair in conversations between second language learners of English", in Larsen-Freeman D. (ed), 1980.

Searle J.R. (1965) — "What is a speech act?" in Philosophy in America, ed. M. Black, Allen & Unwin and Cornell University Press.

Searle J.R. (1969) — Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle J.R. (ed) (1971) — The philosophy of language. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Searle J.R. (1975) — "Indirect speech acts", in Cole P. & J. Morgan (eds), 1975.

Searle J.R. (1976) — A classification of illocutionary acts. Language in Society, Vol. 5/1.

Sebeok T.A. (ed) (1960) — Style in Language. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Selinger H.H. (1971) — The discourse organizer concept as a framework for continued discourse practice in the language classroom. IRAL, Vol. 9/2.

Selinger H.H. — "Does practice make perfect? A study of interaction patterns and second language competence", Language Learning, Vol. 27/2.

Selinker L., Swain M. & G. Dumas (1975) — The interlanguage hypothesis extended to children. Language Learning, Vol. 25/1.

Shatz M. (1974) — "The comprehension of indirect directives: Can two-year olds shut the door?" Mimeo. Paper presented at the summer meeting, Linguistic Society of America, Amherst, Mass.

Shatz M. & R. Gelman (1977)   "Beyond syntax: The influence of conversational constraints on special modifications", in Snow C. & C. Ferguson (eds), 1977.

Shaw P. & R.S. Wilkinson (1978)   "A role-playing exercise for students of English as a foreign language", ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics, Vol. 41-42-

Sherzer J. (1978)   "Oh! That's a pun and I didn't mean it", Semiotica, Vol. 22/3-4.

Shields M.M. (1978)   "Some communicational skills of young children: A study of dialogue in the nursery school", in Campbell R.N. & P.T. Smith (eds), 1978.

Shuy R.W. (ed) (1965)   Social dialects and language learning. Champagn Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English.

Shuy R.W. & R.W. Fasold (eds) (1973)   Language attitudes: Current trends and prospects. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Silverstein A. (ed) (1974)   Human communication: Theoretical explorations. N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons.

Sinclair de Zwart H. (1973)   "Language acquisition and cognitive development", in Moore T. (ed), 1973.

Sinclair H.J. (1978)   "The relevance of Piaget's early work for a semantic approach to language acquisition", in Presseisen B.Z., Goldstein D. & M.H. Appel (eds), 1978.

Sinclair J. McH. & R.M. Coulthard (1975)   Towards an analysis of discourse. London: Oxford University Press.

Skinner B.F. (1957)   Verbal Behaviour. N.Y.: Appleton.

Skinner Q. (1971)   "On performing and explaining linguistic actions", The Philosophical Quarterly, Vol. 21(82): 1-27.

Slobin D. (1967)   A field manual for cross-cultural study of the acquisition of communicative competence. University of California, Berkeley, Language Behaviour Research Laboratory.

Slobin D. (1973)   "Cognitive prerequisites for the
                                development of grammar", in 'Stu-
                                dies of child language develop-
                                ment', ed. C. Ferguson & D. Slo-
                                bin. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart &
                                Winston.

Smith A. (ed) (1966)   Communication and culture. N.Y.:
                                Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Smith D. (1973)   "Language, speech and ideology: A
                                conceptual framework", in Shuy R.W.
                                & R.W. Fasold (eds), 1973.

Smith L.E. & K. Rafiqzd   "English for cross-cultural communi-
(1979)   cation. The question of intelli-
                                gibility", TESOL Quarterly, Vol.
                                13/3.

Snow, C.E. (1977a)   "The development of conversation
                                between mothers and babies, Jour-
                                nal of Child Language, Vol. 4/1.

Snow C.E. (1977b)   "Mother's speech research: From
                                input to interaction", in Snow C.E.
                                & C.A. Ferguson (eds), 1977.

Snow C.E. (1978)   "The conversational context of lang-
                                uage acquisition", in Campbell R.N.
                                & P.T. Smith (eds), 1978.

Snow C.E. & C.A. Ferguson   Talking to children: Language in-
(eds) (1977)   put and acquisition. Cambridge:
                                Cambridge University Press.

Södebergh R. (1974)   "The fruitful dialogue, the child's
                                acquisition of his first language:
                                Implications for education at all
                                stages."Project Child Language Syn-
                                tax, Reprint No.2 Stockholm Uni-
                                versity, Institutionen for Nordiska
                                Spräk.

Soring K. (1977)   "Disagreement and contradiction".
                                Journal of Pragmatics, Vol. 1/4.

Soskin W.F. & V. John (1963)   "The study of spontaneous talk, in
                                the stream of behaviour", ed.
                                R.G. Barker, 1963, N.Y.: Appleton.

Speier M. & R. Turner (eds)   Studies in Socialization. N.Y.:
(1971)   Basic Books.

Speier M. (1972)   "Some conversational problems for
                                interaction analysis", in Sudnow D.
                                (ed), 1972.

Steinberg D.D. & L.A. Jako-
bovits (eds) (1971) Semantics: An interdisciplinary
reader. Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press.

Steinberg D.D. (1975) "Semantic universals in sentence
processing and interpretation",
Journal of Psycholinguistic Re-
search, Vol. 4/3.

Stephan F.F. & E.G. Mischler "The distribution of participation
(1952) in small groups: An exponential
approximation", American Socio-
logical Review, Vol.17, pp.598-
608.

Stern H.H. (1972) "What can we learn from the good
language learner", Canadian Mo-
dern Language Review. Vol. 31/3.

Stevick E.W. Memory, meaning and method: Some
psychological perspectives on
language learning. N.Y.: New-
bury House.

Strauss A. & L. Schatzmann "Cross-cultural interviewing: An
(1955) analysis of interaction and commu-
nication styles", Human Organiza-
tion, Vol. 14/2.

Strawson P.F. (1964) "Intention and convention in speech
acts", Philosophical Review, Vol.73,
pp.439-60.

Strevens P. (1976) "A theoretical model of the language
learning/teaching process", Working
Papers on Bilingualism, No.11.

Strevens P. (1977) New orientations in the teaching
of English. London: Oxford
University Press.

Stubbs M. (1977) "Keeping in touch: Some functions
of teacher talk", in Stubbs M. &
S. Delamont (eds), 1977.

Stubbs M. & S. Delamont (eds) Explorations in classroom obser-
(1977) vation. London & N.Y.: John
Wiley & Sons.

Sudnow D. (ed) (1972) Studies in social interactions.
N.Y.: The Free Press.

Szentivànyi Agnes (1976) "Communicative situations in the
training of teachers of EFL", ELT
Journal, Vol XXX/3.

Tabakowska-Muskat E. (1969) "The notions of competence and performance in language teaching", Language Learning, Vol. XIX/1-2.

Tajfel H. & C. Fraser (eds) (1978) Introducing social psychology. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Tarone E. (1974) "Speech perception in second language acquisition: A suggested model", Language Learning, Vol. 24/2.

Tarone E., Cohen A.D. & G. Dumas (1976) "A closer look at some interlanguage terminology: A framework for communication strategies", Working Papers on Bilingualism, No.9.

Tarone E., Swain M. & A. Fatham (1976) "Some limitations to the classroom application of current second language acquisition research", TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 10/1.

Tarone E. (1977) "Conscious communication strategies in interlanguage: A progress report", in Brown D., Yorio C. & R. Crymes (eds), 1977.

Taylor B.P. "The use of overgeneralization and transfer as learning strategies of elementary and intermediate students of ESL", Language Learning, Vol. 25/1.

Torode B. (1977) "Teachers' talk and classroom discipline", in Stubbs M. & S. Delamont (eds), 1977.

Tough J. (1973) "Focus on meaning: Talking to some purpose with young children". London: Unwin Education Books.

Townsend D.J. & M. Erb (1975) "Children's strategies for interpreting complex comparative questions", Journal of child language, Vol. 2/2.

Triandis H.C., Vassiliou V & M. Nasiakou (1968) "Three cross-cultural studies of subjective culture", Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. Monographed supplement 8, No.4, Part 2.

Trim J. (1976) "Languages for adult learners", in Language Teaching and Linguistics: Abstracts, Vol. 9/2.

Turner J. (1975)   Cognitive development. London: Methuen.

Turner R.H. (1962)   "Role-taking: Process versus conformity", in Rose A.M. (ed), 1962.

Turner R. (ed) (1974)   Ethnomethodology, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Turner R. (1976)   "Utterance positioning as an interactional resource", Semiotica, Vol. 17/3.

Turner V. (1967)   The ritual process. Ithaca, N.Y.: Corneill University Press.

Vachek J. (1966)   The linguistic school of Prague. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Valdman A. (1978)   "Pidginization and the elaboration of learner based syllabi in FL instruction", in Studies in Second Language Acquisition, Vol. 2/1. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Van Dijk, Teun (1977)   Text and context: Explorations in the semantics and pragmatics of discourse. London: Longman.

Van Ek, J.A. (1975)   The threshold level. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Van Ek, J.A. (1977)   The threshold level for modern language teaching in schools. London: Longman.

Varadi T. (1973)   "Strategies of target language learner communication: Message adjustment". Sixth conference of the Romanian-English Linguistics Projects, Timisoara, Romania.

Villiers de, J.G. & P.A. de Villiers (1978)   Language acquisition. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Vuchinich S. (1977)   "Elements of cohesion between turns in ordinary conversation", Semiotica, Vol. 20/3-4.

Wagner-Gough J. & E. Hatch (1975)   "The importance of input data in second language acquisition studies", Language Learning, Vol. 25/2.

Wagner-Gough J. (1978)   "Comparative studies in second lang-
           uage learning", in Hatch E. (ed),
           1978.

Wallwork J.F. (1978)   Language and people, London: Heine-
           mann.

Waterson N. & C.A. Snow   The development of communication.
(eds) (1978)   London & N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons.

Watson J. & J. Potter (1962) "An analytic unit for the study of
           interaction", Human Relations,
           Vol. 15/2.

Watson K.A. (1975)   "Transferable communicative routines".
           Language in Society, Vol. 4/1.

Watzlawick R., Beavin J.H. Pragmatics of human communication.
& D.D. Jackson (1967)   N.Y.: Norton.

Weinreich U. (1963)   Languages in contact: Findings and
           problems. The Hague: Mouton.

Werner A. (1973)   "The necessity of inserting "speaker"
           and "hearer" as basic categories of
           a practical grammatical model", in
           Theoretical Linguistic Models in
           Applied Linguistics, ed. Corder S.P.
           & E. Roulet, 1973. Brussels AIAV -
           Paris Didier.

Wells G. (1976)   "Comprehension: What it means to
           understand", English in Education,
           Vol. 10/2.

White L. (1977)   "Error analysis and error correction
           in adult learners of English as a
           second language", Working Papers on
           Bilingualism, No.13.

White R.V. (1974)   'Communicative competence, registers,
           and second language teaching', IRAL,
           Vol. XII/2.

Whiting J.W.M. et al. (1954) Field guide for a study of sociali-
           zation in five societies. Cambridge,
           Mass: Laboratory of Human Develop-
           ment. Palfrey House, Harvard Univer-
           sity.

Widdowson H.G. (1972a)   "The teaching of English as communica-
           tion", ELT Journal, Vol. 27/1.

Widdowson H.G. (1972b)   "Directions in the teaching of dis-
           course", paper presented in Colloque
           "Theoretical Linguistic Models in
           Applied Linguistics", Université de
           Neuchâtel, 1972.

Widdowson H.G. (1973)   An applied linguistics approach to discourse analysis. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh.

Widdowson H.G. (1974)   'Literary and scientific uses of English', ELT Journal, Vol. 28/3.

Widdowson H.G. (1975a)   Stylistics and the teaching of literature. London: Longman.

Widdowson H.G. (1975b)   "Interpretive procedures and the importance of poetry", in Corder S.P. & E. Roulet (eds), 1975.

Widdowson H.G. (1976a)   "Rules and procedures in discourse analysis", mimeo. Dept. of Linguistics, University of Edinburgh.

Widdowson H.G. (1976b)   "Discourse analysis, interpretive procedures and communicative language teaching", The Colloquia of Neuchâtel (1972-1975). Bulletin CILA, 23, Neuchâtel, 1976.

Widdowson H.G. (1976c)   "The authenticity of language data", in Faneslow J.F. & R. Crymes (eds), 1976.

Widdowson H.G. (1977)   "Approaches to discourse", in Ch. Gutknecht (ed), Grundbegriffe und Hauptstromungen der Linguistic, Hoffman und Campe, 1977.

Widdowson H.G. (1978a)   "Notional-functional syllabuses; Part Four", in Blatchford C. and J. Schachter (eds), 1978.

Widdowson H.G. (1978b)   "Teaching language as communication", Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Widdowson H.G. (1979)   Explorations in Applied Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Widdowson H.G. (1980)   "Procedures for discourse processing", mimeo. Institute of Education, University of London.

Wilkins D.A. (1973a)   "Grammatical, situational and notional syllabus", ELT Documents No.6, 1973.

Wilkins D.A. (1973b)   "The linguistic and situational content of the common core in a unit/ credit system", in Systems Development in Adult Language Learning. A European Unit/Credit System for Modern Learning by Adults". Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Wilkins D.A. (1974a)   "Notional syllabuses and the concept
                        of a minimum adequate grammar", in
                        Corder S.P. & E. Roulet (eds),
                        1974.

Wilkins D.A. (1974b)   Linguistics in language teaching.
                        London: Edward Arnold.

Wilkins D.A. (1976a)   Second language learning and teach-
                        ing. London: Edward Arnold.

Wilkins D.A. (1976b)   Notional syllabuses. London:
                        Oxford University Press.

Wilkins D.A. (1976c)   "Classroom techniques, in Teaching
                        Languages: Ideas and Guidance for
                        Teachers Working with Adults",
                        Published by the BBC, London, 1976.

Windburn J.N. (1964)   "Sentence sequence in discourse", in
                        Proceedings of the Ninth Interna-
                        tional Congress of Linguistics
                        (1962), ed. H.G. Lunt, The Hague:
                        Mouton.

Wingfield R.J. (1972)   "Conversational responses to state-
                        ments, English Language Teaching,
                        Vol. 27/1.

Winn-Bell Olsen J.E. (1977) Communication starters and other
                        activities for the ESL classroom.
                        Calif.: The Alemany Press.

Winograd T. (1972)   "Understanding natural language".
                        Cognitive Psychology, Vol. 3/1.

Winston P. (ed) (1975) The psychology of computer vision.
                        N.Y.: McGraw-Hill.

Wittgenstein L. (1953) Philosophical investigations, Oxford:
                        Blackwell.

Wolfson N. (1976)   "Speech events and natural speech:
                        Some implications for sociolinguis-
                        tic methodology, Language in So-
                        ciety, Vol. 5/2.

Wood B. (1976)   Children and communication: Verbal
                        and non-verbal language development.
                        N.Y.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Wootton A. (1975)   Dilemmas of discourse: controver-
                        sies about the sociological inter-
                        pretation of language. London:
                        George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Wragg C.E. (1970)   Interaction analysis in the foreign language classroom", <u>Modern Language Journal</u>, Vol. 54/8.

Wright A. (1977)   <u>Visual materials for the language teacher.</u> London: Longman.

Yorio C.A. (1976)   "Discussion of "Explaining sequence and variation in second language acquisition", in <u>Papers in Second Language Acquisition</u>, ed. H.D. Brown, Language Learning, Special Issue 4, 1976.

DONALD DUCK
WOODEN PUZZLE
25 PIECES/STUKJES/TEILE
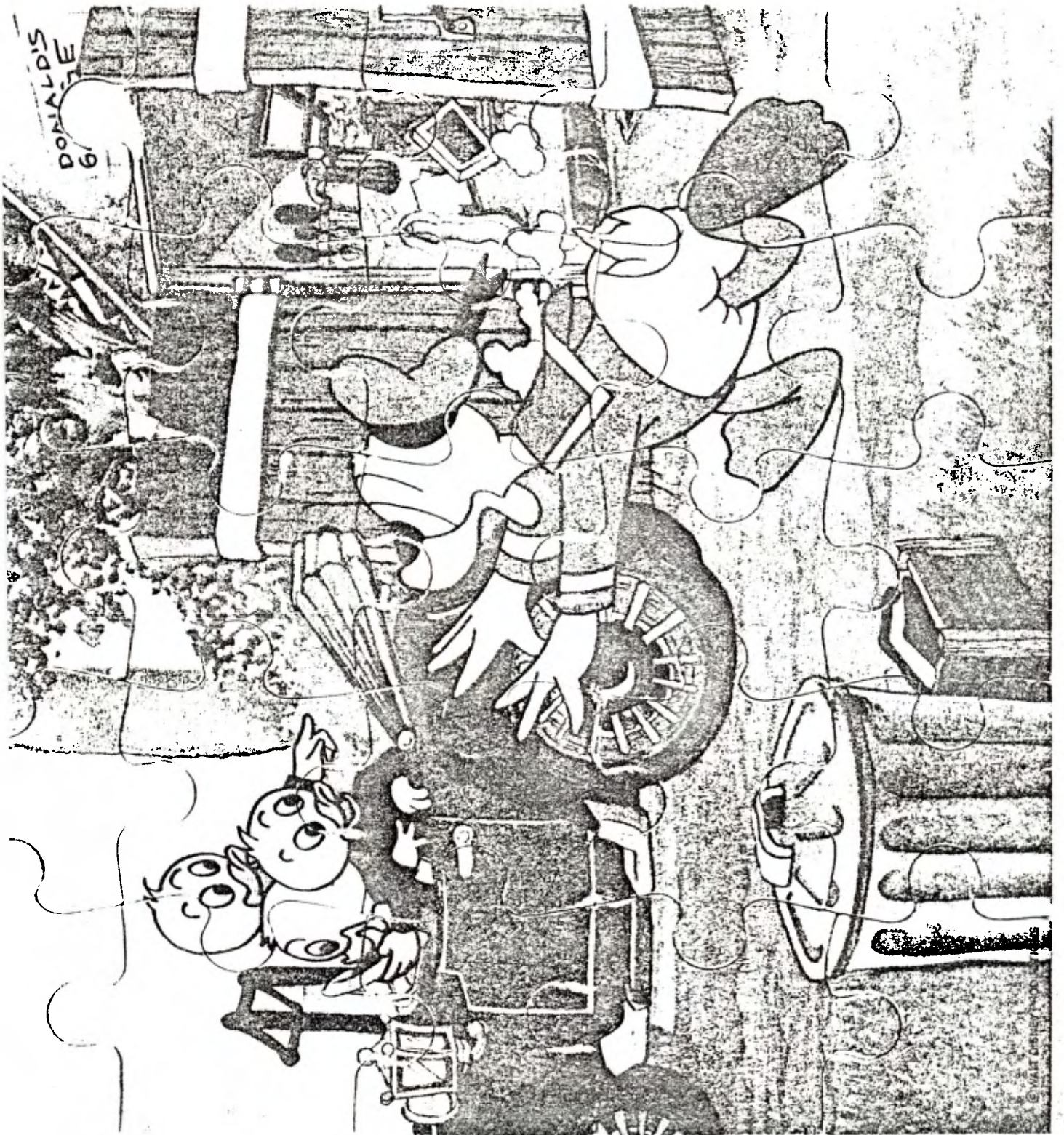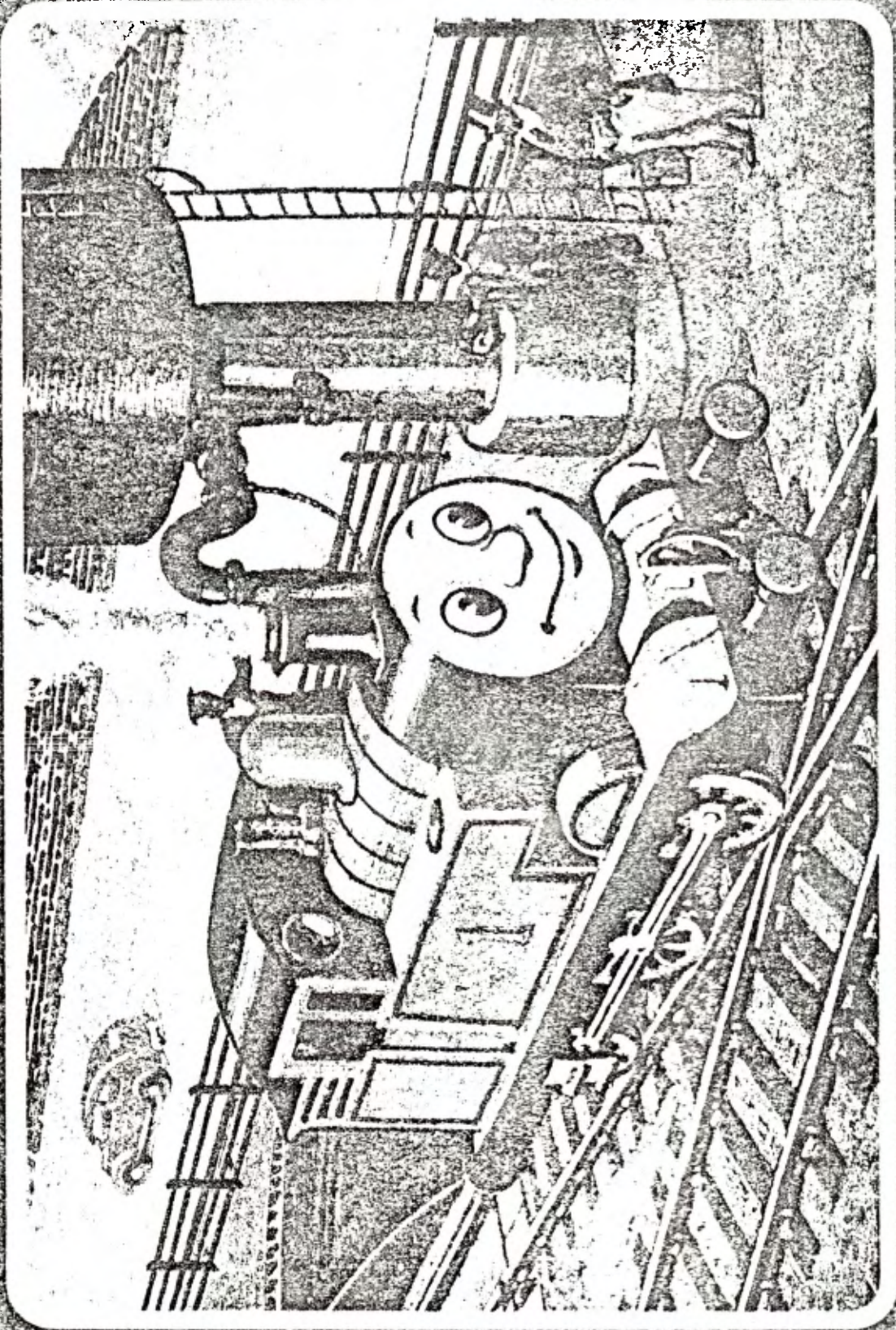
Tank Engine THOMAS Again

A LARGE BEECH WOODEN PUZZLE

THE REV. W. AWDRY

FROM THE STORIES OF THE REV. W. AWDRY
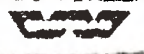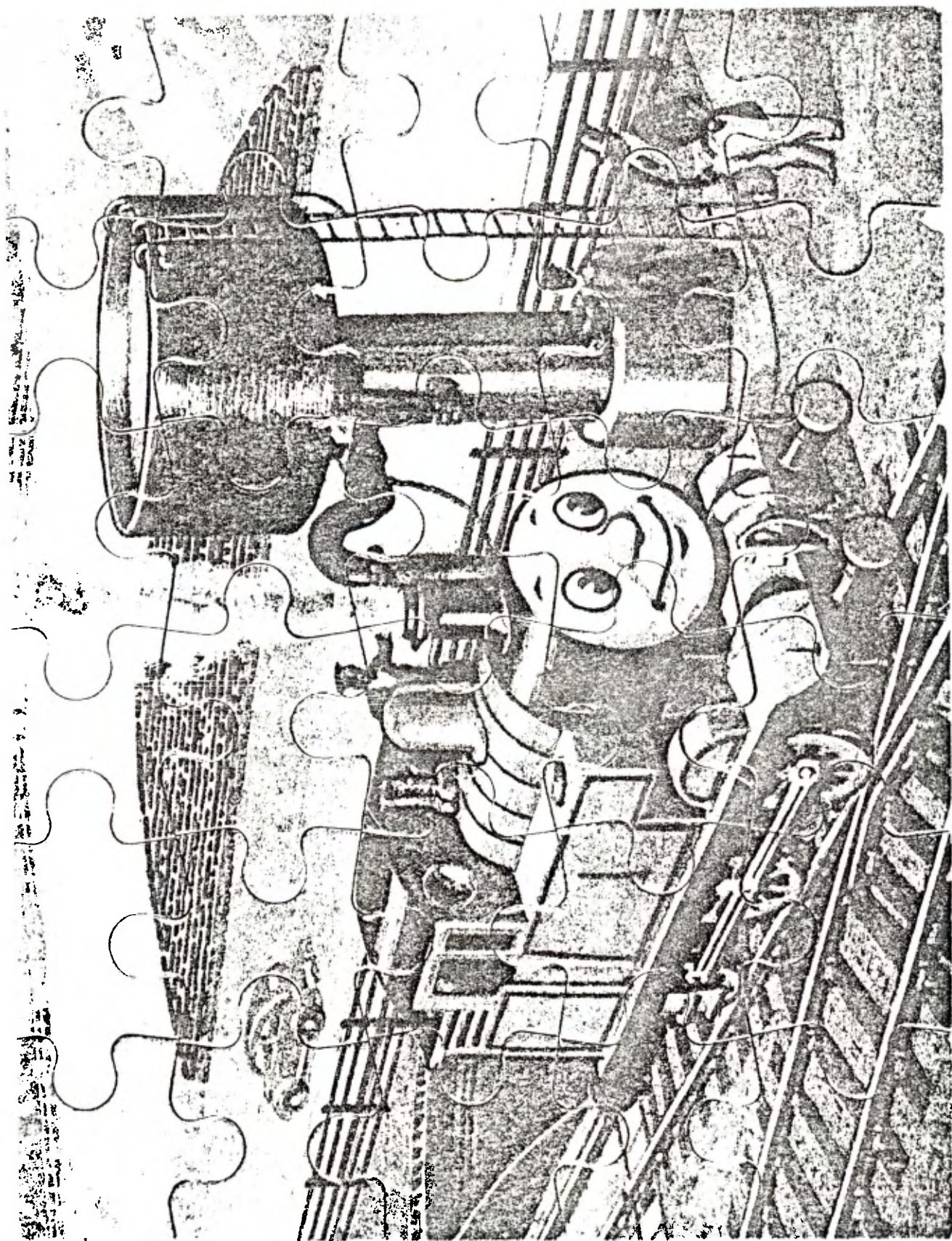
Appendix II a

　　　　School: The University of Athens Experimental High School

Participants:

	Age	Mother tongue	Sex
Adolescents	X: Greek	Male
	Z: Greek	Male

1 Z: It is a railway station with a tank .

2 X: Yes.

3 Z: It's a railway station with a tank, a big tank.

4 X: Wait a minute, but I don't find the tank.

5 Z: It must be in more than one puzzles / pieces//

6 X: What's the colour?

7 Z: Orange.

8 X: Yes.

9 Z: In the picture has a high / tall //

10 X: Can you tell me something else about this picture?

11 Z: Ah!
/There are three people. One on the train, one else has his
hand on the tank.

12 X: Where is his hand ?

13 Z: On the tank.

14 X: Ah! On the tank.

15 Z: On the tank, on the bottom of the tank.

　　　　　　　　　(Silence)

16 Z: There is a car //

17 X: Wait a minute .

18 Z: What?

19 X: Wait a minute.

　　　　　　　　　(Silence)

20 X: And what else is in this picture?

21 Z: Em, a car.

22 X: A car?

23 Z: It's //

24 X: Near the train?

25 Z: In the left of the picture.

26 X: Ah!　(Silence)　A car.

27 Z: It's on the road parallel to the railway. The car is on the
road parallel to the railway.

28 X: What's the colour of this car?

29 Z: Green. The train's colour is turquoise (silence) in the
red lines.

30 X: Ah! Yes, yes.

31 Z: The train in his front has a figure.

32 X: A figure?

33 Z: It's a train with a figure. I think it's from a story for children.

(Silence)

34 X: I can't find the piece of the (inaudible)

35 Z: It's doesn't matter. Perhaps do something interest.

36 X: It's very difficult for me to / to make the tank.

37 Z: Em $\overline{II}$

38 X: Can you tell me some informations?

39 Z: What else? It's orange. Em (...)

40 X: It's blue, I think.

41 Z: No, no. The tank? No. The train is blue ⌐

42 X: Ah! Yes.   �back

Z:: turquoise, the red lines on it, the train.

43 X: It's near the train a feet?

44 Z: Em, can you repeat the pond / the question?

45 X: I told you / I asked you if you have / if a felt is near
the train.

46 Z: A felt?

47 X: A felt / a feet is near the train.

48 Z: Um, the base of the tank also blue place.

(Silence)

49 X: Yes. Anything else? Can you tell me where is the / this field?

50 Z: Which field?

51 X: The field which is near the station.

52 Z: There is no field.

(Silence)

53 Z: There is only the railway, the tank, the car, three persons,
an orange wall, ⌐

54 X: Yes.   ⌐

Z:: a road parallel to the railway,⌐

55 X: Yes.   ⌐

Z:: and a car / a grey car on the road and the main railway is

another railway, em (...)

56 X:. Where is the other railway?

57 Z: Crossing the main railway.

58 X: Ah, ah. Yes, I understand. I understand. The train is near the tanker,

59 Z: Eh?

60 X: And the car?

61 Z: Is on the road which is parallel to the railway.

(Silence)

62 X: You told me ⌐
63 Z: Yes. ⌐

X:: that a man is near the tanker. Eh(...) _II_

64 Z: A man is near the tanker and another man has his hand on the bottom of the tanker / of the tank.

(Silence)

65 Z: The orange wall is parallel to the street⌐
66 X: Yes. ⌐

Z:: and the street is parallel to the railway.

67 X: The street is pa..... to the ....?

68 Z: Parallel⌐
69 X: Yes ⌐

Z:: the railway.

70 X: To the railway.

71 Z: And the orange wall is parallel to the street. Right?

72 X: Yes.

(Silence)

73 X: Eh, eh, I think you see / you see a man who is waiting _II_

74 Z: Who is?

75 X: Waiting the train.

76 Z: I don't think so.

77 X: He is near the tank.

78 Z: Yes. He is near the tank As I see in ⌐
79 X: Near the tank ⌐

Z:: the picture he is on the right of the tank.⌐

89 X: Ah!

Z:: He is like a businessman, a fat business man.⌐

81 X: Yes.

Z:: High hat, etc.

(Silence)

82 Z: What have you done to the moment?

83 X: I have made the tanker ⌐

84 Z: Yes. ⌡

X:: but I haven't made the little piece of this tanker.
I can't find the piece.

(Silence)

X:: But I think I shall be able to make this tank.

(Silence)

85 Z: The fat man has cigar⌐

86 X: Yes, ah, yes. ⌡

Z:: in his mouth, a high hat. ⌐

87 X: It's important information.⌡

Z:: In the picture he has a hat of (inaudible)

(Silence)

88 X: Can you see man(...) who has the cloths(..) of a policeman?

89 Z: Yeah. There is one ⌐

90 X: Yes . ⌡

Z: I think this is the man who has his hand on the tank, in
the bottom of the tank. In the picture I can see three men /
three men. The one who is like a businessman with a cigar in
his mouth,⌐

91 X: Yes. ⌡

Z:: the second with / who has a costume like a policeman's ⌐

92 X: Yes . ⌡

Z:: having his hand on the bottom of the tank and the third on the
engine of the train.

(Silence)

93 X: And the business man is near the ⫫

94 Z: In the right óf the tank

(Silence)

95 X: I want to tell me if the businessman is near the man who has
his hand ⫫

96 Z: Yes, he is.

97 X: Ah. Yes.

98 Z: The tank is on the blue / something blue but I can't see what
it is. The man who has his hand in the bottom of the tank is

```
            also in this blue thing.
                        (Silence)
 99 X:  And  ⌐
100 Z:  Eh? ⌟
    X:: what is between the train and the ⌐
101 Z:  Tank .                              ⌟
    X:: tank?
102 Z:  Nothing.   Oh.  A blue ⌐
103 X:  Impossible!            ⌟
    Z:: a part of a blue thing .
104 X:  A part of a blue thing!/ And the car / the blue car is near
        the / the businessman?
105 Z:  No, he is on the road and on left / on the left part of the
        picture.
106 X:  And in one side of the picture ⌐
107 Z:  Yeah.                            ⌟
    X:: we have the businessman ⌐
108 Z:  Yeah.                    ⌟
    X:: The man who has his hand on the ⌐
109 Z:  tank.                             ⌟
    X:: tank and Ⅱ
110 Z:  The tank and the part of the orange wall Ⅱ
111 X:  But near the tank ⌐
112 Z:  Yeah.              ⌟
    X:: What is?
113 Z:  What else?
114 X:  Yes.
115 Z:  It's a / I don't know with what to say it.
                        (Silence)
116 X:  In the picture we can see all the train or a part of the train?
117 Z:  The whole train/ the whole of engine/ only the engine.
118 X:  Ah, only the engine.
119 Z:  But there is no / it's only the engine, there is no anything
        else on the railway ⌐
120 X:  Yes .                 ⌟
    Z:: We can see the whole engine.  And the part of the railway
        behind the engine.
```

121 X: What is between the car and the / the tank?

122 Z: Between the car and the tank?

123 X: And the tank.

124 Z: They are too far. On the picture there is a head between them. There is the head of the man who is on the engine.

125 X: Ah, ah. Can you tell me ⌐

126 Z: Yeah. ⌋

X:: the colour of the / the train?

127 Z: I told you. It's $\mathit{//}$

128 X: What / Excuse me, what's colour has the train on it?

129 Z: It's blue turquoise with some parts black ⌐

130 X: Yes. ⌋

Z:: and the blue parts ⌐

131 X: Yes. ⌋

Z:: have red lines on them.In the front part of the train there is a man-like face with eyes, nose, mauve $\mathit{//}$

132 X: The big figure

133 Z: Yeah, in the front of the train / of the engine

133 X: The train has a / a window ⌐

134 Z: Yeah. ⌋

X:: has a / a window?

135 Z: Yeah. Black, black window

136 X: Yes, yes, it's a black window. It's a / It's near the figure?

137 Z: Which figure?

138 X: The figure .

139 Z: Oh, no, no. Perhaps you see the two eyes of the train. I think to be easier if you continue now to $\mathit{//}$

140 X: I think I finished, Yes, I finished.

Appendix II b

School: English Department, University of Athens.
4th year Students.

Participants	Mother tongue	Sex
Age:	X - Greek	X - female
Adults	Z - Greek	Z - male

1 X: Would you like to tell me now what is this picture about?

2 Z: This picture is about, em, em, about Donald Duck and his cousin,
I think.

3 X: What?

4 Z: Donald Duck and his cousin.

5 X: Oh, I see. His cousin? Is she girl or is he a boy? His cousin,
I mean.

6 Z: Is a boy.

7 X: Boy, all right, mhm. mhm, all right.

8 Z: There are also dollars. (Laughter)

9 X: Dollars?

10 Z: Mhm. Gold dollars. Gold coins, I think.

11 X: Would you like to tell me how is the picture from the corner?
The first.

12 Z: Em, there is a closed room, I think / no / yes. There is a window
on the left //

13 X: On the left? All right. Just a moment, to find something, to be
like a window.

14 Z: This window is cut by two pieces of wood/ three pieces, I think.

15 X: Mhm. Is cut?

16 Z: I mean, eh, eh //

17 X: All right. I am on here. Mhm. Right now.

18 Z: You understand what I mean?

19 X: Uhm, uhm. But I can't find the window. Ah, I found now the piece /
I am finding the pieces of the window here. It is the colour of the
window, eh, eh, like something red and rose. Pink?

20 Z: Yeah. You can find it easily because there is a blue //

21 X: What?

22 Z: There is a //

23 X: Blue. ⎡ Yeah. The outside. ⎤
24 Z: ⎣ Yeah. The outside. ⎦

X:: of the window. Yeah.

(Silence)

25 X: I found a piece of the window but I can't reconstruct it.

26 Z: The two persons are at the middle of this picture, so.

27 X: In the middle of the picture?

28 Z: Yes. Donald.⦀

29 X: Mhm.

Z:: is on the left, eh, below the window.

30 X: Donald is on the left?

31 Z: Yes. Under the window.

32 X: Mhm, mhm. What else?

33 Z: His cousin's next to him.

34 X: Mhm.

Z:: There is a ladder, eh, eh, exactly at/

35 X: A ladder?

Z:: below / under Donald.

36 X: Under Donald?

X:: Just a minute now, to find it / the ladder.

(Silence)

38 X: I think it's very difficult for me to find out the right pieces.

39 Z: I said to you that this ladder is not complete.

40 X: Ah, ah. Just to find two pieces and two went wrong. Then
   everything will go right I think. But I can't find those two pieces.

41 Z: Do you find the pieces of Donald and his uncle / his cousin?

42 X: Yes

43 Z: O.K.

X:: and his cousin. Yes, I found it. Now here the head of Donald
   is not completed. Just a half of it. I want to find the other.

44 Z: The other head?

X:: Ah, I found it now.

45 Z: O.K.

X:: All right, I found Donald, then / all right I found and his uncle
   I think it's his uncle, not his cousin. Then ⫫

46 Z: Uncle is the big one. O.K.?

47 X: Yeah, with the red.

48 Z: O.K.

49 X: Ah, I found all the / his uncle. Now I must find all Donald

50 Z: And near Donald⌐

51 X: Uhm, uhm. ⌋

Z:: is the case with the gold coins. ⌐

52 X: Uhm, uhm. ⌋

Z:: with shine, a white shine.

53 X: Just a moment, I think I found/that's not. I've seen somewhere(...)

54 Z: If you see a white colour you must //

55 X: A white colour? I've seen a white colour. / Oh, here, with a

lamp near it?

56 Z: Lamp?

57 X: No.

58 Z: I don't see any / Oh, the lamp is above the picture / is on /

not above / ⌐

59 X: Where is it? ⌋

Z: On the top of the picture.

60 X: Uh, uh.

(Silence)

61 X: Above whom?

62 Z: It's exactly above, eh, eh, one piece of wood(...)

63 X: The piece of wood, where is it? Em, it's, em, on the top of

this picture, but below this lamp.

64 Z: Below?

X:: All right. I mean under / under this lamp. O.K.?

65 Z: Mhm, under this lamp. / Wait, I found one more piece that suited

the right place.

66 X: Eh, eh, what have you found?

67 Z: I found all his uncle and half of Donald. ⌐

68 X: I think. ⌋

Z: I found them here but don't know where to put it. ⌐

69 X: Em, em. ⌋

Z:: Oh, I found it all right. Now uncle and Donald. That's all right.

70 X: Did you find the ladder which / ⌐

71 Z: The ladder? No, not yet. ⌋

X: which goes under ⌐

72 Z: Under whom? ⌋

X: Donald

73 Z: Under Donald?

(Silence)

74 X: Is there any book near the treasure?

75 Z: Yes, on the / there is one red book ⌐

76 X: Uhm, uhm.   ⌡

Z: and another one ⌐

77 X: Uh, uh, green one. ⌡

Z:: on the right side.

78 X: On the right.

(Silence)

79 X: This treasure is under Donald, isn't it?

80 Z: Em, I think it is under.

81 X: Under, uh?

82 Z: Not under his body but as you see the picture it's under /⌐

83 X: His hant / his hand?   ⌡

Z:: Under his foot

84 X: Under his foot?

85 Z: Not exactly under. You understand what I mean.

86 X: Uhm, uhm. I am trying to understand.⫻ I can't find the / I
     can't find this treasure / the pieces.⌐

87 Z: Exactly ⫻⫻   ⌡

X:: Just a moment. Is there something, I don't know what it's name
     which has connection with the (inaudible)? No, it hasn't.

88 Z: I think there is a(..) Wait a minute. What'd you think?
     What 'd you mean that ⫻⫻

89 X: It had connection with the horses?

90 Z: Yeah.

91 X: It depicted on the horses that they ride on them.

92 Z: Is it(...) I don't think so. What can you see(...)

93 X: Uh? Wait, wait. Now(...)I must find something else.

(Silence)

94 Z: (inaudible) there is the roof ⫻⫻

95 X: I found one more piece now. There's something behind his uncle.

96 Z: Behind his uncle?

97 X: Behind Donald's uncle, I mean.

98 Z: That's a wood / another wood which stands, eh, eh

99 X: One more fits the new piece.

100 Z: Did you find the new (inaudible)

110 X: Any, any? What? Any? What did you see?

111 Z: What do you call these which we use for cleaning the room?

112 X: Cleaning the room?

113 Z: A floor.

114 X: Uh, Yes, I found it.

115 Z: O.K.?

116 X: Where is it now? Where (inaudible)

117 Z: Em, em, above the case with the coins but a little in the
right / in the right side.

118 X: Wait a minute now.

119 Z: It's exactly above another wooden case, all right?

120 X: How many wooden case / wooden case are there?

121 Z: There are this case with the gold coins and next to it on the
right there is another case, wooden case which you can't see
it(...)very easily because there's this case with the coins
in front of it.

122 X: O.K. I found something now, this / I found the case with the
treasure.

123 Z: I think it is very easy to find the wooden case //

124 X: Don't say it. If you were me you couldn't / you could
understand how easy it is.

(Silence)

125 X: I found one more now. What about / what about above Donald?
I haven't found it yet. There must be (inaudible)

126 Z: This piece of wood.

127 X: Mhm, his left / Donald's left hand is not completed and I want /
ah, I found it. All right. Now it is completed.

128 Z: There's something of the kitchen exactly under the left hand /
Donald left hand / under Donald's left hand.

129 X: Donald's left hand?

130 Z: There's something we use in the kitchen.

131 X: Uhm, wait now. One more piece in the right place let's put.

132 Z: Oh, sorry. This is under the right hand, not under the left
hand. O.K.?

133 X: Mhm, mhm.

134 Z: Of Donald.

135 X: What is there on the other hand / on the right hand of Donald?

136 Z: This / this one we use it in the kitchen, on the right hand.⌉

137 X: Mhm, mhm.   ⌡

    Z:: And there are some yellow things I can't say what they are,⌉

138 X: Mhm, mhm.   ⌡

    Z:: above this thing.

139 X: Maybe I found the piece but I haven't tried to put it in the /
        from the right(..)⌋Wait, wait now. Near the red book what
        is there / oh, I found one more. There is a green / a green
        book. There is one more case.

140 Z: Yeah, there is another case. ⌉

141 X: Yes, one more.   ⌡

    Z:: which we use it maybe in the army. ⌉

    X:: (inaudible) |

    Z:: for / to carry ⫫   ⌡

142 X: I am near to complete the picture.

                         (Silence)

143 X: I found / I think he is / he is Scrooge McDuck / his uncle's
        name is Scrooge McDuck. And now I found ⫫

144 Z: Ah, O.K. and the cousin's is Donald.⌉

    X:: Mhm, mhm.   ⌡

    Z:: Ah, all right. (inaudible)

145 X: Is his uncle. Now I found this ⫫

146 Z: Scrook / Scrooge is his / his uncle, all right?

147 X: Mhm, mhm.

148 Z: O.K.

149 X: What did you say the / Now I found his / Scrooge foot.

150 Z: Did you find anything strange between them?

151 X: Anything strange?

152 Z: I think(...)

153 X: A small doll?

154 Z: All right.

155 X: I found it. All right. Now I want to reconstruct the other
        piece who are above and under Donald and Scrooge McDuck.

156 Z: Above and under Scrooge.

157 X: Mhm.

158 Z: Have you a piece of wood?

159 X: Don't ask.

   Z:: and which //

160 X: Don't ask now. I think one, two, three, four, five, six,
seven eight, nine, ten. Ten more.

161 Z: Ten?

162 X: Mhm.

163 Z: Did you find the left window?

164 X: The ?

165 Z: The left window of the room

166 X: The left window?

   Z:: exactly above Scrooge,uncle.

167 X: The left window?

168 Z: Yeah.

169 X: I found a window but it is in pieces and I cannot (...)

170 Z: It is in pieces and there are (..)

   X:: and I cannot reconstruct it.

171 Z: three pi (...)

172 X: Are there the pieces?

                (Silence)

173 X: No, in. I have found //

174 Z: Sorry, is there anything saying (inaudible) Donald Duck
wooden puzzle twenty-five pieces?

175 X: No.

176 Z: No?

177 X: No. There is not such a piece. Now I found something //

178 Z: The two windows are middle open.

179 X: What are they?

180 Z: They're middle open. And the left one has / has something

181 X: Mhm

   Z:: yellow which (...)

182 X: The left has the yellow?

183 Z: Yes. Which maybe (...) stay open, let's say.

                (Silence)

184 Z: Did you find the //

185 X: I don't know for the pieces are here.

186 Z: The pieces of wood / here, the pieces of wood.

187 X: Mhm. ⌐

    Z:: Which are above the left window ⌐

188 X: Mhm ⌡

    Z:: more the shape of letter K. All right?

189 X: Of letter?

190 Z: K.

191 X: K? Where are the letters? Where is it? / Wait. Just tell me
        now what is near the lamp.

192 Z: Near the lamp?

193 X: On the right.

194 Z: Eh, eh.

195 X: The window?

196 Z: Of course, there's the window

197 X: With the / the(...)

198 Z: With the (inaudible) under it.

199 X: The yellow window now. No.

200 Z: Not the yellow window. There's no yellow window.

201 X: There is no yellow window?

202 Z: No. You can find the windows very easy, I think, because
        there is ⌐

203 X: I found it now. ⌡

    Z:: a blue colour outside of it. ⌐

    X:: I put more pieces on the time we were speaking. ⌡

204 Z: May I help you? Above/ ⌐

205 X: One more ⌡

    Z:: above Donald there's a wood which goes exactly to the top
        of this room. O.K.?

206 X: The wood?

207 Z: Yeah. Wood which goes exactly to the top ⌐

208 X: Yeah ⌡

    Z:: and near the lamp.

209 X: I found it.

210 Z: O.K. / Under the lamp there is another wood which goes from left
        window to the right window of the room.

211 X: Mhm.

212 Z: O.K.?

213 X: Yeah.

(Silence)

214 X: Yes. I've seen it.

215 Z: And there is another one which goes opposite the window so
we can't see the window very well / the left window. We see
it but we cannot //

216 X: Mhm. Yes. Just a moment with the Scrooge. I think I am (...)
finished.

217 Z: You finished it?

218 X: Ah. Yes. I finished now. Two more pieces to put and then
everything is all right.

219 Z: Where / then tell me //

220 X: All right. I found the other and the last one is easy. All
right. I found all the picture now.

221 Z: O.K.

222 X: All right. How much time it took! But I am not very clever
for those(...)

223 Z: Puzzles?

224 X: Ah? Yes.

225 Z: So am I.

226 X: Puzzles. You don't know yet because you've not tried.

Appendix IIIa

School: Gogos School of English (a private evening school in
a suburb of Athens)

Participants:

Age	Mother Tongue	Sex
Adolescents	X - English	Female
	Z - Greek	Male

1 X: Tell me what to do.

2 Z: Yes.

3 X: What is the picture about?

4 Z: It's a train on the (...) besides the train it's a road.

5 X: O.K. A road. Let me see. O.K. / I see some train tracks.

6 Z: Yes.

X:: Where do the train tracks go?

7 Z: It stopped.

8 X: Oh, it stops. / What else is there?

9 Z: It's a man on the train.

10 X: Oh. I have a face.

11 Z: Yes.

X:: Are the tracks near the bottom or are they near / where are they
in the picture?

12 Z: What?

13 X: Where / where are the tracks in the picture?

14 Z: Down.

15 X: The train tracks .

16 Z: Yes, yes.

17 X: Where are they?

18 Z: Down the train.

19 X: Down?

20 Z: Down the train.

21 X: Ah. O.K. Where is / it looks like bricks. Where do the bricks go?
Tell me what is in the picture, anyway.

22 Z: It's a train.

23 X: Yeah.

Z:: On the train there is a man.

24 X: O.K. I see. There is a face on the front of the train. What
else is there?

25 Z: The man is holding, em, something.

26 X: Oh. O.K. Where *does* the man go? I mean, where is the man in the picture? Is he in the right, in the left, near the top?

27 Z: In the centre.

28 X: In the middle

29 Z: In the middle. Yes.

30 X: Mm. What's he holding?

31 Z: What ?

32 X: What's the man holding?

33 Z: Um, I can't understand "holding".

34 X: O.K. Do you know what the bricks are?

35 Z: Bricks?

36 X: Yeah. Stones. Πέτρα.Where do they go? Because I have some bricks but I can't em, em

37 Z: Bricks is / after the train there is a road, after the road there is some stones.

38 X: Oh, O.K. After the train. Mm. Em. Wait a second. O.K. There is a ladder.

39 Z: Where is the ladder?

40 X: Yeah. Where does the ladder go?

41 Z: It's down the train.

42 X: You mean below it?

43 Z: Yes.

44 X: Are you sure?

45 Z: The one of them is below but there is one which is not below the train.

46 X: So there are two of them.

47 Z: Yes. There are two.

48 X: And there is one above and one below.

49 Z: Yes.

50 X: Is there / O.K. One of the ladders I have has a man next to it. Does that go above or below? No, I can't

(Silence)

51 X: Is the train in the left hand corner?

52 Z: No, it's in the middle of them /

53 X: Em.

```
    Z::  of the picture
54  X:   How big is it?  How big is the whole picture?
55  Z:   Too big.
56  X:   Too big.  O.K.  (laughs)
```
(Silence)
```
57  X:   There is a fence.  A fence.  This goes.  Yes, yes.  How wide
         is the picture?  Is it ten inches or what?  Here.
```
(Silence)
```
58  X:   O.K.  There is a fence.  Where does the fence go - to the
         left, to the right or what?  The fence.  Do you know the fence?
59  Z:   No.
60  X:   No.  Fence, em.  O.K.  The ladder has /
61  Z:   Yes.
    X::  has a man standing next to it.
62  Z:   Yes.
63  X:   Where do the man and the ladder go?  Em, in relation to the
         train?  Is it near the train or (inaudible)
64  Z:   The man is on the train.
65  X:   On?
66  Z:   He is on the train.
67  X:   Right.  Now.  That goes over here.
```
(Silence)
```
68  X:   I don't see any man on the train.  On the train that I have
         is in the left hand corner
69  Z:   There are three mens.
70  X:   There are three men.  Oh.  Oh.
71  Z:   One is holding a case.
72  X:   Oh, I see.  Is he in the right hand corner?
73  Z:   Yes.
74  X:   O.K.
75  Z:   Have you found the car?
76  X:   Car?  You mean ,
77  Z:   A green car.
78  X:   Oh, this is what you mean.  O.K.  A green,  Yeah  O.K.
         And / that's it.
         So there are three men.
79  Z:   Yes.
```

X:: One of them is standing with his hand up, his left hand up, and he is right behind the train.

80 Z: Yes.

81 X: O.K. / Now, there is another man by the ladder. Where does the top of the ladder go?

(Silence)

82 X: O.K. Are there two trains?

83 Z: No.

84 X: No. / O.K. There is a man with his hand up. If you go more to the right there is a man standing by the ladder and if you go more to the right there is a man holding a case.

85 Z: Yes.

86 X: O.K. / Ah, a car. Where does the car go?

87 Z: The car is in the left corner up.

88 X: Up in the left corner. O.K. O.K. I got that now. / Where is the field, you know, the (inaudible) with the sky.

89 Z: Where is it?

90 X: Where does the green part go?

91 Z: The green?

92 X: There is a greenish yellow and some bricks but I don't know / Here I have something. No, doesn't go there. Oh, here. No, wait. The, em, there are some bricks, some stones. Where do they go? I don't see //

93 Z: Stones?

94 X: Some bricks. Like a rock, a big rock.

95 Z: Oh, yes.

96 X: Where?

97 Z: Is after the car.

98 X: Ah, O.K. On the left hand.

99 Z: Yeah.

100 X: I've got a piece that has a straight edge, so that means, I guess, it is near the top. But it has orange, it looks like an orange swimming pool, or something. Do you know what I mean?

101 Z: Orange?

102 X: It looks like it has water in it.

103 Z: Oh yes. It's a / it's after the train.

104 X: O.K.

105 Z: In the right / in the left after the train.

106 X: Up in the corner?

107 Z: No, in the middle.

108 X: Oh, I see. I've got it.

109 Z: After the trains

110 X: Right. Right. O.K. (inaudible) the car. O.K. Still, I can't
        figure out where the ladder goes. Oh, I've got it now. O.K.
        The ladder is to the right of the big pole / post.

111 Z: Yes.

112 X: Does the post go all the way up the picture?

113 Z: Yes.

114 X: It does. Alright. O.K.

115 Z: And the man is too near the post.

116 X: O.K. I have the man. This, I have that. In the left hand
        corner, is there a green field?

117 Z: Green field?

118 X: Grass, you know, grass and trees.

119 Z: No.

120 X: No. What's in the left hand corner? In the left / up on the top.

121 Z: Is the car.

122 X: O.K. The car.

123 Z: Είναι em, (...)   (= It's em, (...))

124 X: Is there anything above the car?

125 Z: Above?

126 X: On top of the car?

127 Z: No.

128 X: No. Alright

129 Z: Above (...)

130 X: O.K. I don't figure what that is. O.K. Does the ladder go all
        the way to the top of the picture?

131 Z: Does the ladder?

132 X: Yeah.

133 Z: Yes.

134 X: It does. O.K. Hm. O.K. I see. / These are bricks. I have
a piece that's got an orange thing in it, and it's got the
stones, the bricks, and it's got kind of H or S shapes in it.
Where does that go? I can't see where / O.K. O.K. I got it.

(Silence)

135 X: Oh, that's the steam coming out of the train. Yeah. O.K.
I got it.

(Silence)

136 X: Yeah. And then, / did you say the ladder was going all the
way up to the top?

137 Z: Yes, Yes.

138 X: O.K. What's the / O.K. And then there was / Where does the
water go?

139 Z: The water?

140 X: Yeah. Where is the water? Is it at the top or the bottom of
the picture?

(Silence)

141 X: Oh. O.K. Never mind. And then (laughter) I finished it.
There is a / Oh, alright. There is room. O.K. Right.

142 Z: Yes.

Appendix IIIb

School: Hellenic-American Union School of English
         (a private evening school in Athens)

Patticipants:

Age	Mother tongue		Sex
Adults	X:	Greek	Female
	Z:	English	Male

1 Z: Oh, Maria

2 X: Yes

  Z: : This picture shows two ducks, Donald Duck.

       Do you understand what a duck is?

3X: Yes

4Z: O.K.

       There are two Donald Duck pictures.

       Let's start from the corner.

       Find one corner piece.

                    (Silence)

5 Z: Do you understand what a corner piece is? /

6 X: Yes. How is the corner?

7 Z: Well, II

8 X: What it seems in a corner?

9 z: My picture shows only three of the corners. The lower left
       hand corner has a,em,green and brown piece of wood in it.
       It shows a door in the floor.

10 X: A door?

11 Z: Yes, in the floor.

12 X: Yes.

13 Z: Yes. A door in the floor with some steps, a ladder coming
              through it. Can you find that piece?

14 X: No.

15 Z: O.K. The ether corner at the bottom, the right hand corner,
       shows some books - a red, a green and some yellow markings on.
       Did you find that?

16 X: Yes. I found/ I found the books.

17 Z: O.K. Now. The books / above the books, em, thereis a, em,
       the lease, a chest.

18 X: Chess?

19 Z: A chest, a box. It's a, ah, a wooden box, a box made of wood, with metal pieces at the edges of the box. Do you understand that?

20 X: No. After the books ⌐

21 Z: Yes.

22 X: What (...)

23 Z: There is a box, em (laughter) κουτί.

24 X: Yes.

25 Z: O.K.?

26 X: Κουτί. What colour is the box?

27 Z: Yes. It's, ah, ah, it's a, ah, ah, it's maroon, it's reddish brown, brown red.

28 X: Brown.

29 Z: And in the box there is / there are gold coins. Ah, ah, You know coins? Ah, Ah, change. So there is a wooden box and in the box are golden or yellow coins. Do you understand that?

    (Silence)

30 Z: Have you found it?

31 X: No.

32 Z: O.K. To the left of the books you had the corner piece with books in it, ah, to the left of that there is a sack and the sack is reddish.

33 X: Sack ? What is II

34 Z: Sack.

35 X: Sack?

36 Z: Sack. Σάκκο.

37 X: Ah.

38 Z: There is a container of some kind which has a reddish colour to it. Do you find that?

39 X: Yes. Let's start from the ducks (...) the ducks II

40 Z: O.K. let's start from the ducks. ⌐

41 X: Yes

   Z:: What do you see? You have a piece that shows the ducks?

42 X: I have the Scroo ge and Donald Duck.

43 Z: O.K. Good.

        (laughter)

   Z:: What do you see when you look at Scroodge? You see his hat, his eyes?

44 X: Yes.

45 Z: Do you see / he has a red coat. Do you see his red coat?

46 X: Yes. Yes.

47 Z: Do you see his feet?

48 X: Under the Scroo ge, what is it?

49 Z: Do you see his feet? Scroo ge's feet?

50 X: No.

51 Z: O.K. He has feet. Two feet with brown shoes partly (inaudible)
Do you see his / the feet with shoes on them?

52 X: Yes. The picture starts with the two ducks?

53 Z: Yes. And going, ah, you see their faces, you see the faces of
the ducks.

54 X: Yes.

55 Z: O.K. Underneath the faces Scroo ge has a red coat and more
down he has two feet and on the feet are brown shoes covering
part of his feet. Do you see that ?

56 X: Over the Scroo ge and the Donald, what is it?

57 Z: Above that place is a wall. It is grey.

58 X: Above?

59 Z: Above.

60 X: But that $\overline{\mathstrut\mathit{JT}}$

61 Z: Its surface is grey. It seems to be made of stones, blocks of
stones. They are grey. And above them there is a white bulb,
an electric light, and above them to the left there is a window
and the window is pink and through the window you see a blue
sky.

62 X: Wait a minute.

63 Z: O.K.

<center>(Silence)</center>

64 Z: Did you find the windows?

65 X: Not all the windows

66 Z: There are two in the picture, one one the left and one on the
right.

<center>(Silence)</center>

67 Z: The ducks are looking at, ah, a container - κουτί - in which
there is money, gold money. Do you see the gold money?

68 X: No.

69 Z: Describe the picture you have so far. Tell me what you see.

70 X: Donald Duck, Scroo ge and / I can see the window over the(...)

71 Z: Above Scroo ge?

72 X: Yes.

73 Z: O.K. In front of the window there is a piece of brown wood.
Do you see that?

74 X: Yes .

75 Z: O.K. Then as you go to the right there is a piece of brown wood.
It goes all the way across the picture, a straight strip of brown
wood. Do you find the brown wood?
If you start from the window to the left $\mathcal{II}$

76 X: Excuse me. The picture starts from the window?

77 Z: If you look at the window on the left and go across the picture
there is a piece of brown wood.

78 X: A piece of ?

79 Z: A piece of wood which is coloured brown. Do you understand
what I mean?

80 X: No.

81 Z: Ah, - δέντρα.   (=trees)

82 X: Δάσος - leaves   (=woods)

83 Z: Yes. O.K.It goes across the picture (inaudible) to the right
and there is another window there. So perhaps if you find
pieces with wood on, brown $\mathcal{II}$

84 X: I can't find pieces of wood.

85 Z: Can you find them?

86 X: No.

87 Z: Ah, O.K./ In the middle of the top there is an electric bulb,
an electric light. Do you understand electric light?

88 X: No.

89 Z: Electric light -φωτιά.   (=fire)

90 X: Yes

91 Z: O.K. Ask me about the picture. Ask me / Tell me where you
are and what comes next. O.K.?

92 X: Under the Donald there is a box and near the box I can't find
what is.

93 Z: O.K. The box / Above the box I can see some books and the
books are red, green and purple.

94 X: Just a minute.

95 Z: There is also a broom. Do you know what a broom is? Well, a broom is something you sweep with, you clean with.

96 X: I think I have a piece and there is a light.

97 Z: O.K.

98 X: Lamp.

99 Z: A lamp.

100 X: Yes, where is it?

101 Z: Yes, O.K. It is at the top, in the middle. At the top of the picture, in the centre, at the top. What else do you see, what other pieces do you have?

102 X: What do you find the place from the right?

103 Z: You can find, ah, tell me the colours ⌐

104 X: O.K.   ⌟

Z:: You find.

105 X: Well, near the right what is the piece?

106 Z: To the right or the left (inaudible)

107 X: Right

108 Z: To the right, O.K. The brown wood piece continues and then there is a window with a pink frame. Through the window you see the blue sky.

109 X: I must find the window?

110 Z: Yes. The window on the right side. There are two windows, one on the left, one on the right of the picture.
Do you have anything pink? There is a pink frame. A rose frame. Can you describe pieces that you have had? What colour are they?

111 X: I want to find the window. I can *II*

112 Z: It'll be white and pink with a piece of brown.

113 X: Yes, I have the piece but I can't find the correct place.

114 Z: O.K. It should be in the top right corner of the picture. It should be at the edge of the picture. It should have a straight edge.

115 X: I have Scroo ge with one leg.

116 Z: O.K. Scroo ge has two legs.

117 X: Yes, but I can't find the other.

118.Z: Ah, they look the same, the same colour.

119 X: I can't find the piece.

120 Z: Mm, Mm. Which way do you have II

121 X: Ah, I have a piece with, ah, I can't find the word,

122 Z: Does it have a shoe on it?

123 X: It, eh, you can find to the church. There is a place you can take the (...)

124 Z: Yellow, yellow colour? What colour is it? Is it gold?

125 X: Gold

126 Z: O.K. That is II

127 X: Behind the hand?

128 Z: Behind his hand. Yes. Candlestick, that's a candlestick. To hold the candle. And beneath his foot there is an opening in the floor. You know the floor? He's standing on the floor of the room, and there is a door, or opening in the floor and the edge of that opening is green. Do you find a piece with some green on it?

129 X: No. I want, eh, all the Scroo ge. I haven't all the Scroo ge. I haven't the leg and the hand, the left / the right.

130 Z: His foot looks just like the other foot. It has yellow brown and the hand is white and behind his hand is the yellow candle-stick and a solid blue pan cooking pan. So you have white and yellow and some blue and pieces of his foot perhaps. I
Tell me / describe to me the pieces that you have used.

131 X: Near the light / the lamp (...)

132 Z: Yes. Under the lamp it's II

133 X: Exactly near the lamp, what is the piece?

134 Z: Beneath, to the left or the right?

135 X: Right.

136 Z: Yes. I think it's very much white, with a brown piece of wood. But my picture doesn't show that. So it might be different.

137 X: And left?

138 Z: And to the left, the left of the light it looks white, and there are brown, there is a brown piece up and down and then there is grey. It shows the wall of the room.
Ask me some other questions.

139 X: About the box. Under (inaudible) there is a box.

140 Z: Yes.

141 X: I have the piece which starts the box.

142 Z: O.K. And *II*

143 X: Near this piece what I can't find, eh, eh

144 Z: Does the piece that you have show money, gold money?

145 X: What?

146 Z: Does the piece that you have show that the box holds money?

147 X: No .

148 Z: The box is full up with yellow coins, money.

149 X: I must find the box then.

150 Z: O.K.

(Silence)

151 Z: Ask me some other questions.

152 X: Mm, Mm.

153 Z: Do you have the picture nearly done?

154 X: I beg your pardon?

155 Z: Is the picture nearly complete?

156 X: Yes .

157 Z: Where are pieces missing?

158 X: In the box.

159 Z: Ah, the box, I think.

160 X: O.K. I finished.

161 Z: You finished. Good.

106 Z: So, let's be (inaudible)

He has got a red jacket and a white waistcoat.

107 X: Yes. Right. I've got hold of the Duck.

108 Z: O.K. including his hat, a blue hat, a blue top hat.

109 X: A blue top hat. Part of this top hat I just see if I can find the rest of his hat. Em. Yeah. No. That's wrong. ⌐

110 Z: I see. ⌡

   X:: Yes, it's getting difficult.

111 Z: That's possible enough.

112 X: Yeah. That's it. Yes. I think I've nearly finished now.

113 Z: O.K. You've got all the red jacket, have you?

114 X: Em, yes. I've got the / I've got all the right hand and his hat and the half of the other duck as well, its hand stretched out.

115 Z: O.K. Then the next best thing to do is probably to complete the duck with the blue shirt.

116 X: Yes, I have completed the duck with the blue shirt and $\overline{77}$

117 Z: and the treasure chest?

118 X: Yes. I've got the whole treasure chest. I've just got to finish off a bit of the window and then finish off that bit. Right. Complete.

119 Z: O.K.

120 X: O.K.