

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

1. RATIONALE

There are problems facing researchers in ESL, that are inherent in the relationship between theory and method. Language use is by its very nature, embedded within a complex network of personal, interpersonal, sociolinguistic and cultural factors. To isolate and analyse one single strand of these inter-related features would not be a very meaningful exercise. The abstraction necessary for "pure" research leaves us with a somewhat antiseptic, idealised version of the actual situation in which a second language is used and learnt. It would be unrealistic, in ESL research, to attempt to control for all the complex variables involved; an attempt to do so would considerably reduce the richness of the second language situation. However in second language research, an equally undesirable tendency is to over-compensate for this drawback by presenting the research as merely a series of discrete observations. It is therefore necessary to draw from the methodology of the applied sciences, particularly ethnomethodology, and relate the findings to a conceptual framework.

There is disagreement in the literature regarding the relative merits of "descriptive/introspective" research, and research of an "experimental" nature (Finney, 1960; Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Kerlinger, 1973; Ochsner, 1979; Lightbown, 1984). Kerlinger (1973, p. 406) suggests that the exploratory study "seeks what is, rather than predicts relations to be found"; the purpose of such a study would be to discover significant variables, examine the relationship between variables, and thus lay the groundwork for later more systematic and rigorous testing of hypotheses. For the purpose of the present study one would tend to reject the notion that only experimental research is "real" research. This takes us back to the discussion of the complex setting in which language use occurs, particularly in the bilingual/multilingual context; such complexity cannot be fully accounted for by experimental research alone. Certainly, descriptive research seems more valid in the sense that it steers away from the danger of over-generalisation, particularly since it is impossible to control for all of the complex factors involved.

Another choice to be made in deciding on the methodology for research is whether to opt for large cross-sectional studies or in-depth single-subject longitudinal studies. Since the focus of this research is on examining variability in the use of communication strategies, it was felt that a

series of detailed longitudinal studies would yield more valuable information than a large-scale survey of numbers of learners. Moreover, a detailed qualitative and quantitative analysis of the interlanguage of individual learners would take into account a much larger and more representative sample of the talk of each learner; it was therefore likely to provide more valuable insights.

2. ASSUMPTIONS

The study is based on the following assumptions :

- a. Communicative competence is a form of social competence.
- b. Communicative behaviour, like all social behaviour, involves the use of strategies.
- c. Social competence is manifested by :
 - social coping strategies
 - interactional skills
- d. Communicative competence involves different strategic competencies that are manifested by a variety of communication strategies.
- e. Strategic competence in the L2 is an outcome of :
 - strategic competence in the L1 and in other languages

- prior social/interactional experiences
 - prior learning experiences
- f. The use of communication strategies is integral to the process of second language learning.

3. OBJECTIVES

The study has the following objectives :

- a. To develop a classification system for describing and analysing the communication strategies used by Indian learners of English.
- b. To develop a classification system for describing and analysing the interactional skills of Indian learners of English.
- c. To develop a tool for measuring communicative competence in English of Indian learners at First-Year College level.
- d. To develop a tool for self-rating on communicative competence in English by Indian learners at First-Year College level.
- e. To adapt a tool for measuring coping strategies, for use in the Indian setting with female learners at First-Year College level.

- f. To examine the range, frequency and patterns of use of different types of communication strategies by individual learners.
- g. To examine the relationship between use of communication strategies and :
 - communicative competence in English
 - Self-rating on communicative competence in English
 - coping strategies
 - interactional skills

4. VARIABLES RELATED TO THE USE OF COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

The rationale for the present study is derived from the relationship between communicative competence and social competence. Communicative behaviour is viewed within the larger context of all social behaviour. According to the view adopted in this study, communicative behaviour, like all social behaviour, is considered to be strategic; therefore it is believed that both social coping strategies and interactional skills would be related to communication strategies. The individual's communicative competence operates through a variety of strategic competencies which are externalised by the use of different communication strategies; therefore communicative competence is also related to the use of communication strategies. A study of the individual's use

of communication strategies would thus involve a consideration of communicative competence as well as social competence.

It needs to be reiterated, at this point, that the study is exploratory in nature, and is based on an ex post facto design. (Hatch and Farhady, 1982). It aims at establishing a relationship between the learners' use of communication strategies and the different variables involved, without attempting to establish a cause-and-effect relationship. The justification for such a delimitation may be found in the fact that the study has at its centre that complex mix of personality, experience, training and social/environmental forces : the individual. To categorically establish causality among the complex strands involved in the individual's communication would be an exercise in simplification that lies outside the aims of the present study.

The study⁴ examines the relationship between use of communication strategies and :

- communicative competence in English
- Self-rating on communicative competence in English
- coping strategies
- interactional skills

4.1 Communicative Competence in English

The discussion in Chapters III and IV has already highlighted the relationship between communicative competence

and communication strategy. It is suggested that a significant relationship exists between the learner's communicative competence in English and the type/frequency of communication strategy used. According to the view adopted in the present study, communicative competence in English involved not only linguistic accuracy, but also the learner's ability to use English appropriately in a particular context. Thus, the learner's communicative competence in English would be reflected by manipulative skills in information processing, decoding language in a variety of contexts, and organising/presenting information in appropriate formats, both spoken and written.

4.2 Self-rating on Communicative Competence in English

An additional dimension to the learner profiles is provided by obtaining information on the learners' perception of their own communicative competence. Within the field of education, theories of the self and the notion of the "self-fulfilling prophesy" (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) have provided considerable insight into how perception determines behaviour. Purkey (1970) suggests that the self serves as a frame of reference, and that perceptions about oneself would determine reactions to people/tasks/roles, and would play a significant part in group membership.¹ According to Brown (1981), a relationship exists between affective factors, such as self-esteem or inhibition, and second language learning.²

Within the context of the present study, it was felt that the learners' view of their own communicative competence in English, was closely linked with the nature of their communicative behaviour, and therefore needed to be investigated separately as a variable related to the use of communication strategies. The study explores the extent to which the type/frequency of use of different communication strategies are related to the learners' self-rating on communicative competence.

4.3 Coping Strategies

It was felt that the coping strategies used by a learner in dealing with situations in everyday life, would also be related to patterns of communication strategy use. The concept of coping as drawn from earlier literature, has particular relevance for the present study due to its association with the individual's social competence, both at the interpersonal level (White, 1960; O'Malley, 1977),³ and at the technical level (Elder, 1968).⁴ White (1960), Murphy (1962) and Coleman (1971) suggest that the individual's competence is related to success in coping with situations in everyday life. The notion of coping strategies was initially derived from two studies conducted on American college freshmen (Silber, Hamburg, Coelho, Murphy, Rosenberg and Pearlin, 1961; Coelho, Hamburg and Murphy, 1963). These

studies indicated that competent adolescents are characterised by fairly effective coping strategies in handling everyday situations, such as dealing with parents/siblings/friends, developing autonomy in decision-making and assuming responsibility for and regulation of, their behaviour. Such a concept of coping deals with the major aspects of communication strategy highlighted in this study : effectiveness, manipulation and interaction. It was therefore felt that a study of the relationship between the learner's coping strategies and patterns of communication strategy use might provide valuable insights.

4.4 Interactional Skills

The present study views the use of communication strategy as an ongoing process of interaction/negotiation between interlocutors (Allwright, 1980 : "turn-taking"), between individual and propositional content (Allwright, 1980 : "topic", "task"), and between individual and social context (Allwright, 1980 : "tone", "code"). Such a view leads us to believe that communication strategies are used under the transactional pressure of communication, that they constitute evidence of such negotiation of communication. There have been numerous studies of transactional analysis and of group dynamics, which have highlighted the fact that individuals often tend to enact typical patterns of interaction within the group. It is the interaction between language,

cognitive processes and individuals that shapes meaning; the occurrence of communication strategies provides an index to this struggle to negotiate meaning. It was therefore felt that it might be useful to examine the relationship between predominance of certain patterns of interaction of individual learners, and the type/frequency of use of communication strategies. It was hypothesised that the selection and use of communication strategies would be closely related to the role that the learner played within the socio-dynamics of the group.

5. HYPOTHESES

- (1) Learners, regardless of their level of communicative competence in English, are likely to use most of the various communication strategies.
- (2) Individual learners will reveal differences in the frequency of use of various communication strategies.
- (3) Communicative competence in English as measured by the grade in English (Vanikar and Palia), is likely to correlate with the following communication strategies :
 - Prefabricated patterns : inappropriate

- Prefabricated patterns : appropriate
 - Syntactic transliteration
 - Functional extension
 - Message Reduction : economy/effect
 - Semantic transliteration
 - Semantic contiguity
 - Restructuring/Repair : self
 - Retrieval
 - Circumlocution
 - Elaboration
 - Fillers
 - Code-switching : solidarity
- (4) Self-rating on communicative competence in English, as measured by scores on the communicative competence scale (Vanikar and Palia), is likely to correlate with the following communication strategies :
- Restructuring/Repair : self
 - Restructuring/Repair : other
 - Appeal : direct
 - Repetition : challenge

(5) Social coping strategies, as measured by scores on the Semi-Projective Test for Measuring Coping Strategies (adapted from Coelho et al., 1963 and Sharma, 1979), are likely to correlate with the following communication strategies :

- Message Reduction : economy/effect
- Restructuring/Repair : self
- Retrieval
- Circumlocution
- Elaboration
- Repetition : emphasis
- Fillers
- Code-switching : addressee specification
- Code-switching : solidarity

(6) Patterns of use of Interactional Skills, as measured by scores on the Classification System for Analysing Interactional Skills (Vanikar and Palia), are likely to correspond to patterns of use of communication strategies.

(7) The learners' use of communication strategies is likely to reveal clusters, which may be placed along a continuum.

6. DEVELOPMENT OF TOOLS

6.1 Classification System for Analysing Communication Strategies (See Appendix C)

It was found necessary to develop a system for categorising communication strategies, which would be based on the conceptual framework of this study, and would accommodate the emphasis on effectiveness, manipulation and interaction as central aspects of the notion of communication strategy. The initial problem facing the researcher in such a task, is that of identifying instances of the occurrence of communication strategies, and classifying them according to a framework of strategy types. Faerch (1984) uses an analogy from Winnie the Pooh, to discuss two possible ways of approaching this problem : what he calls "the empirical trap" versus "straying around in the forest" (pp. 59-61). The former involves applying a pre-determined framework to a piece of data. The system of classification used is an extraneous one; in other words, the category system is first outlined and is then applied to the available data. Thus the data would be made to fit into a framework that had already been prepared. Though this approach is more rigorous to the extent that the analysis focusses only on certain specific categories, the danger in such an approach lies in the possibility that data may be misinterpreted, or that valuable data may be lost simply because it does not fit into any of the given categories.

The alternative to this approach is to start at the other end, as it were, to examine the data in its totality, without any initial framework, and to record constantly, even unsystematically, all the different strategies that one finds in operation. These are later classified under different headings to provide a system for further analysis. The disadvantage of such an approach is that it is far more time-consuming, not only because there are no ready-made slots into which data can be fitted, but also because it generally requires analysis of much more extensive and varied data in order to arrive at a wide range of categories. Another problem with this approach is that it can often get unwieldy because the data may yield very disparate phenomena which may not necessarily have a single focus; thus it is often difficult to neatly classify the categories into a single system. Though this adds to the difficulties facing the researcher, it is not necessarily a negative factor; in fact it adds to the authenticity of the analysis. Such a procedure is particularly useful in analysing sociopsychological/socio-cultural phenomena such as language use, which cannot be isolated from the context in which they occur. In fact communication, by the very fact of its interactional, temporal nature, is a phenomenon that is unlikely to fit into a neat, pre-conceived framework; the validity of any analysis of communication would be derived from its open-endedness, its ability to accommodate unpredicted types of data.

All these considerations led the researcher to adopt the latter, more exploratory approach. Several class sessions, consisting of discussions by learners in small groups, were transcribed. To add to the samples of talk, the researcher also spent one whole semester as an observer in ESL classrooms at first year college level, attending group discussions by learners who represented different competency levels in English, and who came from different linguistic/educational/socio-economic backgrounds. From all of this data, the initial task was one of listing all the different strategies that occurred. After eliminating and/or re-classifying categories that appeared to overlap or which occurred very infrequently (See Appendix A), the researcher arrived at a classification of communication strategies that reflects the concerns of the present study (See Appendix C). The system of classification has emerged from the data used for this study; it is therefore more authentic than the application of systems based on data from other settings, which may be very different both linguistically and socio-culturally.

The following section presents a justification for this system of classification, along with a discussion of various types of communication strategy.

Earlier studies in interlanguage, for instance Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976), Corder (1978) and Faerch and Kasper (1983a), have outlined different category systems for

identifying and analysing communication strategies. As Faerch and Kasper (1983a) suggest, the type of category system developed depends upon the researcher's "Erkenntnissinteresse". The view of communication strategy adopted is reflected not only in the individual categories mentioned, but also in the way these categories are grouped. Thus Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976) list individual communication strategies as a series of discrete categories ranging from transfer to language-switch (See Table 5a). Corder (1978) classifies communication strategies under two broad headings: (a) "message adjustment strategies" (which are essentially risk-avoidance strategies such as topic avoidance, message abandonment or message reduction); and (b) "resource-expansion strategies" (which are essentially risk-running strategies such as borrowing, paraphrase or circumlocution (See Table 5b). Faerch and Kasper (1983a) adopt a somewhat similar classification: (a) "formal reduction strategies", which involve avoidance of formal problem areas at the phonological, morphological, syntactic or lexical levels; (b) "functional reduction strategies" which involve reduction of the communicative goal in terms of the actional, the modal or the propositional content; and (c) "achievement strategies" which involve expansion of the communicative resources, and include compensatory strategies such as code-switching and transfer, as well as retrieval strategies, such as "waiting for the term to appear", and "appeal to formal similarity" (See Table 5c and Figure 6).⁵

TABLE 5
CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS FOR
ANALYSING COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

a. Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976)

1. Transfer from NL
2. Overgeneralisation.
3. Prefabricated pattern.
4. Overelaboration.
5. Epenthesis.
6. Avoidance:
 - a) Topic avoidance.
 - b) Semantic avoidance.
 - c) Appeal to authority.
 - d) Paraphrase.
 - e) Message abandonment.
 - f) Language Switch.

b. Corder (1978)

1. Message Adjustment Strategies:
 - a) Topic Avoidance.
 - b) Message abandonment.
 - c) Semantic avoidance.
 - d) Message reduction.
2. Resource Expansion Strategies:
 - a) Borrowing.
 - b) Switching.
 - c) Paraphrase or Circumlocution.
 - d) Using paralinguistic devices.

TABLE 5 (Continued)

C. Faerch and Kasper (1983a)

1. Formal Reduction Strategies:

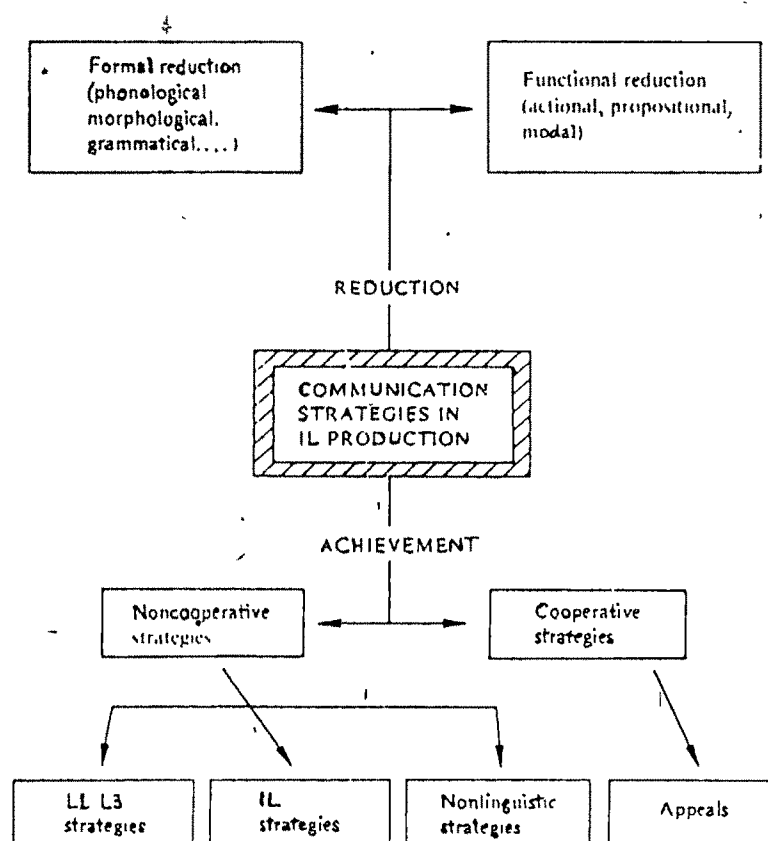
- a) Phonological.
- b) Morphological.
- c) Syntactic.
- d) Lexical.

2. Functional Reduction Strategies:

- a) Actional reduction.
- b) Modal reduction.
- c) Reduction of propositional content.
 - i) Topic avoidance.
 - ii) Message abandonment.
 - iii) Meaning replacement.

3. Achievement Strategies:

- 1) Compensatory Strategies.
 - a) Code-switching.
 - b) Interlingual transfer.
 - c) Inter-/Intralingual transfer.
 - d) Inter language (IL)-based strategies:
 - i) Generalisation.
 - ii) Paraphrase.
 - iii) Word coinage.
 - iv) Restructuring.
 - e) Cooperative strategies.
 - f) Non-linguistic strategies.
 - 2) Retrieval Strategies.
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Source : Faerch, C. and Kasper, G. (1984), "Two ways of defining communication strategies", Language Learning, 34/1, 49.

Figure 6 : A Typology of Communication Strategies in Interlanguage (IL) Production

It was felt that these classifications would not be appropriate for this study. The distribution by Corder (1978) and Faerch and Kasper (1983a) of strategy types under the broad heads "reduction strategies" versus "achievement/expansion strategies" presumes that communication strategies occur only when the language user faces some problem, and that the outcome of the strategy in some way falls short of the target language norm; that is the second language is not used in quite the same way as it would be by a native speaker. The present study, on the other hand, de-emphasises the occurrence of a problem in communication, and includes the occurrence of successful strategies. The system for analysis accommodates situations where problems in communication occur, as well as situations where strategies are successfully used; the two are not necessarily viewed as mutually exclusive. The use of communication strategies is placed within the larger context of communication, in general, which is by its very nature both goal-oriented and interactional.

It was therefore felt that an alternative system of classification, reflecting these concerns, might be more appropriate for the present study. An overview of the system of categories developed for analysing communication strategies, along with instances from the data, illustrating the use of each strategy, are presented in Appendix C.

The different categories of communication strategies are classified under three broad types :

- A. Intra/Inter-lingual Strategies
- B. Reformulation Strategies
- C. Code-switching Strategies

6.1.1. Type A : Intra/Inter-lingual Strategies

Strategies of this type deal with the learner's manipulation of the internalised language system. These strategies refer to instances where the learner draws upon the resources of the target language as well as the other regional languages (such as Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi). The language used by the learner in implementing these strategies, however, is the target language, English, the strategies focus on formal/structural elements resulting from the contact between the target language and the regional languages. Categories under this head fall under two general types : Syntactic strategies and Semantic strategies. Syntactic strategies deal with structural combinations of utterances; semantic strategies deal with their meaning.

A1. Syntactic Strategies

Strategy A 1a : Prefabricated patterns

This category is derived from earlier definitions by Hakuta (1976)⁷ and Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976)⁸. Both these definitions imply knowledge of a given pattern, a

formulaic utterance consisting of a string of segments put together in a particular order. Essentially, prefabricated patterns imply a set mode of combining segments to form an utterance that can be picked out as a whole from its surroundings; it is, to a certain extent, insulated from the pressure of variation occurring in the flow of communication. However, both these definitions imply that the learner has automatised the segment without having acquired appropriate awareness of its use in a context; this suggests that the actual segment may be accurate in target language terms, but that it is inappropriately applied to its context. Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976) cite the following instance of prefabricated patterns : "I don't know how do you do that".

Here the learner has accurately internalised the pattern "how do you do that" to indicate inability; however the speaker has failed to distinguish the fact that the utterance indicates an appeal, rather than a statement of inability, and has therefore applied it to an inappropriate functional context.

On the basis of these definitions, instances of prefabricated patterns may be identified as "correct" segments occurring in inappropriate contexts. While accepting such instances of prefabricated patterns, it was felt that for the purpose of the present study they were insufficient, and that the term had yet another dimension. A clue to this other

dimension was provided by Dechert (1983) in his very useful reference to "islands of reliability".⁹ The computation metaphor is applied to processes of language production & the "islands" serve to anchor the search processes necessary for planning and executing speech. However, Dechert makes a very interesting suggestion, viz., that such "islands of reliability" form the basis for the production of any language, whether L1 or L2. Dechert's definition thus moves towards "competent" language use, where the speaker has control over a large repertoire of such "islands".¹⁰

The present study extends the use of the term "prefabricated patterns" to include the perspective provided by Dechert. In addition to instances where patterned segments are used in inappropriate contexts, this study also includes patterned segments/formulaic utterances that may be used appropriately in their context. Such instances had gone unnoticed in earlier studies. However it was felt that a fuller assessment of a speaker's interlanguage required that the analysis should also acknowledge occasions where the speaker successfully used prefabricated patterns. Thus the present system for analysis includes two sub-categories : (i) inappropriate use and (ii) appropriate use of prefabricated patterns. This would be in keeping with the view that a communication strategy is a deliberate manipulation of available resources.

Strategy A 1b : Syntactic Transliteration

The definition of transliteration from the L1 or another language, as used in this study, is based on references in earlier studies to the phenomenon of transfer (Tarone, Cohen and Dumas, 1976¹¹; Corder, 1978¹²; Faerch and Kasper, 1983a¹³), and more explicitly to the phenomenon of transliteration (Tarone, 1981b¹⁴; Bialystok, 1983¹⁵; Haastup and Phillipson, 1983¹⁶; Riley, 1984¹⁷). Transliteration may occur at various levels - phonological, morphological¹⁸, lexical, syntactic and semantic. The present study deals with two types of transliteration : syntactic and semantic (See Strategy A 2a : Semantic transliteration). Syntactic transliteration refers to instances where the focus is on the re-enactment of L1 syntax in the use of the L2; in such cases translation of lexis is generally unobtrusive, or even appropriate.

Strategy A 1c : Rule Extension

The basic strategy of extension or generalisation involves the application/extension of a rule or the meaning of a particular TL item to contexts where it is not generally used. Specific versions of this strategy have been referred to in the literature on interlanguage, using a variety of terms such as "overgeneralisation" (Tarone, Cohen and Dumas, 1976), "lexical substitution" (Tarone, Frauenfelder and Selinker, 1976), "approximation" (Tarone, Frauenfelder and Selinker, 1976; Tarone, 1977; Blum-Kulka and Levenston, 1978;

Varadi, 1980; Tarone, 1981b; Riley, 1984), "word coinage" (Bialystok, 1983; Riley, 1984), "use of superordinate term" (Ickenroth, 1975; Blum-Kulka and Levenston, 1978).

In the present study the strategy of rule extension involves applying a rule of the target language to forms which are inappropriate or not generally associated with the rule. This strategy has also been referred to as "overgeneralisation" (Tarone, Cohen and Dumas, 1976; Faerch and Kasper, 1983a). The analysis in the present study is based on the descriptions provided by Tarone, Cohen and Dumas, (1976). However, it needs to be clarified that the types of data identified as instances of rule extension are restricted to rules governing the formal aspects of target language use. The semantic/pragmatic aspects have been dealt with separately (See Strategy A 2b).

Strategy A 1d: Functional Extension

This strategy is similar to Rule Extension (Strategy A 1c), but deals exclusively with form-function relationships. The use of a particular form is extended to represent functions not generally associated with it; or a certain function is demonstrated by forms which do not generally represent that function.

Strategy A 1e : Overelaboration

This category is based on the definition of "overelaboration" provided by Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976), where the

utterance produced is "stilted, or inordinately formal". These utterances may be quite correct in strictly grammatical terms, though they would be inappropriate in the sense that a native speaker would not use them in that particular context.¹⁹

Strategy A 1f : Message Reduction

Like transliteration, reduction is a communication strategy that has been observed and identified in several earlier studies of interlanguage talk. The description by Corder (1978)²⁰ assumes both intentionality on the part of the speaker (in terms of an intended optimal message) and inability (to reach this intended optimal goal). Faerch and Kasper (1983a) imply a different point of view by referring to the speaker's avoidance of what would have been appropriate in "a different communicative situation" (p. 40)²¹.

Faerch and Kasper have raised an interesting issue, also mentioned by Varadi (1980), which is that of facilitating communication. In fact Faerch and Kasper make the very useful distinction between reduction as a means of avoiding error and reduction as a mode of facilitating speech. They apply the notion of consciousness as a distinguishing factor between the two types of reduction; in the case of reduction caused by error avoidance, the learner is unaware of using "incorrect" language, whereas reduction for facilitating communication (as in NS - NNS talk) appears to be a conscious

choice towards a communicative end. However, Faerch and Kasper, in describing reduction in the speech of native speakers, deal only with NS-NNS talk.

It is also necessary to account for reduction in the speech of two native-speakers or two competent bilinguals. Instances of reduction in both these cases would not reflect inadequacy or deliberate simplification (of the type that occurs in "foreigner - talk" or "teacher - talk"²²). A possible motivation for such reduction would be an interactive focus, where the process of interaction itself calls for a degree of reduction. Wagner (1979) provides a clue to such reduction when he describes the speaker as anticipating possible inferences by the hearer on the basis of available information. This would be an essential part of the process of interaction, where economy/effectiveness would depend on the omission of redundant segments. The term "redundant", in the sense in which it is used here, would refer to information implicit in the communicative situation, which both speaker and hearer take for granted. Specifying or repeating such assumed shared information would in fact amount to overelaboration in a real communicative situation, and would therefore detract from the effectiveness of the communication.

The omission of redundant segments in the process of communication, seems in some ways to resemble holophrastic speech in the L1 talk of children. However the analogy to

child L1 development does not hold true for adult L2 development. As a communication strategy, in adult use of the L2, reduction appears to operate in a somewhat different way. Whereas holophrastic speech forms a stage in child L1 development, reduction is not necessarily always a developmental strategy in adult L2 use, i.e., it is not used only by less proficient learners, or only by non-native speakers. The fact that the strategy is also used by native speakers and by competent bilinguals, indicates that it could be a strategy that is deliberately used either as simplification (for a less proficient hearer) or for economy/effect (assuming shared knowledge with the interlocutor). For the present study, therefore, the analysis distinguishes between two types of message reduction :

- (i) As avoidance
- (ii) For effect/economy

The former is a result of the speaker's inability to formulate the optimal unreduced message; the latter is an outcome of the speaker deliberately exercising a communicative option.

A 2. Semantic Strategies

Strategy A 2a : Semantic Transliteration

This strategy is similar to Syntactic Transliteration (Strategy A 1b). It refers to the literal translation of

lexical items as used in the L1. The strategy deals specifically with the meaning of these items; however it may also be accompanied by Syntactic transliteration within the same utterance.

Strategy A 2b : Semantic Contiguity

The term "semantic contiguity" has been drawn from Bialystok (1983)²³, and refers to the semantic relationship between words, rather than to formal or functional relationships. The strategy is a form of extension/generalisation and involves the use of a lexical item that carries part of the semantic overtones of the desired target item that it replaces. This strategy has also been described as "approximation" (Varadi, 1980²⁴; Tarone, 1981b²⁵).

Strategy A 2c : Contextual Analogy

This strategy is another form of extension, and shares features of Functional Extension (Strategy A 1d) and Semantic Continuity (Strategy A 2b). This strategy involves instances when the collocation of a lexical item with a functional item is extended from a more usual context, to a context where it does not generally occur.

Strategy A 2d : Use of Superordinate Term

This strategy involves replacement of a lexical item by a superordinate term in the target language. Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1978) suggest that such a strategy of

simplification is universal in nature and is often used in conversation between two native-speakers, where it would not be strictly necessary. A related strategy has been referred to as "Smurfing" by Riley (1984) and involves replacement of a lexical item by a word or phrase that is superordinate in an extremely indeterminate and general sense.

6.1.2 Type B : Reformulation Strategies

The strategies grouped under this head represent ways of negotiating meaning, through transactions between interlocutors, between speaker and text, or between speaker and propositional content. Hence some of the categories are drawn from the literature on Interaction Analysis and Discourse Analysis. The strategies are classified as :

- (1) Task - oriented Strategies : The focus here is on the task, per se.
- (2) Effect - oriented Strategies: The strategy is used more for effect than for dealing with the task on hand.

B1. Task-oriented Strategies

Strategy B 1a : Restructuring/Repair

This strategy has been described by Faerch and Kasper (1983a) as occurring when "the learner realizes that he cannot complete a local plan which he has already begun realizing, and develops an alternative local plan which enables

him to communicate his intended message without reduction" (p 50). Riley (1984) has also referred to "false starts" and "new starts" as types of self-repair.

For the present study, the notion of restructuring is drawn from these definitions but is extended to include interaction between interlocutors as well. Thus the two sub-categories deal with (i) repair/restructuring of one's own utterances and (ii) repair/restructuring of others' utterances. The strategy includes correction of inappropriate form, inappropriate lexis or inappropriate content.

Strategy B 1b : Retrieval

Retrieval strategies have featured in earlier studies of interlanguage, in NNS talk. However, we need to recognise that NS-NS talk also demonstrates the occurrence of disfluencies and employs retrieval strategies. Possible causes for the occurrence of this strategy, (whether in NS or NNS talk) are :

- inability to recall item
- lack of knowledge of item
- problems in applying rule
- search for simpler/more effective alternative.

Hence the occurrence of retrieval is often accompanied by repair/restructuring, or circumlocution.

For the present study, identification of the occurrence of retrieval is based on the description by Faerch and Kasper (1983a) of types of strategies used in retrieving specific IL (interlanguage) items ("waiting for term to appear, appealing to formal similarity, retrieval via semantic fields, searching via other languages, retrieval from learning situations, sensory procedures"), as well as the description of hesitation phenomena by Wagner (1979) ("unfilled and filled pauses, false starts and non-phonemic lengthening of speech sounds").

Strategy B 1c : Appeal

This category is based on the definition of "appeal" by Faerch and Kasper (1983a, p. 5): "the learner signals to his interlocutor that he is experiencing a communicative problem and that he needs assistance". Other researchers who have referred to this strategy are Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976), Corder (1978), Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1978), Haastруп and Phillipson (1983), Riley (1984). The present study includes instances of appeals regarding formal/lexical problems, as well as regarding propositional content, or regarding procedures to be followed in completion of the task. The two sub-categories are based on the distinction made by Faerch and Kasper (1983a) :

- i. Direct Appeals, which involve actual statement of an appeal by the learner; and

- ii. Indirect Appeals, which are generally signalled by indirect statements or by tone/gesture.

Strategy B 1d : Message Abandonment

This strategy involves abandonment of an incomplete message; it often occurs when the speaker faces serious problems in conveying the intended message. However, it may (less frequently) be used for effect, when the speaker assumes shared knowledge with the hearer.

Strategy B 1e : Offer

This category is drawn from the literature on interaction analysis/discourse analysis (Allwright, 1980; Goffman, 1981), and refers to bids made by the speaker in order to further the topic/task.

B 2. Effect - oriented Strategies

Strategy B 2a : Circumlocution

This strategy has been variously referred to in the literature as "paraphrase" or "circumlocution" (Tarone, Cohen and Dumas, 1976; Corder, 1978; Blum-Kulka and Levenston, 1978; Wagner, 1979; Varadi, 1980; Tarone, 1981b; Faerch and Kasper, 1983a; Haastруп and Phillipson, 1983; Bialystock, 1983; Riley, 1984). The strategy involves the use of a description of the characteristics/elements/features/functions of the desired lexical item.

As stated by Faerch and Kasper (1983a) the strategy often occurs as a means of filling a "gap" in the planning phase; this generally refers to instances of difficult/unfamiliar/unknown lexis. However, other possible reasons for employing this strategy would be to clarify a point for the interlocutor, to communicate an intended message more graphically, or when the communicative pressure of the situation does not allow sufficient time for the speaker to recall familiar items. In this sense, the strategy is used not only by NNS, but also in NS-NNS and NS-NS conversation.²⁷ The perspective offered by such an interpretation of the strategy suggests that it is not always an outcome of inadequacy, but is often selectively/deliberately used for communicative effect.

Strategy B 2b : Elaboration

This strategy is similar to circumlocution, but is used for slightly different reasons. It involves re-wording and/or providing extra details/information to further what has already been stated. Possible reasons for the occurrence of this strategy would be :

- to compensate for inadequacy in conveying intended message
- to provide a more effective alternative or a closer approximate, for an item that may already have been appropriately stated

- to emphasise an item/point of information
- to provide for turn-maintenance in interaction

Strategy B 2c : Repetition

This strategy is a feature of almost all conversations, whether NS-NS, NS-NNS, or NNS-NNS. Possible reasons for employing this strategy would be :

- to rehearse unfamiliar lexis/ideas
- to indicate acceptance of what the interlocutor has said
- to challenge the interlocutor
- to emphasise an earlier remark/statement

These reasons form the four sub-categories of this strategy.

Strategy B 2d : Use of Filler

This strategy is also drawn from studies in interaction analysis and discourse analysis, and is used for :

- a. compensating for inadequacy
- b. turn-maintenance

It involves the use of phonemes/words/phrases that serve to retain communicative control.

6.1.3 Type C : Code-switching Strategies

These strategies essentially cover what has been referred to in the literature as "code-switching",

"language switch", "borrowing" (Tarone, Cohen and Dumas, 1976; Corder, 1978; Blum-Kulka and Levenston, 1978; Wagner, 1979; Tarone, 1981b; Faerch and Kasper, 1983a; Bialystok, 1983; Haastrup and Phillipson, 1983; Riley, 1984), and involve the use of items from a language other than the target language, usually the native language. Code-Switching has earlier been viewed from the TL point of view as an expression of inadequacy on the part of the learner. Corder (1978) sets up a hierarchy of strategy types and refers to "switching" as involving the highest degree of "risk". However if one shifts the focus away from the TL model and away from NS-NNS talk, one finds that there are other motivations for the use of these strategies.²⁸

The view of code-switching strategies adopted in this study is based on Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953) who have attributed social reasons for switching to the L1. Several of the sub-categories have been drawn from Gumperz (1982), who has described types of discourse strategies, involving code-switching to the L1. Other categories have emerged from a close analysis of the data for the present study.

The types of code-switching strategies have been classified under : (1) Task-oriented strategies and (2) Effect-oriented strategies.

C 1. Task-oriented Strategies

Strategy C 1a : Avoidance of Breakdown

This strategy is related to the speaker's linguistic competence in the target language, and is used when the speaker faces difficulty in expressing the intended message in the target language.

Strategy C 1b : Use of Filler

This strategy operates at the level of discourse, and is derived from Gumperz (1982). The speaker chooses to use the L1, for items that function as fillers, as a means of discourse maintenance. For the present study, the category has been extended to include items that are specifically off-task, such as references to personal experiences, or discussion of procedural details.

Strategy C 1c : Clarification/Amplification/Emphasis

The speaker uses the L1 to elaborate on, or emphasise a point, or express supplementary ideas. This strategy often involves a more elaborate or detailed version of what has already been stated in the target language.

Strategy C 1d : Message Qualification

This category has been drawn from Gumperz (1982) and involves the use of the L1 to express qualifying constructions, such as sentence or verb complements or predicates following a copula.

Strategy C 1e : Reversal to the Target Language

This category involves what may be described as code-switching in reverse, and is a special feature of an ESL situation as in India, where many items of the target language have been used so frequently that they have been absorbed into the L1. The strategy involves the use of a TL item or phrase, in an L1 string, embedded within the larger strategy of code-switching from the TL to the L1. Such reversal may occur in the case of a single lexical item or for an entire segment.

C 2. Effect-oriented Strategies

Strategy C 2a : Addressee Specification

This category is derived from Gumperz (1982); the speaker directs the message to one of several possible addressees, adjusting the message (using the L1) to accommodate the interlocutor's linguistic competence in the TL. It is therefore a deliberate interpersonal strategy, and is used for communicative effect, rather than as an outcome of inadequacy.

Strategy C 2b : Personalisation

This category also features in the discussion by Gumperz (1982). Switching to the L1 is related to the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from a message, and is used to indicate that a statement reflects strong personal

opinion/disagreement, or challenges the interlocutor's ideas.

Strategy C 2c : Solidarity

This category represents switching to the L1 as a result of peer-group pressure. It expresses the need to belong to an in-group, and is effective as a strategy for reducing the degree of threat in statements of disagreement with the interlocutor; it also occurs as a device for softening the effect of statements that express group leadership.

Strategy C 2d : Humour

The use of the L1 to express humour has two possible motivations :

- it expresses a shared cultural identity with the interlocutor (in this, the strategy is similar to the expression of solidarity)
- it involves a more sophisticated skill and hence requires the speaker to shift to the L1.

6.2 Measure of Communicative Competence in English
(See Appendix D)

The learners' communicative competence in English was assessed by their scores on the Measure of Communicative Competence in English, developed by Vanikar and Palia. The tool was designed for use at the First Year level at the Faculty of Home Science, the M.S. University of Baroda.

Assessment of the learners' communicative competence in English was not based on tests alone : a battery of different types of tasks was used to elicit information on a variety of linguistic, sociolinguistic and interactional skills in English. The tasks were administered in the test situation, as well as more informal settings, in order to avoid variations in learner performance due to possible tension generated by a test; a series of written assignments were to be completed, some under the supervision of the teacher, others without any supervision. Verbal participation was assessed during regular class sessions. Differential performance due to personal factors (such as health, emotional factors, etc.) was minimised by ensuring that the assessment was an ongoing process over the duration of an entire semester. The final score of each learner was a composite of scores on :

1. a written test (including items on reading skills, writing skills, use of vocabulary appropriate to a register, as well as cloze - type items;
2. a series of supervised, as well as unsupervised, written assignments ranging from highly structured and controlled tasks to comparatively free writing (including tasks such as identifying language functions, making inferences, using contextualised vocabulary, rewriting in a given format , and describing a process); and

3. verbal participation/interaction in the class
(including learner-learner/learner-class/learner-
teacher talk; both the quantity and the quality of
talk - such as persuasiveness, adaptability, etc. -
were accounted for).

Scores on each of these components were given equal weightage in calculating the final score of each learner.

Grades were awarded (as per requirements in the Faculty of Home Science) on a seven-point scale, (O-A-B-C-D-E-F). This system for measuring communicative competence was the official system for evaluation of learners enrolled for the first year of the Bachelor of Science degree course at the Faculty of Home Science. The system had already been in use for two years prior to the present study. Decisions regarding the broad components of the system, as well as the detailed content and the types of tasks to be used, were taken on the basis of discussions with colleagues/experts in the field regarding the relationship between test items and course objectives, as well as the theories of language behaviour and learning underlying the abilities/skills to be measured. The system was reviewed and refined during the first year of its implementation, on the basis of field experiences. Accordingly, the Measure of Communicative Competence in English used for the present study may be considered to have not only face validity, but also content validity and construct validity

(Garrett, 1953; Anastasi, 1968; Heaton, 1975).

In estimating the reliability of the Measure of Communicative Competence in English, it was felt that the test-retest method was unsuitable because it was likely to lead to changes in performance due to temporal fluctuations, the memory factor, and personal factors such as motivation. Similarly, the parallel-form method has its disadvantage in the difficulty of constructing two genuinely identical versions of a test in terms of content sampling, difficulty, length, etc. The split-half method also appears impractical because of the improbability of dividing a test, in which items are graded according to increasing difficulty, and which includes not only objective-type items but also free writing tasks. Finally, the problems in applying any of these methods are compounded by the spoken/interactional component and the longitudinal nature of the assessment.

The present study therefore adopts a modified version of the parallel-form method to estimate the reliability of the measure. Instead of two parallel or alternate forms, identical tasks were completed by two sets of learners (Set I and Set II). All the learners belonged to the same age-group and sex, and had similar educational backgrounds; each set represented an approximately equivalent cross-section of learners whose L1 was Gujarati, Marathi or Hindi, and whose medium of instruction at school was either

English or one of the regional languages. All the learners had also completed the course in Communication Skills in English during the first year of the degree course at the Faculty of Home Science. It may therefore be assumed that Set I and Set II constituted similar samples of learners. The degree of similarity between the two sets, in the percentage of learners obtaining scores at each grade level on the seven-point scale, would accordingly provide an estimate of the reliability of the Measure. Table 6 indicates that differences between the two sets of learners are minimal. It may therefore be concluded that the tool is reliable as a measure of communicative competence in English.

6.3 Communicative Competence Scale (See Appendix E)

The learners' self-rating on communicative competence in English was measured by scores on the Communicative Competence Scale, developed by Vanikar and Palia. The scale was designed for learners at the First Year level at the Faculty of Home Science, the M.S. University of Baroda.

Learners were given a series of statements regarding their communicative competence in English; for each statement they were asked to rate themselves on a four-point frequency scale, ranging from "always" to "never". The communicative Competence Scale focussed on interpersonal/sociolinguistic skills in English and covered the following aspects of communicative competence :

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF SCORES OF TWO SETS OF LEARNERS ON THE
MEASURE OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN ENGLISH

Grade obtained (7-point scale)	% of Learners		
	Set I (N=81)	Set II (N=77)	Difference
0	-	1.3	1.3
A	19.8	13.0	6.8
B	34.5	35.0	0.5
C	17.3	19.5	2.2
D	19.8	26.0	6.2
E	7.4	2.6	4.8
F	1.2	2.6	1.4
Total	100%	100%	

Reliability coefficient : 0.94

- a) Participation : Statements 3, 16, 19
- b) Presentation of self : Statements 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 10
- c) Tolerance : Statements 14, 17, 20
- d) Adaptability : Statements 11, 12, 15, 18
- e) Persuasiveness : Statement 5
- f) Risk-Taking : Statements 8, 9, 13
- g) Responsibility : Statements 21, 22

The different items on the Scale covered receptive as well as productive skills in English; the Scale included statements regarding language behaviour within the classroom as well as outside, with specific reference to both formal and informal use of language. The Scale also included individual as well as interpersonal skills in using English. By asking for self-rating, the Communicative Competence Scale attempted to obtain information regarding the learners' perception of their own abilities and competence in using English, their view of their own patterns of behaviour in interactions with peers/teacher, and their degree of confidence.

The Communicative Competence Scale was developed as part of the ongoing system of evaluation of the course in Communicative Skills in English at the first year of the Bachelor of Science degree course at the Faculty of Home Science. The Scale had been administered twice, prior to the present study, to different groups of learners at the first

year level, and was modified on the basis of the researcher's field experiences in using the Scale. The earliest version of the Scale consisted of eighteen statements (See Appendix B); subsequently, some of the statements were rephrased for greater clarity. Specific references to the learner's confidence, and to the distinction between formal and informal use of language were introduced in the second version (See Appendix B). This version also included three further statements in order to distinguish between "volunteering to answer"/"answering when asked"; "listening to obtain information"/"listening for mood or feeling"; and "taking initiative in classroom activities"/"taking on responsibility for directing classroom activities". After administering this second version, one more statement was introduced in the final version (See Appendix E), in order to distinguish between "communicating with students who have a similar level of English"/"communicating with students whom one would not generally associate with".

Decisions regarding aspects of communicative competence to be included, as well as regarding clarity of language, were taken on the basis of consultations with colleagues/experts in the field of education. Experts in the field were also asked to separately indicate which statements on the scale referred to each of the different aspects of communicative competence (such as "participation", "presentation of self",

etc.), to ensure a degree of agreement in responding to items on the scale (See Table 7). As discussed earlier in section 6.2 of this chapter, the scale may therefore be considered to have validity.

A modified version of the parallel-form method is used to establish the reliability of the Scale (reasons for adopting this method of estimating reliability are discussed in Section 6.2 of this chapter). The scale was administered to two sets of learners (Set A and Set B), which were considered as similar samples (the justification for this assumption is provided in Section 6.2 of this chapter). Table 8 indicates that there is minimal difference between Sets A and B in the percentage of learners obtaining scores at the three competency levels (High, Average and Low). The Scale is therefore considered as a reliable tool for self-rating on communicative competence in English.

6.4 Semi-Projective Test for Measuring Coping Strategies (See Appendix F)

The learners' coping strategies for dealing with situations in everyday life, were measured by the Semi-Projective Test for Measuring Coping Strategies.

The initial version of the test was used in two studies conducted on competent adolescents (Silber, Hamburg, Coelho, Murphy, Rosenberg and Pearlin, 1961; Coelho, Hamburg and Murphy, 1963), which examined the ways in which American

TABLE 7

STATEMENTS ON THE COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE SCALE (CCS):
 DEGREE OF AGREEMENT AMONG EXPERTS REGARDING CATEGORISATION
 UNDER AREAS OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

CCS Statement No.	Area of Communicative Competence			Degree Agreement (%)
	Expert. 1	Expert 2	Expert 3	
1	B	B	B	100.0
2	B	A	B	66.6
3	A	A	B	66.6
4	B	F	B	66.6
5	E	E	E	100.0
6	B	B	B	100.0
7	A	B	B	66.6
8	F	F	B	66.6
9	F	F	F	100.0
10	B	B	B	100.0
11	D	D	D	100.0
12	D	D	D	100.0
13	A	F	F	66.6
14	D	D	D	100.0
15	D	D	D	100.0
16	A	D	A	66.6
17	C	C	C	100.0
18	D	D	C	66.6
19	A	A	A	100.0
20	C	D	C	66.6
21	G	S	F	66.6
22	G	G	G	100.0

Total degree of agreement among experts: 84.8%.

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF SCORES OF TWO SETS OF LEARNERS
ON THE COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE SCALE

Competency Level	% of Learners		Difference
	Set A (N =63)	Set B (N=70)	
High	31.8	27.1	4.7
Average	46.0	47.2	1.2
Low	22.2	25.7	3.5
Total	100%	100%	

Reliability Coefficient : 0.93

college freshmen cope with challenges and threats in their daily life. The test was adapted by Sharma (1979), for use with girls at school level in the Indian setting. Since the test was a modified semi-projective version of the TAT (Thematic Apperception Test) originally devised by Murray (1943), it was necessary to adapt the pictures used, so that the subjects could more easily identify with them, and project their own circumstances, experiences and preoccupations onto the characters in the pictures; the pictures were therefore adapted by Sharma (1979) in terms of the cultural content of the pictures (such as type of clothing, furniture, etc.) as well as the age and sex of the characters in the pictures. The test used by Sharma (1979) was further adapted by Vanikar and Palia, for use with adolescent Indian girls at first year college level. This version of the test consisted of a set of six pictures (black-and-white sketches) approximately 19" x 14", mounted on stiff cards, so that the test could be taken simultaneously by a fairly large group of learners. The scenes were semi-structured, suggesting recognisably specific situations in everyday life, which required coping or adjustment. Each picture had at least one character with which learners could easily identify. In order to facilitate projection of the learners' personal experiences, the features of faces in the pictures were deliberately omitted, so that facial expression was entirely missing, and only the gesture, posture or position of the characters was suggestive; similarly, the type of clothes worn by

characters in the pictures was deliberately non-distinctive. A caption was provided for each picture, to ensure that responses were directed towards the same situation. Areas of experience covered by the test were :

1. Self and Authority Figure (Pictures 1 and 4);
2. Self and Peer Group (Pictures 3 and 6); and
3. Management of Solitude (Pictures 2 and 5).

Since the focus was on coping behaviour, and not on language, the learners were free to write in English or in one of the regional languages.

Learners' coping strategies were measured on the basis of the five-point scale used by Coelho, Silber and Hamburg (1962) in terms of : (i) Solution (to the "problem" presented by the situation); (ii) Activity (on the part of the central character, towards a resolution); and (iii) Favourableness (of the outcome for the learner). To ensure the reliability of the scores, a few randomly selected responses were evaluated independently by two other scorers; scoring was repeated till agreement was achieved between independent scores.

The validity of the test (cf. the discussion in Section 6.2 of this chapter) was already established, since it was an adaptation of valid studies conducted by researchers in the field of education; the adaptations for the present study, were based on discussions with experts in the field.

The reliability of the test was estimated by the modified parallel-form method (See Section 6.2 of this chapter). The test was administered to two equivalent groups of learners, Set X and Set Y; Table 9 indicates that the pattern of scores of both sets of learners was similar. The test is therefore considered as a reliable tool for measuring the coping strategies of learners.

6.5 Classification System for Analysing Interactional Skills (See Appendix G)

The Classification System for Analysing Interactional Skills was developed by Vanikar and Palia, to assess the learners' patterns of interaction. The classification system was derived from categories discussed/used by Anderson (1939), Withall (1949), Bales and Strodtbeck (1951), Amidon and Flanders (1967), Amidon and Hunter (1967), Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Barnes and Todd (1977), Gosling (1981) and Sinclair and Brazil (1982). A series of discussions by small groups of learners during their regular class sessions, were observed. Categories used by earlier researchers were applied to learner talk, and instances of other categories emerging from the data were listed; these categories were classified into a system that would be relevant to the data for the present study. The classification system analyses interaction under three broad areas :

1. Progress through Task

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF SCORES OF TWO SETS OF
LEARNERS ON THE SELF-PROJECTIVE TEST
FOR MEASURING COPING STRATEGIES

Grade obtained (5 -point scale)	% of Learners		
	Set X (N=44)	Set Y (N=47)	Difference
A	6.8	2.1	4.7
B	36.4	42.6	6.2
C	43.2	46.8	3.6
D	11.3	8.5	2.8
E	2.3	-	2.3
Total	100%	100%	

Reliability Coefficient: 0.99

2. Supportive Behaviour

3. Competition and Conflict

Sub-categories under each area form a cline of interactional skills, ranging from more passive behaviour, to behaviour that implies a degree of control over the interaction. Scores for individual learners were determined by the frequency of occurrence of each skill. Since the focus was on interactional rather than linguistic skills, the analysis included learner talk in English, as well as in the regional languages.

Interaction during the course of the discussions was coded on the basis of linguistic as well non-linguistic behaviour.

To ensure reliability of the coding, a few initial sessions were coded independently by two observers; further coding was undertaken only after consensus was reached on the basis of discussions.

7. SAMPLE

The subjects for the study were 12 girls, all of whom were enrolled for Semester II of the First Year of the Bachelor of Science degree course at the Faculty of Home Science, M.S. University, Baroda. All the subjects had passed the Higher Secondary School Certificate Examination (Standard XII) and were in the age group 17±18 years. After completion of the Secondary School Certificate Examination (Standard X), all the subjects had received two years of specialised

training at school : six of the subjects received training in the sciences, and the remaining six in the humanities and commerce. On the basis of this educational background at school, they had been grouped under the Science Stream and the General Stream, respectively, at the Faculty of Home Science. To equalise the educational background of all learners, the Faculty of Home Science provided the following training during Semester I : a) a common course in Communication Skills in English, for all learners; b) intensive training in the humanities to learners in the Science Stream; and c) intensive training in the sciences to learners in the General Stream. It may therefore be assumed that in addition to the basic communication skills in English, all the learners had been introduced to the basic concepts in both the humanities and the sciences, by the end of Semester I. As part of their course in Communication Skills in English during Semester I, all the subjects had also been exposed to group-work as a methodology in the classroom.

Nine of the subjects had Gujarati as their L1, two had Hindi and one had Marathi. Two of the subjects had English as their medium of instruction at school; the remaining ten had a regional language-Gujarati or Hindi - as their medium of instruction at school. All the subjects, regardless of their L1 and their medium of instruction at school, were fluent speakers of Gujarati, on account of their constant exposure to the Gujarati-speaking population around them.

Subjects for the study were selected on the basis of their communicative competence in English at the end of Semester I, which was assessed by the Measure of Communicative Competence in English (See Section 6.2 of this chapter). The two learners with English as their medium of instruction at school, were selected at random from those who showed average communicative competence in English at the end of Semester I (Grades B and C on the seven-point scale). The ten learners who had a regional language as their medium of instruction at school, were similarly picked at random in the following proportion : four learners who obtained average scores (Grades B and C), and six learners who obtained low scores (Grades D and E). Half the learners at each level of communicative competence were drawn from the Science Stream, and the other half were drawn from the General Stream. The twelve subjects thus formed two groups of learners as follows :

<u>Medium of Instruction</u>	<u>Communicative Competence</u>	<u>Science Stream</u>	<u>General Stream</u>
English	Grades B and C	1 learner	1 learner
Regional Language	Grades B and C	2 learners	2 learners
Regional Language	Grades D and E	3 learners	3 learners

The rationale for the sampling procedure adopted for the study is outlined below :

Since the present research adopted a case-study approach the number of subjects was necessarily small.²⁹

Despite the small sample, the composition of each group of learners represented a cross-section of competency-levels within the classroom. The majority of subjects within each group were learners whose medium of instruction at school was one of the regional languages (Gujarati or Hindi); it was believed that the use of communication strategies by these learners would reflect the processes of second language acquisition. The English medium learner in each group would act as a facilitator, initiating greater use of the L2, and maintaining the flow of communication in English. The English medium learner in each group had only average communicative competence in English in order to ensure that the disparity between competency levels in each group was not too great; this was likely to promote the smooth functioning of the group. The fact that all the learners were fluent speakers of Gujarati was also likely to lead to conversational code-switching; this would approximate the language use of learners outside the classroom.

8. PROCEDURE

8.1 Administration of Tools

Data for the study was collected as follows :

- a. Three tools - the Measure of Communicative Competence in English, the Communicative Competence Scale, and the Semi-Projective Test for Measuring Coping Strategies - were

administered to the learners over a series of sessions during Semester I. Instructions for each were first given in English, and then in Gujarati, to ensure total comprehension. A conscious attempt was made to maintain a relaxed, informal atmosphere while the learners worked on the various tasks, without allowing them to be distracted from the task on hand.

- b. Field notes were maintained on each learner; these included information obtained through informal personal interviews, as well as general observations by the researcher.
- c. Information on the learners' academic background at school was obtained from the records maintained by the administrative office of the Faculty of Home Science.
- d. Data on interactional skills and use of communication strategies was collected by observing small-group discussions (with two groups of six learners each), for the duration of Semester II. The tasks to be worked on constituted the regular course-work for the course in Communication Skills in English. The tasks ranged from highly structured tasks to relatively "free" tasks, and covered reading skills, listening

skills, visual-verbal transfer, oral presentation and presentation in a given format.

Subjects were instructed to work on all tasks as a group, rather than individually; thus even a cloze-type task, or a task on written presentation was to be completed by arriving at a group consensus for each item. Subjects were encouraged to talk as far as possible in English. However, they were free to use Gujarati as well, whenever they wanted to or needed to.

It was not felt necessary to devise formal data elicitation tasks where the learner is forced to use certain items/structures.³⁰ Since the focus of the present study is on the context of language use - context referring to the interpersonal negotiation of meaning, the sociocultural factors at work in an ESL situation, and the individual factors affecting language use - both free as well as structured tasks were appropriate for elicitation of data. Rather than attempt to prevent the occurrence of avoidance, it was felt that avoidance as a strategy also has a place in the sociolinguistic/sociocultural dynamics of the ESL situation. It was felt that linguistic manipulation tasks alone, being restricted to the production of more conscious utterances, would yield a somewhat restricted range of communication strategies.³¹ For the present study, therefore, a range of data elicitation tasks was selected to allow for free conversation as well as more controlled language use.

• Although the tasks were part of the course in Communication Skills in English,³² the subjects were withdrawn from the regular classroom to a separate room, in order to ensure clarity in recording. Learners were required to rely entirely on their own resources in completing all the tasks, since the teacher was not present. On a few rare occasions, the group appealed to the observer for help; however most of the time they relied on each other and on the dictionary. The rationale for such a procedure lies in the belief that absence of the teacher was likely to lead to more communicative language use as learners negotiated for the role of leader/teacher within the group.

Thirty sessions (fifteen sessions per group) were recorded on audio-cassette; each session lasted for fifty minutes. A trained observer simultaneously coded interaction patterns during each session. For the first session the learners appeared to be rather self-conscious; however they very quickly learnt to ignore both the audio-cassette-recorder and the observer, and showed no signs of unease or self-consciousness during subsequent sessions.

8.2 Analysis of Data

The data for the study was analysed as follows :

- a. The data recorded on audio-cassette was transcribed, and analysed on the basis of the System for Analysing Communication Strategies.

Each utterance was categorised with reference to the communication strategies used by the Speaker. Scores for individual learners were based on the frequency of use of each strategy. A study was made of the proportion of talk of each learner that involved use of a particular type of strategy; this was done by calculating the percentage of use of each strategy within the total number of strategies used by a learner.³³ For instance, if Learner X used a total of 158 strategies, out of which Strategy A 1c occurred 9 times, the proportion of use of Strategy A 1c in the talk of Learner X would be 5.7%. Such a method of computation accounts for differential performance in terms of the total quantity of talk. For instance, the same strategy (Strategy A 1c) might occur 67 times in the talk of Learner y, out of a total of 3,223 strategies. If one were to compare the raw scores on Strategy A 1c (Learner X : 9; Learner y : 67), it would appear that Learner y used the strategy far more frequently than Learner X. This, however, would be misleading, in terms of the proportion of talk of each learner, since Learner y talked far more than Learner X; the

proportion of use of the strategy in the talk of the two learners (Learner X : 5.7%; Learner y : 2.1%) indicates that in fact Learner X used the strategy more frequently than Learner y. The figures are therefore more comparable when viewed as a percentage of the total strategies used by each learner.

- b. Patterns of use of interactional skills were established in terms of the frequency of use of different skills on the basis of the System for Analysing Interactional Skills. The percentage of use of each skill by individual learners, was computed in the same manner as the percentage of use of each communication strategy, as described above.
- c. Scores for each learner were obtained on the basis of the Measure of Communicative Competence in English, the Communicative Competence Scale, and the Semi-projective Test for Measuring Coping Strategies.
- d. Detailed individual profiles of each learner were prepared, on the basis of the field notes, the scores on the various measures, and the frequency of use of different communication strategies and interactional skills.

- e. A correlation matrix of fifty-six variables was used to investigate the relationship between communication strategies, interactional skills, and scores on various measures.
- f. A non-parametric test - the Spearman Rank Order Correlation - was used to confirm the findings from the correlation matrix, particularly since the case-study approach is necessarily based on a small sample of learners.³⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. Purkey's focus, however, is essentially on ways in which teacher attitudes and teacher behaviour foster positive or negative self-concept in the learner.
2. Brown (1981) lists the following affective factors in second language learning :
 - egocentric factors : such as self-esteem or inhibition
 - transactional factors : such as style of communication, imitation, empathy, introversion or extroversion
 - motivation : fulfilment of needs
 - attitudes : to self/others/culture
 - sociocultural variation : the extent of cognitive and affective behaviour established by the culture
3. O'Malley (1977) defines social competence as productive and mutually satisfying interactions with one's peers.

4. Elder (1968) defines the technical aspect of competence as the demonstration of effectiveness on tasks.
5. Generally, a value-judgement regarding the strategy used is implicit in such classifications. For instance, Corder (1978) ranks strategies like language - switch as involving "more risk-taking" than, say, a strategy such as the use of gesture or other para-linguistic devices, which he considers to be the least risk-taking strategy of all.
6. The term "inter-/intralingual transfer" has been used by Faerch and Kasper (1983a) in their classification of communication strategies. For the purpose of the present study the term has been used in a different sense; it does not refer exclusively to the phenomenon of transfer, and it includes other categories (such as generalisation and reduction) that Faerch and Kasper have classified under different heads.
7. Hakuta (1976) defines "prefabricated pattern" as a regular patterned segment of speech employed without knowledge of its underlying structure, but with the knowledge as to which particular situations call for what patterns.
8. Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976) draw from Hakuta's (1976) definition and suggest that prefabricated patterns could be considered as a sub-category of overgeneralisation; they also suggest that prefabricated patterns occur only in the syntactic domain.
9. Dechert (1983) draws from Lesser and Erman (1977), who use the term "islands of reliability" in their description of the Hearsay-II system, a computer architecture to simulate speech understanding processes.
10. A corollary to this would be the suggestion that in L1 development the learner has successfully built up a repertoire of a series of such islands to the point where all speech is automatically accurate. However the analogy between child L1 acquisition and adult L2 acquisition (cf. Dulay and Burt, 1983) is not central to the present study.

11. Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976) draw from Selinker (1969) in describing the phenomenon of transfer as "negative transfer from the NL, resulting in utterances that are not just inappropriate but actually incorrect by native standards." (p. 5)
12. Corder (1978) refers to transfer as a strategy of learning which utilises the mother-tongue system as a heuristic technique.
13. Faerch and Kasper (1983a) describe the phenomenon of interlingual transfer as a combination of linguistic features from the IL, the L1 or other languages.
14. Tarone (1981b) describes literal translation as occurring when the learner translates word for word from the native language.
15. Bialystok (1983) suggests that transliteration reflects the use of L2 lexicon and structure to create a (usually non-existent) literal translation of an L1 item or phrase.
16. Haastrup and Phillipson (1983) refer to literal translation as an L1-based achievement strategy.
17. Riley (1984) refers to literal translation as occurring when the speaker takes a term from one language and translates it literally into another.
18. An interesting version of morphological transliteration occurs in the case of reverse code-switching, where an L2 item occurs in an L1 utterance. Very often in such cases, the L2 item, which is generally a lexical item, takes on morphological features from the L1. For instance, a learner who says [depa; māthi bus avi] (the bus has come from the depot), is appending the Gujarati case-marker (a) to the English word "depot"; cf. [chopdo] (book); [shopda; māthi] (from the book).
19. Faerch and Kasper (1983a) have suggested that a possible cause for such utterances would be a greater emphasis on the written form of the TL, in the learner's prior training. For instance, in India, "academic" or "textbook" English is generally considered superior to more informal varieties.

20. Corder (1978) describes the strategy of message reduction as "saying less, or less precisely, what you intended to say" (p. 17).
21. Faerch and Kasper (1983a) account for the process of reduction in the following manner : "In order to avoid producing non-fluent or incorrect utterances by using insufficiently automatised or hypothetical rules/items, learners may decide to communicate by means of a reduced system, focussing on stable rules and items which have become reasonably well automatised. A parallel to this is found with native speakers who, in interacting with learners, may have to communicate by means of a simplified version of their L1 system, matching the learner's receptive resources (pp. 38-39).
22. Cf. the discussion by Long and Porter (1985).
23. Bialystok (1983) defines "semantic contiguity" as the use of a lexical item which shares certain semantic features with the target item.
24. Vardadi (1980) refers to approximation as "as an attempt to reconstruct the optimal meaning by explicating (often only referring to) part of its semantic component" (p. 92).
25. Tarone (1981b) defines approximation as "use of a single target language vocabulary item or structure, which the learner knows is not correct, but which shares enough semantic features in common with the desired item to satisfy the speaker" (p. 62).
26. Riley (1984) describes "smurfing" as occasions when the speaker uses "empty" or meaningless words (such as "thing", "whatsit", "thingummy") to fill gaps in his knowledge, relying on his interlocutors guessing their meaning from the context.
27. Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1978) have referred to the fact that teachers also use paraphrase, both to avoid unknown lexical items and to introduce new ones. Such strategic use also characterises "foreigner talk" in NS-NNS conversations. However, the study has not accounted for paraphrase as a feature of NS-NS conversation.

28. Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976) have referred to possible motivations for code-switching as being either "linguistic" or "social". However they restrict their discussion to the former, and do not pursue the latter in any detail.
29. The rationale for selecting the case-study approach has been presented in Section 1 of this chapter.
30. Lightbown (1984) suggests that such tasks are more "reliable" than free conversation or writing tasks, where "learners may simply avoid a particular linguistic structure by using a paraphrase" (p. 242).
31. It has been found that the type of task used for eliciting data (for instance "communicative" tasks versus linguistic manipulation tasks) leads to differential performance (Corder, 1973; Larsen-Freeman, 1975; Tarone, 1979).
32. In fact data-collection sessions were scheduled during the same time-slots as the regular class sessions.
33. Formulas for performance analysis (Long and Sato, 1984) for calculating percentage of suppliance in obligatory contexts and percentage of target-like use, were not found relevant for the present study; such formulas are target language oriented, whereas the present study is concerned with describing the learner's transitional competence.
34. The technique of implicational scaling (Hatch and Farhady, 1982; Long and Sato, 1984) was not found relevant, since the study does not attempt to distinguish between features that are correct/incorrect; a binary distinction would therefore be likely to result in misinterpretation of the data.