Take care of sense, and the sounds will take care of themselves

- Lewis Carrol

CHAPTER 4

STRATEGIES IN INTERLANGAUGE COMMUNICATION

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Every language learner at all points of his learning career 'has a language', which changes all the time, and his rules constantly undergo revision. If we approach the study of the learners' language as we would any unknown or undescribed language, then we must regard the learner as a 'native speaker' of his language and theoretically, at least, the only native speaker. An attempt must be made to describe his language in its own terms, at least in the first instance, and not in those of any other language and realize his intuitions about the grammaticality of his language which are potentially investigable. Adopting this approach, Corder considers a learner, "as a native speaker of his own idiosyncratic dialect, produces no errors, though like any speaker he may produce 'slips of the tongue or *pen'"(Error Analysis* 56-7).

Elicitation off **Interlanguage:**

Second language learners in the course of learning a second language, produce utterances that are ungrammatical or otherwise ill-formed when judged by native

standards of the target language. This is obvious not only to the teachers of languages but also to any native speaker of the target language who comes in contact with them. It is generally socially unacceptable to correct the errors of a foreigner speaking what he regards as our language, unless we have been specifically asked to do so by him, but is one of the most important tasks of a teacher in the language classroom to do correction in a way that helps the learner to acquire most expeditiously the correct forms of the target language. These errors are considered as being an unfortunate but inevitable sign of human fallibility. Errors may occur due to lack of attention on the part of the learner, or some inadequacy in the method of teaching and these could be rectified by re-teaching the point in question, and these errors arise because there has not been enough effort on the part of the learner or enough explanation or practice on the part of the teacher. Regarding these constraints there is no point in attempting to analyze the nature of the error, since greater and repeated efforts will correct it.

Errors may also be treated as a result of 'interference', that is the influence of the mother tongue on

the learning process from the habits of the first language. The undoubted similarity of certain forms in the target language and the mother tongue forms necessary base for the commission of certain errors. Certain errors are predicted before they occur by suitable techniques of teaching, the attempt is made to prevent, perhaps from occurring. But when learners still go on making errors then it is recognized that the features of the mother tongue do not have any clear relation to some of these errors. So in an alternative way these occurrences of errors are regarded as useful evidence of how the learner sets about the task of learning, and what 'sense' he makes of the target language data to which he is exposed and being required to respond. Here the making of errors is considered as an inevitable, indeed a necessary part of the learning process and the teacher may also gain insight into the learner's state of knowledge at any particular point of learning and also into the strategies of learning that the learner may be using, which in turn helps the teacher to devise appropriate corrective measures. This latter approach clearly indicates that the learners' errors are in some way systematic and not random, and also indicates that the

learners should have some peculiar version of the target language and it must be based on some systematic knowledge or personal 'competence* or the learners must possess a more or less well-defined personal grammar to base his utterances on. If that is the case, then the performance of the learners may be considered as being rule-governed like the performance of any other native speaker. Even then errors tend to appear in the utterances of the second language learners at any particular stage in the course of study and these errors are to a considerable degree regular and consistent. Experienced teachers are able to predict rather accurately what errors any specific group of learners is going to make in the next stage of the course; however, they could hardly prevent these occurring. These learners' versions of target languages were given the collective name **'interlanguage'** by Selinker in 1972, and it is this term which has gained the widest currency among applied linguists in recent years.

The study of interlanguage is, then, the study of the language systems of language learners, or simply the **study of language learners' language.** Other names also have been suggested by linguists for this learner's language. James

coined the term *interlingua* and Nemser offered *approximative systems.* Pit Corder gave the name *transitional competence.* The terms *interlanguage* and *interlingua* suggest that the learner's language will feature in both of the target language and other languages he may know, most obviously of his mother tongue, which indicates a mixed or an intermediate state. The term *approximative system,* on the other hand stresses the goal-directed development on the learner's language towards the target language system. The term *transitional competence* borrows the notion of 'competence' from Chomsky and emphasizes that the learner possesses a certain body of knowledge which is constantly developing.

Selinker's *Interlanguagei*

The term interlanguage, introduced by Selinker, suggests the intermediate stage between the native and target language and the data on which the theories of second language learning should be based must be the learner's real or attempted communication in the second language. Selinker assumes that there are 'psychological structures' latent in the brain which are activated when one attempts to learn a second language. Lenneberg (1967) refers to this concept as

latent language structure which (a) is an already formulated arrangement in the brain (b) is the biological counterpart to universal grammar, and (c) is transformed by the infant into the realized structure of a particular grammar in accordance with certain maturational stages. Selinker assumes that there exists in the brain an already formulated arrangement which for most people is different from and exists in addition to Lenneberg's latent language structure. The assumption that is made, which Lenneberg describes, is that those adults who succeed in learning a second language so that they achieve native speaker's competence have somehow reactivated the latent language structure. This absolute success in a second language affects only a small percentage of learners and this small percentage go through very different psycholinguistic processes than most of the second language learners and these successful learners may be safely ignored - in a counterfactual sense - for the purpose of establishing the constructs which point to the psychologically relevant data pertinent to most second language learners. Regarding the study of the vast majority of second language learners who fail to achieve native speaker competence, the notion of

'attempted learning' is independent and logically prior to the notion of 'successful learning'. The light is to be focused on this group of learners, whose attempted learning is successful or not are supposed to activate a different, though still genetically determined structure or the latent psychological structure, whenever they attempt to produce a sentence in the second language, that is, whenever they attempt to express meanings which they may already have, in a language which they are in the process of learning. This series of assumptions have to be made because the second language learner who actually achieves native speaker competence, cannot possibly have been taught this competence, since linguists are daily - in almost every generative study - discovering new and fundamental facts about particular languages. Successful learners, in order to achieve this native speaker competence, must have acquired these facts without having explicitly been taught them.

The ideal second language learner is the one who will not succeed in the attempt of learning the target language and he is thus representative of the vast majority of the second language learners. Linguists' analytical attention is

focused upon the only observable data to which we can relate theoretical predictions, that is, the utterances which are produced when the learner attempts to say sentences of a target language. This set of utterances for most learners of a second language is not identical to the hypothesized corresponding set of utterances which would have been produced by a native speaker of the target language had he attempted to express the same meaning as the learner. As these sets of utterances are not identical, then one would be completely justified in hypothesizing, perhaps even compelled to hypothesize, the existence of a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production or a target language norm. This linguistic system is called 'interlanguage' (IL).

Selinker(1974) also introduces another concept which is related to the latent psychological structure, that is *fossilization* ("Interlanguage" 36). Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a particular native language will tend to keep in their interlanguage relative to a particular target language, no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation

and instruction he receives in the target language. These fossilizable structures tend to remain as potential performance, re-emerging in the productive performance of an interlanguage even when seemingly eradicated. Many of these phenomena reappear in interlanguage performance when the learner's attention is focused upon new and difficult intellectual subject matter or when he is in a state of anxiety or other excitement, and strangely enough, sometimes when he is in a state of extreme relaxation.

There are five central processes (and perhaps some additional minor ones) related to those items, rules, and subsystems which are fossilizable, exist in the latent psychological structure. If these fossilizable items, rules and subsystems which occur in interlanguage performance are a result of the native language, then it deals with the process of *language transfer,* if these fossilizable items, rules, and subsystems are a result of identifiable items in training procedures, then it deals with the process known as *transfer of training;* if they are a result or an identifiable approach by the learner to the material to be learned, then we are dealing with *strategies of second language learning*; if they are a result

of an identifiable approach by the learner to communication with native speakers of the target language, then it deals with **_strategies of second language communication;_** and finally, if they are a result of a clear overgeneralization of target language rules and semantic features, then it deals with the **_overgeneralization of TL linguistic material._** Combinations of these processes produce entirely fossilized IL competence.

Memser's *approximative system:*

Nemser's terminology slightly differs from Selinker's term but it is applied to precisely the same phenomenon. He uses the term **_approximative system_** for **_interlanguage_**. This term has the advantage of implying the developmental nature of language learning, since the learners' system is continually being modified as new elements are incorporated throughout the learning process. Such developing systems are evident in learner's errors. Nemser views that the attention to the content rather than the form of utterances by the learner seen in learner's simplified grammar, may also be characteristic of the teacher's speech. Such systems have internal coherence and are not simply corrupt versions of the target language or mother tongue and

their characteristics change according to the degree of learning.

Nemser classifies the language systems represented in a contact situation as

(i)   the target language in which the communication is being attempted; in the case of a learner it is the language he is learning, when he uses it,

(ii) the source language that acts as a source of interference; it is   normally the learner's native language,

(iii) employed by the learner to utilize the target language, an approximative system, a deviant linguistic system actually

Nemser's assumption is three fold:

(i)   learner speech at a given time is the patterned product of a linguistic system

(ii) an approximative system at successive stages of learning forms an evolving series, and

(iii) in a given contact situation, the approximative system of learners at the same stage of proficiency

roughly coincide, with major variations ascribable to differences in learning experience.

The speech of a learner, according to this assumption, is structurally organized, manifesting the order and cohesiveness of a system, although one frequently changing with atypical rapidity and subject to radical reorganization through the massive intrusion of new elements as learning proceeds. As such the learner speech should be studied in its own terms apart from the reference to Ls and LT. From the point of view of the history of LT, Weinreich was undoubtedly correct in assigning interference in the speech of bilinguals, which he likens to 'sand carried by a stream', to the ***parole*** of LT along with other accidental and transient phenomena unincorporated by the community of LT speakers within their communal language system.

Nearly three decades have passed since the appearance of the three articles, each of which emphasized the language of second or foreign language learners as a potential source of knowledge about second or foreign language learning: Corder's "The Significance of Learner's Errors" (1967), Nemser's "Approximative Systems of Foreign

Language Learners" (1971), and Selinker's "Interlanguage" (1972). Later the area of IL studies expanded rapidly, and different types of IL were investigated: the language of second and foreign language learners, of migrant workers, of pidgin and Creole speakers. Irrespective of these types of IL, focus is laid on one of the following main areas of interest:

(i)   the IL as a linguistic system,

(ii) the learning process and

(iii) the IL communication process.

The IL as a linguistic system describes relatively to various types of IL users at different stages of their learning process, and it can be characterized as product-oriented. Most of the researches are aimed at a description and classification of observable IL phenomena. Best-known among such descriptions are probably error analysis of the language of L2 learners, which later gave way to more comprehensive descriptions of both erroneous and non-erroneous aspects of IL performance. The other two areas are referred to as process-oriented where the researcher is interested in discovering the underlying mechanisms which lead to certain IL behaviour. Here the area learning process focuses on the

learning process as it is reflected in IL and the other one the IL communication process aims at the description and explanation of IL communication. There is a close link between these two types of process-oriented IL research: after all, learning takes place through communication in informal environments and - perhaps increasingly so during recent years - partly also in the classroom, thanks to the shift to more communication-oriented teaching goals and methods. Thus one particular act of verbal behaviour can have both learning and communication functions for the IL users. Corder observes a clear distinction between learning strategies and communication strategies: learning strategies are, "the mental processes whereby a learner creates for himself or discover a language system underlying the data he is exposed to" and these learning strategies contribute to the development of IL systems, whereas communication strategies are "the devices thereby he exploits whatever linguistic knowledge he possesses to achieve his communicative ends" when faced with some difficulty due to his communicative skills outrunning his communicative means *(Error Analysis 12)*.

Strategies of Communication

Strategies of communication were first invoked by Selinker (1972) in his paper entitled "Interlanguage" to account for certain class of errors made by learners of a second language. These errors were regarded as a by-product of the attempt of the learner to express his meaning in spontaneous speech with an inadequate grasp of the L2 or target language system. Linguists try to provide a framework for analysis for strategies of communication. All language users adopt strategies to convey their meaning, but we are only able more or less readily to perceive these when the speaker is a second language learner. When we communicate, our strategies depend upon our interlocutors: our current assessment of our interlocutors' linguistic competence and their knowledge of the topic of discourse. Our assessment varies and actually may change and develop in the course of ongoing interaction. Furthermore, since communication is a cooperative enterprise, both productive and receptive strategies of communication must be given importance. Communicative strategies concentrate largely on productive strategies of language learners interacting with native

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speakers of the target language, because of the assumption that the interlocutors have perfect command of the language system and also perfect command of the topic of discourse.

A working definition of communicative strategies is that they are a systematic technique employed by a speaker to express his meaning when faced with difficulty. Difficulty in this definition refers uniquely to the speaker's inadequate grasp of the language used while interacting. Strategies of communication have essentially to do with the relationship between ends and means. This relationship is balanced in native speaker, as he always has the linguistic means to express the messages he wishes to communicate. In a learner however, this relationship may not be balanced, because sometimes his linguistic resources may not permit him to express fully when he wishes to convey messages. If in the course of interaction, the learner finds himself faced with this situation, only two options are open to him. He can either tailor his message to the resources he has available, that is, adjust his ends to his means, normally by changing the communicative goal, or he can attempt to increase his resources by one means or another in order to realize his

communicative intentions by developing an alternative plan. Thus a first broad categorization of communication strategies can be made on the basis of two fundamentally different ways in which learners might behave when faced with problems in communication. The former is called **message adjustment strategies** or **risk avoidance strategies** or **reduction strategies** (Strategies 36) which comes under the category avoidance behaviour and the latter, **resource expansion strategies** or **achievement strategies** which comes under the category achievement behaviour.

Major Types of Communication Strategies (Fserch&Kasper)

In a communicative situation a learner is faced with a problem and he is expected to solve the problem with limited linguistic competence or insufficient knowledge he has in the target language system and thus relying on the interlanguage, the learner tries various strategies to solve the problem. So, for a learner each communication situation is problem-oriented and communication strategies, plans. Fserch and Kasper (1983) relate the communication strategies to the type of behaviour. The relationship between problem, type of behaviour and type of strategy is represented in the figure 4.1.

```
        ┌─────────────────────────┐
        │   Problem in designing or│
        │      executing plan      │
        └─────────────────────────┘
            │                    │
            ▼                    ▼
┌──────────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────────┐
│ AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOUR  │  │ ACHIEVEMENT BEHAVIOUR│
└──────────────────────┘  └──────────────────────┘
            │                    │
            ▼                    ▼
┌──────────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────────┐
│ Reduction strategy:  │  │  Achievement strategy:│
│   Change of goal     │  │ Developing alternative│
│                      │  │ plan, keeping goal    │
│                      │  │      constant         │
└──────────────────────┘  └──────────────────────┘
            │                    │
            ▼                    ▼
        ┌─────────────────────────┐
        │ Plan can be designed/    │
        │  executed without problem│
        └─────────────────────────┘
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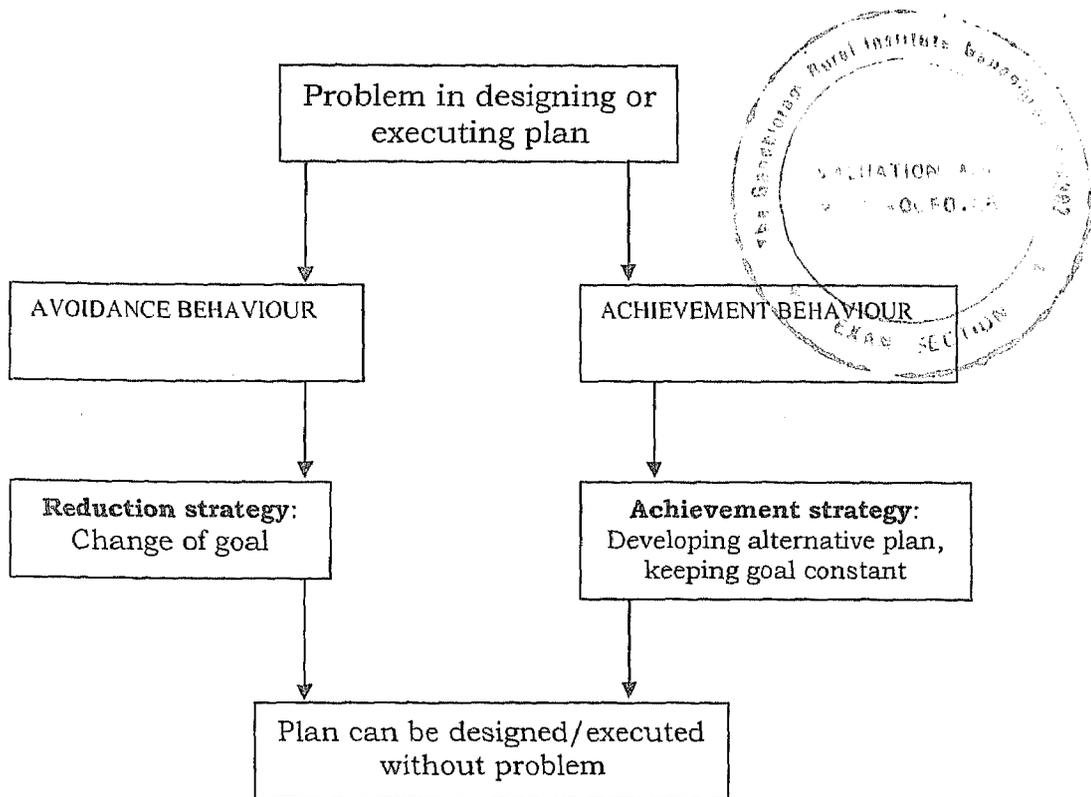
Fig. 4.1. Types of behaviour and types of strategies

It is hardly surprising that the choice of strategy is not only sensitive to the underlying behaviour but also to the nature of the problem to be solved. In particular, the problems related to fluency and correctness constitute a special class where they frequently cause the language user not to use the most 'obvious' part of his IL system because he expects that there will be problems in realizing them. 'Formal reduction' (Kasper (1979), Viradi (1983)) of this kind represents a special type of communication strategies because of its neutrality with respect to the underlying behaviour, and because of its relation to the subsequent use of reduction or achievement
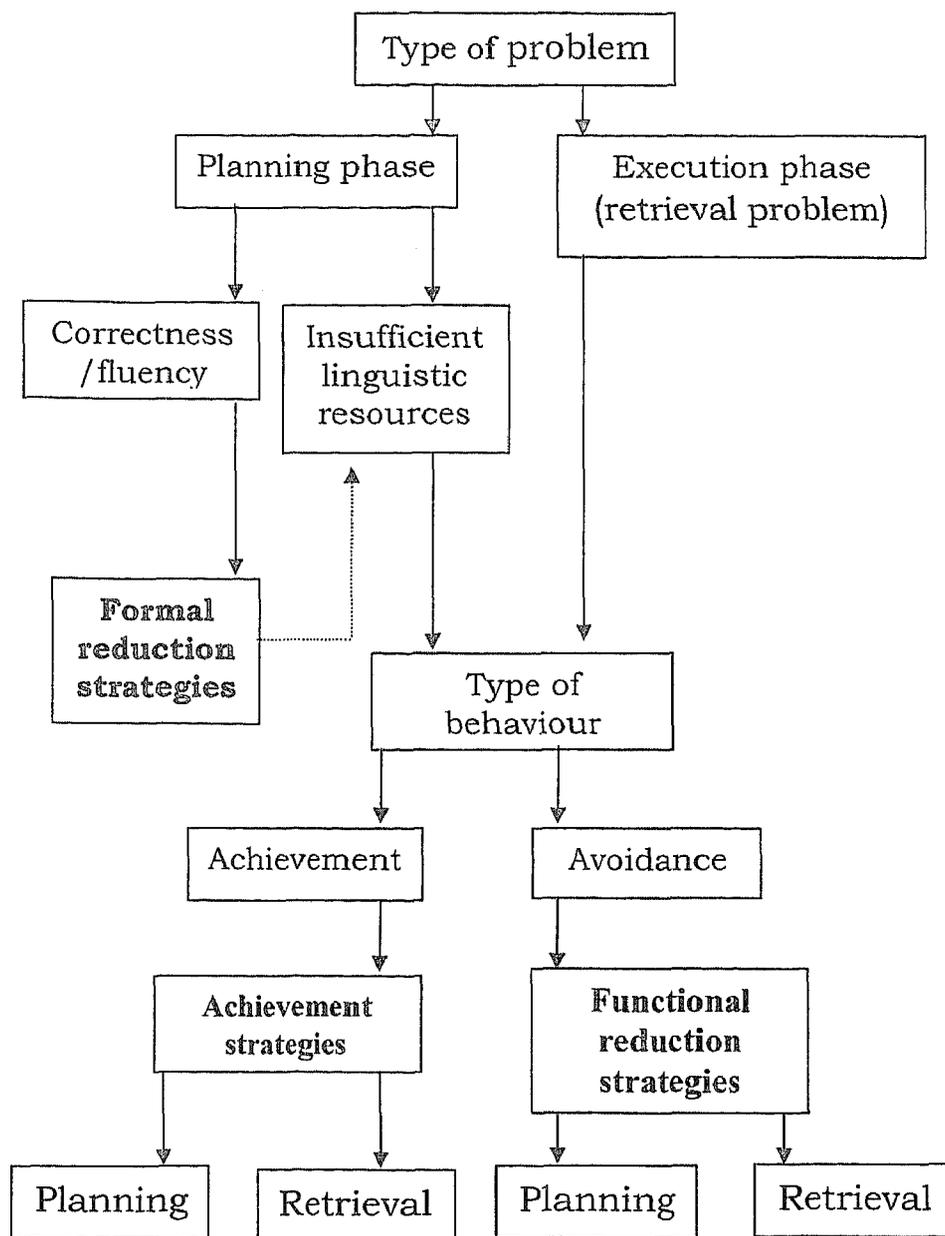
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Fig. 4.3 Overview of major types of communication strategies

Communication Strategies: **A** Classification

All areas of IL system are susceptible to formal reduction. However, as Fserch and Kasper (1983) describe, because of the different communicative status of items from

different linguistic levels there are some significant differences with respect to whether the learner can reach his communicative goal by means of formal reduction, or whether he has to adopt a functional reduction or an achievement strategy.

(i) Formal reduction strategies:

The learner avoids producing non-fluent or incorrect utterances by using insufficient automized or hypothetical rules/items, and he plans his communication by means of a reduced system, focusing on stable rules and items which have become reasonably well automized. As a parallel to this, a native speaker also has to communicate with the learner by means of a simplified version of his LI system, matching the learner's receptive resources. A learner uses this formal reduction in order to avoid making errors and/or to increase his fluency. Learners assume that linguistic correctness is a prerequisite for communication success, an assumption which probably derives more from the foreign language classroom than from real-life experience (Errata 18). Hence some language users feel badly about communicating in a foreign language unless they can do so

without exhibiting linguistic handicaps. Viradi observes that formal reduction may help increase one's fluency, and writes that "target language learners may notice that elimination of certain formal elements does not interfere with the transmission of meaning; it may facilitate communication by increasing fluency". Similarly Tarone reserves the term 'production strategy' to strategies which are employed to increase efficiency in speech production (Strategies 66)

The formal reduction caused by error avoidance results in what the learner considers as correct language, and the formal reduction facilitating communication results in utterances which the learner knows are not correct but which he considers appropriate from a communicative point of view. This distinction has some consequences for the subsequent choice of strategies, wherein the case of error avoidance the learner tries to employ those strategies which he assumes will result in correct L2 utterances, and in the case of communicative facility the learner may adopt strategies that lead to performance which he knows is not correct as seen from a L2 point of view but which, in the given situation, will work. Strategies of this latter type will typically be

achievement strategies such as overgeneralization and borrowing.

(ii) Functional reduction strategies:

Functional reduction strategies are employed if a learner experiences problems in the planning phase due to insufficient linguistic resources or in the execution phase, and if their behaviour in the actual situation is one of avoidance, rather than achievement and the learner 'reduces' his communicative goal in order to avoid the problem. Functional reduction may affect any of the three types of elements of the communicative goal, that is, actional, modal, and propositional. Hence learners may experience problems in performing specific speech acts and/or in marking their utterances appropriately for politeness/social distance (speech act modality). Functional reduction of propositional content consists of strategies such as 'topic avoidance', 'message abandonment' and 'meaning replacement' (or 'semantic avoidance'). Topic avoidance (Tarone, Frauenfelder and Selinker 1976; Tarone 1977; Corder 1983; Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 1983) refers to the strategy of avoiding formulating goals which include topics that are perceived as problematic

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from the linguistic point of view. Message abandonment is the retrieval process employed by the learner in the midst of communication, that is, in the execution phase due to the difficulty with the target language form or rule, after initiating the communication on a topic (Strategies 44). Here the strategy topic avoidance has exclusively to do something with the planning phase whereas, message abandonment is related to the retrieval problem in the execution phase. In the meaning replacement strategy the learner operates within the intended propositional content and preserves the 'topic' but refers to it by means of a more general expression. The result of meaning replacement is a certain amount of vagueness.

(iii) Achievement strategies:

The learner sometimes attempts to solve problems in a communication situation by expanding his communicative resources (Corder 1983), rather than by reducing his communicative goal (functional reduction). This attempt is called achievement strategy. Most of the strategies we shall discuss relate to problems in the planning phase, some to retrieval problems in the execution phase, and one

('restructuring') to problems in both the planning and the execution phase.

(iv) Compensatory strategies:

If the achievement strategies aim at solving the problems in communication situation in the planning phase due to insufficient linguistic resources, then it is referred to as ***compensatory strategies.*** It is further sub classified according to what resources the learner draws on in trying to solve his planning problem: a different code ('code switching' and 'interlingual transfer'), a different code and the IL code simultaneously ('inter-/intralingual transfer'), the IL code exclusively ('gen eralization ', 'paraphrase', etc.), discourse phenomena(e.g. 'appeals'), and non-linguistic devices ('mime', etc.)

(a) Code switching:

In communication where foreign languages are involved there always exists the possibility of switching from L2 to either LI or another foreign language and to which extent this is done depends on the interactants' analysis of the communicative situation. Thus in foreign language

classroom, learners frequently share the LI with their teacher, which enables them to code switch extensively between L2 and LI. This code switching may involve varying stretches of discourse from single words up to complete turns. When code switching affects single words only, as in the following example, the strategy is sometimes referred to as 'borrowing' (Corder 1978):

> L: do you want to have some ah- ***Zinsen*** or do you want
>
> to have some more...
>
> ***(Zinsen*** German for 'interests')

(b) Interlingual transfer:

The code switching strategy ignores the learner' IL code, but interlingual transfer results in combining both the linguistic features of the IL and the LI (or other languages different from the L2 in question). Apart from involving the transfer of phonological, morphological, syntactic or lexical features of the IL, interlingual transfer occurs at the pragmatic and discourse level (Kasper 1981). In the following example the lexical item is adjusted to IL phonology and/or morphology resulting in foreignizing' (Ickenroth 1975):

NS: how do you go to school [...]

L: [...] sometimes I take my er – er what's it called – er

[...]'knallert' [ˈknæləʔ] –

(*knallert* Danish for 'moped')

When the adjustment is at the lexical level of the IL system, that is, translating compounds or idiomatic expressions from L1 verbatim into L2, as in the utterance:

L: they[=my pets] eats – erm *greens – things*

('green things' for *grØntsager* Danish for 'vegetables')

(c) Inter-/intralingual transfer:

Strategies of inter-/intralingual transfer may be applied to the situations where the learner considers the L2 formally similar to his L1. This type of strategy results in the generalization of an IL rule, which is influenced by the properties of the corresponding L1 structures. Thus Danish learners of English might generalize the regular *–ed* suffix to irregular verbs on the basis of the way verbs in Danish are distributed between the regular and the irregular declensional classes (e.g.Danish *svØmme – svØmmede* (past tense), English *swim – swimmed*).

(d) IL based strategies:

In an IL system, a learner has various possibilities for coping with communicative problems: he may (i) generalize; (ii) paraphrase; (iii) coin new words. As special type of IL based strategies Faerch and Kasper (1983) include (iv) restructuring.

(i) Generalization:

By adopting generalization, learners solve problems in the planning phase by filling the gaps in their plans with IL items which they would not normally use in such contexts. As seen from a L2 perspective, the strategy resembles ***overgenera.liza.tion*** or a L2 item as it results in the extension of an item to an inappropriate context. However, this is not necessarily the case for the learner, who may not yet know the appropriate context for the relevant item, in which case he can hardly be said to overgeneralize. In the following example the learner uses the term 'animals' to refer to the rabbit, is an instance of generalization:

NS: do you have any animals-

    L : (laugh) yes – er – er that is er – I don't know how I
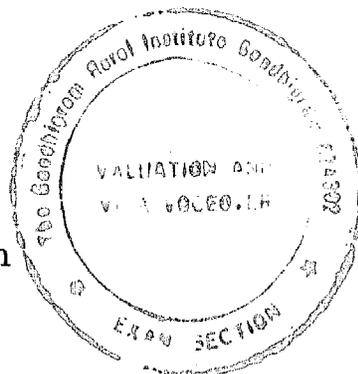
        shall say that in English –

[...]

NS: I think they must be rabbits –

[...]

NS: does it - sleep on - in your room

    L : er my – *my animals* –

(ii)Paraphrase:

        The learner uses paraphrase strategy to solve a problem in the planning phase by filling the gap in is plan with a construction which is well-formed according to his IL system. Paraphrases can have the form of **descriptions** or **circumlocutions** (Viradi (1983); Tarone (1983)), the learner focusing on characteristic properties or functions of the intended referent. The following example explains the learner attempt to explain 'moped'

    L : [...] some people have a car - and some people have

        a er bicycle - and some people have a er - erm - a

        cykel there is a m motor

    NS: oh a bicycle - with a motor

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(iii)Word coinage:

The leaner involves in a creative construction of a new IL word by coining words in IL to solve the problem in a L2 communicative situation. The following utterance the learner tries to refer to a curve of a stadium, but due to his insufficient L2 vocabulary, the attempt ends in word coinage.

L: we were sitting in the - ***rounding*** of the stadion and

(iv)Restructuring:

A restructuring strategy is used whenever 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. A learner expresses his hunger in the following way:

L: my tummy - my tummy is - I have (inaudible) I must

eat something.

InterLanguage Communication Strategies as Observed by Tarone, **Cohen and Dumas (Table 4.1):**

Several types of communication strategies are observable in interianguage communication. Elaine Tarone,

Andrew D. Cohen and Guy Dumas observe the following strategies in interianguage communication and these strategies are analyzed phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and lexically.

(a) Transfer from native language:

This strategy refers to type of negative transfer from the native language resulting in utterances that are not just inappropriate but actually incorrect by native standards.

(b) Overgeneralization:

Here the learner tries to apply a rule of the target language to inappropriate target language forms or contexts.

(c) Prefabricated pattern:

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 forms this strategy.

(d) Overelaboration:

When the learner attempts to produce careful target language utterances, he produces utterances which

seem stilted and inordinately formal resulting in overelaboration.

(e) Epenthesis (vowel insertion):

When the learner is unable to produce unfamiliar clusters in the target language, he attempts to produce them by using schwa vowels between consonants.

(f) Avoidance:

Learner's attempts to produce different means of getting around target language rules or forms which are not yet an established part of the learner's competence comes under the strategy avoidance. It is further sub classified into

(i) Topic avoidance:

Here the learner takes an attempt to totally evade communication about topics which require the use of target language rules or forms which the learner does not yet know very well.

(ii) Semantic avoidance:

Here the learner evades the communication of content for which the appropriate target language rules and forms are not yet available, and the learner, in order to express the desired content, talks about the related concepts.

Communication strategies	Phonological	Morphological	Syntactic	Lexical
Transfer from NL	/ʃip/ for /ʃɪp/	The BOOK OF JACK for Jack's book	DioA ELLOS for LES dio ELLOS in Spanish – L2	Je SAIS Jean for Je CONNAIS Jean in French – L2
Overgeneralization	El carro/kari/ es caro (Flap r generalized to trill contexts – Span.L2	He GOED / Il A tombe in French . L2	I don't know WHAT IS IT	He is PRETTY (Unaware of the semantic limitations)
Prefabricated pattern	—	—	I don't know how do you do that	—
Overelaboration	/hwɒt ar ju duɪ for /wɒt duɪn/	I WOULD NOT HAVE GONE	YO quiero ir – Span.L2 Buddy, that's my foot WHICH you're standing on	The people next door are rather INDIGENT
Epenthesis	/saʊəreɪ/ for /streɪ /	—	—	—
Avoidance a) Topic avoidance 1. Change topic 2. No verbal response	(To avoid using certain sounds, like / l / and / r / in pollution problems.)	(Avoiding talking about what happened yesterday.)	(Avoiding talk of a hypothetical nature and conditional clauses.)	(Avoiding talk about one's work due to lack of technical vocabulary.)
b) Semantic avoidance	It's hard to breathe for air pollution	I like to swim in response to what happened yesterday?	Q: Que' quieran los pajaros que haga la mama? R: Quieran comer. Spanish L2	Il regarde et il veut boire to avoid the word for cupboard in Il ouvre Il'armoire
c) Appeal to authority 1) Ask for form 2) Ask if correct 3) Look it up	Q: f...? R: fauteuil (French – L2)	Q: Je l'ai? R: prise (Spanish – L2)	Q: El quiere...? R: que te vayas. (Spanish – L2)	How do you say "staple" in French?
d) Paraphrase	Les gar cons et les filles for Les enfants (Thus avoiding liaison in French – L2)	Il nous faut partir for Ilfaut que nous partions To avoid subjunctive in French – L2	J'ai trios pommes J'EN ai trois (To avoid en in French - L2)	High coverage word: tool for wrench Low frequency word: Labour for work Word coinage: airball Circumlocution: a thing you dry your hands on
e) Message aboandonment	Les oiseaux ga... (gazouillent dans les arbres was intended in French – L2)	El queria que yo... (fuera a la tienda was intended in Spanish – L2)	What you ...?	If only I had a...
f) Language switch	I want a COUTEAU[2]	LE LIVRE DE Paul's (French – L2)	Je ne pas GO TO SCHOOL (French – L2)	We get this HOSTIE from LE PRETRE (English – L2)

Table 4.1. Major types of communication strategies as represented by TCD

(iii) Appeal to authority:

The learner in this context asks someone else to supply a form or lexical item, asks if a form or item is correct, or else looks it up' in a dictionary.

(iv) Paraphrase:

Paraphrase comprises of rewording of the message in an alternate acceptable, target language construction, in order to avoid a more difficult form or construction.

(v) Message abandonment:

The learner initiates communication on a topic but then cuts short because the runs into difficulty with a target language form or rule.

(vi) Language switch:

The learner transports a native word or expression, untranslated, into the interlanguage utterance.

Tarone (1977) supplements TCD's list of communication strategies by the category 'mime', defined as " the use of non-verbal communication strategies by a second language learner".

Other types of communication strategies are reported by Glahn (1978) whose subjects describe various

retrieval procedures used in their attempt to produce lexical items in communication games. They are

a) waiting for the term to appear;

b) appealing to formal similarity;

c) retrieval via semantic fields;

d) searching via other languages;

e) retrieval from language learning situations;

f) sensory procedures.

All these communication strategies are employed by the learners of English as a foreign/second language in their contact situation in order to fill the lacuna, which in turn would enable the learners to express themselves fluently. The adoption of these strategies vary in accordance with the contact situation, which requires the employment of strategies and the target language knowledge of the learners.