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An investigation of communication strategy use in reception

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AN INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNICATION STRATEGY USE IN
RECEPTION

BY

Kaye Malcolm B.Ed (Hons)

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of

Master of Arts

in the School of Community and Language Studies,
Edith Cowan University

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Abstract

This thesis is a theoretical and empirical investigation of communication strategy use in the receptive behaviour of second/foreign language learners. The investigation is descriptive in design, and seeks to describe the phenomenon of communication strategies both as a constituent of communicative discourse and as a part of that discourse, in inter-relationship with other constituents. The theoretical framework for the research is an interactional one. Description is sought from analysis of the dynamics of communication.

The need for a study on communication strategy use in reception lies in the fact that second/foreign language learners see reception as being particularly problematic, and in the fact that very little research has been done in the area of learners' solutions to problems in reception. The thesis concerns itself to define, describe and explain strategy use in reception.

The theoretical investigation leads to the definition of communication strategies as: action taken at points in communication where limiting conditions prevail, or where there is distance between speaker and hearer communicative systems which is recognized, perceived as a problem, and which the individual seeks to reduce. The empirical investigation reveals that while this definition indicates the primary purpose of communication strategy use, there appears to be a

secondary purpose, which is to manage impressions.

Communication strategies are described as issuing from two different responses to communication problems - achievement behaviour, where the problem is tackled, and avoidance behaviour, where it is not tackled. In the empirical study, these two responses appear, realized as achievement and avoidance strategies.

Explanation for variation in strategy selection is sought from examination of a whole array of factors which operate simultaneously in any interaction. The empirical study finds that selection is related to the way factors operate at three levels. These are: the way communicative systems are used in particular interactions, the social constraints in operation in those interactions, and the personal constraints which are imposed by perceptions, attitudes, goals and capacities of the participants.

The research has application to the study of native speaker/non-native speaker role-relationships. It is suggested that achievement strategies maintain the balance of power which usually exists between native and non-native speakers, and that avoidance strategies may alter that balance. There is also application to second and foreign language teaching. Some suggestions for teaching seem to be prescriptive, and to imply that learners should only use achievement behaviour to solve communication problems. This prescriptive approach is

seen as unhelpful to learners.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate, without acknowledgement, any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

9th July, 1991.

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Cottleston Pie

This is a song which you sing when anybody says anything which you don't quite understand. You could say 'What?' or 'I beg your pardon,', but Pooh always used to sing Cottleston Pie.

Wonderingly

Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.

A fly can't bird, but a bird can fly.

Ask me a riddle and I reply:

'Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.'

Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.

A fish can't whistle and neither can I.

Ask me a riddle and I reply:

'Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.'

Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.

Why does a chicken, I don't know why.

Ask me a riddle and I reply:

'Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.'

A.A. Milne, The Hums of Pooh

CHAPTER ONE

Communication strategies: a framework for research

This thesis is concerned with the way in which non-native speakers handle communication problems as they receive speech from native speakers. Chapter One outlines the problems non-native speakers experience in reception and establishes the theoretical framework for the research.

The first section of this chapter examines the nature of the decoding process for the non-native speaker and the problems associated with it. The second section moves from a focus on the problems to a focus on the way they are handled. It has been observed that language learners attempt to solve communication problems in particular ways. These have been termed communication strategies. This section describes the context in which study of communication strategies arose and perspectives from which this study has been pursued. It indicates the research perspective for the present study. The third section of the chapter examines various definitions of communication strategies and proposes an alternative definition based on an exploration of the interactional nature of communication. A model is presented which shows the place of communication strategies as one of a number of kinds of strategies used in native speaker/non-native speaker interaction.

1. Decoding in a second language

Non-native speakers are involved in the task of both encoding and decoding a language from a system in which they are not fully competent. When encoding they are able to limit themselves to the use of only those phonological, syntactic and semantic rules with which they are familiar. When decoding, on the other hand, they receive input which may contain items "for which their own competence has no reference points" (Kaldor and Snell, 1972, p.56). In instances where this occurs they are unable to decode successfully. For all non-native speakers, decoding is a process which presents considerable difficulties.

These difficulties may arise at any point during the decoding process or may be the result of cumulative difficulties as processing takes place. In order to decode successfully, it is necessary to be able to predict to some extent, the nature and form of an utterance, identify the content of the utterance and select from it the essential message. Anderson and Lynch (1988, p.13) say that there are five types of knowledge made use of in comprehension (i.e. in predicting, identifying and selecting). These are: background knowledge (both factual and sociocultural), procedural knowledge - of how language is used in discourse, knowledge of the situation, knowledge of what has been said and knowledge of the language system. A non-native speaker's knowledge may well be deficient in

some of these areas, with the result there there is a breakdown in processing, and hence, communication. Decoding is necessary in the two skills of reading and listening. Non-native speakers experience problems in both of these areas. This thesis focusses on the problems associated with listening.

The greatest difficulty for non-native listeners is that as well as having no control over form and content of messages, they have no control over rate of delivery. Native speakers sometimes slow their rate of delivery for non-native listeners, but there are many situations, such as radio/television broadcasts and academic lectures, where this is not the case. Other listening difficulties arise from different accents used by native speakers, from the distraction of other noises, and from the need to sometimes respond to input as it is received (e.g. to take notes). These difficulties may arise at all levels of communication; from the phonological and morphological to the lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels.

The present study rests on the assumption that all non-native listeners have problems to a greater or lesser extent. Indication that this is a reasonable assumption comes from Bradley and Bradley (1985), who carried out a study on the comprehension of Australian English by Asian students living in Australia. Bradley and Bradley recorded 47 interviews with Thai, Indonesian and Malaysian students and analysed the interviews to

determine the percent of comprehension errors per significant turn. A significant turn was defined as one containing "more than just 'yes' or 'no' or some other single word utterance" (p.180). They found that the mean percentage of errors of comprehension per significant turn was "six percent for the Thais, nine percent for the Indonesians and five percent for the Malaysians" (p.177). From these results it could be assumed that other Asian students, including those in the present study, would have difficulty in decoding Australian English speech.

Bradley and Bradley's study documented as problems both those that were recognized and those that were not. If receivers have problems but do not recognize them, they will respond inappropriately, believing that they have understood. If they recognize problems, they are a step closer to successful communication. A report by Mah (1990) indicates that learners are very often acutely aware of having problems in reception. Mah asked 120 on-arrival migrants in Sydney and Adelaide to list problem areas in communication. Areas listed were:

1. Getting good repetition, explanation or paraphrase from native speakers in a misunderstanding
2. Understanding vocabulary
3. Listening to and understanding responses accurately
4. Expressing ideas precisely (p.219)

The first three of these areas pertain to reception. It is clear that reception is considered by learners to be particularly problematic.

This thesis focusses on problems in reception which are recognized. Its particular concern is to investigate the responses to such problems. The responses are what has been referred to as communication strategies.

2. Communication strategies: a research perspective

In 1973, Váradi made a study of the language behaviour of second language learners at points where it seemed their communicative ends outran their linguistic means. He used the term communication strategies to refer to the plans employed by learners to bridge this gap. Váradi's research was carried out in the context of the discipline of linguistics, the boundaries of which were at the time moving outwards from the study of language as an isolated phenomenon to the study of language as communication.

Although communication strategies were identified first in the speech of second language learners, it has since been recognized that all language users, whether of first or second languages, employ communication strategies. The phenomenon has been of particular interest to second language researchers because of the frequency with which communication strategies appear to be used by learners of second languages.

Research into communication strategies has shown that they are used by both producers and receivers of

language (Faerch, 1984). Language data for study have come, however, almost entirely from language producers. This has unbalanced and limited descriptions and classificatory systems of communication strategies. In 1983, Candlin, in his preface to a volume on communication strategies, said:

We have so far been unsuccessful in finding studies which look at speech reception from the particular angle of how learners cope with problems in the reception of speech...In view of the overall importance of the receptive skills for the learner's general communicative competence, this is clearly an area in need of close investigation.

(In Faerch and Kasper, 1983^b, p.xx)

There is little evidence that this need has been addressed. An overview of 16 empirical studies carried out between 1973 and 1990 reveals that 14 focussed on production, one focussed on production and reception, and the only study which focussed exclusively on reception did not deal with second language learners. The sorts of strategies most frequently studied were 'achievement' type strategies (See Chapter Three for discussion of strategy types) in production. An overview of the empirical studies is as follows:

(Research designs are described according to Seliger and Shahomy's (1989) categorization of quantitative designs, where phenomena are experimentally manipulated, qualitative designs, where there is no manipulation and where no research questions are posed, and descriptive designs where research is guided by specific questions.)

Researcher	Varadi	Blum-Kulda, Levenston	Ervin	Bialystok
Date	1973	1978	1979	1980
Research design	Descriptive	Descriptive	Descriptive	Descriptive
Objectives	Technique for investigation Identifying, Taxonomy	Purpose of use	Identifying, Taxonomy	Factors affecting use, Effectiveness
Focus	Production	Production	Production	Production
Subjects level	L1 Hungar. L2 English Intermed.	L1 English L2 English	L1 English L2 Russian Intermed.	L1 ? L2 French Various
Data	Performance of communic. task, Translation	Structured responses	Performance of communic. task	Perform. of comm. task, Structured responses, Translat.
discourse channel	Non-interac- tional	Non-In.	Non-In.	Non-In.
Data collection	Picture description	Sentence completion	Picture description	Cloze Picture description
Analysis	Quantitative Qualitative	Qualitative	Quantitative	Quant./ Qual.

Researcher	Bialystok	Haastrup & Phillipson	Rumelhart	Palmberg
Date	1983	1983	1983	1983
Research design	Descriptive	Descriptive	Descriptive	Descriptive
Objectives	Factors affecting use, Effects of use	Factors affecting use, Effectiveness	Identifying, Taxonomy	Taxonomy, Proportion of types, Factors affecting use
Focus	Production	Prod/Recpn.	Reception	Production
Subjects	L1 English L2 French	L1 Danish L2 English	Developmentally disabled adults	L1 various L2 English
level	Intermed.	Intermed.		Various
Data	Performance of communic. task	Naturalistic discourse	Naturalistic discourse	Perform. of commun task
discourse	Non-interac-tional	Interactional	Interaction.	Non-In.
channel	Spoken	Spoken	Spoken	Spoken
Data collection	Picture description	Conversation	Conversation	Picture descrip.
Analysis	Quant./Qual.	Qualitative	Qualitative	Quant./Qual.

Researcher	Palmberg	Paribakht	Kumara- vadivelu	Corrales
Date	1984	1985	1988	1989
Research Design	Descriptive	Descriptive	Descriptive	Descrip.
Objectives	Factors affecting use	Comparison of L1/L2 use	Taxonomy	Factors affecting use
Focus	Production	Production	Production	Produc.
Subjects	L1 Japanese L2 English	NS/NNS	L1 ? L2 English	L1 Span. L2 Eng.
level	Intermed.			Inter. & Advanced
Data discourse channel	Performance Non-Interactional Spoken	of Non-Inter. Spoken	communicative Non-Inter. Written	task Non-In. Spoken
Data collection	Picture description	Item description	Writing task	Structured questions, Communicative task
Analysis	Quantitative	Qualitative	Qualiltative	Quant.

Researcher	Bongaerts & Poulisse	Poulisse & Schils	Kellerman, Anmerlaan, Bongaerts & Poulisse	Chen
Date	1989	1989	1990	1990
Research design	Descriptive	Descriptive	Descriptive	Descrip.
Objectives	L1/L2 use Taxonomy	Factors affecting use	L1/L2 use Taxonomy	Factors affecting use
Focus	Production	Production	Production	Product.
Subjects	L1 Spanish L2 English	L1 Dutch L2 English	L1 Dutch L2 English	L1 Chin. L2 Eng.
level	Intermed. & advanced			High/ low
Data discourse	Performance Non-Inter- actional	of Non-In/In.	communicative Non-Inter.	task Non-In.
channel	spoken	spoken	spoken	spoken
Data collection	Picture description	Picture naming, Story retell Interview	Picture description	Item descrip.
Analysis	Qualitative	Quantitative	Quantitative/ Qualitative	Quant/ Qual.

Summary

Number of studies		16
Research design : descriptive		16
Objectives: Factors affecting use		9
	Taxonomy	6
	Identification of strategies	3
	Effectiveness of strategies	3
	Comparison of L1/L2 use	2
	Comparison of L1/L2 taxonomies	1
	Techniques for investigating C.S.	1
	Purpose of use	1
	Proportion of types	1
Focus	Production	14
	Reception	1
	Production/Reception	1
Subjects	L2 learners	15
	Developmentally disabled adults	1
Data	Performance of communicative task	13
	Structured responses	3
	Translation	2
	Naturalistic discourse	2
Discourse	Non-interactional	14
type	Interactional	2
Channel	Spoken	12
	Written	4
Data	Picture description	8
collection	Concept description	1
	Picture naming	1
	Picture recreation	1
	Sentence completion	1

	Story telling	1
	Writing task	1
	Structured questions	1
	Communicative task	1
	Interview	1
Method of	Quantitative	4
analysis	Qualitative	5
	Quantitative/Qualitative	7

Bialystok (1990) discusses communication strategies from a theoretical perspective, but her description and explanation of them arises from consideration only of strategy use in production.

The emphasis on production, such as is revealed in these studies, can lead to the impression that communication strategies are only, or most importantly, used in production. This is not the case. It is the contention of this thesis that a consideration of reception is important to extend the understanding of communication strategies that has resulted from a focus on production.

Research on communication strategies appears to have been limited in another way. It has seen communication strategies only as language problem solving behaviours. They may well involve more than this. Linguists have recognised that language behaviour is affected by both language and non-language related goals, and that non-language related goals are partly

achieved through language behaviour. This recognition, however, has not been applied to communication strategies, which have been seen as having only language related goals.

The objectives of the present research are:

- to redress the imbalance of focus in communication strategy studies by an investigation of strategy use in reception
- to contribute to an understanding of communication strategies by placing the investigation in an interactional framework
- to describe strategy use in reception and to seek explanation for variability

The study provides a description and explanation of learner behaviour which also stresses its commonality with the behaviour of all language users. Such a study has both theoretical and practical significance. Its theoretical significance is primarily linguistic/socio-linguistic, in that it offers a better understanding of the organization of language and of how language functions in communication, but it is also social-psychological in that it illustrates how language characterizes social arrangements. Its practical significance lies in the application of its findings to all situations where native speaker/non-native speaker interaction occurs. This extends from the language learning classroom to such situations as the workplace, the doctor's surgery and the courtroom as well as to

other cross-cultural interactions.

3. Defining communication strategies

Before examining communication strategy use in reception, it is necessary to define the phenomenon of communication strategies.

Communication strategies are used by second language learners (and first language users) to achieve communicative purposes, and are an aspect of the communication process. Study of them is process oriented, in that "the researcher is interested in discovering the underlying mechanisms" (Faerch and Kasper, 1983, p.xvi) which lead to their use. An ideal model in which to discover these underlying mechanisms is an interactional one, in which an analysis is made of the dynamics of communication. To the extent that communication strategies make use of the language (or interlanguage) system they can also be examined as an aspect of language processing. Bialystok (1990) says that communication strategies can be described from the perspective of the cognitive mechanisms underlying language processing, because "communication strategies are an undeniable event of language use" (p.116). This is not strictly correct. They are an undeniable event of communication. Communication does not necessarily involve language use. A strategy to achieve communicative goals may, in fact, be to avoid language processing at problematic points in interaction. The

evidence (which will be presented in Chapter Three) is that communicative goals are sometimes achieved in this way.

For this reason the interactional and the language processing perspective are not equally valuable as a starting point. Communication strategies need to be placed within an interactional model initially, and then, to the extent that they make use of the language system and language processing they can fruitfully be examined as well from a psycholinguistic perspective.

3.1 Problematicity - a defining feature

Definitions of communication strategies, have, for the most part, centred around the feature of problematicity. This problematicity has been seen to arise from what Váradi (1973) called a 'hiatus' in the learner's repertoire, which meant that s/he had a problem in achieving communicative goals. Definitions which are based on this feature of problematicity include:

a systematic attempt employed by a speaker to express his meaning when faced with some difficulty

(Corder, 1977)

a mutual attempt by two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where requisite meaning structures do not seem to be shared

(Tarone, 1983)

potentially conscious plans for solving what to an

individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal

(Faerch & Kasper, 1983a)

Bialystok (1990) claims that problematicity ought not to be seen as a defining feature. She says that if it is true that "strategies are used only when a speaker perceives that there is a problem which may interrupt communication" then "the way in which speakers use language strategically, would need to be kept distinct from the way in which those speakers used language non-strategically" (p.3). She says that this is not the case, but then appears to contradict herself by saying that although all language (including utterances which are commonly labelled as communication strategies) arises from the same underlying processes (the processes of analysis and control), the way in which these processes interact is different when learners use strategies. Strategies are operationalized as "a reliance on one of the two underlying components. An imbalance in processing is created to offset an imbalance in competence" (p.132). So, the way in which language is used is different not in that the underlying processes are different, but in that the way they interact is different. This difference occurs when learners extend their abilities to carry out "tasks that formally surpass their competence" (p.117). In other words, communication strategies are used when learners face problems.

Another point which favours the retention of problematicity as a defining feature is that avoidance behaviour, which may be used to achieve (reduced) communicative goals, is only used to cope with problems. It is a response which seeks to escape the risk of unpleasant consequences which might occur if the problem were openly faced.

The feature of problematicity remains then, as one which is central to the definition of communication strategies. Although the definitions of Corder, Tarone and Faerch and Kasper make use of this feature, they all have some deficiencies. Corder's definition does not take account of the fact that communication strategies are used in reception as well as in production. Tarone's does not take account of the fact that communication problems can be solved alone as well as mutually. Faerch and Kasper's is the most satisfactory of the definitions, and yet it could be refined by identifying the source of the problems which users attempt to solve. This identification is important because not all problems evoke responses which would be termed 'communication strategies'. For example, a person may experience a problem in reaching a communicative goal because her/his listener is too bored, tired or angry to pay attention to what s/he is saying. The behaviour put into operation to solve this problem would not be what this thesis would define as a communication strategy. In order to make this refinement of Faerch and Kasper's definition, it is

necessary to examine the dynamics of interaction, by first exploring the nature of language and language use.

3.2 The nature of language and language use

There are two fundamental properties of language and language use which cause problems and give rise to the employment of communication strategies. These are its systematicity and its variability. Language is an intricate system of systems, and it is this which gives it meaning, and makes it more than only sound or shapes on a page. It is because it is systematic that communication is possible. Systems can be learned by more than one person and used to convey meaning. Language is systematic in two ways - in what comprises it and in how it is used in social situations. In other words, there are both linguistic and sociolinguistic systems.

Linguistically, system exists at all levels: phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic. Elements from a finite range at each level can be combined systematically in an infinite number of ways, to produce meanings. That this system is not fully understood, does not indicate that it does not exist. Chomsky (1957) proposed that language users have a knowledge of rules of the linguistic system, which they are able to use to produce language. Rumelhart and McClelland (1986) have challenged this, claiming that the notion of rules is only an approximate way of

explaining a system that operates in a much more complex manner, which they describe as parallel distributed processing. This theory states that the processing which results in language occurs in large networks of interconnected units. These units themselves are not meaningful (as say, grammatical rules are). The connections have the same arbitrary weights and these are slowly and steadily modified by external inputs, resulting in a pattern of language behaviour. Although there are differences in detail, both this theory and Chomsky's indicate that language emerges from a system.

The expression sociolinguistic system indicates that there is a systematic link between social situation and linguistic system. Hymes (1971) showed that the linguistic system is used in a manner that is appropriate to the social context. He pointed out that the ability to produce grammatical sentences without an ability to know how to use them appropriately would be insufficient for what is regarded as normal communication. A speaker with such a limited ability "would be likely to be institutionalized" (p.277). Normal speakers make use of a linguistic system and a sociolinguistic system.

The second element which is fundamental to language in use, and which together with systematicity, gives rise to the existence of communication strategies, is its variability. Because the actual choice of signs which refer to reality and which constitute language is

arbitrary, and is maintained through social agreement, there can be, and in fact is, more than one set of signs. Each set of signs is known as a linguistic variety. Linguistic varieties are exemplified in what are known as different languages and different dialects and also in different styles within languages and dialects. Every speaker has a linguistic repertoire (Gumperz and Hymes, 1986, p.20), or totality of linguistic resources, which differs to a greater or lesser extent from that of every other speaker. In other words, the linguistic systems of language users are not identical. Likewise, there is variation in sociolinguistic systems. What is appropriate in one system may not be appropriate in another.

The dynamics of communication involve the meeting of two communicative systems. When two language users communicate they will be using different linguistic and sociolinguistic systems. To the extent that their systems are identical they will communicate unproblematically (at least with respect to problems arising from difference between systems); to the extent that they differ, these differences will need to be attended to, or misunderstanding may occur. Communication strategies are behaviours which address problems caused by differences in systems.

The present study examines problems caused by differences in the systems of native and non-native speakers. Goffman (1972) points out that these problems

are considerable. He says:

...The most striking instance of such discrepancy (between systems) occurs when ...interactants...are members of different cultures. Individuals are normally expert at interaction only within the context of their own culture, because conventions which guide and constrain their behaviour are not 'natural' and absolute, but arbitrary and culturally relative. Few individuals ever acquire a completely native-like understanding and control of the whole range of the behavioural conventions of face-to-face interaction in another culture. Consequently communication between members of different cultures is usually less than perfect.

(p.14)

3.3 Communication strategies in native speaker/non-native speaker discourse - An interactional model

Communication strategies are not the only ones used in interaction and are not the only response to problems caused by differences in systems. They play a part alongside other strategies in native speaker/non-native speaker discourse. Figure i is a model of strategy operation in native speaker/non-native speaker discourse, showing the place of communication strategies within it. Following is a commentary on and elaboration of Figure i.

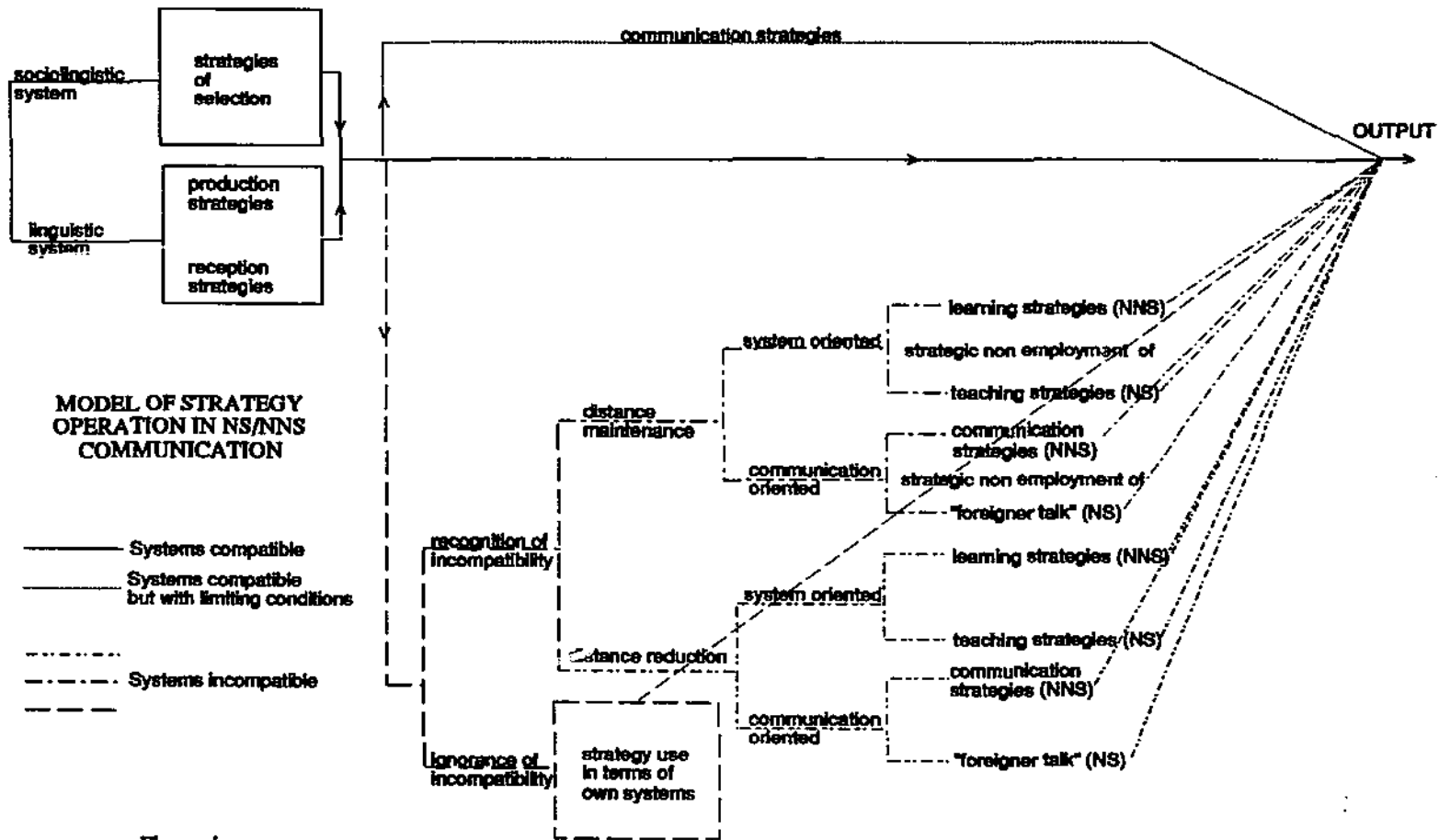


Figure i

Systems compatible

When a native speaker and non-native speaker interact, there will be points at which their communicative systems are the same, and at these points they will be able to give and receive messages without experiencing problems due to difference. In fact all communication is problematic in the sense that it involves constant negotiation of meaning, as speaker and hearer exchange messages. The term strategy is appropriate in that it captures this negotiating element of communication. Within the linguistic system communicators will use production and reception strategies. Tarone defines production strategy as "an attempt to use one's linguistic system efficiently and clearly, with a minimum of effort" (1983, p.66), and reception strategy as "the attempt to interpret incoming utterances efficiently" (p.68). From the sociolinguistic system users will seek guidelines for appropriacy within social context and this will govern the selection of language produced and the way it is received.

Even at points where native speaker and non-native speaker systems are compatible, however, there can be problems in the transmission and reception of messages. Some of these are caused by limiting conditions arising from psycho-linguistic factors like memory limitation and the effects of processes such as embedding and branching. In such instances, communication strategies

are called in to play.

Systems incompatible

At other points in an interaction native speaker and non-native speaker systems may be incompatible. This incompatibility may or may not be recognized. Communication strategies are used as one response to incompatibility which is recognized.

Ignorance of incompatibility

If difference between systems is not recognized, then there exists what is known as linguistic and sociolinguistic interference. Weinreich (1974) first used the term interference, defining it as:

those instances of deviation from the norms of either language, which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language. (p.1)

Interference can occur culturally as well as semantically, grammatically, lexically and phonologically. At all of these levels, participants may assume that their communicative systems are identical, when in fact they are not. Or, participants may assume that the linguistic system is the carrier of all meaning, and that therefore any breakdowns will have their source here. They overlook the fact that there is a sociolinguistic system, which also carries meaning. These assumptions can result in confusion and

misunderstanding and also in negative perceptions by participants, of each other as people. Malcolm (1979a) has documented the results of linguistic and sociolinguistic interference on the attitudes towards each other of white Australian and Aboriginal speakers of English.

Recognition of incompatibility

Where incompatibility is recognized, participants in an interaction have the option of either reducing or maintaining the distance between systems. Their choice will depend on their attitudes towards the other system and the users of it. If their attitudes are favourable, then distance is seen as a problem. Communicative goals and other goals will both be best achieved by reducing distance between the systems. If their attitudes are not favourable, then distance is not seen as a problem. Communicative goals are influenced by other goals (such as that of expressing solidarity with the native culture) and these goals will be best achieved by maintaining distance between systems. Participants can reduce or maintain distance by attention to both the systems themselves and to the end product of the systems in operation - the communication occurring in an interaction.

Distance reduction - communication oriented

Communication strategies are used by non-native

speakers when they are focussing on communication, and recognizing that there is incompatibility between systems, feel that this is causing them problems in reaching communicative goals. Communication strategies help them to reduce the distance between systems and to maintain interaction. (The types of strategies available to speakers will be discussed in Chapter Three). Communication strategies may be used with respect to both the linguistic and sociolinguistic systems. Thus they may be employed, for example, to deal in the former instance, with an uncertainty about a lexical item, and in the latter, about a term of address in a particular social context.

When native speakers are aware of distance causing communication problems they employ strategies which are in many ways the same as those non-native speakers use. These have, however, normally been seen as part of what is described as foreigner talk. Tarone (1980) has indicated the extent to which communication strategies and foreigner talk are related. The difference is essentially that the non-native speakers use their restricted interlanguage systems in such a way as to overcome their limitations, while native speakers modify their systems to take account of non-native speakers' limitations. Communication strategies and foreigner talk are used in the 'heat of the moment', when communication is in progress and its success is threatened by difference between systems.

Distance reduction - system oriented

When communication needs are not pressing, attention can be paid to the systems themselves. Non-native speakers can employ learning strategies, whereby they close distance by acquiring more of the native speaker system. Wenden and Rubin define learning strategies as "strategies which contribute to the development of the language system which the learner constructs and which affect learning directly" (1987, p.23).

The distinction between communication strategies and learning strategies is not always clear. Tarone (1983, p.67) points out that although it is theoretically possible to distinguish communication strategies and learning strategies on the basis of motivation, that is, to communicate, or to learn, in practice it is difficult for the analyst to measure this motivation (although he may be helped to do so through learners' self-report comments). In fact a learner's motivation may be both to communicate and to learn. Furthermore, says Tarone, learners may acquire language unconsciously even while using strategies to overcome communication problems. With respect to this last point however, Wenden & Rubin (1987, p.27) say that although communication strategies allow learners to remain in conversation with native speakers, affording them opportunities for learning, "there is no evidence to date that communication strategies contribute directly

to language learning", that is, to the obtaining, storing, retrieving and using of language. In theory then, the distinction seems to remain but it may be blurred for the analyst (a point which will be referred to again in Chapter Six).

When native speakers wish to reduce distance, they may employ teaching strategies, closing distance by instructing non-native speakers on how the native speaker system operates. The more effective learning/teaching that occurs, the fewer communication and foreigner talk strategies are required.

Distance maintenance

In some cases of communication between native speakers and non-native speakers, one or both parties may see no problem in the difference between their systems. Their goals of expressing negative attitude towards the other systems or its users may be best achieved by maintaining distance and thus hindering, rather than facilitating communication of message content. This is achieved by strategic non-employment of the strategies outlined above.

Distance maintenance - communication oriented

Non-native speakers may choose not to employ communication strategies when for some reason they wish to make their messages obscure to native speakers. If,

for example, a non-native speaker wishes to criticise a native speaker, but at the same time protect her/himself from retaliation, s/he may use a lexical item or a term of address from her/his system which indicates abuse but which s/he chooses not to clarify for the native speaker. So, for example, a German native speaker could say to an English native speaker, 'Yes, Mr Smith. (aside) Er hat einen Vogel' (He's crazy). Borrowing from the first language can in fact be a communication strategy, but in this case it is not.

Native speakers may choose not to use foreigner talk when they wish to cause stress for non-native speakers and to assert their superiority and power over them. By their non-use of modified language they can imply to non-native speakers that they should be able to handle the native speaker system and that inability to do so counts as a personal defect.

Distance maintenance -system oriented

With respect to focus on the systems themselves, distance may be maintained by non-native speakers by their strategic non-employment of learning strategies. They may choose to respond in this way to the native speaker system to assert their solidarity with their own language and culture. Older migrants often consciously refuse to learn the language of a new country for this reason. This means that even though they may be exposed to the language they may not employ "strategies which

contribute to the development of the language system" (Wenden & Rubin, 1987, p.23).

Native speakers may maintain distance by withholding teaching strategies from non-native speakers, again to assert power over them. If the non-native speakers do not have mastery of the native speaker system, they will not be able to operate successfully in it and advantages available to native speakers will be denied them. That this sort of strategic omission does exist even in formal teaching situations, is argued by Tollefson (1990), who says that education programmes are influenced by power holding language policy makers so that they limit opportunity for non-native speakers. Teaching strategies are not withdrawn, but are administered in such a way that non-native speakers will never have native-like control of the native speaker system. Tollefson says, "There is now a large body of data demonstrating that inequalities among ethnic groups are reproduced through systematic elements of schools" (p.7).

3.4 A definition

The model reveals that communication strategies are one of the responses which can be used to cope with one of the problems occurring in interaction. Communication strategies can be defined as:

action taken at points in communication where limiting conditions prevail or where there is distance between

speaker and hearer communicative systems which is recognized, perceived as a problem, and which the individual wishes to reduce.

Summary

This chapter has introduced the investigation of the thesis, which is of the nature of communication strategies as used in reception. Reception causes considerable difficulties for non-native speakers and the way these are handled therefore warrants attention. Most previous research, however, has focussed on the handling of communication strategies in production. Directions for the present research are outlined. A definition of communication strategies is developed from an interactional model. This requires consideration of the way language operates in native speaker/non-native speaker communication. Communication involves the meeting of two different communicative systems. Communication strategies are one way of responding to the recognition of this difference.

Outline of following chapters

Chapters Two - Four continue the theoretical perspective of the thesis, with preparatory descriptions of the conditions under which the empirical study is carried out.

Chapter Two describes the two communicative systems

which are relevant to this research - the native speaker and non-native speaker systems. The particular systems relevant to the empirical study are also described. These are the Standard Australian English system and the Chinese/English interlanguage system.

Chapter Three of the thesis is an analytic approach to the study of communication strategies. It discusses their use in production, and the ways in which they have been described in the literature. From this it develops a description of communication strategy use in reception.

Chapter Four examines the way variation in strategy use can be explained. It presents a framework within which explanation may be sought and examines the components of the framework.

Chapters Five and Six focus on the empirical study.

Chapter Five describes the empirical study, which is designed to be a data-based complement to the theoretical approach used in the first four chapters. It outlines the nature of research questions, objectives, subjects, data, data collection and data analysis.

Chapter Six presents the results of the empirical study and discusses them in the context of the theoretical framework.

Chapter Seven draws together the theoretical and empirical perspectives. It presents conclusions from the study and discusses implications and applications of the research.

CHAPTER TWO

Communicative systems of native speakers and non-native speakers

Chapter Two describes two systems which are different and which in interaction may give rise to the use of communication strategies. These are the native speaker and non-native speaker systems. A general description is followed by a description of the particular systems used by participants in the empirical study. These are the standard Australian English system and the Chinese-English interlanguage system. The chapter includes comments by Chinese interlanguage speakers about the difficulties they experience due to difference between their system and the Australian native speaker English system.

Communicative systems

There has not been as much research devoted to description of sociolinguistic systems as there has been to that of linguistic systems. The discipline of sociolinguistics has developed over the last twenty years, but still, according to Gumperz and Hymes (1986, p.v) "sustained empirical work is only beginning." Thus, the linguistic systems of native speakers and non-native speakers can be described more fully than the sociolinguistic systems. In both cases, however, it will be clear from the descriptions that native speaker and non-native speaker systems are quite different. It

is this difference which gives rise to the use of communication strategies.

1 Linguistic systems

Linguistic systems can be described in terms of the functional sounds they possess, their grammatical elements, the way in which sentences are constructed, and the way in which meanings are linked to linguistic expressions. Native speaker systems differ from each other and many systems have been formally described by linguists in these terms. Only recently, however, have attempts been made to examine the way non-native speakers use language. It has been shown that these speakers also make use of a linguistic system.

The notion that non native speakers possessed a linguistic system was conceived in the 1960s when attention was focussed on learners' errors. This focus revealed that there was systematicity in the sorts of errors that learners made. It led in the 1970s to Selinker's observation (1988):

...that second language speech rarely conforms to what one expects native speakers of the target language to produce... that it is not an exact translation of the native language, that it differs from the target language in systematic ways, and that the forms of the utterances produced in the second language are not random. (p.37)

Selinker hypothesised that learners used a system which

was not identical to that of their native language, or of the target language they were attempting to learn. He called this system interlanguage. The notion has since been generally accepted by second language acquisition theorists. Interlanguage refers to the linguistic system of language learners which they use at any time and which changes over time as they move toward the target language. It is a dynamic system, in that it exhibits instability and variation. It is unstable because it is changing as speakers revise their hypotheses about the target language. It is variable in that speakers possess a continuum of styles (Tarone, 1979, 1982) ranging from a superordinate style where most attention is paid to speech form, to a vernacular style where least attention is paid to speech form. The former style is likely to be more frequently influenced by first language or target language systems, while the latter is likely to be more consistently resistant to these influences and to adhere to distinctive interlanguage rules.

This variable systematicity of interlanguage operates at all levels. Eckman (1981) shows that empirical evidence points to the formation and use by second language learners of phonological rules which are independent of the native language and target language (i.e. which are evidence of an interlanguage system). Dulay and Burt (1974), Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1974) and Larsen - Freeman (1976) claim that the acquisition order of morphemes by second language

learners appears systematic and is not exactly the same as that which Brown (1973) showed exists for first language learners. Gass (1984), writing on interlanguage syntax, reports on empirical studies such as one on the tense/aspect system of untutored learners, where this system did not correspond to that in either the native language or the target language. Meara (1984) carried out a study of the lexis of second language learners and concluded that "there are major differences between native speakers and learners of a language in the way they store and handle words" (p.235). Hatch (1984) says that we "know little about discourse as a linguistic level of interlanguage" (p.190). She does not question that interlanguage operates at this level, but points out that "the linguistic discourse system, the sociolinguistic variation and the cross-cultural value systems are tightly interwoven" (p.194). She indicates the need to be able to separate that which is purely linguistic, but admits that "it is not clear which features should be considered" (p.194). Linguistic descriptions of interlanguage discourse are clearly an area which needs to be attended to in the future. Smith's (1987) volume, Discourse across cultures, is perhaps the beginning of a response to this need. Although it does not restrict itself to examination of the linguistic level it does attempt to explore the way in which the strands of discourse and culture are interwoven.

1.1 Linguistic systems in the empirical study

In native speaker/non native speaker discourse, then, there are two different linguistic systems in operation- the native speaker system and the interlanguage system. In the empirical study the native speaker system is standard Australian English, and the non native speaker system is Chinese/English interlanguage.

1.2 Standard Australian English

Standard Australian English has been described in works such as Mitchell (1957), Mitchell and Delbridge (1965a, 1965b), Ramson (1966, 1970), Bernard and Delbridge (1980) and more recently, Collins and Blair (1989). Collins and Blair define standard Australian English as "the dialect spoken by (non-Aboriginal) native born Australians" (p.172). They describe it as "the dominant form of English in Australia, and (which) in one or more of its subvarieties provides the standard for linguistic communication" (p.172). Descriptions have tended to be in terms of its difference from standard British English. A brief overview of standard Australian English is given here.

Pronunciation is distinctive in that the sounds /i/, /u/, /eɪ/, /oʊ/, /aɪ/, /aʊ/ are broadened towards /əɪ/, /əʊ/, /ʌɪ/, /ʌʊ/, /ɒɪ/, and /æʊ/ respectively. The neutral vowel /ə/ frequently replaces the vowels /i/ and

/ɪ/ in unstressed syllables (e.g. /mæ tʃə z/ for /mæ tʃɪ z/

Prosodic features differ for example, from those of British speech in that standard Australian English is (as described in Ramson, 1970) rhythmically slower and more even with deliberately spaced stress and a lesser range of pitch.

Vocabulary differs from that of standard British English in that it has borrowings from regional dialects of British English, from Aboriginal languages, from American English and from foreign (to Australia) languages. Collins and Blair (1989) point out that:

...the 19th century pattern was one of the retention and extension of British English words. The 20th century pattern has been largely one of transference from other dialects and languages.

(p.173)

Syntactically, there is very little difference between Australian and British English, although Turner (in Collins and Blair, p.238) points out some minor differences due to recent American influence.

Bernard and Delbridge (1980) summarize the description of Standard Australian English:

There are differences of lexicon and idiom but in morphology and grammar Australian and south-eastern English are practically indistinguishable. The

phoneme inventory is also arguably just the same as that for south-eastern English and for all practical purposes, R.P. (Received Pronunciation) as well, but there are marked differences of allophonic expression at both segmental and suprasegmental levels between Australian English and all others. (p.270)

1.3 Chinese/English Interlanguage

People of Chinese origin do not all speak the same native language. For this reason it is not possible to describe Chinese/English interlanguage as if it were a single system. Because languages such as Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka and Hokkien are all very different, the interlanguage of the speakers of these languages may also be different in some respects. Kaldor (1970) has described interlanguage features common to speakers from five Chinese dialect categories (Hakka, Teochow, Cantonese, Foochow, Hokkien). Her description indicates that Chinese speakers use English differently from Australian speakers. The fact that actual differences may not be the same for speakers of other Chinese languages/dialects is not crucial to the purposes of the present research. Interest lies in discovering whether there are differences, and hence potential communication problems, rather than in itemizing every one of the differences.

Phonology:

Kaldor notes fourteen points of difference from Australian English. Vowels, for example, differ in that there is:

- a) replacement of rising glides, Australian English /ei/ and /o / by short or long vowels, e.g. /lof/ loaf, /etin/ eighteen.
- b) raising of tongue height in front vowels, e.g. /li^v/ live.
- c) lowering of tongue height and reducing of length in mid back vowel, Australian English /ɔ/ [ɔ:], e.g. /pɔk/ pork.
- d) replacement of central vowel in unstressed positions by a variety of other vowels, e.g. /aikendudɔt/ I can do that.

Grammar:

Four points of difference are noted. There may be difference in the formation of:

- a) noun phrases, e.g. lack of count/mass noun distinction: "a few informations".
- b) verb phrases, e.g. inconsistency of tense: "He stopped and pick her up".
- c) prepositional phrases, e.g. prepositions omitted: "a couple other..."

Transformational rules may also differ, e.g. in forming negative constructions: "I not fully understand".

Vocabulary and idiom:

This has not been fully analysed, but examples indicate differences, e.g. "He suddenly struck lottery prize.", "fair dinkum" for "fair enough".

1.4 Problems resulting from differences in linguistic systems

The difference between standard Australian English and Chinese/English interlanguage does cause problems for speakers of both varieties. Kaldor (1970, p.204) notes that Australian speakers experience strain on the use of their native English because they have to speak with the expectation that they will only be partially understood and also without some of the back-channel reinforcements to which they are accustomed. They experience difficulty too, in interpreting language which is deviant in terms of their own linguistic system. Chinese/English interlanguage speakers also experience problems of encoding and decoding. This study focusses on their decoding problems. Kaldor quotes comments made by some of these speakers about decoding difficulties:

- I seldom catch what they say especially when they are conversing among themselves.

- Maybe it (the difficulty) is due to the Australian accent. I sometimes find it hard to listen to what they are saying and at one time or another I

just cannot figure out what they want to say.

- I have yet to get use to Australian phrases such as "drinkum". (dinkum)

- A lot of slang is used by students- I think that is actually a barrier to new boys.

- Frequently the words are omitted in speech and one wonders whether it was the accepted style of the place or whether it was the speaker's bad breathing technique which drowned the words unintentionally.

(Kaldor, 1970, pp.210-11)

These perceptions of difficulty have explanations which are partly linguistic. In the area of phonology, if, for example, a Chinese/English interlanguage speaker typically replaces rising glides, Australian English /ɛɪ/ and /oʊ/ by short or long vowels, and produces /etiŋ/ eighteen and /lɛ:di/ lady, then s/he may be very confused on hearing different Australian speakers produce /dɛɪ/ or /dɛɪ/ day and /dɛɪ/ or /dɛɪ/ die. None of these is identical to his/her own pronunciation, and what is more, /dɛɪ/ and /dɛɪ/ sound almost the same.

In the area of grammar, if, for example, tenses are inconsistently used by Chinese interlanguage speakers, then they may not be able to use Australian English speakers' tense marker cues to decode references to time. A frequent confusion occurs, for instance, when Australian English speakers ask Chinese interlanguage speakers how long they have been in Australia. Their reply often refers to the length of time they intend to

stay in Australia.

Australian English speaker to newly arrived Chinese student: How long have you been here?

Chinese student: One year. (In fact, perhaps two weeks.)

Australian English vocabulary which is not present in the Chinese English interlanguage system is another very big area which causes decoding problems. All of these problems may be addressed by the interlanguage speakers resorting to the use of communication strategies.

2. Sociolinguistic systems

Sociolinguistic systems can be described from different perspectives. Language use is related to factors such as function, context, speaker choice, listener attitude, processes (e.g. pidginization) and (government) policy. Description can be made from any of these perspectives. Because the present study focusses on communication, it requires a perspective which uses communication as a frame of reference. Hymes (1968, 1986) has developed such a framework. It permits the study of language as it operates within the pattern of communicative events, and as it relates to social contexts and functions of communication within those events. The framework consists of a list of the components which can be involved in communicative acts. Acts can be described in terms of the rules which govern

the way the components relate to each other. These components (from Hymes in Gumperz & Hymes, 1986, pp. 58-65) are:

1. Message form: the means of expression in terms of speech acts and sequencing of speech acts. Form may be observed in behaviours such as greeting, addressing, openings to communication.

2. Content: in terms of topic and change of topic.

3. Setting: time and place of a speech act.

4. Scene: the cultural definition of an occasion, e.g. formal/informal, serious/festive.

5. Speaker or sender

6. Addressor

7. Hearer or receiver or audience

8. Addressee

9. Purposes- outcomes: conventionally recognized and expected outcomes.

10. Purposes- goals: purposes of individuals engaged in an event.

11. Key- the tone, manner or spirit in which an act is done, e.g. mock/serious.

12. Channel: choice of medium of transmission of speech, e.g. oral/written.

13. Forms of speech- variety of speech used.

14. Rules of interaction: specific behaviours that attach to speaking, e.g. one must not interrupt.

15. Norms of interpretation.

16. Genres: categories such as poem, myth, proverb.

Members of any speech community have ways of

speaking which can be described in terms of these components. When speakers are trying to learn the sociolinguistic rules of a new system, then it is obvious that as with the linguistic rules, they will not have grasp of them overnight, and may not ever use them consistently as would native speakers. The question arises as to whether there is a sociolinguistic interlanguage, or whether non-native speakers use either the sociolinguistic system of their native language or of the target language at different points of interaction. Malcolm (1979b, p.315) suggests that the former could be the case. If so, a quotation from Selinker (1988) could be used to hypothesise the existence of a sociolinguistic interlanguage. In this quotation the word linguistic is replaced by the word sociolinguistic, and runs as follows:

The 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. Since we can observe that these two sets of utterances are not identical, then in the making of constructs relevant to a theory of second language learning, one would be completely justified in hypothesizing, perhaps even compelled to hypothesize, the existence of a separate sociolinguistic [linguistic] system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a

Empirical studies to test the existence of this separate sociolinguistic system do not appear to have been made. Although there is much evidence to indicate the importance of sociolinguistic systems, Tarone and Yule (1989, p.88) point out that very little work of any sort has been done to investigate the sociolinguistic systems of second language learners. All that can be said, it seems, is that there are points at which they are not identical to those of the users of the language they are learning.

Sociolinguistic systems of Australian English speakers and Chinese English speakers

While the sociolinguistic study of Australian English is, according to Collins and Blair (1989) is "in its infancy" (p.10), the sociolinguistic study of Chinese English in Australia has not really been attempted at all. Hence, descriptions here of both will have to be limited and tentative.

2.1 Sociolinguistic systems of Australian English speakers

Standard Australian English is more homogeneous than English in countries like America and the United Kingdom. However there is variation which is related to social groupings, and this variation seems to operate in

the same way across the country. Mitchell and Delbridge (1965b) used the six sounds (see p.38) which have distinctive pronunciation in Australian English, to identify three varieties of Australian speech. They conducted a survey which indicated that 34% of speakers use what they called Broad Australian, 55% use General Australian and 11% use Cultivated Australian. They said (1965a):

The use of one variety rather than another is governed by a whole cluster of personal and social circumstances, chief among which must be counted the speaker's sex, the type of school attended, family background as revealed by father's occupation, parents' place of birth and finally whether he lives in an urban or rural community.

Collins and Blair (1989, p.11) question the reliability of Mitchell and Delbridge's findings, pointing out that their data collection techniques and sampling procedures could have been improved. Horvath (1985) has since identified another variety which would affect the percentages given by Mitchell and Delbridge. This variety, which she labels Ethnic Broad, is used by adult migrants in Australia. Collins and Blair (1989) report that most studies point to Cultivated Australian being seen as the prestige variety and Broad Australian as the variety indicating toughness, openness and Australian nationalism.

The Collins and Blair volume devotes most space to micro-sociolinguistic concerns, thus reflecting the sort

of study which has been carried out in Australia. There has been investigation of the high rising tone used by young, working class Australian females in declarative clauses in narratives and descriptions. It is seen to have the function of "seeking verification of the listener's comprehension" (p.13). Morpheme studies indicate that suffixes -ing and -thing vary as /ɪŋ/ and /ɪŋk/ respectively, with age and sex, females being "a conservative force in speech behaviour" (p.13). A study on syntactic variables indicates that "the norms associated with non standard speech (for example solidarity, intimacy, toughness) are more strongly held by males than females and increasingly by older males, decreasingly by older females (p.14). A study on variation in register, realized in terms of address, points to the fact that in Australia "the first name is the norm for address in all but the most formal occasions" (p.68), and that diminutive forms are frequently used, although the middle class use full forms to maintain social distance. A study of characteristically Australian words suggests that they are particularly associated with occupational and recreational activities such as goldmining, sheep shearing and football.

Complementary to these descriptions of aspects of speech use in Australia, are those which arise from awareness of contrast with other systems of speech use. Thus, although the following section is a description of the sociolinguistic system of Chinese/English

interlanguage speakers, it also throws light on the Australian English system.

2.2 Sociolinguistic system of Chinese/English interlanguage speakers

Reference to some aspects of the sociolinguistic system of Chinese speakers of English in Australia will be made in the framework of Hymes' components of communicative acts (Hymes, in Gumperz and Hymes, 1986). It is in the form of comments from Chinese interlanguage speakers, revealing differences or problems they experience regarding the sociolinguistic rules of Australian English speech use.

Form:

Greeting:

- (With respect to the greeting 'Hi!')

"'Hi!' in Chinese stands only for an exclamation for the listener's attention. So it's difficult for them to use it because of the uncertainty about the politeness" (Mainland Chinese student-written comment).

Opening communication:

- "I was... confused by a typical American greeting... 'How are you doing?'" (Similar to Australian 'How are you going?') "I took it as a common question... I found... reactions to my... frank and honest answers... a mixture of puzzlement and

awkwardness" (Mainland Chinese student in America).

Politeness:

- "I do not know when I am polite in Australia, when I am not..." (Kaldor 1970, p.211).

Content:

Topic:

- "The first difference I found is that the Australians are interested in the football, back home we just play soccer and... discuss things on that point... When I first came here these boys they used to talk about the weather and the places and so on which we haven't seen yet... and in no position to discuss" (Kaldor, 1970, p.212).

Setting:

" It is sometimes hard to carry on a dinner conversation because at home we don't talk so much when we have our dinner" (Kaldor p.212).

Scene:

Deference- "The life here will be very different from life... here is more equal... if I see a lecturer I won't be embarrassed at all, back home in Malaya I am... My professor of department... he'll say good morning to you even before you say good morning to him, but at home even an ordinary teacher... he insists that you should say good morning to him first" (Kaldor, p.211).

Participants: (sender/addressor, hearer/addressee)

Mode of address

- "The first step into the Australia life... [is] one of casualness...you see a child speaking to a parent so casually" (Kaldor, p.211).

Purposes: Outcomes/goals

(On the difference between conventionally expected outcome of learning in a classroom situation and personal goal of maintaining privacy about learning needs).

- "I'm sort of nervous to talk and all that so I missed out on quite a lot of, the problems I have. I didn't ask the teacher and I always had to go to the maths office to ask" (Oral sample, this study).

Key:

"When they say something, I would believe it at first, though I'd be a bit doubtful and then he would say 'I'm joking'" (Oral sample, Taiwanese student).

Channel:

"Writing is more difficult to understand; you don't know enough vocabulary" (Oral sample, Taiwanese student).

Forms of speech: Choice of style

- "If I use some of the language I usually use at home [I will not be understood]... the other day I was... in the petrol station and I said... 'Where can I

throw this piece of paper'... he wouldn't understand me and then... a friend next to me... said... 'What he means is where to chuck this piece of paper' (Kaldor p.211).

Norms of interaction/interpretation

"I knew if I followed you I'd find a couple of nice girls", was interpreted as "Australian flattering talk which is unnecessary and embarrassing" (Kaldor, p.219). In fact the utterance was probably intended as a lighthearted overture to friendship.

A problem not commented on, but which may well exist, is uncertainty for the interlanguage speaker over the Australian English speaker's use of the high-rise tone in narratives and descriptions. If the interlanguage speaker is unaware that this feature serves an interactional function, s/he will be uncertain as to whether any response is required.

Summary

This chapter has described the native speaker and non-native speaker communicative systems. It has also described the particular systems used by speakers who participate in the empirical study. This has shown that there are differences between them. The chapter has contained comments by non-native speakers which show that in many instances they see these differences as problems. It is in such instances that communication strategies are used.

CHAPTER THREE

Communication strategies in reception: a description

Chapter three seeks to describe the way communication strategies operate in reception. It begins by a discussion of the way strategy operation has previously been described in the literature. Taxonomies have been developed according to different organizing features. An organizing feature is adopted for the present research and empirical evidence is examined to determine whether this organization accounts for the way strategies are used in reception as well as production. Strategies are further classified into sub-divisions and these are described with definitions and examples.

1. Categories of communication strategies

1.1 Taxonomies - A review of literature

When people attempt to reduce distance between communicative systems in order to facilitate communication they do not always do so in the same way. Just as communication strategies are one of a number of solutions to the problem resulting from distance between systems, so there are a number of ways the solution can be implemented. In order to describe the range of ways communication strategies operate, researchers have developed taxonomies of communication strategies, grouping similar ways together.

The taxonomies have been developed according to different organizing features. Tarone (1977), one of the earliest researchers to develop a taxonomy, based it on the different ways learners choose to solve communication problems. Her taxonomy consisted of five categories: avoidance (topic avoidance and message abandonment), paraphrase (approximation, word coinage and circumlocution), conscious transfer (literal transliteration and language switch), appeal for assistance and mime. Bialystok (1983) used learners' sources of information as the basis for organization, Faerch and Kasper (1983a), like Tarone, used the way learners choose to solve problems, and Paribakht (1985) used the different types of knowledge which can be incorporated into strategies.

Bialystok (1990), reviewing the taxonomies, says that although they are useful in establishing the boundaries of the concept of communication strategies, they do not have validity or reliability. She says that they do not have validity because selection of categories that organize the taxonomies cannot be predicted by reliable factors. She reaches this conclusion after examination of studies such as those presented in the overview of studies, pp.7 - 12, which have looked at factors affecting use of strategies. She says that they do not have reliability because different researchers label utterances in different ways. The definitions of utterance types do not ensure reliable classification. She also conducts a separate study to

investigate the validity and reliability of the taxonomies and finds her conclusions confirmed. (In fact it cannot be concluded that the taxonomies lack validity because the factors which have been tested show no relationship with categories. It may be that a crucial factor or factors have not been considered. Reference to this point will be made again in Chapter Four.)

Bialystok notes that the taxonomies described group utterances according to similarities in surface structure. She says that this does not reveal any real distinctions. On the basis of an examination of language processing she claims that the real distinction lies in the way normal language processing operates when learners face problems. She describes the two components of language processing. One is the analysis of linguistic knowledge, which is "the process of structuring mental representations of language which are organized at the level of meanings (knowledge of the world) into explicit representations of structure organized at the level of symbols [forms]" (p.118). The other component is the control of linguistic knowledge, which is "the ability to control attention to relevant and appropriate information and to integrate these forms in real time" (p.125). When there is a problem it is tackled by particular dependence on one or the other component. If there is an attempt to convey the structure of the concept by making explicit the relational defining features then an analysis-based

strategy is used. If there is an attempt to manipulate the form of expression through attention to different sources of information, then a control-based strategy is used. Bialystok's definition of communication strategies is "that they are the dynamic interaction of the components of language processing that balance each other in their level of involvement to meet task demands" (p.138).

Strategies classified according to surface-level features which Bialystok says belong to the analysis-based strategy group are circumlocution, paraphrase, transliteration and word coinage. Those belonging to the control-based group are code switching, mime and appealing for help.

Bialystok's process, rather than surface level description, does seem to be more adequate at the level of explanation, although surface level descriptions are important because it is only here that the results of underlying processing are observable. Two points need to be made about Bialystok's system. Firstly, she takes account only of what Faerch and Kasper (1983a) would call 'achievement strategies'. In the task Bialystok uses to test the taxonomies for validity and reliability, there is no opportunity for subjects to use what Tarone (1977) and Faerch and Kasper (1983a) call 'avoidance strategies'. Bialystok acknowledges this and says:

the effect of this lacuna on the assessment...

however, is not serious. Missing data, as in the case of avoidance strategies, do not detract from this assessment of those strategies which are represented. The gap, does, however, prevent the formation of a final and exhaustive listing of possible strategies. (p.62)

Secondly, Bialystok's evaluation is only of taxonomies which describe strategy use in production, and her own alternative only refers to production.

In that the present research is an attempt to provide an "exhaustive listing" of strategies, it must consider avoidance. It may emerge that the "lacuna" in Bialystok's account is serious. It is in fact serious in that although the omission of avoidance is acknowledged, the definition of communication strategies as "the dynamic interaction of language processing..." implies that this refers to the whole range of strategies. It is also important to consider strategy use in reception because the extent to which it is similar to and different from use in production may affect explanatory theories.

1.2 Avoidance and achievement as broadest categories

Faerch and Kasper (1983a) make a basic distinction between avoidance and achievement strategies. They say that when people employ communication strategies they make use of two approaches. One approach is to avoid the problem, and the other is to face and tackle it. These

two alternative responses are not limited to the approaches used to solve communication problems. Mullen and Roth (1990) point out that "fight and flight behaviour is a primitive reaction we share with animals" (p.27). It is suggested that this avoidance/achievement is the broadest categorization of communication strategies. From the achievement category may issue the categories Bialystok suggests (at least in production).

It is important to note that avoidance can operate at two levels. The user can, at one level, avoid the problem, and at another level, avoid revealing that there is a problem. A strategy which avoids a problem may or may not avoid revelation of the problem. So, in production, if a learner avoids talking about a topic for which s/he does not have sufficient vocabulary (topic avoidance), it is likely that avoidance will operate at both levels. On the other hand, if s/he begins to tackle a problem but then gives up (message abandonment) the problem is avoided, but revelation of existence of the problem is not. Likewise, an achievement strategy, which tackles the problem, may or may not involve avoidance at the second level; that is the existence of the problem may or may not be revealed. So, if a learner tackles a problem by appealing for help, avoidance does not operate at this second level. If s/he tackles it by circumlocution or paraphrase, it may do. These alternatives can be shown diagrammatically, as in Figure ii. The diagram refers

to communication strategy use in production. The situation is somewhat different in reception, and a second diagram will be presented following an exploration of communication strategy use in reception.

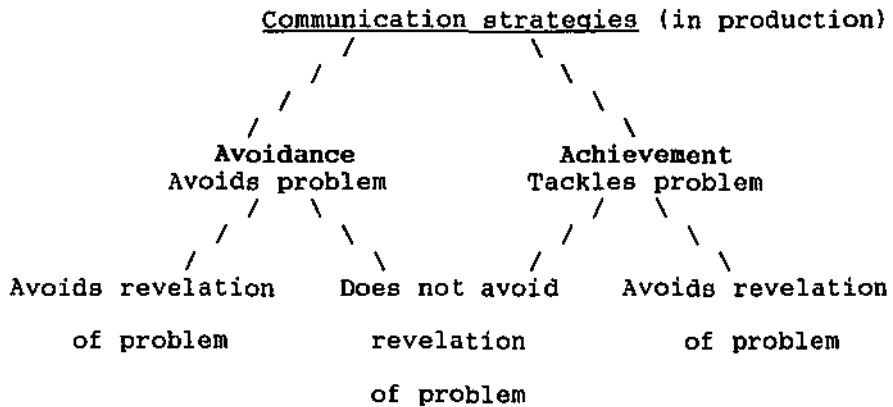


Figure 11

In this thesis, avoidance refers to strategies which avoid the problem. Separate consideration is required about whether they (and achievement strategies) avoid revelation of the problem.

A number of discussions of communication strategies make use of the avoidance/achievement classification: Ervin (1979), Blum Kulka and Levenston (in Faerch and Kasper, 1983), Haastrup and Phillipson (1983), Stedje (1983), Palmberg (1983), Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman (1984); Kumaravadivelu (1988), Poulisse and Schils (1989).

However, although it is accepted that the avoidance/achievement distinction applies to

communication strategies used in both production and reception, all of the researchers cited (with the exception of Haastrup and Phillipson) have examined the actual occurrence of the two approaches only in production. Ervin (1979), for example, carried out a study with 14 intermediate level American students of Russian, in which he found that of the communication strategies used, 40% were of the avoidance type and 60% were achievement.

1.3 Avoidance and achievement in reception

The question arises as to whether both avoidance and achievement strategies are used in response to problems in reception. The evidence indicates that they are.

Indication that avoidance is used comes from Rumelhart (1983), who studied "Strategies used in response to interactional uncertainty". He found that subjects used avoidance of two types: defensive strategies, where participants said as little as possible of substance, and offensive strategies, where they attempted to push the conversation to safer grounds. Instances of defensive strategies included:

- minimal answer
 - . yes/no (and variations thereof)
 - . vague phrase (especially of agreement)
 - . stock phrase or platitude
- failure to volunteer relevant comments

- failure to clarify or ask necessary questions
- literalness in response

Examples of offensive strategies were:

- securing topic maintenance
- changing the subject
- saying something that sounds right
- elaboration
- aggressiveness

(These offensive strategies illustrate how a receiver can avoid responding by becoming a producer, or by maintaining the role of producer.) Rumelhart's data were gathered from developmentally disabled adults, but he points out that any people who are in doubt about their understanding are likely to engage in similar behaviour. Because non-native speakers are frequently in doubt about understanding, it is likely that they will sometimes use avoidance strategies.

Rumelhart suggests that people use avoidance strategies in reception by controlling the way in which they reply to problem input, counting on the co-participants' assumption that they are abiding by the Gricean (1975) principle to "make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (p.45). Receivers may attempt to solve problems by avoiding reference to unknown items, thus hiding their difficulties but satisfying conversational maxims and ensuring that interaction continues. This is what

Faerch and Kasper describe as "functional reduction strategy", where the "learner reduces his communicative goal in order to solve a problem (Faerch and Kasper, 1983, p.52). The goal of fully understanding linguistic content and satisfying conversational maxims is reduced to that of understanding only what is essential to the satisfying of maxims.

It can be seen that avoidance in reception operates at both the levels mentioned earlier. The response is used both to avoid the problem and to avoid revelation that there is a problem.

There is empirical evidence that achievement strategies are also used in reception. Haastrup and Phillipson's (1983) study of Danish learners of English showed that reception problems are commonly handled by resort to achievement strategies, where problems are tackled, not avoided. One of their subjects, for example, used 13 achievement type strategies to handle 7 reception problems in a conversation. These achievement strategies were in the form of appeals, where the learner made known to the native speaker his need for help. Appeals do not enable the user to avoid revelation that there is a problem.

2. Sub-categories of avoidance and achievement strategies in reception

It can be concluded from the empirical evidence

that both avoidance and achievement are used in reception. However, the sort of achievement strategies, namely appeal, observed by Haastrup and Phillipson, are not the only sort that operate to tackle problems in reception. Appeals are an alternative to mental procedures. Faerch (1984) lists three sorts of procedures used in speech reception:

- 1) procedures (mental) that utilize knowledge, linguistic or other, at various levels of delicacy for the interpretation of incoming speech (knowledge driven or top-down processing)
[For example, context may enable a learner to guess the meaning of an unknown word.]
- 2) procedures (mental) that utilize incoming data by decoding gradually larger segments, moving from phonological and morphological to syntactic and semantic decoding (data driven or bottom-up processing)
[For example, a learner may use his/her knowledge of morphemes such as 'pre' and 'judge' to arrive at the meaning of 'prejudge'.]
- 3) procedures (behavioural) that utilize interpretive possibilities in the context e.g. by means of repair work
[For example, a learner may issue an appeal, such as, "What does X mean?"] (pp61-62)

Procedures 1) and 2) are used by listeners in order to process all incoming speech. It is assumed that they operate in tandem, rather than independently. Faerch

says, "It is probably the case that the two types of procedures are activated unconsciously, without the individual experiencing a problem...but there is some evidence that they may also be used in problem solving situations" (p.62). This evidence Faerch finds in two studies, one where subjects think aloud at problem points in reading 'foreign' texts, and one where subjects discuss in groups the meanings of unknown words in a text.

As in the case of production, (as discussed by Bialystok, 1990) it seems that although the two processing components (top-down and bottom-up) are the same at problematic and non-problematic points, there is a difference in the way they interact. When a problem is experienced, there appears to be a reliance on one of the components. Faerch (1984, pp63-66) refers to studies which indicate this.

Achievement strategies which are mental procedures enable the user to tackle problems and to avoid revealing that there is a problem. If the problem is solved, no-one but the user is aware that it existed.

If the problem remains and the user still wishes to tackle it, s/he has to use behavioural procedures (Faerch's Procedure 3). The only sort of behavioural achievement strategy that the receiver can use is the appeal. Appeals tackle the problem, but do not avoid revelation that there is a problem.

Because appeals reveal that there is a problem, receivers may instead opt for avoidance, where the communicative goal is reduced, but interaction is maintained. Another alternative which appears to be used by learners is not to use mental procedures at all when faced with a problem, but to immediately use behavioural achievement strategies or avoidance. Figure iii illustrates the way communication strategies are seen to operate in reception.

Communication strategy use in reception

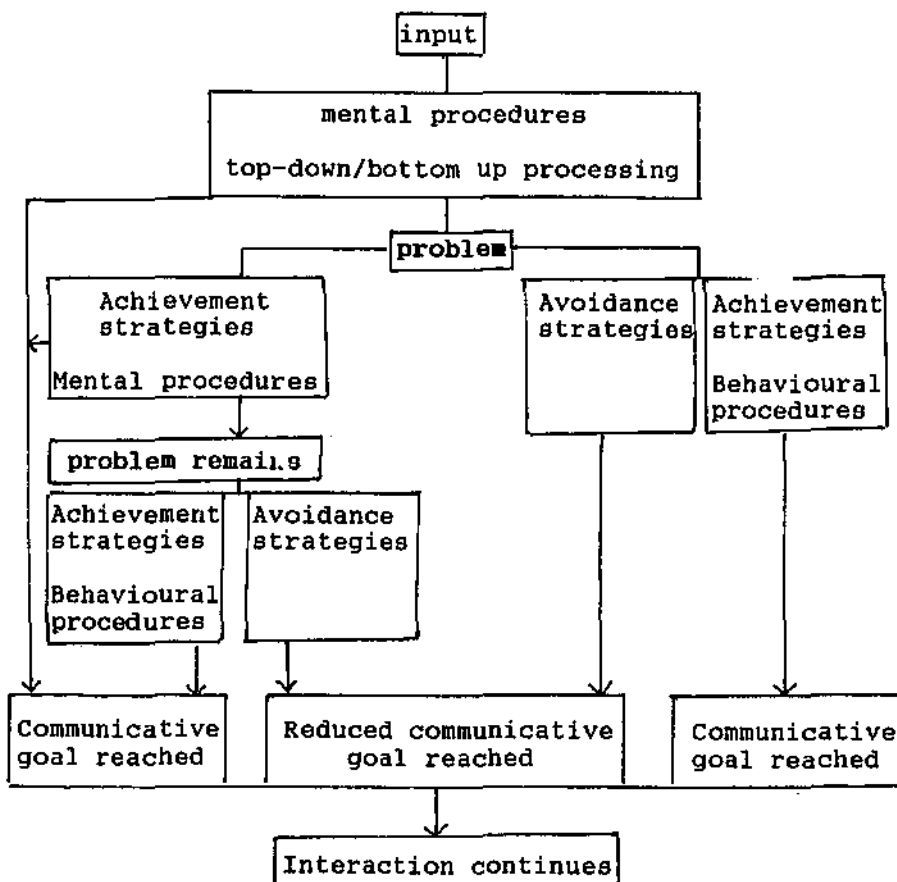


Figure iii

Drawing together the ways in which avoidance and achievement strategies operate in reception, and the extent to which they allow for avoidance of revelation that there is a problem, Figure iv illustrates the relationships.

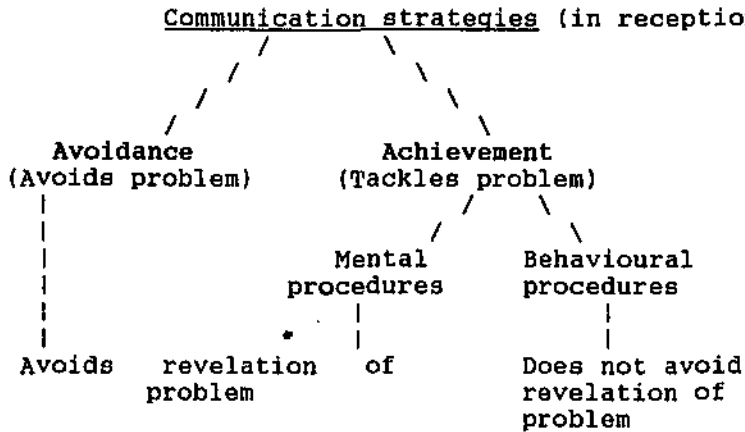


Figure iv

Figures ii and iv can be combined, showing the way avoidance at the second level operates in both production and reception. The resulting figure (v) incorporates an elaboration of Figure ii, arising from Bialystok's (1990) description of achievement strategies in production.

Bialystok claims that selection of achievement strategy types in production is the result of normal language processing. She says that "the processing system works in balance, each skill component stretching to accommodate for a weakness in the other in the service of an overall goal or intention" (p.136). The

overall goal may be to solve communication problems while avoiding revelation of the existence of problems or it may be to solve them while revealing their existence.

Bialystok hypothesizes that control-based strategies (such as code-switching, gestures, mime and appeals for assistance) will be used by learners who have lower levels of proficiency, or where tasks make heavy demands on processing. Analysis-based strategies (such as circumlocution, paraphrase, transliteration and word coinage) will be used by learners who have higher levels of proficiency, or where processing demands are not so great.

It is interesting to note that the control-based strategies are likely to reveal the existence of a problem and the analysis-based strategies are not so likely to reveal a problem. Bialystok's hypothesis could be added to thus:

Control-based strategies will be used by learners who have lower levels of proficiency, or where tasks make heavy demands on processing, or where the user wants/is compelled to reveal the existence of problems.

Analysis-based strategies will be used by learners who have higher levels of proficiency, or where processing demands are not so great, or where the

user wants/is compelled to avoid revealing the existence of problems.

Figure v shows the way in which communication strategies in production and reception are likely, or not likely, to avoid revelation of the existence of problems.

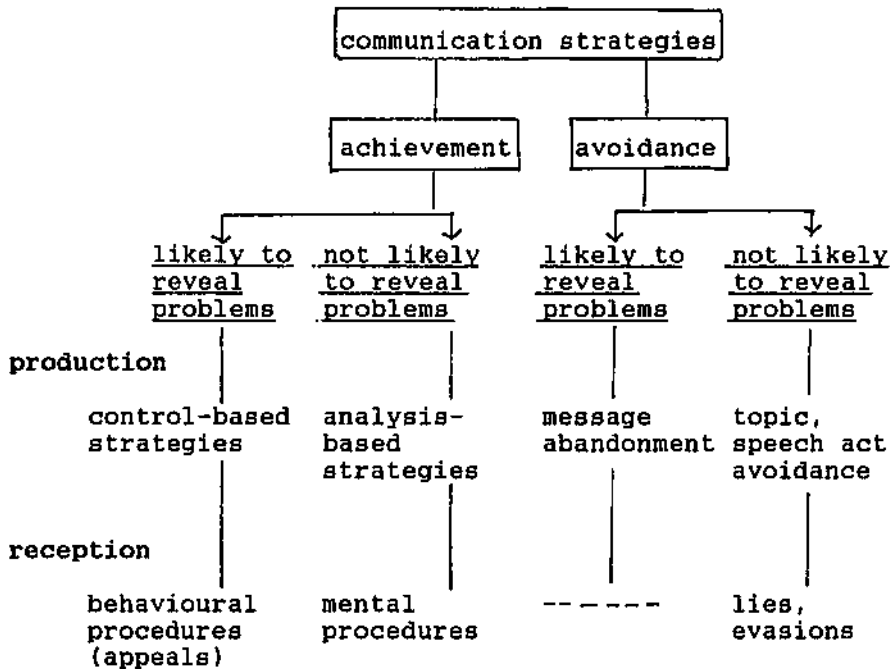


Figure v

2.1 Focus of present research

Although the theoretical part of this thesis is concerned to describe the full range of ways avoidance and achievement responses might operate as communication strategies in reception, the empirical part focusses only on the behavioural type achievement strategies (as

well as avoidance strategies). This is because it limits itself to describing only those strategies which can be observed from examination of discourse. Mental procedures cannot be observed. Nevertheless, the concluding chapter of the thesis, which draws together the theoretical and empirical strands, considers the adequacy of the emergent explanatory hypothesis to account for the use of mental procedures.

In order to prepare for the data-based approach, consideration is now given to the sorts of utterances which could be identified as avoidance or behavioural achievement strategies. Although it is strategies in reception that are being studied, they can only be located through utterances which are responses to input.

2.2 Sub types of avoidance and behavioural achievement strategies in reception

The classification is made according to surface level features. Whether selection of categories corresponds to any factors in the learner or in the situation is considered to some extent in Chapters Four and Six, but this is a matter for further research. The categories are here considered useful if they help the researcher to detect instances of strategy use. The taxonomy is tentative and open ended.

Behavioural achievement strategies: appeals

1) Verbal appeals

a) general repair requests, in which the hearer only requests a repair, without identifying the repairable item. (Faerch, 1984, p.67) e.g. "What?" "Pardon?" (These can also function as avoidance behaviour. See Avoidance strategies, subtype: evasions (c): pretending not to hear.)

b) specific repair requests, in which the hearer identifies the repairable (Faerch, 1984, p.67) e.g. "What does X mean?"

c) clarification requests, in which the hearer asks whether his interpretation is correct. e.g. "Does X mean Y?"

i) questioning repetition, in which the hearer repeats an unknown item in a questioning tone e.g.

NS: Have you got an X?

NNS: An X?

ii) spelling requests, in which the hearer asks for a word to be spelled, expecting that the spelling will be followed by an explanation.

e) admissions of ignorance, which function as appeals e.g. "I don't know what X means."

2) Non-verbal appeals, in which the hearer uses a questioning look to ask for help.

Avoidance strategies

1) Lies, where the hearer claims to understand something s/he does not.

NS: You know what I mean?

NNS: Yeah.

2) Evasions, where the hearer takes advantage of opportunities to respond to utterances in a veiled way.

a) minimal answer (from Rumelhart, 1983, p.381)

Yes/No (and variations thereof)

NS: Would you agree that X is crafty?

NNS: Yes (Not knowing 'crafty', but realizing that "Yes" or "No" is acceptable, and in fact that "Yes" is anticipated.)

Vague phrase

NS: Do you agree with capital punishment?

NNS: Umm, sort of. (Not knowing 'capital punishment')

Stock phrase or platitude

NS: What do you think we should do about environmental pollution?

NNS: That's a hard question. (Not knowing 'environmental pollution')

Selective response, where it is possible to indicate complete understanding by repeating only what is known.

NS: Your mark for perceptive ability is 50.

NNS: Oh, 50. (Not knowing 'perceptive ability')

b) Safe answers, where the question asks for preferences between alternatives, rather than original answers.

NS: Do you prefer geraniums or stocks?

NNS: Stocks (Not knowing either 'geraniums' or 'stocks')

NS: Would you rather commute or work here?

NNS: Work here (Not knowing 'commute')

c) Ambiguous answers, where the answer could refer to content, but actually refers to understanding of the utterance:

NS: What do you think of pacifists?

NNS: I don't quite know. (Not knowing 'pacifists')

d) pretending not to hear, rather than not to understand, and hoping that the interlocutor will rephrase the utterance in a simpler way. e.g. "What was that?" "Pardon?"

e) refusals, where the respondent uses the pretext of some moral objection to replying. e.g. "I don't want to talk about that"

f) shadowed replying (from Malcolm, 1979, p.285), where a hearer may wait for another person to respond and shadow that response

g) turning producer (from Rumelhart, 1983) as a way of evading the need to respond, where the receiver changes the subject when a response is actually called for, or

maintaining turn as producer, so that the native speaker will not have an opportunity to make utterances which may not be understood.

Overview of communication strategies in reception

Achievement strategies

Components

Mental procedures: learner	top-down processing
uses normal processing	bottom-up processing

Sub-types

Behavioural procedures:	
learner seeks to expand	1. Verbal appeals
communicative resources	a) general repair requests
	b) specific repair requests
	c) clarification requests
	d) indirect appeals
	i) questioning repetition
	ii) spelling requests
	e) admissions of ignorance
	2. Non-verbal appeals

Avoidance strategies

Sub types

Learner reduces his	1. Lies
communicative goal in	2. Evasions
order to avoid a	a) minimal answers
problem.	i) Yes/No
	ii) Vague phrase
	iii) Stock phrase

- iv) Selective response
- b) safe answers
- c) ambiguous answers
- d) pretending not to hear
- e) refusals
- f) shadowed replying
- g) taking or maintaining producer role

Summary

The first part of this chapter has examined existing taxonomies of communication strategies and noted the features they use as a basis for organization. Bialystok (1990) has criticized these taxonomies and offered an alternative. This alternative is seen to be useful in accounting for some strategies, but limited in that not all aspects of use are considered. At the broadest level, communication strategies can be described as those that avoid the problem and those that try to achieve a solution to the problem. This avoidance and achievement response is seen to operate in reception as well as in production. It is pointed out that avoidance may operate at two levels. The chapter has shown that achievement strategies may operate as normal mental processing or as behavioural procedures. A model is presented showing strategy operation in reception (Figure iii). The theoretical aspect of the thesis takes account of avoidance as well as both mental and behavioural achievement strategies, while the empirical aspect limits itself to

consideration of avoidance and behavioural achievement strategies. A taxonomy is developed showing the sub-categories of avoidance and achievement strategies in reception.

CHAPTER FOUR

Variation in communication strategy use: an explanatory framework

Chapter four moves beyond description of communication strategies to explanation. An interactional framework which can be used to seek explanation is presented. The three components of the framework are described.

1. An explanatory framework

A number of studies have sought explanation of communication strategies by examining the relationship of factors such as task type and proficiency to different types of achievement strategies in production. (See overview of studies, pp 7-11.) As Bialystok (1990) has pointed out, the results of these have not indicated any significant relationship. She attributes this to the fact that the strategies have been wrongly classified. She hypothesises that if achievement strategies in production are classified as being analysis-based or control-based, there will be a relationship with proficiency and processing demands. She provides some evidence to support this hypothesis (p.134). However, if avoidance/achievement is taken as the broadest categorization, then other factors may be relevant.

Palmberg (1983) has in fact investigated variation using the avoidance/achievement distinction. He examined strategy use in three earlier studies and found no relationship between age, mother tongue or target language and use of avoidance/achievement strategies. Bialystok (1990) would see this lack of relationship as indicating that the avoidance/achievement distinction is not a valid one. It may be, however, as was mentioned in Chapter Three (p.56), that factors with a significant relationship were not considered, or that a relationship exists not between strategy use and a single factor, but between strategy use and an interplay of factors.

DeKeyser's (1988) comments on interlanguage research suggest that this could be the case. He claims that consideration of isolated factors is not profitable. He says:

Sociolinguistic variables such as formality of context or relationship with the interlocutor and psycholinguistic variables such as attention to form and time pressure should be looked at in a multivariate design that would allow assessment of their respective contribution to L2 variability, separately as well as in interaction with other variables. (p.114)

He says that what is needed is:

a multifaceted understanding of how a whole array of cognitive, and affective, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic variables determine how mental resources are allocated to aiming at what

The present study uses a "multivariate design" to seek explanation for variation in communication strategy use in reception. It has been concluded in Chapter One that communication strategies are used to solve problems arising from the meeting of two different communicative systems. It is suggested that the way strategies are used is dependent on how the communicative systems are used in particular interactions and on social and personal constraints which operate in those interactions. Explanation of avoidance/achievement strategy selection can be sought by consideration of discourse in the light of these constraints, as illustrated in the framework shown in Figure vi. The following is an elaboration of the framework (adapted from Malcolm, 1979a).

1.1 Constraints issuing from the way the communicative systems are used

It is suggested that strategy selection by non-native speakers is partly determined by the input they receive from native speakers. Native speakers choose what sorts of utterances they will make (these choices being made within certain constraints), and their choices place constraints on the sorts of choices non-native speakers can make in response. If responses are to be communication strategies, then constraint is placed on the sort of strategy that can be chosen.

Utterances can be described in sociolinguistic terms as speech acts, or units of speech used as functions, and in linguistic terms as sentence forms. Input seen as speech acts and as sentence forms can be examined to see how it may constrain strategy choice.

There are two speech acts which explicitly require response. These are directing acts, defined by Malcolm (1979) as those "intended to produce a change in non-verbal behaviour" (p.263), and eliciting acts, defined as those "designed to produce a verbal or quasi verbal response" (p.277). Only eliciting acts can be responded to with avoidance strategies. The purpose of avoidance strategies in reception is both to avoid the problem and to avoid revealing that there is a problem. If a receiver has a problem understanding a directing act, there is no option but to use an achievement strategy. If s/he tries to use an avoidance strategy, then the producer will realize s/he did not understand or will interpret the non-compliance as a deliberate disturbance to the interaction. Communication strategies can be examined to determine whether their selection has been constrained at the level of native speaker selection of speech acts.

If eliciting acts are used, then this in itself imposes no constraint, but the linguistic form of those acts may constrain the range of sub-types of avoidance strategies which are available. If, for example, an eliciting act is in the form of a 'Wh' question:

What does 'prestige' mean?

Where do you reside?

then the only sorts of avoidance strategies which can be used are minimal answers (stock phrase, vague phrase), ambiguous answers, pretending not to hear, refusals, shadowed replying or taking/maintaining producer role. Lies, evasions, minimal answers (yes/no, selective response) and safe answers cannot be used.

If the eliciting act is in the form of a 'do' question, such as:

Do you think pacifism is a good idea?

then the same sorts of responses are available, with the addition of minimal answers (yes/no). If the 'do' question requires the respondent to select between alternatives, such as:

Do you prefer geraniums or stocks?

then s/he is constrained to use minimal answer (selective response, stock phrase), pretending not to hear, refusals or taking/maintaining producer role.

If the eliciting act is in declarative form, such as:

I think procrastination is reprehensible.

then minimal answers (vague phrase, stock phrase) and pretending not to hear, are the only responses possible.

If the native speaker utterance gives opportunity for response using either achievement or avoidance strategies, then a further constraint may operate in the

form of the non-native speaker's competence. It could be argued that achievement strategies require greater competence than avoidance strategies in that three out of the five sub-types of verbal requests (viz. general repair requests, specific repair requests and clarification requests) require the use of the interrogative form. All but the indirect appeal type require more than a one word utterance, whereas five of the eight sub-types of avoidance strategies can make use of one word utterances. It appears, however, that the non-native speaker's competence may affect selection of sub-types rather than of avoidance/achievement categories. This is because it is possible to use one word responses for both strategies, and no words at all for non-verbal appeal achievement strategies.

1.2 Social constraints

Social constraints may be described at the broadest level in terms of domains (Fishman, in Gumperz & Hymes, 1986), or spheres of activity such as school, church, family and government, in which common sets of behavioural rules operate. Within domains, context may be described in terms of speech situations, or activities which occur at particular times and places and involve participants in particular communicative roles. A meal time would be a speech situation in the domain of the family. Within speech situations, speech events occur. These are defined by Hymes (in Gumperz & Hymes, 1986) as "activities, or aspects of activities,

that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech" (p.56). Speech events can thus be examined in terms of language. An argument would be a speech event which might occur in the speech situation of a meal time in the domain of the family. Participation in a speech event within a speech situation occurring in a certain domain constrains the way communicative systems (and hence communication strategies) are used.

Speech events have been described (by Hymes) as involving various components. These have been listed in Chapter Two, p. 45. Explanation of strategy selection may be sought by reference to each of the components of a speech event. The question is asked as to whether the selection is influenced by the form, the content, the setting, and so on, of the particular speech event.

1.3 Personal constraints

The use of strategies is further constrained by personal factors. A suitable framework within which to describe these would seem to be some theory of human communication. In fact there is no one theory of human communication, but a number of somewhat differing theories which focus on various aspects of personal interaction. Littlejohn (1978) has summarized the basic tenets of these theories and shown how together, they can provide a description of interpersonal communication. His description is as follows:

- Interpersonal communication occurs in the context of

face to face interaction.

- It is a process of establishing and maintaining relationships.
- Patterns of interpersonal communication are established on the basis of interpersonal needs for inclusion, control and affection, which determine behaviour.
- It involves a presentation of self to others. We often attempt to manage the impressions of other people in defining and structuring the situations in which we communicate.
- One of the primary goals of interpersonal communication is increased understanding between communicators. So there is a dialectic between the desire to understand and to manage the impressions of others.
- Understanding involves processes of social perception.
- Interpersonal communication results in varying degrees of attraction.
- Social conflict can emerge from, or to lead to, interpersonal communication.

Summarizing this description, it could be said that, in terms of its personal constraints, interpersonal communication consists of perceptions, which are linked with attitudes. These, along with needs, lead to goals. All of them affect the capacities which people are able to employ in communication. Together, these are the personal constraints which affect the way communicative systems (and hence,

communication strategies) operate. Each of these aspects will be discussed.

Perceptions

People have perceptions about social events and institutions, about other people and about themselves. Perceptions about social settings arise from people's assignment of both the physical and social environment to discrete categories such as: business centre, study room, leisure area. Such assignment makes the environment more predictable, and hence, controllable. Information from the senses works together with information from past experience and from social sources to produce perceptions which, to a certain extent, are determined by the social context in which they are developed. These perceptions are considered normative in that context but in another, they may be seen as unconventional.

Perceptions about other people occur, according to Thomas (1983, p.98) as a result of observations in four areas: position (e.g. roles, status), properties (e.g. sex, age), relations (e.g. dominance, authority) and functions (e.g. father, waitress, judge). These perceptions enable individuals to attribute other people's behaviour to the motives they feel those with certain positions, properties, relations and functions would have.

People also have perceptions about themselves, based on the motives they see behind their behaviour as they act in certain positions, with certain properties, relations and functions.

The way we categorize social settings and other people enables us to anticipate which categories of people are likely to be encountered in which settings. Goffman (1963) says that this "allows us to deal with anticipated others without special attention or thought" (p.12). He says that we transform our anticipation into expectations and our expectations into demands. When we encounter unexpected difference, our perceptions of people who exhibit that difference, change. We have certain attitudes towards interacting with those we perceive of as being unexpectedly different, and other attitudes towards those we perceive of as being as we anticipated.

Attitudes

Attitudes towards interaction with those who are unexpectedly different will be negative, because we cannot respond to them "without special attention or thought" (Goffman, 1963, p.12). On the other hand, attitudes towards interaction with those who are as anticipated will be positive. These attitudes towards interaction are complicated by other attitudes we hold towards the people with whom we interact. A theory known as the similarity-attraction theory (described by

Giles, 1979) proposes that we are attracted to those who are similar to us and repelled from those who are divergent. This theory has empirical evidence to support it. Robinson (1985) says, "Numerous studies have shown that perceived similarity influences liking" (p.54). If a negative attitude towards interaction, arising from an unexpected difference, is compounded by a negative attitude towards the person exhibiting difference because that difference reveals divergence from us rather than convergence towards us, then we will see that person as having a shortcoming, failing, handicap, or as Goffman (1963) puts it, a stigma. He says we reduce the person from a "whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (p.12). On the other hand, a negative attitude towards interaction arising from an unexpected difference could be offset by a positive attitude towards the person because the difference could reveal similarity rather than divergence.

When interaction occurs, participants try to gauge what perceptions others have of them and what attitudes they hold towards them. This enables them to establish interpersonal goals for themselves.

Goals

The interpersonal goals of people in communication are to understand others and to manage the identity that they want to be seen as possessing and that they want

others to possess. These goals arise from needs of inclusion, control and affection. People also have event related goals and these depend on the way they categorize events in social settings.

Identity related goals depend, to some extent, on whether people exhibit difference which could be classed as a shortcoming. If so, their goals are constrained by whether that difference is known by those who would so class it, or whether it is not known and not perceivable. If, for example, a person is a quadriplegic, that shortcoming is immediately perceivable; if a person is partially deaf, it may not be. Goffman (1963, p.14) describes people in the former instance as "discredited" and in the latter as "discreditable".

If people are discredited then they may be able to make what Robinson (1985) calls a "benign reappraisal." This means that they can reinterpret the situation as less threatening, justifying their difference to themselves in some way. Even though their shortcomings are obvious to themselves and to others, it is possible for them to maintain face. Goffman (1967) defines face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (p.319). A person maintains face:

...when the line he effectively takes presents an image of him that is internally consistent, that is supported by judgements and evidence conveyed by

other participants, and that is confirmed by evidence conveyed through impersonal agencies in the situation. (p.319)

If therefore, discredited people present the line that they own the shortcomings which other participants and the situation declare they have, then they are able to maintain face and positive social value.

If people with shortcomings are discreditable, then their shortcomings are not known about by others and not immediately perceivable. They then have a choice of making them known, thereby becoming discredited and acting that role accordingly, or of hiding them and acting as a "normal." Goffman (1963) says the choice is "to display or not to display; to tell or not to tell; to let on or not to let on; to lie or not to lie; and in each case to whom, how, when and where" (p.53). The resulting behaviour is known as impression management and has been defined by Tedeschi (1981) as "any behaviour by a person that has the purpose of controlling or manipulating the attributes and impressions formed of that person by others" (p.1).

The decision "not to display" is a decision to present a face of normality. This requires what Goffman (1967) calls "face work". This is "the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face" (p.324). If people choose to give the impression of being "normal" when they are not, then, according to Goffman, the surest way to prevent threats to this face

is to avoid contacts in which these threats will occur (i.e. to use avoidance face work).

The decision to use avoidance face work in order "not to display" is encouraged by the knowledge people have that "there are great rewards in being considered normal" (Goffman, 1963, p.95). This, however, needs to be weighed against the risks of being found out. Ethnomethodologists suggest that these risks may not be great. They point out that people usually grant others the face they present without unduly pressing its truth or falsity. Goffman (1959) says however:

When we discover that someone is ...an imposter.. we are discovering that he did not have the right to play the part he played. We assume that the imposter's performance, in addition to the fact that it misrepresents him, will be at fault in other ways. (p.66)

Further:

A false impression maintained by an individual in any one of his routines may be a threat to the whole relationship. (p.71)

If a person is suspected of faking, and is challenged, then he needs to meet this threat to face by another kind of face work, termed "the corrective process" by Goffman (1967, p.328).

The extent of risk of exposure depends largely on the relationship between participants. If they are strangers, and not likely to meet again, then risks are

small and potential rewards worth seeking. If they are well known to each other then the parties with shortcomings are likely to be discredited (i.e. their shortcomings known about) anyway, but in this case they are likely to be viewed with sympathy and with realistic assessment of other qualities. It is in the middle range of relationships that the most delicate and risky decision making occurs with respect to disclosure of shortcomings.

The achievement of event-related goals and identity related goals is managed in different ways. Event related goals are a product of attention to the dominant activity of an event; identity related goals are a by-product of attention to the dominant activity. O'Keefe and Shepperd (1989) say:

...identity is encoded through modulating the way in which some dominating activity is pursued, and not by producing discrete behaviours that directly and universally signify attitude, traits and so on.

(p.377)

It can be seen then, that identity related goals are achieved by variation in the way some dominant activity is attended to, and that the goals themselves constrain that variation. If the dominant activity is to solve communication problems through the use of communication strategies, then identity related goals may be achieved through modulating the way communication strategies are employed.

Capacities

Hymes (1972, p.278) suggests that personal capacities such as courage, gameness, gallantry, composure, presence of mind, dignity and stage confidence affect the way communicative systems are used. These capacities would seem to emerge from awareness of the extent of communicative competence and social skills, as well as from the perceptions people have of events, of themselves, of others and of their attitudes, from positive or negative attitudes linked with these perceptions and from identity related goals. Personal capacities perhaps come from a balance between what people can and want to do and be and what they feel others want them to do and be.

Application to native speakers/non-native speakers

The way personal constraints operate in communication depends on the participants. In the present research these are native and non-native speakers. Application of the discussion on personal constraints is thus made to native speaker/non-native speaker interaction.

Perceptions

As has been mentioned, the way people categorize social settings is to a certain extent influenced by the socio-cultural context in which their perceptions have

developed. This means that when native speakers and non-native speakers communicate, they are likely to have different perceptions of the situation and the speech event in it. These differences can lead to misunderstandings and communication problems. Instances where differences in perceptions of social settings have led to cross cultural misunderstanding are described by Gumperz (1982) and contributors to Garcia and Otheguy (1989).

When native speakers are in communication with non-native speakers, their anticipations of being able to deal with others without special attention or thought may not be realized because of unexpected difference in language and other behaviours. They may be unable to interact without the mechanics of language intruding upon their attention. Their perceptions of the non-native speakers are of people who exhibit a difference which is unexpected when compared with native speakers who might have the same positions, properties, relations and functions. This difference will make it difficult for them to communicate. Non-native speakers will similarly find interaction difficult on account of the fact that native speakers, having certain positions, properties, relations and functions, speak and otherwise behave in ways which are unexpected.

Attitudes

Such perceptions will negatively affect native

speaker/non-native speakers' attitudes towards interaction with each other. This may be compounded by negative attitudes when unexpected behaviours reveal divergence rather than similarity. Robinson (1985, examining the application of the similarity-attraction theory to native speaker/non-native speaker interaction says:

It would appear that the more similar someone else's language was perceived to be to one's own, the more positive the perception of the language and the user and the reverse. (p.51)

Because non-native speakers are trying to interact in terms of native speaker systems, their differences are seen as lack of competence - as shortcomings, or perhaps, as 'stigma'.

Goffman (1963) classifies ethnic and minority groups as one of the four groups of people who are stigmatized. He says that these people "are likely on occasion to find themselves functioning as stigmatized individuals, unaware of their reception awaiting them in face-to-face interaction and deeply involved in various responses to this plight" (p.173).

Evidence that non-native speakers may indeed have to function as stigmatized individuals comes from Furnham and Bochner (1982), who carried out a study on foreign students' ratings of the most difficult situations they encountered in Britain. Students rated forty social situations in order of difficulty. They

found that "the most difficult social situations encountered by foreign students in Britain all revolved around establishing and maintaining personal relationships with host nationals" (p.190). This could partly have been due to host national's negative attitudes towards them.

Goals

As already discussed, people in face-to-face interaction have event-related and identity-related goals. Because native and non-native speakers may have different perceptions of events and of rights and expectations involved, they may also have different goals with respect to those events. Their different perceptions and their goals can cause misunderstanding and communication difficulty.

When non-native speakers are in communication with native speakers, their shortcomings, known to them, may also be known to the native speakers, or if not, they may be immediately perceivable the moment they open their mouths. Goffman (1963) says that language is especially revealing of difference, "the very mechanics of spoken encounters constantly redirecting attention to the defect" (p.66). Non-native speakers' shortcomings are likely to be known about when they and native speakers are well acquainted, and they are likely to be immediately perceivable when their proficiency is low. In this situation the non-native speaker may make a

benign reappraisal of his status and see himself not negatively as an abnormal person, but positively, as a learner. His stumblings, mistakes and requests for help do not cause him to lose face, because as a learner, he is acting consistently with the image he and his co-participants have of himself. Goffman (1963) does point out, however, that people with stigmas try to prevent the stigmas from looming too large, even when they are discredited. So learners may want to prevent their lack of communicative competence from looming too large in the eyes of native speakers.

On the other hand, when shortcomings are not immediately obvious, non-native speakers have the choice of displaying their weaknesses and taking on the role of discredited persons, or of not displaying them, hoping to be seen as 'normal' persons. If they choose the latter course, according to Goffman, they will use avoidance processes at points where they know their weakness would be displayed.

There are indications that this choice is frequently a preferred one. Trosset (1986) says that there are considerable costs in announcing oneself as a learner. One cost, she says, is that "language learners frequently experience shame" (p.184). This sense of shame has a psychological base which is explained by Stengel (1939):

Speech is an accomplishment of the ego. Hardly anyone is free from a sense of shame when he starts

using a language. This can be explained by the feeling of insufficiency. Acquiring a new language in adult life is an anachronism and many people cannot easily tolerate the infantile situation. Their narcissism is deeply hurt by the necessity for exposing a serious deficiency in a function which serves as an important source of narcissistic gratification. (pp.475-6)

The claim that there is a feeling of shame on exposing deficiencies in language is echoed by second language learners:

" I find it very, very embarrassing to be asked a question and not understand it or not know the answer..."

"...By the end of the ordeal - for it is - I am totally red, my hands shake and my heart pounds. If anyone laughs at my mistake I feel really embarrassed and foolish...it's pure trauma."

"...if I'm ever asked to do that (speak in the L2) I'll probably have a coronary."

(from Cohen and Norst, 1989)

However costs and rewards are weighed differently by different people. The use of avoidance or achievement behaviour depends on how costs and rewards are weighed up.

Capacities

If personal capacities emerge from awareness of communicative competence, social skills, perceptions, attitudes and goals, then it could be expected that non-native speakers may have limited capacities of some of the items: courage, gameness, gallantry, composure, presence of mind, dignity and stage confidence. Furnham and Bochner (1982) talk about the limited social skills of non-native speakers. "People who are new to a culture or subculture will not have been socialized in the rules and routines of behaviour pertaining to that society, and will therefore, at least initially, be unskilled in their new environment" (p.166). Perceptions and attitudes of native speakers towards non-native speakers may be negative. Candlin (1987, p.27) offers ten hypotheses about the way participants behave linguistically in cross cultural encounters. The hypotheses (which have not all been empirically tested) suggest that native speaker attitudes affect the capacities of non-native speakers to a marked extent. The hypotheses are:

1) Majority group members control the topic and resist attempts by minority group members to shift topic.

2) Challenges by minority group members are rejected or minimized.

3) Majority group members demand explicitness of minority group members.

4) Majority group members control the overriding illocutionary force of the discourse.

5) Majority group members declare what is to be counted as "shared" knowledge.

6) Majority group members will use greater directness of utterance.

7) Majority group members expect minority group members to conform to act sequences the former have initiated.

8) Majority group members will determine the turn taking system of the encounter in question

9) Majority group members will determine which utterances are to be sanctioned as permissible in the interaction.

10) Minority group members will exhibit greater self effacement, will comply more and frequently abandon positions taken.

If, as it appears, non-native speakers have little confidence in interactions with native speakers, this would be likely to affect the way they use their communicative systems, and possibly the way they use communication strategies.

Strategy selection can, then, be considered in terms of the extent to which it is determined by the perceptions, attitudes, goals and capacities of users. In order to make this consideration, it is necessary to know what those perceptions, attitudes, goals and capacities are.

2. A constraint imposed by the nature of communication

Apart from the constraints imposed by the communicative systems in use and by social and personal factors, there is perhaps another, which issues from the nature of communication itself. Communication is defined by Acton (1983) as a "highly dynamic, purposeful form of social interaction" (p.193). Because of its purposeful nature, anything which interrupts the pursuit of purpose is a hindrance. Achievement (appeal type) strategies do interrupt and divert attention from the main goals of the interaction. It would seem that the natural reaction to problems in reception is to solve them as unobtrusively as possible to the flow of the interaction. The existence of communicative purposes which are negotiated and agreed upon as interaction proceeds, operates as a constraint which is always present and which favours the use of avoidance over achievement strategies in reception.

Summary

This chapter has presented a framework within which explanation may be sought for communication strategy selection in reception. The components of the framework are: the communicative systems in use, social constraints and personal constraints. Avoidance/achievement strategy selection may result from a complex interplay of variables at these three levels. It is suggested that the nature of communication itself also acts as a constraint on strategy selection in reception.

CHAPTER FIVE

Empirical study of communication strategy use in reception

Chapter Five describes the procedure used to make an empirical study of communication strategy use in reception. The study is described in terms of the research design, the research questions and objectives, the focus of investigation, the subjects, the data, the data collection and the method of data analysis.

1 Research design

The empirical study is descriptive in design in that it is set up to answer specific questions about the use of communication strategies in naturally occurring discourse. The questions are designed to test the adequacy of the description which has been given in the theoretical part of the thesis and to complement that description.

2 Research questions and objectives

The questions and objectives of the study rest on the following assumptions about language learners and language use:

- i) As all language learners operate within the limitations of an approximative system (interlanguage) it is assumed that all experience problems when this system interacts with that of native speakers.

ii) As communication problems occur in both production and reception it is assumed that communication strategies are used also in these two areas.

iii) Language exhibits both system and variation (both inter-user and intra-user variation). This characteristic is also true of communication strategies.

The questions and objectives make use of terms which are defined in the following way:

Communication strategies: action taken at points in communication where limiting conditions prevail, or where there is distance between speaker and hearer communicative system which is recognized, perceived as a problem, and which the individual wishes to reduce.

Interlanguage: The linguistic system of language learners which they use at any point in time and which changes over time as they move towards their target language.

Production: The use of linguistic/sociolinguistic systems to make linguistic utterances.

Reception: The use of linguistic/sociolinguistic systems to map form and meaning onto incoming linguistic utterances.

Research questions

1) What are the observable communication strategies used in reception by eight interlanguage speakers in two

speech events?

ii) What is the nature of and explanation for intra-user variation in the use of communication strategy types in these speech events?

Objectives

These issue from the above questions.

i) To determine the extent to which observable communication strategies are used by interlanguage speakers in response to lexical items in the speech of native speakers.

ii) To describe the types and sub-types of communication strategies identified.

iii) To calculate the proportions of strategy types used.

iv) To seek explanation for variation in strategy selection.

3. Focus of the study

The focus is on communication strategies used in response to lexical problems because they abound for language learners, and especially in reception, are probably the most significant source of observable communication problems. Meara (1984) says, "Learners

identify lexical problems as their greatest source of difficulty in the L2" (p.229). This does not mean that they may not in fact make more errors of some other type. What it means is that they recognize their lexical problems and hence use communication strategies to deal with them. Spack, in Beasley (1990), quotes an L2 student:

During the last few days I had to read several (about 150) pages for my psychology exam. I had great difficulties in understanding the material. There are dozens, maybe hundreds of words I'm unfamiliar with... It is a very frustrating thing to read these kinds of texts, because one feels incredibly ignorant and stupid. (p.11)

Because lexical problems are so numerous and because learners feel them to be so serious, it is important to study how they are handled.

4. Subjects

There are eight subjects, from four south east Asian countries: two from Taiwan, two from Hong Kong, two from Malaysia and two from Mainland China. They are referred to in the transcripts (see Appendix A) as B., Ja. (Taiwan), P., W. (Hong Kong), Ph., Ka. (Malaysia) and Y., Jo. (Mainland China). The subjects are males, aged 17-19 years, who have been in Australia for less than five years. Each has one of the Chinese languages as mother tongue and all are at intermediate level (approximately ASLPR level 2), as speakers of English as

a second/foreign language. Each subject takes part in two conversations, one with the Australian researcher and one with an eighteen year old Australian male. Ethical guidelines set down by the Edith Cowan University (1990) have been followed in procedures involving human subjects.

The non-random selection of subjects and co-participants in interaction means that results of the study cannot necessarily be generalized beyond the group. It also means, however, that variation in results is controlled in that it cannot be attributed to differences in area of origin, age, sex, proficiency level, target language or relationship with co-participants. Although the study is concerned with intra, rather than inter-learner variability, it is possible that these factors could be seen to be influential.

5. Data

The primary data collected are conversations between the subjects and native English speaking interlocutors. The study aims to put the subjects into situations as similar as possible to those in which they find themselves with native speakers. Only in these sorts of naturalistic situations can the full range of communication strategies emerge and normally occurring constraints operate.

Two types of secondary data are collected. The first come from word meaning tests prepared from the primary data and designed to assist in confirming identification of avoidance strategies. At points where the researcher suspects that avoidance strategies have been used, subjects are questioned about meanings. If they do not know the meanings of the items concerned, it is concluded that they did in fact use avoidance strategies with respect to those items.

The second type of secondary data are self reports, where the subjects comment firstly on their perception of their behaviour in the conversations and secondly on whether they agree with the researcher's identification and classification of strategies. This self report data is considered necessary because the data analysis makes use of the framework developed in Chapter Four to account for variation. The framework entails examination of personal factors which may affect strategy selection. While the constraints of the communicative system in use and the social constraints can be observed objectively, the personal constraints cannot. It is true that the researcher can interpret behaviour in terms of what s/he sees as personal purposes, but this interpretation needs to be triangulated by the subjects' reports. Rudiger (1987) says that self report data "attempt to ensure validity by examining to what extent the informant agrees with the interpretation of his own utterances" (p.55).

Candlin (1987) makes the point that self report data should be seen as including what subjects do not say about their personal purposes as well as what they do say. He says, referring to cross-cultural discourse, that the organization of such encounters often results in participants being unconscious of beliefs and values which give rise to particular strategies of communication. These beliefs and values are seen by them as natural, and so not worthy of comment. He says that study of such discourse:

will need to accommodate not only the distinct perceptions of the participants of the nature, purpose and proceedings of the encounters they engage in, but understand that, in addition, discourse regularly naturalizes participants' values and beliefs in an unconscious manner.

(p.24)

This study then, counts both significant absences, as well as instances of post-hoc comment, as self report data, and seeks to interpret both absences and instances of comment in providing explanation of behaviour.

6 Data collection

Primary data

The primary data (conversations) are collected through two speech events which are replicated eight times, so that social constraints are similar for all eight subjects. If social constraints do have a relationship with strategy selection, then this can only

be shown convincingly if the study sets up two different speech events. The two events in this study are a discussion/tutorial and a game. They are described here in terms of Hymes' system of classifying speech events.

COMPONENTS OF SPEECH EVENT	DISCUSSION/TUTORIAL	GAME
CONTENT	Topic: "Any form of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable."	Title: Dragon Warriors (A role playing game)
SETTING: PLACE	Subject's home (on 5 occasions), native speaker's home (on 3 occasions)	Native speaker's home
TIME	About 30 minutes	About 30 minutes
PARTICIPANTS	2 participants: NS: K, a 45 year old Australian female teacher, native language English, well known to subjects, likely to interact with them again, teacher/leader of the discussion	2 participants: NS: J, an 18 year old male student, native language English, not well known to subjects, not likely to interact with them again, teacher/leader of the game

NNS: one of 8 subjects NNS: one of 8 subjects
student participant novice/role player

PURPOSES Leader: presents topic Leader: presents
supports or counters outline of adventure
co-participant's Role player: decides
argument best way to tackle
Co-participant: gives adventure, trying to
opinions in favour overcome enemies and
or against statement avoid defeat

CHANNEL Spoken Spoken (with written
recordings of scores)

FORMS OF NS: Standard Australian As for discussion
SPEECH: CODE English. NS deliber-
ately uses lexical
items which are judged
not to be part of
subject's competence.
NNS: Chinese/Australian
English interlanguage

RULES OF Conversational 'rules, Leader: presents
INTERACTION dominant role played situation
by teacher/leader Role player:
responds

The primary data is audio-taped and a complete transcript made (see Appendix A).

Secondary data

Word meaning test

Following the conversations, the researcher examines the transcriptions, noting points at which the subjects appear to use avoidance strategies. In order to check whether this judgement is correct, the subjects are asked to give the meanings of the lexical items in question.

Self report data

This is collected at the same time as the word meanings. A semi-structured interview is used. The data is audio-taped and transcribed (Question 4 is not transcribed, but responses are indicated in Appendix B) The researcher uses the following questions to elicit self report data from the subjects:

- i. What was the most important thing you wanted to do in conversation with me? With J?
- ii. How did you feel about taking part in the discussion with me? Were you nervous, worried/ relaxed, unworried? What about in the game with J?
- iii. When you didn't know a word in the conversation with me, you acted in such and such a way. In the game with J, you acted in such and such a way. Can you tell me why you did this?

iv. Do you agree with my identification and classification of communication strategies in the conversations?

(This is the 'gist' of question 4. The researcher explains that when people do not know what words mean, sometimes they ask for help and sometimes they avoid the problems by acting as if they know the meanings. The researcher points out an instance of where avoidance seems to have been used and asks if the subject agrees that this is the case. This procedure is repeated with each instance where the researcher identifies communication strategy use.)

7. Data analysis

The analysis is described in terms of the objectives of the study. See Appendix C for the Data Analysis.

Objective 1: To determine the extent to which observable communication strategies are used by interlanguage speakers in response to lexical items in the speech of native speakers.

Achievement type communication strategies are identified as those utterances which function as appeals for help in understanding, where that understanding facilitates communication. Identification is made on the basis of researcher observation and confirmation of such identification by the subjects. Avoidance type

strategies are identified as those utterances which function as responses where the subject hides his lack of understanding and continues communication as if he does understand. Identification of these strategies is made on the basis of informed guesses by the researcher (informed by awareness of the discrepancy between the lexical competence of the subjects and the competence which would be necessary to understand particular lexical items in the conversations), by results of the word meaning tests and by confirmation of identification by the subjects.

Objective 2: To describe the types and sub-types of communication strategies identified.

The taxonomic description presented in Chapter Three is used as a basis for description of strategies present in the two speech events. The strategies are initially classified as avoidance/achievement types, and then as sub-types of these categories. The categories in the taxonomy may be added to if necessary.

Objective 3: To calculate the proportion of strategy types.

For each subject, the total number of communication strategies used in each conversation is tallied. Avoidance and achievement strategies are counted and expressed as a percentage of the total. The mean percentage for all subjects in each conversation is calculated. Results are tabulated in bar graph form.

Objective 4: To seek explanation for variation in strategy selection.

The framework presented in Chapter Four is used to seek explanation for variation. Communication strategies are examined to determine whether there appears to be any relationship between selection, and the three levels of the framework: the communicative systems in use, the social constraints (the components of the speech events) and the personal constraints.

Summary

Research design: Descriptive

Research questions:

- i. What are the observable communication strategies used in reception by eight inter-language speakers in two speech events?
- ii. What is the nature of and explanation for intra-user variation in the use of communication strategy types in reception?

Objectives:

- i. Extent of strategy use
- ii. Classification of strategy types
- iii. Proportions of strategy types
- iv. Explanation for variation

Focus: Lexical problems

Subjects: Eight non-native English speakers

L1 Chinese, L2 English
Intermediate proficiency

Data - Primary: Naturalistic, interactional,
spoken discourse

- Secondary: Word meanings
Self report

Data collection -

Primary: Two speech events: discussion/
tutorial, game

Secondary: Word meaning test
Semi structured interview

Method of analysis: Quantitative and qualitative

CHAPTER SIX

Results and discussion of empirical study

This chapter presents the results of the empirical study in terms of the four objectives listed in Chapter five. The results are drawn from the data analysis (Appendix C).

1. Objective 1

To determine the extent to which observable communication strategies are used by interlanguage speakers in response to lexical items in the speech of native speakers.

Results:

150 communication strategies are identified in the interlanguage of the eight subjects. These are distributed in the following way:

Subject	Interaction 1	Interaction 2	Total
B	18	13	31
Ja	9	5	14
P	8	7	15
W	5	7	12
Ph	7	11	18
Ka	10	8	18
Y	7	10	17
Jo	11	14	25
Total	75	75	150

Discussion

The extent to which communication strategies are used reveals the extent to which the communicative systems of the native speakers and non-native speakers in the study differ (with respect to lexical items). These systems have been described in Chapter Two, where it was pointed out that extent and usage of vocabulary was one of a number of areas where Australian English and Chinese English interlanguage systems could be expected to differ.

The identification of achievement type communication strategies used to solve lexical problems in reception is straightforward in that the subject usually makes it clear that he is seeking explanation of referential meaning. For example:

B, 202:14 And the word I know, 'education', but 'co-education'?

P, 235:10 What's 'emulate'?

Examples of requests which seek other sorts of information and which are not identified as communication strategies are:

W, 257:1 This picture's on our left is it?

W, 250:12 What's the aim of private schools?

There are, however, some requests which are not so easily distinguished. One such is the 'spelling request'.

B uses a spelling request which is identified as a communication strategy:

B, 205:2 Educated? Educated? How do you spell educated?

He does not know the meaning of the word and is appealing for help. In Interaction 2, however, the subjects do need to know how to spell the words because they have to make a written record of names of characters and scores for characteristics such as: reflexes, evasion, attack, defence, intelligence, looks, health, psychic talent. (See Appendix A.) In this context the question: "How do you spell that word?" may not be an indirect means of asking for help with meaning. It may be no more than it appears- a request for the spelling so that it can be entered with a score. This is the case where Ph, knowing the meaning of the word 'strength', asks:

How do you spell strength?

And K, knowing the meaning of 'attack', says: "A..?" In these two cases the spelling request is not regarded as a communication strategy at all. The fact that J (native speaker) never follows up the spelling of any words with meanings, indicates that he interprets all of these appeals as simple spelling requests and not also as indirect appeals for word meanings.

If no appeal for help is intended in cases where the words are unknown to the subjects, the spelling requests could be interpreted as avoidance type

communication strategies, of the sub-type: minimal answer: selective response. By only asking for spelling, the subject is effectively saying, 'I know the meaning of this word, but just tell me how to spell it.' He responds to what he knows, which is how to pronounce the word, but avoids indicating that that is all he knows, as in:

Y: How do you spell 'reflexes'?

In either case, it seems that spelling requests where words are unknown are also communication strategies. The number of communication strategies identified in the corpus thus remains unaltered. What is open to question is whether and where such strategies are classified as avoidance or achievement types. This matter will be referred to again under Objective 2.

There are two other sorts of utterance where identification of communication strategies could be questioned. The first is the achievement type strategy: 'indirect appeal, questioning repetition.' This could indicate either that the user did not hear properly, or that s/he does not know the meaning of the item. In either case the problem prevents the receiver from reaching a communication goal, so the appeal employed to solve the problem is identified as a communication strategy.

The difference in realization of the strategy seems to lie in the tone used to repeat the item. If the receiver does not hear properly s/he uses a rise-fall-

rising tone, as in "evasion?" Here the utterance is a 'confirmation request' speech act, where the user means, "I think I heard you say 'evasion'. Is that right?" If the receiver does not know the referential meaning of the word, or does not know the meaning that the producer intends to convey, s/he uses a rising tone, as in "evasion?"

These usages of tone are, of course, native speaker usages. If the learner uses tone in this way, then s/he has acquired native like usage. Halliday's (1975) study of first language development indicates that the use of tone to convey meaning is acquired before vocabulary and grammar. There do not appear to be any similar studies of L2 acquisition order with respect to tone. If developmental sequence is the same for second language learners, however, then it could be assumed that the subjects in this study, who have considerable control of vocabulary and grammar, have acquired native like use of tone.

On only one occasion does a subject use the rise-fall-rising tone. Ph, in response to the utterance "More poise" says "More points?". This response is not identified as a communication strategy used to solve problems of lexical meaning. On all other occasions where there is a questioning repetition, the rising tone is used, indicating that the subject is using the appeal as a communication strategy to solve problems of lexical meaning.

The second sort of utterance which is a communication strategy but which is difficult to identify with certainty as one attempting to solve problems of lexical meaning, is that described as 'achievement strategy general repair request'. As in the previous instance, this request could be made because the receiver did not hear properly, or because s/he does not know the meaning of the item. In this case the purpose of use cannot be distinguished by the difference in tone. For both purposes, the tone is rising, as in "Pardon?" This type of strategy is used five times, by three subjects:

B, Interaction 1, 207:24: Pardon?

Ph, Interaction 273:26: Pardon?

Jo, Interaction 1, 308:10: Sorry?

312:3: Sorry?

5:9: Sorry?

It is identified as a communication strategy used to solve problems of lexical meaning because of the subjects' general difficulties with lexis and because of the number of instances where they have appealed for help with these difficulties. It is not unreasonable to assume that these are instances of the same type. If, however, this judgement is incorrect and the communication strategies are used because the subjects did not hear what was said, it would alter the number of identifications as follows:

Ph: 16, B: 30, Jo: 22, Total for all subjects: 146.

The further question, of whether these strategies are

achievement of avoidance type, is addressed under Objective 2.

Mention has been made (p.27) of the difficulty of confidently identifying strategies as communication strategies rather than learning strategies. It has been pointed out that because some strategies may be realized in the same way, identification in such cases needs to be made according to the motivation behind them- whether to communicate or to learn. Tarone (1983, p.67) has pointed out that one's motivation may be both to communicate and to learn. The self report data indicates that all subjects see their purpose in the interactions as communicating:

B: To give my opinion.

To play the game with him.

Ja: To share information.

To do what I was told.

P: To tell my opinion and to know what other people think.

To know how to play the game.

W: To get some ideas about private schools.

To have fun.

Ph: My opinion.

To understand what he's saying.

Ka: (Stated as assent to researcher's suggestions)

To play the game.

To tell you about this topic.

Y: Explaining my opinion.

Just answer (the questions).

Jo: My opinion.

W., however, also sees the interactions as opportunities to learn. Along with his desire to "get some ideas..." in Interaction 1, he wants to "talk more and improve". As well as "trying to have fun" in Interaction 2, he wants to "Also learn some of the terms and words of the game". This means that the strategies he uses ought to be identified as communication strategies and learning strategies. His behaviour is motivated by both his immediate and his anticipated future needs as a non-native speaker.

The identification of the responses as communication strategies comes from the subjects' indications that their purposes are to communicate in all interactions. All of their communicative behaviour, including avoidance, is directed towards the purposes they have. If they avoid appealing for help with word meanings which they do not know, then it can be concluded that, having responded to all constraints, they see their communicative goal best being reached by reducing that goal so that although understanding is incomplete, conversational maxims are adhered to and interaction is maintained. Such responses are counted as instances of communication strategy use.

It is recognized that the subjects may have confirmed identifications just to please the researcher. This is why the accuracy of identification at some points is seen as being open to question.

2. Objective 2

To describe the types and sub-types of communication strategies identified.

Results

The results for each subject are presented in the Data Analysis, Appendix C. Those tabulated here are individual scores and the total scores for each type and each subject.

Interaction 1

<u>Achievement strategies</u>	B	Ja	P	W	Ph	K	Y	Jo	<u>TOT</u>
1. Verbal appeals									
General rep. requests	1	2						3	6
Specific rep. requests	2		3	5	1	1	6	4	22
Clarific requests	4	4			2	1	1	2	14
Indirect appeals									
questioning rep.	3		1		4	3		1	12
spelling request	3								3
Admissions of ignor.	1	1	3			3		1	9
2. Non verbal appeals	1	1	1			1			4
<u>Sub-total</u>	15	8	8	5	7	9	7	11	70

Avoidance strategies

1. Lies

2. Evasions

Minimal answers

Yes/no

Vague phrase	3	1				1			5
--------------	---	---	--	--	--	---	--	--	---

Stock phrase									
Selective response									
Safe answers									
Ambiguous answers									
Pretend not to hear									
Refusals									
Shadowed replying									
Taking or maintain-									
ing producer role									
<u>Sub-total</u>	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
<u>TOTAL</u>	18	9	8	5	7	10	7	11	75
<u>Interaction 2</u>									
<u>Achievement strategies</u>	B	Ja	P	W	Ph	K	Y	Jo	<u>TOT</u>
1. Verbal appeals									
General rep. requests			1		1				2
Specific rep. requests				6			1		7
Clarific requests				1					1
Indirect appeals									
questioning rep.	1				1			1	3
spelling request	2				1	1	1		5
Admissions of ignor.	1								1
2. Non verbal appeals									
<u>Sub-total</u>	4	0	1	7	3	1	2	1	19
<u>Avoidance strategies</u>									
1. Lies	1								1
2. Evasions									
Minimal answers									
Yes/no	2				3	1	2	1	9
Vague phrase	1								1

Stock phrase									
Selective response	2	2		1	2	1	6	14	
Safe answers	4	3	4		4	4	5	6	30
Ambiguous answers									
Pretend not to hear									
Refusals									
Shadowed replying									
Taking or maintain- ing producer role	1								1
<u>Sub-total</u>	9	5	6	0	8	7	8	13	56
<u>TOTAL</u>	13	5	7	7	11	8	10	14	75

Discussion

The classification of sub-types of strategies makes use of all of the categories provided for achievement type strategies, but not all for avoidance type strategies. This raises the question of whether the latter categories are all useful. The strategies not used are: minimal answer- stock phrase, ambiguous answer, pretending not to hear, refusals, shadowed response. These will be examined in turn and suggestions made as to why they are not used.

The category 'Minimal answer- stock phrase', comes from Rumelhart's (1983) study on developmentally disabled adults. She gives an example of this strategy (p.385):

Diane: Do you know why we're going to sit down and talk?

(Karen nods yes)

Diane: Why?

Karen: That's a good question.

Karen's final response is described as a stock phrase. Probably her non-verbal 'yes' was a lie and she now needs to evade the follow up to it. Her stock phrase has the effect of turning the question back to its asker so that she does not have to reveal that she does not know 'Why'.

It may be that most L2 speakers just do not have a supply of stock phrases or platitudes to call on. Whereas both L1 and L2 speakers have to respond in situations of interactional uncertainty, L1 speakers have a greater supply of language to do so. The non-native speaker's linguistic competence as a constraint has been referred to (p.83). It may be that an L2 speaker needs to have near-native competence before s/he is able to make use of the stock-phrase strategy. None of the speakers in this study is at that level. The stock phrase category ought not to be discarded however, because some learners would have the potential to use it.

The strategy 'ambiguous answer' cannot be used unless the input provides opportunity for it. In this study the native speaker in Interaction 1 frequently asks, "What do you think about that?" (e.g. co-education, administration, getting distracted, sexual aberrations). Non-native speakers, at these points, could reply, "I don't know", if they do not know the

word meaning of the word(s). This reply is only used once.

227:9 K: So maybe it encourages homosexuality
or something.

:10 Ja: I don't know.

In this case it is not a communication strategy as Ja. does know the meaning of 'homosexuality'.

The same sort of opportunity for the use of ambiguous answers does not occur in Interaction 2. It could be concluded that ambiguous answers are not used in Interaction 1 for the same reasons that other avoidance strategies are not used, and are not used in Interaction 2 because linguistic constraints provide no opportunities for such use.

This does not mean then that the category is not useful. Further investigation is necessary, with data which gives opportunity for use in contexts which predispose the use of avoidance strategies.

Reference has been made to the difficulty of classifying strategies as 'general repair request' or 'pretending not to hear'. It has been pointed out that B and Ph's "Pardon?" could be either, though in most cases they are classified as general repair requests. This classification along with others, was accepted by them, though it is unlikely that they would point out that they had been pretending not to hear, even if they

had been, as they would not want to highlight what they would probably see as 'disapproved of' behaviour.

It seems that the category, 'pretending not to hear' is useful in theory, because there is a distinction between it and 'general repair request', but it is not so useful to the analyst because of the difficulty of making identification with any certainty.

The category 'Refusals' comes from Pride (1983), where the classification system of strategies used to withhold information is based on data obtained from native speakers. It would seem that refusals such as those given by Pride: "I don't want to talk about that", "How should I know", "I don't have to tell you that", "What gives you the right to ask?" (p.267), take a good deal of courage and stage confidence to deliver. Non-native speakers, who, it seems, do not have a lot of these qualities, would perhaps not respond in this way even if it were true, for example, that they didn't want to talk about something, let alone to evade admitting ignorance of word meaning. It may also be the case that in a non-native speaker's own culture it is not acceptable to respond in a way which could cause offence. People from a Chinese cultural background would possibly see refusals as causing the speaker to 'lose face'. They would be reluctant to do this. As with 'stock phrase', this category should be retained however, because confident, competent non-native speakers from certain cultures may well make use of the

strategy of refusals.

The category 'shadowed replying' is seen as potentially useful although there was limited opportunity for subjects in this study to use the strategy because interactions were one-to-one.

In summary then, both achievement and avoidance strategies are used in the interactions. All of the sub-types of achievement strategies are used and six of the eleven sub-types of avoidance strategies (in the existing taxonomy) are used.

3. Objective 3

To calculate the proportion of strategy types.

Results:

Proportions of types, not sub-types are calculated (i.e. avoidance and achievement types). There are 70 achievement and 5 avoidance strategies present in Interaction 1, and 19 achievement and 56 avoidance strategies present in Interaction 2. Percentages of use for each subject appear on the following page in bar graph form.

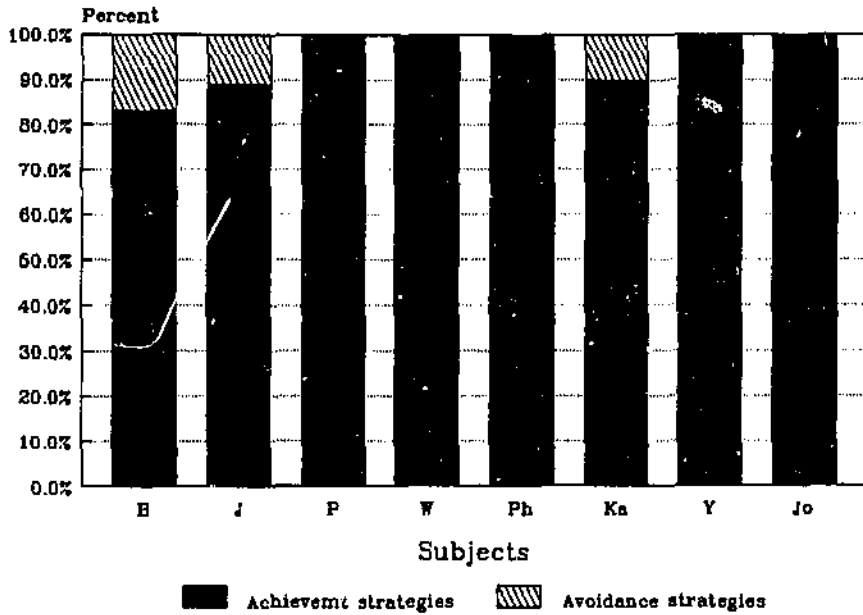
The mean percentages for the two strategies are:

Interaction 1

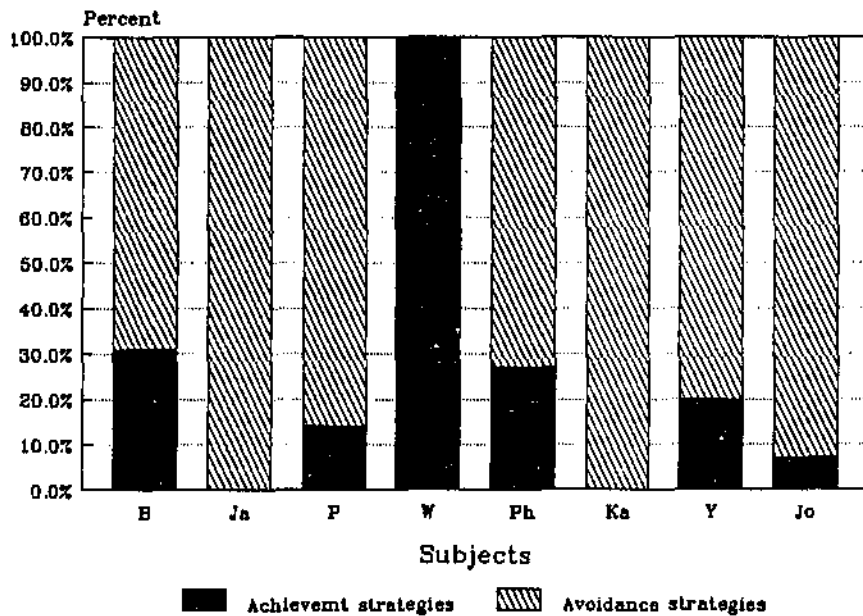
95% achievement strategies

5% avoidance strategies

Interaction 1



Interaction 2



Strategy selection in empirical study

Interaction 2

24% achievement strategies

76% avoidance strategies

Discussion

The above results show a greater difference between achievement and avoidance strategies use in Interaction 1 than in Interaction 2, partly because of W's 100% use of achievement strategy in both interactions. W's selection is partly constrained by his motivation to learn. Other constraints will be discussed under Objective 4. Without W's score for Interaction 2, the mean percentages here would be 13% achievement strategies and 87% avoidance strategies.

The results would also have been different if the strategies in Interaction 2, classified as achievement: indirect appeal, spelling request type, had been classified as avoidance: minimal answer, selective response type. If this had been the case, then the scores in Interaction 2 would have been different for B, Ph and Y, the mean percentages for Interaction 2 being:

21% achievement strategies, rather than 24%

79% avoidance strategies, rather than 76%

The decision to classify the strategies in question as achievement, rather than avoidance type, is made as a conservative judgement, so that the difference between

the number of strategy types in Interaction 2 cannot be said to be overestimated.

There is also a query about whether strategies classified in Interaction 1 as achievement type: 'general repair request' may not be avoidance type: 'pretending not to hear.' (See discussion of Objective 1.) Although B and Ph could be pretending not to hear it is doubtful whether Jo is doing this, as he uses the same utterance, "Sorry?" three times alongside other utterances which are clearly appeals for help. It would seem to be a characteristic way he has of asking for help with meaning. If pretending not to hear were a characteristic of his, one would expect to see it especially in Interaction 2, where 93% of his strategies are the avoidance type. However, it does not appear at all in that interaction. If the classification is incorrect than proportions of strategies would be as follows:

<u>Achievement</u>	<u>Avoidance</u>		
Interaction 1:	90 %		10%
rather than:	95%		5%
Interaction 2:	23%		77%
rather than:	24%		76%

In summary, although these queries mean that the extent of variation may alter slightly if proportions are incorrect, the general pattern remains that except for William (in Interaction 2), the subjects use a far greater proportion of achievement than avoidance

strategies in Interaction 1 and a far greater proportion of avoidance than achievement strategies in Interaction 2.

4. Objective 4

To seek explanation for variation in strategy selection.

It is appropriate to head the comments referring to this objective as 'discussion' only, as quantitative results are not applicable.

Discussion

The thesis seeks primarily to seek explanation for each subject's selection of either achievement or avoidance strategies and the discussion will focus on this. Of secondary interest is explanation for variation in the use of sub-types within the achievement and avoidance categories. Some attention will also be given to this.

Mention has been made (p.101) of the constraint imposed by the purposeful nature of communication. It would seem that there is a pressure to use avoidance, rather than appeal type achievement strategies in reception because these do not interrupt the flow and purpose of the interaction. However, this constraint operates in conjunction with, or in opposition to, all

the other constraints which may be present. Its influence is either strengthened or overruled by these constraints.

Results have shown that for all eight subjects, achievement strategies are preferred over avoidance strategies in Interaction 1, and for seven of the eight subjects, avoidance strategies are preferred over achievement strategies in Interaction 2. The discussion will first examine constraints which have resulted in this general pattern before looking at those which produce a different result for the one subject, W., in Interaction 2.

Interaction 1 - Discussion/tutorial

Discussion here looks at constraints which override those exerted by communicative purpose and which result in the proportion of 95% achievement and 5% avoidance strategies.

Communicative system as constraint

It has been mentioned (p.81) that there are two speech acts, directing acts, and eliciting acts, which require response from hearers. If directing acts are used, then the hearer has no alternative but to use achievement strategies to solve problems. In Interaction 1, however, there are no directing acts at all, so that none of the achievement strategies used can

be said to have been constrained by the utterance of directing acts.

The data analysis lists eliciting acts which preclude the use of certain sorts of avoidance strategies. Examples of those which preclude the use of lies, evasions: minimal answers (yes/no, selective response) and safe answers are:

Why do you agree?

If 'co' is in front of a word what does it mean?

This leaves the possibility of responding with avoidance strategies: minimal answers (stock phrase, vague phrase), ambiguous answers, pretending not to hear, refusals, shadowed replying and taking or maintaining producer role. The discussion of social and personal constraints examines why these responses are not in fact used.

Twelve achievement strategies out of a total of 70 achievement strategies are used in response to 13 instances of this sort of eliciting act. These are all used by B in his total of 15 achievement strategies. This means that on 12 occasions the non-use of the avoidance strategies specified can be explained by constraints exerted by the native speaker use of the communicative system.

The data analysis also lists eliciting acts which cause problems and result in communication strategy use

and which preclude the use of some avoidance strategies except for Yes/No minimal answers. These are utterances which begin with "Do you think/agree...?" or imply "Do you agree?" For example:

Do you think it's easier for administration purposes to have boys and girls together?

In response to this sort of utterance there are 58 achievement strategies and 4 avoidance strategies given in response to 62 eliciting acts and distributed in the following way:

B : 3 achievement, 2 avoidance

Ja: 8 achievement, 1 avoidance

P: 8 achievement

W: 5 achievement

Ph: 7 achievement

Ka: 9 achievement, 1 avoidance

Y: 7 achievement

Jo: 11 achievement

This means that on 58 occasions the non-use of the avoidance strategies specified with respect to this sort of eliciting act can be explained by constraints exerted by the native speaker use of the communicative system.

The instances of these two sorts of utterances account for all the occasions on which communication strategies are used in Interaction 1.

The non-native speakers' use of the communicative system can explain the non-use of one other sort of

avoidance strategy in response to these two sorts of eliciting acts. The subjects' lack of linguistic competence constrains them not to use 'minimal answer, stock phrase.'

With the latter type of utterance ("Do you agree, think...") it is particularly easy to use the avoidance strategy, 'minimal answer, yes/no', either as a yes/no reply or "I agree/I don't agree". It is also easy to use the strategy, 'minimal answer, vague phrase', with something like "Mmm" or "Sort of", or "I suppose so". Since ease of use would seem to have an important influence on choice of strategy, there must be other constraints which strongly outweigh this factor. It is necessary to look to social and personal factors to see why in most cases these, and other avoidance strategies which are available, are not used.

Social constraints

Examination of the way social context acts as a constraint affords some explanation of why avoidance strategies in general are not used. It also explains why one sub-type, 'shadowed replying' is not used. Although it is possible to reply in the 'shadow' of the native speaker's next utterance, there is no other non-native speaker present, and this limits the opportunity for use of the strategy.

The discussion considers the effect each of the

components of the speech event (using Hymes' framework) may have had on strategy selection.

Form:

As has been pointed out, there are no directing acts in the discussion/tutorial. This absence of directing acts is typical of discussion/tutorials. The native speaker's choice of eliciting acts is in fact constrained by the nature of the speech event, and this in turn affects the choices of strategy types open to the subjects. It means that both avoidance and achievement strategies can be used.

Content:

It has been suggested that the pursuit of communicative purpose compels people to use avoidance strategies when they have problems in reception. This suggestion needs to have the proviso, 'unless the content of the speech event means that the communicative purpose is teaching/learning'. In this case the use of achievement, rather than avoidance strategies will help achieve the purpose of the interaction. Teachers expect students to ask for help with word meanings, especially when they are crucial to the topic of a discussion. If students do not ask, then discussion cannot proceed, because both parties need to agree on the meanings of crucial words. The transaction of information is the communicative purpose of a tutorial, and the transaction

of opinions based on agreed word meanings is the communicative purpose of a discussion. Hence the nature of the speech event constrains the use of achievement strategies.

Setting: place

The discussion/tutorial is held for five subjects in their own homes and for three in the native speaker's home. It appears that there is no relationship between setting and the selection of strategies.

Setting: time

(Hymes' use of 'time' as a component seems to refer to time of day. However, duration of time available may also be significant, and it is this interpretation of 'time' that is used here.) Thirty minutes is ample time for a discussion and for the subjects to feel that they can ask for help when they have problems in understanding. There is opportunity to use achievement strategies, though the time factor does not compel their use.

Participants

In the discussion/tutorial the subjects are participating as learners and the native speaker as a teacher. This means that it is quite acceptable for them to use achievement strategies. They will not lose face by doing so, because learners are entitled to ask

for help. The fact that the subjects are younger than the teacher reinforces their 'right' to ask. The fact that the subjects are alone with the teacher means that they do not need to consider the cost of displaying ignorance in front of other learners. They are free from pressure in this direction. They thus have the opportunity and the right to use achievement strategies. They are in fact constrained to use achievement strategies by virtue of their on-going relationship with the teacher. Because the teacher knows the extent of their proficiency, and because she will have further contact with them where there will be opportunity to test out the knowledge the subjects claim to have, there is a risk that any pretence will be detected. If they are detected they may be judged negatively. The cost of such judgement makes it not worthwhile to use avoidance strategies.

Purposes: outcomes

Hymes refers to two sorts of purposes: outcomes, which are "conventionally recognized and expected" (Hymes, in Gumperz & Hymes, 1986, p.61), and goals, which are "situational or personal" (p.61). This examination of social constraints limits itself to consideration of purposes: outcomes. Purposes:goals are considered separately, and in detail, under the section 'Personal constraints'.

In this interaction, an understanding of word

meanings is crucial to the achievement of communicative purposes. The subjects cannot give and defend opinions unless they understand what the opinion is to refer to. If they use avoidance strategies it will be very difficult to continue through to the conclusion of the discussion with a pretence of understanding.

Channel

It is not possible to determine the extent of relationship between channel and strategy selection because there is no comparison in this study between spoken and written channels. It may be possible to devise a task where identical input could be delivered in oral and written form, requiring oral and written response respectively. This would reveal the extent of any relationship with channel.

Forms of speech

The forms of speech (viz. Standard Australian English which is slightly above the proficiency level of the Chinese/Australian English interlanguage used) relate to the fact that communication strategies are used, but not to the selection of strategies.

Rules of interaction

Although the teacher/discussion leader initiates most conversational moves, it is appropriate for the

student participant to initiate inquiring moves with respect to word meanings.

It would appear that the nature of the speech event is such that its components exert pressure on the subjects to use achievement strategies. There are no components which counter this pressure, and this gives explanation for the very high percentage of achievement strategies.

Personal constraints

It is essential to examine the perceptions of the subjects with respect to the use of the communicative system and the social context, because these may differ from the researcher's 'objective' perception. (See the discussion on 'Purposes:Outcomes', p.142). That this is a possibility is illustrated by W's perception of both interactions as learning opportunities. Whereas the researcher would define the game in a certain way, W. defines it differently, and this explains his deviant (in terms of the other subjects) use of strategies in that event.

Even if the researcher and subjects define events in the same way, an 'objective' explanation cannot weight the constraining influence of various elements. The subject's explanation, on the other hand, can reveal which elements impinge upon their consciousness as the

most weighty. As Candlin (1987, p.20) points out, however, some elements are "transparent" to participants as far as implications in behavioural terms are concerned. For this reason the 'objective' description is not unimportant, and must be put together with the subject's comments to provide an adequate explanation for linguistic behaviour.

The self report data reveals that the subjects are in fact not able to, or do not choose to, comment on their identity goals. They see only those constraints which are external to themselves. They comment on the difficulty level of the input, aspects of the speech event, characteristics of the native speaking interlocutors and relationships with them. They do speak about how these factors affect their capacities of courage and confidence, but do not link this to identity goals. They do not say, for example, "I was nervous about asking for help in the game because I did not know how I would be judged if I revealed my lack of competence. I thought it safer to act as one who had native-like competence". They make comments like: "I was nervous about asking for help because I didn't know J".

The comments the subjects make about their use of strategies in the discussion/tutorial are in fact very few, partly because of the way the researcher frames the question about strategy use. The question is something like, "Why didn't you ask J when you didn't know word meanings?" It may have been better to ask, "Why did

you ask me and why didn't you ask J?" The subjects make it appear as if they would have preferred to use achievement strategies in both interactions, but are constrained in the second to use avoidance strategies. While their responses may be due in part to the way the questions are framed, they may also be due to the fact that people generally would like to appeal for help but are constrained by the need not to interrupt and by identity related goals, to reduce communicative goals and to use avoidance strategies. Non-native speakers have an even stronger need and desire to know the meanings of new words, than do native speakers, and so it would be reasonable to expect them to want to use achievement strategies.

Another reason for the subjects' lack of comment about their strategy selection in Interaction 1 is perhaps that they know and are aware that the researcher knows, that they are taking the role of learners. This means that it is not worth pointing out that they are using achievement strategies because that is the appropriate behaviour for learners. Their identity related goals constrain their behaviour, but the significance of this may not be available to them in conscious reflection.

In the first interaction, because the subjects' shortcomings are known about, they have no alternative but to take on the role of 'discredited' persons. By identifying themselves as learners they are able to use

achievement strategies without fear of losing face. Whereas 'normal' people who continually ask for meanings are regarded as 'crazy', 'trouble-makers' or 'thick', learners of a language are permitted and often expected to do this. They do not have to abide by the general rule of not causing disruptions by using achievement strategies.

The fact that all subjects describe their purposes as communicative rather than learning (except for W) does not mean that they do not see themselves as learners engaged in communicative tasks. As has been said, this fact is probably "transparent" to them as a motivator of behaviour.

In order to get the full picture of subjects' analyses of their strategy use, it is necessary to see some of what is said about their use of avoidance strategies in Interaction 2, as relevant to their non-use in Interaction 1. The only comments directly referring to Interaction 1 are about the influence of native speaker characteristics:

P: You know my English problems (Implied - And so I can ask you for help).

Ph: You can explain and I can understand.

Instances of use of avoidance strategies

The five instances of use of avoidance strategies

come from B (3 instances), Ja (1 instance) and Ka (1 instance). They are all realized as minimal answer, vague phrase type strategies. Constraint to use one strategy or the other could issue from the user's own personality. The researcher would see B's personality as being influential in his choice of avoidance strategies in the discussion. B. appears to have a fossilized interlanguage. He has discovered that he can communicate adequately without making too much effort to add to his linguistic resources. Unlike W., who wants to learn from every encounter, he is happy just to 'get by'. So, in the discussion he asks for help when he sees no alternative, but otherwise uses his generally preferred strategy of avoidance. Explanation for Ja's and Ka's use of avoidance strategies is more difficult to give. For some reason they want to identify themselves at a certain point as having native-like competence. Ja's proficiency level is second only to W's. Perhaps even when identifying himself generally as a learner, he feels he 'ought' to know certain words and so pretends that he does. Future research could investigate the relationship between personality and inter-user variation in strategy use. (The significance of personality in language learning and use has in recent years been discounted, but is now being reconsidered. See Griffiths, 1991).

Interaction 2: Role playing game

The difference between percentages of achievement

and avoidance strategies is greater for Interaction 1 than for Interaction 2. There is 90% difference in the former and 48% in the latter (if W's score is included in Interaction 2. Without his score there is 70% difference.) In the discussion, where achievement strategies are preferred, few avoidance strategies are used, but in the game, where avoidance strategies are preferred, quite a number of achievement strategies are used.

This can perhaps be explained by the fact that the subjects are learners of English with only intermediate level proficiency. They feel the need to ask for help at some points, even when they are trying to act like native speakers. By their strategy selection in Interaction 2 (of 76% avoidance strategies and 24% achievement strategies) they are perhaps saying in effect:

"We see ourselves as 76% [or 85%, without W] as competent as native speakers. We are to be excused for using 25% (or 15%) achievement strategies because to this extent we are still learners."

They do not want to try to claim for themselves more proficiency than they can expect the native speaker to believe they have. In using avoidance strategies, they need to protect themselves from detection. They may see their use of some achievement strategies as helping to provide this protection. If this is the case, then other influences would work together with it to result

in the overall pattern of strategy selection.

Communicative system as constraint

Directing acts are used by the native speaker on a number of occasions in Interaction 2 (See data analysis). Where response to this is a problem for the subjects, they are constrained to use achievement strategies. There are 5 directing acts which result in achievement strategies, distributed as follows: B - 3, Ph - 1, Y - 1. This means that 5 of the 18 uses of achievement strategies are constrained by the form of the utterance produced by the native speaker.

Since the remaining 13 strategies are not responses to directing acts (and eliciting acts cannot constrain the use of achievement strategies), then these must be influenced by other factors. It is suggested that W's 7 instances of achievement strategies result partly from his definition of the situation as a learning opportunity (See further discussion on W, p.158). B's 1, P's 1, Ph's 2 and Y's 1 instance are probably explicable in terms of the extent to which they feel the need to admit to ignorance and identify themselves as learners.

The data analysis also lists eliciting acts which cause the subjects problems and result in communication strategy use and which preclude the use of certain sorts of avoidance strategies. Examples of those which preclude the use of lies and evasions: minimal answers

(yes/no) are:

Do you want to be a knight, a barbarian, a sorcerer
or a mystic?

Do you want a short sword or a staff?

There are 31 instances where this sort of eliciting act results in the use of avoidance strategies of the sub-types which can be used in response. These occur as follows: B- 5, Ja- 3, P - 4, Ph - 4, Ka - 4, Y - 5, Jo - 6. In 30 of these instances the sub-type, safe answer is used. In the conversation with W, there are 2 instances of the same sort of eliciting act, but these are responded to with achievement strategies.

There are 9 instances where avoidance strategies are used in response to eliciting acts which preclude the use of lies, evasions: minimal answers (selective response) and safe answers. For example:

So do you want to go with him?

These instances occur as follows: B - 3, Ph - 3, K - 1, Y - 1, Jo - 1. In all 9 cases the response minimal answer (yes/no) is used.

There is one instance where an avoidance strategy is used in response to eliciting acts which preclude the use of evasions: minimal answer (selective response), safe answer and ambiguous answer. This is the instance where K asks B, "Do you understand that?" B uses the strategy, lies, to reply "Yes".

There are 14 instances where avoidance strategies are used to respond to eliciting acts which preclude the use of lies and evasions: minimal answers (yes/no), safe answers, ambiguous answers. For example:

(To J): Psychic talent.

These instances occur as follows: B - 2, P - 2, Ph - 1, Ka - 2, Y - 1, Jo - 6. The 14 responses use the strategy sub-type, minimal answer, selective response. There are 4 instances where the subjects respond to this type of eliciting act with achievement strategies: Ph - 1, W - 2, Y - 1.

There is one instance where the eliciting act precludes the use of lies, evasions: minimal answer (yes/no, selective response), safe answers. This is to W:

A silver goblet rests on the podium. So what do you want to do?

W responds with two achievement strategies.

It can be seen that although the eliciting acts which cause problems eliminate the possibility of using certain sub-types of avoidance strategies, the subjects generally take the opportunity of using one that is available. Their choice of sub-type appears to be governed not only by the constraint imposed by the grammatical form of the input, but by their desire to avoid detection. Their knowledge of the most

appropriate form of response as well as of what is ruled out by the need to be appropriate, governs their choice. For example, when the question is, "Do you want a dagger or a short sword?", the subject could reply: "Doesn't matter" (vague phrase), "That's a tough one" (stock phrase), "Pardon?" (pretending not to hear), "I'd rather not answer that" (refusals), "What do you advise?" (taking producer role). However, in 30 out of the 31 instances where this form of utterance occurs, the safe answer response is used (e.g. "A dagger"). This is the easiest way to respond and it also successfully hides ignorance because it is the most appropriate response, the one used when a hearer knows the word meanings and makes a real choice. It will not arouse suspicion, whereas the other responses may well do. It affords the user maximum benefit at minimum cost.

Further constraint to use avoidance strategies (of the types available) comes from the social context and the personal purposes of the subjects.

Social constraints

Form

As has been mentioned with respect to Interaction 1, the speech acts which are chosen by native speakers are constrained by the nature of the speech event. This choice of speech acts affects the choice of

communication strategy which can be used.

Content:

A game is an activity which is disrupted if players continually ask for word meanings (unless this is integral to the game). The direction of the interaction is set by game rules and it does not allow for continual side tracking. Some games require players to follow the set direction more than others. If there are amounts of time between moves when concentration on the game can lapse, then disruptions in the form of 'small talk' are permitted. This 'small talk' is not all of the same sort however. It would be most unusual, for example, for all of it to be about word meanings. In this particular game such disruptions are not appropriate at all as there is no 'waiting for turns'. The role playing activity directs the interaction completely. It is not appropriate, therefore, to use achievement strategies to solve problems of word meaning. The nature of the speech event constrains the use of avoidance strategies.

The nature of the game is also such that word meanings are not crucial to its being played successfully according to the rules. Meanings are perhaps crucial to playing it according to the rules and being a winner, but it seems that the subjects' overriding concern is just to play according to the rules. They know that they have to keep making choices

and that if they do this, the game will proceed. If they choose unwisely, their characters may get 'attacked', but at least they are participating correctly. It seems that word meanings are redundant, not crucial, to the communicative purpose of the activity. This factor does not constrain the use of avoidance strategies, but it gives opportunity for their use, and adds weight to factors which do act as constraints.

Setting: place

There appears to be no relationship between place and strategy selection.

Setting: time

The time available is really insufficient to complete the game, let alone to digress in any way. J. comments to nearly every subject, "We haven't got much time". One subject, Ja, sees this factor as crucial in causing him to use avoidance strategies. Time pressure appears to have a significant relationship with the selection of avoidance strategies.

Participants

The fact that the subjects are not well known to J and will probably not interact with him again, means that as 'discreditable' persons, they have opportunity

to use avoidance strategies. It is unlikely that their deception will be discovered.

Although J. has a teaching role, it is as a teacher of the game, not as an English teacher. This compels the subjects to use avoidance strategies because it is only appropriate to ask J questions about the game, not about word meanings. The fact that J is the same age as the subjects may also compel them to use avoidance strategies. Chinese speakers report (personal communication) that when speaking to peers who are not very well known to them, they will tend to avoid asking for meanings of unknown items.

The subjects take part in the activity as players, not as language learners, and so they need to act as much like players and as little like non-native speakers as possible. They need to use avoidance strategies to solve word meaning problems because this would be the normal behaviour of native speaking players who have such problems.

Purposes:

It seems that the above constraints force the subjects to reduce their communicative goals. Instead of seeking to understand all that the native speaker says and to maintain interaction with him, they seek only to maintain the interaction, making choices about game moves so that it moves forward to a satisfactory

conclusion.

There is a desire to use the least amount of effort to solve communicative problems. This, combined with the fact that a knowledge of word meanings is not crucial, means that avoidance strategies are favoured. If the native speaker produces an utterance like, "Do you want a short sword or a dagger?" it clearly takes less effort to reply, "Short sword", than "What does short sword mean?", thereby opening oneself up to the possibility of not understanding the explanation.

Channel, Forms of speech

See comments on Interaction 1, p.143.

Rules of interaction

The role of the subjects in the game is to respond to initiating moves by the native speaker. If there is no offer by the native speaker to explain word meanings, then the subjects will not feel it is appropriate to initiate such moves themselves.

Personal constraints

As mentioned with reference to Interaction 1, the subjects do not see, or do not comment if they do see, their behaviour being motivated by identity related goals. Neither do they see (or comment on) the fact that their cultural background may affect selection of

avoidance strategies in this interaction.

If the subjects are adhering to Chinese norms of interaction, these could act as a pressure on them to use avoidance strategies. A Chinese person in this situation may see it as necessary to pretend to understand rather than to challenge the native speaker's 'face' and in effect to accuse him of not being able to gauge what level of language to use. That this could have been the case is indicated in P's self report:

P: ...I didn't really know what he was really talking about because the words he use is really difficult.

K: Mm. So how did that make you feel?

P: I just feel sorry for him.

These norms could also affect the selection of sub-types of avoidance strategies. Chinese people may be unlikely to use 'Refusals' if they see them as causing the native speaker to lose face.

It seems that the subjects see the fact that they are unknown to the native speaker and unlikely to meet again, as providing opportunity to use avoidance strategies if necessary. They are 'discreditable' persons - their shortcomings are not known about by the native speaker because he has never met them before. Their awareness that they are not acting as non-native speakers, but rather as game players, constrains them to in fact use avoidance strategies to try to hide their

shortcomings. This interpretation is balanced by that given by the subjects in their self report data. Constraints as seen by the subjects are as follows:

Use of communicative system

P: It's too many words in the game I didn't know.

The discrepancy between the subject's competence level and the difficulty level of the input is seen as so great that too many appeals for help would be needed.

Ph: I think he speak a bit quickly.

The explanation of word meanings will not help because the rate of delivery puts the whole input beyond his grasp.

Ka: One time you don't understand, but second time...

Y: We can know from a sentence or a paragraph we can know. Some words don't necessary to ask. We can just get the answer.

Ka and Y perceive that the nature of the discourse is such that meanings of problem items will become clear as the interaction proceeds. This means that achievement strategies are not necessary.

Jo: I think I can understand half, or little bit, just O.K.

This response hints at the fact that Jo sees problem words as not crucial to his communicative goal. He can understand enough to feel he is participating according

to the rules.

Social context

Setting: time

Ja: If I ask every single one it would take a long time. And I don't want to ask so many questions at the beginning 'cause that will be wasting time and I will be interrupting the game.

Time pressure constrains use of avoidance strategies.

Participants

(i) J's lack of qualification to help

P: You (K) know my English problems (Implied: whereas J. does not).

Ph: Anyway I think he won't teach me English, he couldn't explain more. You can explain and I can understand. And maybe he explain and I still can't understand because he use the words is difficult.

Ka: You (J) speak another word but I think this word more difficult.

Jo: General people...very young...not enough experience (i.e. people like J)

These subjects feel that they can only ask for help from someone they feel is qualified to give it.

(ii) Relationship with J: unknown to them

B: And also the person I didn't know and I just afraid to ask.

P: I'm not really scared to ask you and I am a bit ashamed to ask [J] what it means because um..

Ph: And also I just met him the first time. I don't know him well, so I don't ask.

Ka: I don't know what kind of people, how to, I don't like to trouble something.

Y: I'm a bit shy to ask.

These comments make it seem that the subjects would really like to ask for help. They would like to declare themselves as 'discredited' persons and take on the role of learners, but because of the nature of the activity, and because the native speaker, not knowing them, is treating them as he would native speakers, they are constrained to act as much like native speakers as they can. They are uncertain of the reception they would get if they revealed their lack of competence. The subjects know they will be approved of if they live up to native speaker expectations about their 'normality'. They cannot risk disapproval which might follow their revelation of incompetence. Their capacities for courage and confidence are low when the native speaker is unknown to them and this constrains the use of avoidance strategies.

Ka: Maybe he's talking, usually take the book, he

read, read, read. If I ask them I don't understand I think will trouble you.

He's so reading the book we can't trouble you.

And he's talking more like strict.

And his eyes still looking the book. If sometime he look at you, eye to eye more important..then you look at me more friendly.

Here Ka perceives J's "strict" manner and his preoccupation with the reading of the book as a signal that he should not interrupt and use achievement strategies. J's behaviour reduces Ka's capacity for confidence and courage and constrains him to use avoidance strategies.

The subjects give the impression that they do not want to reduce their communicative goals and to deny themselves the opportunity to find out the meanings of problem words. They feel constrained, however, to use avoidance strategies on most occasions because the nature of the activity and their relationship with the native speaker causes them to take on the role of one who acts like a native speaker, not like a learner of English. Their personal goals of being seen as people who can act appropriately as a co-participant in a game override their desire to know word meanings. The extent to which cultural norms of interaction are also influential is open to question. However, the fact that the subjects prefer achievement strategies in one interaction and avoidance strategies in the other, indicates that cultural constraints are not the only

influence.

The case of W.

Explanation for W's use of achievement strategies in both interactions may be found, as in the case of B's use of avoidance strategies in Interaction 1, in his personality. He is a 'good language learner', in the sense that he is very highly motivated and wants to make the most of every opportunity to learn more. It seems that his desire to learn is greater than his desire to behave as a native speaker. He says that revelation of his ignorance to the native speakers is "a little bit embarrassing...but I was eager to find out what their meaning was". In other words, his desire for increased linguistic competence is perhaps not matched by his desire for increased sociolinguistic competence. The other subjects want their behaviour to be socially appropriate and this, in Interaction 2, is at the expense of linguistic advance.

W is the most linguistically competent of all the subjects. As he approaches native speaker proficiency it would be expected that he would adopt the native speaker pattern of generally using avoidance strategies when faced with problems of word meaning. Instead, he uses them less than the other subjects who are not as proficient. It is possible that when non-native speakers are as proficient as W. they would prefer to attain native-like proficiency by appealing for help

when they need it, than to pretend to already have that proficiency. W's proficiency has given him confidence in his ability, and confidence that he will not be judged negatively if he asks for help on a few occasions.

This confidence can be seen throughout both interactions. Examination of the transcripts (Appendix A) shows that whereas the other subjects use mostly responding utterances, W. uses a lot of initiating utterances. Among these are a number of eliciting acts, where he asks not only for information about word meanings, but about the topic itself:

What's the aim of private schools?

What if some of the boys want to learn um say cooking and sewing?

Any doors anywhere?

Which way's north and which way's south?

It could be concluded then, that W's use of achievement strategies in both interactions is made possible by the confidence which results from his high level of proficiency and is constrained by his motivation to learn.

To summarize the discussion on Objective 4, it has been suggested that the nature of communication constrains people to use avoidance strategies in reception because they are less disruptive to interaction. They also enable hearers to appear to have

native-like proficiency in situations where their linguistic shortcomings are not known about and where they feel they may be judged negatively if they are revealed.

This constraint is modified by the effects of the way the native speaker uses the communicative system. Directing acts constrain the use of achievement strategies and eliciting acts limit the choice of avoidance strategies. Further constraint is imposed by the nature of the speech event in which interaction occurs, and by the nature and relationship of the interlocutors in it. The subject's perception of these matters, together with his perception of the nature of the discourse, and his own abilities with respect to difficulty level of the text, influence his choice of role in the interaction. In Interaction 1, subjects choose to act as learners, and use achievement strategies; in Interaction 2, they act to a certain extent like native speakers and to this extent, use avoidance strategies.

Summary

This chapter has presented results and discussion in terms of the four objectives of the empirical study. It has found a total of 150 communication strategies in the 16 conversations recorded. For each subject, as well as overall, there is a higher proportion of achievement strategies used than avoidance strategies in

Interaction 1 and vice versa (except for W.) in Interaction 2. Most of the sub-types of strategies described in Chapter three have been used, and reasons have been suggested for the non-use of some sorts of avoidance strategies. The reasons for variation in strategy selection have been explored and explanation found in the interplay of contextual, social and personal factors and in how they balance out as constraints.

Conclusions, implications and applications

Chapter Seven firstly presents conclusions which respond to the objectives (p.13):

- to redress the imbalance of focus in communication strategy studies by an investigation of strategy use in reception
- to contribute to an understanding of communication strategies by placing the investigation in an interactional framework
- to both describe strategy use in reception and to seek explanation for variability

The conclusions are drawn from the results of the empirical study, as these are set against theoretical hypotheses established in the first part of the thesis. Secondly, implications for the conclusions are examined.

These are implications for:

- the adequacy of the theoretical framework
- the value of the focus on reception
- the adequacy of research methods in the empirical study
- the prediction of strategy use
- the study of foreigner talk

Thirdly, applications of the conclusions are discussed with respect to the study of native speaker/non-native speaker relationships and second/foreign language teaching.

1. Conclusions

In order to place the results of the empirical study in the wider context of the theoretical hypotheses, these results are summarized:

i) Observable communication strategies were used in reception in all 16 interactions between Chinese/English interlanguage speakers and the Australian native English speakers.

ii) Both avoidance and achievement strategies were used (realized as sub-types of avoidance and achievement strategies).

iii) There was a marked preference for achievement strategies in one of the two interactions and for avoidance strategies in the other.

iv) Variation in strategy selection was related to constraints exerted by the communicative systems in use and by social and personal factors.

The theoretical hypotheses related to three areas:

- definition
- description
- explanation

Conclusions are presented with respect to each of these areas.

1.1 Definition

Communication strategies were defined as action

taken at points in communication where limiting conditions occur or where there is distance between speaker and hearer communicative systems which is recognized, perceived as a problem, and which the individual wishes to reduce. This definition adequately describes the nature of communication strategies as they were used in reception in the empirical study. Those strategies identified were used where there was distance between the English native speaker system and the Chinese/English interlanguage system. At certain points this was recognized and perceived as a problem by the interlanguage speakers, who wanted to, but were unable to, communicate with the native speakers. They sought to reduce that distance and hence to restore and maintain communication.

The primary purpose of the communication strategies used was to achieve language related goals. However, there was also a secondary purpose, which was to achieve non-language related goals. The subjects in the study wanted/ felt compelled to be seen as learners in one interaction and as native-like speakers in the other. The way they used communication strategies (that is, the selections they made) enabled them to manage the impressions they wanted to convey to their native speaking interlocutors. In other words, the primary purpose was to reduce distance between communicative systems, and the secondary purpose was to manage impressions. This secondary purpose was achieved through modulating the way in which the primary purpose

was pursued.

It is concluded that communication strategies as used in the empirical study were of the nature described in the definition, but that they were more than that, achieving also, identity-related goals.

1.2 Description

Chapter Three hypothesized that categorization of communication strategies at the broadest level should be of two strategy types - achievement and avoidance strategies. These two categories accounted for all the strategies that were used in the empirical study, leading to the conclusion that the system was adequate for description in this case.

Chapter Three divided achievement and avoidance strategies in reception into different sub-types. Achievement strategies were said to make use of either mental or behavioural procedures. The empirical study aimed only to note instances of observable strategies, and so it did not confirm or deny this distinction. A taxonomy was presented showing the ways in which behavioural achievement strategies and avoidance strategies might be realized. All of the sub-types of achievement strategies appeared in the corpus and six of the eleven sub-types of avoidance strategies appeared. Further studies would be necessary to test the usefulness of the categories which did not appear.

It was also shown that avoidance operated at two levels. At one level there was said to be avoidance of a problem, and at another, avoidance of revelation that there was a problem. It was stated that in reception, achievement strategies did not avoid revelation of the problem and that avoidance strategies did avoid revelation of the problem. In the empirical study achievement and avoidance strategies operated in this way. When the subjects used achievement strategies, the native speakers responded with help. They were aware that there were problems. When the subjects used avoidance strategies the native speakers continued the interaction without offering help. They were unaware of the problems.

It can be concluded that the theoretical description of strategy use in reception was adequate to account for actual occurrences of use in the empirical study.

1.3 Explanation

Chapter Four hypothesized that in order to explain variation in strategy use it was necessary to consider how the interplay of a whole array of variables might be related to selection. A framework was presented in which there was an array of variables at the levels of communicative systems in use, social factors and personal factors. It was suggested that this framework could be used to seek explanation of strategy selection.

In the empirical study a preference for achievement strategies in one interaction and avoidance in the other could, in fact, be traced to factors at each of the levels. The deviant (in terms of the other subjects) preference of one subject could also be traced to a factor at one of the levels. It can be concluded that the multivariate design of the framework was an adequate one in which to seek for explanation of strategy use in the empirical study.

2. Implications

2.1 Adequacy of the theoretical framework

The framework for the research has been an interactional one. An understanding of communication strategy use has been sought through an exploration of the dynamics of communication. This has meant that the research has looked beyond the boundaries of sociolinguistics to social psychology. It has proved a fruitful move. By seeing that language use can at the same time be dependent on social/psychological phenomena, and that social definition can be partly achieved through language use, the understanding of communication strategy use has been broadened. Strategies in the empirical study were seen to have a primary language-related goal and a secondary, socially-related goal. St Clair (1980) says, "One of the major problems of sociolinguistic theories is that they have failed to integrate the theoretical assumptions and

academic practices of both sociology and linguistics" (p.16). This thesis has integrated the two and found that the integration has offered valuable explanatory power with respect to communication strategy use, as well as indicating how strategy use can characterize social arrangements. The implication is that an interactional framework could be usefully employed in further studies of communication strategies.

2.2 Value of the focus on reception

The focus on reception has been valuable because it has highlighted the role of avoidance in communication strategy use. This has been overlooked or seen as insignificant in some studies which have focussed on production. This is possibly because strategies which have underlying mental processes, but observable products (such as achievement strategies in production), have been a fruitful area for investigation. In reception, where mental procedures do not have observable products, investigation is pushed to other areas.

Although avoidance is possibly used more in reception than in production (and this would need to be empirically tested), its use in production is not insignificant. Tanaka (1982) administered a questionnaire to 72 non-native speakers of English, asking them to describe the strategies they used when they found it difficult to express themselves. 31% of the strategies described could be labelled 'avoidance'.

The implication of what has been highlighted by the focus on reception is that it is important in studies on communication strategy use to balance the attention given to production and reception.

A further value of the focus on reception, and hence on avoidance, is that the examination of the nature of avoidance illuminates an understanding of communication strategy use in general. The fact that avoidance operates at two levels is significant. The operation of the second level - avoidance of revelation that a problem exists - emphasises the need to take personal goals into account in explanation of strategy use. The extent to which users want to hide or expose problems (and be seen as learners or as competent speakers) has been shown in the empirical study to be one of the factors related to strategy selection.

2.3 Adequacy of research methods in the empirical study

2.3.1 Data : Primary data

The naturalistic discourse data revealed the presence of both achievement and avoidance strategies. This sort of data is valuable even if research aims to investigate only one type of strategy (e.g. achievement strategies) because it shows how significant that type is, in relation to the whole range of strategies.

Secondary data

The use of self-report data made the task of providing satisfactory explanation of strategy selection possible. Gumperz and Hymes (1986, p.15) say that "sociological measurement...always involves both the informant's and the investigator's perception of the categories that are being measured". So, if measurement is being made of constraints, it is important that a final analysis emerges from this two fold perception. In the present study, for example, explanation of W's exclusive use of achievement strategies is only possible because of access to his perceptions. He perceives that his motivation to learn constrains his use of achievement strategies. The implication is that secondary data of self reports is essential when measurement is made of constraints which result in intra-user variation in communication strategies.

2.3.2 Data collection: Primary data

The collection of data from two different speech events showed convincingly that social constraints affect strategy selection. Cheepen (1988) points out that encounters are usually dominantly transactional or dominantly interactional. If a study aims to investigate the way communication strategies are used in the real world then at the very least primary naturalistic data from one instance each of these two encounter types should be collected. (In this study the

discussion/tutorial could be described as transactional and the game as interactional.) This does not mean that it is unacceptable to study communication strategy use in one part of the real world. Mah (1990), for example, has studied communication strategy use in transactional encounters because a survey she conducted for the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research (described in Chapter One, page 4), indicated that her subjects were mostly involved in that sort of encounter.

Secondary data

The word meaning tests revealed the presence of avoidance strategies where the researcher suspected they had been used. They did not reveal other instances where the researcher had not suspected their use. This means that the word meaning test was effective in revealing the minimum number of avoidance strategies used, but that there could have, in fact, been more.

The self reports were controlled by the organization of the semi-structured interview. This, together with the fact that the interviews were conducted in English, meant that the data were perhaps more limited than they could have been. However, self reports are always of this nature. It would be almost impossible to state with certainty that all that could have been said had been said, and that it reflected the true state of affairs with respect to the subjects' behaviour and motives. As in this study, self reports

need to be valued for the amount of information they do provide and that information needs to be seen in the light of information from other sources.

2.4 Prediction of strategy use

The study has shown that a knowledge of how constraints operate makes it possible to explain strategy selection, so long as all the constraints can be detected. However, because communication is a matter of negotiation, where the perceptions and goals of participants evolve as interaction proceeds, it is almost impossible to predict, except in a hypothetical sense, which strategies will be selected in any instance.

Overall goals and/or the means of achieving them may change, even within one speech move. So, for example, a speaker may begin to give a message, hoping to give the impression of having native-like competence, and using achievement strategies which are not likely to reveal the existence of a problem. However, the hearer may not understand the message and the speaker may then abandon the goal of giving the impression of having native-like competence, and elect to use an achievement strategy which communicates more effectively, but which reveals the existence of a problem. Or, s/he may give up the message entirely, avoiding the problem, but again, revealing its existence. Or, a speaker may want, at all costs, to give the impression of having native-

like competence, plan to use an achievement strategy, such as paraphrase, which is not likely to reveal problems, but realize that s/he does not have the linguistic resources, and so resort to a strategy such as topic avoidance, which avoids the problem and avoids revealing the existence of the problem.

Even when goals remain constant throughout an interaction, it is not a simple matter to predict what they will be and what strategies will be used. For example, it cannot be assumed that in a transactional encounter, achievement strategies will always be used. In the present study, the discussion/tutorial is seen as a transactional encounter because the transaction of information is crucial to the encounter. Achievement strategies are generally preferred to avoidance strategies. However, if the discussion/tutorial had involved not one teacher and one student, but one teacher and a classroom of students, the alteration of this one variable may have meant that more avoidance strategies were used. If the native speaker in the game were a friend, rather than a stranger, then the effect of the variable: 'participant relationship' could be gauged. If different subjects, say of European, rather than Chinese background, were put into the situations used in this study, it would be possible to test the effect of the variable: 'cultural/language origin of the non-native speakers'. Because there are so many variables which affect strategy use, they could be combined in a great number of ways. As study is made of

various combinations, an accurate, though necessarily complicated, picture of communication strategy use will begin to appear. The implication of the research findings is that any predictions about strategy use need to be made with considerable caution.

2.5 Foreigner talk

The present research also has implications for the study of foreigner talk. The empirical study has revealed that the subjects had a primary purpose of solving communication problems and a secondary purpose of managing impressions. If this is true of communication strategy use in general, then it is possible that foreigner talk is of the same nature.

In Chapter One, foreigner talk is described as a device which prevents the occurrence of problems for non-native speakers. Native speakers modify their communicative systems to take account of the distance between them and the non-native speaker systems and to reduce that distance in order to facilitate communication. Ellis (1986) sees the promotion of communication as the primary purpose of foreigner talk. He also points out, however (p.137), that it serves to mark role relationship. By the very use of foreigner talk, native speakers are claiming linguistic superiority over non-native speakers. They may also give the impression of being either intellectual/social superiors or intellectual/social equals who are kind and

helpful. It appears that this secondary purpose of impression management may be achieved, as with communication strategies, through the way language use is modulated. Ellis describes three types of foreigner talk:

- 1) only interactional adjustments
- 2) interactional and grammatical input adjustments
- 3) interactional, grammatical and ungrammatical input adjustments

He says that when native speakers use the third type of foreigner talk they give the impression of being intellectually/socially superior, or of 'talking down' to non-native speakers. (It has been pointed out that this impression management may be either conscious or unconscious.) The implication is that both communication strategies and foreigner talk could be described as having a primary purpose of problem solving and a secondary purpose of impression management.

There is an interesting implication in reverse, from the study of foreigner talk to the study of communication strategies. Lynch (1988), in an article, 'Speaking up or talking down: foreign learners' reactions to teacher talk', reports that in an informal experiment carried out with 19 foreign students, 15 felt that a particular native speaker was 'talking down' to a non-native speaker. The students said that the native speaker's "performance created the impression that she was communicating with a less mature and intelligent listener" (p.115). If it is the case that non-native

speakers sometimes feel they are being treated as intellectually as well as linguistically disadvantaged, it is not surprising that when their linguistic shortcomings are not known about by native speakers, they may choose to use avoidance strategies in order to appear linguistically and intellectually 'normal'. The importance of taking into account the non-native speaker's perceptions of the situation is underlined for explanatory studies of communication strategy use.

3. Applications

The findings of the study have application to the study of native speaker/non-native speaker relationships and to second/foreign language teaching.

3.1 Native speaker/non-native speaker relationships

The model of native speaker/non-native speaker communication which was presented in Chapter One (Figure i, p.22) showed that when communicative systems are incompatible, this incompatibility may or may not be recognized. If it is not recognized then language is produced and interpreted in terms of the users' own systems. When this happens misunderstanding occurs. Gumperz (1982) has made it clear that this ignorance may be of difference in sociolinguistic as well as linguistic systems. It is ignorance of the former sort that can cause the most damaging misunderstandings because socio-cultural behaviours are so much taken for

granted that people find it difficult to believe that there could be another legitimate way to behave.

It was stated that when incompatibility is recognized, users may choose either to maintain or reduce distance between communicative systems. Communication strategies are used when the focus is on communication and when users, recognizing incompatibility, wish to reduce distance. However, the fact that they wish to reduce distance does not necessarily mean that there will not be misunderstanding.

Dascal (1985) points out that when we interpret an utterance, we understand it if our interpretation of that utterance is similar to the producer's interpretation. This involves the answering of four questions:

- 1) What did he say?
- 2) What was he talking about?
- 3) Why did he bother to say it?
- 4) Why did he bother to say it the way he did?

If the hearer interprets differently from the producer at any level, or at a combination of levels, then misunderstanding will occur.

When non-native speakers use achievement type communication strategies, misunderstanding may arise from the first or second levels. When appeals for help are made by receivers it is unlikely that

misunderstanding will occur at the third or fourth levels because it is clear that the user bothers to say what s/he does in the way s/he does to overcome communication difficulties. In production it is not so obvious, although clues like hesitations and false starts are often given. Yule and Tarone (1990, p.180) give an example of an achievement strategy in production: "There is a little animal on the mushroom but I don't know what's its name. It's turtle? I think it's turtle." The animal the non-native speaker was referring to was actually a caterpillar. If the native speaker had understood him to be referring to a turtle, then misunderstanding would have arisen from level two. If and when this sort of misunderstanding is detected, the non-native speaker's character is not judged negatively by the native speaker, although his linguistic ability will be and his intellect may be.

However, misunderstanding with more serious consequences may occur when avoidance strategies are used, especially in reception. When avoidance strategies are used, the intention is actually to cause the co-participant to interpret an utterance differently from the user. The non-native speaker does not want the native speaker to realise that s/he has used a communication strategy. If the native speaker does realise this, the strategy has failed. The non-native speaker intends the native speaker to answer question three, 'Why did he bother to say it?' differently from the way s/he would answer it. S/he responds to a native

speaker utterance with an avoidance strategy when s/he wants to maintain communication and wants to give the impression of having native-like linguistic competence (which s/he may not have) and hence, normal intellectual competence (which s/he probably does have).

It would be possible, for example, for a conversation to run like this:

NS. employer: Do you want to work on the switchboard or on invoicing?

NNS. employee: Switchboard. [Constructed data]

If the non-native speaker does not know the meaning of either 'switchboard' or 'invoicing', his reply would be a communication strategy of the avoidance, selective response type. The native speaking employer's next utterance would depend on whether he believed the employee's response was intended as a reply to his utterance as he understood it. Because the response adhered to conversational maxims, he would probably believe that it was. His answers to the questions would then be:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1) What did he say? | 'Switchboard' |
| 2) What was he talking about? | Preferences and abilities with respect to work positions |
| 3) Why did he bother to say it? | As a replying act to a request for information |

The non native speaker actually intends and expects the native speaker to answer question three in this way, although it is not the way he would answer it. His

expectation is based on the fact that his response is intentionally ambiguous. It could be a simple replying act or it could be a communication strategy.

The native speaker's next utterance might then be: "All right. We'll put you on the switchboard". If the non-native speaker were unable to operate the switchboard the employer might feel he had been tricked. The non-native speaker's reply of "Switchboard", indicated not only that he knew the meaning of the word, but it implied that he was able to use a switchboard. The native speaker would then be likely to make a negative judgement of the non-native speaker linguistically, intellectually and morally. He could accuse him of being incompetent and a liar. Goffman (1959, p.66) says:

When we discover that someone is...an imposter...we are discovering that he did not have the right to play the part he played. We assume that the imposter's performance, in addition to the fact that it misrepresents him, will be at fault in other ways.

It would be salutary then, to examine conflicts between native speakers and non-native speakers to see if some of them arise from native speakers' belated awareness of their misunderstanding of the real intent behind non-native speakers' responses. It may be that the more concerned native speakers are to hold on to positions of power, the more negatively they will react to the discovery that non-native speakers have been

posing as equals, and the more likely it is that they will see this as a conscious attempt to alter the balance of power.

Candlin (1987, p.26) has listed sites where the issue of power is likely to be significant and where miscommunication is likely to occur.

- i) Doctor/dentist - patient consultations
- ii) Lawyer - client interviews and examinations
- iii) Police - witness interrogations
- iv) Social security - client interviews
- v) Counsellor/social work - client interviews
- vi) Trainee - manager interviews
- vii) Applicant - employer
- viii) Worker - manager negotiations

His hypothesis (p.27) that "minority group members will exhibit greater self effacement, will comply more and frequently abandon positions taken" suggests that non-native speakers will not challenge the power held by native speakers. However, the use of avoidance type communication strategies enables users to challenge discreetly, with the possibility of power being redistributed without the challenge even being recognized. It would seem that the short term effect of the use of avoidance strategies is to enable interaction to continue and to have the native speaker treat the non-native speaker as an equal. The long term effect is either that this equality is maintained (if deception is not detected) or that inequality is re-established in an even more pronounced way (if deception

is detected). A worthwhile future investigation would be to locate instances in the above sites where non-native speakers choose to use avoidance strategies, instances where they choose to use achievement strategies, and to examine the effects, not in terms of successful problem solving, but in terms of role relationships and the distribution of power.

3.2 Second and foreign language teaching

Over the last ten years, one of the research aims of second and foreign language teaching methodologists has been to explore the practical implications of the notion of communicative competence. Some of what has emerged has been based on Canale and Swain's (1980) analysis of communicative competence as involving at least three components: grammatical, sociolinguistic/discourse and strategic competence. From the theoretical research on strategic competence, and particularly on communication strategies, which are an aspect of strategic competence, has come practical application for the classroom.

Some writers (Faerch and Kasper, 1983; Canale, 1983; Haastруп and Phillipson, 1983) believe that it is not necessary to teach communication strategies, but that learners ought to be encouraged to use them, and helped to use them appropriately. Tarone and Yule (1989, p.114), on the other hand, advocate "an explicitly didactic approach", where teachers give

actual instruction in the use of communication strategies and provide opportunities for practice in strategy use.

Bialystok (1990), taking a different approach altogether, says that because communication strategies are more usefully conceptualized as the outcome of language processing than as taxonomic types, learners ought not to be taught, or even encouraged, to learn specific responses such as paraphrase, circumlocution and mime, but to be made aware of these response as possible problem solving devices which can be used in communication. They ought not to be "taught how to solve communication problems", but only that "communication problems can be solved" (p.140). She says that "what instruction can hope to achieve is to enhance the processing skills that are responsible for the effective use of strategies", that is, to improve "mastery of analysis and control over the target language" (p.145). This is to be achieved by instruction in grammar, rules of use, vocabulary and so on. In other words, better knowledge of the language will also mean more effective use of communication strategies. Bialystok describes her approach to teaching and communication strategies as the moderate view, and that which would teach or encourage the use of specific strategies as the strong view.

The amount of material available on the teaching of communication strategies and representing the strong

view, is small. Some of that material is disturbing, because it seems to be prescriptive. Although descriptive accounts clearly indicate that communication strategies may be realized as either the achievement or avoidance type, some writers counsel learners only to use achievement strategies. Canale (1983) says that "learners must be encouraged to use...strategies rather than remaining silent" (p.11). Tarone and Yule (1989) say "What teachers want to avoid is clearly dysfunctional behaviour on the part of non-native speakers - such as ...an abandonment of the attempt to refer to an entity at all when the speaker 'does not know the word for it'" (p.110). Silence (e.g. choosing not to use particular speech acts or not to talk about particular topics) and message abandonment are avoidance strategies. Nolasco and Arthur (1987) tell learners that "inventing words, paraphrasing, using your hands etc. are all examples of communication strategies, and good communicators use these to keep talking" (p.136). There is no mention of avoidance strategies, or that good communicators may also use these. Bygate (1987), on the other hand, does acknowledge that avoidance strategies can be profitably used by learners. Livingstone (1983) does likewise and in fact gives examples of 'avoidance strategies - turning producer', which students could use:

Well I'm not sure, what do you think A?

I'd like to hear what B has to say about that.

(p.57)

In spite of evidence of a more balanced approach from

these two writers however, the tendency by others to be prescriptive cannot be ignored.

Examples from Tarone and Yule (1989) under the heading 'Classroom Activities' do not include any avoidance strategies. Learners are to be given language production tasks like describing objects or procedures. These require them to use achievement strategies. The authors suggest that students be provided with core vocabulary useful for the strategies of circumlocution and approximation, as well as sentence beginnings, such as "It's used for...It's a kind of....It's a part of...It's used by...." (p.115). They say that learners can be instructed to use receptive communication strategies such as appeals for repetition (e.g. "What? I don't think I know that word.") mime, (e.g. puzzled expression), questioning repeats (e.g. NS: the water table; NNS: the water..?) and extended paraphrase of the the speaker's message (e.g. "So you're saying that....")

Nowhere is it suggested that it would be acceptable for learners as producers to avoid describing the object or procedure, or as receivers to pretend they understood when they did not. These behaviours would be described as "dysfunctional" because they are not effective in transmitting or interpreting information.

There are a number of studies which imply that effectiveness in transmitting or interpreting information is desirable over effectiveness in other

ways. The implication comes from the fact that 'effectiveness' is taken as meaning: 'effectiveness in transmitting and interpreting information'. Bialystok (1980, 1983), Haastrup and Phillipson (1983) and Tarone and Yule (1989) use 'effectiveness' in this way. Tarone and Yule give an example of an exercise which can be used to help learners see which communication strategies are the most 'effective'.

Bialystok (1990), in her moderate view of the relationship between teaching and communication strategy use, does not say which strategies she is referring to when she advocates that "students are made aware of these problem solving devices and taught how to use them in their own communication" (p.140). However, from the focus in her book on achievement strategies in production, it could be inferred that she is not referring to avoidance strategies.

This prescription of the use of achievement strategies seems to stem from too narrow a view of communication strategies. Hatch (1979) has observed that classroom applications may arise from unwarranted conclusions drawn from limited data. Because most communication strategy studies have examined the use of achievement strategies to transmit information, teaching materials seem to be based on the assumption that this is their only, or best function.

In fact, although the primary purpose of

communication strategy use is to enable users to solve problems in reaching communicative goals, it has been shown in the empirical study that there was a secondary purpose, which was to manage impressions. This may be the case whenever communication strategies are used. When a non-native speaker deems it worthwhile to give the impression of having native like competence, the goal of effectively transmitting or interpreting information and of remaining in interaction may be reduced to that of simply remaining in interaction. It is not 'better' to hold to an optimum communicative goal and use achievement strategies, than to reduce the goal and use avoidance strategies.

Trosset (1986) sees that reducing goals in the short term eventually leads to successfully achieving optimum goals in the long term. She attempted to learn Welsh in Wales, and claimed that acting as a learner (appealing for help with problems) may have enabled her to transmit and interpret information effectively, but it was not effective in getting native like input. It enabled her to remain in interaction, but as a learner she received simplified, or no, Welsh input. By giving the impression of having native-like proficiency and sacrificing goals of successfully transmitting and interpreting information, (that is, by using avoidance strategies) it was possible to remain in interaction as a native speaker, receiving normal native-like input. This Trosset saw as essential in enabling her to eventually achieve native-like proficiency. She says

"All the second language learners known to me achieved fluency by abandoning or even ignoring the formal learning process and voluntarily immersing themselves in the company of native speakers" (p.187). In other words, she sees an effective strategy not as one which enables learners to transmit or interpret information successfully, but one which enables them to get native-like input. In her situation, this meant acting like a native speaker. Her experience, and her attitude to learning, shows that to see communication strategies as effective only if they help learners to transact information, is too narrow a view.

Apart from a view of communication strategies which is too narrow, the emphasis on achievement strategies in teaching may arise from an assumption that non-native speaker interactions with native speakers are predominantly transactional and that transactional goals of transmitting and interpreting information effectively usually outweigh constraint imposed by other goals. A report by Mah (1990) for a project developed for the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, indicates that the first part of the assumption is probably correct, but only for some learners at some stage in their interaction with native speakers. A survey of 120 learners in an on-arrival classes in Sydney and Adelaide, revealed that the nature of interactions with native speakers outside the classroom was as follows:

1. Service encounters

102 encounters

2. Leisure time interaction	42
3. Consultation	10
4. Dealing with authorities	3
5. Workplace interaction	0

157

(Mah, 1990, p.223)

Three points can be made about these results. Firstly, and most importantly, the fact that the learners are on-arrival migrants is significant. They will naturally be involved in a lot of transactional business as they attend to financial, educational, health, transport and residency needs. They will probably have few friends in their new country and so will not have opportunity for more informal, interactional encounters. This could be expected to change with time. Secondly, even with these on-arrival migrants, the number of leisure time interactions are not insignificant. Thirdly, even when encounters are transactional, avoidance strategies can be seen by non-native speakers to be appropriate. For example, a Chinese student who wanted to rent a flat in Melbourne, Australia, found that he had to act out the role of local citizen in order to get it.

Renting a flat in Melbourne is very difficult for Chinese students. I had to completely forget that I was an overseas Chinese student and pretend to be a local citizen before I could rent the flat.

(Student - personal correspondence)

This pretence could well have included the pretence of understanding native speaker input which was outside of

his linguistic resources and the avoidance of utterances which would have given away his learner status. It cannot be assumed that non-native speakers are going to need only achievement strategies to solve communicative problems.

As mentioned (p.4) Mah found that learners identified reception as being more problematic for them than production. Examination of conversational exchanges between learners and native speakers involved in transactional tasks revealed that communication strategies were most frequently used by learners in reception and that they were most frequently of the achievement type. This information resulted in an interactive video disk prepared for the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, and designed to help learners engage in satisfactory transactions. The disk consists of a series of examples showing successful communications using (largely) achievement type strategies to overcome problems (largely) in reception.

Even if transactional encounters are the sort that learners are most often involved in, this does not mean that they do not wish it were otherwise. A survey by Furnham and Bochner (1982) on foreign students' ratings of the most difficult situations they encountered in Britain (referred to p.95), revealed that those rated most difficult all revolved around establishing and maintaining personal relationships with host nationals.

It may well be that many non-native speakers would like to be involved in more encounters which are not transactional, but they feel unable to engender them.

If only transactional encounters are presented as the context for teaching about communication strategy use, then it is likely that only achievement strategies will appear as examples of 'good strategy use'. Learners' interlanguage may then suffer from what Selinker (1988, p.30) describes as transfer of training. If learners are encouraged only to use one type of communication strategy, then they will use it on all occasions, even when it is clearly inappropriate. In interactional encounters, especially in reception, behavioural achievement strategies may often be inappropriate.

Mention has been made (p.30) of Tollefson's argument that educational programmes can be used to withhold power from ethnic groups. It is possible that emphasis on the teaching of achievement strategies could be seen as strategic, denying non-native speakers the language tools they need to act as equals with native speakers.

Teaching materials therefore need to be based on the full range of present needs, as well as on anticipated future needs of learners. It is important to appreciate that while learners will certainly be involved in transactional encounters they will be, or may want to be involved in interactional encounters as

well. Teaching materials must also take account of the preferred learning style of learners. Some, like Trosset (1986), will prefer the native like input which results from the taking on of a 'native speaker' role and the use of avoidance strategies. Others will prefer the simplified input which results from the adopting of the 'learner' role and the use of appeal type achievement strategies.

We should put at the disposal of non-native speakers all the language devices which native speakers possess. This means that we need to enable them to use the full range of communication strategies in their target language. Avoidance, as well as achievement strategies have a legitimate place in everyday language use, and they should therefore have that place in a teaching programme.

Classroom activities

In the light of the preceding discussion some suggestions are made for developing a programme which will help learners to use communication strategies effectively (in the wide sense of the word) and appropriately. The suggestions provide a conceptual basis for the development of such a programme, rather than a manual of activities.

As Bialystok (1990) points out, the more we can teach learners about language and language use, the more effectively they will be able to use communication

strategies. In reception, for example, if they are able to process incoming language using mental procedures, they will not need to resort to behavioural strategies and to face the question of whether to hide problems and achieve reduced communicative goals, or to reveal problems and achieve them. Mental procedures enable users to achieve goals and to hide problems.

Assuming, however, that as well as teaching more language, we will need to give some specific help with respect to communication strategy use, we need to prepare programmes which are above all, balanced in a number of ways. There should be balance between:

- activities focussing on production and reception. Most suggestions for classroom activities focus on production, perhaps because tasks like describing objects come readily to mind. However, there are many situations where reception causes problems. Some of these include: lectures/tutorials, interviews where the non-native speaker has to answer questions, situations where instructions or directions must be followed (e.g. the work place) and informal conversations where the non-native speaker is alternately producer and receiver. Students can be placed in actual situations where they may have problems as receivers, or they can role play such situations.

- situations (real or simulated) where the non-native speaker's linguistic problems are known about and those where they are not known about. In the latter case

there should be a balance between situations where the non-native speaker might want to declare her/himself as a learner and those where s/he might not. This means there is opportunity for students to practise using both achievement and avoidance strategies.

- situations (real or simulated) where there are transactional encounters and those where there are interactional encounters

- inductive and deductive approaches in teaching. The use of audio and video tapes can help students to:

- (i) observe and identify strategies;

- (ii) identify variables in the situation which may have led to selection of strategies i.e. constraints due to the way communicative systems have been used, and social and personal constraints;

- (iii) evaluate the effectiveness of strategy use in the light of constraints.

- suggestions for strategy use which will suit learners who prefer a classroom learning style and those who prefer an 'immersion' learning style. When students mix with native speakers they may prefer to use achievement strategies (especially appeal type) in the belief that they will learn best by being treated as learners. On the other hand, they may prefer to use avoidance strategies where possible, in order to receive normal native speaker input, in the belief that they will learn best by being immersed in this environment. Personality differences need also to be taken into account.

Learners need to be able to use communication strategies in their target language as they would in their first language.

- development of strategic competence (including the use of communication strategies) and the development of grammatical and sociolinguistic competence. Tarone and Yule point this out (1989, p. 118-120). Because we want to help students to gain all round communicative competence, we do not want them to develop their ability to use communication strategies to such an extent they do not strive to improve their control of lexis and grammar. Bialystok (1990) would of course see that the focus on the improvement of grammatical and sociolinguistic competence automatically results in the improvement of strategic competence.

4. Summary

This chapter has concluded that the definition and description of communication strategies, and the framework for seeking explanation of communication strategy use, presented in the theoretical part of the thesis, are adequate to account for the way strategies were actually used in the empirical study.

Five implications of the conclusions were drawn. These were:

1. The interactional framework was useful for study of communication strategies because its necessary

involvement of the findings of social psychology broadened the understanding of the purposes of communication strategy use.

2. The focus on reception was valuable because it highlighted the role of avoidance in communication strategy use. This in turn showed that achievement and avoidance strategies could both be used to avoid or to reveal the existence of problems.

3. The results of the empirical study showed that the sorts of data and data collection methods used could profitably be employed in other studies of communication strategies.

4. Because the perceptions and goals of participants develop as an interaction proceeds, predictions about strategy use need to be made with caution. Further studies could combine variables in many different ways, thus building up a complex picture of communication strategy use.

5. Foreigner talk appears to be similar to communication strategy use in that it has a primary purpose connected with the solving of problems and a secondary purpose of impression management which is achieved through modulating the way in which the primary purpose is pursued.

Application of the conclusions can be made to the study of native speaker/non-native speaker relationships. Because communication strategies help to

achieve impression management goals it can be expected that the use of achievement and avoidance strategies will affect role relationships. Native speaker/non-native speaker conflicts have been seen to arise from linguistic and sociolinguistic differences which are not recognized. They may also sometimes be due to intentionally caused (by the non-native speaker) differences in interpretation of non-native speaker utterances. This is an area which warrants further study.

Application can also be made to second and foreign language teaching. Teaching about communication strategy use has been receiving increasing attention in the last few years. Some suggestions for teaching seem to be prescriptive and to imply that learners should only use achievement strategies to solve communicative problems. Such suggestions would appear to be based on too limited a view of the purposes of communication strategy use, of the preferred learning styles of learners and of the sorts of encounters and goals that non-native speakers are engaged in. To enable non-native speakers to operate in their target language with native-like proficiency and as equals with native speakers, they need to be equipped with the full range of communicative skills. This means that they should be helped to use both avoidance and achievement strategies appropriately. Suggestions have been provided for the development of classroom activities which will equip students in this way.

Appendix A
Primary Data

Interaction 1 B:K

K: Right, now what I want to talk about is this topic here, this topic, "Any form of education, other than co-education, is simply unthinkable".

B: ...thinkable.

K: Now, I want to ask you whether you agree with 5 that, or not, so, um

B: Oh I agree.

K: Why do you agree with it?

B: Agree with that? (Reads) "Any form of education, other than co-education is simply unthinkable". Its 10 mean, is it, is unthinkable means you can't is opp... is opposite of the think?

K: Ah, not exactly. It means you don't agree with it.

B: And the word, I know, education, but co-education?

K: Ah, co-education. Do you know what 'co' is usually? 15

B: Usually..

K: If 'co' is in front of a word, what does it mean? 'Co-operate'?

B: I don't..

K: 'Co-exist'? 'Together'. So it's some sort of tog-20 ether education. It means boys and girls together.

B: Oh I see.

K: O.K. so..

B: Its mean the girl and the boy mix up together in the same school. 25

K: That's right.

B: That is saying - why?

K: That's right. So do you agree with that or not?

B: My opinion is...

K: Sorry. I'm wrong. This is saying that it's good.

"Any form of education other than co-education is 5
unthinkable.

B: I agree about fifty percent and unagree is fifty
percent. That's my opinion.

K: Right. So why, what would be some reasons that you
agree with it? 10

B: Ah because sometimes - can I say I agree first?

K: Yeah, you can say whatever you like.

B: I agree the first because some boys, sometime do the
naughty things with the girl, or sometime do the
something with the girl. I mean and er when we study 15
health ed. about what er what...oh nothing. Forget
it.

K: What sex education?

B: Yeah, you know, very confused with you know boys and
girls together. 20

K: Right.

B: To talk about that one.

K: Mm

B: Because when we talk about that some girl will laugh-
ing. 25

K: Yes

B: They, when we hear about the girls' something edu-
cation, er sex education then we laughing.

K: Yes, Mm. Hmm.

B: You know. We we still very con...not confused, but 30

feel uncomfortable when we going to health ed., when we doing this sort of subject.

K: Mm

B: But the other reason, er, the other reason...

K: So you, you're you said before that you agree with 5 it. But that means you disagree.

B: Yeah

K: You disagree. So that's one reason that you disagree. Right.

B: And I agree you know, some sometime the girl can help 10 er your classmate or female classmate can help you in the in the homework or some some sort of the subject if you don't understand, you can ask them or, you know, maybe maybe they didn't understand, they should maybe they ask you then you make the boy and the girl 15 feel very comfortable and you know, I mean you are going to this class, you are going to with the girl, you feel comfortable because we can talk about with each other.

K: Right. 20

B: Because there's a female.

K: Yes, so you enjoy having...

B: Yeah

K: Females at the school?

B: Yep. In the class. 25

K: Right, so for that reason you're agreeing with it. Yeah. Um right, well when some people are talking about this topic they first of all think about the aims of education, um what education is trying to do. No what do you think education is trying to do? Why 30

do people get educated?

B: Educated? Educated? Ah, how do you spell educated?

K: Ah, E D U C A T E D - educated.

B: So is it mean the, like the education?

K: Yeah, that's right, it's 5

B: Why the people want to

K: Get an education. Yes

B: We can know about um I mean we can know social life,
or we can know about, because we stay in Australia we
didn't get the social educate, we didn't know about 10
the world, what's happen

K: Right, so um do you think that the aim of education
is to help people participate in society?

B: Yes

K Right, and, for that reason um some people say that 15
you should have co-education, because in society, um
because you're trying to teach people ah, how to
participate in society, and in society there are
girls and boys, men and women, so they say that you
should have the same thing in school. 20

B: School

K: Yeah. Do you agree with that?

B: Yes, I agree.

K: Right, ah well um, other people say that it's better
to segregate. 25

B: Why?

K: Er girls and boys because they say that school is not
really the same as society at all. It's not a mini-
ature society. You know what I mean?

B: Yeah, but you know the school is the social, I mean 30

social society, in the beginning I think the education in the school, so you must mix up the girl and the boy in the same school.

K: Right, well um, what about the um problem of girls and boys getting distracted? 5

B: Distracted?

K: Ah, when the girls and the boys are supposed to be doing their work, instead of doing their work, sometimes they get distracted.

B: Is it doing the other things or..? 10

K: Yes, taking notice of each other, instead of their work. Do you think that that's an argument against co-education? Do you think that does happen?

B: Yes, sometimes happen to our class, in my class.

K: Right, yes, the girls and the boys are talking to 15 each other instead of doing their work. Yeah, right, and so do you think that that means it would be better to have segregation, because then people would work harder?

B: Not exactly, I mean.. 20

K: Perhaps they'd be better academically.

B: Yeah, you should, separate is good, but you know, I don't know how to talk to that because, for all my primary school and kindergarten to my high school, senior high school, I always mix up together. 25

K: Oh I see.

B: Boys and girls together so I know about the boys.

K: Oh I see. And in the schools where you've been to, where they've been co-educational um do the boys usually do better than the girls? 30

B: Yeah.

K: Yes, so for that reason, do you think it's better to have segregation, because it gives the girls more opportunity to excel?

B: Yeah, I think so. 5

K: Right, um because often the captain of the school or head, is a boy, and um maybe the boys do better academically and maybe they do better at sport.

B: Yeah, in their work or..

K: That's right, um and do you think that er it's easier¹⁰ for administration purposes to have boys and girls segregated?

B: I agree or..?

K: Yeah, do you agree with that?

B: How to say? I agree fifty percent, but disagree, I 15 mean opposite fifty agree. Half/half.

K: Right, well in what ways would administration be easier if they were segregated?

B: Ah, I don't know how to it's hard to say, because in each side have got the good things and the bad 20 things, of each side.

K: Mm, but I'm thinking especially just about administration.

B: Pardon?

K: I'm thinking especially about administration. 25

B: What do you mean by..?

K: Do you know what administration is?

B: (Shakes head)

K: It means, organizing the school.

B: Organizing the school? 30

K: Yeah. Like um if you've got a co-ed school, you have to have boys' toilets, girls' toilets, boys' change rooms, girls' change rooms. You have to have some things for the boys and some things for the girls and if you only have one sex, it's easier for organi- 5 zation. You know, you don't have to have two of everything. So that's a reason why. Do you think that um perhaps it's good to have younger children at co-educational schools, and then maybe have adoles- cents separated? 10

B: Adolescents? Maybe.

K: You know 'adolescents'?

B: Lessons

K: Adolescents.

B: A D D 15

K: A D O L E S C E N T S. Adolescents.

B: A D D

K: A D, A D O L Ad ol es cents. (Bruce - puzzled look) Don't know what it means? It means teenagers.

B: Oh, I know. 20

K: Yes, yes.

B: Now, we can't do that because the young, the young people people still growing and if you, yeah, if you, some teenagers student school is better for affect the younger, I mean the younger children to, you 25 know, to do to go with them I mean.

K: Oh I see, to follow them?

B: Yeah.

K: Right, O.K. Um now a lot of important men and women in the world, great men and women have gone to segre-30

gated schools.

B: Segregated schools.

K: Um so do you think that proves that they are better than co-educational schools? If the great people in the world have been to segregated schools? 5

B: Maybe. Maybe yes, maybe not.

K: Yes. It doesn't really prove that they're better, does it?

B: Sometime the special student in the same school but you know they are special students. 10

K: That's right. All schools have got some good students. And if you had the opportunity to choose again, between co-education and segregated schools, what would you do?

B: Co-education. More interesting school. I like. 15

K: Right.

B: Maybe. That's my opinion.

K: O.K. All right.

Interaction 2 B : J

J: ...I C T, oh new word, T A L E N T. That means uh, ESP, or how, like magic, how good you are at magic. Yeah. Er now for each of these you have to roll er roll this dice um three times.

B: Three times each. 5

J: For each, yeah.

B: Three.

J: Mm hm.

B: Three, three

J: (Throws dice) So that's, nine. 10

B: Three, two, two, six.

J: Oh yeah, sorry. Sorry.

B: Three, seven (indistinct)

J: Oh sorry, try it again.

B: (indistinct numbers) Sixteen. 15

J: Yep. Um right. Next you have to choose what profession you want the character to have. Um they can be a knight or, it's like in old fashioned times like in a fantasy type of world, um they can be either a knight or a barbarian or a sorcerer or a mystic. Um 20 let's see. So you can choose, do you want, you can be either, any one of those. Knight or barbarian or sorcerer or mystic, so does any of those appeal to you? Which one?

B: Which one's the best? 25

J: Um well they're all, they're good at different things. Um knights and barbarians can't do magic, but sorcerers and mystics can, so it depends.

B: I want a magic.

J: O.K. Well which, which one, sorcerer or mystic?

B: Er, sorses.

J: O.K. so put down you're a sorcerer.

B: How do you spell that word? 5

J: S O R C E R E R

B: S O R C R

J: C E R. Um all right? And make up a name now.

B: Make up a name? Name? What kind of name I can write
down in this...? 10

J: Um look, any kind of name, um let's see, um doesn't
matter, anything.

B: John.

J: O.K. um right, now er let's see. Er wait a minute er
for your health points, your health points show you 15
how healthy you are and how many injuries you can
have before you die, or whatever. Um for that you
have one, roll a dice once and add four.

B: (Throws dice) Four and four, eight.

J: O.K. so eight health points. Um now wait a minute. 20
O.K. there's four more things that are important.
Now, write down 'Attack'.

B: Attack.

J: And 'defence'.

B: Defence. 25

J: D E F E N C E. Ah also 'magical attack'.

B: Magical attack.

J: And 'magical defence'. Er, oh and evasion.

B: Evasion?

J: Evasion. E V A S I O N. Right. Hang on, now these 30

these scores depend on what you've got here, um er wait a minute, um oh well, ah for a sorcerer your attack, you've got an average strength and average reflexes, so your attack is um your attack is eleven, and your defence is five, um your psychic talent is 5 very, is quite high, so your magical attack and magical defence are higher, so let's see. Sixteen and that's um your magical defence is five plus two, so that's seven. Um your magical attack is hang on, oh that's not um, oh I can't find it. The magical attack is fifteen plus two, so that's seventeen. Um now, you've got some equipment that you carry with you. Um so and you can use these in the adventure. Um oh also magic points. There's a lot to work out. Er magic points four. That's how, like how many 15 spells you can cast in one day. Um your equipment, if you want to write this down you can. Some of it you don't really need to. Um you've got a lantern, a flint and tinder, a backpack. You don't really need to write that down. You've got a dagger and a short 20 sword or a staff. Do you want a short sword or a staff?

B: Er short sword.

J: O.K. You should er write that down. Er a short sword and a dagger are twenty florins of money. 25

B: Twenty

J: Twenty florins.

B: How do you spell florins?

J: Er, oh it doesn't matter. Make it twenty dollars.

B: Twenty bucks. 30

J: Yeah, and you can have any two, you can have two potions. Ah, potions are those one there, those potions you can have two of those, whichever you choose. Right, and you can use those whenever you want. Um seeing as you're a first level sorcerer, 5 that means you're just starting out, you're not an advanced sorcerer, you can, there's only six spells you can cast, um, yeah, yeah, um there, don't know if you want to write all these spells, but these six spells here, 1,2,3,4,5,6, those ones, you can cast 10 those spells with your magic points.

B: So what do I need to do is er...So do I need to do for the choose..?

J: To cast a spell, um ah yes, well you see your magic, your magic points. Um to cast a spell you use up one 15 of these magic points and you get four per day, so you can only cast four spells every day. But um then you can also, instead of casting a spell you usually can attack with your weapons or something so if you if you are a higher level sorcerer if you a, if you 20 were a very good sorcerer, then you can cast more spells and you've got more spells to choose from. Um I think that's it. Let's see. Yep. So now you've created a character. That's all you need I think. If you want to buy things then, extra things, if you 25 want to buy armour or extra equipment, then you can, but I think you haven't really got time. We haven't got very long, so I'll just start, just start playing I think. Um there are lots of different adventures we could do, lots of different scenarios. 30

Um let's see, er I don't know which one's best, um
(Interruption). Now, I'll start. I think we'll do an
easy adventure. This is quite easy, but also it's
quite short, because we haven't got very long, so
we'll do this instead. O.K. um, yes, there's seeing 5
there's only one character I'll be, I'll have to be
someone as well, 'cause you need, you need more than
one person to do this one. Um, anyway I'll just read
out the scene. This is where you are, in this imag-
inary land, where you are, and what you have to do. 10
Um (Reads)

"You have recently arrived in the village of
Axbridge. You are a stranger here and you have spent
the past few days getting the lie of the land. The
villagers tell you that their Lord is Baron Aldred, 15
whose castle is many days' ride away. Harvest time
is close and the villagers are working long hours in
the fields. You have not helped bring in the har-
vest, but you join in the festivities when the last
corn is cut. Cider is drunk and a service performed 20
by the village priest, Bretwald. Bretwald invites
you to join him for a drink.

In Bretwald's house, he unfurls a map, and there
is something written below it in a script you do you
understand. 'Have you heard of Vallendar? asks Bret- 25
wald. 'He is said to have been king of this land
long ago. He was just and pious but his evil half
brother Morgrin hated him for his goodness, wrought a
war in which Vallendar's kingdom was laid waste.
Morgrin dealt the king a grievous wound. Mathor, the 30

king's wizard, found his dying lord on the battle-field and took him in his arms, carrying him to a secret crypt that he had built. This document was given to me by a monk years ago. It tells where Vallandar is buried, in Fenring Forest, three days 5 hence'" So, do you understand any of that?

B: Yeah, about fifty percent.

J: Yeah, well, the person who was king of the land a long time ago, um this, this person called Bretwald has a map that shows where the king is buried, and 10 there's supposed to be a treasure there. So um he's asking you if you want to join him to um follow the map and try to find out where the king is buried and see if you can find the treasure. So do you want to go with him and try to find the tomb? 15

B: Yes.

J: O.K.

B: It's just like a story is it?

J: Um, at the moment. Later on, it, there's more action. (Reads) "The village is three days away on 20 foot". I think I'll just skip a bit. So you go um and find the forest that um, you find the forest that Bretwald um, put, that Bretwald passed through and just after nightfall when the moon is shining, you see the thread that he snagged on the tree. 25 (Reads) "It's visible as a glimmering line like spider silk shining in the moonlight." Following the thread, it takes you a long time to follow the thread. It's through the forest and late at night, um..hang on..oh here we can, no don't worry. (Reads) 30

It's dawn as you enter the clearing that Bretwald has told you about. In the side of a grassy bank, entwined with the roots of an old tree, stands a massive door of stone. Tall letters are carved across the face of it. Bretwald picks moss from them with a 5 knife before murmuring, 'Here lies Vallendar, who was and will again be King.' So um yes, now you have to try to get the door open. It's a big, it's a great big stone thing. Um it says here you're supposed to have three people to open the door, but 10 there's only two people so I think we'll just say the door is already open. Now I've got a map of the place here, but you're not allowed to see that, so you go through the door and um you finally, (Reads) "pull the huge doors open to reveal steps leading 15 down into the darkness. You light your lanterns and descend. You find yourself at the eastern end of a long gothic arched corridor, about four metres wide. Um if you want to you can draw a map here or draw a map of the place, um yes. (Reads) "You're at the 20 eastern end of a long corridor about four metres wide. A faded tapestry hangs along the wall at your left. It depicts a host of warriors locked in gory battle." So er, do you want to go along the corridor? 25

B: Proibly

J: Yeah um

B: Can I take the map?

J: Uh?

B: Can I look at the map? Can I look at the map? 30

J: Um, no.

B: Oh

J: You can, you can either, you can either go on ahead or look at the tapestry, or something. So what do you want to do? Just go on ahead? 5

B: Go ahead.

J: O.K. Fair enough. (Reads) " The tapestry flutters, even though there is no breeze. Even as you watch, five of the warriors become solid and step into the corridor behind you. They wear strange sculpted 10 armour, but their wide-bladed short swords appear all too real." So um these er warriors from the tapestry have come to life. So what you, and um they're going to try and fight you, so, what do you do? One of them comes up to you and attacks you with his 15 short sword. Now I'm not sure how to do this. Er, right. So what's your defence score? Defence?

B: Defence? Five.

J: Five. O.K. Um, so this warrior has an attack of fourteen, and fourteen, er fourteen subtract five, 20 that's nine, so he has to roll less than nine if he wants to hit you. No, that's eighteen. So you can attack him if you want. Cast a spell or just fight with your short sword.

B: Attack. 25

J: O.K. now your attack is what?

B: O.K. attack.

J: Yeah, you've got it here haven't you? Where? Oh, eleven. His defence is eight, so you have got to roll less than equal to or less than three. 30

(Throws dice) Oh, no you didn't. So, this is very hard. Maybe you should cast a spell next time, 'cause he's rather stronger than you. Um, another one comes up, and well I'll just say there's one of them, 'cause there's only one of you, so another one 5 attacks you with his short sword. He has to roll, what was it? Five or less? No, he doesn't get you, so it's your turn again, so what do you do?

B: Same, go ahead. Attack him.

J: O.K. 10

B: (Throws dice) One.

J: No. That's seven. He gets two, so he gets you. Now you haven't got any armour have you? No, you haven't got any armour, so um, you lose three health points. Where are your health points? 15

B: What is my..? Five.

J: Five. O.K. Um, so you attack him again? You can cast a spell if you want.

B: Ah, go ahead.

J: O.K. No that's twelve because it's got a dot. 20

B: Four

J: Four, so he gets you again. Oh dear. Um, so you lose another three points.

B: That's last two points.

J: Um this is quite hard because there's only one of 25 you. Um, I'll give you a clue. Um, oh wait a minute. Er, yeah, the tapestry that they came from, if you try to rip it down, that might help, so that's a hint.

B: I don't want to attack him, so I must go the other 30

way.

J: Um, no you can't do that because there's a portcullis, that's like a gate across all of the doors. That happened when the gates fell down. So did you, did you hear what the clue was? That if you 5 rip down the tapestry that might help. Do you want to do that?

B: Yes, sure.

J: O.K. Well um O.K. Yeah, you run past and rip down the tapestry and the warrior disappears. That yeah, 10 it's a bit too hard, this. So um you can try and there are steel gates across the door, but you can try and lift them if you want. Do you want to? Now there's a door ahead of you and a door to each side, left and right, there's a door in each direction and 15 they've all got these gates across. What do you want to do?

B: Go by er right door, right door.

J: O.K. well you'd have to lift up the gate, so you, so you can lift up the gate. It's not heavy. 20

B: All right.

J: So (Reads) "You swing back the heavy door of a long hall. At the north end, your lantern-light falls upon a podium of grey marble carved to resemble a bulbous-cheeked face blowing at you. A silver goblet 25 rests on the podium. Beyond, another door leads deeper into the underworld.

B: Still don't quite understand.

J: Pardon?

B: Still don't quite understand what... 30

J: Right, well in this hall there's a statue with a goblet. That's like a glass of liquid on it, a silver goblet, and beyond that there's another door leading on.

B: Can you give me some idea? 5

J: Well you can, yeah I dunno. You can try and um pick up the glass or you can just ignore it and go on.

B: Go on.

J: O.K. (Reads) "You open the open at the end and you're in a three metre wide corridor running east and west.10 To the east a corridor opens out into a room after only a few metres. To the west you can just make out that the corridor turns to head north after some fifteen metres." So you've got two ways you can go, that's east or west. 15

B: Ah, west.

J: West, that's ten. O.K. (Reads) "As you approach the bend in the corridor a flagstone gives slightly under your feet. There's an ominous click. Suddenly a massive gleaming axe blade swings out from 20 the side wall. So you've got to try and evade this axe blade with your evasion score.

B: Score, sixteen.

J: No. It was three wasn't it? Evasion?

B: Evasion? 25

J: There it is.

B: I didn't write down three.

J: Oh well, I think it was three. So, right. Now this axe has a speed of thirteen. Now to evade that, um, wait a minute. Yes, you subtract the evasion 30

from the speed and so that's twenty subtract three, so that's seventeen. Er, you've got to roll um, you've got to roll greater than or equal to seventeen on here. Oh dear. Seven. No, it's too high. Yep. So, the problem here is that it does so much 5 damage that you would normally have died, but we can't have that so just, we'll just take off one health point.

B: One health point. Last one.

J: Yeah, so you've got one more. 10

B: What happens if you lose the health point?

J: Um if it gets to zero? If it gets to zero then you're unconscious. If it gets to minus three, then you're dead. So it's not good. Um, wait a minute. Um, now you can keep going on if you want. 15

B: Can I stop?

J: Well um you can turn back if you want. Do you want to turn back or keep going?

B: Keep going.

J: Keep going. O.K. So you've turned a corner and then, 20
(Reads) "The eastern fountain is filled with a purple liquid that bubbles from a face sculpted in an expression of fear." Do you understand that?

B: Yes.

J: You've got two fountains with liquid coming out of 25 them. So what do you want to do? There's light ahead if you..

B: I dunno. No idea.

J: Well um, you could try to drink one of these liquids.

B: Oh, just leave it. 30

Interaction 1 Ja: K

K: Right, now what I want to talk about is um a statement that you might agree with or you might disagree with it. And you can decide whether you agree or disagree.

Ja: Yeah 5

K: And then we'll just talk about it. O.K. This is the statement. "Any form of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable". I'll read it again. "Any form of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable". 10

Ja: No I don't get it.

K: Ah well what part don't you get?

Ja: Any formal education is what?

K: Other than co-education.

Ja: Mm 15

K: Is simply unthinkable.

Ja: What does that mean, "simply unthinkable?"

K: That means um it's the idea is, it's untenable.

Ja: (Puzzled look) Nah.

K: Um, what do you mean by 'No'? You mean you don't 20
know what that means?

Ja: Mm.

K: It means that any form of education other than co-education ridiculous, stupid, no good.

Ja: Oh, yeah. Oh well I disagree with that. 25

K: You disagree. So what do you think then?

Ja: I think there must be some effects of the formal education.

K: Formal education?

Ja: Yeah.

K: Form of education

Ja: Form of education?

K: Form of education.

5

Ja: Oh, I thought it was "formal education".

K: Oh, right I see. Well I'll just read it again then.

Maybe you didn't get it. "Any form of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable".

Ja: Does co-education mean people and people, or person 10 and book or something?

K: No. It means male and female.

Ja: Male and female?

K: Yeah. That's co-education.

Ja: They teach each other?

15

K: No I mean, it means that in a school you've got both girls and boys.

Ja: Oh yeah.

K: And this statement is saying that any form of education that is not like that is, is no good.

20

Ja: No, I disagree with that.

K: You disagree. O.K. so that means that you think..

Ja: Yes, education's got nothing to do with sex, or..

K: Oh, I see.

Ja: Yes. I used to study when there were all boys and 25 no girls in the class and we still do a lot of study and did pretty well.

K: I see.

Ja: So I don't think co-education has anything to do with education.

30

K: Oh I see. Right. Um, but some people say that if you have boys and girls segregated, ah that it's not normal. It's not a normal situation, and that you really ought to have a school the same as society because in society you've got, ah men, women, girls 5 and boys, so they say that it's not right to have them segregated.

Ja: Well I suppose that boys (indistinct) in girls' school. Ah they will feel different when they go to the boy and girls' school. 10

K: Mm

Ja: Especially when they try to talk to the other sex.

K: Mm hm.

Ja: And they will feel a bit different. But you know when they study they don't really, that doesn't 15 really matter with their sex.

K: Mm hm.

Ja: Because when they study maths or something you don't really care your (indistinct) is male or female.

K: Right. You don't think it makes any difference. Do 20 you think that a school should really be trying to emulate society?

Ja: Do you mean try to be the same as society?

K: Yeah.

Ja: Yeah, I suppose so because when there are boys and 25 girls in the school ah they will know how to ah contact and talk and do everything with each other.

K: Yeah. Right.

Ja: Because it's more natural.

K: Yeah. Um. Do you think that segregation actually 30

results in better work?

Ja: Oh, not really. I don't think so.

K: Well some people say that it does. They say that because there's no distraction from the opposite sex, you know, people will concentrate more and they'll 5 do better um both academically and that they'll also perform better um feats of sport. What do you think about that?

Ja: Yeah, um

K: If they're not distracted. 10

Ja: I think that somehow they're a bit distracted because when boy and girl are together they always think about other things.

K: Right.

Ja: Rather than study. 15

K: Yes. So maybe they would do a bit better if they weren't distracted. Do you think that when they're separate, segregated it helps boys and girls to have more poise?

Ja: More what? 20

K: Poise.

Ja: What's poise?

K: Um sort of confidence.

Ja: You mean when boys and boys are together they will be more comfortable? 25

K: Yes.

Ja: Yeah I suppose so, because you know when you see one boy that got many girlfriends, or popular with girls, the other boys might get jealous.

K: Yes. 30

Ja: And lose their confidence.

K: Right. Yes. Um, another argument that um people put forward in favour of segregation is that it's administratively expedient to have segregated schools. 5

Ja: You mean it's easier to..

K: Administer. Yes. Because you know you don't have to have separate toilets and separate rules.

Ja: Well, I don't think so. It doesn't help because when you put boys together and then girls together 10 they would do a lot of things which they wouldn't do when they were together with each other.

K: Mm.

Ja: You know, like when the boys are together they probably smoke or use drugs or something but they 15 wouldn't do that in front of girls.

K: Right. So in some ways it's ah..

Ja: So somehow it's more (indistinct) when they're together.

K: Right. And what do you think about um dealing with 20 adolescent problems like um sexual development problems? Is that easier to deal with when they're separate or when they're in a co-ed school?

Ja: Um I suppose when they're separate the problem is much easier to solve because they don't have the 25 people to try the things on.

K: Yes. Right and um I suppose the girls and the boys are not so embarrassed when they're with their own sex, to talk about those problems.

Ja: Yeah, but they still try to meet each other because 30

you know the people who go to private school, they still..

K: Meet each other. Yes. That's right.

Ja: In parties or

K: Right. After school. Um, some people say that seg- 5
regated schools are bad because they can cause sexual
aberrations. What do you think about that?

Ja: Um yeah, I suppose it does cause that problem.

K: So maybe it encourages homosexuality or something.

Ja: Mm. I don't really know. 10

K: Bit hard to say. Yeah. Um well a lot of segregated
schools have been pretty famous um you know, so I
guess that's one reason to say that..

Ja: Oh no. I think that's rubbish.

K: Do you? Why? 15

Ja: Yeah. Because you know, most segregated schools are
private schools and they got the beautiful uniform
and they got better facilities and they pay more.
So I think it's nothing to do with the...What's
that? 20

K: Segregation?

Ja: No I mean

K: Co-education?

Ja: I mean it's nothing really to do with the education
because when you see a school where they got better 25
looking or better uniform, that makes people to say,
'Oh it looks good' and it seems to be a good school,
but it's not good actually. So when you say segre-
gated schools are pretty famous, I think it's just
built up by money. 30

K: Right, so it's not to do with the fact that they're segregated or not.

Ja: No. No.

K: Right. O.K. Thank you.

Interaction 2 Ja : J

J:have to do is create a character, so um

Ja: Just make up any?

J: Mm, well there's four characters, there's four professions that the characters can be. You can be um, a knight or a barbarian or a sorcerer or a mystic. 5

Ja: Ah, I'll be a barbarian.

J; O.K.

Ja: Do you write his name, or

J: Yeah, put, write down that he's a barbarian and his name. Er just make up a name. Then we have to find 10 out, have to roll the dice to see what he's good at and stuff.

Ja: Yeah

J: Well, first of all we roll for his strength and that's three dice (throws dice). 15

Ja: Strength is 6. Yeah.

J: And reflexes (throws dice) That's reflexes r - e - f

Ja: Just put 'r'.

J: Yeah, O.K. 20

Ja: How many? 15.

J: Um, intelligence (throws dice) That's pretty high.

Ja: 17

J: Psychic talent

Ja: 6 25

J: Last one is looks. That's just how you look. It isn't very important, but still. Um, now, health points. That's how easily you're wounded and

stuff. That's 1, that's 4 plus 9, so 13. Ah, let's see. Um attack and defence.

Ja: (indistinct)

J: Yeah. Attack is usually 14 but um what was your, what was your strength? 5

Ja: Er 6.

J: 6, so your attack is 13.

Ja: 13?

J: 13, yeah. Um, what were your reflexes?

Ja: Er 15. 10

J: 15, so your defence is 7. Er what was your magical defence?

Ja: Mm?

J: What was your magical defence? Have you got that?

Ja: No, I haven't. 15

J: Oh, sorry. Um magical defence. Oh sorry, no that's what was your psychic talent I mean.

Ja: 6

J: 6. O.K. So your magical defence is 2 and, what were your reflexes? 20

Ja: 15.

J: So your evasion is six. Evasion

Ja: 6.

J: Um and you've also got some, some belongings with you. You've got, well I don't know if you need to 25 write all of these down but you've got um, well let's see, you've got seven florins, which is the money, that's like seven dollars Um and you've got some chain mail armour, um a dagger, a lantern and you've got either a battle axe or a two handed sword.30

So you've got to choose one.

Ja: I'll take the axe.

J: A battle axe. O.K. All right well that's that's your character. Um if you want you can buy things before we start. 5

Ja: What can I buy with seven dollars?

J: Not much.

Ja: You got to collect some money on the way?

J: Yep. Prob'ly haven't got too much time anyway, so better start I think. Um well to start off I'll just 10 read what, read the beginning of the adventure and then later on you'll be able to make choices and stuff. So you've just arrived in the village of Axebridge. Um I'll cut this down a bit. It's a bit too long. (Reads) "You're a stranger and you've 15 spent the past few days getting the lie of the land. The villagers tell you that their Lord is Baron Aldred, whose castle is many days' ride away. Travellers pass through fairly regularly, so the villagers are quite well informed." 20

Ja: Informed of what?

J: Informed of things that are going on in the land. Um, (reads) "They know that the lands around are occupied by ruthless lords who are no friends. Harvest time is close and the villagers are working long25 hours in the fields. After the harvest, cider is drunk and a service performed by the village priest, Bretwald. After the service, Bretwald joins you. 'Many of these rites are pagan, of course,' he says with a wry smile, 'but it does no good to tell them 30

that'. He rubs his back. 'Bringing home the harvest has been hard work for us all. I have a cask of cog wine inside - come, join me for a drink'.

In Bretwald's house you can still hear the sounds of revelry outside, but muffled now. The 5 last rays of sunlight are fading and he brings a lamp and places it on the table. He unfurls a parchment - it seems to be a map, and there is something written below it in a script you do not recognize.

'Have you heard of Vallandar?' asks Bretwald. 10 'He is said to have been king of this land long ago. His reign was just and pious, great warriors bowed to be his vassals. But his evil half-brother Morgrin hated him for his goodness, betrayed him to his enemies, wrought a war in which Vallandar's kingdom 15 was laid waste. The legends say that Vallandar met Morgrin in the final battle and struck him down with a single blow, but Morgrin had laid a spell upon his sword and it dealt the king a grievous wound as it fell from the traitor's dead hand. Mathor, the 20 kings, wizard, found his dying lord on the battle field and took him in his arms, carrying him to a secret crypt that he had built. There he placed Vallandar, with his twelve bravest knights and all the treasures of his kingdom, to await the day when 25 he was needed again to drive injustice from these shores.

A pretty story to be sure. I believe there was indeed a powerful warlord called Vallandar. This document was given to me by a monk years ago. I was 30

a friar in Cornumbria in my youth, and I learned a little of this script here. It tells where Vallandar is buried - in Fenring Forest three days hence." So basically he is saying that he has found out where this ancient king's been buried. Um so, do you, if 5 you want to ask him something you can. Um. O.K. So the village to which you're going is three days' away. Um I think to save time we'll just imagine that we've got there. (Reads) "It is dawn as you enter the clearing Bretwald has told you about. In 10 the side of a grassy bank, entwined with the roots of an old tree, stands a massive door of stone. Tall letters are carved across the face of it. Bretwald picks moss from them with a knife before murmuring, 'Here lies Vallandar, who was and will again be 15 King'.

So you've got to try and open this big stone door. Um seeing as there's only one of you, or there's only you and him, it might take a long time so I think we'll skip that as well. Um anyway 20 you get the door open, to reveal steps leading down into the darkness. (Reads) "You light your lanterns and you find yourselves at the eastern end of a long gothic arched corridor about four metres wide. A faded tapestry depicts a host of warriors locked in 25 gory battle". So you can go ahead or you can examine the tapestry or whatever.

Ja: Go ahead.

Interaction 1 P:K

K: Um, now what we're gonna do is just discuss a topic, which comes from this book actually. I'll read you the, the topic and the idea is that you might agree with it, or you might disagree with this statement. So you just think about it and decide and then we'll 5 discuss it. O.K? So this is the statement.

"Any form of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable."

P: (Shakes head). I'm not sure what you mean.

K: O.K. Shall, I'll read it again, first? O.K. "Any 10 form of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable".

P: Um, what do you mean, "co-education"?

K: Um, well that means education in a school where you've got girls and boys, together. You know, you 15 have some schools with only girls, some with only boys. This, this statement says that any form of education other than co-education, that is, girls and boys mixed together, is unthinkable.

P: Mm, yeah, I think um it would be all right, because 20 um, it would be right because um in school we need to um, what we need to study is how to, ah, live with other peoples.

K: Right

P: An in co-education you can um learn how to ah treat 25 girls as your different, as a different ah sex.

K: Right

P: Um, if you in a in a school just have boys, you have learn how to um deal with with the boys, but you, you don't know how to talk with a girl, or..

K: Right, yes. Well that's, that's probably the main argument in favour of co-education because it's um, 5 society is like that, mixed, so people say, yes, the school should be like that too, for the reasons that you say. Um, but do you think that a school should be trying to emulate society?

P: Ah, what's "emulate"? 10

K: It means, sort of reproduce society. Do you think a school should be trying to be the same as society? Because, actually, um it's not, I mean you sit in classrooms and out in society you don't sit in classrooms, so in lots of ways it's not like society, so 15 um, well people who argue against co-education say, school shouldn't be trying to copy society anyway. It's a completely different thing, so um you need I suppose to get on with girls first, before you move out into society to get on with the opposite 20 sex.

P: Yeah, I think um you know school should um follow the (indistinct) of the real society because um when you step in the society you got a lot of different problems. If you don't know, if you firstly don't 25 know how to um treat people, communicate with other peoples

K: Yeah

P: You can't survive in the real situation

K: Right 30

P: Because ah, so therefore you need to um learn this basic ah things in the school.

K: Right. Ah, what about um the argument that some people say that when you're in a segregated s...

P: (Questioning look) 5

K: You know "segregated school"?

P: No.

K: No. That means, not co-ed.

P: Oh

K: That means, separate. Um when you're in a segregated 10 school um the students can do better um like, in a co-ed school, usually the boys are the top students, so if you have a segregated school, it gives the girls a change to be the best. Do you think that's a good argument? 15

P: Um, not really, because I think um in a co-education school the girls can still do well too because um they got a challenge with the boys.

K: Mm

P: And it makes them want to be the highest student. 20

K: Mm. Right, well, maybe. The people who argue the other way say sometimes the challenge is just too hard, so the girls give up, you know. And it's the same with sport. Probly the boys would be better at sport, but in their own school the girls have got a 25 chance. But I don't know whether that's right. That's what people say. Do you think that, ah, well some people say that in a segregated school um the students are able to have more poise.

P: Poise? 30

K: Yeah

P: I dunno what "poise" is.

K: You don't know "poise". That means, sort of, confidence. You know?

P: Mm.

5

K: Because with boys and girls they maybe feel a bit shy and when they're just with their own sex they feel more relaxed.

P: Does it exist? I'm not sure.

K: Ah, well I just think that, maybe I'm being sexist, 10 but again, maybe girls in a classroom with boys and girls perhaps don't speak up. Maybe they feel shy, you know?

P: I don't really think so.

K: You don't think so? Right. Well that's good. Um, 15 now, another argument in favour of segregated schools is that it's administratively expedient to have segregated schools.

P: It's too complicated.

K: Too complicated. That means, it's you know "adminis-20tratively"? "Administration". You know "administration"?

P: Yes.

K: Well, "administratively" just comes from that word. And "expedient" means it's um sort of easier, ah, 25 probably costs less, is less trouble, to administer school with only girls or only boys to...because you don't have to have separate, maybe separate rules for boys and girls and say separate changerooms or, what else? Well in sports events, I suppose maybe you've 30

got to have boys events, girls events, so if you've got separate schools you don't have to have two lots of rules and things, so it's administratively simpler.

P: Um, I need to say I agree or not? 5

K: Yeah, do you think it's simpler?

P: Um I think ah it doesn't really matter, for to have ah separate ah rules.

K: Mm, yes, I suppose. It's just maybe takes more time to do this and I suppose it does cost more money to 10 have boys' toilets, girls' toilets, you know? That sort of thing would cost more money, but anyway. Ah, what about adolescent problems, like sexual development problems. Are they easier to deal with in segregated schools, do you think? 15

P: Ah, yeah, I think so, but, lots of things, it is one of the things that the school can't avoid.

K: Mm hm.

P: Because it is only the students' personal affair. The school can't really do much about it. 20

K: No, and again I suppose it's perhaps better to deal with the problem in a mixed group, because that's what they're going to be in in society aren't they?

P: Yeah.

K: So maybe it's better to do that. Some people say 25 that in separate schools um there's sometimes sexual aberrations. What do you think about that?

P: What do you mean by...?

K: Ah, sort of abnormal, like there might be more homo-sexuality in a separate school. 30

P: Um yeah, I think it doesn't matter because um when I'm in primary school I'm in a school just have boys and sometimes I treat some boys like girls.

K: Yes, right. But of course it's a bit different, it's a bit more ah what? As you get to be a teenager, 5 um, perhaps if that happened it would affect your continuing sort of attitudes, but in primary school I guess it doesn't make so much difference. Ah, well, a lot of segregated schools have been quite famous haven't they? You know, a lot of famous people went 10 to segregated schools. So um do you think that means that they're better? Like, apparently Winston Churchill, he went to a segregated school and lots of people who have been prime ministers probly went to segregated schools. I spose the Queen's chil- 15 dren go to them.

P: Um perhaps ah perhaps if um you know the student in the se.. what?

K: Segregated

P: Segregated schol, um they may they might haven't got 20 so many social life. They got more times to concentrate on their homework. But I don't think it is really important because students should have some social life.

K: That's right. 25

P: To relax.

K: Yes, that's important, 'cause it, I think it helps you actually to work better if you have a balance, if it's not all work all the time. O.K. well I think we should stop it there. 30

Interaction 2 P : J

J: Well, the first thing you have to do is to choose a character, er choose a profession for your character. Um there's four professions that you can be. You can be a knight, a barbarian, a sorcerer or a mystic. So just choose one. 5

P: Ah, what are they again?

J: Knight, barbarian, sorcerer and mystic.

P: Ah, barbarian.

J: O.K. So then you have to make up a name for yourself, so, just any name. 10

P: Joseph?

J: Yep. Um, we use the dice to find out the different things about the character, so -

P: Just throw the (indistinct)?

J: Yeah. The first one is strength, so, (throws dice). 15
O.K. that's 10 for your strength score. Ah, then reflexes.

P: (Throws dice) Ah, it's 15.

J: Intelligence?

P: (Throws dice) 8. 20

J: Um psychic talent?

P: (Throws dice) 15

J: And, looks?

P: (Throws dice) Ah, 10.

J: And er, health points. That's 2 plus 9, so 11 health 25
points.

P: O.K.

J: Now, your attack score is 14.

P: Attack score (writing)

J: Just attack, is 14 and defence is, your reflexes were
15 weren't they?

P: Yeah.

J: Then your defence is 7. Um evasion is oh sorry, hang 5
on, um evasion is 6. Um, what was your psychic tal-
ent?

P: Ah, 15.

J: 15, so your magical defence is 4. O.K. you're carry-
ing some things, um, you don't need to write all 10
these down, but you've got chain mail armour, you've
got a dagger, um lantern, er let's see, (throws
dice), you've got , O.K. and so you've got 6 flo-
rins, which is, that's your money. Oh hang on, no, 6
plus 11 plus 4. So that's your, that's your money. 15

P: 21 is it?

J: Yeah. And you've got either a battle axe or a two
handed sword.

P: What's that?

J: Well, they're just two different weapons, so you've 20
got to choose which one you want, battle axe or two
handed sword.

P: Battle axe.

J: Yeah. O.K. that's it. I'll just read the introduc-
tion. (Reads) "You have recently arrived in the 25
village of Axbridge. You are a stranger here and you
have spent the past few days getting the lie of the
land. Harvest time is close and the villagers are
working long hours in the fields. When the last corn
is cut, cider is drunk and a service performed by 30

the village priest, Bretwald. After the service as the autumn evening turns to night, the villagers dance merrily in the churchyard. Bretwald invites you to join him for a drink. In Bretwald's house you can still hear the sounds of revelry outside, but 5 muffled now. He unfurls a parchment - it seems to be a map, and there is something written below it in a script you do not recognize. 'Have you heard of Vallandar?' asks Bretwald. 'He is said to have been king of this land long ago. His reign was just 10 and pious. But his evil half-brother Morgrin hated him for his goodness, wrought a war in which Vallandar's kingdom was laid waste. The legends say that Vallandar met Morgrin in the final battle and struck him down with a single blow, but Morgrin had 15 laid a spell upon his sword and it dealt the king a grievous wound as it fell from the traitor's dead hand.

'Mathor, the king's wizard, found his dying lord on the battle field and took him in his arms, carry- 20 ing him to a secret crypt that he had built. There he placed Vallandar, to await the day when he was needed again to drive injustice from these shores.

'A pretty story, to be sure. I believe there 25 was indeed a powerful warlord called Vallandar. This document was given to me by a monk years ago. I was a friar in Cornumbria in my youth, and I learned a little of the script there. It tells where Vallandar is buried - in Fenring Forest, three days 30

hence.'" So Bretwald wants you to go with him to find the King's tomb. Um if you want to ask him anything then you can. Otherwise you can um start off.

P: Yep. We will start.

J: O.K. (Reads) "It is dawn as you enter the clearing 5 Bretwald has told you about. In the side of a grassy bank, entwined with the roots of an old tree, stands a massive door of stone. Tall letters are carved across the face of it. Bretwald picks moss from them with a knife before murmuring, "Here lies Vallandar, 10 who was and will again be King."

Oh well, yeah. Imagine that you get the doors open, because we haven't got too much time, but...So you're inside the doors and (reads) "you find yourselves at the eastern end of a long corridor about 4 15 metres wide. A faded tapestry hangs along the wall to your left. It depicts a host of warriors locked in gory battle." Um, so what do you want to do? You can go ahead, or examine the tapestry, or er anything else you can think of. 20

P: Um, go ahead.

J: O.K. um. (reads) "You are approaching the end of the corridor. Double doors lie ahead. There is a smaller door in the north wall and a passage leading off to the south". Ah, if you want to draw a map then you 25 can, but it might not be worth it. We haven't got time. Um (reads) "Before you reach the doors, a metal portcullis comes down to block your way. A harsh clang makes you turn. Another portcullis has fallen across the foot of the stairway. The tapestry 30

flutters, though there is no breeze. Even as you watch, five of the warriors become solid and step into the corridor behind you." Er yeah, so these warriors come to life and they try and attack you. So what's your defence score? 5

P: Ah, defence score? 7.

J: O.K. (throws dice). Er the first one misses you. Um, let's see. I'll say that there's, I'll make, I'll say that there's only just one, so it'll be quicker. So you can attack him if you want. 10

P: Ah yes. Attack him.

J: Well, what with? You've got, you've got a dagger and what did you choose? You chose a battle axe, right? O.K. and your attack is what?

P: Er, 14. 15

J: O.K. (throws dice). Yes, you get him and he's got some armour on but you, oh wait a minute. You get past his armour and so you do three points of damage I think. Oh, doesn't matter. So you've wounded him. And now, he attacks you again. 20

P: (Throws dice) It looks (indistinct).

J: Pardon?

P: It looks (indistinct)

J: Yeah. He gets you and er, he doesn't get past your armour, so he's missed. You can attack him again if 25 you want.

P: Can I go away?

J: Er can you run away? Er well no, because some gates have dropped down in front of you and behind you. But you can, if you don't want to attack him you 30

might be able to do something else. Um, well, the warrior came out of the tapestry on the wall, so you might try and do something to the tapestry if you want. That's a clue. If you don't want to, you can just keep on attacking him. 5

P: Yeah, keep on.

J: O.K. (throws dice) 1, so you get him again, and (throws dice) you, hang on, no you don't get past his armour. So he attacks you again. There's s'posed to be five of these. Oh, actually he attacks Bretwald, 10 'cause Bretwald's with you as well. He attacks Bretwald and he gets Bretwald and Bretwald doesn't have any armour, so he's wounded Bretwald. So you can attack him again if you want (throws dice). Er yes, I think you get him. Well, he's not quite dead, 15 but he's almost dead, so I think we'll, we have't got much time, so we'll finish that there. He runs away I think 'cause he's too scared of you. I s'pose these gates have gone up again or something. Oh, no you can lift the gates up and there's a door ahead of 20 you and

P: A small door somewhere.

J: Yeah, two doors, two small doors to the side.

P: Oh, just open one of those small doors.

J: O.K. ah well there's north or south. 25

P: Ah, north.

J: O.K. (reads) "You are in a three metre wide corridor running east and west. To the east, the corridor opens out into room after only a few metres. To the west, you can just make out that the corridor 30

turns to head north. So, which way?

P: Um go to the north.

J: O.K. (reads) "You can see that a bronze helmet lies on a wooden table at the far wall of the room. As you step through the archway into the room, your 5 ankles become entangled in a web of fine, strong strands". And it turns out that a giant spider lives in this web and you're caught in its web, so the spider comes to attack you. Um (throws dice) it doesn't get past your armour. And it attacks Bret- 10 wald as well, and it gets Brewald, but um it's it's s'posed to have poison so Bretwald isn't very happy about that. O.K. you can oh you can try and, let's see, so I suppose you, do you want to attack it again? 15

P: Yes

J: Yeah, I s'pose when you, you prob'ly can't get out of the web. (throws dice) Yes, you get the spider and it hasn't got armour, so I think, so Bretwald attacks the spider as well. Ah, and Bretwald gets the 20 spider and, you attack the spider again and you miss and Bretwald attacks the spider again and the spider runs away and disappears into the roof or somewhere. So you can see you can get yourself out of the web. And there's a bronze helmet at the end of the room 25 and there's only one door, the door that you came in. So what next?

P: Go on through the corridor.

J: Mm hm. As you approach the bend in the corridor, a flagstone gives slightly under your feet. There is 30

an ominous click. Suddenly a massive, gleaming axe-blade swings out of the side wall. What's your evasion.

P: Oh, 6.

Interaction 1 W : K

K: ...discuss something and I'll tell you what we're going to discuss and then you can decide whether you agree with the statement or whether you disagree.

W: You (indistinct) it?

K: Well yeah, I'll tell you what the statement is and 5 then you might agree with it and I might disagree, or the other way round, so we're just going to talk about it, O.K? So this is the statement: "Any form of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable". 10

W: What's co-education?

K: Ah, co-education is where you've got boys and girls in a school together. It's not just a boy's school or a girls' school, but like your school. And so it's saying, "Any form of education other than co- 15 education is simply unthinkable".

W: Mm. What do you mean by unthinkable?

K: Er, I mean it's not acceptable, it's not good.

W: Oh

K: So any form of education other than having boys and 20 girls together is no good.

W: So do I say agree or disagree?

K: Yes, or perhaps you partly agree and you partly disagree. You know, what do you think about that? Do you think that you must have boys and girls together?25

W: I think there are some advantages and some disadvantages because, um like say, myself in a boys' school, all boys, I would sort of feel more confident because

I'm nervous and all that with with opposite sex.

K: Right.

W: And sort of and um the other way is that is you're at a boys' school um you won't learn as much really, from the girls. 5

K: Oh, I see.

W: Yeah, maybe.

K: What sort of things would you learn from girls?

W: The things they do, the way they behave and things like that. 10

K: Yes, and the way they think. Right. But you say that you'd be nervous if you were with girls, but don't you think it would be a good idea to learn how to sort of relate to girls in a school rather than if you go to just a boys' school, then you go out to 15 society and suddenly you find there are girls there, you might be even more nervous. Like do you think you might develop, learn poise with boys and girls? Do you think you could learn poise?

W: What is poise? 20

K: Poise is sort of confidence, with girls. You know, you might, when you're in the classroom.

W: No, I don't think so.

K: No?

W: Say maths, they've got more percentage of girls than 25 boys and I'm sort of nervous to talk and all that so I missed out quite a lot of, the problems I have. I didn't ask the teacher and I had to always go to the maths office to ask.

K: Oh, right. 30

W: If there was

K: Only boys.

W: Yeah.

K: It would be easier. Yes. Yeah I think that's prob'ly right. Um some people say that you should 5 have boys and girls in a school because that's what society's like and they say it's unnatural to have them separate. What do you think about that? Because you never find a society where there's only boys or only girls. Some people say that a school 10 should be trying to emulate society. You know what..

W: Yeah, but what's the aim of private schools, just boys and just girls?

K: Well, um, some people say that um people do better, they work harder, when there's just boys and just 15 girls because they're not distracted, and I think that would be one of the reasons. Do you think they do work better if there are no members of the opposite sex there?

W: (indistinct) Yes. 20

K: Mm. Yes, well you're saying it's because you'd be more confident, but another reason would be, when there are boys and girls some people would only be interested in the boys, in the opposite sex. You know, they'd be more interested in meeting a new girl 25 friend or new boy friend than doing their work.

W: Yeah.

K: So the schools that are separate say, well they won't have that problem if there are no members of the opposite sex there. Um do you think that um it 30

helps girls if they're in a separate school? Some people say that there's more opportunity for girls to do well when they're in their own school, 'cause when they're in a mixed school, usually the boys are the best, you know, in school work and sport. 5

W: No. Most of the girls are quite good.

K: Are they?

W: Mm. Most, yeah.

K: Yeah. So that doesn't make much difference. Well another argument in favour of segregated schools is 10 that it's administratively expedient

W: What does that mean?

K: Well that means that it's um easier. Well, you know administratively, administration, organization? It's simpler, because um say when you have a sports 15 caravan, you don't have to have boys' races and girls' races, you only have, you have less organization and um also it's cheaper because you don't have to have boys' change rooms and toilets and girls' change rooms and toilets. So they say it 20 actually costs less and it's less trouble to have segregated schools. Think that would be right?

W: Um yes but what if some of the boys want to learn um say cooking or sewing?

K: Yeah right. Perhaps it's good to have them. 25

W: But that is very, quite limited the amount of boys' things and girls' things, so they want to sort of show people that they are not, they are not sort of doing girls' things.

K: Yes. They don't want to be seen as too effeminate, 30

too much like a girl. Yeah. That's right. Do you think it's easier to handle adolescent problems in a separate school? Like, problems of sexual development. Is that easier to handle? You know adolescent problems? 5

W: Yeah.

K: Like sexual problems. Is it easier to deal with them when the girls and boys are separate?

W: I think so.

K: Mm. There'd be less embarrassment, wouldn't there? 10 I think. 'Cause you know to talk about the problems when there's a mixed class is a bit embarrassing for the students prob'ly, whereas if they're separate maybe it's easier to deal with. Um some people say, right, this is the other argument. Some people say 15 that in a segregated school, there are sexual aberrations. Or there can be.

W: All these hard words. What's that sexual aberration?

K: Aberration. Like sexual abnormalities. Like in a 20 separate school perhaps there's more opportunity for homosexuality to develop. Do you think that would be right?

W: I think some maybe. I'm not sure.

Interaction 2 W : J

J: Well, there's four different professions. You can be a knight or a barbarian or a sorcerer or a mystic.

W: What's a mystic?

J: Well a mystic's similar to a sorcerer. They can both do magic, but, there's a few differences. So, which 5 one do you think? Which one sounds good to you?

W: Um, what's the first one again?

J: Ah, knight.

W: I'll be a barbarian.

J: O.K. Ah and you've got to make up a name, so any any 10 name you want. Write that down. Hm, now to make up your character we have to um use the dice. Well strength is the first thing we have to do. (Throws dice) O.K. that's your strength. So, 15. (Throws dice) Reflexes 13. (Throws dice) Intelligence, 14. 15 (Throws dice) Psychic talent is 10. Um, just put PS. That'll do. Oh PT, sorry. W: What was that again?

J: 10, I think. (Throws dice) And looks is 10 as well. Ah, health points. Let's see. Oh, you got the maximum, which is good. So, 15. Ah now attack is 20 usually 14, but what's your what's your strength?

W: 15.

J: So you get 15, for strength. So strength, 15.

W: I got that.

J: Oh, sorry, attack, 15. And what's your reflexes? 25

W: 13

J: So you get defence of 7. And what's your, oh hang on. Oh, what's your intelligence?

W: 14

J: O.K. What's your reflexes?

W: 13.

J: O.K. Your evasion is 6. What's your psychic talent?

W: 10. 5

J: So your magical defence is 3. So you've got some, you've got some things that you carry with you. You don't need to write all of these down but um you've got chain mail, which is armour, you've got a dagger, lantern, what else? Backpack. You've got, 3, 6, 7, 10 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 florins, which is the money, so, write that down. And you've got either a battle axe or a two handed sword, so you choose which one.

W: What's a battle axe?

J: Well it's kind of a very big axe. 15

W: Oh. So I choose?

J: Yep.

W: Sword.

J: O.K. Right. Well ah first I read out what's happening, and later on you have choices to make. 20 (Reads) "You've recently arrived in the village of Axbridge." Ah, I'll cut it down a bit 'cause we haven't got too much time. (Reads) "You're a stranger here and have spent the past few days getting the lie of the land. The villagers tell you 25 that their lord is Baron Aldred, whose castle is many days ride away. You stay in the village until harvest time. You join in the festivities when the last corn is cut. Cider is drunk and a service performed by the village priest, Bretwald. After the 30

service, as the autumn evening turns to night, the villagers dance merrily in the church yard. Bretwald joins you. 'Many of these rites are pagan of course,' he says with a wry smile. 'But it does no good to tell them that'. He rubs his back. 'Bringing home 5 the harvest has been hard work for us all. I have a cask of cog wine inside. Come, join me for a drink.' In Bretwald's house you can still hear the sounds of revelry outside, but muffled now. The last rays of sunlight are fading and he brings a lamp and places 10 it on the table. He unfurls a parchment. It seems to be a map, and there is something written below it in a script you do not recognize. 'Have you heard of Vallendar?' asks Bretwald. 'He is said to have been king of this land long ago. His reign was just and 15 pious. But his evil half brother Morgrin hated him for his goodness, betrayed him to his enemies, wrought a war in which Vallendar's kingdom was laid waste. The legends say that Vallendar met Morgrin in the final battle and struck him down with a single 20 blow, but Morgrin had laid a spell upon his sword and it dealt the king a grievous wound as it fell from the traitor's dead hand. Mathor, the king's wizard, found his dying lord on the battlefield and took him in his arms, carrying him to a secret crypt that he 25 had built. There he placed Vallendar with his twelve bravest knights and all of the treasures of his kingdom, to await the day when he was needed again to drive injustice from these shores. This document was given to me by a monk years ago. He could not 30

read the language', says Bretwald. 'I was a friar in Cornumbria in my youth and I learnt a little of this script here. It tells where Vallendar is buried, in Fenring Forest, three days hence.'

So, he wants you to go with him to try and find 5 Vallendar's tomb. So you can ask him anything if you want, or else you can agree to go. So do you agree?

W: Yeah.

J: O.K. well I'll skip a bit. (Reads) "It is dawn as you enter the clearing that Bretwald has told you 10 about. In the side of a grassy bank, entwined with the roots of an old tree, stands a massive door of stone. Tall letters are carved across the face of it. Bretwald picks moss from it, before murmuring, 'Here lies Vallendar, who was and will again be 15 king'". It takes you quite a while to open the door but I'll imagine that you do it. (Reads) "Finally you pull the huge doors open to reveal steps leading down into the darkness. You light your lanterns and descend. You find yourself at the eastern end of a 20 long gothic arched corridor, about four metres wide. A faded tapestry hangs along the wall to your left. It depicts a host of warriors locked in gory battle". If you want to draw a map then it might help but, doesn't matter much. So anyway, you've got a 25 tapestry to your left, and the corridor goes on. So um, what do you want to do? Keep on going or what?

W: What's a tapestry?

J: It's a kind of um, a kind of woven picture um along the wall.

30

W: So there's a corridor. This picture's on our left is it?

J: Yeah.

W: And what's on the right?

J: Nothing on the right. 5

W: So, darkness is in front is it?

J: Yeah.

W: Any doors anywhere?

J: Well no, not that you can see. There's just the tapestry on one side and the corridor ahead. 10

W: Let's go ahead.

J: Oh O.K. (Reads) "You are approaching the end of the corridor. Double doors lie ahead. There is a smaller door in the north wall, and a passage leading off to the south. Before you reach the doors a metal 15 portcullis drops down to block your way. A harsh clang makes you turn. Another portcullis has fallen across the foot of the stairway. The tapestry flutters, though there is no breeze. Even as you watch, five of the, two of the warriors become solid 20 and step into the corridor behind you." Blah blah blah. And yes, they step forward to attack. So one of these tapestry warriors tries to attack you. So what's your defence?

W: 7 25

J: O.K. (Throws dice) I think that he misses. There's two of them, so the other one tries to attack you as well. He gets you, but you've got some armour. Your armour is 4. Ah, he gets through your armour, and so he does 3 points of damage, so you lose three health 30

points. Now you can attack him?

W: Can I run away?

J: If you, well let's see. Um, yeah you can run away, if you want, but, you can go in either of the..

W: Which way's north and which way's south? 5

J: Oh, hang on, wait a minute. Um, these gates dropped down and blocked ah..

W: Oh yeah. O.K., so have to fight back.

J: Yeah.

W: So what do I say? 10

J: Well, you've got your dagger or your sword, your two handed sword. So which one do you want to use?

W: Sword.

J: O.K. And your attack is what?

W: 15 15

J: Mm hm. You get the first one. You get past his armour, and he loses six points, so

W: Did he die yet?

J: Not quite. Yeah, this might take a long time. I don't know if we've got time for this. Anyway, so 20 you, the other one attacks you, but he misses and so you can attack. Oh, and the first one attacks you as well, and he gets you.

W: I thought the first one had died.

J: No, the first one didn't die. He was wounded, yeah. 25 He doesn't get through your armour. So you can attack the first one, or the second one, or both.

W: Which one has..

J: The first one has been wounded.

W: The second one? 30

J: The second one hasn't been wounded.

W: Attack the um second one.

J: O.K. 14 was it?

W: Attack is 15

J: But, you don't get through his armour. For the other 5 people who've done this game, I've given them a clue, because it takes rather a long time. Well um the tapestry which they came from, you might try to do something to that, if you want, and they might go away. 10

W: Well I still, that tapestry, is it just pictures, right?

J: Yeah. That's where these warriors came from

W: Oh, now I know. Well, maybe destroy it? Destroy the frame or whatever? 15

J: Yeah. So you rip it down or something?

W: Yeah. Get a sword.

J: So you rip the tapestry down and the warriors disappear. Hooray! It should be..

W: I don't understand where those two soldiers come from. 20

J: They kind of magically appeared from the tapestry. They're not real. They're kind of ghost ones. There were supposed to be five of them but that would have taken even longer. So you've got, um, oh, as you tear the tapestry down you notice that there's a door 25 behind it. There's also a door ahead, at the end of the corridor, and to the left and to the right.

W: O.K. anything special about the doors?

J: Well the one ahead of you is kind of double doors. They're bigger than the rest, and there's nothing 30

particularly special about the other two. And the door behind the tapestry is just an archway. It's not a door.

W: Well, go up the arch.

J: O.K. (Reads) "You enter an octagonal room about five 5 metres across. The floor is extraordinary. It seems to be made of smooth polished quartz, and below it you can see a curious design of greens and blues overlaid with a scattering of glowing red symbols. Against the south wall is a heavy oak chest". So 10 what do you want to do?

W: What's chest?

J: It's just against the wall.

W: O.K. I might try to open the chest.

J: O.K. What's your reflexes score? 15

W: 13

J: (Throws dice) 2. So, you, as you open it, a jet of vapour spurts out of it, but you manage to roll aside and it misses you. Um now, inside the chest are 200 coins, 200 silver coins and an empty leather bag. So 20 you can take both of those, or either of those if you want.

W: Empty bag.

J: Mm

W: O.K., both. 25

J: O.K.

W: Use the bag to fill the coins.

J: No, it's too small, but, oh I don't know. I suppose you can put the coins in the bag if you want. 200 silver coins. So, there's nothing else in that room 30

so you can go out if you want.

W: Any doors?

J: No. Just the one you came through.

W: O.K. Go out.

J: O.K. which, which door now? 5

W: So you mean the archway is different from the two small doors?

J: Yeah. Doesn't matter really.

W: Oh. I'll go through the big one.

J: Big one. O.K. You.. 10

W: So do I increase my money?

J: Yep.

W: 200

J: 200. (Reads) "You walk along a roughly hewn passageway. Soon you see a wall of rock towering 15 ahead of you. A glimmer of golden light filters down from above. Do you want to climb this rock, this kind of cliff?

W: Is there any other way?

J: You can turn back, and go in another direction. 20

W: I'll try.

J: O.K. Your reflexes are 13, so you can climb up to the top without much trouble. (Reads) "At last you reach the top and haul yourselves up into a vast cavern. Stalagmites sparkle in the light, which 25 seems to come from all around. Your hearts skip a beat as you behold, curled atop an enormous mound of treasure, the long sinuous form of a huge red dragon. Luckily for you it is sleeping. Near it, contained within a red pentacle inscribed on the cavern floor, 30

is a stout old oak, whose branches reach up into the shadows beyond the night. Just for a moment as you reach the top" blah blah blah blah, um. So what do you want to do?

W: So the dragon is asleep? 5

J: Yep.

W: And um, the treasure is next to him?

J: Yeah, he's kind of sleeping on top of the huge pile of it.

W: O.K. I want to kill it. 10

J: Oh. That's er, pretty hard.

W: While he's asleep, get him in the..

J: Oh O.K. Um, well, as you get near, the dragon opens one of its eyes. You stop?

W: Yeah. 15

J: O.K. So um,

W: He's awake is he?

J: Sort of. Anyway, the dragon says he'll give you some of his treasure if you can answer some of his riddles, or one of his riddles. Um so he asks you, 20 (reads) "It eats everything but is always famished, and when it drinks, it dies". That's the riddle, and you have to find out what it is.

W: What is 'famished'?

J: It's always hungry. 25

W: So I have to guess, um, what do I have to guess?

J: You have to guess what it is. It eats everything but is always famished, and when it drinks, it dies. Could be anything, or anyone.

W: Dunno 30

J: Ah well Bretwald, he knows the answer so he tells the dragon. He says, 'Ah ha, it's fire'. And the dragon says, 'Yes it is'. And so Bretwald gets some treasure.

W: Ah! So, is he next to me? 5

J: Yeah.

W: He's not doing anything is he?

J: No, not yet. He might do something later. You can probably leave if you want, or else you can ask it another riddle. 10

W: Well can't I kill the dragon?

J: Well no. Dragons are very huge and powerful. If you want to try then you can. So do you want to?

W: No, better not.

J: O.K. so you want to leave, or he can ask you another 15 riddle if you want.

W: Ask me another one.

J: Um, as long as six men, this is harder, but it doesn't matter, as long as six men, as strong as six men, one man can carry it, six men cannot stand it 20 up.

W: No.

J: A rope. Um I suppose he lets you go, 'cause you can't do much else. Now you can, now there's nothing else here so you have to climb back down and you're back 25 there. So you can go left or right.

W: Which way I'm facing? So I'm facing this way?

J: Er yeah.

W: Go through this door.

J: O.K. (Reads) "You swing back the heavy door of a long30

hall. At the northern end your lantern light falls upon a podium of grey marble, carved to represent a bulbous cheeked face, blowing at you. A silver goblet rests on the podium. Beyond, another door leads deeper into the underworld. So, what do you 5 want to do?

W: How many ways are there? There's one going down to underworld.

J: Well, that's ahead of you. So there's only really one way. 10

W: Just keep going.

J: O.K. (Reads) "As you walk along towards this podium, a fierce gale springs up and forces you back." Um so you can't get any more than half way because the wind is blowing so hard. Is there anything in particular 15 you want to do at this point in time?

W: Just throw (?) that face.

J: Oh. Well you can't reach it. The wind is stopping you from reaching it.

W: Crawl? Try crawl? 20

J: No, doesn't help.

W: What is blocking me, in front of me?

J: Um just the wind.

W: Just the wind? Nothing. Is it far away?

J: Um what? The goblet and the podium? 25

W: Where the wind is.

J: Well the wind is just blowing from nowhere, just down the corridor.

W: Oh, so what was that goblet thing?

J: That's standing on the side. So if you can't think 30

of anything in particular to do, you can only really go backwards.

W: What really is it, the goblet thing?

J: Pardon?

W: What was that you said, standing on the side was it? 5

J: Yeah, on something which is a podium, yeah, there's just a goblet standing there.

Interaction 1 Ph : K

K: Right, well for this, we're going to talk about a statement that I'll read to you and um it's a statement that you might agree with. Or you might disagree with it, and and ah people have different opinions. Some agree and some disagree, and so we'll 5 just talk about whether we agree or not.

Ph: Mm hm

K: Or you might, you don't have to agree or disagree. You can agree in some ways and disagree in some ways. So um the statement is, "Any form of education other 10 than co-education is simply unthinkable".

P: What's the "co-education"?

K: "Co-education" means, you know "co" means together? So co- education means boys and girls together in the same school. 15

Ph: Oh yeah.

K: And so it's saying, any form of education other than co-education, that is, boys and girls together, is unthinkable.

Ph: No 20

K: You disagree.

Ph: I disagree

K: You disagree. Yeah. O.K. why do you disagree?

Ph: Because I think boys and girls, if you study in a school, I think girls sometimes is quieter than boys. 25

K: Mm

Ph: And then boys is naughty.

K: Yes

Ph: And then if you mix it the boys won't be too naughty.

K: Right. So you think if they're mixed it's better

Ph: Yeah

K: Do you? 5

Ph: (Nods)

K: Right. Because you think that will stop the boys from sort of being naughty. Um and if it if it's mixed um would that help the girls to um be less shy?

Ph: Yes 10

K: Mm hm. So in your school you've got mixed, haven't you?

Ph: Yeah

K: Co-education. Yes, um some people say that that's what all schools should be like, you know um because 15 society is like that. When you're out in the world it's mixed. Um do you think that that's why you should have schools co-educational? Do you think a school should emulate society?

Ph: Emulate society? 20

K: That means copy society, be the same as society?

Ph: Yes. Because I think better you learn something from school and then you suitable for this society

K: Yes, so that when you're in the society you know how to how to behave. 25

Ph: Yes

K: Yes. Um some people though say that um the co-education school is not so good for work um because there are a lot of distractions. You know when there are boys and girls sometimes the boys are only 30

thinking about the girls, their girlfriends, and the girls are only thinking about the boys. Do you think people do better work if they're in a segregated school?

Ph: I think if boys is find a girlfriend, and if both 5 are, study hard, and then they can help each other.

K: Oh I see. Mm hm. So you think maybe it actually helps if you've got boys and girls?

Ph: Mm hm.

K: Yes. I suppose it depends on what the boys and 10 girls are like, doesn't it?

Ph: Yeah.

K: Because I know there would be some girls, I don't know about from Malaysia, but Australian girls, who wouldn't be thinking about their work at all. 15 They'd be thinking about the boys. So maybe they'd be better in a girls' school, you know, where they don't have the boys there to sort of distract them. Um anyway, do you think that having a co-ed school, co-ed is short for co-education, sometimes 20 you just say co-ed, um, do you think that not only helps you say it helps them to do their work better. Do you think it might also help to give them more poise?

Ph: Poise? 25

K: Yeah, that is, more um social confidence with the opposite sex?

Ph: Mm. Boys and girls. I think so because um boys and girls in the same school um the girl won't do anything, that means er only in girls' school they do. 30

K: Mm.

Ph: And if they in boys and girls together they won't do that.

K: Right.

Ph: And then, boys also. If after, that means, gradua-5 tion, you can more, get into society.

K: Right. And sort of mix better in society. Yes. That's right. I think it's true. Um, but some people say that it's better to have segregated schools um because it's um it's administratively 10 expedient to have segregated schools. Um, what do you think about that?

Ph: Ah, segregated school is just boys and just girls?

K: Yeah. That's right.

Ph: I think it's also (indistinct) you say, its depend. 15 If Australia you say the boys are (indistinct) about the boys I think this way, co-education school is not very good.

K: Mm. Ah what about um do you think, what about, like I said, it's expedient, ah to have segregated 20 schools, because you don't have to spend so much money on two lots of facilities.

Ph: Facilities?

K: Um, like toilets and change rooms. In a co-educational school you've got to spend more money because 25 you've got to have boys' change rooms and girls' change rooms, you know, whereas in a segregated school, it doesn't cost so much, and it doesn't take so much time for organizing things. Like, when you have a sports' carnival, in a co-ed school, you've 30

got to have boy's races and girls' races don't you?
You can't have them together, and you've got to
have football for the boys and netball for the girls
so some people say it's much easier. Do you think
that's right, to have them separate. You don't have 5
to have two of everything.

Ph: I think that is right. Because the teacher is more
easier to guide. With boys and girls mix up it is a
little bit difficult.

K: Because of discipline? 10

Ph: Yeah

K: Yes. And what about um adolescent problems, do you
think, adolescent sexual problems, are they easier in
a segregated school to deal with?

Ph: What do you mean, you mean to teach them is it? 15

K: I mean um like teenagers are developing sexually,
aren't they? And it's, do you think it's easier to
teach them about this sort of thing in a separate
school? Because if they're together maybe they're
both embarrassed and a bit shy. Say they've got some 20
problem, a physical problem they might not like to
talk about it.

Ph: Yes, but if you over the age, that means, not a
young boy, a young girl, everything is discovered and
not very shy. 25

K: Right. So as you get older it doesn't matter so
much. Right. Um some people say that there's more
opportunity for sexual aberrations

Ph: Sexual aberrations?

K: That is um abnormalities, yeah, say like homosexual-30

ity might occur more often in a segregated school. Do you think that could be right? Like if there's only boys there, and there's no girls to have girl friends, then maybe there's more opportunity I suppose. 5

Ph; Yes. If the boys just in a group I think they just know about what the boys do and they didn't know about what the girls do and that means (indistinct)

K: Right, yeah. So maybe it gives them more understanding if they're in a co-ed school. What sort of 10 schools do you have in Malaysia?

Ph: Co-ed schools

K: Oh right. You don't have any segregated? Private schools, are there any private schools with just boys? 15

Ph: Yes, just few

K: A few. Right.

Interaction 2 Ph : J

J: ...decide which profession you want your character to have, um, you can be a knight, a barbarian, a sorcerer or a mystic, so you have to choose one of them.

Ph: Mystic 5

J: Mystic, O.K. Um, oh, I'll need another book for that, hang on, I'll just pause (pause)

Ph: What do you mean, write my name?

J: Er no, your character has got have a name, so doesn't matter what it is. Er now, to find out what 10 your character can do we have to er roll the dice (throws dice). Your strength is er, what is it? 8.

Ph: 8

J: So write down, strength 8.

Ph: Strength, how do you spell strength? 15

J: S t r e n g

Ph: t h

J: (Throws dice) Reflexes is 10 (throws dice). Intelligence is 13 (throws dice), psychic talent is 13.

Ph: How do you spell it? 20

J: Just put P.T. It doesn't matter.

Ph: What?

J: Ah 13 I think, yeah. (Throws dice) And looks, 9.

Ph: Looks, 9.

J: (Throws dice) Oh, I'll roll that again. It's not 25 very good. Um health points is 9 as well. Um attack 12.

Ph: Attack.

J: Yeah. 13 So your magical attack is 15 I think.

Yeah. Magical defence 4.

Ph: Ma..?

J: Magical attack 15, magical defence 4.

Ph: 15 and 4.

5

J: Magical defence. Have you got that? Yeah. Evasion
3.

Ph: Vasion

J: Evasion. E V A

Ph: E V A

10

J: S I O N

Ph; Is 8

J: 3

Ph: 3

J: Um you're carrying some things. You don't need to 15
write all of them down, but you've got um a lantern,
er you've got um a lantern, er you've got a bow and
arrow and a dagger.

Ph: (Indistinct)?

J: A dagger. It's a kind of knife.

20

Ph: Uh huh.

J: Um and some armour and, you don't need to write all
these down. Let's see um (throws dice), you've got
12 florins, which is money, and you've got either a
sword or a staff. So choose one of them.

25

Ph: Pardon?

J: A sword or a staff.

Ph: Sword or staff.

J: Sword or staff, so which, you've got to choose one.

Ph: Staff.

30

J: Yep. O.K. Um right I think that's it. Oh and because you're a mystic you can cast spells. So I'll just, I'll read you the spells you can do. Um you can oh if you've been wounded you can heal yourself a bit, um you can create an illusion, a small illusion, 5 you can see when something is magic, you can look at an object and see whether it's magic or not. And you can, you can, you can do what's called suspended animation, where it looks like you're dead but you're not. You can kind of pretend to be dead. So 10 that's four spells that you can do. Um so if you ever want to cast a spell just tell me and I'll tell you if you can cast it. So anyway I'll just get on with it and read the first bit. Er we haven't got very long so I'll kind of cut down some of this 15 to make it shorter.

(Reads) "You've recently arrived in the village of Axbridge. You're a stranger here and you have spent the past few days getting the lie of the land. The villagers tell you that their Lord is Baron 20 Aldred, whose castle is many days' ride away. You have not helped bring in the harvest, but that doesn't stop you joining in the festivities when, a few days later, the last corn is cut. Cider is drunk and a service performed by the village 25 priest, Bretwald. After the service, as the autumn evening turns to night, the villagers dance merrily in the churchyard. In Bretwald's house you can still hear the sounds of revelry outside, but muffled now. He brings a map to the table and says, 'Have 30

you heard of Vallandar? He is said to have been king of this land long ago. His evil half-brother Morgrin hated him for his goodness, betrayed him to his enemies, wrought a war in which Vallandar's kingdom was laid waste. Mathor, the king's wizard, found 5 his dying lord on the battlefield and took him in his arms, carrying him to a secret crypt that he had built. There he placed Vallandar, with his twelve bravest knights and all the treasures of his kingdom, to await the day when he was needed again to 10 drive injustice from these shores. This map was given to me by a monk years ago. It tells where Vallandar is buried, in Fenring Forest, three days hence.'"

So do you want to help him find the tomb? Yep? 15
Or else you can ask him some questions, or something.

Ph: (Indistinct)?

J: Oh it just, he wants you to go and find the tomb where this king Vallandar has been buried. So do you want to go with him? 20

Ph: Yeah.

J: O.K. well um I'll cut a bit out here to make it quicker, but so you get into the tomb where he's buried, after a while. (Reads) "Finally you pull the huge doors open to reveal steps leading down into 25 the darkness. You find yourself, you find yourselves at the eastern end of a large, gothic arched corridor about four metres wide. A faded tapestry hangs along the wall to your left. It depicts a host of warriors locked in gory battle." So now you have to 30

decide what to do. Do you want to do anything with the tapestry? Or you can go ahead and see what's ahead of you.

Ph: Go ahead.

J: O.K. (Reads) " You are approaching the end of the 5 corridor. Double doors lie ahead. There is a smaller door in the north wall, and a passage leading off to the south." So there's three doors, one each way. Um (reads) "Before you reach the doors, a metal port-cullis drops down to block your way. The tapestry 10 flutters, though there is no breeze. Even as you watch, five of the warriors become solid and step into the corridor behind you. Their wide-bladed short swords appear all too real.." So these warriors have come to life and one of them tries to 15 attack you. Um what's your defence? Defence score, you wrote that down.

Ph: Defence score - 4.

J: 4, no that's magical defence I think. Wait a minute um, it's 6 isn't it? 20

Ph: Yeah, yeah.

J: O.K. (throws dice) So he he misses you. So I'll say that there's only one warrior because otherwise it'll take too long. So the warrior's missed you so now what do you want to do? You can ah you can att- 25 ack him with one of your weapons or else you can cast a spell, or something else.

Ph: Attack.

J: O.K. Which one? You've got a staff or a dagger.

Ph: Staff. 30

J: O.K. And your attack is 14 is it?

Ph: (Indistinct)

J: No, attack. What's your attack?

Ph: Attack is 12.

J: 12. O.K. (throws dice) Oh, yes, you're lucky. You 5 get him and he has got some armour but you pierce his armour and so he's wounded and now he tries to attack again and he gets you so he wounds you and you lose three health points. So subtract three from your health points. Now you can do the same as last time?10 Attack with your staff?

Ph: Yes

J: O.K. and you get him again and he's wounded again. So I think to save time, he's so scared that he he runs away. So now this warrior's gone, you've got 15 um, gates have dropped down but you can lift them up. There's a door ahead of you and two doors to the side, so which way?

Ph: (Indistinct)

J: O.K. left or right, or, north or south? 20

Ph: Er north.

J: O.K. (Reads) "The passage brings you to a small circular chamber with no other exits. The wall is covered with markings that follow some unfathomable geometric principle. A wand hangs in the air in the 25 middle of the chamber. One end of the wand glows a dull red, the other sparkles with blue-white light. The central section is black and unreflective". So do you want to take the wand?

Ph: Yes.

30

J: Well it's it's got three ends. It's got a red end and a blue end and the middle, so where do you want to take it?

Ph: Middle.

J: O.K. so you take the wand and so you've got to 5 decide what to do with it at some stage if you, yeah, it's got a glowing blue end and a glowing red end. So if you ever think that you might need it, you've got to find out what to do. So this room, there's nothing else in this room, so do you want to go out 10 the door again? Go out the door?

Ph: Ah yes.

J: Well you're back where you were before. There's a door ahead and er a door to the left and the right, so which way now, ahead or to the side? 15

Ph: To the right.

J: O.K. (Reads) " You swing back the heavy door of a long hall. At the north end, your lantern-light falls upon a podium of grey marble carved to resemble a bulbous-cheeked face blowing at you. A silver goblet 20 rests on the podium. Beyond, another door leads deeper into the underworld." Um so do you want to try and get the goblet? There's a goblet on a podium
Want to try and get it?

Ph: Mm, no. 25

J: No, so just continue on.

Ph: Yeah

J: O.K. you, oh hang on. (Reads) " You are in a three metre wide corridor running east and west. To the east, the corridor opens out into a room after only 30

a few metres. To the west, you can just make out that the corridor turns to head north after some fifteen metres." So which way? There's a room to one side and a corridor to the other side.

Ph: The corridor. 5

J: O.K. Corridor. Um, (reads) "As you approach the bend in the corridor, a flagstone gives slightly under your feet. There is an ominous click. Suddenly a massive gleaming axe-blade swings out of the side wall". Now you've got to try and evade 10 this axeblade. What's your evasion?

Ph: Evasion, 3.

J: 3, O.K. (throws dice) Well you don't manage to get out of the way um, let'ssee ah and it gets, the axe gets through your armour so it does, oh I'll do that 15 again (throws dice). It does three points of damage, so take three points off your health points. Er (reads) "The way is blocked by a flickering barrier of violet light that shimmers in the air between two baroquely carved pillars on either side of the 20 passage. On these two pillars there are two fountains. In the western alcove a chalky grey liquid issues from a snarling stone face and runs down into the fountain beneath. The eastern fountain is filled by a purple liquid that bubbles from a face25 sculpted in an expression of fear." So um what do you want to do here?

Ph: There is two?

J: There's two fountains.

Ph: Oh, two fountains. 30

J: Yeah.

Ph: (indistinct)

J: The second one, that's got a purple liquid, so what do you want to do?

Ph: That means er (indistinct) 5

J: Well let's see, I dunno, it's up to you. You can do something with the fountains or go ahead.

Ph: Go ahead.

J: Go ahead. O.K. (Reads) "Passing through the barrier of light" Oh, as you, there's a barrier of light in 10 front of the fountains. As you pass through the barrier of light, you become very afraid and so because you're so afraid, your attack score is decreased by one, but your defence score is increased by one. 15

Ph: Defence score

J: Yes. Take, subtract one from attack, er yeah, subtract one from attack and add one to defence, because you've become afraid after going through the light.

Ph: Defence plus one? 20

J: That's add, add one so, so you pass through the light and continue north along the corridor. (Reads) "The sound of a surging underground river echoes from the darkness ahead. Before long you come to a short flight of steps. At the bottom you see a stone quay 25 beside the rushing black waters. A rickety plank bridge leads across to another quay on the far side. A figure of rose-coloured rock stands between the steps and the bridge. It looks like an un-completed statue - the upper torso, arms and head are 30

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perfectly sculpted, but the lower body is a single lump of unworked stone. With a harsh grating noise it slowly flexes its massive sinews. Its long talons are knives are knives of flint." So basically this statue has come to life. And if you go ahead you'll 5 have to, you'll have to watch out for this statue, so um you might be able to use a spell. Do you want to try and cast a spell?

Ph: Yes.

J: O.K., well let's see. Well the spells you've got 10 are the, only two that, oh well there's only one that could help you really. Um, you can create an illusion, um, yes you can, you can maybe create an illusion that you're a mouse or something and try and rush past it. So do you want to do that? 15

Ph: Um

J: You can, you can cast a spell and turn yourself, or make it look like you're something like a mouse, or else something, something, anything, and then go past this statue that's trying to stop you. 20

Ph: Um

J: Or else you can, if you don't want to cast a spell you could just try and rush past the statue quickly.

Ph: Rush past.

Interaction 1 Ka : K

K: I'm going to read you something and ask you whether you agree with what it says and then we'll talk about it. You might agree or you might disagree, and we'll just discuss it. So I'll read you ah the topic, the sentence, and you see what you think of it. "Any form 5 of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable". (Kam: puzzled expression) Do you want me to read it again, slowly?

Ka: Yeah, I don't understand all that.

K : O.K. Any form of education, other than co-education 10

Ka: Co?

K: Yes, Um that means education with boys and girls together in the same school

Ka: Oh

K: Mixed, yeah. Is unthinkable. 15

Ka: Not good?

K: Right.

Ka: No

K: So, you disagree. Right. And why do you disagree 20 with it?

Ka: Because girl and boy have different idea. They can talk together. If all boys (indistinct)

K: So you think that co-education, that is mixed school is better because um boys and girls can share ideas 25

Ka: Yeah

K: Because they're different, that's a good thing.

Yes. Um, a lot of people say that that's right. They

say it's unnatural to have boys and girls separate

and they say that actually a school should try to emulate society.

Ka: Emulate society?

K: That means sort of copy society, should try to be the same as society. Because there are men and women 5 in society, the school should be the same.

Ka: Yeah.

K: Yeah. But on the other hand some people say that if you have the boys and girls separate they do much better academically. What do you think about that? 10 You think if there are no people of the opposite sex, that they would do better academically?

Ka: I don't think so.

K: No? It's just that some people say that if the opposite sex are there, the students are distracted 15 because they're thinking about their boyfriends or their girlfriends, and they're not concentrating on their work.

Ka: But if they different, they are thinking, more thinking. 20

K: Oh, I see

Ka: It's more interesting.

K: Mm hm. Right, so you think maybe they'd even do better if they were together. Do you think that being together can help boys and girls to develop 25 more poise?

Ka: You mean..? I don't know what's..

K: More poise.

Ka: Points?

K: Poise. 30

Ka: Poise. What's it mean?

K: It means more sort of social confidence. That is, they feel more at ease with the opposite sex because they see them all the time, so it helps them to be a bit more confident, less shy. 5

Ka: (Indistinct)

K: Difficult to say, yes. Well I think it helps. If there are boys and girls together all the time then they're not so shy.

Ka: Yeah, yeah. 10

K: With each other, whereas if they're separate um then when they do meet a girl or a boy they don't know what to say to them.

Ka: Yeah, do mix is better than not mix.

K: Then separate, right. 15

Ka: Because when they go up to work, or to society, er, not society

K: Yeah

Ka: Go to society, they are talk together. If they are no experience to talk, like one side, one side. The 20 world become two.

K: Yeah, that's right.

Ka: World men and world women, different.

K: Right. What about the argument that people give, they say that it's better for administration to be 25 separate.

Ka: I can't understand this.

K: Ah, like um, they say that if you have girls and boys separate, then it makes it easier for administration purposes. 30

Ka: I think so.

K: Mm hm.

Ka: Usually you, what kind of school, primary school, high school or university. Their thinking is different. 5

K: Oh, yes, yes.

Ka: Primary school they are thinking usually more, not different, more same. High school they are thinking some different. K: Right. Yes. Um and do you think that it's easier to handle adolescent problems if the 10 boys and girls are separate? Problems of adolescence?

Ka: Lessons.

K: Adolescence.

Ka: Adolescence? 15

K: Yes, it means teenage problems like physical growth problems, or sexual problems. Is that easier to deal with if the girls are separate from the boys? Because sometimes if you have girls and boys together they get embarrassed if ah they have some sexual 20 problems and they don't like to talk about it. But if they're in their separate, their own school maybe they'll talk about it.

Ka: Yeah, I think so.

K: So in that way maybe it's better to be separate. 25 Right, just one other thing, um people say that in a separate school where there are only boys or only girls, there's more likely to be sexual aberrations.

Ka: Separate schools.

K: Mm. There'll be, could be more problems of sexual 30

aberration.

Ka: Yeah, I think so.

K: Mm hm. And what sort of school would you prefer to go to?

Ka: What kind of school. Mixed or? 5

K: Yeah, mixed or separate?

Ka: I think mixed.

K: Yes. You think that the advantages are greater than the disadvantages. Yes. O.K.

Interaction 2 Ka : J

J: Well the first thing you have to do is make up your character, and to do that you have to choose a profession for your character, and he can be a um, a knight, a barbarian, a sorcerer or a mystic. So just choose one of them. Knight, barbarian, sorcerer or 5 mystic.

Ka: Mystic.

J: O.K. That means I need another book. Hang on. Now you have to make up a name for yourself.

Ka: For example, what kind of name? 10

J: Doesn't matter

Ka: (Indistinct)

J: No.

Ka: O.K.

J: Now, we have to find out the things your character's 15 good at. Use the dice for that. So (throws dice), your um your strength, your strength is 8, er 9. So write down, write that down. St. ength is 9.

Ka: So I write down 9?

J: Yeah, strength. 20

Ka: How do you spell strength?

J: S t r e n g

Ka: S t r

J: E n g t h

Ka: E n g t h is 9 25

J: Yeah. Ah, reflexes 10

Ka: 10. Reflex R e f

J: Yeah, just put r e f

Ka: R e f is 10

J: Yeah, intelligence, 11

Ka: Intelligence

J: Psychic talent, 8. Just put PT, 8.

Ka: PT, 8? 5

J: Yep. Your health points are 8.

Ka: Health points 8.

J: Um, what's your strength? 11?

Ka: 9

J: 9. Your attack is 12. So write down attack, 12. 10

Ka: A..?

J: Oh, a t t a c k

Ka: Is 11.

J: 12. And defence is 6. D e f, doesn't matter.
Magical attack 14. 15

Ka: Short form M?

J: MA

Ka: MA 16

J: 14. And magical defence is 4. And evasion, what
was your reflexes? 20

Ka: 10

J: O.K. so your evasion is 3. E will do.

Ka; E is 3.

J: Yep. You've got some things that you're carrying
with you. You don't need to write these down, but 25
you've got a lantern, back pack, a bow and arrow, set
of arrows, and a bow, a dagger, ring mail armour. Oh
you've got some money, doesn't really matter how much
'cause you can't really spend it. Um and a sword or
a staff. Yeah so which one do you want? Sword or 30

staff?

Ka: Swordorstaff

J: Yeah, sword or staff? You've got to choose.

Ka: How many can I choose? One?

J: Er yeah. Oh no sorry, one sword or one staff. 5

Ka: Oh. One staff.

J: Yep. O.K. And you've got some spells. Because you're a mystic you can cast spells, and I won't go into too much detail but you can do um you can heal yourself if you get wounded and you can create an 10 illusion. So you can make something appear to be there when it isn't. You can see magic things, you can see whether something's magic or not and you can pretend to be dead.

Those are the four spells you can do. Anyway I'll 15 start now. I'll just read you the introduction. It tells you what's happening. (Reads)

"You've recently arrived in the village of Axbridge. You're a stranger here and have spent the last few days getting the lie of the land. After the last 20 corn is cut you dance merrily in the churchyard. The village priest joins you and invites you home to his house. His name's Bretwald. Inside Bretwald's house, you still hear the sounds of revelry outside, but muffled now. He places a map on the table. 25 'Have you heard of Vallendar,' asks Bretwald. He was king of this land long ago, but his evil half brother Morgrin hated him for his goodness, wrought a war in which his kingdom was laid waste and Vallendar was killed. Vallendar's wizard, Mathor, found him lying 30

on the battlefield and carried him into a crypt that he had built together with twelve of his bravest knights and all of the treasures of his kingdom. This map was given to me years ago and I learnt a little of the language when I was young. It tells 5 where Vallandar is buried, in Fenring Forest, three days hence."

So Bretwald wants you to go and find Vallandar's tomb. So do you want to go with him?

Ka: Yeah. 10

J: Well, you could ask him some questions if you want (indistinct) (Reads) "It's dawn as you enter the forest. You pull the huge doors open to reveal steps leading down into the darkness. You light your lanterns and descend. You find yourselves at the 15 eastern end of a long gothic arched corridor, about four metres wide. A faded tapestry hangs along the wall to your left. It depicts a host of warriors locked in gory battle. Before you reach the doors metal portcullises drop down the block the exits. 20 The tapestry flutters and five of the warriors become solid and step into the corridor behind you and try to attack you." So, the warriors from this tapestry have come to life. Er, well, one of them has, and he tries to attack. So what's your defence? 25

Ka: 6

J: Er, hang on, he misses, so you can attack him if you want. O.K. what with? What have you got? You've got I think a dagger and a staff.

Ka: Staff. 30

J: O.K. You attack and you miss. So um to save time, I'll give you a clue. 'Cause this warrior's come from out of the tapestry, you should try and do something to the tapestry and he might disappear. So you can um you can tear it down or something, and see 5 what happens. Or else if you don't want to you can keep on fighting him:

Ka: Fighting him.

J: O.K. Well he attacks you again. Ah what was your defence? 10

Ka: Defence. 6.

J: And he misses again. So you attack him and you get him and you get past his armour. So he's wounded. He attacks you again and gets you, but your armour stops him. So you can attack him again if you want 15 and you get him again and so he runs away.

Ka: Run away.

J: Yeah, because..

Ka: I won.

J: Yeah, so anyway you can now, there's gates that have 20 dropped down but you can lift them up. You can go backwards or you can go forwards and there's also doors to the left and right.

Ka: Forward.

J: O.K. (Reads) "You walk along a roughly hewn 25 passageway. Soon you see a wall of rock towering above you." So do you want to climb this rock or turn back?

Ka: Climb.

J: You, er what are your reflexes? 11 or something? 30

Ka: Er, 10.

J: All right. So you make it to the top and (reads)
"You haul yourself up into a vast cavern. In this
cavern there's a huge dragon curled atop a mound of
treasure. Luckily for you it is sleeping". So, what 5
do you want to do? There's a sleeping dragon on top
of a pile of treasure, so you can, well, what do you
want to do?

Ka: Just go forward or?

J: Well, you can do anything you want. You can try and 10
take some of the treasure or you can or you can try
and wake up the dragon or you can, climb back down or
whatever.

Ka: I can turn back?

J: Yep, if you want. 15

Ka: Yeah.

J: O.K. You climb back down and now you're back where
you started. You've got doors to your left and right
and backwards. So which way?

Ka: Right 20

J: Left

Ka: Right

J: Right? O.K. (Reads) "The passage brings you to a
small circular chamber with no other exits. A wand
hangs in the air in the middle of the chamber. It is 25
rotating about its centre at roughly one revolution a
second. One end of the wand glows a dull red. The
other sparkles with a blue white light. The central
section is black and unreflective." So, do you want
to take the wand? 30

Ka: Yes

J: Well, um it's got three, it's got two ends, a red end and a blue end and the middle is black so where do you want to take it?

Ka: Blue 5

J: O.K. well you take it with your left hand I spose and you, it's extremely cold and your hand is kind of hurt. So you lose one health point, um so subtract one from your health points. Health points. Have you got that? HP or something. 10

Ka: Ah, 8.

J: Yeah, so subtract one, because you've burnt your hand. Subtract one.

Ka: One?

J: Yeah. So now it's seven. 15

Ka: Seven.

J: Yeah. 'Cause you've hurt your hand.

Ka: Become seven?

J: Yep. Now if you want you can try and take it in the middle or at the other end, or else you can just 20 ignore it and go on.

Ka: Go on.

J: O.K. so go left this time? Yep?

Ka: Yeah.

J: (Reads) "You swing back the heavy door of a long 25 hall. At the northern end your lantern light falls upon a podium of grey marble, carved to resemble a bulbous cheeked face blowing at you. A silver goblet rests on the podium. Another door leads deeper into the underworld." So what do you want to do? You can 30

try and get the goblet or you can go ahead..

Ka: Go ahead.

J: O.K. (Reads) "You're in a three metre wide corridor running east and west. To the east the corridor opens out into a room after only a few metres. To 5 the west you can make out that the corridor turns to head north after a while." So, east or west?

Ka: East.

J: You can see, O.K. you've gone into a room and (reads) "You can see that a bronze helmet lies on a wooden 10 table at the far end of the room. As you step through the archway into the room, your ankles become entangled in a web of fine strong strands". And there's a giant spider in this room who's coming to attack you. Ah, your defence was six wasn't it? 15

Ka: Six, yes.

J: (Throws dice) The spider misses and so you can attack the spider with your staff or dagger?

Ka: Staff.

J: Yep, and you miss again, er you miss too. And the 20 spider attacks again and the spider misses again. Ah ha so you get the spider, so the spider's wounded and um to save time, the spider runs away also. So the spider's gone away and there's a helmet at the end of the room so you can look at that or else you 25 can go out?

Ka: Which one's better?

J: Well, I dunno. If you..

Ka: Just go out, or, go out?

J: Well it depends, if you want to find out about the 30

helmet

Ka: Yeah I want to find about the helmet.

J: O.K. so you (reads), "It's a strange ornate helmet, curiously free of corrosion. The oddest thing about it is that the visor consists of a large flat mirror. 5
So want to take it with you?

Ka: Yeah.

J: O.K. And there's only one door so you go out the other door.

Interaction 1 Y : K

K: Um what we're going to do is to discuss a topic, and I'll tell you um what it is and then you can say whether you agree with the statement or whether you disagree and then we'll talk about it. So you might agree or you might disagree or you might partly agree 5 and partly disagree. Um all right now this is the statement: "Any form of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable". Now what do you think about that?

Y: What does that mean 'coast'? 10

K: Co-education. That means education in a school where there are boys and girls, not just boys and not just girls. So it's saying "Any form of education other than co-education, that is a school that has boys and girls, is simply unthinkable". 15

Y: Mm. I'm disagree with that.

K: You disagree with it?

Y: No

K: Oh, so you agree with it?

Y: I'm not agrees with it. 20

K: Oh you don't agree with it? O.K., so that means you think that a school that

Y: Does it have a boy and girl mixed together?

K: Yeah, that's what co-education means.

Y: Oh. So just agree with that. 25

K: Oh you agree with that? You think that all schools should have boys and girls together?

Y: Yeah

K: O.K. So why do you think that?

Y: Er, I'll think.

K: Yeah, it doesn't matter, there's no hurry. What do you think's good about that sort of school?

Y: Mm they mix together and can learn from each other. 5

K: Right.

Y: And um (indistinct)

K: Some people say that it's better because a school should be a replica of society. Do you agree with that? 10

Y: Yeah.

K: So um the school should, do you think the school should emulate society?

Y: What is mean by 'emulate'?

K: Sort of copy society. Should it be the same? You 15 know it's a bit strange to have only girls. It's not like the ordinary society is it?

Y: No.

K: So, that's why a lot of people say it's much better. Because they say it's unnatural just to have boys or 20 just to have girls. What are some things you think would be wrong, or, let's talk about what you think would be better. Um, the boys and girls can help each other, you say. Do you think they would help each other to develop poise? 25

Y: Er, what is mean by 'poise'?

K: It means, sort of social confidence, you know? To help each other not to be shy. Y: Er, yeah.

K: Yeah, because if they just went to a girls' school or a boys' school, they would only mix with boys, and 30

then when they suddenly met a girl, they'd probably be really shy. So maybe it helps them not to be shy. If they're together all the time they get used to the other sex. Um what about, some people who say that it's better to have only boys and only girls say that 5 it helps them academically.

Y: What's mean by 'academically'.

K: That means their school work is better, if there are only boys or only girls because they say that if there are boys and girls, boys and girls sometimes 10 don't think about their school work because they're thinking about their girlfriends. What do you think about that?

Y: Um it depend on the student you see. If the student, they put more attention on study even go to boy or 15 girls' school or mix together, it's the same.

K: Right, yeah. You can't really decide can you? You have to look at each student 'cause they're all different. Right. Another reason why some people say it's better to have only boys or only girls is 20 that it gives the girls more chance to be leaders. Because they say in a mixed school it's usually the boys who are the leaders and that's not fair. But if they girls have their own school then they can you know. Do you think that's right, or, what's it like 25 in your school?

Y: In my school?

K: Mm. Are all the leaders boys?

Y: No, not really. Some girls are doing a lot of jobs at school.

30

K: Right. Yeah I think it might have changed. A few years ago I think it was usually the boys who were the leaders, but now the girls and the women are saying, 'We want equal opportunity'. So it's changed a bit. And what er, let's see, some people say that 5 um if you have boys and girls separate, it's easier for administration. What do you think about that?

Y: What's that mean?

K: That means like the organization is easier because um you know when you have a sports'day you have to have 10 boys' races and girls' races, so there's more organizing.

Y: More (indistinct)

K: Yes. And you've also got to have boys' toilets, girls' toilets and boys' uniforms, girls' uniforms 15 and it's sort of more trouble. What do you think?

Y: Um, certainly if boy and girl is mixed together in a school it's more a bit difficult, but in other way, other hand like they can mix together, help each other and um just more like in when they reach to 20 adult, go to society and they all mix up boy and girl, not just all girls or all boys.

K: Mm, so you think that even though um there are some more, some difficulties, the advantages are more than the disadvantages? Yeah, I think that might be 25 right. So do you think there are any good things at all about segregated schools?

Y: That mean, segregated, what's that mean?

K: That means the boys and the girls separate. Any good things? 30

Y: Yeah. There's a good thing. They can pay more attention on study. And the school don't have to make a lot of organize to (indistinct).

K: Mm, right. But what sort of school would you rather go to? A mixed one or a.. 5

Y: Yeah, I rather go to a mixed one.

K: Yes. Well I went to a girls' school for a few years and then I went to a mixed school, and I think a mixed school is better, 'cause I think it does help you to be less shy. O.K. 10

Interaction 2 Y : J

J: Er the first thing you have to do is um to work out,
is choose what profession you want your character to
be, um you can be either a knight, a barbarian, a
sorcerer or a mystic. So just ah choose, choose any
one of those. 5

Y: One of these person?

J: Pardon?

Y: One of these person?

J: Yeah. You can be a knight, a barbarian, a sorcerer
or a... a mystic. So, which one? 10

Y: Mystic.

J: Um, actually I've only got, I've only got the first
book so you'll have to be a knight or a barbarian.

Y: Oh (indistinct)

J: Ah, which one? A knight? 15

Y: A knight. Yeah.

J: O.K. And you have to er make up a name for yourself.
Anything.

Y: I make it?

J: Yeah. 20

Y: John?

J: Yep. O.K. Then we roll the dice to see how good
your er, what things your character's good at.
(Throws dice) Er first one is strength and, oh that's
not very good. I'll roll that again (throws dice). 25
So your strength is 12. So write that down. (throws
dice) Reflexes 11.

Y: How do you spell reflexes?

J: Oh just anything. R E F. if you want. (Throws dice)

And that's intelligence.

Y: What was that intelligence?

J: Oh, I've forgotten. What is it? 6 7 8 9 10 11

Y: 11

5

J: Psychic talent, 9. So put just PT for that.

Y: P T. That's 9.

J: Yep. And last one. Looks (throws dice) 15. Health points is, 11. Um, what's your strength?

Y: 12

10

J: So your attack is 13

Y: Attack

J: Defence is 7. Um, evasion 4. And you're carrying some things with you. You've got, er you don't need to write these down but you've got armour, a shield,15 a dagger, a lantern, er you've got 25 florins, which in his money, 25 pieces of money and you've got either a sword or a morning star. So you have to choose which one.

Y: Sword.

20

J: Sword. O.K. O.K. we'll start then. I'll just read you the introduction. We haven't got very long so I'll cut it down a bit. I won't, it's a bit too long. (Reads) "You've recently arrived in the village of Axebridge. You're a stranger here and have spent the last few 25 days getting the lie of the land. Harvest time is close and the villages are working long hours in the fields. After the last corn is cut the villagers dance merrily in the churchyard. The village priest, Bretwald, joins you and invites you into his house. 30

In Bretwald's house you can hear the sounds of revelry outside, but muffled now. Bretwald places a map on the table. 'Have you heard of Vallandar?' asks Bretwald. 'He is said to have been king of this land long ago but his evil half-brother, Morgrin,⁵ hated him and betrayed him to his enemies and killed Vallendar in a battle. Mathor, the king's wizard, found his dying lord on the battlefield and carried him in his arms to a secret crypt that he had built. There he placed Vallandar, with his twelve 10 bravest knights and all the treasures of his kingdom. This map was given to me years ago and I learnt a little of the language that it's written in, when I was young. It tells where Vallandar is buried, in Fenring Forest, three days'hence." 15

So do you want to help him find Vallandar's tomb?

Y: Yeah.

J: O.K. Um, yeah well O.K. You, you get to the tomb eventually. We'll cut out a bit. (Reads)

"Finally you get the huge doors open to reveal steps 20 leading down into the darkness. You light your lantern. A faded tapestry hangs along the wall to your left. It depicts a host of warriors locked in gory battle." So now you can choose what to do. You can do something with the tapestry or you can 25 just continue on.

Y: Continue on.

J: O.K. "You are approaching the end of the corridor, double doors lie ahead. There is a smaller door in the north wall and a passage leading off to the 30

south. Before you reach the doors, a metal portcullis drops down to block your way. A harsh clang makes you turn. Another portcullis has fallen across the foot of the stairway. The tapestry flutters though there is no breeze. Even as you 5 watch five of the" er one of the warriors, make it easier, "steps in to the corridor behind you. He wears strange sculpted armour, but, his wide bladed short sword appears all too real."

So, this warrior has come to life, from the tapestry 10 and he tries to attack you. So, what's your defence? Er have you got your defence score?

Y: 7

J: 7. O.K. (throws dice). He, he gets you, but he doesn't get through your armour. You're wearing 15 armour so he misses you. Now you can attack this warrior if you want. Do you want to use your, what have you got? You've got your, a dagger or sword, so which one?

Y: The sword 20

J: Use the sword. O.K. Your attack is 13 (throws dice) and, you get him, and this warrior's wounded and he attacks you again, (throws dice) and he misses, so you can attack him again (throws dice) and, you miss, but he's so scared that he runs away. Normally it 25 would be a bit harder but we haven't got too much time. So the warrior disappears and um now you can go ahead or there's a door to your, there's three doors. There's one ahead, one to the north and one to the south. So which way? 30

Y: Go to the south.

J: O.K. Or else you could go backwards, but anyway.

"The passage brings you to a small circular chamber with no other exits. A wand hangs in the air in the middle of the chamber." 5

Y: What's a wand?

J: It's a kind of a magic stick. (Reads) "It is rotating about its centre. One end of the wand glows a dull red. The other sparkles with a blue white light. The central section is black and unreflective." So 10 do you want to take the wand?

Y: Yeah, I think.

J: O.K. Which end? There's a red end and a blue end, and the middle is black.

Y: I take the blue end. 15

J: O.K. Well unfortunately the blue end is extremely cold and you hurt your hand because it's so cold, so um I think it is your left hand so it doesn't matter, it doesn't stop you from attacking, but you lose one health point. So subtract one. Now if you want you 20 can try and grab it in the middle or on the other end

Y: The other end is that..?

J: That's a red end.

Y: A red end, oh.

J: Or else you can just leave it there. 25

Y: I better leave it there.

J: O.K. So you you go out the same door cos there's only one door. Now you can go ahead or north.

Y: Ahead

J: Ahead. Um (reads) "You walk along a roughly hewn 30

passageway. Soon you see a wall of rock towering ahead of you. A glimmer of golden light filters down from above." So will you, do you want to climb this rock, or turn back?

Y: I will climb that rock. 5

J: O.K. What's your reflexes?

Y: Reflexes (indistinct)

J: Yep. You manage to climb up. (Reads)" You climb up and at the top you haul yourself into a vast cavern. Stalagmites sparkle in light which seems to come from 10 all around. Your hearts skip a beat as your behold curled atop an enormous mound of treasure, the long sinuous form of a huge red dragon. Luckily for you it is sleeping." So, what do you want to do?
You can, yeah, the dragon's sleeping so, what do you 15 think?

Y: Pass along?

J: Well, there's nothing else up the top. There's just, the dragon's sleeping on a huge pile of treasure. So if you want to just go then you can climb down again. 20

Y; Um, I better climb down.

J: O.K. So, there's only one more direction to go. You can go north. (Reads) "You swing back the heavy door of a long hall. At the northern end your lantern light falls upon a podium of grey marble, 25 carved to represent a face blowing at you. A silver goblet rests on the podium. Beyond, another door leads deeper into the underworld." So, do you want to try and get the goblet?

Y: Yeah. 30

J: O.K. As you try and take the goblet, a fierce wind springs up and the wind blows you back along the hall. So do you want to try and go through the wind? I suppose you do.

Y: Yeah.

5

J: O.K. I think I'll change this a bit. O.K. So you go through the wind and you've now got a silver goblet. "You are in a corridor running east and west. To the east the corridor opens out into a room after only a few metres. To the west the corridor turns to head 10 north after a short distance.

Y: I will go to east.

J: O.K. That's into the room. (Reads) "You can see that a bronze helmet lies on a wooden table at the far end of the room. As you enter the room your feet become 15 entangled in a web of fine strong strands, and a giant spider lives in the room. The giant spider comes to attack you. So (throws dice) that's seven isn't it?

Y: Seven, yeah.

20

J: Yeah. And the spider misses, or it doesn't bite you. So you can attack it. (throws dice) Yes, you get it, and it loses. Oh, it's dead, which is good. Oh no it's not. So it attacks you again, and it misses this time. So you attack it and you get it and the spider 25 is wounded again and it runs away and goes back into the (indistinct). So do you want to do anything about the bronze helmet, or just leave it?

Y: Um, I better leave it.

Interaction 1 Jo : K

K:talk about something and I'm going to ask you whether you agree with something I'm going to read out. And you might agree with it or you might disagree, and it's just a discussion about this statement. O.K. so I'll read you the statement and 5 you think about it and think, decide whether you agree with it or not. So this is what it is. "Any form of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable."

Jo: Sorry? (Puzzled expression) 10

K: Read it again?

Jo: Yeah.

K: O.K. "Any form of education other than co-education is simply unthinkable."

Jo: I don't know what (indistinct) 15

K: O.K. Um well ah you tell me when you want me to explain something. Any form of education

Jo: Mm, yeah.

K: Other than co-education

Jo: What difference co-education with 20

K: Education, right.

Jo: Mm, education with co-education.

K: Right, well co-education is education in a school where there are boys and girls together. It's not, you know some schools have got only girls, and some 25 have got only boys?

Jo: Oh, yeah.

K: So 'co' means 'together'. So co-education means the girls and boys together. O.K. so it's saying, any form of education other than co-education, other than co-education, that is, girls and boys together, is 5 simply unthinkable.

Jo: You mean is unthinkable?

K: I mean it's no good.

Jo: No good. Boy and girl

K: Is good. 10

Jo: Separate

K: Is bad

Jo: Separate is bad

K: Yeah, and together is good.

Jo: Together is good. 15

K: Yeah, so the question is, do you agree? Do you think that education should have girls and boys together, or do you think they should be separate in a school?

Jo: Um together.

K: Uh huh. You agree they should be together. Right. 20

O.K. Well, why do you think they should be together?

Jo: Um, because, how to say, because some girls and the boy they are they are different. When we study together, we can compare each other and

K: Help each other a bit? 25

J: Yeah, and some girl good at some course, the boy good at science, like that, and the girl, they like art, something different.

K: Yeah. So you think they can help each other?

Jo: Yeah, and the sport course, they can 30

K: Also help each other. Right.

Jo: Yeah. And we can know the mind of female, different, more different, more we know about. Because when we become adult, then it easy, you know?

K: Right, yeah, that's right. So it helps them with 5 their school work and it helps them to understand the other one's mind. Do you think it helps them to develop poise?

Jo: (indistinct) That's what I think.

K: No, when the boys and girls are together, do you 10 think, some people say that it helps to develop poise.

Jo: Develop poise?

K: Poise.

Jo: Poise? 15

K: Yeah.

Jo: What this mean?

K: It means um it makes them less shy and helps them to be confident with the opposite sex.

Jo: Oh, yeah. Sometimes like that. But sometimes they 20 get more confident, sometimes not. Some boy they chase the girl or chase the boy, that affect their study.

K: That's right. That's what some people say. Do you think um 25

Jo: But most is good, but some is not very good, like that.

K: And when you went to school was it boys and girls together? Co-education?

Jo: Boy and girl yeah, together. 30

K: And do you think that the boys got distracted by the girls?

Jo: Sorry? Chase the girl?

K: No, distracted means did they forget about their schoolwork and think about the girls? 5

Jo: Yeah sometimes. Depend on which year the student. High school, too much trouble.

K: Right, they're thinking more about the girls.

Jo: Private school, they don't know about that.

K: Yeah, that's right. Well um let me see. Some people 10 say that you must have girls and boys together because a school should emulate society. What do you think about that?

Jo: Em.. what that means?

K: Means sort of copy society, should be the same 15 because there are girls and boys in society, men and women.

Jo: Yeah, I agree.

K: Yeah, right. But some people, I mean there are schools that are just girls and just boys and the 20 people who have those schools think they're better and they say it's better for administration to have separate schools. What do you think about that?

Jo: If separate?

K: Yes, mm. 25

Jo: If separate, they can concentration study, they can forgot the boy or girl. But I don't think after they leave school they also can meet the boy or girl. It's only at school.

K: Right. What about um, you know if you have boys and 30

girls together, you have to have more facilities. Do you agree with that?

Jo: Sorry?

K: Facilities. That means you've got to have boys' toilets, girls' toilets, boys' change rooms. So you 5 have to spend more money, where if you only have the one, you can save money.

Jo: Yeah, save money.

K: Yeah, but I think really it's better to have them together. 10

Jo: At school they can separate girl and boy, how to say? For example, uniform, the girl or boy different. You cannot save much money. Only the (indistinct) the same, boy and girl the same, but they different, build the girls' school, build the girls' toilet is 15 the same.

K: Right. Now what about, do you think it's easier to deal with adolescent problems when there's, the girls and boys are in separate schools? Problems of adolescence? 20

Jo: Find some problems?

K: Um, well problems of adolescence.

Jo: What is adolescence?

K: That means like the special problems that teenagers have as they're growing up physically, as they're 25 developing physically. Is it easier to talk about those problems if they're separate? Because sometimes the boys and the girls are too embarrassed to talk about their physical problems if they're together. So do you think it's better to have them 30

in separate schools?

Jo: Yeah, separate is best.

K: Yeah, that helps them, because they're not so shy.
If they've got a problem, they can ask.

Jo: But you can change the class, once you have this 5
course, you can separate the class, you don't need
the

K: Separate school, right.

Jo: Because it not long time, it's not long.

K: Yes, just a short class

10

Jo: Yeah, short class.

K: Yeah. O.K.

Interaction 2 Jo : J

J: Now the first thing we need to do is you need to make up your character. And to do that you need to decide on what type of character you want to have. And there's four different types. You can be a knight, a barbarian, a sorcerer or a mystic. So just choose 5 one of them to start with.

Jo: Er, kai.

J: Er you can be a knight, barbarian, sorcerer or mystic. Which one?

Jo: Knight. 10

J: Knight. O.K. And you have to make up a name for yourself.

Jo: My name?

J: Your character's name. You're pretending to be another person, so you have to give this person a 15 name.

Jo: O.K. Er Ken.

J: O.K. And we have to roll the dice to find out what you're good at. (Rolls dice) And so that's your strength, 13. 20

Jo: 13. I write that?

J: Yes. Put S or strength or something so you know what it is. Put just S will do.

Jo: Pardon?

J: Just S for strength. No, just, strength will do. 25
Strength. Doesn't matter. That'll do. Um, now,
O.K. reflexes, 8.

Jo: 8.

J: Just put R. And intelligence is 14.

Jo: 14.

J: Put I or something. Er psychic talent is 13. PT if you like.

Jo: PT, yeah. 5

J: And, health points. Roll that again. 5. O.K. 5 plus 7 which is 12.

Jo: 5?

J: No 12.

Jo: 12? 10

J: 12. O.K. put P. Health points. Now attack 13.

Jo: 13

J: A if you want. Defence, 7.

Jo: 7

J: D. Magical defence 3 15

Jo: 3.

J: MD. Evasion 4. No evasion 5, sorry.

Jo: 5.

J: And so that's all we need to do at the moment. O.K. I'll just read you the first bit that tells you 20 what's happening. I'll read some of it, 'cause it's quite long. (Reads) "You've recently arrived in the village of Axebridge. You're a stranger here and have spent the last few days getting the lie of the land. It's harvest time and when the last corn is 25 cut there's a big celebration in the village. The village priest comes up and invites you to his home. Inside his house, he gives you a drink and shows you a map. 'Have you heard of Vallandar?' he asks you. 'He is said to have been king of this land long ago, 30

but his evil half brother hated him and wrought a war in which Vallandar was killed. Vallandar's wizard found him on the battlefield, and took him in his arms, carrying him to a secret crypt he had built. There he placed Vallandar until he was needed again 5 to drive injustice from these shores. This map was given to me when I was young and I learnt a little of the language. It tells where Vallandar is buried, in Fenring Forest, three days hence." So the priest whose name is Bretwald wants you to go with him to 10 try and find where Vallandar is buried. So do you want to go with him?

Jo: Yeah.

J: So, O.K., eventually you find the tomb, and (reads) "you pull the huge doors open to reveal steps leading 15 down into the darkness. You light your lanterns and descend. A faded tapestry hangs along the wall to your left. It depicts a host of warriors locked in gory battle." So, now you have to choose what to do. Do you want to go ahead or you can examine the tapes-20 try or anything else you can think of.

Jo: Go ahead.

J: O.K. You go ahead and before you reach the doors, (reads) "a metal portcullis drops down to block your way. A harsh clang makes you turn. Another one has 25 fallen across the foot of the stairway. The tapestry flutters though there is no breeze. As you watch, five, or one of the warriors becomes solid and steps into the corridor behind you". And this warrior that's come to life, tries to attack you. So, what's 30

your defence score? It's D. 7, O.K. (Rolls dice)
And the warrior misses. So you can attack, oh hang
on. I've missed something out. You've got some
weapons with you. You don't really need to know
everything you've got, but you've got but you've got 5
a sword or a morning star, two different weapons.
Which one do you want?

Jo: What?

J: Sword or a morning star. You've got to choose one.

Jo: How many? 10

J: No, well you can choose one weapon. You've got a
sword or a morning star.

Jo: Morning star.

J: You want that? O.K. And you've also got a dagger,
so, anyway, back to here. So if you want to attack 15
this warrior you can use either your morning star or
your dagger. Which one? Doesn't really matter.

Jo: Dagger.

J: O.K. So you attack him. And you miss. So he
attacks you again, and misses again. You get the 20
warrior and wound him and he attacks you again and he
gets you, but he doesn't get past your armour, 'cause
you're wearing armour. Um so you attack him again
and you attack him and he's wounded again and he goes
away, so he's gone off somewhere. You can, some 25
gates have dropped down but you can lift up the
gates, and you've got three different ways you can
go. Well four ways. You can go backwards, or you
can go, there's a door ahead of you and a door to the
left and the right. So? 30

Jo: Left.

J: Left. O.K. (Reads) "The passage brings you to a small circular chamber with no other exits. The wall is covered with markings that follow some unfathomable geometric principle. A wand hangs in the air in 5 the middle of the chamber. One end of the wand glows a dull red, the other sparkles with a blue white light. The central section is black and unreflective." So do you want to try and take the wand?

Jo: Yeah. 10

J: Well. It's got, you can take it from, it's got a red end and a blue end, and the middle is black, so

Jo: Blue.

J: Want to take the blue end. O.K. Well as you try and take it it burns your hand. It's very cold and 15 so your, you kind of hurt your hand and so you have to take one health point off. And so that's 11. 'Cause you've hurt your hand. Now if you want you can try and take it from the middle or from the other end, or else you can just leave it. 20

Jo: (indistinct)

J: Take it from the middle. O.K. Well, it doesn't do anything so you can take it with you if you want.

Jo: Leave it.

J: You just want to leave it do you? O.K. Now there's 25 nothing else in the room. So you go out again? Now you can go ahead or right.

Jo: Right.

J: (Reads) " You swing back the heavy door of a long hall. At the northern end your lantern light falls 30

upon a podium of grey marble, carved to resemble a face blowing at you. A silver goblet rests on the podium. Beyond, another door leads deeper into the underworld". So you can try and, you can go ahead.

Jo: Go ahead. 5

J: Just go ahead. O.K. (Reads) "You are in a three metre wide corridor running east and west. To the east the corridor opens out into a room after only a few metres. To the west you can just make out that the corridor turns to head north after a while." So 10 east or west?

Jo: Um, east.

J: O.K., you go into the room. (Reads) "You can see that a bronze helmet lies on a wooden table at the far end of the room. As you step through the archway 15 into the room, you ankles become entangled in a web of fine strong strands. And there's a giant spider in this room that comes up to attack you. So (throws dice), he misses you. So you attack the spider with your dagger or your morning star. You get the 20 spider, and to make it quicker, we haven't got much time, the spider goes away as well. So you take try and take, or look at the bronze helmet at the back of the room, or else you can go out.

Jo: Go out. 25

J: O.K., so you go in the other direction I spose, and (Reads) "as you approach the bend in the corridor a flagstone gives slightly under your feet. There is an ominous click. Suddenly a massive gleaming axe blade swings out of the side wall." You've got to 30

try and get out of the way of this axe blade. (Throws dice) Unfortunately, you don't make it, so the axe hits you. Oh I think it's stopped by your armour, so it doesn't hurt you. (Reads) "The way on is blocked by a flickering barrier of light that shimmers in the 5 air between two pillars on either side of the passage. Through the shimmering you can just see that the corridor continues north. In front of the barrier are two fountains. In the western fountain, a chalky grey liquid issues from a snarling stone 10 face and runs down into the fountain beneath. The eastern fountain is filled by a purple liquid that bubbles from a face sculpted in an expression of fear." So, you can have a look at one of these fountains, or go ahead, or something else. 15

Jo: Fountains?

J: Yeah, there's two fountains.

Jo: Oh, two fountains.

J: So, what do you want to do?

Jo: Go ahead. 20

Appendix B
Secondary Data

B.

Word meaning test

(? indicates that the subject replied that he did not know the meaning)

Interaction 2

knight	?
barbarian	?
sorcerer	?
mystic	?
short sword	?
staff	?
florins	?
tomb	?
corridor	?
cast a spell	?
tapestry	?
rip down the tapestry	?

The eastern fountain is filled with a purple liquid that bubbles from a face sculpted in an expression of fear. ?

Self report data (transcript of tape)

K: ...so what was the most important thing you wanted to do in the conversation with me?

B: I think I give my opinion.

K: And what about with Jeremy?

B: Play the game with him.

K: Well do you remember how you felt when you were doing the thing with me? Were you more nervous in front of

B: In front of Jeremy.

K: Right, and why would you say that was?

B: I dunno. I just feel a bit nervous and a bit embarrassed.

K: Perhaps 'cause you didn't know him and you knew me better?

B: Yeah and also, if you are talk to my friend, I don't feel that way.

K: But you didn't know him did you? (B. shakes head)
That's right. In these two things, when you didn't know something usually you asked me what it meant. (Shows examples). So in this thing, when you didn't know you asked me, but in this one when you didn't know

B: I didn't ask Jeremy.

K: You didn't ask. Can you tell me why? You might not know. I'm just interested if you've got any ideas.

B: Yeah, bit nervous. And also the person I didn't know and I just afraid to ask.

Ja.

Word meaning test

Interaction 1

aberrations	?
segregation	separation
homosexuality	(knows the meaning but too shy to explain)

Interaction 2

knight	?
barbarian	cut hair
sorcerer	?
mystic	?
reflexes	response to something
psychic talent	don't know, kick sideways
evasion	?
battle axe	axe
two handed sword	?
tapestry	?

Self report data

K: In the conversation you had with me, which was about co-education, what was your main purpose in the conversation? Was it to share information and ideas or was it to establish a friendship, or to tell me what to do or

Ja: I would say to share information.

K: O.K. and what about with Jeremy?

Ja: That was to do what I was told/

K: And to play the game properly?

Ja: Yeah, play the game.

K: Now in the two conversations did you feel differently? Did you feel nervous in one and relaxed in the other or relaxed in both? How did you feel?

Ja: I think I'm a bit relaxed in the game.

K: Right, why was that?

Ja: It was a game, so you don't really, it doesn't really matter too much.

K: Right. O.K. Now in both of those conversations, there were some words you didn't know. In the one with Jeremy (gives example) ...why didn't you ask... what those words meant?

Ja: If I ask every single one it would take a long time.

K: Right, so was it mainly the time?

Ja: Yeah. And I don't want to ask so many questions at the beginning 'cause that will be wasting time and I will be interrupting the game.

Word meaning test

Interaction 2

knight	fighter
barbarian	?
sorcerer	?
mystic	?
reflexes	?
psychic talent	talents of the mind
evasion	attack
magical defence	use magic to defend
chain mail armour	?
battle axe	?
two handed sword	?
tapestry	?
armour	?
warriors	fighters
bronze helmet	?

Self report data

- K: ...In the two conversations if you could tell me what your purpose was in them?
- P: (referring to Interaction1) I try to tell what I think, what is my opinion and try to convince you.
- K: That you were right.
- P: Yeah and what to know what other peoples think about this particular issue.
- K: Right. O.K. and what about the one with Jeremy?
- P: I want to know how to play the game and
- K: To win? Did you want to do well in the game?
- P: Er yeah, a bit and try to avoid to die in just one go.
- K: Yeah, um and in the two conversations did you feel nervous in both of them or relaxed in both of them? Like with me did you feel more nervous than with Jeremy or did you feel more nervous talking to him?
- P: Ah, I didn't really feel nervous talking with your son, because I didn't really know what he was really talking about because the words he use is pretty difficult.
- K: Mm. So how did that make you feel?
- P: I just feel sorry for him. I didn't quite understand what he said.
- K: Right. And in both of the conversations there were some difficult words. In both of them there were some words you didn't know. And in the conversation with me, when you didn't know a word you asked me what it meant. Like perhaps you didn't know 'co-education'. You said, 'what does that mean?' With Jeremy when you didn't know words you didn't ask him. Do you know why you

asked me but you didn't ask him?

P: Um probably because you know my English problems. I'm not really scared to ask you and I am a bit ashamed to ask your some um what its mean, because, um. It's also too many words in the game I don't know.

W.

Word meaning test

Interaction 2

knight	soldier
barbarian	warrior in the middle ages
sorcerer	can do spells
reflexes	ability to escape from danger
psychic talent	to do with the mind
evasion	?
chain mail armour	to protect against a sword
two handed sword	sword with a handle in the middle
corridor	alley
rip it down	pull it down
archway	corridor
chest	wooden box
riddle	joke, question
podium	?
goblet	?

Self report data

K: When we were talking about education, you know, which sort of school was better, what did you think was the most important thing that you were sort of trying to do in that conversation.... Maybe it's easier to think about the one with Jeremy first. What were you trying to do, like win the game, or make sure you said the right answers, or to get to know Jeremy or what?

W: Trying to have fun. Also learn some to the terms or words of that game.

K: From him?

W: Yeah, from the book as well. And also if you talk more you'll improve.

K: You'll learn more, right. And what about the conversation with me? Same sort of thing or...?

W: I think so yeah. But not fun.

K: No, not fun.

W: Er maybe I might get some ideas from you about private schools and all that.

K: Yeah, and to improve your English?

W: Yeah, I think so. Talk more and improve.

K: Mm now in the two conversations did you feel sort of nervous in both of them or one of them or neither of them? Did you feel more relaxed or did you feel nervous?

W: Not with you, but with ah Jeremy because I think it's a game and it's quite easy to understand and all that. But this private school thing, some of the questions I didn't missed out. You said, but I was thinking of

another thing, the main thing and I forgot about the question.

K: Mm. So you felt more nervous with me than with Jeremy? Right. Um now in both of the times there were a few words that you didn't understand. Did you feel embarrassed when you didn't know them? Did you sort of mind?

W: A little bit embarrassing, yes, but I was eager to find out what their meaning was.

K: What they meant. Right. And in both of those times, when you didn't know a word, most of the times you asked what it meant didn't you?

W: Mm hm.

K: Now, that's the thing I thought was unusual. I expected that in the thing with me you would ask what the words meant because I was sort of like a teacher and you ask teachers what things mean if you don't understand, but with Jeremy I expected that if you didn't know a word, you'd probably kind of ignore that word and hope that you'd understand it later or something. Because especially with people the same age, I was expecting that you would feel embarrassed to ask him what the word meant... Could you tell me why you didn't mind asking him? Was it because you were eager to know the meanings of the words?

W: Yeah. Just to, hopefully improve the vocabulary.

Ph.

Word meaning test

Interaction 2

knight	?
barbarian	?
sorcerer	?
mystic	?
strength	strong
reflexes	reflects
psychic talent	?
evasion	?
sword	?
staff	group
illusion	?
tomb	?
tapestry	?
warriors	?
wand	?
goblet	?
podium	?
cast a spell	?

Self report data

K: In that talk you had with Jeremy, what was the most important thing that you felt you wanted to do?... What did you want to do most?

Ph: I want to understand what he's saying.

K: You wanted to understand what he was saying. Why did you? So that you could play the game?

Ph: Anyways I can understand easier and I can say I can play the game.

K: Mm. Right. And what about in the talk you just had with me? What did you think was the most important think you were trying to do then?

Ph: Mm. My opinion.

K: Give your opinion, yes. And find out my opinion? Yes. O.K. Now in those two conversations how did you feel? Did you feel kind of nervous and worried?

Ph: Yes.

K: In both of them? Or did you feel more worried in one of them?

Ph: Yeah, first one (with Jeremy). Because he speak too, his (indistinct) is quite quickly and I can't guess too much.

K: Right. O.K. Now in both of the conversations there were some words that you didn't know. And in the one with Jeremy it seemed that when you didn't know the words, you didn't ask what they meant. But in the, you just talked with me, you asked my what some of the words meant.... Why do you think that with Jeremy you didn't ask what the words meant and with me you did ask?

Ph: I think he speak a bit quickly and if I ask him maybe, anyway, I think he won't teach me English, he couldn't explain more. You can explain and I can understand. And maybe he explain and I still can't understand because he use the words is difficult.

K: Yeah, right.

Ph: And also I just met him the first time. I don't know him very well, so I don't ask.

Ka.

Word meaning test

Interaction 1

administration	?
aberrations	natives

Interaction 2

knight	?
barbarian	?
sorcerer	?
mystic	fantastic
strength	big
attack	fight
reflexes	how to keep away
psychic talent	?
evasion	?
sword	?
staff	help somebody
spells	a b c (as in alphabet)
tomb	?
tapestry	?
treasure	?
dragon	animal of China
wand	?
goblet	?
bronze	colour
helmet	hat

Self report data

K: Now what I want to ask you is in those two conversations can you tell me, what was your purpose, what did you want to do? Say in the conversation with Jeremy... what was the main thing you were trying to do?... Were you just trying to understand how to play the game?

Ka: Mm hm.

K: Yes. And with me what were you wanting to do? Were you wanting to tell me about this

Ka: This topic. Yes. The problem is my English not so good.... Sometime I don't understand... But play game, conversation is not so much. Usually you can do this. One time you don't understand, but second time

K: You can understand it. Yeah, right. In the two conversations did you feel nervous or did you feel quite relaxed? Did you feel perhaps more worried in one of them?

Ka: I feel afraid I can't understand.

K: Both of them?

Ka: Yeah.

K: Right. And in both of the conversations there were quite a few difficult words... When you talked with me, most of the time when you didn't understand you asked me what the word meant... In the conversation with Jeremy you didn't ask him... Do you know why you asked me but you didn't ask him?

Ka: Maybe, he's talking, usually take a book, he read read read read. If I ask them I don't understand I think

will trouble you.

K: Oh, you think it would trouble him. Yeah.

Ka: Maybe he's so reading book we can't trouble him.

K: Yes but he wasn't reading the book all the time. Some of the time he was asking you things which were very difficult and you didn't understand, but you didn't ask him, but then when you were talking to me you did ask. Can you think of any other reasons?

Ka: Maybe relax.

K: What? You feel a bit more relaxed with me?

Ka: Strict. And his eyes still looking the book. This is more important. If sometime he look at you, eye to eyes more important.

K: Right. And then you'd feel more relaxed would you?

Ka: Yes, and then you look at me, more friendly.

K: So then you don't mind asking. You don't feel so worried about asking?

Ka: Yeah. But usually somebody is very shy to ask.

K: So what, did you feel more shy to ask Jeremy?

Ka: No.

K: No?

Ka: Because first time. It's more important first time.

K: Oh. It was the first time you'd met him so you didn't like to ask him?

Ka: Yeah, I don't know what kind of people, how to

K: Right, you don't know what sort of person

Ka: What sort of person, somebody I don't like to trouble something. Or some people if you ask what this means then you tell me more and more easy word and then you take the dictionary and then you write (indistinct).

Oh, next time I will ask you quickly.

K: Yes, right.

Ka: Somebodies, this mean, you speak another word but I think this word is more difficult.

Y.

Word meaning test

Interaction 2

knight	?
barbarian	?
sorcerer	?
mystic	?
reflexes	?
psychic talent	?
evasion	?
sword	for fighting
morning star	in the sky
tomb	?
dagger	?
tapestry	?
goblet	?
bronze helmet	?

Self report data

K: ...So you talk to people for different reasons. Now in the two conversations that you had um, I don't know if you'll be able to answer this, but what reason did you have, what did you think was the main purpose of the conversation, of that thing you had with Jeremy? Was it sort of to give information to each other, or was it for him to tell you what to do, and for you to do it, or to make friends, or what?

Y: Answer the questions, sometimes ask information about the words, definitions and er

K: It was mainly to do what he said to do was it? Like he said 'Do you want to go here or there?'

Y: Just answer.

K: Yeah, to play the game. Mm hm. And what about the one we've just had, about the school?

Y: Um, explaining my opinion.

K: O.K. right. Fine, um how did you feel in both of those conversations? Were you pretty nervous and pretty worried, or did you feel relaxed and not worried in both of them, or did you feel better in one than the other, or what?

Y: A little bit, talking about the school.

K: Was a little bit?

Y: Worse.

K: Worse. O.K. Why was that?

Y: It take time to think.

K: Yes, it took a while to think of what your opinion was. Yeah. Now in the conversation with Jeremy when

you didn't know the words, well no, let's talk about the one with me. In the conversation with me when you didn't know the words most of the time you asked me what they meant... And in the one with Jeremy you only asked him once I think. You asked, 'What's a wand?' But the other times you didn't ask him, although you didn't know them... Now do you know why you asked me, but you didn't ask him?

Y: In that case we can know from a sentence or a paragraph, we can know. Some words don't necessary to ask. We can just get the answer.

K: Ah, I see.

Y: And sometime bit nervous to ask, ah

K: A younger person, a person who's not a teacher, or just an ordinary person your own age?

Y: My own age. Mm.

K: You know I wondered if you feel a bit shy to ask.

Y: (Nods)

K: Yes.

Y: Yeah, I'm a bit shy to ask.

K: Yeah. But you're not so shy with a teacher, is that right?

Y: Yeah.

Jo.

Word meaning test

Interaction 1

administration

education

Interaction 2

knight	?
barbarian	?
sorcerer	?
mystic	?
strength	?
reflexes	?
psychic talent	?
attack	?
defense	?
evasion	?
tapestry	?
sword	?
morning star	?
dagger	?
wand	?
goblet	?
bronze helmet	?
fountains	?
altar	?

Self report data

K: ...if you can tell me, in those two talks... what would you say you were trying to do in the one with Jeremy?

Jo: Talk and play the game.

K: And with me, in that conversation, what was your purpose? Was it to tell me your opinions?

Jo: My opinion, yes.

K: Yes, O.K. And in the two conversations how did you feel? Did you feel nervous, worried, or did you feel quite relaxed and did you feel the same in both of them or did you feel more nervous in one than the other?

Jo: No.

K: No. Just felt quite O.K. in both. Right. In both of those conversations there were some quite difficult words that you didn't know and in the conversations with Jeremy, when you didn't know the words you didn't ask him what they meant, but in the conversation with me you did ask. ...Can you tell me why you asked me but you didn't ask him?

Jo: Yeah I know. There are two reason. One reason I think he could not explain better to make a long time. The (?) reason I think I can understand half, or little bit, just O.K.

K: Right. So why do you think he couldn't explain it? Because he's not a teacher?

Jo: Some people, generally the people, they saw people the first person, maybe he have an experience, very young, not enough experience, like that, general people.

K: So you mean general people perhaps can't explain it,
whereas teachers maybe can explain it. And if he
meets you for the first time, is that what you meant?

Jo: Mm.

K: He doesn't know you very well, so does that mean
you don't like to ask him, because you don't know him
very well?

Jo: Yeah.

Appendix C
Data analysis

B.

Objective 1: Identification of Communication Strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies

PAGE/ LINE	LEXICAL ITEM CAUSING PROBLEM	RESPONSE TO PROBLEM	STRAT.SUB-TYPE
202:10	unthinkable	Is unthinkable means you can't is opp... is opposite of the think?	clarification request
202:14	co-education	And the word I know, education, but co- education?	specific repair request
202:24	co-education	It's mean the girl and the boy together in the same school?	clarification request
205:2	educated	Educated? Educated? How do you spell educated?	indirect appeal: questioning rep spelling request
205:4	educated	Is it mean the, like the education?	clarification request
206:6	distracted	Distracted?	indirect appeal questioning rep
206:10	distracted	Is it doing the other things or?	clarification request
207:24	administration	Pardon?	general repair request

207:26	administration	What do you mean by...?	specific repair request
207:28	administration	K: Do you know what administration means? B: (Shakes head)	admission of ignorance
207:30	organizing the school	Organizing the school?	indirect appeal: questioning rep
208:15	adolescents	A D D	indirect appeal: spelling request
208:18	adolescents	(Puzzled look)	non-verbal appeal

Avoidance strategies

207:15	administration	I agree fifty per- cent, but unagree, I mean opposite fifty agree. Half half.	minimal answer: vague phrase
207:19		It's hard to say, because in each side have got the good things and the bad things of each side.	minimal answer: vague phrase
208:11	adolescents	Adolescents? Maybe.	minimal answer: vague phrase

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies

211:5	sorcerer	How do you spell that word?	indirect appeal: spelling request
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211:29	evasion	Evasion?	indirect appeal: questioning rep
212:28	florins	How do you spell florins?	spelling request
219:28	goblet	Still don't quite understand	admission of ignorance

Avoidance strategies

210:25	knight barbarian sorcerer mystic	Which one's the best?	taking producer role
211:3	sorcerer mystic	Er, sorses.	safe answer
212:23	staff	Er, short sword.	safe answer
215:16	tomb	[J: Do you want to find the tomb?] B: Yes	minimal answer: yes/no
216:26	corridor	[J: Do you want to go along the corri- dor?] B: Probly	minimal answer: vague phrase
217:4	tapestry	[J: You can either go on ahead... or look at the tapes- try] B: Go ahead.	safe answer
217:26	cast a spell	[J: You can cast a spell if you want.] B: Ah, go ahead.	safe answer

219:8 rip down the [J: If you rip down minimal answer:
tapestry the tapestry that yes/no
might help. Do you
want to do that?]
B: Yes, sure.

221:24 The eastern [J: Do you under- lies
fountain is stand that?]
filled with a B: Yes.
purple liquid that
bubbles from a
face sculpted in
an expression of
fear.

Objective 2: Classification of strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies: Verbal appeals

Clarification request: 4
Specific repair request: 2
General repair request: 1
Indirect appeals:
Spelling request: 3
Questioning repetition: 3
Admission of ignorance: 1
Non-verbal appeals: 1

Avoidance strategies:

Minimal answer:
Vague phrase: 3

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies:

Indirect appeals:
Spelling request: 2

	Questioning repetition:	1
	Admission of ignorance:	1
Avoidance strategies:	<u>Lies</u>	1
	<u>Evasions</u>	
	Safe answer	4
	Minimal answer:	
	Yes/no:	1
	Vague phrase:	3
	Taking producer role:	1

Objective 3: Proportion of achievement and avoidance strategies

Interaction 1: 15 achievement strategies : 83%

3 avoidance strategies : 17%

18 communication strategies

Interaction 2: 4 achievement strategies : 31%

9 avoidance strategies : 69%

15 communication strategies

(Identification of strategies checked and confirmed by subject.)

Objective 4: Explanation of variation in strategy selection

a) NS use of communicative system acting as constraint

Interaction 1 Strategy used

(i) Eliciting acts constraining against lies, evasions: minimal answers (yes/no, selective response), safe answers.

202:8 Why do you agree? Ach x 2

202:15 If 'co' is in front... what does it mean? Ach

204:30 Why do people get educated? Ach x 3

206:3 What about the problem of... distract- Ach x 2
ed?

207:23 I'm thinking about administration. Ach x 4
(Implied: What do you think about it?)

207:17 In what ways would administration be Av
easier?

TOTAL: 12 Ach 1 Av

(ii) Eliciting acts constraining against
lies, evasions: minimal answers
(selective response), safe answers.

207:10 Do you think it's easier... Av

208:7 Do you think it's good Av

208:12 You know 'adolescents'? Ach x 2

207:27 Do you know what administration Ach
means?

TOTAL: 3 Ach 2 Av

Interaction 2

(i) Directing acts constraining the use of
achievement strategies.

211:4 Put down you're a sorcerer. Ach

211:22-28 Now write... evasion. Ach

212:24-27 You should write that down... Ach
twenty florins.

TOTAL: 3 Ach

(ii) Eliciting acts constraining against
lies and evasions: minimal answers
(yes/no).

210:21 Do you want... knight or barbarian Av (turn prod)
or sorcerer or mystic?

211:2	Which one, sorcerer or mystic?	Av (safe)
212:21	Do you want a short sword or a staff?	Av (safe)
217:3	You can go on ahead or look at the tapestry.	Av (safe)
217:23	Cast a spell or just fight...	Av (safe)
		TOTAL: 5 Av

(iii) Eliciting acts constraining against lies, evasions, minimal answers (selective response), safe answers.

215:14	So do you want to go with him...?	Av (yes/no)
216:24	Do you want to go along the corridor?	Av (vague)
219:5	Do you want to do that?	Av (yes/no)

(iv) Eliciting acts constraining against evasions: minimal answer (selective response), safe answers and ambiguous answers.

221:23	Do you understand that?	Av (lies)
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b) Personal constraints

Perceptions of:

the purpose of the speech events:

Interaction 1: "To give my opinion."

Interaction 2: "Play the game with him."

the native speakers:

Interaction 2: J was not known and not a friend.

feelings about interactions:

Interaction 2: "I just feel a bit nervous and a bit

embarrassed."

reason for variation in strategy selection:

Avoidance strategies used in Interaction 2 because of

1. Relationship with native speaker.

"Bit nervous."

"If you are talk to my friend I don't feel that way."

"And also the person I didn't know and I just afraid to ask."

Ja.

Objective 1: Identification of Communication Strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies

PAGE/ LINE	LEXICAL ITEM CAUSING PROBLEM	RESPONSE TO PROBLEM	STRAT. SUB-TYPE
222:9	unthinkable	No, I don't get it.	admission of ignorance
222:16	simply unthinkable	What does that mean, 'simply unthink- able'?	specific repair request
222:19	untenable	(Puzzled look) Nah!	non-verbal appeal
223:10	co-education	Does co-education mean people and people or person and book or something?	classification request
224:23	emulate	Do you mean try to be the same as soci- ety?	classification request
225:22	poise	What's poise?	specific repair request
225:24	confidence	You mean when boys and girls are tog- ether they will be more comfortable?	specific repair request classification request
226:6	expedient	You mean it's easier to...?	classification request

Avoidance strategies

227:7 aberrations [K: What do you think about that?] minimal answer:
vague response
Ja: Yeah, I suppose
it does cause that
problem.

Interaction 2

Avoidance strategies

229:6 knight I'll be a barbarian. safe answer
barbarian
sorcerer
mystic

229:24 psychic talent [J: Psychic talent] minimal answer:
Ja: 6 selective
response

230:23 evasion [J: Evasion] minimal answer:
Ja: 6 selective
response

231:2 two handed I'll take the axe safe answer
sword

233:28 tapestry [J: You can go ahead safe answer
or examine the tape-
stry, or whatever.]
Ja: Go ahead

Objective 2: Classification of strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies: Verbal appeals

Classification request: 4

Specific repair request: 2
 Admission of ignorance: 1
Non-verbal appeals: 1
 Avoidance strategies: Minimal answer:
 Vague response: 1

Interaction 2

Avoidance strategies: Safe answer 3
 Minimal answer:
 Selective response: 2

Objective 3: Proportion of achievement and avoidance strategies

Interaction 1: 8 achievement strategies : 89%
 1 avoidance strategy : 11%
 9 communication strategies

Interaction 2: 0 achievement strategies : 0%
 5 avoidance strategies : 100%
 5 communication strategies

(Identification and strategies checked and confirmed by subject.)

Objective 4: Explanation of variation in strategy selection

a) NS use of communicative system acting as constraint

Interaction 1 Strategy used

(i) Eliciting acts constraining against
 lies, evasions: minimal answers
 (selective response), safe answers.

222:9 Any form of ed... (Implied: Do you Ach x 4
 agree?)

223:8 Any form of ed...

224:21	Do you think that a school...	Ach
225:17	Do you think...	Ach x 2
226:6	Another argument is... (Implied: Do you agree?)	Ach
227:7	What do you think...	Av
		TOTAL: 8 Ach 1 Av

Interaction 2

(i) Eliciting acts constraining against
lies and evasions: minimal answers
(yes/no).

229:4	You can be a knight or a barbarian or a sorcerer or a mystic.	Av (safe)
231:1	You've got to choose one.	Av (safe)
232:26	You can examine the tapestry or whatever.	Av (safe)

TOTAL: 3 Av

(iii) Eliciting acts constraining against
lies, evasions: minimal answers
(yes/no), safe answers, ambiguous
answers.

229:24	Psychic talent	Av (sel. res.)
230:22	Evasion	Av (sel. res.)

TOTAL: 2 Av

b) Personal constraints

Perceptions of:

the purpose of the speech events:

Interaction 1: "to share information"

Interaction 2: "to do what I was told"

feelings about interactions:

Interaction 2: "I think I'm a bit relaxed in the game... It was a game so you don't really, it doesn't really matter too much."

reason for variation in strategy selection:

Avoidance strategies used in Interaction 2 because of Time pressure: "If I ask every single one it would take a long time."

"And I don't want to ask so many questions at the beginning 'cause that will be wasting time and I will be interrupting the game."

P.

Objective 1: Identification of Communication Strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies

PAGE/ LINE	LEXICAL ITEM CAUSING PROBLEM	RESPONSE TO PROBLEM	STRAT. SUB-TYPE
234:9	co-education	I'm not sure what you mean	admission of ignorance
234:13	co-education	What do you mean, 'co-education'?	specific repair request
235:10	emulate	What's emulate?	specific repair request
236:5	segregated	(Questioning look)	non-verbal appeal
236:30	poise	Poise?	indirect appeal: questioning rep
237:32		I dunno what poise is.	admission of ignorance
237:19	administratively expedient	It's too complicated	admission of ignorance
238:28	aberrations	What do you mean by...?	specific repair request

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies

240:19	battle axe two handed sword	What's that?	specific repair request
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Avoidance strategies

240:8	barbarian sorcerer	[J: ...a knight, a safe answer barbarian, a	
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	mystic	sorcerer or a mystic...]	
		P: Barbarian	
240:18	reflexes	[J: ...reflexes]	minimal answer:
		P: It's 15.	selective response
240:22	psychic talent	[J:psychic talent]	minimal answer:
		P: 15.	selective response
241:21	battle axe	[J: ...battle axe or two handed sword]	safe answer
		P: Battle axe	
243:19	tapestry	[J: ...go ahead, or examine the tapestry...]	safe answer
		P: Go ahead.	
245:23	tapestry	[J: ...do something or...keep on attacking him?]	safe answer
		P: Yeah, keep on.	

Objective 2: Classification of strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies: Verbal appeals

Specific repair request: 3

Indirect appeals:

Questioning repetition: 1

Admission of ignorance: 3

Non-verbal appeals: 1

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies: Specific repair request: 1
Avoidance strategies: Safe answer 4
Minimal answer:
Selective response: 2

Objective 3: Proportion of achievement and avoidance strategies

Interaction 1: 8 achievement strategies : 100%

0 avoidance strategies : 0%

8 communication strategies

Interaction 2: 1 achievement strategy : 14%

6 avoidance strategies : 86%

7 communication strategies

(Identification of strategies checked and confirmed by subject.)

Objective 4: Explanation of variation in strategy selection

a) NS use of communicative system acting as constraint

Interaction 1

Strategy used

(i) Eliciting acts constraining against

lies, evasions: minimal answers

(selective response), safe answers.

234:7 Any form of education... (Implied: Do you agree?) Ach x 2

234:8 Do you think... Ach

236:1 What about... (Implied: Do you agree?) Ach

236:3 Do you think... Ach x 2

237:16 Another argument is... (Implied: Do you agree?) Ach

238:27 What do you think about that? Ach
(Implied: Do you agree?)

TOTAL: 8 Ach

Interaction 2

(i) Eliciting acts constraining against
lies and evasions: minimal answers
(yes/no).

240:3 You can be a knight, a barbarian, Av (safe)
sorcerer or mystic.

241:20 You've got to choose... battle axe Av (safe)
or sword.

243:19 You can go ahead or examine the Av (safe)
tapestry.

245:3 You can do something to the Av (safe)
tapestry... or keep on...

TOTAL: 4 Av

(ii) Eliciting acts constraining against
lies, evasions: minimal answers
(yes/no), safe answers, ambiguous
answers.

235:17 Ah, then reflexes. Av (selective)

240:21 Psychic talent. Av (selective)

TOTAL: 2 Av

b) Personal constraints

Perceptions of:

the purpose of the speech events:

Interaction 1: "I try to tell what is my opinion and
try to convince you... and want to know what other

peoples think about this particular issue."

Interaction 2: "I want to know how to play the game... and try to avoid to die in just one go."

feelings about interactions:

Interaction 2: "I didn't really feel nervous talking with your son... I just feel sorry for him. I didn't quite understand him."

difficulty level of discourse:

Interaction 2: "I didn't really know what he was talking about because the words he use is pretty difficult."

reason for variation in strategy selection:

Avoidance strategies used in Interaction 2 because of

1. Relationship with native speaker.

"I'm not really scared to ask you and I am a bit ashamed to ask your son what its mean because um.."

2. Difficulty level of discourse.

"It's too many words in the game I don't know."

3. Inability of J to help (implied).

"You (i.e. K) know my English problems."

W.

Objective 1: Identification of Communication Strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies

PAGE/ LINE	LEXICAL ITEM CAUSING PROBLEM	RESPONSE TO PROBLEM	STRAT. SUB-TYPE
248:11	co-education	What's co-education	specific repair request
248:17	unthinkable	What do you mean by unthinkable?	specific repair request
249:20	poise	What is poise?	specific repair request
251:11	administratively expedient	What does that mean?	specific repair request
252:1	aberration	What's that sexual aberration?	specific repair request

Interaction 2

Achievment strategies

253:3	mystic	What's a mystic?	specific repair request
254:14	battle axe	What's a battle axe?	specific repair request
256:28	tapestry	What's a tapestry?	specific repair request
260:11	tapestry	...that tapestry, is it just pictures, right?	clarification request
262:24	famished	What is famished?	specific repair request

264:29 goblet	So what was that	specific repair
	goblet thing?	request
265:3 goblet	What really is it,	specific repair
	the goblet thing?	request

Objective 2: Classification of strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies: Specific repair request: 5

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies: Specific repair request: 6

Clarification request: 1

Objective 3: Proportion of achievement and avoidance strategies

Interaction 1: 5 achievement strategies : 100%

0 avoidance strategies : 0%

5 communication strategies

Interaction 2: 7 achievement strategies : 100%

0 avoidance strategies : 0%

7 communication strategies

(Identification of strategies checked and confirmed by subject.)

Objective 4: Explanation of variation in strategy selection

a) NS use of communicative system acting as constraint

Interaction 1

Strategy used

(i) Eliciting acts constraining against

lies, evasions: minimal answers

(selective response), safe answers.

248:8 Any form of education... (Implied: Do Ach x 2

you agree?)

249:18 Do you think you might develop... Ach

250:10 Another argument is... (Implied: Do you agree?) Ach

252:14 Some people say... (Implied: Do you agree?) Ach

TOTAL: 5 Ach

Interaction 2

(i) Eliciting acts constraining against lies and evasions: minimal answers (yes/no).

253:1 You can be a knight or a barbarian or a sorcerer or a mystic. Ach

254:12 You got a battle axe or a two handed sword, so you choose which one. Ach

TOTAL: 2 Ach

(ii) Eliciting acts constraining against lies.

256:26 So what do you want to do? Keep on going or what? Ach

(iii) Eliciting acts constraining against lies, evasions: minimal answers (yes/no), safe answers, ambiguous answers.

259:8 The tapestry, you might try to do something to that. Ach

262:21 It is... always famished. That's the riddle and you have to find out what it is. Ach

- (iv) Eliciting acts constraining against
lies, evasions: minimal answers
(yes/no), selective response, safe
answers.

264:3 A silver goblet rests on the podium Ach x 2
What do you want to do?

b) Personal constraints

Perceptions of:

the purpose of the speech events:

Interaction 1: "Maybe I might get some ideas from you
about private schools and all that."

"Talk more and improve."

Interaction 2: "Trying to have fun. Also learn some
of the terms or words of the game."

feelings about interactions:

Interaction 1: (Not relaxed because) "This private
school thing, some of the questions I didn't... missed
out. You said... but I was thinking of another thing,
the main thing and I forgot about the question."

Interaction 2: (Relaxed) "Because I think it's a game
and it's quite easy to understand and all that."

feelings about difficulty in understanding:

It was "a little bit embarrassing. but I was eager to
find out what their meaning was."

reason for variation in strategy selection:

Avoidance strategies in both interactions were used
because both were seen as opportunities for learning
and to "hopefully improve the vocabulary".

Ph.

Objective 1: Identification of Communication Strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies

PAGE/ LINE	LEXICAL ITEM CAUSING PROBLEM	RESPONSE TO PROBLEM	STRAT. SUB-TYPE
266:12	co-education	What's the co-education?	specific repair request
267:20	emulate	Emulate society?	indirect appeal: questioning rep
268:25	poise	Poise?	indirect appeal: questioning rep
269:13	segregated	Segregated school is just boys and just girls?	clarification request
269:23	facilities	Facilities?	indirect appeal: questioning rep
270:15	to deal with	You mean to teach them is it?	clarification request
270:29	sexual aberrations	Sexual aberrations?	indirect appeal: questioning rep

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies

272:20	psychic talent	[J: Psychic talent is 13] Ph: How do you spell it?	indirect appeal: spelling request
273:19	dagger	[J: ...and a dagger. Ph: (Indistinct)?	indirect appeal: questioning rep

J: A dagger. It's a
kind of knife.

273:26 sword J: ...sword or staff general repair
staff Ph: Pardon? request

Avoidance strategies

272:4 knight [J: You just have safe answer
barbarian to choose one of
sorcerer them.]
mystic Ph: Mystic.

276:1 tapestry [J: Do you want to safe answer
do anything with
the tapestry? Or
you can go ahead.]
Ph: Go ahead.

276:28 cast a spell [J: You can attack safe answer
him... or else cast
a spell.]
Ph: Attack

277:30 wand [J: So do you want minimal answer:
to take the yes/no
wand?]
Ph: Yes.

278:23 goblet [J: There's a goblet minimal answer:
podium on the podium. Want yes/no
to try and get it?]
Ph: Mm, no.

281:9 cast a spell [J: Do you want to minimal answer:
try and cast a yes/no
spell?]
Ph: Yes.

281:24 cast a spell [J: If you don't safe answer
want to cast a spell
you could just try
and rush past...]
Ph: Rush past.

Objective 2: Classification of strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies: Clarification request: 2
Specific repair request: 1
Indirect appeals:
Questioning repetition: 4

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies: General repair request 1
Indirect appeals:
Questioning repetition: 1
Spelling request: 1
Admission of ignorance: 1
Avoidance strategies: Safe answer 4
Minimal answer:
Yes/no: 3

Objective 3: Proportion of achievement and avoidance strategies

Interaction 1: 7 achievement strategies : 100%
0 avoidance strategies : 0%
7 communication strategies
Interaction 2: 3 achievement strategies : 27%
8 avoidance strategies : 73%

11 communication strategies

(Identification of strategies checked and confirmed by subject.)

Objective 4: Explanation of variation in strategy selection

a) NS use of communicative system acting as constraint

Interaction 1

Strategy used

(i) Eliciting acts constraining against

lies, evasions: minimal answers

(selective response), safe answers.

266:10 Any form of education... (Implied: Do you agree?) Ach

267:18 Do you think... Ach

268:23 Do you think... Ach

269:8 Some people say... (Implied: Do you agree?) Ach

269:19 Do you think... Ach

270:4 Do you think... Ach

271:27 Some people say... (Implied: Do you agree?) Ach

TOTAL: 7 Ach

Interaction 2

(i) Directing acts constraining use of achievement strategies.

272:19 Psychic talent is 13. (Implied: write it down). Ach

(ii) Eliciting acts constraining against

lies and evasions: minimal answers

(yes/no).

272:2 You can be a knight, a barbarian, a Av (safe)

sorcerer or a mystic, so you have to
choose one of them.

273:29 You've got... a sword or a staff. Ach

So choose one of them.

276:1 Do you want to do anything with the Av (safe)
tapestry? Or you can go ahead.

277:19 You can attack him... or cast a Av (safe)
spell.

281:22 If you don't want to cast a spell Av (safe)
you could rush past.

TOTAL: 1 Ach 4 Av

(iii) Eliciting acts constraining against
lies, evasions: minimal answers
(yes/no), safe answers, ambiguous
answers.

273:6 Evasion 3. Av (sel. res.)

273:17 You've got a bow and arrow and a Ach
dagger.

TOTAL: 1 Ach 1 Av

(iv) Eliciting acts constraining against
lies, evasions: minimal answers
(selective response), safe answers.

277:29 So do you want to take the wand? Av (yes/no)

278:24 Want to try and get it? Av (yes/no)

281:7 Do you want to try and cast a spell? Av (yes/no)

TOTAL: 3 Av

b) Personal constraints

Perceptions of:

the purpose of the speech events:

Interaction 1: "To understand what he's saying."

Interaction 2: "My opinion."

the native speakers:

Interaction 2: "I don't know him well."

feelings about interactions:

Interaction 2: Felt more worried and nervous than
Interaction 1.

the difficulty of the input:

Interaction 2: "He speak too, his (indistinct) is
quite quickly and I can't guess too much

reason for variation in strategy selection

1. Difficulty level of input so great that too many
interruptions would be needed to solve problems.

"I think he speak a bit quickly."

2. J's inability to help.

"Anyway I think he won't teach me English, he
couldn't explain more. You can explain and I can
understand. And maybe he explain and I still
can't understand because he use the words is
difficult."

3. Relationship with J.

"And also I just met him the first time I don't
know him well so I don't ask him."

Ka.

Objective 1: Identification of Communication Strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies

PAGE/ LINE	LEXICAL ITEM CAUSING PROBLEM	RESPONSE TO PROBLEM	STRAT.SUB TYPE
282:7	co-education	(Puzzled expression)	non-verbal appeal
	unthinkable	I don't understand all that	admission of ignorance
282:11	co-education	Co?	indirect appeal: questioning
282:16	unthinkable	Not good?	clarific. req.
283:3	emulate	Emulate society?	indirect appeal: questioning
283:27	poise	You mean..? I don't know what's...	Admission of ignorance
284:27	administration	I can't understand this	Admission of ignorance
285:15	adolescence	Adolescence?	indirect appeal: questioning

Avoidance strategies

285:1	administration	[K: They say it makes it easier for administration purposes]	Minimal answer: vague phrase
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Ka: I think so

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies

287:7 knight [J: Knight, Safe
barbarian, sorcerer answer
barbarian or mystic?
sorcerer Ka: Mystic

288:5 psychic talent [J: Psychic talent minimal
8. Just put P.T.8] answer:
Ka: P.T., 8 selective res.

288:23 evasion [J: Your evasion is minimal
3. E will do answer:
Ka: E is 3 selective res.

289:6 sword [J: One sword or safe answer
one staff?]
Ka: Oh. One staff

292:8 tapestry [J: You should try safe answer
and do something to
the tapestry..or else
...you can keep on
fighting him.
Ka: Fighting him

293:1 wand [J: Do you want to minimal ans.
take the wand?] yes/no
Ka: Yes.

294:2 goblet [J: You can try and safe answer
get the goblet or
you .can go ahead.]
Ka: Go ahead.

Objective 2: Classification of strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies: Verbal appeals

Indirect appeal	
Questioning repetition	3
Admission of ignorance	3
Clarification request	1
Specific repair request	1
<u>Non-verbal appeals</u>	1

Avoidance strategies: Evasions

Minimal answer	
Vague phrase	1

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies

<u>Verbal appeals</u>	
Indirect appeal	
Spelling request	1

Avoidance strategies

<u>Evasions</u>	
Safe answer	4
Minimal answer	
Selective response	2
Yes/No	1

Objective 3: Proportion of achievement and avoidance strategies

Interaction 1: 9 achievement strategies: 90%
1 avoidance strategy: 10%
10 communication strategies

Interaction 2: 0 achievement strategies: 0%

8 avoidance strategies 100%

8 communication strategies

(Identification of strategies checked and confirmed by subject.)

Objective 4: Explanation of variation in strategy selection

a) NS use of communicative system as constraint

Interaction 1 Strategy used

(i) Eliciting acts which constrain against lies, evasions: minimal answer (selective response), safe answers.

282:5	Any form of education..(Implied: Do you agree?)	Ach x 2
282:7	Do you want me to read it again?	Ach
282:28	A lot of people say..(Implied: Do you agree?)	Ach
283:24	Do you think...	Ach x 2
282:24	What about the argument...(Implied: Do you agree?)	Av
285:9	And do you think...	Ach
	TOTAL:	9 Ach 1 Av

Interaction 2

(i) Eliciting acts constraining against use of avoidance strategies: lies, evasions: minimal answers (yes/no)

287:4	So just choose one of them	Av (safe)
289:1	Sword or staff?	Av (safe)
291:5	Tear down [the tapestry] or keep fighting him	Av (safe)
294:1	You can try and get the goblet or go	

ahead

AV (safe)

TOTAL: 4 Av

(ii) Eliciting acts constraining against avoidance
strategies: lies, evasions: minimal answers (yes/no)
safe answers, ambiguous answers

288:4 Psychic talent 8 AV (select.)

288:22 Evasion is 3 AV

TOTAL: 2 Av

(iii) Eliciting acts constraining against lies, evasions:
minimal answers (selective response) safe answers

292:30 So do you want to take the wand? AV (yes/no)

TOTAL: 1 Av

b) Personal constraints

Perceptions of:

the difficulty level of the discourse

Interaction 1 more difficult than Interaction 2

"This topic..the problem is my English not good.

Sometime I don't understand..but play game, conversation is not so much. Usually you can do this.

nature of discourse

Unfolding discourse in Interaction 2 reveals meanings of problem items

"One time you don't understand, but second time..."

feelings about interactions

"I feel afraid I can't understand" (in both interactions)

reasons for variation in strategy selection

1. J's appearance of busyness - not showing willingness to help.

"Maybe he's talking, usually take the book, he read, read, read, read. If I ask then I don't understand I think will trouble you".

"He's so reading book we can't trouble him."

2. J's manner

"He is talking more like strict."

"And his eyes still looking the book. If sometime he look at you, eye to eye more important..then you look at me more friendly."

3. First encounter with J - unknown to Ka.

"I don't know what kind of people, how to...I don't like to trouble something."

4. J's perceived inability to help

"You speak another word but I think this word more difficult."

Y.

Objective 1: Identification of communication strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies

PAGE/ LINE	LEXICAL ITEM CAUSING PROBLEM	RESPONSE TO PROBLEM	STRAT.SUB-TYPE
296:10	co-education	What does that mean, 'coast'?	Specific repair request
296:23	co-education	Does it have a boy and a girl mixed together?	Clarification request
297:14	emulate	What is mean by 'emulate'?	Specific repair
297:26	poise	What is mean by 'poise'?	Specific repair
298:7	academically	What's mean by 'academically'?	Specific repair
299:8	administration	What's that mean?	
299:28	segregated	'Segregated', what's that mean?	Specific repair

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies

301:28	reflexes	[J: Reflexes 11] Y: How do you spell 'reflexes'?	Spelling request
305:6	wand	What's a wand?	Specific repair req.

Avoidance strategies

301:11 knight [J: You can be a

barbarian	knight, barbarian,	
sorcerer	sorcerer or mystic.	
mystic	So which one?]	
	Y: Mystic	Safe answer
301:16 knight	[J: Ah which one?	Safe answer
	A knight?]	
	Y: A knight, yeah.	
302:6 psychic talent	[J: Psychic talent,	Minimal ans.
	9. So just put PT	selective
	for that.	response
	Y: PT, that's 9	
303:17 tomb	[J: So do you want	Minimal ans.
	do help him find	yes/no
	Vallendar's tomb?	
	Y: Yeah	
303:27 tapestry	[J: You can do some-	safe answer
	with the tapestry or	
	you can just continue on.	
	Y: Continue on.	
304:20 dagger	[J: ..a dagger or a	Safe answer
sword	sword, so which one?	
306:30 goblet	[J: Do you want to	Minimal ans.
	try and get the	yes/no
	goblet?	
	Y: Yeah.	
307:29 bronze helmet	[J: Do you want to	Safe answer
	do anything about	
	the bronze helmet or	
	just leave it?]	
	Y: I better leave it.	

Objective 2: Classification of strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies: Verbal appeals

specific repair requests	6
clarification requests	1

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies: Verbal appeals

specific repair requests	1
indirect appeal	
spelling request	1

Avoidance strategies: Evasions

safe answer	5
minimal answer	
yes/no	2
selective response	1

Objective 3: Proportion of achievement and avoidance strategies

Interaction 1: 7 achievement strategies : 100%
 0 avoidance strategies : 0%
 7 communication strategies

Interaction 2: 2 achievement strategies : 20%
 8 avoidance strategies : 80%

(Identification of strategies checked and confirmed by subject.)

Objective 4: Explanation of variation in strategy selection

a) NS use of communicative system as constraint

Interaction 1

Strategy used

(i) Eliciting acts which constrain against lies, evasions: minimal answers (selective response), safe answers.

296:8 What do you think about that? (Implied: do you agree?) Ach

296:21 So that means you think..(Implied: Do you..?) Ach

297:12 Do you think...? Ach

297:24 Do you think..? Ach

298:4 Some people say...(Implied: Do you agree?) Ach

299:7 What do you think about that? (Implied: do you agree?) Ach

299:26 So do you think...? Ach

TOTAL: 7 Ach

Interaction 2

(i) Directing acts which constrain use of achievement strategies

301:26 Write that down. Reflexes 11. Ach

TOTAL: 1 Ach

(ii) Eliciting acts which constrain against lies, evasions: minimal answers (yes/no)

301:9 You can be a knight, a barbarian, a sorcerer or a mystic. So which one? AV (safe)

301:15 Ah which one? A knight? AV (safe)

303:25 You can do something with the tapestry

or continue on. Av (safe)

304:18 Your dagger, or sword, which one? Av (safe)

305:27 Do you want to do anything about the
bronze helmet, or just leave it? Av (safe)

TOTAL: 5 Av

(iii) Eliciting acts which constrain against lies, evasions:
minimal answers (yes/no), safe answers, ambiguous
answers.

302:6 Psychic talent 9 Av (select.)

305:4 A wand hangs in the middle of the air. Ach

TOTAL: 1 Ach, 1 Av

(iv) Eliciting acts which constrain against lies, evasions:
minimal answer (yes/no)

303:16 Do you want to help him find Vallendar's Ach (yes/
tomb? no)

TOTAL: 1 Av

b) Personal constraints

Perceptions of:

the purpose of the speech events:

Interaction 1: "Explaining my opinion."

Interaction 2: "Just answer" (the questions)

the native speakers:

Interaction 2: J. was someone who made Y
"a bit nervous to ask"

the nature of the discourse

Interaction 2: Meaning of unknown items would become
clear as discourse proceeded

the reason for variation in strategy selection

Avoidance strategies used in Interaction 2 because

1. Nature of discourse

"We can know from a sentence or a paragraph, we
can know. Some words don't necessary to ask.

We can just get the answer".

2. Relationship with native speaker

"Sometime bit nervous to ask."

"I'm a bit shy to ask."

Jo.

Objective 1: Identification of Communication Strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies

PAGE/ LINE	LEXICAL ITEM CAUSING PROBLEM	RESPONSE TO PROBLEM	STRAT SUB-TYPE
308:10	co-education	Sorry?	General repair request
	unthinkable		
308:15	co-education	I don't know what..	Admission of ignorance
	unthinkable		
308:20	co-education	What difference co- education with...	Specific repair req.
309:7	unthinkable	You mean is un- thinkable?	Clarification request
310:15	poise	Poise?	Indirect app. questioning
310:17	poise	What this mean?	Specific rep.
311:3	distracted	Sorry? Chase the girl?	General rep. Clarification request
311:14	emulate	What that means?	Specific rep.
312:23	adolescence	What is adolescence	Specific rep.
312:3	facilities	Sorry?	General rep.

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies

320:16	fountains	Fountains?	Indirect app. Questioning
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Avoidance strategies

314:10 knight barbarian sorcerer mystic	[J: You can be a knight, barbarian, sorcerer, or mystic. Which one? Jo: Knight	Safe answer
314:21 strength	[J: So that's your strength. 13] Jo: 13.	Minimal ans. selective response
314:28 reflexes	[J: reflexes, 8] Jo: 8	Minimal ans. selective res.
315:5 psychic talent	[J: Psychic talent is 13. PT if you like.] Jo: PT, yeah.	Minimal ans. selective response
315:12 attack	[J: Attack, 13] Jo: 13	Minimal ans. selective res.
315:14 defence	[J: Defence 7.] Jo: 7	Minimal ans. selective res.
315:18 evasion	[J: Evasion, 5] Jo: 5	Minimal ans. selective res.
316:22 tapestry	[J: Do you want to go ahead, or you can examine the tapestry.] Jo: Go ahead	Safe answer
317:13 sword morning star	[J: You've got a sword or a morning star.] Jo: morning star	Safe answer

316:18 dagger	[J: Which one?]	Safe answer
	Jo: Dagger	
317:10 wand	[J: Do you want	Minimal ans.
	do try and take	yes/no
	the wand?	
	Jo: Yeah	
318:25 bronze helmet	[J: You..can look	Safe answer
	at the bronze	
	helmet..or else you	
	can go out.]	
	Jo: Go out	
319:20 fountains	[J: You can have a	Safe answer
	look at these fount-	
	ains or go ahead.]	
	Jo: Go ahead	

Objective 2: Classification of strategies

Interaction 1

Achievement strategies: Verbal appeals

specific repair requests	4
general repair requests	3
clarification requests	2
admission of ignorance	1
indirect appeal	
questioning repetition	1

Interaction 2

Achievement strategies: Verbal appeals

indirect appeal	
questioning repetition	1

Avoidance strategies: Evasions

minimal answers	
selective response	6
yes/no	1
safe answer	6

Objective 3: Proportion of achievement and avoidance strategies

Interaction 1:	11 achievement strategies	:	100%
	0 avoidance strategies	:	0%
	11 communication strategies		
Interaction 2:	1 achievement strategy	:	7%
	13 avoidance strategies	:	93%
	14 communication strategies		

(Identification of strategies checked and confirmed by subject.)

Objective 4: Explanation of variation in strategy selection

a) NS use of communicative system as constraint

Interaction 1 Strategy used

(i) Eliciting acts which constrain against

lies, evasions: minimal answer (selective response), safe answer

308:13 Any form of education... (Implied: Do you agree?) Ach x 4

310:7 Do you think... Ach x 2

310:24 Do you think... Ach x 2

310:10 Some people say... (Implied: Do you agree?) Ach

312:1 Do you agree...? Ach

312:17 Do you think...?

Ach

TOTAL: 11 Ach

Interaction 2

(i) Eliciting acts which constrain against lies, evasions:

minimal answers (yes/no)

314:8 You can be a knight, barbarian,
sorcerer, or mystic. Which one?

Av (safe)

316:20 Do you want to go ahead...or
examine the tapestry?

Av (safe)

317:5 You've got a sword or a morning
star

Av (safe)

317:16 Use..morning star or dagger... which
one?

Av (safe)

319:23 Look at the bronze helmet...or go out

Av (safe)

320:14 You can look at..these fountains or
go ahead

Av

TOTAL: 1 Ach, 6 Av

(ii) Eliciting acts which constrain against lies, evasions:

minimal answers (yes/no) safe answers, ambiguous
answers

314:19 So that's your strength, 13

Av (select.)

314:27 Reflexes 8

Av (select.)

315:3 Psychic talent 13

Av (select.)

315:11 Attack 13

Av (select.)

315:13 Defence 7

Av (select.)

315:17 Evasion 5

Av (select.)

TOTAL; 6 Av.

(iii) Eliciting acts which constrain against lies,
evasions, minimal answers (selective response),

safe answer

318:9 Do you want to try and take the wand? Av (yes/no)

TOTAL: 1 Av

b) Personal constraints

Perceptions of:

the purpose of the speech events

Interaction 1: my opinion

Interaction 2: talk and play the game

feelings about interactions

Felt "O.K." in both

reason for variation in strategy selection

Avoidance strategies used in interaction 2 because
of:

1. J's inability to help

"I think he could not explain better"

"General people...very young...not enough
experience."

2. Understanding sufficient for the task - no need
to ask for help.

"I think I can understand half, or little bit,
just O.K."

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