TWO WAYS OF DEFINING COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

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Two recently formulated definitions of communication strategies are contrasted. According to Tarone's "interactional" definition, the central function of communication strategies is the negotiation of meaning. According to the "psycholinguistic" definition suggested by Færch and Kasper, communication strategies are related to individual language users' experience of communicative problems and the solutions (cooperative or noncooperative) they pursue. Within the latter framework, communication strategies are characterized in discourse terms, invoking the notion of "conditional relevance." It is demonstrated that interactionally defined communication strategies constitute a subset of psycholinguistically defined strategies, and it is argued that although this subset in many respects represents an important area of strategy use, significant similarities to other types of strategy use are obscured by defining communication strategies in interactional terms exclusively.

Communication strategies have received considerable attention in recent process-oriented interlanguage (IL) studies (see, for example, Færch and Kasper 1983d).[1,2] As in any other new research area, one of the fundamental issues is how to define the object of investigation: Which IL phenomena are to be regarded as communication strategies?

Just like any classification and categorization of observable or inferrable objects, processes, or events, rooted in social reality, communication strategies do not constitute an "objective" class of phenomena, given a priori. The identification of communication strategies depends on the analyst's previous formulation of defining criteria. These criteria are in turn determined by the analyst's epistemological interests, for instance, the

[1]We wish to thank the editor, Diane Larsen-Freeman, two anonymous reviewers, and Robert Phillipson for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this article.

[2]The fact that communication strategies are typically described within a framework of IL communication does not imply that they are used only by learners. There are many situations in which native speakers make use of communication strategies, not least when interacting in situations in which there is an unequal distribution of communicative resources (see Tarone 1981; Blum and Levenston 1983; Færch and Kasper 1983c).

"theoretical" research goals, an interest in influencing certain practical states of affair ("applied" goals), or a combination of the two.

Basing the definition of analytical categories on the researcher's epistemological interests does not imply that such decisions are entirely arbitrary. First of all, analytical categories have to be assessed in terms of their internal consistency with the model from which they derive. Second, they have to be compared to alternative categorization proposals, and their relative merits have to be assessed according to criteria such as coverage of what is considered relevant phenomena.

This paper contains a critical comparison of two suggestions for defining communication strategies: the "psycholinguistic" definition[3] as suggested by the present authors (Færch and Kasper 1980, 1983c) and the "interactional" definition as proposed by Tarone (1980, 1981). The third section of the paper, An Interactional Perspective of Strategy Use, contains a discussion of communication strategies as seen within a discourse perspective, relating strategy use to the notion of conditional relevance. Finally, the psycholinguistic and the interactional definitions of communication strategies are compared under The "Psycholinguistic" and "Interactional" Definitions Compared.

THE PSYCHOLINGUISTIC DEFINITION

In much of the literature on the cognitive organization and processing of verbal information, cognitive structures underlying verbal reception and production are referred to as *plans* (see Miller, Galanter, and Pribram 1960, and more recent work in psycholinguistics and cognitive science, e.g., Baars 1980). We locate communication strategies within underlying

[3]As will become clear from our definition of communication strategies presented below, "psycholinguistic" is meant to emphasize that communication strategies originate in a communication problem as experienced by an individual language user, and constitute the procedures adopted for solving this problem. However, it can be seen from our typology of communication strategies (see A Classification of Communication Strategies below) that the adopted strategy need not in itself be psycholinguistic in the strict sense of the term: Language users may decide to employ nonlinguistic strategies such as gesture and mime, which are perhaps more adequately categorized as behavioural strategies; or they may resort to cooperative strategies, involving the interlocutor in the problem-solving activity.

cognitive structures and regard them as a subclass of verbal plans, viz. "potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal" (Færch and Kasper 1980:81, 1983c:36).

This definition distinguishes communication strategies from other verbal plans by two criteria: *problem-orientedness* and *potential consciousness*. Both criteria reflect an epistemological interest in delimiting those aspects of learners' communicative competence which are essential for coping with new, unforeseen situations (hence "problem-orientedness"), and which at the same time can be influenced by teaching (hence "potential consciousness").

The criterion of problem-orientedness takes account of the fact that language users, and L2 users in particular, often face situations in which their communicative goals cannot be realized on the basis of their existing and currently accessible and applicable linguistic repertoire: A relevant item or rule may not be part of the language user's linguistic knowledge, or may be difficult to retrieve; or linguistic means which are both available and accessible may not lend themselves to use in a given situation—for instance, because of restricted receptive competence on the part of the interlocutor. In all these cases, the language user is confronted with a communication "problem," whose solution requires the activation of a particular strategic plan.

The criterion of potential consciousness further delimits the subset of problem-solving plans to such that can be consciously employed. In so doing, it excludes cognitive operations which are always completely automatic and which cannot be subjected to conscious control—for instance, neural and motor processes in articulation (see, for example, Ericsson and Simon 1981, for a discussion of automatic processing). Furthermore, consciousness is not a permanent psychological state—the presence of consciousness depends on individual and situational variables as well as on the linguistic material and the psychological procedures involved. Thus, learners who are exposed to L2 teaching usually develop a higher metalingual awareness than those who acquire L2s outside of a formal program. As regards choices at the different linguistic levels, lexical items are typically selected more consciously than syntactic and morphological rules. In order to account for these characteristic features of consciousness, we specify it as *potential* consciousness.

A classification of communication strategies

On the basis of the above definition, communication strategies are categorized into various subtypes. A first major categorization reflects the difference between strategies aimed at solving problems in speech production and strategies aimed at receptive problems. For lack of space, receptive communication strategies will not be considered below. The interested reader is referred to the discussion of these in Carton (1971), Knapp (1980), Færch (1983), Kasper (1983), Tarone (1983), Færch, Haastrup, and Phillipson (1984).

Figure 1 presents a typology of productive communication strategies. Most of these have previously been identified by various researchers (e.g., Tarone, Cohen, and Dumas 1976; Blum and Levenston 1978), and some of its major strategy types have been suggested by Váradi (1973) and Corder (1978).

The first major categorization of productive strategies is made according to two types of behaviour that language users may adopt when faced with a communication problem: They can either adopt *avoidance behaviour,* thereby renouncing (part of) their original communication goal, or rely on *achievement behaviour,* attempting to maintain their original aim by developing an alternative plan. These two types of behaviour correspond to two fundamentally different types of communication strategies: Avoidance behaviour manifests itself in *reduction strategies,* whereas achievement behaviour underlies *achievement strategies.*

Reduction strategies can be further subclassed into formal and functional reduction. In the case of *formal reduction,* the language user decides to communicate by means of a "reduced" system, utilizing readily accessible rules and items. Formal reduction can be motivated by the language user's desire to use the language *correctly,* i.e., to avoid errors, or to use it *fluently,* i.e., to avoid rules and items which cannot be easily retrieved and smoothly articulated. Formal reduction is often accompanied by the use of other strategies which will be detailed below. For instance, if learners do not know whether *whether* is written with or without an *h* after the *w,* they may decide not to write the intended sentence at all. They employ a strategy of functional reduction, or they might decide to substitute *if* for *whether,* thereby applying an achievement strategy.

Functional reduction may affect any component of a communicative goal: its actional, propositional, or modal aspects. By *actional functional*

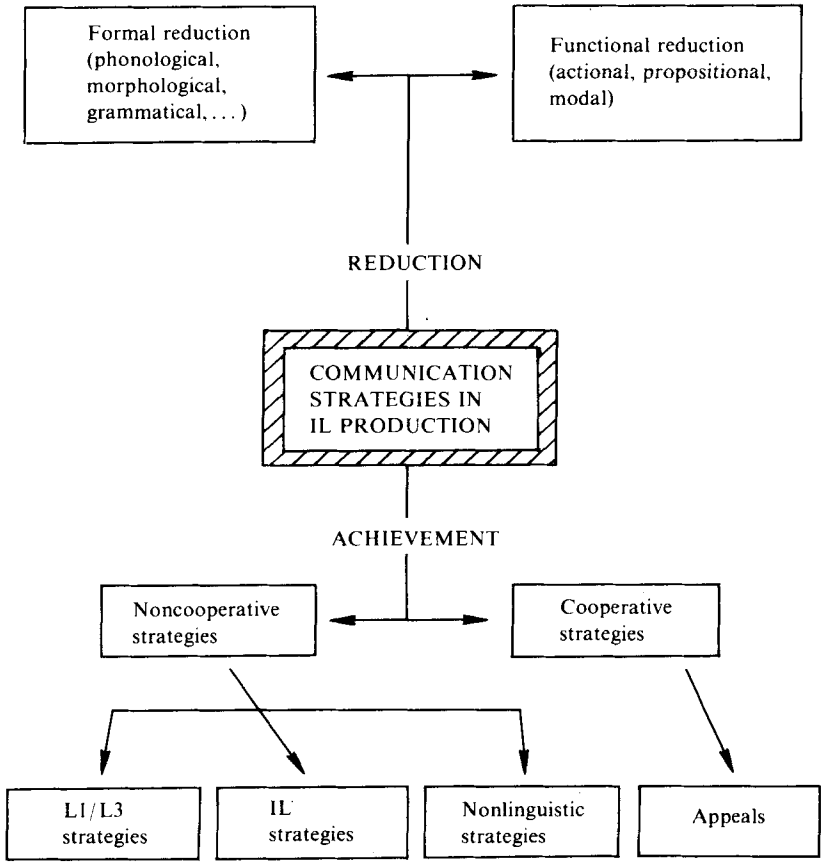

Figure 1. A typology of communication strategies in IL production.

reduction is meant that the learner avoids performing certain speech acts or discourse functions, for instance, initiating acts. *Propositional functional reduction* comprises strategies such as topic avoidance, message abandonment, and meaning replacement, i.e., the learner does not realize (parts of) the referential meaning of the original communicative intention. *Modal functional reduction* refers to the learner's decision not to mark a speech act for relational ("politeness") and expressive functions.

Unlike reduction strategies, achievement strategies serve to preserve the language user's original communicative goal. They constitute the largest subset of communication strategies reported on in the literature. Common

to these is that in order to reach his or her original communicative goal, the learner makes creative use of already existing resources. This can be achieved in either of two ways: (1) by devising a way of expressing the communicative goal in an alternative way or (2) by reaching a solution to the problem with the interlocutor's assistance. We shall refer to (1) as *noncooperative strategies* and to (2) as *cooperative strategies.*

Noncooperative strategies can be subclassified on the basis of the communicative resources which the individual draws on in order to compensate for the linguistic means which are not available or accessible:

a. A different code, such as the learner's L1 or another second/foreign language ("L1/L3-based strategies")
b. The learner's IL ("IL-based strategies")
c. Nonlinguistic means ("Nonlinguistic strategies")

L1/L3-based strategies imply the use of L1/L3 features at one or more linguistic levels. If L1/L3 features at all linguistic levels of an item or rule are activated, this strategy is referred to as *code switching* (other terms commonly used with reference to this are *language switch* and *borrowing*). As an example, we can mention the strategy used by a German student who, in a role-play situation with a native speaker of English, had just borrowed some money and who followed this up by saying, "Do you want to have some ah—Zinsen or do you want to have some more money" (*Zinsen* = "interest"). Other L1/L3-based strategies adjust some feature(s) of the transferred item or rule to the IL system. If the non-IL element is adapted to the IL system phonologically and/or morphologically, the strategy is termed *foreignizing,* whereas the verbatim selection and combination of IL lexical items on the basis of L1/L3 has been called *literal translation.* (Example of foreignizing: [peipskɔ:v] from Danish *papirkurv*, "waste-paper basket"; example of literal translation: *green things* for Danish *grøntsager,* "vegetables.") Both foreignizing and literal translation are traditionally subsumed under the category of *interlingual transfer.*

IL-based strategies comprise various ways of problem-solving based on the learner's IL knowledge. *Substitution* refers to the replacement of a missing item or rule by another one which, in the learner's opinion, conveys the same meaning (cf. the substitution of *if* for *whether* mentioned above). If the substituting element is one which the learner would not normally use in the given context but one which he or she assumes will convey the intended meaning, the strategy of *generalization* is being employed (e.g., referring to one's "rabbit" as an "animal"). *Description* and *exemplification* are instances of paraphrasing an unavailable (lexical) item.

(Examples: "the thing to cook water in" for "kettle" [description]; "peas, carrots, potatoes" for "vegetables" [exemplification]). If learners use their IL system for the creative construction of a new word, this strategy is termed *word coinage* (using *heurot* in French with reference to "clock"; see Bialystok 1983). Finally, *restructuring* is employed whenever learners realize that they cannot complete a plan which is already being executed and decide to develop an alternative plan which enables them to reach their original communicative goal ("I have two—er—I have one sister and one brother").

Finally, instead of using one of the linguistic strategies listed above, or in combination with them, the learner might have recourse to *nonlinguistic strategies* such as mime, gesture, and sound imitation.

Unlike the strategies mentioned so far, all of which represent an attempt by learners to solve their communication problems on their own, cooperative strategies involve a joint problem-solving effort by both interlocutors. Such cooperative problem solving activity is initiated by a *direct* or *indirect appeal* performed by one of the interlocutors. As we shall presently discuss this strategy type in detail, we shall not exemplify it here.

THE INTERACTIONAL DEFINITION

An alternative definition of communication strategies has been offered by Tarone (1980, 1981, 1983). According to Tarone (1980:419), communication strategies have to fulfill all of the following criteria:

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

A communication strategy, then, represents "a mutual attempt of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where requisite meaning structures do not seem to be shared" (1980:419).

This definition implies that the *negotiation of meaning* as a joint effort between the interlocutors is central to the concept of communication strategies. According to Tarone, it is precisely this criterion (3b above)

which distinguishes communication strategies from production strategies, defined as "attempt(s) to use one's linguistic system efficiently and clearly, with a minimum of effort" (1980:419). It is significant that this definition not only characterises production strategies as noninteractional but also quite clearly does not single out any specific problem-solving function as a relevant criterion. The definition of production strategies therefore seems to differ from that of communication strategies not only with respect to criterion 3b but also with respect to criterion 2.

As examples of production strategies, Tarone mentions discourse planning, the use of prefabricated patterns, and simplification of syntactic structures (1980:420). Her typology of communication strategies comprises the following categories (1980:429):

Paraphrase
  Approximation
  Word coinage
  Circumlocution
Transfer
  Literal translation
  Language switch
Appeal for assistance
Mime
Avoidance
  Topic avoidance
  Message abandonment

This typology is taken over without modification from an earlier study (Tarone 1977), in which a different—noninteractional—definition of communication strategies is formulated:

> ... conscious communication strategies are used by an individual to overcome a crisis which occurs when language structures are inadequate to convey the individual's thought. (1977:194)

This definition is in perfect agreement with the categories provided in the typology. If the same set of communication strategies is to be compatible with the interactional definition, however, these strategies have to be re-interpretable in an interactional way. We can think of two ways of doing this.

One possibility is to adopt a *weak interactional claim.* By this we mean that as a result of a speaker's application of a strategy some reaction from the interlocutor is elicited. The strategy could therefore be characterized as

"interactional" (cf. Tarone 1983, note 2). However, there are several problems associated with the weak claim. First, it implies a confusion of a strategy, operating at the (psycholinguistic) *process* level of language use, with its linguistic result being the way it manifests itself at the *product* level of a speaker's performance. What the interlocutor perceives, interprets, and responds to are product level phenomena, whose relationship to their underlying procedures is often arbitrary. For instance, if a Danish learner of English says *mother's mother* for *grandmother,* it is not for the interlocutor to know whether this expression is the result of a communication strategy of generalization, a strategy of L1 transfer (from Danish *mormor*), or the result of nonstrategic use of an IL lexeme, nor is such knowledge relevant from a communicative point of view: The interlocutor's reaction is dependent upon the communicative effect, e.g., whether or not meaning can be assigned to it. It is fundamental to all face-to-face communication that the speaker monitors the interlocutor's feedback in terms of verbal and nonverbal uptaking, in terms of what is said in the interlocutor's next turn, or simply in terms of not receiving feedback at an appropriate point in the discourse.[4] Because of its general character, interactiveness in the sense of other-monitoring and giving feedback therefore does not single out communication strategies from other procedures underlying verbal behaviour in face-to-face discourse.

Second, interactiveness as a defining criterion for communication strategies makes it impossible to apply this concept to types of discourse in which no feedback is given or feedback is delayed. This means that the sender of a message does not obtain immediate confirmation or disconfirmation as to whether mutual understanding has been secured. Clear cases of this are written communication and communication in the mass media, but the situation holds true also for certain types of more formal face-to-face interaction such as lectures and sermons. It is of course true that the specificity of various discourse types should not be blurred by over-hasty generalizations about common properties and shared procedures. But this does not imply that all of language processing is context-specific. In the area of communication strategies, some strategies are restricted to specific discourse types while others are not. Thus, appeals for assistance can only be used in direct, though not necessarily face-to-face, conversation, and mime and gesture presuppose visual contact. All of

[4]Compare Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson's metacommunicational axiom (1967): "One cannot not communicate" (p. 51).

the other strategies included in both Tarone's and our taxonomy are neutral across different discourse types. In fact, Blum and Levenston (1978) have demonstrated that a strategy which they refer to as lexical simplification can be found in a variety of discourse types, and there is no compelling reason why the same should not hold true for both reduction and noncooperative achievement strategies such as paraphrase, literal translation, or word coinage as well. To sum up, the weak interactional claim does not offer a criterion by means of which communication strategies can be distinguished from other ways of using language in situations that allow for immediate feedback, while at the same time it excludes problem-solving procedures activated in discourse types with delayed or no feedback from the concept of communication strategies.

The *strong interactional claim* implies that communication strategies are truly cooperative in nature: The interlocutors are both aware of the presence of a communicative problem which they then attempt to solve on a cooperative basis. A prerequisite for this is that the problem somehow surfaces in the performance. In the case of appeals for assistance, the learner explicitly invites the interlocutor to provide a solution to a communication problem. In all other instances, the learner first attempts a solution, which elicits the interlocutor's cooperation. Consequently there are only two major types of communication strategies: direct appeals, which leave the first attempt at problem-solving to the interlocutor, and indirect appeals (e.g., paraphrase, transfer, or mime), in which the learner provides the first solution, thereby eliciting the interlocutor's participation in the process of meaning negotiation.

We assume from Tarone's publications (1980, 1981, 1983) that her notion of communication strategies as interactional procedures is more adequately interpreted in terms of the strong than of the weak claim (her stand, however, is not totally clear; see Tarone 1983, fn. 2). Therefore, when in the following we refer to the interactional definition, this is to be understood in accordance with the strong claim.

AN INTERACTIONAL PERSPECTIVE OF STRATEGY USE

We have now summarized two ways of defining communication strategies, one focussing on the range of problem-solving activities open to the individual, one focussing on the interaction between the interlocutors

and the negotiation of meaning. From this, one might obtain the impression that the psycholinguistic definition sees communication strategies in isolation from the situational context in which they are used. To demonstrate that this is not the case, it is necessary to consider the discoursal aspects of strategy use in some detail before we proceed to directly comparing the two ways of defining communication strategies.

In the literature on the pragmatics of language use, one is often referred to the "cooperative principle" as stated by Grice (1975:45):

> 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.

This formulation focusses on the *productive* aspect of interlocutors' contributions. However, in order for verbal interaction to flow smoothly, there must also be conversational rules which regulate the *receptive* aspect of communication, i.e., rules which specify general principles of how to respond to one's interlocutor's contribution in a cooperative way. One such principle could be that the recipient of a message ought to interpret it as a meaningful and relevant contribution, no matter how superficially unrelated it seems to be. It is by participants generally following this principle that the use of indirect speech acts can function (see, for instance, Searle 1975). Observing the "receptive" cooperative principle is a necessary condition for any successful verbal interaction. However, it is not a sufficient condition for ensuring understanding, especially not in situations in which the participants have unequal access to the code they use, e.g., in the situation of a learner conversing with a native speaker. In such cases, the native interlocutor's behaviour is governed by the principle "if learners signal that they are having problems formulating themselves, help out." This cooperative principle for learner–native speaker interaction, however, may come into conflict with another interactional principle, namely that of facesaving (see Goffman 1967): Treating the other person as inferior in any respect counts as a potentially face-threatening act which cooperative participants try to avoid. Consequently, in order to avoid treating the other person as linguistically inferior, the native speaker might decide not to assist even though the learner shows signs of verbalizing problems, thus giving the principle of facesaving priority over the principle of linguistic cooperation. Factors that might influence the native speaker's option for one or the other principle are manifold: the learner's level of proficiency in L2, the relative social status of the participants, the urgency

of the content matter to be communicated, etc.[5] That native speakers do in fact often give priority to the principle of linguistic cooperation is a reflection of the fact that nonnative speakers can often be treated as linguistically handicapped without this being intended or perceived as face-threatening (an aspect of "foreigner role").

When the learner is faced with a problem in establishing or carrying out a verbal plan, this is often indicated in one of the following ways:

1. By an *implicit signal of uncertainty,* e.g., hesitation phenomena, self-repairs, and slips (see Færch and Kasper 1983b, for a discussion)
2. By an *explicit (metalingual) signal of uncertainty,* e.g., "I don't know how to say this" (See Beneke's "handicap signals" [1975])
3. By the learner *appealing directly* to the interlocutor as in example (1):[6]

(1) L: I wanted to improve my knowledge of—what is 'kunst'
NS: art
L: art - in England[7]
(*Kunst:* German for "art")
(Bochum)

How do these three types of problem indicators differ in interactional terms? From the hearer's point of view, they can all be interpreted as appeals for assistance. However, they vary in the degree of obligation to assist imposed on the interlocutor, indicated schematically in Figure 2.

The degree of obligation for the interlocutor to assist directly reflects the possible ambiguity of the problem indicators: The less ambiguous the problem indicator, the stronger the obligation imposed on the interlocutor. This relationship between possible ambiguity of interpretation and degree of obligation can be explained in analogy to the interactional implications of direct versus indirect speech acts (Brown and Levinson 1978; House and Kasper 1981): If addressed, for instance, by a direct request (*Get that bottle*

[5]Quite a different issue, which may also result in a preference for noncooperative behaviour on the part of the native speaker, has to do with experimental settings. Tarone reports that in an earlier study, she tried to avoid helping the learner because she wanted as many examples of communication strategies as possible (1983). In order to obtain realistic results about the interactional characteristics of communication strategies, it is important that the native speakers communicating with the learners be unaware of the function of communication strategies and try to communicate in as natural a way as possible. This was the case with both the Bochum and the PIF conversations (see footnote 6), used as data for this paper: The native speakers were linguistically naive and had no specific knowledge of the research objectives.

[6]The language learner data used throughout this article are taken from two collections of such: data collected within the "PIF" project, Department of English, University of Copenhagen (marked *PIF* in the text); and data from the project "Kommunikative

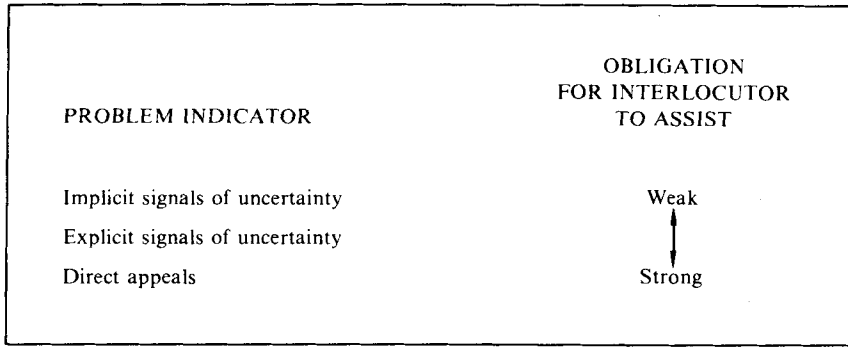

Figure 2. Effects of problem indicators on the interlocutor.

of vodka from the fridge), the hearer is confronted by an imposition which leaves him or her no "escape route" and instead in a position of having to either comply or refuse. In such cases, the "conditional relevance" (see Sacks 1972, for the original definition of this term), i.e., the degree to which a speech activity predetermines socially acceptable responding behaviour, is high. On the other hand, if addressed by an indirect request, for instance, a mild hint (*We had this fantastic vodka at Gitte's dinner last Wednesday*), the hearer's reaction possibilities are much more varied: It is possible to "take the hint," to ignore it, to engage in a discussion of the relative merits of various types of akvavit or of the party in question, etc. In this case, the conditional relevance of the speech act is low, as it allows for a wide range of socially acceptable responding behaviour. Similarly, interlocutors faced by direct appeals (see example (1) above) from learners are obliged to "help out" if they do not wish to behave in a markedly uncooperative way: The conditional relevance for assistance is high. If learners use signals of uncertainty, however, the interlocutors' range of acceptable reactions is wider, as can be illustrated by the following data:

(2) L: he is in - (kəʊ'li:ʒə] - ['kəʊli:dʃ] - I don't know what -
NS: college
L: yes
(PIF)

Kompetenz als realisierbares Lernziel," Seminar für Sprachlehrforschung, Ruhr-Universität Bochum (marked *Bochum* in the text). The PIF project is supported in part by a grant from the Danish Research Council for the Humanities, and the Bochum project by the German Research Council (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft).

[7] A hyphen in the examples indicates a pause relative to the speaker's speed of delivery.

(3) L: after my school I'll start erm (sigh) er - I learn erm shirts and er (laugh) can't explain that -
NS: no -
L: er - sy - [sy:] I I can't say that -
(*sy:* Danish for "sew")
(PIF)

In (2), the native speaker takes up the learner's handicap signal (*I don't know what*) in a cooperative way, providing the correct pronunciation. In (3), on the other hand, the native speaker only confirms the learner's explicitly marked formulation problem (*can't explain that*) without any attempt to provide the needed word or to find out what the learner is trying to communicate. Both the "cooperative" and the "uncooperative" alternative are socially acceptable responses due to the relatively low conditional relevance of the handicap signals used.

The interlocutor's reaction potential becomes even larger in cases where the learner's uncertainty can be detected only through the occurrence of performance features. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(4) NS: but you like reading books about history -
L: not about hist er this history -
NS: aha -
L: you know - er er young histories - er not not with this old things you know kings [NS: aha] or - all that - but er (laughs)
NS: (laughs) in er in er for example - what - 1930 - or so - do you mean - recent - [. . .]
(PIF)

(5) NS: [. . .][8] what er colour is it -
L: er skim - (laughs) [NS: laughs] er - er - - what's - colour is this - (points)
NS: er grey -
(*skim(let):* Danish for "grey")
(PIF)

Example (4) shows that the native speaker is trying to make sense of the learner's fragmentary hints and attempts at paraphrase by offering an approximation of what the learner might mean ("more recent history"). She starts on her feedback precisely after the learner's last attempt at paraphrase (*kings or all that*) which is accompanied by an increased use of

[8][. . .] indicates extraverbal activity.

filled and unfilled pauses and a laugh, thus taking up the learner's signals of uncertainty cooperatively. In (5), however, the native speaker does not take up on the learner's unambiguously marked problems (use of language switch to Danish, filled and unfilled pauses) and responds only after a direct appeal, the conditional relevance of which is strengthened even more by the learner's deictic gesture.

So far, we have focussed on the (para)linguistic means which can serve as problem indicators without as yet going into the various ways in which the learner might use them. Quite often, learners indicate through their kinetic behaviour whether or not they are appealing to their interlocutor for assistance. Thus, by using a lot of hesitation phenomena while looking appealingly at the interlocutor the learner's communicative activity may exert as strong a conditional relevance as a verbalized direct appeal. Conversely, what would usually function as an appeal may instead, with extraverbal specification, be used purely as an expressive problem indicator without any appealing force. In his first turn in the following example, the learner did *not* appeal for assistance even though he used what superficially looks like an appeal (*what do you call it*), because, at the same time, he interrupted the eye contact with the native speaker and looked concentratedly away. Thus the "appeal" functioned here as a gambit which allowed the learner to keep his turn before using a paraphrase as a communication strategy (see also Færch and Kasper 1983a, for the turn-keeping function of gambits):

(6) NS: ... how do you get on with girls -
L: oh (giggles) I'm very oh - what do you call it - you know (laughs) I get a red in my head - (giggles)
NS: yes shy
L: shy yer (giggles)
(PIF)

THE "PSYCHOLINGUISTIC" AND "INTERACTIONAL" DEFINITIONS COMPARED

Having discussed the interactional function of strategies in some detail, we can now return to the two definitions of communication strategies and discuss the implications of the argument offered above for a relative assessment of the two definitions. Communication strategies defined in interactional terms form a subset of what are considered strategies on the

basis of the psycholinguistic definition. This is illustrated in Figure 3, in which the hatched area represents interactionally defined strategies. The hatched subset has the following characteristics:

1. The learner's problem is marked in performance either by an implicit/explicit signal of uncertainty or by a direct appeal.
2. The signal is interpreted by the interlocutor as an appeal.
3. The interlocutor acts in a cooperative manner and helps the learner communicate his or her intended message.

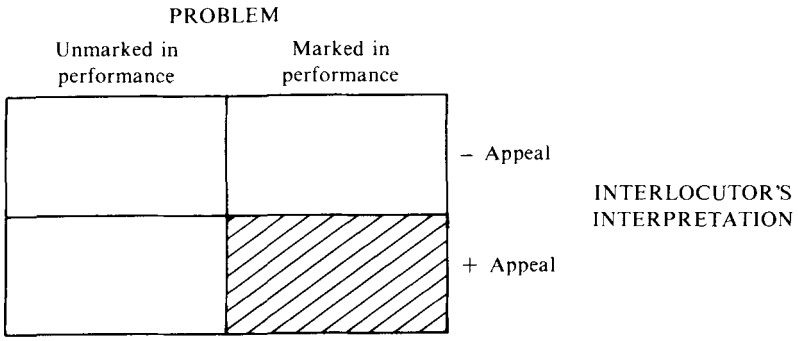

Figure 3. Manifestations of communication strategies and their interactional function.

Although we certainly consider the subset delimited by the interactional definition a highly significant aspect of IL communication and one worthy of specific investigation, we would like to maintain that the other, nonhatched, parts of the diagram also represent important aspects of strategic performance. First of all, it is clear from (videotaped) conversations between learners and native speakers that (1) native speakers do not always help learners out even when it is clear that they are having communicative problems—hence the learners have to find solutions themselves; (2) learners sometimes express that they are having a problem but that they want to solve it themselves. We see no reason for excluding such "noncooperative" problem solving from the area of communication strategies, in particular as the consequence of this would be that learners could not make use of communication strategies in noninteractional situations, as argued above under The Interactional Definition.

Second, it is a fairly well-known fact that advanced learners, who are capable of planning longer units, can often predict a communicative

problem well in advance and attempt to solve it beforehand, as part of the normal planning process. This means that the problem need not surface at all in connection with the problem spot itself but results in a lengthening of the regular planning pause. The speech of such learners will be characterized by a higher degree of "transition smoothness" at the articulatory phonetic level within constituent boundaries, whereas the transition smoothness between constituents or clauses will depend on their pause pattern: If learners make use of filled, in particular, lexicalized, pauses which are in accordance with the target language norm and which help them hold the floor, their overall fluency may be high in spite of their being "planners" (see Seliger 1980) and in spite of their making use of communication strategies.

Even advanced learners are likely to experience communication problems in their IL—in part simply because their communicative aspirations often increase with their developing IL proficiency. However, because of their less clearly marked foreigner roles their need for facesaving is often greater than is the case with less advanced learners. "Covertly" used communication strategies are ideally suited for such learners, and we feel that a definition of communication strategies which will be of relevance for learners beyond the more elementary levels should be comprehensive enough to incorporate these.

In conclusion, we can summarize our discussion of the two definitions of communication strategies by returning to the assessment criteria mentioned in the introduction to this article. As we have argued above, under The Interactional Definition, it is difficult to reconcile the typology of communication strategies proposed by Tarone with her interactional definition of strategies, no matter whether the latter is interpreted in terms of a "weak" or a "strong" claim. If one wanted to strengthen the internal consistency between the model and the analytical categories, it would be necessary to establish a new typology of communication strategies. Until this has been done, the psycholinguistic definition of strategies seems more adequate than the interactional definition with respect to internal consistency.

We have furthermore argued that the interactional definition covers a subset of the strategies encompassed in the psycholinguistic definition and that although this subset is extremely important for certain types of face-to-face communication, it leaves out of consideration strategic behaviour in other types of communication (e.g., in writing) and ignores the existence of "covert strategies." In our opinion, the psycholinguistic definition,

supplemented by a characterization of the interactional aspects of strategy use (An Interactional Perspective of Strategy Use above), provides a more adequate coverage of the relevant phenomena than the interactional definition.

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