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PROBLEM-SOLVING MECHANISMS IN INFORMATION EXCHANGE DIALOGUES WITH ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

Lisensiaatintutkimus

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ONGELMANRATKAISUMEKANISMIT ENGLANTIA LINGUA FRANCANA KÄYTTÄVISSÄ TIEDONVAIHTOKESKUSTELUISSA

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Englannin kielen käyttö lingua francana, kaikille osallistujille vieraana kielenä, on suhteellisen uusi tutkimusalue. Ongelmanratkaisumenetelmien (engl.problem-solving mechanism, PSM) (tai kommunikaatiostrategioiden) käyttöä ei ole empiirisellä aineistolla tutkittu juurikaan nimenomaan lingua-franca -näkökulmasta, ts. näkökulmasta joka tutkii ei-syntyperäisten keskinäistä viestintää sen omista lähtökohdista käsin, pitämättä syntyperäisten keskinäistä viestintää ihanteena. Tämän pääosin kvalitatiivisen tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli tutkia ongelmanratkaisumenetelmien käyttöä tiedonvaihtokeskusteluissa, joka on työelämän kannalta keskeinen diskurssityyppi. Eri ongelmanratkaisumenetelmien käytön kuvauksen lisäksi tavoitteena oli tarkastella, miten lingua-franca –asetelma vaikuttaa valitun ongelmanratkaisumallin toimivuuteen, ja minkä seikkojen keskustelujen osallistujat kokevat vaikuttavan ongelmanratkaisumenetelmien valintaan. Teoreettisena viitekehyksenä on toisaalta lingua-franca -englannin tutkimus, toisaalta ongelmanratkaisumenetelmien (t. kommunikaatiostrategioiden) teoriat. Valittu luokittelumalli perustuu ensisijaisesti Dörnyein ja Scottin esittämään malliin. Aineistona olivat videoidut haastattelut, jotka käytiin annetun tehtävän pohjalta. Dialogeissa käytettyjä ongelmanratkaisumekanismeja etsittiin ja luokiteltiin valitun viitekehyksen avulla, ymmärtämisongelmia etsittiin dialogia analysoimalla sekä vertaamalla sitä osanottajan kirjoittamaan kirjalliseen raporttiin ja osallistujien jälkikäteen antamiin lausuntoihin. Lisäksi osallistuja haastateltiin. Tutkimuksen tulosten mukaan osallistujilla oli taipumus käyttää sellaisia ongelmanratkaisumenetelmiä, jotka olivat taloudellisia, yhteistyötä edistäviä eivätkä uhanneet kummankaan kasvoja. Dörnyein ja Scottin malli todettiin pääosin toimivaksi, mutta tulokset jossain määrin tukivat sitä, että lingua-franca -viestinnässä tuottamismekanismit voivat kohdistua myös koettuihin tai ennakoitaviin puhekumppanin kielitaidon rajoituksiin. Osallistujien haastattelut paljastivat, että osallistujat kokivat ongelmanratkaisumekanismien valinnan perustuvan eri tekijöiden monisäikeiseen vuorovaikutukseen. Näitä tekijöitä olivat mm. koettu viestinnällisten tavoitteiden tärkeys, kasvojen säilytys nimenomaan kielen käyttäjänä, kiire, sekä oman ja puhekumppanin koetun kielitaidon taso. Näiden tekijöiden vuorovaikutus vaikutti siihen kokiko osallistuja noudattavansa laadun vai taloudellisuuden periaatetta ongelmanratkaisumenetelmän valinnassa. Lisäksi havaittiin, että toisinaan väärä tulkinta ongelman alkuperästä voi johtaa sellaisen ongelmanratkaisumenetelmän käyttöön, joka pahentaa alkuperäistä ymmärtämisongelmaa. Tulokset tukevat aiemmissa lingua-franca -tutkimuksissa esitettyjä vaatimuksia siitä, että kielenoppijat hyötyisivät lingua-franca -näkökulmasta opetussuunnitelmissa ja oppimateriaalissa. Lisäksi kiinnitetään huomiota lingua-franca -näkökulman laiminlyömiseen Euroopan Neuvoston Kielten oppimisen, opettamisen ja arvioinnin viitekehyksessä.

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PROBLEM-SOLVING MECHANISMS IN INFORMATION EXCHANGE DIALOGUES WITH ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

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The use of English as a lingua franca, non-native language for all participants involved, is a relatively new field of research. The use of problem-solving mechanisms (or communication strategies) has been little studied empirically with a lingua-franca approach, i.e. treating communication between non-natives in its own right, without using the native-speaker communication as a model. The objective of this predominantly qualitative study was to explore use of problem-solving mechanisms in information exchange dialogues, which is a typical discourse type in working life. In addition to the description of the use of PSMs, the aim was to study how the lingua-franca setting affects the relationship between the problem and the PSM in the model adopted, and how the interlocutors perceive the reasons for the use of PSMs and choices between various PSMs. The theoretical framework consisted of the study of lingua-franca English on the one hand, and the theory of problem-solving mechanisms (PSM, or communication strategies) on the other hand. The framework adopted is chiefly based on the model suggested by Dörnyei and Scott. The material consisted of elicited videotaped interviews. The PSMs used in the dialogues were identified and classified on the basis of the adopted framework, and understanding problems were sought through the analysis of the dialogue and by comparing it to both reports written by the information –seekers and post-dialogue commentary. In addition, participants were interviewed. The results indicate that participants tend to use PSMs that are economical, co-operative and do not threat the face of either participant. The model suggested by Dörnyei and Scott proved to work on general terms, but there was some evidence that production mechanisms in LF interaction can be used to address the limitations of the interlocutor's proficiency, either experienced or anticipated. The interviews of the participants revealed that the choice of PSMs was experienced to be based on a complex interplay between various factors. These factors include the perceived importance of the communicative goal, face consideration (especially as a language-user), time pressure, and both one's own and the other's (perceived) level of proficiency. The interplay of these factors affected the speaker's choice between clarity approach and quality approach in the choice of a PSM. In addition, it was found that occasionally a misinterpretation of the problem source can result in the use of such PSM that made the original understanding problem even worse. The results support the demands presented in earlier studies that language learners would benefit from a lingua-franca point of view in both the curriculum design and instructional materials of English. In addition, a point is made on the negligence of lingua-franca aspect in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment.

Keywords: lingua-franca, English as a foreign language (EFL), English as an International Language (EIL), communication strategies, problem-solving mechanisms

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CS	communication strategy
CEF	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment
ELF	English as a lingua franca
LF	lingua franca
LFI	lingua-franca interaction
LSP	languages for special purposes
NNS	non-native speaker
NS	native speaker
PSM	problem-solving mechanism
SLA	second-language acquisition

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Lingua-franca communication

Communication in a context where all interlocutors are non-native speakers of the language used can be called lingua franca (LF) communication (Meierkord & Knapp 2002: 9-10). At the moment, English is the most commonly used lingua franca. The number of non-native users of English exceeds that of native speakers in the world population, and situations where English is used as a lingua franca outnumber those where a native speaker is present (Seidlhofer 2003:7). The international or lingua-franca role of the English language has lead to the situation where English is not necessarily considered as the property of the native speakers alone (Jenkins 2000:6-7; Brumfit 2001:116).

Along with the macro-level debate on the role of English language and the rights of its non-native users, a rising concern about the lack of micro-level research, i.e. empirical research on the *use* of English as LF has been expressed by various scholars in the field, e.g. Cook (1997:48), Crystal (1999), Firth (1996), House (2002:261), Jenkins & Seidlhofer (2001), McKay (2003:7), and Seidlhofer (2003:14-21, 2001:147). Although L2 communication has been earlier approached by various disciplines with different viewpoints and emphasis, the viewpoint of lingua-franca research is, however, in many respects quite different.

Most lingua-franca research is characterised by discarding the native speaker as a standard, treating L2 speakers predominantly as *users* of language rather than *learners* of language, emphasis on the success in communication rather than failure, recognition of the uniqueness of lingua-franca contexts, and acknowledgment of the more elusive role of culture and community/society in communication. The description of lingua-franca language usage is still at an initial stage.

According to the contextualist constructionist position, all participants in a lingua-franca situation adapt themselves to the situation. In this process some culture-specific features may be suppressed while others are emphasised. In Koole & Ten Thije's (2001) terms, we are dealing with discursive interculture. According to Meierkord (2002:129) lingua-franca conversation is culturally a 'linguistic masala' where (1) the communicative goal and (2) the speaker's linguistic competence have a role equal to that of (3) various cultures involved. Moreover, participants possess different cultures (e.g. national, corporate, academic), and they may emphasise different culture in each situation. Spencer-Oatey & Jiang's (2003:1645) study on cross-cultural pragmatics

suggests three primary universal sociopragmatic principles (SIP) that participants follow in intercultural communication, emphasising them differently depending on the situation and culture. These three primary principles that have an effect on the linguistic choices are (1) face (both own and other's), (2) rights and obligations, and (3) task.

In the present study, a discourse type typical of international working life, an information exchange dialogue, is studied. Information exchange dialogue is characterised by information transmission, having the roles of an information-seeker and an information provider occupied (Becker et al 2000:96). As Seidlhofer (2003:22) points out, strategic language skills are likely to be useful in lingua-franca communication. Strategic language competence, as defined by Canale (1983:10), is used to compensate limitations in other competences. The aim of the present study is to have a closer look at this strategic language use, in other words, use of problem-solving mechanisms in information exchange dialogues with English as a lingua franca.

1.2 Problem-solving mechanisms

Participants in lingua-franca interaction are likely to face some trouble in their interaction due to the individual differences in their L2 use as well as intercultural differences. Problems can be addressed with problem-solving mechanisms (PSM), also known as communication strategies (CS). Depending on the stance taken, PSMs can be regarded as an *intra*individual or an *inter*individual phenomenon; an overt linguistic phenomenon or (mainly) covert cognitive phenomenon (Kasper and Kellerman 1997). Furthermore, its scope can be merely production of the speaker or it can include negotiations of meaning, or even problems other than referential. Also, PSMs can be seen as problem-oriented procedures or general communication enhancement procedures.

The theoretical framework of strategic language use adopted for the present study is by Dörnyei and Scott (1997), with some additions and modifications from Dörnyei and Kormos (1998). While the psycholinguistic approach to CS identifies psychological processes and the linguistic approach observable forms of language output, Dörnyei and Scott's framework aims to capture them both. The advantage is that it can provide a more comprehensive view on all resources available for the interlocutors when attending problems in lingua-franca communication. The definition of a PSM adopted for this study is that by Dörnyei and Scott with some modification:

A problem-solving mechanism is every potentially intentional attempt to cope with any at least partly language-related problem of which the speaker is potentially aware during the course of communication.

Although the earlier research of communication strategies (or problem-solving mechanisms) has produced a multitude of (even detailed) models to describe the strategic competence of language use of L2 speakers, they have failed to fully acknowledge the special features of *lingua-franca* communication, i.e. non-shared sociolinguistic knowledge of participants, limited linguistic resources of *all* participants, and the resource that mutual awareness of these limitations may offer in the attitudinal level. The main reason for the lack of the lingua-franca point of view in the CS theories presented is that the study of communication strategies seemed to fade in the background in late 1990's (however, see Littlemore 2001), when the lingua-franca thinking was only taking its first steps. Thus while e.g. the Dörnyei & Scott's model provides an extensive and detailed framework of various problem-solving mechanisms in oral interaction, it does not - without modifications - fit the present views of lingua-franca interaction.

1.3 Goal of the study

Although as early as 1985 Varonis and Gass found that negotiations of meaning (i.e. use of interactional problem-solving mechanisms) were more common between non-native speakers than in native-native or native-non-native dyads, still almost twenty years later McKay (2003:7) calls for more research on how strategies are used in repairing problems in comprehensibility in LF English communication. Apart from Wagner and Firth (1997), there has been no research conducted on PSMs with lingua-franca communication in focus.

The present study attempts to deal with three research questions:

RQ1: What problem-solving mechanisms (PSM) are used in an information exchange dialogue where English is used as a lingua franca?

RQ2: How does the lingua-franca setting affect the relationship between a problem and a PSM?

RQ3: How do the interlocutors perceive the reasons for the use of PSMs and for choices between various PSMs?

The first aim is descriptive, and with that I wish to contribute to the description of the lingua-franca use of English in one discourse type, information exchange dialogue. The second question aims to define to what extent Dörnyei and Scott's model can be applied to lingua-franca

communication, i.e. how the both participant's limited language proficiency and mutual awareness of it affects the way participants employ PSMs. The third aim is to explore the different reasons to use or not to use PSMs, as well as choices between various PSMs, from the language-user's point of view. The reasons participants present are discussed with reference to the two frameworks suggested above; Meierkord's linguistic masala, and Spencer-Oatey & Jiang's (primary) socio-pragmatic principles.

1.4 Data and methodology

There are two types of primary data in the present study: (1) elicited dialogues, which were videotaped and transcribed; and (2) participants' interview answers and retrospective commentary on the dialogue. The interview answers were first obtained through e-mail, and complemented later on in a face-to-face interview together with a retrospective commentary of the videotaped dialogue. Although the goal of the discourse is artificially created, the lingua-franca nature of the situation is real for the participants.

In order to answer the first question (RQ1), two methods of PSM identification will be used. PSMs will be identified (a) through an analysis of the recorded dialogues and (b) retrospective interviews of participants. This is a common combination of methods in the study of PSMs (or CS) (see e.g. Kasper & Kellerman 1997:3-4; Cohen 1998:36). In order to explore the second research question, the dialogues will be analysed. Traces of cases where the relationships between a PSM and a problem type does not seem to comply with Dörnyei and Scott's framework will be analysed, and participants will be asked to comment on them in the interviews. The third research question will be approached by viewing the videotaped recording individually with each participant to determine the reasons for the use/non-use of PSMs in troublesome parts of the conversation and the reasons for choice between different PSMs. Also, participants' comments on their communication history will be explored to explain the findings.

The approach adopted for RQ2 and RQ3 is qualitative. For RQ1, a simple quantification of the data will be done. The quantification has two functions: it is combined to the qualitative handling of the second and third research questions to provide a general picture of use of PSMs in LF communication, and second, it provides a context for the more local and more intensive qualitative study.

The general picture consists of a description of PSM use (RQ1), a revised framework of PSMs for LF use on the basis of Dörnyei and Scott (RQ2), and a suggestion what kind of

interplay the participants themselves find to be lying behind the use and choice of various PSM's (RQ3).

1.5 Structure of the study

The theoretical part consists of two chapters: In Chapter 2 the concept of lingua-franca language will be discussed and relevant earlier studies reviewed, while Chapter 3 will describe problem-solving mechanisms in general, and the model of adopted for the present study in particular. Chapter 4 will outline the research questions, discuss the methodological choices, describe the data and data collection procedure, and depict the principles of analysis. The results for all the three research questions will be presented in Chapter 5. Finally, in Chapter 6, the findings will be summarised, discussed, assessed in the light of previous research, and the limitations of the approach will be discussed. Also, some pedagogical and theoretical implications of the results will be presented and further research topics suggested, including suggestions to incorporate a lingua-franca aspects in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment.

2. ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA (ELF)

2.1 Emergence of the concept

Communication where all interlocutors are non-native speakers of the language used can be called lingua franca (LF) communication (for the history of this definition, see Meierkord & Knapp 2002:9-10). In such a situation, all speakers have learned the language employed as a foreign language, although sometimes situations where second language speakers participate are included in LF communication. Using a lingua franca has been an everyday activity for a great number of people for thousands of years. At present, English is the most commonly used lingua franca; it is used as a lingua franca by millions of people daily. In international business, as companies have expanded, English has gradually replaced local languages as the corporate language (see e.g. Harris & Barriega-Chiappini 2003, Vollstedt 2002). Also as a language of science and diplomacy, English is the most widely used language. It is generally agreed that the number of non-native users of English exceeds that of native speakers in the world population, and lingua-franca exchanges are estimated to account for 80% of all verbal exchanges in English in the world (for different estimates see e.g. Seidlhofer 2003:7). [1]

There are, however, scholars who do not favour using the term 'lingua franca' due its historical meanings or connotations (see Kachru 1997:67). Also terms 'World English', 'English as a world language', 'English as a global language', 'International English', 'English as an international language' (EIL), 'English as a medium of intercultural communication', and 'Intercultural English' are often used, to cover the lingua-franca use of English, but their definitions may be slightly different (see e.g. Modiano 1999; Seidlhofer 2003:9; Sifakis 2004). For example, EIL may be considered any communication taking place internationally between native and/or non-native speakers.

The international lingua-franca role of the English language has led to the situation where English is not necessarily considered as the property of the native speakers alone. The debate of the ownership to norm-making in the English language was active already in the 1980's, first concerning countries where English is the official second language (e.g. India, Nigeria), named as outer-circle countries by Kachru (1985). The new expansion to this debate emerged in the 1990s,

1 Other contributions to the debate of the lingua-franca role or international role of English include Firth & Wagner (1997), Goeble et als (1996), Kaye (1999), Toolan (1999) and Rajagopalan (1997).

when the communication between non-natives, i.e. those people who have learnt English and use English as a foreign language rather than a second language, came into focus. The ownership of the language, as Jenkins (2000:6-7) and Brumfit (2001:116) point out, has to be reconsidered, i.e. the question who has the right to adapt, change, and decide on correctness when communication between non-natives is in question. This changing ownership has already been acknowledged by e.g. Oxford University Press, who have expressed willingness to include items of non-native usage of language in their dictionaries (i.e. lexis that would be considered ungrammatical by some native norm), once it is proved by a corpus study that the item is universally used and understood by competent *non-native* speakers (Seidlhofer 2003:21). In addition to the ownership question, the pedagogical questions raised by the new viewpoint role have been under discussion.

2.2 Towards lingua-franca approach in language pedagogy

Much of the debate on the role of English as an international language has concerned the pedagogical implications of this new role (see e.g. Alptekin 2002; Cook 1997; Firth and Wagner 1997; Gnutzmann 1999b; Jenkins and Seidlhofer 2001; Mautner 1999; McKay 2003; House 2001; Sifakis 2004; Todd 1999.) The relevance and effectiveness of native-speaker language as a model to be learned for lingua franca contexts has been questioned by e.g. Seidlhofer (2002:238, 2001:138). Also, non-native speakers' right to linguistic creativity and maintenance of their personal pragmatic and discoursal accents in language learning has been demanded by various scholars. Crystal (1999) demands that language pedagogy should encourage "diversity as a reflection of identity" while simultaneously maintain intelligibility. A demand with a similar tone is made by House (2002:260-261), who calls for such teaching of pragmatic competence that should empower learners to retain their own personalities and individual discourse styles. A more detailed suggestion for a pedagogical approach with a view similar to that of House's is provided by Sifakis (2004). Doyé (1999:97-103), in turn, provides a model for what he calls "cultural studies" and "world studies", to be incorporated in ELF studies.

As Seidlhofer (2002:283-285) points out, though, the idea of an international form of English for pedagogical purposes is not new, but as early as in 1930's the idea of "Basic English" was fiercely discussed. In the present debate of lingua-franca, the main issue, though, is not simplification of the code, but rather admitting the leading role of mutual intelligibility in communication, together with respect towards all participant's native cultures and "communicative accents", and discarding the native speaker competence as the only goal of learning as well as the

reference point for assessment. Seidlhofer (ibid: 272-273) argues that while cultural neutrality of a language is not possible, there are degrees of cultural loadedness, (e.g. proverbs and idioms representing the culturally loaded end). She suggests an ELF model that should as free possible of cultural baggage from ENL cultures, although these features are used in language.

Also critical voices towards lingua-franca approach have been expressed (see for example Chevillet 1999). They have included notions that English as a natural language can evolve only in the community of native speakers, and thus the judgement of acceptability must be left to native speakers. Others fear that too liberal an attitude and extreme relativism will result in mutual non-understanding.

The lingua-franca aspect and its potential implications to language pedagogy and assessment have had little influence on the Common European Framework of Reference for Language (Council of Europe 2001), which provides a framework for learning, teaching and assessment. While on the general level the Framework acknowledges the need to use complex competence in plurilingual and pluricultural contexts (ibid: 4, 168), the assessment criteria suggested in the framework concentrate mainly of the language users' competence to use language within the target-culture society, with native speakers, and like a native speaker. The following extract (ibid:76), which is provided as an assessment criterion for conversations skills at level B2, is an example of negligence of the lingua-franca aspect of communication. Rather, it emphasizes the ideal of total convergence to the target language and culture:

> [The language user] can sustain relationships with native speakers without unintentionally amusing or irritating them or requiring them to behave other than they would with a native speaker. (Council of Europe 2001:76)

These kind of descriptions are to some extent in contradiction with e.g. the plurilingualist approach presented in the same document (ibid: 2), which comprises flexible use of various languages in order to achieve communicative goals. The native-use biased attitude, admittedly, may be somewhat more understandable with languages less often used as lingua franca. However, in addition to English, the assessment of skills in many other European languages (e.g. German, Spanish, French) would benefit from a lingua-franca approach. Especially in the case of English, neglecting the lingua-franca aspect of language use cannot be justified. Furthermore, considering the acknowledgement of plurilingual approach in the general parts of the framework and the acknowledgement of strategic skills (see Appendix 8), the negligence of lingua-franca aspect in the descriptions of language skill levels is even more unforgivable.

While implicitly acknowledging the lingua-franca role of languages in general, with the above-mentioned goals of convergence, the Common European Framework seems to be still

quite far away from the goals set for English as lingua-franca teaching by e.g. Jenkins and Seidlhofer (2001, my emphasis):

> …learners need descriptions drawn from interactions between *non-native* speakers in the contexts in which they too will later participate…

or by e.g. Crystal (1999)

> ELT [English language teaching] policy-making, accordingly, should make diversity its central principle […] The chief task facing ELT is how to devise pedagogical policies and practices in which the need to maintain an international standard of intelligibility […] can be made to comfortably exist alongside the need to recognize the importance of international diversity, as a reflection of identity…

Seidlhofer (2003:21) reminds that the reason for modest achievements in establishing lingua-franca oriented language learning curricula is not only the attitude but also the lack of descriptive study of lingua-franca English that the learning material could be based on. The aim of this study is to contribute to the descriptive study lingua-franca English usage.

2.3 Features of lingua franca studies

Along with the macro-level debate on the role of English language and the rights of its non-native users, a rising concern about the lack of micro-level research, i.e. empirical research on the *use* of English as LF has been expressed by e.g. Cook (1997:48), Crystal (1999), Firth (1996), House (2002:261), Jenkins & Seidlhofer (2001), McKay (2003:7), and Seidlhofer (2003:14-21, 2001:147). Despite the rising concern, few scholars have attempted empirical research with LF data. These exceptions include Meierkord's (1996, 1998, 2000, 2002) studies on small talk, Firth's (1990, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, unpublished) on business phone calls, Wagner and Firth (1997), which is the only study where the communication strategies are studied with a lingua-franca approach, Meeuwis's (1994) study on engineers' language in an international workplace, Mauranen's (2004) study on use of formulaic sequences in academic lingua franca, House's (2002, 1999) studies on pragmatic fluency at student meetings, Lesznyak's (2002) study on topic management in the same meetings, Haegeman's (2002) study on business telephone calls, Knapp (2002), and Gass and Varonis (1989). Several of these will be discussed in more detail below.

Although lingua franca communication has not been the name of the field of research before 1990's, L2 communication (i.e. communication of speakers who use the language as a second language or a foreign language) has been earlier approached by various disciplines with different viewpoints and emphasis. Contact linguistics is an interdisciplinary linguistics research

that has studied contacts between language groups and individuals, also those using a lingua franca. (For a review in general, see Oksaar 1996; for a pragmatic approach in contact linguistics, see Schiffrin 1996). The vast body of research of second language acquisition (SLA) research has studied the (development of) proficiency of a non-native speaker, thus often from a learning point of view (for a review, see e.g. Ellis 1990; Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991; Lightbown 2000). In the field of pragmatics, interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) (see e.g. Bardovi-Harlig 1999; Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei 1998; Kasper 1996; Kasper & Schmidt 1996, Kasper & Blum-Kulka 1993; Kasper & Rose 1999; Dogancay & Sibel 1997) is part of the SLA, while cross-cultural pragmatics, in turn, compares the pragmatic conventions of different language and culture groups, thus coming under the domain of intercultural communication (see e.g. Boxer 2002; Davis & Henze 1998). In the SLA-based research, the non-native speaker is treated as a deviant, non-competent learner of the language, whose competence or performance is compared to the ideal native speaker. A similar "obsession" of a native-speaker ideal can be seen behind cross-cultural pragmatics, at least its pedagogical applications, which are looking for pragmatic differences between languages so that the learners of L2 could overcome them. Non-nativeness has been treated as an illness for which cure is sought.

The viewpoint of lingua-franca research is, however, in many respects quite different. Most lingua-franca research is characterised by the following views:

(1) Discarding the native speaker as a standard of a speaker, and native speaker communication as an ideal model. In Seidlhofer's (2001:150) words, the focus is shifted from "Can one say that in English as a mother tongue?" to "Has this been said and understood in English as a lingua franca?"
(2) Treating L2 speakers predominantly as *users* of language rather than *learners* of language (Firth and Wagner 1997:286-289)
(3) Highlighting the success in communication rather than failure (Meierkord and Knapp 2002:16; Firth 1996:239).
(4) Recognition of the uniqueness of lingua-franca contexts compared to native or NS-NNS settings (Seidlhofer 2001:138)
(5) Acknowledgment of the more elusive role of culture and community/society in communication (Firth 1990, 1996; Meierkord 1998), including sociopragmatic knowledge (Spencer-Oatey and Jiang 2003.)

Rather than illness, the role of non-nativeness in language use ranges from a limiting factor to an irrelevant one, and still further to an acceptable (phonological, pragmatic etc) accent or even a

resource (see Kasper 1997:355-358). The last two items in the list (4 and 5) - context and culture - will be further elaborated in Chapters 2.5, 2.7 and 2.8.

Two extensive sources of spoken lingua-franca data will be available in the future as two English as lingua franca –corpuses, being compiled at the moment, will be finished. At Tampere University, Finland, ELFA project, i.e. English as Lingua Franca in Academic Settings, has been launched (Mauranen 2003:124) with the aim of compiling a corpus of spoken lingua franca English from academic settings (e.g. lectures, seminars, conferences). The other corpus under construction is called VOICE, Vienna-Oxford ELF Corpus (Jenkins & Seidlhofer 2001; Seidlhofer 2003: 17-18, 2002:295-296), which is also spoken language corpus including all kinds of private and public dialogues, group discussions among non-natives in environments where the predominant language is not English. While initial findings in pragmatics and phonology of lingua-franca English are reached, Seidlhofer (2003:17) wishes to concentrate on lexico-grammar and discourse in her corpus studies.

The lingua-franca approach, concretized in the five points listed above, can also be seen in the attempts to reconceptualise the different groups of speakers. Jenkins (2000:9-10), in her extensive study on the phonology of international English, questions the conventional concepts of "non-native" and "native" speaker. Jenkins points out that it is morally questionable "to label as 'non-native speaker' those who learnt English as a second or foreign language and achieved a bilingual status as fluent, proficient users". This has lead to a simplistic view of what is an error and non-native speakers are being "measured against an unrealistic and irrelevant standard". Instead, she suggests three new categories: (1) monolingual English speakers (MES), (2) bilingual English speakers (BES) including both native speakers who speak another language fluently and fluent non-native speakers of English, and (3) non-bilingual English speakers (NBES) i.e. non-fluent, non-native speakers of English. It should be noted here that to Jenkins, bilingual does not mean equally competent in both languages. She admits, though, that making the distinction between BES and NBES is far from non-problematic.

Somewhat similarly to Jenkins, Modiano (1999) wishes to revise the Kachru's (1985, 1997) original idea of the inner, outer, and expanding circles of English speakers. Modiano's inner circle includes those native speakers who are able to speak internationally intelligible variety as well as fluent non-native speakers, while the outer circle would consist of native speakers whose only variety (or varieties) of English would be unintelligible for most English speakers outside his community as well as non-native speakers whose proficiency is at a low level. Drawing the borderlines according to this model, naturally, is no less problematic than with Jenkins's model.

The question is, to whom exactly the speech should be intelligible to be qualified as a BES or inner circle speaker. As Jenkins (2000:79) denotes, the listener is partly responsible in the making of the speaker's accent intelligible by converging receptively to the speaker's accent: "Thus, even at the level of pronunciation, intelligibility is dynamically negotiable between speaker and listener, rather than statically inherent in a speaker's linguistic forms…"

As was mentioned in point 4 above, context in lingua-franca interaction has several unique features compared to NS communication or even NS-NNS communication. Context is an important factor in communication, and can be partly considered predetermined, partly activated cotextually during the conversation. The macro-context of lingua-franca communication is introduced in the most extensive volume on the lingua-franca English (so far) with empirical research findings by Knapp and Meierkord (eds.) 2002. In the introduction of that volume, Meierkord and Knapp (2002:10) summarize the essence of lingua-franca(s) in the light of recent empirical studies by highlighting the diversity and heterogeneity of lingua-franca(s). According to them, lingua-francas serve various purposes, are used by a heterogeneous group of speakers for whom the lingua-franca may have different status (a second or a foreign language), share several common features, but may still be difficult to be taught as such due to all this diversity. Also, they (ibid: 11) claim that the users of lingua franca would mainly belong to the upper highly mobile classes of society.

McKay (2003:2) points out that many non-native users of English use the language for some specific purposes, and often in multilingual contexts. Thus the use of more than one language in the same situation, resorting to non-English vocabulary, etc. may rather be a default context than an exception in lingua-franca communication. Part of the reason for that may be that the topics that LF speakers need to communicate on may not be connected to any English-speaking community, but to their own communities and cultures. Therefore McKay (ibid: 17) underlines that the pedagogical solutions of English as a lingua franca should be sensitive to the local cultural context.

Jenkins (2000:75) suggests that, paradoxically, the lack of *any* contextual features – at least on the level of socio-cultural knowledge - is the most prevailing contextual feature in lingua-franca interaction, especially among less competent speakers (NBES). Since the socio-cultural knowledge is not shared, interactants have to rely more on the linguistic input, i.e. they are more dependent on bottom-up than top-down processing (cf. Brown and Yule 1983:234)[2]. Context-

2 Brown and Yule (1983:234) introduce the idea of top-down processing and bottom-up processing in the following way: "We work out the meanings of the words and structure of a sentence and build up a composite meaning for the sentence (i.e. bottom-up processing). At the same time, we are predicting, on the basis of the context plus the composite meaning of the sentences already processed, what the next sentence is most likely to mean (i.e. top-down processing)."

related sense-making procedures are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.10.

Kasper (1997:348) points out that in any intercultural encounter (NS-NNS or LF) all parties are somewhat defective in their possession of a shared assumptive framework and resources. First, the core proficiency levels of (one or more of the) interlocutors may be different and inadequate for the communication purposes at hand. Second, interlocutors do not share assumptions and conventions of meaning and form. Thus, according to Kasper (ibid), although NNS are handicapped because they do not have the contextually relevant knowledge, the native speakers are handicapped as well as they cannot use their knowledge with non-natives without adjustments. This view of partial similarity between NS-NNS communication and LF communication has been supported by empirical studies by e.g. Mauranen (2003:130) and Meierkord (1998).

In lingua-franca interaction (LFI), however, the lack of contextually relevant knowledge may be even more prominent. Jenkins (2000:77) argues that while in LFI probably more than any other context, "successful communication depends on the ability of speakers to compensate for listeners' linguistic and extralinguistic inadequacies, speakers are not well equipped to do so". These inadequacies occur partly in what Gumperz (1982:5, 35-37) calls contextualisation cues, i.e. linguistic and paralinguistic signals by which speakers often implicitly negotiate meanings. As this is the case, the participants may be compelled to employ strategic means of enhancing the interaction, i.e. to use problem-solving mechanisms.

Jenkins (2000:81) further claims that because contextual and cotextual elements can interact with the speech signal and compensate for its limitations in NS-NS and for the NNS in NS-NNS communication (top-down processing), in LF communication the speech signal is likely to contain so much phonological transfer from speaker's L1 that successful communication is more in danger. However, if this were a unanimous truth, it would mean that NNSs find it more often than not easier to communicate with NS than with other NNS. As for intelligibility, the results of Pihko (1997:110) indicate that there is no correspondence between intelligibility of a variety and it being non-native or native. Pihko (ibid: 45) suggests a model of intelligibility factors consisting of both speaker and listener factors, including the hearer's familiarity with the speaker's accent. Admittedly, there is more to successful communication than intelligibility of the accent. Still Jenkins's claim on the inherent vulnerability of LF interaction compared to NS-NNS interaction is somewhat suspicious.

From the language learning point of view, this lack of a native community with its communication rules and conventions in LF communication is most interesting. In SLA research, the term 'target language' is used, and along with it, the 'target community' referring to the

community in which the learner will predominantly use the language. Kasper and Schmidt (1996:156) argue that, for a second language learner, optimal (rather than total) convergence to the target community norms is a desirable goal. However, if the language learner knows that in the future s/he will use the language in lingua franca situations rather than within an NS community, it is unlikely that we can easily define the target community, e.g. identify lingua franca communities with their own communication norms and preference, to which the learners would converge. This idea is supported e.g. by McKay (2003).

Seidlhofer (2001:138) has rightly stated that some of the lingua-franca contexts are unique, i.e. they cannot be met in NS-NNS or NS-NS communication as such. We can assume that a non-native speaker can meet with such conversations that would never occur between native speakers. For example, a Finnish and a German lecturer might want to compare each other's school systems, and, although the school systems are very culture-specific, they would still be compelled to use the English-language terms to describe the concepts of their own culture. These English terms, however, have been originally developed to describe schools in English-speaking countries and as such may not have direct referents in the Finnish or the German school system. Or the other way round, German and Finnish school systems may have some elements that the English language cannot describe unambiguously. This kind of gap between meanings of lexical items and their references is hardly ever met by a NS to the same extent. Doyé (1999:96) describes a similar situation where the English word 'farmer' is used by a German and a Turkish speaker in their ELF conversation. The interlocutors, however, are able to discuss the differences between the English concept 'farmer' and its closest counterparts in their L1's. Thus English is used as a *tertium comparationis*, a means that offers a common reference of knowledge which the German and Turkish concepts can be compared to.

Another specific feature prevalent in lingua franca interaction is the absence of the dominance of the native speaker deriving from her familiarity with the language and its culture. If there is inequality in the situation, it derives from the relative social relationship and/or status of the interlocutors, not from the mastery of the language and/or sociolinguistic knowledge. Nevertheless, if the proficiency levels of the participants differ considerably, it may bring along some asymmetry.

Due to nature of lingua-franca communication as discussed above, problems of understanding can be assumed to be unavoidable in LF. Several studies have shown that it is not the correctness but mutual comprehensibility that is usually of primary importance for successful LF communication (e.g. Meierkord and Knapp 2002:16; Jenkins 2000:9). In order to explore

understanding problems in LFI, in the next chapter, I would like to make a justified divergence from the specific lingua-franca approach to the concept of understanding in general.

2.4 On (not) understanding

Following Bazzanella & Damiano (1999), understanding problems can be roughly classified into *mis*understanding and *non*-understanding. In (1) *mis*understanding one or several of the interlocutors - usually retrospectively - detect that one of the interlocutor's has different understanding from that of another. (2) *Non*-understanding, on the other hand, means that one or several interlocutor(s) sense that no (mutual) understanding is achieved, and usually the interlocutors can detect this more promptly.

House (1999:78) divides *mis*understanding into four types:

(1) Operational misunderstandings, where expectation patterns (scripts, schemas) are stronger than input, or because situations are over-rehearsed (by NNSs) so that a participant "does not listen",
(2) Language-based misunderstandings (on any level of language)
(3) Conceptually based misunderstandings, where culture-specific pragmatic and discourse knowledge (as well as different knowledge of the world) cause misunderstanding
(4) Strategic misunderstanding (deliberately used by speakers to gain advantage)

To make a more detailed distinction, Smith and Nelson (1985) divide *language*-based understanding problems into three levels, those of:

(1) Intelligibility, i.e. word and utterance recognition
(2) Comprehensibility, i.e. understanding the propositional content/locutionary force
(3) Interpretability, i.e. understanding speaker's intention in producing the utterance/illocutionary force.

Both misunderstanding and non-understanding can take place in Smith and Nelson's all three levels of understanding, intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability. In Table 1 I have attempted to combine the levels presented by Smith and Nelson with the distinction between misunderstanding and non-understanding. All examples in the table are my fabrications.

The reasons for misunderstanding can also sometimes stem from the discourse level. House (1999:85) found that misunderstandings were caused by interactants' lack of pragmatic fluency, by which she means marked non-smoothness of the turn-taking machinery and conversational mismanagement. Discourse-level methods for handling understanding problems in LF interaction will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.7.

Table 1 Examples of misunderstanding and non-understanding at the different levels of understanding.

Level of understanding	Misunderstanding	Non-understanding
Intelligibility	The speaker's word 'cold' is understood as 'gold' (due to e.g. mishearing or marked pronunciation of the consonant)	The hearer cannot understand the utterance "It's so cold" (because of e.g. marked pronunciation, hearing impairment, noise).
Comprehensibility	The hearer understands an utterance in the different way from the speaker meaning (e.g. because of top-down processing of a marked expression, or top-down processing an expression non-marked but unknown to the hearer, or due to difference in the knowledge of the world, etc)	The hearer does not understand the propositional meaning of the utterance at all (because e.g. she cannot make sense of the sentence structure, or the speaker uses words unknown to her, or the speaker's language is so marked)
Interpretability	The hearer misinterprets the speaker's illocutionary force, e.g. understands a request as a promise	The hearer understands the propositional content of the speaker's utterance but does not understand how it is relevant at this phase of the discourse

Problems of understanding can be treated by participants retrospectively after detecting the problem, but due to the participants' orientation to the lingua-franca nature of the situation, also anticipatorily, in attempts to prevent anticipated understanding problems before or during the utterance. This can be done by problem-solving mechanisms, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. Another factor that complicates the reaching of mutual understanding in LF interaction, and, as discussed above, whose role is very elusive, is culture. The role of culture will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.5 Three approaches to culture in LF communication

Although the present study does not focus on intercultural communication, it is impossible to ignore this aspect in the discussion on lingua-franca communication, as most of it is also intercultural. Thus an important question in the research of lingua-franca communication is the role of culture(s): on one hand, to what extent the participants function according to the rules of their home culture and native language, and, on the other hand, how much is locally constructed for the purposes at hand, independently of native language and culture. In addition, what is the cultural significance of

the common language, i.e. how much culture other than the speakers', the language of communication (in this case English) brings to the situation.

Another distinction should be made about how we approach the role of culture: On the one hand the question is how much our linguistic choices are influenced by the culture involved in the communication (speaker's own culture, surrounding culture, culture of the language). On the other hand, to what extent potentially culture-bound *linguistic choices cause problems* in communication, since culturally differently motivated choices do not per se cause problems in communication. Firth (1990:274-275) suggests that reflexive awareness that the other is using a lingua franca allows the participants to be "more relaxed" in finding alternative interpretations and judging pragmatic appropriateness. This would mean that lingua-franca awareness would even smooth problems down. However, several studies show that cultural differences in interactional style may cause difficulties in cross-cultural communication (for a review, see e.g. Piirainen-Marsh 1995:66). Mauranen (2003:121) makes an interesting remark that the study of lingua-franca can bring new insights into what is more culture-specific and what is universal in communication. Blommaert (1991:25) defines the role of culture in intercultural communication by denoting that consensus is created by the interlocutors by suppressing some culture-specific interpretations, and clarifying some others.

Kasper (1997:357-358) names three epistemological positions to the role of culture in intercultural communication: (i) deterministic, essentialistic, (ii) myopic constructionist, and (iii) contextualist constructionist position. In the first, deterministic, essentialistic approach, subjects and their worlds are seen as stable objects. Pre-given regulative normative models exist independently of social interaction. This means that high emphasis is put to context factors, participants' native culture, and L1 transfer. This stand is typical of the study of cross-cultural pragmatics (see e.g. Tyler 1995). According to Boxer (2002:150-151), in cross-cultural pragmatics individuals from the societies and communities are seen to carry out their interactions following their own rules or norms. Results from e.g. Meeuwis (1994:75) support this stand in LF communication. He studied interaction of Belgian and Korean engineers in English and found that there was sometimes a clear pragmalinguistic interference from home languages. According to Meeuwis, the significance of the discourse structure and pragmalinguistics of one's home language is quite high in lingua-franca conversations. Meeuwis argued that mutual recognition of non-nativeness allowed repairs and negotiations of meaning. Here it should be highlighted that his results concerned *pragmalinguistic* interference, i.e. differences in mapping of pragmatic force onto an utterance, and not *sociopragmatic* interference , i.e. the social conditions and norms of language use (for explanation

of the difference, see Leech 1983:10-11; Thomas 1983:99.) Among lingua-franca oriented scholars, this deterministic stand has few supporters.

The second, myopic constructionist point is the opposite: participant identity is produced locally and no participant attribute matters unless it is conversationally manifest. The use of language is mostly free from culture, as it is used only for "specific limited purposes" (Meierkord and Knapp 2002:15). The context is reduced to the microcosm of the ongoing encounter. Some empirical findings support the legitimacy of this approach. For example, Meierkord (1996) found in her study that L1 interactional norms do not interfere with the speech in lingua-franca conversation. Also Nikula (1996:209) found very little sociopragmatic transfer in the use of pragmatic force modifiers (in NS-NNS interaction). Bae (2002:213) and House (1999:85) did not find communication failures in lingua-franca interaction due to culturally different type of language use. House has named this position as Culture-Irrelevance Hypothesis (CIH). This approach is also typical of scholars in the tradition of ethnomethodological conversation analysis, CA (Schegloff et al 2002:9).

The third view, which probably presently has most support among researchers of LF communication, is the contextualist constructionist position, which acknowledges both the previous points of view: the pre-texts, e.g. beliefs, values, ideologies, conventions and practices may affect - but do not finally determinatively predict - action in discourse. Kasper (1997:358) suggests that in this approach, interlocutors are considered constructive "agents who reconstitute and restructure identities, attributions, social knowledge and practices through the dynamics of the interaction." Blommaert (1991:23, 25) calls for research on the *way* in which culture-specific categories and interlocutors' ways of interaction contribute to the situation-dependent mutual understanding. Both (all) participants in a situation adapt themselves to the situation, in which process some culture-specific features may be suppressed while others are emphasised. In Koole & Ten Thije's (2001) terms, we are dealing with discursive interculture.

House has later on changed her view on the meaning of culture. While in her earlier study (House 1999:85), she found support for the cultural irrelevance, in her later study (House 2002:260-261) she concluded that the later results do not unanimously support it. Meierkord quite interestingly (2002:127) argues that speakers in her study followed the sociopragmatic rules of Anglo-American culture in their LF interaction in the choice of topics. In the same study, Meierkord found evidence of pragmalinguistic transfer from speakers' mother tongues (formulation of routine formulae).

According to the contextualist constructionist view, in addition to importing rules from one's home culture and modifying them for the situation at hand, it is likely that participants evolve unique rules for their interaction, which may be called an inter-culture or lingua-franca culture. This has been shown by empirical studies of Firth (1990 and 1996) and Meierkord (2002, 1998).

Meierkord (2000) points out that there are at least three (national) cultures involved in English as a lingua franca situation (of two participants): the individual mother cultures of both participants and the culture of e.g. Britain or US acquired along with the language. I argue that in some cases the number of cultures involved can be multiplied: consider a situation where a Greek businessman, representing an American company, and a Lithuanian businessman, representing a Japanese company, participate in a business negotiation at a fair in Germany, and the negotiations are held in English. The cultures which evidently have some significance in that situation are more than two.

2.6 Interplay of contextual features

Intercultural communication – which definition inherently applies to nearly all LF communication as well - does not consist of the mere sum of or a compromise between the various cultures involved. Meierkord (2002:114-117) found in her empiric study of dinner-table LF conversations three different relationships between native language/culture and lingua-franca English. First, there were features where the native language influence was clearly shown (use of proverbial language, formulation of routine greetings etc). Second, there were features that were totally unrelated to speakers' cultural background, such as pausing behaviour. For example, intra-turn pauses are highly untypical for Arab culture, yet they were common among some Arab speakers. This could be explained by language competence, i.e. these might have been processing pauses. Third, interestingly, some features like the amount of overlapping speech and turn length, correlated with speaker's cultural backgrounds, but did not reflect conventions or norms in their mother tongues. As a conclusion, Meierkord (ibid: 128-129) states that lingua-franca conversation is culturally a 'linguistic masala' where (1) the communicative goal and (2) the speaker's linguistic competence have a role equal to that of (3) various cultures involved. Moreover, participants possess different cultures (e.g. national, corporate, academic), and they may emphasise different culture in each situation. Furthermore, these blend with the personalities of participants, the purpose of the conversation, and the setting.

In this masala of goal, competence and culture, it seems to be the goal of the communication situation that has been most often neglected as a potential explanation for a feature of communication in LF studies. Sometimes scholars suggest that their findings show universal features of lingua-franca communication while neglecting the communicative goal of the situation in focus. For example, discarding or avoiding linguistically difficult topics may well be a feature of lingua-franca small talk, but would hardly be a feature in a business negotiation with a predetermined set of topics[3]. The importance of goal or task in speaker's linguistic choices in L2 use of language, however, has been established in earlier communication strategy studies (Poulisse 1997:49).

While face[4] considerations are not part of Meierkord's linguistic masala explicitly, in her earlier studies, Meierkord (2000, 1998) found that informal LF interaction differs from informal NS interaction in discourse structure and politeness. The discourse structure characteristics of LF interaction include safe and shorter topics, longer pauses both in and between the turns, little variation in the routine formulae, and a high number of sentence completions, restatements, and cajolers. These features can be explained by means of the maxim of clarity, and mutual perception of shared linguistic incompetence. These, according to Meierkord (2000), are in turn based on two basic principles: (1) Politeness, i.e. wish to save face (e.g. by avoiding expressions that may cause misunderstanding), and (2) showing benevolent attitude (e.g. by cajolers and ample back-channelling). Meierkord's principles are not actually very far from the two pragmatic principles that Leech (1983) suggested to be prevalent in all communication: politeness principle and co-operative principle (the latter originally suggested by Grice 1975). However, Knapp's (2002:241) study quite clearly shows that benevolent attitude is not a universal principle in LF interaction, but dependent on the communicative goals of participants.

Face may be an important highlight in the framework suggested by Meierkord, although it can be working within all three components of Meierkord's masala (face is dependent on one's culture, the display of a poor language competence as well as a failure to reach a goal may be treated as threats to face). Also in her study of NS-NNS conversations, Piirainen-Marsh (1995) found that linguistic choices are dependent on language competence as well as social and interpersonal constraints (including face) in a complex manner.

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[3] Although Haegeman (2002:152) found that overtly stated non-understanding may lead to dropping the topic even in business calls.

[4] Brown and Levinson's (1987:60-61) classical idea of face consists of a *positive* face, interactant's desire to be approved, constantly maintain positive self-image; and a *negative* face is the desire for freedom of action, the basic claim to territories. In this discussion of face concerns, it is mainly the positive face that is in focus.

Two other views on the interplay of various factors affecting LF communication, from somewhat different angle, need to be mentioned: Spencer-Oatey & Jiang (2003:1645) in their sociopragmatic study suggest an interplay of sociopragmatic principles that function together with distance and relative power. The four primary principles that "help manage people's basic interactional motivations" are (1) face (both own and other's), (2) rights and obligations, and (3) task. They expect the principles to be universal, although they would be differently emphasized depending on situation and culture. In addition, they suggest secondary principles that vary according to the context.

Lesznyák (2002:188-189) bases her interplay of factors in LFI on Kim's (1991) ideas on intercultural competence. Lesznyak's interplay of factors affecting communication includes (1) limited communicative competence, (2) cultural difference, (3) intergroup posture (i.e. interactants see each other as representatives of a group rather than unique persons), and (4) stress.
Table 2 presents Meierkord's linguistic masala, Spencer-Oatey & Jiang's sociopragmatic principles, and Lesznyak's view. As the different scholars represent different paradigms, the placement of two factors on the same line of the table does not suggest total correspondence, but should be considered a rough approximation. In the present study, these three suggested models will later be referred to, when the speakers' motivations for PSM choices are discussed.

Table 2 Factors affecting LF communication

Meierkord's linguistic masala	**Spencer-Oatey & Jiang's primary socio-pragmatic principles**	**Lesznyak's factors affecting LF communication**
Goal	Task	
Linguistic competence		Communicative competence
Cultures		Cultural differences Intergroup posture
	Distance	
(Face)	Face	
(Benevolence)		
	Rights and obligations	
		Stress
	Relative power	

2.7 Linguistic and discoursal features of lingua-franca interaction

Jenkins's (2000) book on phonology of English is probably the most comprehensive study on any aspect of language with a lingua-franca approach. The reason why Jenkins has explored this field so extensively is explained by her empirical study where she identified sources of communication breakdown in LF interaction. She (ibid: 86-87) found that pronunciation caused most communication breakdowns (27 out of 40 breakdowns) in her data. Jenkins's final aim in the book is pedagogical; on the basis of her findings she introduces a phonological core, which includes features that she found crucial to intelligibility in LF interaction. The features include most consonant sounds, appropriate consonant cluster simplification, vowel length distinctions, and nuclear stress (ibid: 132).

Depending on the participants' proficiency levels, there can be a different amount of grammatically marked language in LFI. However, this marked language does not necessarily cause misunderstanding or non-understanding. For example, Jenkins and Seidlhofer (2001) show in their study of LF conversations that no major disruption in communication happened when speakers committed one or more of the following errors: missing 3rd person 's' in verb present tense, missing article in front of nouns, incorrect use of 'who' and 'which' as relative pronouns, or 'isn't it' as a universal tag. Yet the language cannot be endlessly 'twisted' without causing major problems in understanding. Firth (1996:247) states that one of the main interests in LF research should be to study the quality and quantity of marked usage that is tolerated by participants before participants cannot reach mutual understanding to satisfactory extent.

In addition to non-conscious use of ungrammatical language, which is typical of all L2 users, there is another side of the coin: twisting of grammar (potentially) consciously, by replacement of unknown structures with known ones to overcome inadequacies, or grammatical reduction, e.g. using the present tense of verbs in all situations. These are all instances of strategic language use, which is the focus of this study, and will be discussed in Chapter 3 in more detail.

Similarly to grammar, apart from e.g. non-conscious transfer from L1, or otherwise marked word choices, the lexical creativity of NNS can include potentially conscious mechanisms; mechanisms to overcome lack of one's own vocabulary or anticipatory word choices (refraining from using too culture-specific words or professional jargon) as part of speaker's recipient design (see Aston 1993:225). These lexical mechanisms, too, constitute an essential part of problems-solving mechanisms, and will be similarly discussed in Chapter 3.

The use of marked language, whether conscious or not, does not automatically entail communication problems in LFI. As we all know, mutual understanding in LFI is commonly reached, despite the problems of any level of language use (phonology, lexis, grammar, pragmatics, sociolinguistics). As was discussed earlier, limitations of core language proficiency, and the lack of common culture with its communication conventions makes the reaching of mutual understanding a more complicated task in LF communication than in NS communication, in all levels of understanding (see chapter 2.2). In Gumperz's (1982:172) words, even in situations where the ability to produce grammatical language is sufficient:

> … their assumptions about what information is to be conveyed, how it is to be ordered and put into words and their ability to fill in the unverbalized information they need to make sense of what transpires may also vary…

In the following I will briefly review how this problem of sense-making in LF interaction, according to earlier empirical studies, is manifested in the structure of discourse.

Reaching mutual understanding is not always easy in NS interaction. In NS-NNS or LF interaction the challenges are inherently bigger than in NS communication. As for NS-NNS situations, Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991:125) list a few dozen features found typical for NS-NNS situations. These include more frequent understanding checks, clarifications checks, and confirmation checks, which can all be put under the category of problem-solving mechanisms (see Chapter 3.) Although as early as 1985 Varonis and Gass found that negotiations of meaning (i.e. the use of interactional problem-solving mechanisms) were even more common in NNS-NNS than in NS-NNS dyads, still almost twenty years later McKay (2003:7) calls for more research is needed on how strategies are used in repairing problems in comprehensibility in LF English communication. This thesis aims to make a contribution to this need. For a more detailed review of pragmatic features of LFI, see e.g. House (2002:246-249) and Kasper (1997:349-355).

In addition to referential language use, Kasper (1997:351-2) suggests that L2 users have to be more explicit in their discourse management. Meierkord (2002:126), in her study of small talk, claimed certain neutrality in the manifestation of certain features, especially those related to politeness phenomena. These features included the lack of introduction of a closing phase by extractors; a reduced amount of tokens for expressing requests, greetings, how-are-yous, and leave-takes; avoidance topics when uncertain about their acceptability; and preference of here-and-now topics. As for the topic features, a potential explanation may lie in the nature of communication context, small talk. In her preliminary findings Mauranen (ibid: 130) suggests that academic lingua-franca English seems to have a profile of its own, with some features from L1 academic English, while other features resemble NS-NNS academic discourse (e.g. with ample interactive corrections)

or support the findings of LF language in general (e.g. the large amount of self-corrections). Lesznyák (2002:187) found dynamics in LF meetings that could not be seen in NS or NS-NNS meetings. Only in LF meetings did topic shifts and misunderstandings depend on the phase of the meeting, i.e. disappearing towards the end of the meeting. Also topic boundaries became clearer and unsuccessful topic initiations and closings disappeared towards the end of the meeting. This can be seen as evidence of local creation of LF communication practices or even forming of temporary intercommunity.

In his empirical study of lingua-franca communication – one of the pioneer works in the field - Firth (1996) presents two principles that seem to prevail in lingua-franca conversation. The first of them he calls (1) *let-it-pass* –principle, and the second (2) *make-it-normal* -principle. He defines let-it-pass –principle in the following way:

> ... the hearer lets an unknown or unclear action, word, or utterance 'pass' on the (common sense) assumption that it will either become clear or redundant as talk progresses. (Firth 1996:243)

This can mean two quite different procedures in the hearer's sense-making procedures: either that the hearer chooses to neglect the non-understanding (at any level of understanding), i.e. to feign understanding, or alternatively, the hearer uses top-down processing in the interpretation of an unknown or obscure element, in which case she does not perceive non-understanding. With his empirical data Firth shows how sometimes this let-it-pass principle is more vulnerable than at other times. When the information is very exact (e.g. numbers, spelling) and the understanding criterion is high, the let-it-pass principle does not work, but various interactive problem-solving mechanisms (e.g. confirmation request, repetition request) are employed to reach mutual understanding. He calls these situations or activities *fragile* (ibid: 248), whereas in *robust* situations linguistic and interactional markedness can be "ironed out implicitly". The second principle, make-it-normal means that

> the hearer is actively though implicitly engaged in the task of attempting to make sense of what is being done and said. (ibid: 245)

A participant thus attempts "to make the other's 'abnormal' talk to appear 'normal'" (ibid: 245). This means diverting attention from marked language usage by using problem-solving mechanisms such as other-repairs and reformulations of the other's speech. Also in case when the other's speech is grammatical but for some other reason not understandable (e.g. understandable at the level comprehensibility but not at the level of interpretability), problem-solving mechanisms may be employed. Firth (ibid: 246) found that sometimes, instead of corrections, speakers incorporated

marked items and forms presented by the other party into one's own speech, as they become known-in-common during the interaction.

Firth (ibid: 243) suggests that the participant's choice to 'let it pass' or 'make it normal', i.e. attending or distending the problems, is decided mainly on the local basis. This view is supported in the study of communication strategies by Poulisse (1997:57) who found in her study that the choice between clarity and saving effort is done by the perceived importance of the communicative goal. In addition, Jenkins (2000:77) argues that non-fluent LF users (NBES in Jenkins's terms) are reluctant to signal non-comprehension due to threat of face-loss. Thus one could expect that the in the choice between let-it-pass and make-it-normal principles, face considerations play some role.

While Firth's two principles give a decent framework to work on the macro-level of conversation, it requires some explanation *on what basis* the choice is locally made between the two principles. Furthermore, a more detailed analysis of the manifestation of these two principles suggested by Firth may be fruitful. To do this, the theory of problem-solving mechanisms (a.k.a. communication strategies) is presented in Chapter 3.

3. PROBLEM-SOLVING MECHANISMS

3.1 Communication Strategies (CS) or Problem-Solving Mechanisms (PSM)?

Participants in lingua-franca interaction are likely to face some trouble in their interaction due to the individual differences in their L2 use as well as intercultural differences. However, to support the positive tradition in the study of lingua-franca interaction, I wish to study the victory over rather than the misery caused by these problems. The significance of some kind of problem-solving mechanisms in lingua-franca interaction, as stated in several of the empirical studies in the previous chapters, is supported by the classical definition of communicative competence, provided by Canale (1983:7-11). Canale's model consists of the following components.

1. *Grammatical competence*

   Mastery of the language code: vocabulary, spelling, syntax, pronunciation etc.

2. *Sociolinguistic competence*

   Ability to use appropriate form and meaning for various social situations.

3. *Discourse competence*

   Ability to create coherence and cohesion in the text

4. *Strategic competence*

   Mastery of communication strategies (1) "*to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to limiting conditions*[...] , or *insufficient competence in one or more of the areas of communicative competence* and (2) to enhance effectiveness of communication."(Canale ibid: 10, my emphasis)

Kasper (1997:345) denotes that most ideas of communicative strategies have, in theory, accepted a wider view, which is based on Bachman's model, where strategic competence is seen as the ability to use linguistic knowledge efficiently. That would expand the scope of communicative strategies to problems arising from the sociolinguistic and pragmatic element of language. However, as Kasper (1997:246) denoted, although this is acknowledged by many scholars on a theoretical level, there have been few attempts to study this side of strategic language use empirically.

The Common European Framework (CEF) has adopted a wider concept of strategies.

> A strategy is any organised, purposeful and regulated line of action chosen by an individual to carry out a task which he or she sets for himself or herself or with which he or she is confronted (Council of Europe 2001:10)

In many instances where strategies are discussed in CEF (ibid: 15, 25, 57), no difference is made between e.g. learning strategies and communication strategies, when the significance of strategies is discussed as a part of language competence. The interactive strategies of the European framework (ibid: 86-87) also cover discourse control phenomena such as turn-taking, which are not included in most CS models. The illustrative scales of production strategies and interactive strategies at different levels of language proficiency in CEF are given in Appendix 8.

As discussed in Chapter 2, participants in lingua-franca communication face a multitude of limiting conditions: they lack the grammatical competence to various extents, the relevant sociolinguistic competence is difficult even to define in LF communication, and also their discourse competence is somewhat limited, including potentially unshared non-verbal and paralinguistic discourse management tools with their interlocutors. In addition, the mutual awareness of the fact that both (or all) participants face the same problems can act as a resource on the attitude level, as was discussed in earlier chapters, since participants are willing to give more freedom as for appropriateness and grammatical use of language.

In the 1980's and 1990's, a vast body of research was compiled on communication strategies. In the following I wish to elaborate the concept of problem-solving mechanisms, or communication strategies. The roots of the concept 'problem-solving mechanism' suggested by Dörnyei and Kormos (1998) lie in the study of communication strategies. Dörnyei and Kormos use the term 'problem-solving mechanism' of largely the same set of phenomena that were earlier called 'communication strategies' by Dörnyei and Scott (1997) or e.g. Canale (1983). What some scholars with a more sociolinguistic approach (e.g. Wagner and Firth 1997, Dörnyei and Scott 1997) consider 'interactive communication strategies' are for others 'repair mechanisms' (e.g. Tarone 1980, Varonis and Gass 1985), to be excluded from the scope of communication strategies. For the latter group of scholars, CSs are intra-speaker planning and monitoring means. Owing to the disagreement about the scope of the term 'communication strategy' in general, I will use Dörnyei and Kormos' term 'problem-solving mechanism' later in my own analysis. In addition to the dispute of the scope of the term CS, the basic dictionary meanings of the two words support my choice: 'strategy' is "(1) a plan that is intended to achieve a particular purpose, (2) the process of planning sthg or carrying out a plan in a skilful way (3) the skill of planning the movements of armies in a battle" (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary: 1284). The aspect of planning and skill are highlighted in the meaning of 'strategy', while many strategic means of language use may be employed on a nearly automatic basis, with very a short planning time. One of the dictionary meanings of 'mechanism' is "A method or system of achieving something". As the ways to address

a communicative problem in spoken interaction are, albeit potentially conscious and intentional, often local acts invented on the spot rather than long-term plans to be skilfully implemented, I find the term 'mechanism' more suitable than the term 'strategy'. However, since in a large part of research literature this phenomenon falls in the category of 'communication strategy', I will use that term in the following review of the concept.

The definition of communication strategies (CS) has varied according to the theoretical background of the scholar (e.g. psycholinguistic or sociolinguistic). Four definitions of communication strategies are given below:

> Communication strategies can be seen as:
>
> (1) ...potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular goal (Færch and Kasper 1983b:36)
>
> (2) ...mutual attempt of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where requisite meaning structures so not seem to be shared (Tarone 1980:420)
>
> (3) …strategies which a language user employs in order to achieve his intended meaning on becoming aware of problems arising during the planning phase of an utterance due to his own linguistic shortcomings (Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman1984:72)
>
> (4) [any attempt] to compensate for breakdowns in communication [...] and to enhance the effectiveness of communication. (Canale 1983:11)

These attempts to conceptualise communication strategies share the idea of achieving the communicative goal by employing strategic means. As can be seen in the above definitions (1) and (3), key concepts include "plan", "goal", and "intended meaning", thus implying that there is a pre-verbalised message in the speaker's mind that she then conveys using a strategy.

The whole idea of communication strategies has been seriously questioned by the dialogistic approach to the dialogue. Linell (1998:31) explains the dialogistic stance which questions whether "…discourses are consciously planned in advance (rather than being interactionally occasioned and locally produced in an incremental fashion." According to Linell (ibid: 22), monologistic views do not take into account where the speakers get their intentions and meanings. In addition, Schneider (1991:169) has argued that the separation between predetermined speaker meaning and the meaning perceived by hearers is a product of western thinking, and the idea is not shared universally[5].

However, for example the above definition (2) has a very dialogistically oriented shape underlining the 'mutual attempt'. Furthermore, from a lingua-franca point of view, even a (predominantly) monologistic approach to communication strategies in lingua-franca

[5] According to Schneider, e.g. Samoans do not refer to this difference e.g. by saying utterances like "I didn't mean it"

communication can be justified. For example, House's (1999:82-85) empirical findings denote that lack of mutual orientation and selfishness seem to be particularly prominent in LF interaction, although they have been downplayed by mutuality-based theories.

Indeed, the various approaches to communication strategies show a large variation, and the alleged negligence of dialogical and interactional aspect of meaning-forming is not prevalent in all of them. While Linell (ibid:24) points out that it is not sufficient that interlocutors share some knowledge through communication, but they also must somehow indicate and prove that they have reached a shared, mutually valid understanding, this is very much what interactive communication strategies are all about. Admittedly, in the vast body of psycholinguistically oriented communication strategy study, the speaker meaning is regarded as something solid and regarded as a product of (partly) conscious planning. Those views that, however, include interactive strategies (i.e. meaning negotiations) in their definition of communication strategies, cannot be accused of totally neglecting the meaning constructed in interaction. Some communication strategy theories, though, may overemphasise the individual acts instead of interaction, and intentions of speakers as explanations of utterances, as has been noted by Firth and Wagner (1997:291).

If we accept the first part Canale's definition of communicative strategy (which largely matches with Dörnyei and Scott's view[6], described in more detail in chapter 3.7), it becomes quite evident that for non-natives (both NBES and BES in Jenkins's terms), the use of communication strategies should play a more significant role as they obviously have some shortages in the other three competencies. According to Canale's view, to make up these shortcomings, communication strategies are needed. Furthermore, as it was mentioned above, in lingua-franca communication – in contrast to NS-NNS communication – it is very difficult to define the second component in the competence, the relevant sociolinguistic knowledge for the situation at hand. Whether the vague essence of relevant socio-linguistic knowledge can be approached with the help of communication strategies, is also an interesting point, and requires further studies, as suggested by Kasper (1997:359). In the following chapter I will further elaborate various views on communication strategies.

[6] It should be noted, however, that the second part of Canale's definition, that on generally enhancing effectiveness of communication, is not included in Dörneyi&Scott's model, which is clearly problem-oriented.

3.2 Different views on CSs

Different views on communication strategies can be mapped in the following four dimensions:

1. CS as an *intra*individual vs. an *inter*individual phenomenon
2. CS as an overt linguistic phenomenon vs. (mainly) covert cognitive phenomenon
3. Scope of CS: production of speaker, negotiation of meaning or beyond referential
4. CS as a problem-oriented procedure vs. general communication enhancement procedure

The first division lies between *intra*individual views and *inter*individual views (Kasper & Kellerman 1997:2-3; Wagner and Firth 1997:325.) *Intra*individual views are mostly employed by psycholinguists, whereas an *inter*individual view has been adopted in conversation analysis and sociolinguistics. *Intra*individual strategies occur in one speaker's speech; they are the speaker's problem-solving mechanisms used to achieve communicative goals, whereas *inter*individual strategies are elements of interaction; mutual, collaborative efforts to reach a shared understanding. As Yule and Tarone (1997:24) denote, the question of effectiveness or success with strategies is relevant for linguistic, interindividual approaches only. Among the four definitions of CSs in the beginning of the chapter, number (1) and (3) are clearly intraindividual. On the surface, number (2) looks interindividual, but it also includes intraindividual strategies (Tarone: ibid.), just as definition number (4) above. The following two examples show the difference between intra-individual (or production strategies) and interindividual (or interactional) strategies. For example, circumlocution is considered an intra-individual strategy (e.g. Yule and Tarone 1997:20). For example: *It's err...the thing we use for drying after a shower.* (The speaker refers to 'a towel'. The example is my fabrication). To test how speakers construct this kind of circumlocutions etc., scholars within this discipline may use even experimental testing with no listener or co-participant present.

The following example of inter-individual strategies is provided by Wilkes-Gibbs (1997:242). The two participants "refashion" the original utterance in collaboration until mutual understanding is achieved.

Example 1

A: Did you go to the store?
B: Excuse me?
A: Did you go to the grocery store this morning?
B: Yes, I got the milk.

Here, the refashioning starts by B's refusal to accept the question, after which A expands the question to make it more easily understood. B finishes the refashioning by producing a relevant answer.

The second main division can be made between linguistic approaches (intra or interindividual) and psychological/psycholinguistic approaches (mostly intraindividual) (for review, see e.g. Dörnyei and Scott 1997:180). In linguistic approaches, CS is linguistically 'publicly' displayed and thus easily traceable, while in psychological approaches, CS are considered covert mental procedures or cognitive processes behind the surface of language, often to be traced only by inference.

Among the above four definitions, number (3) has its roots clearly in the psycholinguistic approach, while the others - (1), (2), and (4) - are composed by scholars within the linguistic tradition. The difference in approach can be clearly seen in the following example, where L1 and L2 strategies are compared when speakers are describing an unidentified, cone-shaped object. (The example is my fabrication.)

Example 2

A: (L1) It's cone-shaped.
B: (L2) This thing has about the same shape as the thing where they put ice-cream, the eatable waffle thing.

For a scholar with a psycholinguistic approach, the two examples A and B are evidence of the use of the same holistic strategy - e.g. micro-reconceptulisation in Poulisse's (1993) terms - and thus the difference between A and B is considered insignificant. Those with a linguistic approach, however, would find it interesting to study the difference between A and B in more detail, as well as different ways how the utterance can be composed.

Yule and Tarone (1997:28) divide the earlier work into two schools, "pros and cons". They summarise the differences between the two traditions in the following way: 'pros' are those wishing (pro) to expand CS categories, observing the linguistic output, using real-word objects as elicitation prompts, using listener in the experiment situation, and comparing L2 performance to NS TL performance. 'Cons', on the other hand, are those against (con) numerous CS categories, describing psychological processes, often using abstract shapes as elicitation prompts, not using listening partners, and comparing L2 performance to speakers' own L1 performance (see e.g. Bongaerts & Poulisse 1989). Thus the division could be seen between the linguistic, interindividual approach and the psychological, intraindividual approach. Wagner and Firth (1997:326), in turn, draw the line between the *interactional* and *psychological* approach, but this may be a slight oversimplification. For example, Wilkes-Gibbs's collaborative theory (1997) is clearly interactional while being derived from the psycholinguistic approach. Also, Dörnyei & Kormos (1998) give a psycholinguistic analysis for interactive communication strategies.

The third division can be made on the basis of scope of CS. The earliest linguistic conceptualisations of CS (e.g. Tarone 1977; Færch and Kasper 1983b) and most psycholinguistic views (e.g. Poulisse at al 1984, Kellerman and Bialystok 1997) comprised only efforts to solve problems in the planning stage of message production. According to this view, various repair mechanisms, i.e. negotiations of meaning, were excluded. However, many researchers (e.g. Canale 1983; Dörnyei and Scott 1995, 1997) later included those meaning negotiations in their CS definition.

Of the definitions in Chapter 3.2, number (1) and (3) exclude negotiations of meaning from the category of CS, while (2) and (4) include them. Three of the definitions - (1), (2), and (3) - see CS as something used for lexical/referential purposes only (e.g. how to describe a word that the speaker does not know by using an illustration or an approximate word), whereas definition (4) by Canale is extended to cover discourse management (e.g. turn-taking and interruption) and other communication enhancing devices (e.g. slow speech for rhetoric effect). Kasper (1997:359) lists various aspects that the research of communication strategies should address in addition to the referential level, i.e. the discourse and pragmatic levels. These aspects include impact of contexts (e.g. domains), sociolinguistic factors of participants, role of culture, role of L2 proficiency, role of transfer, and strategic options relating to identity maintenance and reconstruction. This kind of view broadens the scope of communication strategies tremendously. Actually, Canale (1983:22-24) already describes some of these strategies used for discourse difficulties (e.g. using non-verbal communication to express coherence) and sociolinguistic difficulties (e.g. using the sociolinguistically most neutral form when uncertain about appropriateness). However, since 1997 the whole study of communication strategies has been fading, and the idea of discoursal and pragmatic matters in the scope of communication strategies has not been developed in the literature, at least not with an explicit reference to the framework of communication strategies. The Common European Framework (Council of Europe 2001:86) includes discourse-related acts in strategies, but as discussed above, with a slightly different meaning.

Dörnyei and Scott (1997:178-179) present a fourth point of view to review the CS theories, the problematicity criterion. Some views presuppose that there must be some linguistic problem of which the participant(s) are aware of, i.e. the communication strategies should be problem-oriented (e.g. Dörnyei and Scott 1997). The later term, ‘problem-solving mechanism’ also adopted for the present study, implicates that the strategic language use is targeted to solve (or prevent) a problem. Among the definitions above, definitions (1) and (3) explicitly refer to problems, and number (2) includes the idea of an existing problem implicitly, while definition

number (4) is the only one to include strategies that are not problem-oriented (e.g. deliberately slow speech). In addition, there are several researchers from various disciplines who want to abandon the problematicity criterion. For example, both Bialystok (1984) (psychological intraindividual approach) as well as Wagner (1983) (conversation analysis, interactional approach) claim that all language use is always strategic, as participants select, from a wide range of resources, the best for the ongoing situation and purpose. Aston (1993:225) suggests including the viewpoint of "recipient design" in the concept of CS. This would expand the scope of problem; in addition to speaker's problems of expression, the hearer's potential problems of understanding assumed by the speaker could be addressed by the use of communication strategies.

Another distinction concerns the quality of the problem; whether to include problems that are *information-based* (*message-oriented)*, based different knowledge of the world, and which could easily occur in NS communication as well (see e.g. Williams et al. 1997:304-307). The other option is to exclude them, and include only problems that are *code-based* (*medium-oriented)*, i.e. those that are predominantly language-related and would more probably occur in interaction involving NNSs than in NS communication. For example, in Example 1 above, there is nothing that would suggest that the problem is code-related, unless the implicit repetition request was done due to e.g. failure to hear the original utterance because of noise. Many researchers consider that differentiating between linguistic and non-linguistic problems is highly problematic (e.g. Rampton 1997:282), and many studies have been made where this distinction has been discarded and also content-related problems have been equally included, for example Williams, Inscoe and Tasker (1997), Wagner (1983), Wagner and Firth (1997).

The Common European Framework (Council of Europe: 2001:57) has adopted a wide view of communication strategies where a problem is not a prerequisite for strategic language use. Also, the descriptions of various skill levels include references to strategic skills. For example, in the skill levels of overall spoken interaction, language user at level C2 "backtrack and restructure around a difficulty so smoothly the interlocutor is hardly aware of it", at level C1 "there is little obvious searching for expressions or avoidance strategies" (ibid:74). In addition, there are separate scales for skills levels in planning, compensating, monitoring, and repair (ibid: 64-65), as well as three interaction strategies, e.g. asking for clarification. These are given in Appendix 8.

A curious addition to the problematicity discussion is provided by Rampton (1997:292-294), who studied multi-lingual children and adolescents in the playgrounds. In multilingual British playground "communities", children considered the learning of playground L2 an indicator of friendship, although this learning was not necessary for communication purposes.

Thus Rampton suggests that communication strategies need not be either tools used to reach a communicative target at hand or tools to enhance language proficiency, but can become "celebrated objects" of commentary and central elements in social group rituals manifesting friendship.

The attitude towards teachability of PSMs (or CSs) in general depends on the definition of a CS adopted. (See e.g. Dörnyei 1995; Yule and Tarone 1997:18-22). Those with a more sociolinguistic view of a CS are usually pro teaching, whereas those with a more psychological view are against it, as teaching the use of CS would end up teaching cognitive processing. Yule and Tarone (1997:29) argue that usefulness of teaching has not been unequivocally shown. However, Færch and Kasper (1983b:55) are in favour of at least making learners aware of strategic language use. CEF (Council of Europe 2001:137) takes a favourable stand to the teaching of strategic language skills, also communication strategies:

> In many learning experiences it may seem preferable, at one time or another, to focus attention on the development of strategies that will enable one or other type of task having a linguistic dimension to be carried out […]Whether these are communication or learning strategies, if one takes the view that they enable an individual to mobilise his or her own competences in order to implement and possibly improve or extend them, it is worthwhile ensuring that such strategies are indeed cultivated as an objective, even though they may not form an end in themselves.

Dörnyei (1995:62) questions the question of teachability in the first place. According to him, some PSMs can be taught, others cannot. Some are even undesirable (such as message abandonment). In Dörnyei's empirical studies, after a six-week training in use of topic avoidance, circumlocution and fillers, both the quality and the quantity of students' strategy use were improved. Also, in that study (ibid: 79), the quality of circumlocutions improved through training. Thus Dörnyei (ibid: 80) recommends to (1) provide models for NNS in the use of PSMs and (2) provide learners with linguistic devices to verbalise PSMs. In the Finnish language teaching context, both of these two were done to some extent e.g. in 1990's in Working English –videos, and Phrase Book (Westlake et al. 1993), aimed at adult learners for working life purposes. This material provides ample examples of both models and linguistic devices for the realisation of PSMs, but focusing on content-related rather than language-related problems. However, in many of the more recent language learning materials, e.g. those used in Finnish polytechnics to provide English communication skills for working life purposes, PSMs - are not explicitly addressed, if at all. Even in material where PSMs are addressed, this is done with the content-related problems (e.g. Huhta 2000). Thus while teaching of strategic skills – obviously encouraged by CEF - is emphasized in present-day syllabus development in the Finnish polytechnics, teachers have little material available for implementing teaching in strategic skills.

Several scholars have approached the question on what basis the speaker makes the choice between various communication strategies. However, results of various studies are not comparable directly, as they may differ considerably in how a communication strategy is defined. For example, Kellerman & Bialystok (1997:35) assume that the choice between conceptual and code-based strategies is based on e.g. type of task, proficiency, assumptions of common ground, and mode of communication. Also, the use of a strategy may depend on how much a speaker manages to adapt the speech and on quantity of information competing for attention (ibid: 33). For self-corrections and similar PSMs, Poulisse (1997:59) found that the more serious (social, linguistic, communicative) the speakers considered their errors, the more willingly they appear to put extra effort to repair them.

Poulisse (ibid: 62-63) suggests that in general differences in strategy choice can be best explained by Principles of Clarity and Economy. This, however, does not explain what makes the speaker choose between the two principles. Wilkes-Gibbs (1997:241), who made no difference between language-based and content-based issues, denoted that participants try to take advantage of precedents contributions in their establishment of the common ground (e.g. in accepting local argot or idiosyncrasies that the other has introduced to the dialogue) to help them coordinate their beliefs about a current contribution more efficiently. On the other hand, they compare a straightforward utterance and its interactive handling against what they think a misunderstanding might cost them in the future. They also take into account the cost of collaboration itself, which I think would also include potential face threat that the interactive handling might cause.

The present study aims to contribute to the question of PSM choice from a specific point of view, that of participant's own perception of the choice.

3.3 Framework of Problem-solving mechanisms

3.3.1 Overall features of the framework selected

For this study, I have adopted a taxonomy of problem-solving mechanisms which is based mainly on Dörnyei and Scott (1997), with some additions and modifications from Dörnyei and Kormos (1998). The basic definition of a problem-solving mechanism is as follows:

> [A problem-solving mechanism is] every potentially intentional attempt to cope with any language-related problem of which the speaker is aware during the course of communication (Dörnyei and Scott 1997:179)

Firstly, this view includes both intraindividual and interindividual strategies, which helps to give a large view on how communication problems are solved. Wagner and Firth (1997:325) claim that an

interactional or social perspective on language cannot necessarily be combined with cognitive or individualistic approach. However, I think it is crucial to attempt to combine these two approaches, if one wishes to study both interaction, and various motivations for linguistic choices in the interaction. Dörnyei and Scott's approach gives a possibility to do that. Thus, Dörnyei and Scott's view approaches PSMs from both linguistic and psychological side, which is again a plausible approach in lingua-franca interaction where purely psychological approaches would miss the surface level problems due to a deficit in resources, as well as the significance of the co-participant, which is hardly ever included in psychological models. In Dörnyei and Kormos (1998), the taxonomy and approach as presented in Dörnyei and Scott (1997) is combined with a psycholinguistic perspective. Thirdly, Dörnyei and Scott's approach includes both production strategies and interactive negotiations of meanings in CS, but it does not go as far as Canale (1983) in adopting all communication enhancing devices as CS. For Dörnyei and Scott, existence of a *problem* is a prerequisite for a PSM, as well as the speaker's potential consciousness of it. However, Dörnyei and Scott's framework does not offer tools to approach discourse aspects (e.g. topic management) and pragmatic matters (politeness) in the sense that Kasper mentioned (1997:359), thus they are mostly outside the scope of this study. However, although face considerations are not studied here as a *primary target* of problem-solving mechanism, they are studied as *motivation* for the choice of a mechanism.

What Dörnyei and Scott's (1997) framework could be criticised for – or praised of – is that it does not exclusively follow either tradition of CS classification (see Yule and Tarone 1997:18-19). While the psycholinguistic approach to CS identifies psychological processes and the linguistic approach observable forms of language output, Dörnyei and Scott's framework aims to capture them both. This may lead to some theoretical inexplicitness and overlapping in categories, as well as methodological problems in the recognition of strategies, as it requires different methods of identification for different types of strategies. The advantage, however, is that it can provide a more comprehensive view on all resources available for the interlocutors when attending problems in lingua-franca communication.

Table 3 below presents the taxonomy of problem-solving mechanisms adopted for the present study, following Dörnyei and Scott (1997), with some additions from Dörnyei and Kormos (1998). It is a two-dimensional classification, the dimensions consisting of the problem source and directness of the mechanism. For a more detailed description of the mechanisms and examples of them, see Appendix 6. In the following, problem types and directness classes briefly described.

3.3.2 Dörnyei and Scott's Taxonomy - two-dimensional classification

Dörnyei & Scott (1997:197) classify problem-solving mechanisms two-dimensionally. Firstly, following the classification of problem sources, the mechanisms are divided according to the type of problem, into mechanisms coping with (A) own-performance problems, (B) other-performance

Table 3 Taxonomy of problem-solving mechanisms based on Dörnyei & Scott (1997) and Dörnyei & Kormos (1998).

Directness of mechanism ⇒ **Type of communication problem ⇓**	**1. Direct**	**2. Indirect**	**3. Interactional**
A. Own performance	1.A.1 self-rephrasing *I don't know the material...what it is made of* 1.A.2 self-repair *the weather get be...gets better*	2.A Verbal strategy markers *(we call them;* *I don't know what it's called in English*	3.A.1 Comprehension check *Do you know what I mean?* 3.A.2 Own accuracy check *I made a snowman/ snowman*
B. Other's performance	1.B. other repair ***A:..because the surgeon said...*** *B: sergeant...not surgeon*	2.B Feigning understanding	3.B.1 Asking for repetition *What?* 3.B.2 Asking for clarification *A:...sales price, B: sales price /* 3.B.3 Asking for confirmation *...do you mean..* 3.B.4 Guessing *You mean subsidiary?* 3.B.5 Expressing non-understanding *I don't understand what you mean* 3.B.6 Interpretive summary 3.B.7.1 Response: repeat 3.B.7.2 Response: repair; other-initiated self repair 3.B.7.3 Response: rephrase; rephrasing the trigger 3.B.7.4 Response: expand 3.B.7.5 Response: confirm 3.B.7.6 Response: reject
C. Processing time pressure	- - -	2.C.1 Use of fillers *well, you know, actually, it's a good question* 2.C.2 repetitions 2.C.2.1 self-repetition 2.C.2.2 other repetition	- - -

problems, (C) processing time pressure problems, and (D) deficit in linguistic resources. This is used as a preliminary classification, although its validity is partly suspicious. In the discussion of the results of the present study, I will re-discuss the problematicity of source.

In the second dimension, Dörnyei & Scott (1997:198-199) classify mechanisms according to the manner of problem-solving. (1) Direct mechanisms are self-contained means to get the meaning across. These include the traditional production mechanisms (e.g. circumlocution when a word in not known). (2) Indirect mechanisms are problem-oriented but not purely problem-solving mechanisms. Neither are they referential or meaning-related. Rather, they create conditions

Table 3 (continues)Taxonomy of problem-solving mechanisms based on Dörnyei & Scott (1997) and Dörnyei & Kormos (1998).

D. Deficit in resources	1.D.1 Message abandonment (leaving message unfinished) 1. D.2 Message Reduction (leaving out intended elements) 1. D.3 Message Replacement *screw thread ->The middle part of the pipe* 1. D.4 Circumlocution *The ice becomes water* 1. D.5 Approximation *bowl->plat* 1. D.6 Use of all-purpose words *thing, stuff, object* 1. D.7 Word-coinage (morphological creativity) *un+junk -> unjunktion* 1. D.8 Restructuring (leaving plan unfinished and continuing with another plan) 1. D.9 Literal translation *air ball* 1.D.10 Foreignizing (L1/L3 word with L2 pronunciation and morphology) 1.D.11 Code Switching (L1/L3 words) 1.D.12 Use of similar sounding words (totally unrelated e.g. consent->consist) 1. D.13 Mumbling 1. D.14 Omission (leaving a gap) 1.D.15 Retrieval (series of incomplete wrong forms) (1.D.16 Overexplicitness) 1.D.17 Mime 1.D.18 Grammatical substitution (e.g. changing preposition used with a verb through overgeneralization or transfer) 1.D.19 Grammatical reduction (e.g. using only one tense in every situation)		3.D.1 Direct appeal for help *What is it in English?* 3.D.2 *I don't know the word in English + eye contact, pause, rising intonation*

for better understanding (e.g. use of fillers, feigning understanding). (3) Interactional mechanisms are collaborative sense-making or trouble-shooting efforts. These mechanisms require active contribution by both participants (e.g. asking for confirmation + confirmation). Carefully examining Dörnyei and Scott's framework through the lens of lingua-franca thinking reveals that the framework may serve as a suitable starting point: the definitions given to various mechanisms relate to the communicative goals and effectiveness rather than compare the non-native performance with native. Also, mechanisms 1d9, 1d10 and 1d11 are clearly connected to the idea of a plurilingual language user.

One category, however, needs to be omitted for present purposes. This mechanism is Overexplicitness (1.D.16), for which reason it is in brackets. The reason for this omission is that according to the original definition, overexplicitness is "using more words to achieve a particular communicative goal than what is considered normal in similar L1 situations." (Dörnyei and Scot 1997:190). This definition compares the performance of NNS in lingua-franca interaction to that made by NS in NS-NS interaction. In LFI approach such comparison is irrelevant (see chapter 2.3), as the native speaker communication is by no means a point of comparison in LF communication.

3.3.3 Problem sources

Dörnyei and Scott (1997:182-183) challenge the view that CS deals with problems that arise from resource deficits only, i.e. lack of linguistic knowledge that would enable the speaker to code the intended message. Although *deficit in speaker's resources* (group D in Table 3) definitely is an important source of problems, other sources do exist. Dörnyei and Scott present three additional categories for sources of problems.

Own-performance problems (Group A) mean the retrospective realisation that something that one has said is problematic e.g. message is partly or totally incorrect or not extensive or clear enough. This is then approached by means of self-repair and self-rephrasing. Verbal strategy markers, however, are not retrospective, but anticipatory signals that a strategy is used (e.g. "I don't know what it's called in English"). From a dialogistic point of view, the self-repair is not such a simple phenomenon. According to Linell (1998:77, 93), utterances are not merely communicative intentions of a speaker in a verbalised form, but "rather there is a constant interplay between the speaker, his interlocutor(s) and contexts". The interactional process between the speaker and the environment (including the interlocutors) is usually more or less continuous. Also while the speaker is producing his utterance, he is constantly taking feedback from the interlocutors. For example, the self-correction, even immediately after the utterance, can be a response to the

interlocutor's implicit expression of non-understanding (e.g. perplexed facial expression). Thus it is far from self-evident if the self-correction can be traced back to a perceived problem of own-performance rather than e.g. the perceived "other's comprehension problem", or from a dialogistic point of view, the lack of shared understanding.

Other-performance problems (Group B), according to Dörnyei and Scott are retrospective realisations that something that the interlocutor has said is incorrect or cannot be fully or partly understood. This is then approached by various negotiations of meaning. However, I would claim that negotiation of meaning (use of interactional problem-solving mechanism) is not necessarily originated from the perceived deficiency in the interlocutor's performance, but can have more varied motivation for use (e.g. differences in world knowledge, perceived deficiency in one's own comprehension).

Processing time pressure problems (Group C) arise when the speaker needs more time to process speech than would be natural in fluent communication. According to Dörnyei and Scott, mechanisms used to cope with this problem include repetitions, fillers and hesitation devices. What I wish to add here, is the influence of processing time pressure to choice that the speaker makes in her production of the speech. Use of production mechanisms can also be motivated by a processing time pressure. (e.g. the speaker uses an approximation while feeling that there is not time to retrieve a more suitable word).

The problematicity of differentiating between various kinds of problems needs some elaboration. According to the definition of Dörnyei and Scott quoted earlier, problem-solving mechanisms are to deal with *language-related* (code-based) problem. However, it may sometimes be difficult to determine whether a problem is purely language-related, or if it includes other *cognitive problems* (i.e. is information-based). For example, misunderstanding may stem from language-related problems, or unshared knowledge of the world, or the mixture of those two. Still participants may use similar mechanisms to solve those problems. Furthermore, when a speaker wishes to gain time e.g. by using a filler, it may be impossible for her to determine whether she needed time for language-related reasons or content-related reasons, or, whether these two can be separated in the situation in the first place. Similarly, when a speaker uses restructuring (i.e. discards a plan in the middle of the utterance and starts a new different utterance) it may be impossible to define whether the reasons for them can be categorically be divided into language-related and non-language-related.

In sum, the problems may be roughly classified as language-related, content-related and mixed. To comply with Dörnyei and Scott's definition (p.40), I wish to exclude the "entirely"

content-related problems. Nevertheless, since mixed cases are expected to exist, Dörnyei and Scott's definition needs some modification (addition in italics):

> A problem-solving mechanism is every potentially intentional attempt to cope with any *at least partly* language-related problem...

This reservation allow us to included cases where language-based and content-based are intermingled.

3.3.4 Consciousness

The fulfilment of the consciousness requirement is probably most difficult to determine from data and thus the one whose grounding is the shakiest. In the following I will present a critical appraisal of Dörnyei and Scott's view of consciousness. Dörnyei and Scott (1997:184-185) present three aspects of consciousness that are particularly relevant to problem-solving mechanisms, and a fourth one that they would like to exclude.

Consciousness as awareness of the problem. Problem-solving mechanisms should only refer to procedures to solve linguistic problems that the speaker is aware of. This excludes fossilisations and other mistakes that are not used as conscious attempts to solve linguistic problems. For instance, the use of the expression "air ball" for the word "balloon" can be an intentional problem-solving mechanism if the speaker is aware that s/he doesn't know the word needed, and thus for compensation makes a literal translation from her mother language. However, if the speaker is not conscious of this particular part of her speech but actually assumes that she is producing a non-marked L2 expression, she is not using a problem-solving mechanism. In the latter case, the question is simply one of L1 transfer (interference). While this criterion makes sense, it is questionable whether we can detect this awareness in the data in a reliable manner. Even in retrospective interviews, the participants may not really be aware whether they were using "a creative expression" consciously or not.

Consciousness as intentionality. According to Dörnyei and Scott, problem-solving mechanisms should only refer to the solution process of problems that the speaker is not only aware of but also intentionally inclined to solve. This criterion excludes e.g. non-lexicalised filled pauses (umming and erring).

Consciousness as awareness of strategic language use. Problem-solving mechanisms should refer to only such use of language that the user is aware that they are not "unmarked" expressions or that she is using circumlocution. Thus language where L2 speaker thinks that she is producing acceptable L2 expressions is excluded.

The last two criteria may be similarly difficult to detect to that of awareness. The speaker may not be able to state her intentionality or consciousness in strategic language use, and the researcher may be even less capable of doing so. In addition, as Linell (1998:93) points out:

> There are significant aspects of talk which do not seem to originate in individual, active intentions. A great deal of coherence in discourse results from, or is supported by, syntactic processes that are highly automatized, and other cultural routines for sequentially ordered actions.

The fourth aspect of consciousness, which Dörnyei and Scott would like to exclude, is that of *control.* If the requirement of control would be included, automatized mechanisms would be excluded. However, Dörnyei and Scott wish to include *potentially conscious* automatized mechanisms as mechanisms proper.

Now it becomes even more difficult to trace automatic but potentially conscious mechanisms. For a researcher, it is often impossible to detect the consciousness by observing the speech. Presence of consciousness can be only detected in an interview, through retrospective self-commentary of the language user. Even then, it is highly questionable to what extent the speaker can reliably comment on her own consciousness in the use of a strategy. For example, grammatical reduction or use of fillers to gain time may be mostly automatic procedures that the speaker is hardly aware of.

Although the framework of Dörnyei & Scott (1997) and Dörnyei & Kormos (1998) provides a detailed classification for various mechanisms by which interlocutors try to solve problems, I would like to draw a big question mark next to the possibility to trace consciousness. Through retrospective interviews we can exclude some non-conscious unintentional uses, but not all of them. As for interactional mechanisms, the consciousness is probably higher. Due to this reservation of consciousness I would like to modify the definition one more time (the new modification in italics).

> A problem-solving mechanism is every potentially intentional attempt to cope with any at least partly language-related problem of which the speaker is *potentially* aware of during the course of communication.

This functions as the definition of a PSM in the present study.

4. AIMS, DATA AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Implications of Previous Research

The studies on lingua-franca communication, as reviewed in the previous chapters, have revealed the complexity of reaching mutual understanding. Participants do not share the social background thus having expectable differences both in their world knowledge and their social and interactional rules. Neither do they have such a wide repertoire of linguistic devices available at any level of language (lexis, grammar, prosody) as they do in their mother tongues. In Canale's terms, they have inadequacies in grammatical, sociolinguistic, and discourse competence. Despite those shortcomings, many speakers manage to accomplish fairly complex communicative tasks using English as LF in their work or study. As stated earlier, strategic language skills are supposed to help LF speakers' in accomplishing these tasks.

While the importance of the strategic competence to overcome inadequacy in other components of communicative competence have been acknowledged in many LF-related studies, a detailed model to map these strategies with the lingua-franca interaction in focus has not been made. Firth's suggestion on two principles of let-it-pass and make-it-normal seem to be well-functioning, but require a more concrete analysis on the implementation of these categories on the utterance level.

On the other hand, although the earlier research of communication strategies (or problem-solving mechanisms) has produced a multitude of (even detailed) models to describe the strategic competence of language use of L2 speakers, they have failed to fully acknowledge the special features of lingua-franca communication, i.e. non-shared sociolinguistic knowledge of participants, limited linguistic resources of all participants, and the resource that mutual awareness of these limitations may offer in the attitudinal level. For this reason, Dörnyei & Scott's model may not either - without modifications - fit the present views of lingua-franca interaction.

In addition, as pointed out by Dörnyei & Kormos (1998:379) themselves, the reasons for a speaker to choose one PSM instead of another, as well as the relationship between language-level reasons and situation-level reasons behind this choice, are a complex and unexplored area of research. These reasons for choice of mechanism, too, need to be explored with the lingua-franca communication in focus.

The present study aims to contribute to the study of lingua-franca language by focusing on the use problem-solving mechanisms in one discourse type, information exchange

dialogue (see Chapter 4.4.1 for a description of this discourse type). In addition to mapping various PSMs used in this type of dialogue, it aims at exploring two aspects in the use of PSMs: how does the lingua-franca setting affect the relationship between the problem to be solved and mechanisms employed, and what do the speakers perceive to lie behind their choice between various PSM's. The three research question arising from this are presented below.

4.2 Research questions

The present study attempts to deal with three questions:

RQ1: What problem-solving mechanisms (PSM) are used in an information exchange conversation where English is used as a lingua franca?

The aim of the first question is mainly descriptive. Occurrences of various PSMs will be quantified and classified. The PSMs will be identified both by analysis of the dialogue and on the basis of post-commentary of the participants. They will be classified with the adopted framework presented in Chapter 3. The rough quantification and classification has two functions: first, it will be combined with the qualitative handling of the second and third research questions to provide a general picture of use of PSMs in LF communication, and second, it will provide a context for the more local and more intensive qualitative study of RQ2 and RQ3. The aim, however, is not to analyse the occurrence frequencies quantitatively.

RQ2: How does the lingua-franca setting affect the relationship between a problem and a PSM?

The problems met by participants will be both analysed in the dialogues and explored through retrospective participant interviews. A basic assumption is made that PSMs would be used for those purposes that were suggested by Dörnyei and Scott (1997), as was described in Table 3 on page 42: Own-performance problems are addressed with A-type mechanisms, other-performance problems with B-type mechanisms, processing time pressure problems with C-type of mechanisms, and deficit in linguistic resources with D-type of mechanisms. However, whenever a deviation of this model is suspected on the basis of the observation, the passage will be analysed with the special focus on the lingua-franca setting.

RQ3: How do the interlocutors perceive the reasons for the use of PSMs and choices between various PSMs?

This question will be approached through participant interviews and retrospective commentary of the dialogue. Reasons that participants report for PSM choice will be related to the interplay of various factors in LF communication suggested in earlier research: 'linguistic masala' as suggested by Meierkord, Spencer-Oatey & Jiang's sociopragmatic principles, factors suggested by Lesznyák (see Chapter above), and also Firth's two principles; let-it-pass and make-it-normal (see Chapter interaction above).

In sum, the three research questions can be roughly characterised as 'what', 'how' and 'why' of PSM use in LFI; (1) what PSMs are used, (2) how they are used to solve the problems especially in LFI, and (3) why – according to the participants - a particular PSM has been used .

4.3 Methodological approach

In order to answer the first question (RQ1), two methods of PSM identification were used. PSMs were identified (a) through analysis of the recorded dialogues and (b) retrospective interviews of participants. This is a common combination of methods in the study of PSMs (or CSs) (see e.g. Kasper & Kellerman 1997:3-4; Cohen 1998:36). The disadvantages of the retrospective verbal report are discussed by e.g. Cohen (ibid: 36-37). There are two main points to criticise this method for the purposes of the present study: first, much of the cognitive processing is inaccessible because it is not conscious or it is too automatic, and second, interlocutors cannot necessarily remember their mental processing, even when conscious, with any accuracy. Also, Silverman (2001:287, 300) warns that participants viewpoint should not be trusted as the only explanation, especially since the most interesting phenomena may be unremarkable to the participants. Despite these shortcomings, there are a number of advantages, e.g. the directness of introspection and the amount of qualitative data it can provide of various aspects of language use. Cohen (ibid: 38-39) concludes that verbal reports of participants can be a valuable and thoroughly reliable source of information, especially when complemented with other means of research (e.g. observation). As Kasper and Kellerman (1997:12) point out, in methods where the content of talk is not totally in researcher's control, the analysis of text should not be trusted alone, as surface manifestations of PSM's may be difficult to detect. The reliability problems concerning identification of different kinds of PSM are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.9.

The quantification obtained as a result of RQ1 will be integrated with the qualitative handling of RQ2 and RQ3. This kind of integration of quantitative and qualitative approach is suggested in methodology literature (see e.g. Brannen 1992b:12, 27; Bryman 1992:60). In order to explore RQ2, how the lingua-franca setting affects the relationship between a problem and a PSM, the dialogues were first analysed. Traces cases where the relationships between a PSM and a problem type seem not to comply with Dörnyei and Scott's framework were extracted, and participants were asked to comment on them in the interviews. Also, participants' comments on their communication history were explored to explain the findings.

The reasons behind PSM use and choice may be highly complex. Dörnyei and Scott (1997:175) argue that "intervening factors typically have only a subtle and non-uniform effect". However, it is the aim of the present study to explore those subtle effects. Faerch and Kasper (1983b:13) denote that consciousness is not an either/or phenomenon, but rather a scalar one. Although potential consciousness was defined one of the criteria of a PSM use, the speakers themselves may not be aware of *reasons* behind the PSM use. Furthermore, as Silverman (2001:287) warned above, the speaker's view should not be trusted as the only explanation of the cause-effect relationship. Indeed, the choice between various mechanisms has been argued to depend on a number of factors, most of which the participants are totally unaware of. This was discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.2. Consequently, RQ3 is demarcated to participant view only: How do the interlocutors *perceive* the reasons for the use of PSMs and choices between various PSMs.

Thus the aim of the present study is to shed light on only one side – that of the speaker's perception or experience - of the question of why certain PSMs are used instead of others. A question "What does the choice of a PSM depend on" would have required a different approach.

4.4 Data

4.4.1 Characteristic features of the Information Exchange Dialogue

The present study deals with a discourse type that could be characterised as an information exchange dialogue, or shorter, information dialogue (see Becker et al. 2000:96-97). This type of dialogue is also one of the spoken discourse types most commonly met by employees in international work settings (ibid: 206-207). As was suggested in earlier chapters, the goal or communicative task is one essential ingredient, on the basis of which a speaker makes linguistic choices. Therefore it is important to consider those features that are characteristic of this kind of discourse type with any kind of participants (NS or NNS). In discourse analyst's terms, we are

talking about a specific *discourse type* (Cook 1989:95), while scholars conducting genre-based studies may call it a *communicative genre* (Linell 1998: 238). All incidents of one discourse type may be assumed to have (at least partly) similar script (Brown & Yule 1983:241-245) that the participants tend to follow. All instances of one type have a similar goal or purpose, and parts of the script are routinized in a similar manner.

Becker et al (ibid: 96) suggest that the goal of this discourse type can be characterised as information transmission. The two roles typically occupied are a content-competent informant and an information-seeker. Some of the information exchange dialogues can be considered informant-controlled, other information-seeker controlled. Typical actions of an information-seeker include (1) expressions for need of information, (2) asking factual questions, (3) asking for precision, (4) interrupting, (5) asking for confirmation, (6) indicating comprehension, (7) paraphrasing and (8) summarising. At least (5), (7) and (8) fall into the category of PSM, on condition that they are used to solve at least partly language-based (rather than content-based) problems. Thus it can be expected that in this kind of dialogue, whether lingua-franca or not, this kind of PSMs are met. The informant's language is characterised by (1) structuring (2) enumerating, (3) asking for feedback (as for PSMs, e.g. own accuracy check), (4) repeating, (5) paraphrasing, (6) developing redundancy and (7) summarising.

It can be assumed that in native-language information dialogue, the listed actions are predominantly content-based, whereas in lingua-franca interaction they would be both content-based and language-based. The difference between content-based and language-based problems is rather scalar in nature, though, and categorising may sometimes be cumbersome, as was discussed in Chapter 3.12.

4.4.2 Types of Data

There are two types of primary data in the present study: (1) the information exchange dialogues that were videotaped and transcribed, and (2) interview answers and retrospective commentary on the dialogue. To elicit information exchange dialogues, student dyads were formed with one as an information-seeker and the other as an information-provider. The information-seeker was instructed to interview the information-provider about her work experience in ca.15-minute interview session in order to be able to write a short report on basis the information gained (see Appendix 1).

In simulation tasks there is often no "real-world" need to understand the other, so the criterion tends to be low. Therefore this criterion-raising element – i.e. a post-dialogue written report - was added. Since the participant had to report in writing what she had found out from the

other, the understanding criterion for her can be said to be fairly high. This can be seen as a validity increasing measure in the study, particularly with relation to achieving a special type of discourse, i.e. information exchange dialogue. The written reports (Appendix 2), however, can be considered only secondary data, as their function was to assist in spotting understanding problems.
The interview answers were first obtained through e-mail (Appendix 5), and complemented later on in a face-to-face interview together with retrospective commentary of the videotaped dialogue (Appendix 6).

Elicited speech, i.e. interaction obtained though a task given to the interlocutors, was used as data. As I wanted to make use of videofilmed interaction in order to catch the non-verbal communication relevant in identification of understanding problems and use of PSMs, the elicited speech was nearly the only practicable alternative, as video recording of authentic settings would have been much more time-consuming to implement. Also, the diverse linguistic and cultural background of participants (see Table 5 below) provided a genuine intercultural and lingua-franca setting.

Video recording was implemented to facilitate both the analysis of the dialogue and the retrospective interviews of the participants. Identifying non-verbal markers of PSM and signs of non-understanding or misunderstanding became possible. Also, video-recording facilitated speaker identification in a hectic dialogue. As for retrospective interviews, a video recording both enabled participants to recall details of the dialogue, and focus their attention to a specific passage of the dialogue.

Although the goal of the discourse was artificially created, the lingua-franca nature of the situation was real for the participants. In all the six dialogues, English was the most natural language of communication, and in 5 of the 6 dialogues it was the only possible language.

4.5 Participants

The six dyads of students were formed in such a way that in each dyad the only common language was to be English. This was the case in all of the six dialogues, except for number 5, where participants (L1s Finnish and Russian) reported that admittedly, more often, in the study context they speak English, but sometimes in the free time they have spoken Finnish, too.
All participants were students of International Business in Kymenlaakso Polytechnic BBA programme, where the language of instruction is English. The pseudonyms, sexes, home countries, and native languages of each participant are given in Table 4. The level of spoken English was not tested, but the level given in Table 4 is my own rough estimate in the scale of Common European

Framework, where C2 is the highest and A1 the lowest. The assessment has been done using criteria of overall spoken interaction (Council of Europe 2001:74), information exchange, and interviewing (ibid: 81-82).

Table 4 Description of the participants

No of Dialogue / Duration	Role in the videotaped interaction	Pseudonym	Sex	Home country (country of permanent residence)	L1 (L2 if relevant here)	Level of Spoken English (CEF)
1/ 16'00''	Information-seeker	Maria*	F	Hungary	Hungarian	B2
	Information-provider	Nelli	F	Finland	Finnish	B2-C1
2/ 12'45''	Information-seeker	Pierre	M	Morocco	Arabic	B1-B2
	Information-provider	Hon-Fai	M	China	Mandarin Chinese	A2
3/ 16'36''	Information-seeker	Nina	F	Finland	Finnish	B2-C1
	Information-provider	David	M	Kenya (Finland)	Swahili	C1-C2
4/ 15´45´´	Information-seeker	Kaisa	F	Finland	Finnish	B2
	Information-provider	Lyudmila	F	Russia (Finland)	Russian (Finnish)	B2
5/ 15'05''	Information-seeker	Hans	M	Germany	German	B2
	Information-provider	Svetlana*	F	Russia (Finland)	Russian	B1
6/ 15´55´´	Information-seeker	Linda	F	Latvia	Latvian	C1
	Information-provider	Ralph	M	Nigeria	Igbo (English)	C2

* = Not interviewed retrospectively

On the basis of background information it could be concluded that one out of the twelve participants was rather a *second* language speaker than a *foreign* language speaker as he reported to have been educated in English in his home country, although English is not his mother language. This is Ralph in conversation No 6 (information-provider, Nigeria, L1 = Igbo).

Example 3 (E-mail interview)

Question: Do you speak differently in English than in your own language? In order to achieve mutual understanding, do you feel that have to be more active or make more effort?

Ralph: Of course, it is quite different thing with my native language. But since English has been my second spoken language, I speak it with easy [sic]. I don't have to think of what to say. It just flows. I can only think of how to fancy my words, may be to create an impression on the person am talking to.

David in conversation No 3 (information-provider, Kenya, L1= Swahili) has also been educated in English, but reported that his proficiency is at a lower level, and therefore cannot be regarded as a second language speaker in the similar manner. See Example 4.

Example 4 (E-mail interview)

Question: Do you speak differently in English than in your own language? In order to achieve mutual understanding, do you feel that have to be more active or make more effort?
David: Not really, but when I speak English I translate my thoughts from Swahili.

In Jenkins's terms, all the participants except for Hon-Fai in Dialogue 2 could be called bilingual English-speakers, BES.

4.6 Research design

For the information exchange dialogue to be videotaped, the dyads were first divided into information-seekers and information-providers. (See Table 5 for phases of the study and material obtained in them.) Every information-provider was told that s/he would be interviewed about his/her job. S/he was given written instructions, which can be seen in Appendix 1. S/he was allowed 15 minutes to refresh his/her memory and make notes if needed. After the first 10 minutes, the information-seeker was called in. She was also given written instructions, which are given in Appendix 2, and the job title of the information-provider was told to him/her so that s/he could get better prepared. Then s/he had five minutes time to prepare questions, while the information-provider still could refresh his/her memory. The information-seeker was advised to ask both about the company and the job description. Also, the information-seeker was informed that after the interview s/he should produce a one-page hand-written summary of the facts s/he could find out during the interview. The information-seeker was encouraged to make notes during the interview. So far nothing was recorded.

After 15 minutes from the beginning of the information-provider' preparation, the information-seeker was told to start the interview if she felt ready, and the video camera was switched on. The participants had been advised that they should make the interview last for about 15 minutes. The whole 15-minute interview session was videotaped in such a manner that both participants were visible all the time. After the 15-17 minutes, at a suitable end-of-topic phase, I informed the participants about the time and interview was terminated. The information-provider left the room and the information-seeker was asked to write a one-page description of the information-provider's work experience. Thus there is a total of ca. 90 minutes of interaction on the videotapes.

The short reports that the information-seekers had written were used in preparation of retrospective interviews; they enabled me to check correctness of some fragile information e.g. spelling, numbers etc. Also, if there was some critical point on the videotape, I could check whether it had entailed omission of some facts, and ask about this in the interview.

Table 5 Phases of the study and material obtained

Date (No refers to number of dialogue)	**Phase**	**Material obtained**	**Relevant research question**	**See appendix**
No 1 – 3: Nov 2001 No 4 - 6: Sept- Oct 2003	Task given to participants: A to interview B about her work experience in order to write a report			Appendix 1: Task given to the participants
	Participant A interviews Participant B	Videotaped recording		
	A writes the report on the basis of the interview	Written reports	RQ1	Appendix 2: Example of a written report
1 – 3: Dec 2001 4 - 6: Oct 2003	Transcription of the videotapes Preliminary identification of PSM's	Videotape transcript	RQ1	Appendix 3: Example of the transcript with commentary
1: 3 Dec 2001 2: 3 Dec 2001 3: 3 Dec 2001 4: 24 Sept 2003 5: 29 Sept 2003 6: 9 Oct 2003	E-mail interviews	Participants' commentary on their experience and attitude to lingua-franca communication, relationship of participants	RQ2 RQ3	Appendix: 5: Example of e-mail + face-to-face interview questions and answers
1a 12 Dec 2001 1b - - 2a 10 Dec 2001 2b 24 Jan 2002 3a 18 Jan 2002 3b 10 Jan 2002 4a 14 Oct 2003 4b 20 Oct 2003 5a 15 Oct 2003 5b - - 6a 27 Oct 2003 6b 17 Oct 2003 a = information seeker b = information provider	Viewing the videotape with a participant Complementary identification of PSM's	Participants' commentary on use of PSM, problem types, and reasons for choice	RQ1 RQ2 RQ3	Appendix 6: Example of questions asked + answers
	Face to face –interview	More detailed commentary on their experience and attitude to lingua-franca communication	RQ2 RQ3	Appendix 5: Example of e-mail + face-to-face interview questions and answers

After that, about 1-2 weeks after the dialogue, I sent interview questions by e-mail to the participants (see Appendix 5). For practical reasons, I managed to interview only 10 out of the 12 participants (information-providers of dialogues 1 and 5 were not interviewed). The aim of this interview was to find out about the factors that may have had an effect on the language, such as relationship between the participants, i.e. their communication history, the participant's attitude towards the use of PSMs in LF interaction, her experience of the role of culture in LF interaction,

overall impression of this specific conversation in terms of difficulty or easiness of reaching mutual understanding and use of PSM, and orientation to the lingua franca nature of the conversation. After that, I transcribed the videotaped dialogues (see Appendix 3 for an example) and a preliminary PSM identification was made. The transcription conventions are shown in Appendix 4.

In the next phase, the videotape recording was viewed individually with each participant. The aim of this phase was to ensure the correctness of the transcript in certain unintelligible cases, to identify PSMs through viewing and self-commentary (RQ1), and to determine the reasons for use/non-use of a PSM in troublesome parts of the conversation and the reasons for choice between different PSMs (RQ3). Also, at this phase, I asked the participants to complete some of the answers they had given in the e-mail interview or in cases when they had misunderstood the question in the e-mail interview. During the viewing session, the participants had a transcript in front of them, and I asked them to comment on critical points in connection with points describe above. Examples of the questions I asked the participants in this retrospective interview are given in Appendix 6. The face-to-face interview and viewing session took place 1-3 months after the recorded dialogue. Due to the long interval, the participants were shown the dialogue first in its entirety to refresh their memory. Also, they were encouraged to freely say if they felt that they could not remember what they were asked about.

In some specific cases I had deleted some utterances or parts of the utterance from the transcript for the post-commentary viewing on purpose. This was done in order to find out whether the interlocutor viewing the recording had comprehended the speaker's utterance correctly. Whenever this omission was done, it was indicated in the transcript of related examples. (See e.g. Appendix 6, passage No 6.)

The e-mail questions were sent to everyone in English, while the face-to-face interviews with extract-specific questions were conducted in Finnish for Finns and in English for the others. For one participant, Hon-Fai, I also gave all the questions in writing also in the face-to-face interview to make sure he would comprehend the questions. Otherwise the reliability of the answers would have been too much in danger due to his limited comprehension ability.

During the interviews I made short notes, which I then expanded immediately after the interviews. Thus the interview answers are partly transcription of what the participants said, partly my paraphrase.

4.7 Limitations of the data, gathering methods, and analysis

Problem-solving mechanisms cover different phenomena, ranging from entirely intra-speaker (mental) mechanisms in the utterance design (e.g. message reduction, omission restructuring) to interactive mechanisms (e.g. asking for confirmation and reply by confirmation). In PSM identification, it is essential to differentiate between non-conscious marked language use, and PSM, which should operate near the consciousness end of the conscious-non-conscious continuum (including awareness of the problem and awareness of strategic language use).

The PSM's differ from each other to a great extent as for detectability. First, some mechanisms (e.g. message reduction) leave little traces of consciousness to be observed from the interaction, and can be detected with some reliability only through immediate and detailed retrospective reports from the speaker. I call these PSM's "invisible". For the purpose of the present study, identification of *all* these cases was not applicable and not even desired. Thus there are probably many more instances of these mechanisms in the data than were detected. The quantitative data of this group is far from comprehensive. Second, there are mechanisms that can be traced in the interaction, but need retrospective report from the speaker to be confirmed (e.g. in some cases a gap in the utterance may indicate either an omission or restructuring). These mechanisms are called "semi-visible". Although in several cases the speaker was asked to confirm the identification of a semi-visible mechanism, this was not done comprehensively. Thus it is highly presumable that the occurrence data of semi-visible PSM's is not altogether accurate, and even some incorrect classifications are possible. Third, the remaining mechanisms (e.g. use of fillers, asking for confirmation and reply by confirmation) may be detected with great reliability on the basis of the interaction, and it can be assumed that most of the instances of these mechanisms were detected and correctly classified. They are called "visible". Table 6 presents my assessment how various PSMs can be classified into categories 'invisible', 'semi-visible' and 'visible'.

Consequently, it must be kept in mind that the occurrences presented for semi-visible and visible PSM's are not comprehensive, whereas it can be assumed that occurrence data concerning visible PSM's is quite comprehensive and gives basis for comparative analysis between various PSM's within that group. Also, it can be assumed that if no trace of a visible or semi-visible PSM was found, this result is quite reliable, whereas zero occurrence of an invisible PSM may just

Table 6 Detectability of various PSM's

Code of PSM	Name of PSM	Invisible - detected mostly through retrospective interview only - the present study: only suggestive occurrence	Semi-visible - detected through dialogue, but may need to be confirmed by retrospective interviews - the present study: mostly reliable, although some instances may remain undetected and incorrect classification possible.	Visible - detected and classified relatively reliably by the dialogue - the present study: frequency data and classification very reliable
1a1	Self-rephrasing		x	
1a2	Self-repair			x
1b	Other repair		x	
1d1	Message abandonment	x		
1d2	Message reduction	x		
1d3	Message replacement	x		
1d4	Circumlocution		x	
1d5	Approximation		x	
1d6	Use of all purpose words			x
1d7	Word-coinage		x	
1d8	Restructuring		x	
1d9	Literal translation	x		
1d10	Foreignizing		x	
1d11	Code switching			x
1d12	Use of similar sounding words		x	
1d13	Mumbling		x	
1d14	Omission		x	
1d15	Retrieval			x
1d16	Overexplicitness*			
1d17	Mime			x
1d18	Grammatical substitution		x	
1d19	Grammatical reduction		x	
2a	Verbal strategy markers			x
2b	Feigning understanding		x	
2c1	Use of fillers			x
2c21	Self-repetition			x
2c22	Other-repetition			x
3a1	Comprehension check			x
3a2	Own accuracy check			x
3b1	Asking for repetition			x
3b2	Asking for clarification			x
3b3	Asking for confirmation			x
3b4	Guessing			x
3b5	Expressing non-understanding			x
3b6	Interpretive summary			x
3b71 – 3b76	Various types of responses			x
3d1	Direct appeal for help			x
3d1	Indirect appeal for help		x	

*) Overexplicitness was omitted from the present study (see Chapter 3.3.2)

mean that the PSMs stayed hidden from the analysis with the present methods and were still frequently used. Also, what must be emphasised is that a few occurrences of PSMs listed are *potential* rather than actual occurrences. The reason for this was that some instances had been classified twice into two different categories (e.g. both other repair and indirect appeal for help + response). There may have been two different reasons for that. First, on the basis of observation, two (or even three) interpretations had been possible and no retrospective comment was available, due to participant's claim that s/he is not able to comment that passage, or that particular participant had not been interviewed. The second reason was that retrospective comments had been contradictory, i.e. the participants perceived the situations differently (or one of them was not able to comment). Thus some problem-solving mechanisms were counted twice or even three times as instances of various potential classifications. PSMs with this kind of multiple classification, however, account for less than 5 per cent of all PSMs detected. In the following an example of this kind of 'double classification' is given, where one the speakers claimed to make a comprehension check (3a1), but the interlocutor considered it an own-accuracy check (3a2)

Example 5a (dialogue)

Hon-Fai [mmhm] have some special/, special/ err function/, °function°
Pierre functions/
Hon-Fai °yeah°

Example 5b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: Do you ask help here from Pierre?
Hon-Fai: Not help, I wanted to make sure he understands what I said, so I wanted him to repeat.

Example 5c (retrospective interview)

Tarmo Why do you repeat the word 'function'?
Pierre I could see he wanted help, he often asks help this way.

Elicited speech in this kind of data does have some risks. In elicited situation, the goals originate mostly from within the task, not from real life outside the task. As the goals are not relevant for the participants in their real life, participants' understanding goal does not usually have a very high criterion. As shown by e.g. Wilkes-Gibbs (1997:241) and Poulisse (1997:57), with high criterion goal, participants may take effort to reach mutual understanding by using a lot of interactive strategies, while with low criterion goal they are led by the principle of least effort.

One approach to look at this problem of elicited speech is to view it as two competing discourse worlds. This phenomenon and problems it generates in pragmatics-oriented studies are described by Wildner-Basset (1990). In e.g. a role-play situation, the first world that participants share is the role-play world, where the participants have given roles and goals. Some people may adopt their role quite easily while others may have great difficulties in acting in the situation in the

same way as they would in corresponding real-life situation. The second discourse world, competing with the "fake" world, is the real discourse world, or external contexts, where participants are in their real-life roles, e.g. students, and their goals in the situation are derived from the real life as well (e.g. to get out of the situation with as little effort as possible, to make a good impression on the teacher with language skills, presence of the video camera).

Firth & Wagner (1997:294) state that in this kind of experimental setting, the participants behaviours can depend on the task and familiarity with one another in real life rather than their orientation to the LF interaction. This can have a great influence in the face-related choices. Also, as was seen Lesznyák's (2002:186-190) study, among unknown participants, there can be dynamic development towards a more skilful topic handling. In the present study, the familiarity of participants and its influence on the interaction was explored through the post-conversation interviews of the participants.

As was discussed earlier, the goal is present in the task in such a way that awareness of the written task of the information-seeker in turn may even have its effect on the language of the information-provider. According to Yule & Tarone (1997:26), the presence of a co-participant with a specific task has a strong influence on the strategic language use. In the present study, what was not explained clearly to the participants was the purpose that the report will be written for. According to the retrospective interviews, this brought some unrealistic edge to the topic handling of the discourse, as the participants reported that they attempted to find some relevant information for the report, but sometimes easily dropped a troublesome topic as none of the subtopics was really perceived essential.

4.8 On reliability and validity of the study

In order to help the reader assess the reliability of the study, the analytic constructs used are explained in detail in the theoretical background of the present study. Also, the data gathering methods are described in detail. In order to increase the reliability of the data gathering, the dialogues were videotaped. Furthermore, I have personally made all the transcriptions, and provide ample examples of them throughout the analysis, which is argued to increase the reliability by Silverman (2001:223, 230). As for interviews, e-mail is considered a channel that decreases interference from the interviewer, and thus increases reliability (ibid: 229). In addition, when interview answers are presented in the analysis, the question that provoked the answer is always shown so that the reader may assess its impact on the answer (ibid: 230). Also, in Chapter 4.9., in order to avoid "anecdotalism", I will introduce principles of analysis, including criteria for

including certain instances and not other (ibid: 222) and also analyse less clear cases (ibid: 34) later on.

For validation of qualitative studies, Silverman (2001:236) suggests analytic induction, deviant-case analysis, the constant comparative method, comprehensive data treatment and use of appropriate tabulations. The method of addressing RQ2, where cases incongruent with Dörnyei and Scott's framework are analysed, can be considered an analysis of deviant cases in relation to an earlier theory. Constant comparative method, in a single study, can be interpreted "inspecting and comparing all data fragments that arise in a single case" (ibid: 239). Also this has been the attempt of this study, with the limitations of the data gathering method earlier discussed. As for RQ 3, all explanations given by participants have been analysed. Further, Silverman (ibid: 240) states that comprehensive data treatment should be aided by appropriate tabulations. The aim of research question RQ 1 is to give a comprehensive picture of all instances of PSM use, within the limitations of the data gathering method. The tabulations and categories are theoretically defined (ibid: 240) according to categories suggested by Dörnyei and Scott, which is considered one of the conditions of appropriateness in tabulations.

4.9 Principles of analysis

4.9.1 Recognition and classification of PSMs (RQ1)

As earlier stated, some PSMs are "visible", i.e. they can be easily detected in the dialogue because they are overtly manifested in the interaction (see Table 6). "Semi-visible" PSMs were detected from the dialogue, but whenever possible, confirmation from the participants was sought. "Invisible" PSMs can be mostly detected through retrospective interview only, which left them undiscovered in the present study. Some exceptional instances of them, however, had overt manifestations in the dialogue, and thus could be detected even without a participant comment. As it was not the aim of the present study to discover all occurrences of PSMs, the retrospective interviews did not cover all potential occurrences of invisible PSMs. In addition, traces of less evidently identifiable PSMs were sought in places where *understanding* problem (misunderstanding or non-understanding) was detected in the dialogue or reported by the participants in the retrospective interview.

In the recognition and classification of PSMs there were three criteria that had to be fulfilled on the basis of the definition of PSM adopted for the present study (see Chapter 3 above).

1. An utterance or its part is a mechanism addressed to a *problem* in communication
2. The problem is at least partially language-related
3. The use of PSM is *potentially* conscious, i.e.
    i. Speaker is aware of the problem.
    ii. Speaker uses the mechanism intentionally.
    iii. Speaker is aware of using the language strategically.

The fulfilment of these criteria could partly be confirmed only by speaker retrospection, if at all. Naturally, it would have been impossible to interview the participants about all instances of a (potential) PSM use. The points that were chosen under closer scrutiny in retrospective interviews were either communicatively troublesome, i.e. misunderstanding or non-understanding was at least suspect able on the basis of analysis of the dialogue and/or the written report, or although no communication problem was detected, the language employed was particularly marked.

4.9.2 Language-related vs. knowledge-of-the-world related problems (RQ1)

By definition, a PSM addresses a problem that is at least partly language-related. Cases where problems that were clearly solely knowledge-of-the-world –related were thus excluded. For instance, if the speaker used an English word which was unknown to the speaker, it was a language-related case. On the other hand, if the speaker used a specialised (e.g. professional, local) concept that the interlocutors could not possible understand even if expressed in her own language, or the interlocutors did not understand e.g. some complex technical procedure that was described, it was presumably a knowledge-of-the-world related case. As discussed in Chapter 3.3.3, this difference is far from uncontroversial. In many cases, it was difficult to tell the difference, and even the participants themselves may not have been able to comment on the nature of the problem. Also, in many cases the difference between knowledge-of-the-world relatedness and language-relatedness may rather be more-or-less than either-or.

With processing time mechanisms (2c), it was virtually impossible to make the difference between content-related time-winning (e.g. the speaker processes the content) and language-related time-winning (e.g. the speaker needs time for lemma retrieval). Furthermore, some scholars think that these two processes may be interlinked and impossible to separate. Therefore most manifestations of 2c mechanisms were included in PSM's, unless it could be concluded from the context that the time-winning was clearly predominantly content-related. Similar approach for

the same reason was adopted for mechanisms self-rephrasing (1a1), restructuring (1d8), retrieval (1d15), and mime (1d17).

4.9.3. Consciousness (RQ1 & RQ3)

As stated earlier, consciousness (even potential) is a troublesome criterion for the analysis. Consciousness consists of three components: (1) speaker's awareness of the problem, (2) speaker using the mechanism intentionally, and (3) speaker being aware of using the language strategically.

As for RQ3, the focus was on those PSMs which can be assumed to be clearly closer to the conscious end of the conscious-non-conscious continuum. Also, direct appeals for help, other repairs, and all interactive mechanisms detected in the dialogue are included, as they always include a whole turn and thus can be assumed to be nearer the conscious end. Thus in all instances of "visible" mechanisms, the consciousness is taken for granted on the basis of the dialogue.

Consciousness of grammatical substitution and reduction as well as literal translation needed mostly to be confirmed by retrospective comment by the speaker, as a similar utterance can manifest *non-intentional* use where the speaker thinks that she is producing non-marked language. The latter kind of case would not be a PSM. Message abandonment, message reduction, message replacement, and omission cannot most often even be traced in the dialogue without retrospective comment from the speaker, which entails the presence of consciousness. Thus as for "invisible" mechanisms, the consciousness was never taken for granted, but either confirmation of the speaker was required, or, if accompanied with exceptionally heavy cotextual marking, it could be identified on the basis of the dialogue.

As for the semi-visible PSMs, the consciousness is interpreted case by case on the basis of dialogue and/or retrospective comments. For those potential occurrences semi-visible PSMs where no retrospective commentary was available, the decision whether to include or exclude the instance was made on the basis of available cotextual features.

Cases where a production mechanism was consciously used, but resulted in lexico-grammatically correct utterance - i.e. the speaker thinks s/he is using e.g. an approximation, but is actually using the 'default term' - were included in PSMs. Naturally, detected cases of this kind were rare, since only if the PSM use was marked, was it possible to detect this kind of 'falsely assumed' use of mechanism.

4.9.4 Implicitness of interactive PSMs (RQ1)

Some interactive PSMs can sometimes take such an implicit form that their detection is difficult. For instance, asking for clarification (3.B.2) may not take the explicit syntactic form of request. However, if an utterance (1) explicitly referred to a language-related problem and thus implicitly expresses a request of clarification, and (2) the utterance was responded by the interlocutor with a rephrase, this utterance was classified as 'asking for clarification'. Thus some implicit cases of PSM's were identified partly on the basis of their role in interaction.

4.9.5 Exploring the reason for choice (RQ3)

Retrospective interview questions focused on one the hand on communication problems, i.e. misunderstandings and non-understandings, on the other hand exceptionally marked language (e.g. marked, opaque-looking expressions) in the dialogue. Misunderstandings were observed from the dialogue, in cases where the interlocutor had stopped speaking topically, i.e. made an utterance that was not an appropriate continuation to the previous contributions (see Brown and Yule 1983:84), as well as comparing the written reports and the dialogues. Non-understandings, as they were most often inexplicitly expressed, were detected by observing the long pauses and facial expressions in the videotape, and further inquiry was made through the written reports and in the retrospective interview.

In cases where an evident understanding problem had not been attended to, the reason for this was sought in the retrospective interview, by asking questions such as "Why didn't you make sure if you didn't understand" or "Why didn't you correct her after you noticed that she had misunderstood?" In addition, in some cases where the PSM choice seemed to be unexpected or unsuccessful, the reason for choice of the particular PSM was sought in the interview. In some cases, this was done by also asking the participant to comment on some other, potential PSM that could have been used in the situation, by asking e.g. "Why did you repeat it; you could have said it in other words, too, couldn't you?"

Also, random questions were asked about cases where a PSM seemed to work in a successful manner. An example of retrospective interview questions and answers, and passages related to them is presented in Appendix 6. In addition to retrospective questions about the dialogue, the participants were interviewed about their mutual real-life relationship and common communication history, their experience and attitude towards the using of English as lingua-franca

in general, as well as their attitudes towards PSM use in general. These answers will also be discussed when explanations for some choices were sought.

5. RESULTS

5.1 Comparison of dialogues in the data

The six dialogues were somewhat different in how well the participants knew one another, how they proceeded in topic handling, how active or passive roles the information-seeker and information-provider assumed, how fluent and otherwise linguistically competent the participants were, how often and how serious understanding problems occurred, and what kind of PSMs were favoured. In the following I will briefly review these differences. (For basic information about the participants, see Table 5 on page 55.)

In Dialogue No 2, Hon-Fai and Pierre were the only dyad whose members were more than casual fellow students. They reported to have done some project together and were next-door neighbours in the student hostel. For Hon-Fai, Pierre was a fellow-student with whom he speaks most often. Dialogue No 5, in turn, was the only dyad where one of the participants assessed the proximity 1 (in scale 0 – 5), i.e. the participants were almost strangers. In the rest of the dialogues, (Dialogues No 1, 3, 4, and 6) the participants mostly assessed proximity 2, and the participants reported that they had sometimes talked before as fellow students. However, Dialogue 1 differed from the rest in that the participants seemed to reach the same wavelength quickly, and there was a lot of laughter through the good-humoured dialogue, while the general atmosphere in dialogues 3, 4 and 6 was more reserved.

As for topic handling, in dialogue No 1 the information-provider most clearly refrains from initiating any new subtopic, but lets the information-seeker dominate the topic handling. In Dialogues No 2 and 5 the information-provider actively brings in new subtopics. This happens also in Dialogue No 4, but not so much due to the active attitude of the information-provider than the embarrassingly long pauses that occur when the information-seeker does not know what to ask next. Also in Dialogues No 3 and No 6 new subtopics are introduced by information-providers, but here they are smuggled in more subtly and smoothly; they develop from the topics introduced by the information-seeker within the turn of the information-provider. In Dialogue No 3, David was the only information-provider who reported that this situation was familiar to him from real life; i.e. he had been interviewed many times for newspapers about his work with the dancing group. So familiarity with the setting may have affected his choices, as he had certain expectations what would be asked in the interview. While the rest of the dialogues dealt with one work experience (which also was the original idea in the instructions), in Dialogue 5 Svetlana the information-

provider dealt with three different jobs she has had. Thus in that dialogue the participants did not get very deep into the topic.

In dialogues No 1 and 4 the information-provider and information-seeker were roughly equally fluent and otherwise linguistically competent. In dialogues No 2 and 5 the information-provider was clearly less competent; speaking and listening skills of the information-provider of Dialogue No 2, Hon-Fai, were obviously much lower than of any of the other participants. His speech was very non-fluent, with many in-turn pauses and retrievals, lexically and grammatically marked, and the quantity of the content he could convey was modest. Sometimes, however, Hon-Fai attempted to explain fairly complex matters, e.g. how a marketing survey was executed. In dialogues 3 and 6 the information-provider was linguistically more competent than the information-seeker. What also may have helped the information-providers in dialogues No 3 and 6 was that their topics were "English-speaking", i.e. the working language in their jobs that they described had been English, while the others described work experiences that had taken place in some other language.

As for fluency of the interaction, dialogues No 1, 3, 4, and 6 could be described fluent. Ralph, the information-provider of Dialogue No 6, was very fluent and spoke fast. He could be classified as a second-language speaker, thus in strictest terms this dialogue could be excluded from lingua-franca data. Also, Ralph had a strong accent, which forced me for the transcription to ask him to confirm or repeat what he said on the tape more often than I did with all the other participants together. Dialogue No 4 was mostly fluent, but sometimes disrupted by long thinking pauses of the information-seeker. In Dialogue No 5, the information-provider's speech was occasionally non-fluent, and, as was mentioned, the information-provider in Dialogue No 2 was altogether non-fluent.

Dialogue No 4 was the only one where the participants had another common language (Finnish), which Lyudmila resorted to twice. However, they reported that in study contexts they speak English, and usually speak Finnish only in free time.

Dialogue No 1 had fewest understanding problems that needed to be solved, whereas Dialogue No 2 had the most. In Dialogue No 5, too, there occurred no misunderstandings, and only one slight non-understanding. This was somewhat surprising since the participants knew each other more distantly than in the other dyads, and the information provider was not too fluent. One of the reasons for this may have been that as the interlocutors dealt with three different jobs; they could not dig very deep into these subtopics but dealt with them at a quite superficial level. In addition, the information provider obviously set the level of information less ambitiously. The pace of

dialogue was also relatively slow, which gave a lot of processing time. In contrast, in dialogue 6 both participants were fairly fluent and competent (estimated C1 and C2 levels), but still there occurred several misunderstandings and non-understandings as well as unsuccessful repair attempts. Obviously the information provider in Dialogue No 6, as a fluent second-language speaker, set his communication goals high yet overestimated the intelligibility of his accent in LF conversation. This supports the results of Seidlhofer (2001:147) that ability to adapt one's communication style to the interlocutor's style is more important than correctness and idiomacy.

In Dialogue No 3 and 4 there were a few misunderstandings and non-understandings, but they were of a very local nature, and usually solved interactively. In Dialogue No 6 there were some misunderstandings that were interactively handled, and some others that were allowed to pass. In Dialogue No 4 there was a non-understanding where the problem source was unidentified.

As for the use of PSMs, there were many of them that were rather equally used in all the six dialogues. (See Table 7 for details and Chapter 5.2 for use of PSMs in more detail.) Self-rephrasing (1a1) was more actively used in Dialogue No 1 than in any other dialogues. Also, a characteristic of Dialogue No 1 was the smallest number of interactive mechanism occurrences. This could be probably explained by the lack of problems, i.e. there was no need for interactive handling of problems. Other repairs (1b) and own-accuracy checks (3a2) were used practically in Dialogue No 2 only, whereas restructuring (1d8) was least used in Dialogue No 2. Guesses appeared in Dialogue No 5 only, which could be explained by the lower level of the information-provider and the active attitude of the information-seeker. Requests for confirmation (3b3) followed by confirmations (3b75) were more common in dialogues No 2 and 5, which are also the dialogues with a less competent information-provider than the information-seeker. However, in dialogue No 5 it is solely Hans, the information-seeker who makes all confirmation requests, whereas in Dialogue No 2 both participants employ confirmation requests equally; Hon-Fai (information provider) to make sure he has understood the question correctly, and Pierre (information-seeker) to understand he has understood the answer correctly. A more comprehensive review of the uses of PSMs in different dialogues is given the following chapter.

Some other dialogue-specific features include the following: in Dialogue No 2, Pierre was the only participant that reported that the video camera caused him a lot of stress and probably made him hurry more than what he would usually do. Also only in Dialogue No 2 the competing discourse worlds could be seen to disturb: Pierre (despite the instructions not to do so) seemed to assume a certain role and added imaginary elements in the dialogue, whereas Hon-Fai acted as himself and describe his working experience in a realistic way. This difference in viewpoints may

have made the understanding problems even more difficult. Nina in Dialogue No 3 emphasized her attention to face much more than the others.

There were also many common features among the dialogues. In all the six dialogues, participants understood the task roughly in the same way and the main roles of the information-seeker and information–provider were kept steadily all through the task. Also, their linguistic ability was adequate to accomplish the task in a satisfactory way, i.e. non-understandings, misunderstandings or inability to express the simplest ideas did not totally prevent them from accomplishing the task. Also, all information-seekers managed to write a report on the basis of the interview. Between the uses of PSMs in different dialogues, the differences were small (with a few exceptions).

In the following, the results will be discussed in relation to the three research questions:

1. What problem-solving mechanisms (PSM) are used in an information exchange dialogue where English is used as a lingua franca?
2. How does the lingua-franca setting affect the relationship between a problem and a PSM?
3. How do the interlocutors perceive the reasons for the use of PSMs and for choices between various PSMs?

5.2 What problem-solving mechanisms (PSM) are used in an information exchange conversation where English is used as a lingua franca?

5.2.1 Overview of PSMs used in the data

In this chapter, the occurrences of the various PSMs found in the data are described. These raw figures serve as an illustration and background for the later qualitative analysis for problem types and reasons for choice, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.4. It should be kept in mind, however, what was said in Chapter 4.9.4 about the limitations to gather reliable information on occurrences of "semi-visible" and "invisible" mechanisms.

The occurrences of various PSMs are presented in Table 7. As can be seen, most PSM types defined by Dörnyei and Scott occur in the data. However, there is at least one visible mechanism, of which it can be stated with strong reliability that it is not employed in these dialogues, Direct appeal for help, 3d1 (”What's this word in English?”). The reason for zero occurrences is not known on the basis of the data, i.e. in the retrospective interviews non-use of mechanisms was not covered. However, the retrospective interviews (discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.4.2) offer a few indirect explanations for the no-show of Direct Appeal for Help. Direct

Appeal for Help can be perceived very threatening to the face of the speaker; further, it is very time-consuming and thus clashes with the maxim of economy, which is often considered important in the commentary of the speakers. The same job can be done more economically and more indirectly - which also means less threat the speaker's face – by using e.g. a confirmation request, own accuracy check, or approximation.

Table 7 Occurrences of Problem-Solving Mechanisms in the data.

Problem-Solving Mechanisms			Dialogue No							
Code	**Name of PSM**	**Dir/type**[7]	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**total**	**total type**
1a1	self-rephrasing	d/own	11	4	6	6	8	5	**40**	
1a2	self-repair	d/own	2	1	0	2	1	1	**7**	
1a	**total**									**47**
1b	other repair	d/oth	0	4	0	0	1	0	**5**	
1b	**total**									**5**
1d1	message abandonment	d/def	2	1	0	3	1	0	**8**	
1d2	message reduction	d/def	0	1	1	0	4	0	**6**	
1d3	message replacement	d/def	0	0	0	0	1	0	**1**	
1d4	circumlocution	d/def	4	0	0	1	0	1	**6**	
1d5	approximation	d/def	2	4	0	7	2	1	**15**	
1d6	use of all-purpose words	d/def	2	0	0	1	2	0	**5**	
1d7	word coinage	d/def	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	
1d8	restructuring	d/def	10	2	11	7	8	11	**49**	
1d9	literal transl.	d/def	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	
1d10	foreignising	d/def	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	
1d11	code-switch	d/def	0	0	0	2	0	0	**2**	
1d12	similar sounding words	d/def	0	1	0	0	0	0	**1**	
1d13	mumbling	d/def	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	
1d14	omission	d/def	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	
1d15	retrieval	d/def	5	7	2	5	5	5	**29**	
1d17	mime	d/def	4	0	11	5	13	22	**55**	
1d18	grammatical subst.	d/def	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	
1d19	grammatical red.	d/def	0	2	0	0	0	0	**2**	
1d	**total**									**179**
2a	verbal marker	i/own	2	0	0	0	0	2	**4**	
2a	**total**									**3**
2b	feigning understanding	i/oth	1	2	3	1	0	0	**7**	
2b	**total**									**7**
2c1	filler	i/time	11	16	11	18	13	9	**78**	
2c21	self-repetition	i/time	5	22	5	9	18	10	**69**	
2c22	oth-repetition	i/time	3	7	0	0	5	3	**18**	
2c	**total**									**165**

[7] Solving type: d = direct, i = indirect, int=interactional/ Source of problem: own = directed to own performance, oth = directed to other's performance, time = directed to time pressure, def = directed to deficit in resources. It should be noted that this classification of problem sources refers only to the typology as suggested in the original framework of Dörneyi and Scott (1997) and does not necessarily comply with findings of the present study, as will be dicussed later.

Table 7 (continues) Occurrences of Problem-Solving Mechanisms in the data.

Problem-Solving Mechanisms			Dialogue No							
Code	**Name of PSM**	**dir/type[8]**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**total**	**total type**
3a1	comprehension check	int/own	0	1	0	0	0	0	**1**	
3a2	own accuracy check	int/own	0	5	0	0	0	1	**6**	
3a	**total**									**7**
3b1	asking for repetition	int/oth	0	0	3	1	0	1	**5**	
3b2	ask for clarification	int/oth	0	1	1	1	0	1	**4**	
3b3	ask for confirmation	int/oth	0	10	0	3	7	2	**22**	
3b4	guessing	int/oth	0	0	0	0	2	0	**2**	
3b5	expressing non-understanding	int/oth	0	0	0	1	0	0	**1**	
3b6	interpretive summary	int/oth	5	4	3	2	4	4	**22**	
3b71	response repeat	int/oth	0	6	4	1	2	1	**14**	
3b72	response repair	int/oth	3	1	0	0	1	0	**4**	
3b73	response rephrase	int/oth	1	1	1	0	0	1	**4**	
3b74	response expand	int/oth	1	2	1	3	0	0	**7**	
3b75	response confirm	int/oth	5	14	0	4	10	7	**39**	
3b76	response reject	int/oth	0	0	0	1	1	0	**2**	
3b	**total**									**125**
3d1	direct appeal for help	int/def	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	
3d2	indirect appeal for help	int/def	1	2	0	1	0	0	**4**	
3d	**total**									**4**

Also, it can be stated that the following semi-visible mechanisms were not found:

- Word coinage, 1d7
- Mumbling, 1d13
- Omission, 1d14

Similarly, there was no evidence of use of three invisible PSMs, the use of which, however, could be traced through careful retrospective commentary. Thus the results are of low reliability.

Whereas approximation can be relatively economical and can lead to a retrieval of the unmarked term by the interlocutor, word coinage is requires some effort and the product can be taken as end product. Mumbling, on the other hand, is not very co-operative behaviour towards the interlocutors, and as information exchange was a joint project here, intentional mumbling would probably have been considered rude. It is interesting to note that among type A mechanisms, addressing one's own performance problems retrospectively, self-rephrasing (1a1) was commonly used in all dialogues (40 occurrences), while interactive own-performance directed mechanisms (3a) were rare; comprehension check (3a1) was used once, and own accuracy check (3a2) was

[8] Solving type: d = direct, i = indirect, int=interactional/ Source of problem: own = directed to own performance, oth = directed to other's performance, time = directed to time pressure, def = directed to deficit in resources. It should be noted that this classification of problem sources refers only to the typology as suggested in the original framework of Dörneyi and Scott (1997) and does not necessarily comply with findings of the present study, as will be dicussed later.

mainly used by one of the speakers (Hon-Fai, Dialogue 2), whose language competence is clearly lower than any of the other participants. Below are two examples of self-rephrasing (Example 6 and Example 7) and one example of Hon-Fai's own accuracy check (Example 8).

Example 6 (dialogue)

Hans	[…] why-why did you come here to study , and not to go on working	
Svetlana	[...] and also the relation between russia and finland the economic relation between russia and finland increase/	1a1 self-rephrasing

Example 7 (dialogue)

Maria	and err , could you see/ (· ·) into the business […] but could you see what is purpose of this woman who is owner , so if she has some new ideas for the shop later on or	
(▪)		
Nelli	yeah, she does/ have, she wants to get, erm, a / bigger place where to have- BIGGER /business premises\	1a1 self-rephrasing

Example 8 (dialogue)

Hon-Fai	but i still get eh , err thirty/ · thiry percents thirty percents answers , i · analyse/ , >°analyse°<	3a2 own-accuracy check
Pierre	yes\	

Among production mechanisms, those directed to deficit in resources (type 1d), restructuring (1d8), i.e. leaving message unfinished and continuing with a new plan; and retrieval (1d15), i.e. repeating wrong forms before finding the correct one; were common with 49 and 29 occurrences respectively. Although mime (1d18) was commonly used (55 occurrences), it was always used in collaboration with the verbal message; there was no such case where a significant part of the propositional content of the verbal message would have been replaced with mime. Thus mime cannot be considered very relevant in this data. Some examples of restructuring (Examples 9 and 10) and retrieval (Examples 11 and 12) are given below.

Example 9 (dialogue)

Maria	@@] What about your experiences/ what was the worst experience in your-in the shop	1d8 restructuring
NELLI	°<mmhm worst experience>° · · · *(sigh)* probably some difficult customer @@[@@]	

Example 10a (dialogue)

Pierre	alright/ thank you >what about</ your working hours · · how many hours you was [working per] week/	
Hon-Fai	[<oh>, yeah, yeah] eight, eight hours	
Pierre	eight hours/	
Hon-Fai	°eight hours°	
Pierre	did you have/ · · including , breaks\	1d8 restructuring
Hon-Fai	mhhm, twelve, twelve o'clock we have break	
Pierre	okay , at twelve o'clock	

Example 10b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo	What did you leave out when you said "did you have ... including"?
Pierre	I didn't leave anything out, but I changed my mind what I was going to say. I was going to start a new thing but then I wanted to make sure it meant eight hours including the breaks.

Example 11(dialogue)

David	[...] they have hotels in , uganda/ , in south africa/ , and in korea/ , that what makes it a chain of hotels *(Nina nods)* , it's owned by a korean tycoon businessman with-as the , the chairman/	1d15 retrieval

Example 12 (dialogue)

Maria	did i- did you practiced it earlier/ <or> it was the first that <you> [made a bouquet]	1d15 retrieval

Sometimes it was difficult to make the difference between restructuring and retrieval. In examples 9 and 10, though, the unfinished "communication plan", if finished, would have resulted in a grammatically correct and sensible utterance, but with a slightly different content (as in Example 9) or with a totally different content (as in Example 10) from the corrected one. In examples 11 and 12, the original utterance would have been grammatically incorrect (as in Example 11), which was mended by retrieving the correct preposition, or the retrieval was used to correct a slip of the tongue which would have resulted in a non-sense utterance in the present situation (as in Example 12).

Also, use of fillers and repetitions for time-winning (type 2c) was common among all participants with the total of 165 occurrences. The problem-solving mechanisms used were hardly ever verbally marked (mechanism 2a); instead some evidence of non-verbal or paralinguistic marking or mechanisms was found. The rarity of marking the mechanisms is congruent with the findings of Wagner and Firth (1997:327). Non-verbal and paralinguistic markers are used for PSM

identification but they do not form a category of their own in the framework adopted for the present study.

There was some evidence of feigning understanding (2b), and obviously some cases of this semi-visible mechanism remained undetected. However, feigning of understanding rarely seemed to lead to any serious non-understanding. Example 13 shows feigning understanding at the level of comprehension, while Example 14 operates at the level of intelligibility. (The different levels of understanding were discussed in Chapter 2.4.)

Example 13 a (dialogue)

David	there's many this kinds [[assistant]]	
Nina	[[yeah\]]	
David	departments include accounts , department production , on the production *(Nina nods)* which we have the f and b , [[that's]]	
Nina	[[yeah]]	2b feigning understanding/
David	food and beverage and the entertainment department also falls under this production *(Nina nods*	comprehensibility

Example 13b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	You said yeah - did you mean "I understand what you mean by f and b" or "Go on"
Nina:	Certainly, I meant 'go on'. I had no idea what f and b means. I didn't consider it so important if I didn't know every word in the list of different departments.

Example 14 (dialogue)

David	= all about , the dance , err crew (n) the name is that's safaricats (snifs) · >they call it safaricats <	
Nina	[okay/]	2b feigning understanding/intelligibility
David	[so there's] ALL/ about them	

Example 14b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Did you get the name of the dancing group?
Nina:	(not seeing the name in the transcript) Very difficult, maybe firecats.
Tarmo:	If you didn't hear, why didn't you ask?
Nina:	I didn't think it was so important as I knew he would never find it out that I didn't get it. I really don't like the idea that I have to ask for repetitions and not to go on with the actual story. But if I really had to use the word myself, in that situation I would have asked then.

I started to suspect feigning of understanding in Example 14 because Nina had not recorded the name of the dancing crew in the written report, although it could be considered key information. Feigning of understanding is a very economical problem-solving mechanism, and is closely connected to perceived unimportance of the sub-topics as well as face considerations. Naturally, by its very definition, it is not very recommendable in most cases, as it rarely enhances understanding,

although, as the participants commented, sometimes ignoring an obscure minor fact can leave more time to handle more important subtopics.

Among interactive mechanisms (Type 3), asking for confirmation (3b3, 22 occurrences) and the reply to it by confirming (3b75, 39 occurrences) were the most common together with an interpretive summary (3b6, 22 occurrences). While the interpretive summary was found evenly in all dialogues (varying between 2 to 5 occurrences per dialogue), asking for confirmation followed by a confirmation was most common in Dialogue No 2 (10 occurrences out of the total of 22 in all dialogues). Dialogue No 2 differs from the other dialogues in two respects, both of which may serve as an explanation for the confirmation requests: first, the information-provider of Dialogue No 2 had significantly lower proficiency level than any other information provider of the dialogues, and second, this was the only dyad where the participants were more than mere acquaintances, i.e. they can be said to have some communication history. See Example 15 for asking of a confirmation.

Example 15 (dialogue)

Pierre	how big is your company/	
Hon-Fai	°err° (·) how big/	HF:3b3 asking for confirmation
Pierre	yeah	P: 3b75 response confirm
Hon-Fai	we-we err- our company <ha-has> , one thousand/ employees	
Pierre	one thousand eh-/	
Hon-Fai	°employ°	
Pierre	employees okay , okay , HUGE company/	

As was mentioned in Chapter 4.1.1, asking for confirmation and summarising are claimed to be a characteristic feature of information-seeker's language in all information exchange dialogues. However, in the present data, this seems to apply to interpretive summaries only. As for confirmation requests, the results of the present study seem to suggest that proximity of the participants and/or the competence level of the information-seeker might encourage the use of confirmation requests. Furthermore, as in Example 15, it is not the information-seeker, but the information-provider who is asking for the confirmation, this time obviously due to a simple intelligibility/comprehension problem. Thus it seems that in a lingua-franca dialogue, the language proficiency may sometimes override the significance of participant's role/goal in the discourse when the typical PSMs to be employed are considered.

Interestingly, the information providers' language in the present study differed from what was suggested in Chapter 4 as being typical in information exchange dialogue. There was almost total absence of asking for feedback of one's own utterances (own accuracy checks, comprehension checks). There are two potential explanations for this absence in the present data.

Either the research setting, where the informant had no urge to ensure the interlocutor's understanding, lowered the understanding criteria for the informant's part too much, and she opted for the principle of economy, or, the lingua-franca setting combined with the discourse type may have affected the choice of not asking feedback. For the latter one, two explanations are possible: either the speakers (felt they) lacked competence to do this kind of checks smoothly, or face considerations - i.e. refraining from paying attention to the other's limited resources - discouraged them from doing so. A third potential explanation is following the principle of economy because of the time pressure, which was reported as a reason for an economical solution in some other cases.

Guessing (3b4) was found in Dialogue 5 only, by Hans the information-seeker, although in Dialogue 2 cases that were classified as other repair (1B) or replies to indirect appeals for help were in some cases close to guessing. Hans reported that he does guessing quite a lot even in his mother tongue. On the other hand, the guessing often follows hesitation, pauses, and utterances where probably some message reduction or avoidance of difficult expressions have taken place. See Example 16 with two instances of guessing.

Hans explains this guessing in the retrospective interview by stating that he felt Svetlana could not fully express her intended meaning. Thus it can be assumed that since Svetlana used several self-repetitions to win time, and since her final utterances were rather "dull", she may have resorted to message reductions. In other words, she reformulated her communicative goal to fit her proficiency. (Admittedly, this was not confirmed by a retrospective interview since Svetlana was not interviewed at all). Consequently we can assume that perception of the message reduction encouraged Hans to guess to be more co-operative (or to achieve his goals more efficiently).

Example 16a (dialogue)

Svetlana	yes err and because for them,	
	teacher is teacher @ it's a it's	S:2c21 self-repetition
	person err who they-they're	2c21 self-repetition
	listening	
Hans	respect perhaps [more/ °mhmm°]	H: 3b4 Guessing
Svetlana	[yeah yeah] and of course older	
	persons its', >of course also was	S:3b75 Response:confirmation
	interesting because< we can talk ,	
	err , ehm	
Hans	°>mhmm<°	
Svetlana	about , about problems err	
	because they-they're really ehm	S: 2c21self-repetition
	they're really PERSONS [now]	1d2 message reduction (?)
Hans	[°mhmm°]	2c21 self-repetition
Svetlana	<and> err	1d2 message reduction (?)
Hans	they're more serious [persons/]	H: 1d17 mime + 3b4 Guessing
Svetltana	[yeah] they're serious persons [[of	S: 3b75 response: confirmation
	course]]	

Example 16b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: What made you do this kind guessing or suggesting words?
Hans: I felt that she couldn't find the right word. My friends say that I am doing this too much, interrupting them and not letting them finish.
Tarmo: So you do this also when you speak German?
Hans: Yes, but probably even more in English.
Tarmo: Would you rather say that you thought Svetlana had difficulties in formulating her idea in general or just difficulty in finding the right English word?
Hans: I thought she couldn't find the right words because the things she said seemed to be somehow 'not enough' so I thought she may not find the right word.

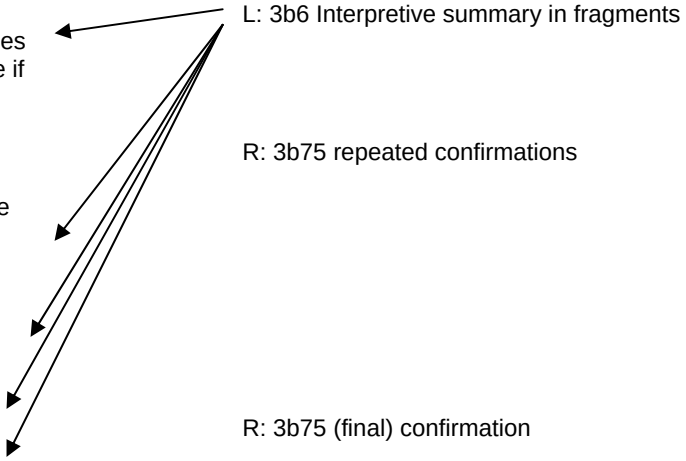
This case was an exceptional detection of a potential message reduction in the present study. If the overall communicative task is more demanding than speaker's language competence, which assumedly was the case in these dialogues, it is obvious that message reduction would take place frequently. However, message reduction is often invisible, i.e. it takes place without much overt manifestation in the dialogue. Also, as Wagner and Firth (1997:329) warn, there is some reservation needed in the use of hesitations as a recognition method without a retrospective speaker comment. Hesitation may not be unambiguously linked to a certain element in the speech. Also, hesitation may be a manifestation of a content-related problem rather than a language-based problem. However, in this case, hesitation was not trusted on its own, but in collaboration with self-repetitions, "dull end-product", and the interlocutor's comment.

Four out of all the five other-repairs (1b) were found in Dialogue No 2, where participants know each other well and the information-provider's proficiency is at a low level (see Example 63 on page 103). This may be probably explained by the proximity of the participants. According to Day et al's (1984) findings of NS-NNS conversations, NS's used other ample repairs if they knew their NNS interlocutors well.

Interpretive summaries (3b6) were used in all dialogues (with occurrence ranging from 2 to 5), mostly by information-seekers, which – as mentioned earlier – is a typical feature of this discourse type. As for interpretive summaries it is difficult to tell the difference between content-related and language-related use, the latter of which only qualifies as a PSM. An example of this kind of "hybrid" use of interpretive summary is shown in Examples 17 and 18.

Example 17a (dialogue)

Linda	[yeah] have you GOT , some like SMALLER daughter companies under that °[[what]]was your company°
Ralph	[[aah]] yeah , yes they HAVE , they have some daughter companies >smaller companies< under them/ , who undertakes different types of contracts like , who have a company that is called ehm >i can't remember the name< for that company
Linda	°mhmm°
Ralph	this is small company , that erhm this is also integrated in XYZ, their main job is drai-drainage
Linda	mhmm\/
Ralph	about to , to to · · when they have something to do like on the sea , contract , so this company handles it
Linda	°uhuh\/°
Ralph	yes that is still , within the same parent {pi∂rint} organisa-, administration
Linda	aah but with different [°name°]
Ralph	[with] different name
Linda	uhuh/\ · · okay err so there're many different kind of companies under that one/ which is err like if they're making building
Ralph	mhmm\/
Linda	one building/
Ralph	mhmm\/
Linda	one company is making just the construc[tion]
Ralph	[mhmm\/]
Linda	other is building it [[and]]=
Ralph	[[mhmm\/]]
Linda	=and third one
Ralph	mhmm\/
Linda	is making all the pipework
Ralph	yeah it's like [that]
Linda	[like that]
Ralph	yeah yes
Linda	okay



Example 17b (retrospective interview)

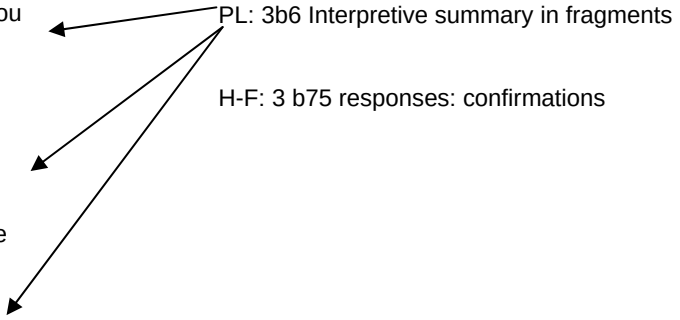
Tarmo:	Linda here summarized your idea; does she do it right?
Ralph:	Yes, I think so.

Example 17c (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Why do you make this summarising?
Linda	To make sure I understood it right.
Tarmo:	Was it more the content that was difficult to get or to understand the language? Or both?
Linda:	In this case, it was more the content, although he spoke so fast that I didn't get every single word.

Example 18a (dialogue)

Pierre	yes , yes and this it's speciality you speak about research, medicine research	PL: 3b6 Interpretive summary in fragments
Hon-Fai	yeah\	H-F: 3 b75 responses: confirmations
Pierre	and creating new medicine	
Hon-Fai	yeah\	
Pierre	very interesting	
Hon-Fai	yeah\	
Pierre	and then your customers they are from , all/ around the world , they come from outside and inside as you say	



Example 18b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Why are you making this summary?
Pierre:	to make sure I got everything right.
Tarmo:	What made you suspect that you weren't having everything right?
Pierre:	I don't know if it was anything special here. But I needed to know the correct information for the report, and because we are both foreigners we don't always get the meanings right.

In Example 17, Linda says that the need to summarise was mainly due to the content, not a problem of comprehension, although she added not to have understood all words. Thus although the interpretive summary was probably predominantly content-related, the lingua-franca nature of the situation encouraged the participant to use it. In Example No 18, Pierre does not spot any specific understanding problem, but refers to the general vulnerability of lingua-franca communication, both of them being foreigners and thus not always "getting the meanings right". This, in turn, is combined with the perceived importance of the correct understanding for the report. Consequently, although interpretive summaries may be a characteristic feature of all information-seekers in information exchange dialogues, the lingua-franca nature of communication may even act as a booster in its use. Detection of asking for clarification (3b2) showed the difficulty in drawing the line between knowledge-of-the-world-related and language-related problems. In Example 19, the question 'what' by Kaisa is considered purely knowledge-of-the-world related, the manifestation of conceptual non-understanding.

Example 19 (dialogue): Clearly not a PSM

Lyudmila	well in some cities err there are several shops , little ones , one but all shops err eh divided on four groups it depends on the size of shop
Kaisa	okay
Lyudmila	for example where i'm working now has group c
Kaisa	what
Lyudmila	so it has eh en more variety of clothes

Kaisa cannot know what the classification system is in the shop chain where Lyudmila is working; the expression ’group c’ does not have a universal meaning that could be possibly part of her vocabulary. This kind of clarification request is classified as ‘non-language-related’, and is thus not considered a PSM in the present study. Admittedly, it solves a problem, but a problem in knowledge of the world rather than a problem of language.

In Example 20, the question ’what’ by Nina is caused by the unfamiliar word ’game meat’, thus the non-understanding is purely linguistic, at the level of comprehension, connected to the generally known meaning of the word ’game’.

Example 20 (dialogue): Clearly a PSM

David	and they used to specialise/ in game meat only/	
Nina	what/	3b2 asking for clarification
David	game meat	3b71 response: repeat
Nina	what’s that	3b2 asking for clarification

Consequently, her question can be interpreted as a PSM. Although David’s first response is repeating, her question is not classified as ’asking for repetition’, as she reported that the word was really unknown to her.

Example 21, in turn, is much less clear a case. Linda does not know the meaning of ’construction’ in full, i.e. she does not know that a construction company can also undertake *re*construction.

Example 21 (dialogue): Borderline case, classified as a PSM

Linda	okay/ because at first i understood that they’re just err making constructions for the buildings	
Ralph	[ah]	L: 3b2 asking for clarification (implicit)
Linda	[now] you’re saying that they are repairing roads	
Ralph	yes if the- whenwhen i say conSTRUCTION , it doesn’t apparently mean that they have to- everything have to be new , you can RECONSTRUCT the road [...]	R: 3b73 response: rephrase/3b74 exapand (an extensive one)

This can be considered either a problem of knowing the lemma of the word ’construction’, i.e. language-related misunderstanding at the level of comprehensibility, or a problem in knowledge of the world (not knowing that construction companies often do repair work as well). As this is at least partly language-related problem, Linda’s comment is considered a PSM, ’asking for clarification’. (Ralph’s response could be interpreted either 3b73 rephrasing of the term or 3b74 expanding the term).

The findings presented above seem to suggest that various PSM’s are by no means equally frequently used in information exchange dialogues with English as a lingua franca. The

findings may be partly explained by the two principles suggested by Meierkord (2000) and earlier discussed on page 26: (1) Politeness, i.e. wish to save face and (2) showing benevolent attitude (cf. Grice's co-operative principle). Partly, as suggested by Poulisse (1997), many choices of PSM use can be explained by the maxim of economy; participants opt for the least effort in communication. In particular, co-cooperativeness and politeness principle should be here viewed from the specific angle of lingua-franca communication: participants act co-operatively (as their personal goals in this discourses type do not suggest otherwise) also in what comes to their orientation to both participants' limited language proficiency and the mutual awareness of these limitations. Similarly, politeness principle includes the wish not to put oneself or the other into an awkward position that would be caused by limited language proficiency. Participants seem to favour PSMs that are economical (e.g. feigning understanding, approximation instead of interactive retrieval of the correct word) and when the maxim of economy is sacrificed, PSMs that are co-operative (interpretive summary, asking for confirmation). They tend to avoid those that can be considered unco-operative (e.g. mumbling, omission), would threat either the "proficiency face" of the speaker (e.g. showing one's helplessness explicitly by direct appeal for help 3d1), or the "proficiency face" of the interlocutor (by addressing the other's marked language directly, i.e. other repair 1b). Even in the cases when the maxim of economy is sacrificed due to fragile subtopics, face considerations may affect the choice. Interpretive summary, for example, can be considered very polite towards the interlocutor's language proficiency face because the same PSM can be used with orientation to the *content* and thus it need not be perceived clearly oriented to language problems. Also, time-winning PSMs (Group 2c), as well as restructuring (1d8) and retrieval (1d15) impose little threat on either participant's face. Own-accuracy check (3a2), however, albeit potentially own-face-threatening, was used in Dialogue 2 where face threat in general was not perceived serious by either of the interlocutors due to a closer relationship and the simple fact that acknowledgment of low proficiency of one of the participants was unavoidable, and this acknowledgement had actually been mutually done before this dialogue. In Chapter 5.4, the question of choice between various PSMs will be discussed on the basis of the participants' own perception.

5.2.2 When a PSM was not needed: instances of marked lexis, grammar and phonology that did not require PSMs to be understood

As Jenkins & Seidlhofer (2001) show, use of marked language does not necessarily cause any problems in reaching mutual understanding. Below are listed several ungrammatical features of language that caused no noticeable understanding problem (misunderstanding or non-understanding) in the data of the present study. In addition, they either passed unnoticed, or they

were noticed but passed unaddressed i.e. they were not followed by a PSM (e.g. confirmation request). It is to be highlighted that because these marked features are presumably mostly not conscious, they are not *themselves* PSMs (e.g. grammatical reduction) either, but merely signs of non-conscious linguistic creativity, also known as grammatical or lexical slips and errors. However, they seem to support two earlier findings of lingua-franca interaction.

First, even in lingua-franca dialogue, the top-down processing is used in the sense-making process, although participants are less capable of resorting to it. The hearer lets the ungrammatical passage pass without addressing it, although her language competence is at such a level that she should notice the ungrammatical use. Naturally, it is possible in some cases that the interlocutor does not even notice that the form is marked due to her own limited competence or lack of attention or some other reasons. As can be seen in the following retrospective comments this top-down processing works, probably, to some extent as well with both non-conscious marked language (i.e. slips and errors passing unnoticed, Examples 22 and 23) and strategic, creative language use, i.e. use of a production PSM, such as grammatical reduction (Example 24) or approximation (Example 25):

Example 22a (dialogue) slip/error

Nelli	=>after i learned that/< then/ it was easier\
Maria	and err how about the working hours so you had to be there the whole day or it was a part-time job/
Nelli	mmhm normally eight hours per day , like either a morning shift or a night shift · · °or evernings°
Maria	(*nods)* and how long the shop stays open/
Nelli	it's from eight o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock in the evening

Example 22b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Did you find them difficult to understand as questions?
Nelli:	No, why?
Tarmo:	The word order was not like usually in questions.
Nelli:	I didn't notice that.

Example 23a (dialogue) slip/error

Pierre	yes, so your company- what's name/ of your company in China\	
Hon-Fai	°yeah\° err the company/ , <u>the company of name/</u>	slip/error
Pierre	yes	

Example 23b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo	Do you find anything special in Hon-Fai's comment?
Pierre	What do you mean?
Tarmo	I mean saying 'the company of the name' and not 'the name of the company'.
Pierre:	That's quite common among foreigners – there can be some mistakes and we still understand each other.
Tarmo	So that's why you said 'yes'…you didn't try to correct him or anything?
Pierre	I didn't even pay any attention to it.

Example 24a (dialogue)

Hon-Fai	oh, i , i , work for , work for a medicine company [for]=	1d19 grammatical reduction
Pierre	[oh] *(nods)*	
Hon-Fai	=three years	
Pierre	i see for how long / you was working °there° \	

Example 24b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo	Do you notice that you say 'I work' and not 'I worked' about things that have happened in the past?
Hon-Fai	Verb forms are difficult for me, I often have to say the form that comes first or it takes too much time to think of the right form

Example 24c (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	You use here past tense all the time, like 'what was your job' but Hon-Fai uses the present tense all the time. Did you notice that?
Pierre:	I knew from before he doesn't work there anymore, he can't work because now he's in Finland and not in China. So I paid no attention to the wrong verb form. In my mind, we were talking about past happenings all the time.

Example 25a (dialogue)

Kaisa	do you know well err the other persons working in other err [[companies]]	1d5 approximation
Lyudmila	[[yeah]]	
Kaisa	i mean in kouvola or in helsinki or	
Lyudmila	yeah sometimes we have to call if for example a client can't find his size , in our [shop]	
Kaisa	[°mhmm°]	

Example 25b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Why do you say 'other companies'?
Kaisa:	At the moment I said it I realised that it wasn't the right word. But I just couldn't find the right word…so I said companies but therefore I tried to go on and list different places where Newton operates.

Example 25c (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	How did you understand this 'companies'?
Lyudmila:	Different shops of Newton in other places [=correct interpretation of speaker meaning]
Tarmo:	But doesn't 'other companies' actually mean other than Newton?
Lyudmila:	Yes but…I didn't even think about it then…but it is quite clear she meant other places or shops of Newton because it wouldn't make sense other way.

Thus Firth's (1990:275) idea of looser accountability of the speaker's pragmatic meanings in LF communication (compared to NS-NNS or NS communication) seems to work not only at the level pragmatics, but also at the level of lexis and syntax. This finding is congruent with Marriot (1995:266) and Meeuwis (1994:398).

Second, even if the markedness is noticed but understanding achieved through top-down processing, the participants seem to opt for let-it-pass principle, probably because it is more

economical and does not threat the face of the speaker of the marked utterance. As was shown in the previous chapter, 'other repairs' were infrequent in the data. So in ELF communication, participants tend to not repair each other's ungrammatical utterances. Below, in a random order, is a list of features of grammatically marked language that did not cause a communication problem. This finding supports the results of Jenkins and Seidlhofer (2001), as discussed in Chapter 2.7, and is congruent with the preliminary findings of Mauranen (2003:130) in that grammatical errors are rarely interactively corrected. This list is by no means comprehensive, but suggests that a wide range of lexico-grammatical markedness can pass in LF interaction without a PSM employed, provided the utterances are transparent or top-down processing can be used make sense of the more opaque utterances.

- omission of the subject 'it'

Example 26 (dialogue)

Ralph	ehh yes if they did- eh it depends on who is calling / · c'ause the company is a foreign company/
Linda	uhuh\/
Ralph	is a- is a GERMAN/ {djeman} company\
Linda	uhuh\/
Ralph	and is a construction company

- ungrammatical structure of past tense questions

Example 27 (dialogue)

Maria	°mhmm°, 'nd why did you went there/ , what was your purpose to go and work there
Nelli	well i was looking / for a job for
Maria	did i- did you practiced it earlier/ <or> it was the first that <you> [made a bouquet]
Nelli	[first time]

- omission of an indefinite article

Example 28 (dialogue)

Linda	°mhmm° · · °mm° and did you have there permanent job or [n]
Ralph	[yes] it err err in my country , the , jobs are always permanently nn employed

- omission of 'be' as a predicate verb

Example 29 (dialogue)

Hans	and why did you stop it then
Svetlana	OH because @ i err because my husband now in finland/
Hans	mhmm\/
Svetlana	and i'm also here @

- omission of the definite article in certain expressions:

Example 30 (dialogue)

Hans	ehm and , would you then prefer err to teach people of same age/ , sixteen

- using present perfect instead of past tense provided that the past nature of the action clear from the context

Example 31 (dialogue)

Svetlana i have been working in two years in this school erm
Hans how long ago was that two years/
Svetlana two years
[…]
Hans: yeah ehm and you told that you've been working as a teacher to which people/ how old they have been younger kids or

- using present progressive instead of simple present (even in connection with 'marked word choice')

Example 32 (dialogue)

Maria: What about people who are going to the shop? (i.e. what about the people who come to the shop, i.e. the interlocutor's customers)

- use of 'even' in the meaning 'even though'

Example 33 (dialogue)

Ralph [no we don't] need to know the German they need to learn ENGLISH @@@
Linda even the bosses are, [[german]]
Ralph [[yes]] yeah the bosses are german
Linda [uhum]
Ralph [yes] >°bosses are german° < then they have to speak english
Linda [[°mhm°]])

- adding the s-ending of plural to an adjective

Example 34 (dialogue)

Svetlana: i had err differents classes.

- omission of third person 's' in present tense

Example 35 (dialogue)

Ralph: and he just connect to them

- extra 's' in present tense or infinite forms

Example 36 (dialogue)

Maria: what do you want to erm makes with this money
Nelli: mhhm , i'd like to travel but as i can only work there such a short time i don't think i can manage to get enough money to , travel , so , probably i will just go @shopping@

- marked preposition use unless there is some other misleading element:

Example 37 (dialogue)

MARIA [or] <sometimes> if-in the weekends/ as well
[,,,]
Nelli: she's gonna be here at the evening

However, 'call to' in Dialogue No 4 was interpreted as 'go to' because of similar-sounding verb, as shown in Example 38.

Example 38 (dialogue)

Lyudmila so if he ask us we can call to some other shops and well this calling and we're talking and get to know-
Kaisa yeah
Lyudmila -other people
Kaisa so you get them by yourself so don't just like , phone them and say please send us , you go there and get the piece

– use of time preposition with an opposite meaning if the intended meaning is transparent in the context

Example 39 (dialogue)

Hans: The children will come some years ago (i.e. 'after some years').

– Marked pronunciation in such a way that another word is formed, even if the other word makes no sense in the context. (e.g. 'Easter' pronounced as 'eastern')

Example 40 (dialogue)

Nelli: If they need extra if it's a weekend or , erm like a busy weekend you know where you like an easter {i:ˊstɔ:n} or something.

These findings support the earlier results of e.g. Seidlhofer and Jenkins (2001) that mutual understanding in LF interaction can stand quite a lot of ungrammatical usage without jeopardizing the reaching of mutual understanding. Obviously, this ungrammaticality is made understandable by top-down processing. Naturally, there is some point beyond which the interlocutors cannot go without causing serious damage to mutual understanding, and which point can sometimes depend on small coincidences (just as Example 38 shows). As earlier mentioned, Firth's (1996:247) the question of how much anomaly is tolerated in LF interaction before the mutual understanding is in danger, is still mostly unexplored.

5.3 How does the lingua-franca setting affect the relationship between a problem and a PSM?

According to Dörnyei and Scott (1997), a certain problem-solving mechanism is used solely to address a specific kind of problem (see Table 3 in Chapter 3.2.2). Type A mechanisms are used for problems in the speaker's own performance, type B for the interlocutor's performance, type C for processing time pressure, and type D for deficit in speaker's resources. While this is obviously true in most cases, in the present study I aimed to explore if there are cases where the relationship between the PSM and the problem type would not fit Dörnyei & Scott's framework. The framework is described in more detail in Chapter 3.3 and Appendix 7.

While I have made the basic assumption that PSMs would be used to address those problems that are suggested by Dörnyei and Scott, in a lingua-franca dialogue, however, the

recipient design (see page 27) gives a reason to expect something else. The speaker may orient not only to her own limited linguistic resources, but also to potential problems due the interlocutor's limited resources, as was shown by Haegeman (2002). This kind of orientation has been studied in NS-NNS communication research under the concept of foreigner talk (FT). Haegeman (ibid: 138) expands the concept of foreigner talk to include a competent NNSs language use too. According to her redefinition, FT is "the way more proficient speakers of a language adapt their language usage to perceived less proficient speakers."

In the present study, several speakers reported about this kind of orientation to lingua-franca interaction in the interview. Nevertheless, only three clear examples using Type A mechanisms to address deficit in interlocutor's resources were found through the analysis of the dialogues and retrospective interviews. In addition, however, some of this kind of adjustment of speech could have easily escaped the analysis due to the lack of overt manifestations. In addition to the actual examples, some general commentary from participants gives support to the idea that adjusting the talk is potentially conscious and might thus include production mechanisms. (See Examples 38 and 40)

Below are described the two incidents in the data where a 1D-type PSM (Examples 41 and 42) or 1A-type PSM (Example 43) were reported to be motivated by the perceived or anticipated deficit in the interlocutor's resources, and not the speaker's resources.

Example 41 (Dialogue)

Ralph	[yes] it err err in my country , the , jobs are always permanently nn employed · · we doesn't have like >you have to work for two month or you have to work for three months< no , don't have that err labour regulation doesn't specify that , we don't have what is called part-time […]	1d4 circumlocution

Example 41b (Retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	You explained this with quite many words. Can you see a reason why?
Ralph:	Yes, I meant fixed contract, for a fixed period, but I thought she may not recognise the word. I often change my language like this when I am talking with somebody who does not understand me.

Ralph was anticipating a potential understanding problem of his interlocutor with the term 'fixed contract' and adjusted his speech accordingly, using a circumlocution (PSM 1d4). Consequently, it is not the speaker's resources (as Dörnyei and Scott suggest for Type D PSMs) but the hearer's resources that are here addressed as the source of the problem. While this kind of foreigner talk is well-known, it has been ignored in Dörnyei and Scott's framework.

The second case, also by Ralph, was slightly different. In this latter case, Ralph accepts the utterance ‘testing time’, introduced by Linda (non-conscious marked language) as a circumlocution for ‘probation period’.

Example 42a (dialogue)

Ralph	yes	
Linda	so there is no testing time	
Ralph	erm/ , erm no there’s no testing time and oh , we used to say there is a testing time but it’s normally just on paper · there’s no testing time that it […]	1d4 circumlocutions

Example 42b (Retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	‘testing time’; is this a standard term?
Ralph:	She meant to say ‘probation period’.
Tarmo:	Did you understand it right away?
Ralph:	Yes, it was easy to conclude.
Tarmo:	You also used the same word, you didn’t say ‘probation period’?
Ralph:	No, I wanted to use her own term not to confuse her.

Thus, when Ralph is using a circumlocution, he is doing it again for the sake of the interlocutor’s resources, not his own resources. This kind of resourceful adoption of marked items to the joint, local LF argot without marking it has also been supported in empirical studies by Firth (1996:246), Wagner and Firth (1997:334-335), and Wiberg (2003). Also, Wagner and Firth suggest that more familiar interlocutors would use more unmarked mechanisms such as approximations or code-switching. In Example 36a Ralph uses the expression ’testing time’ three times during his turn which also proves that he accepted the use of the term for local purposes.

Another example of orientation to the lingua-franca nature, i.e. recipient design including the interlocutor’s limited resources, is the use of self-rephrasing to prevent anticipated non-understanding despite the use of code-convergent form in the original trigger. In the following example, self-rephrasing was used although the interlocutor (falsely) signalled comprehension.

Example 43a (dialogue)

David	departments include accounts , department production , on the production *(Nina nods)* which we have the f and b , [[that’s]]	
Nina	[[yeah]]	N: 2b feigning understanding /non-understanding at the level of comprehension
David	food and beverage , and the entertainment department also falls under this production *(Nina nods)* , it’s just a BRANCH of production department	D: 1a1self-rephrasing

Example 43b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: Do you think Nina understood f and b when she said 'yeah'?
David: I had thought she wouldn't understand it so I was prepared to explain what it means and didn't really pay attention when she said yeah. But maybe she after all had heard the term as she said 'yeah'. I didn't think then.

Example 43c (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: You said yeah - did you mean "I understand what you mean by f and b" or "Go on"
Nina: Certainly, I meant "go on". I had no idea what f and b means [...]

It seems that the orientation to the lingua-franca nature was so strong that it made David to ignore the signalling of comprehension, albeit pretentious in this case. Consequently, in lingua-franca communication self-rephrasing can be used not only to correct the speaker's marked utterance, but it can be used to facilitate comprehension of a perfectly grammatical utterance. Again, it is not the speaker's resources but the hearer's resources that are here addressed as the source of the problem.

In addition to Ralph, also Pierre reported that he had to adjust the language because of the other's lower proficiency level.

Example 44 (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: Did you feel that you had to adjust your language because the other didn't know English so well? If yes, how.

Pierre: Surely, I had to repeat many ways to get myself understood. Try different verbs, use easier language. Explain piece by piece.

Ralph: I understood at some point that some words I used were totally strange to her, so I have to choose a simplier form of that word.

This comment of Ralph's in Example 38 shows, however, at least in some instances, misinterpretation of the situation. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.4.6.

Despite Pierre's comment it was difficult to detect 1D-type mechanisms that would have been used for his co-participants low understanding, although his interlocutor, Hon-Fai, was clearly the least competent of all participants. This can be partly explained by Pierre – unlike Ralph or David - being the information-seeker, not the informant. When Pierre asked questions, in case he got an answer that showed misunderstanding, or when Hon-Fai implicitly expressed non-understanding (he never did it explicitly), he reformulated the question. There was little trace that Pierre would have anticipated the understanding problem; his PSMs were mostly reactive. In their dialogue (No 2) the number of confirmation requests (3b3) and confirmations (3b75) is higher than in other dialogues. For this kind of exchange, see Example 45.

Example 45 (dialogue)

Pierre	how big is your company/	
Hon-Fai	°err° (·) how big/	3b3 asking for confirmation
Pierre	yeah	3b75 response confirm
Hon-Fai	we-we err- our company <ha-has> , one thousand/ employees	

The recipient design, i.e. consciousness of "foreigner talk" was also seen in the answers to the question about the participants' overall communication history. See Examples 46 and 47.

Example 46 (retrospective interview)

T: If not here [adjust your language because the other didn't know English so well], do you do it with other people?

David: Sometimes I have to break my English and make it really bad to get understood. Speak very slowly, and in small bits, try different ways

Nelli: With some people I use for example easier words instead of some fancy terms.

Hans: Mostly, when I speak English, I speak to people whose own main language is also not English. You sometimes have to try to adapt to the other persons English-skills. But you do this automatically; you notice that the other person's skills are not so good, so you start using more basic words.

Lyudmila: Yes, sometimes. If person doesn't know English well, or I don't have the right words to be more clear I try to use the word I know or my hands.

Nina: This is sometimes a bit problematic 'cos if I know some fancy words, I like using them. But of course I don't want to embarrass other people, and if I notice that the other cannot speak English well, I try to explain in more than one way.

Example 47 (retrospective interview)

T: Do you speak differently in English than in your own language?In order to achieve mutual understanding, do you feel that have to be more active or make more effort?

Linda: Sometimes i do feel that should make more effort, because not all people with whom I communicate know English that well, so I should think what I'm saying and with which words, that person will understand me.

Naturally, these comments may refer to either mechanisms used *after* noticing that the interlocutor does not understand, or continuing assessment of the situation. Hans's comment in Example 46 supports the latter interpretation of continuing assessment of the situation. These comments also show that the participants are *willing* to do this kind of facilitation for the sake of a less-competent interlocutor, and are aware of this kind of facilitation work; among the 10 interviewed participants Hon-Fai was the only one who reported not to adjust his language for the hearer's sake (which can be explained by his own low level of proficiency). Methods of smoothing the task for the hearer that were mentioned could be interpreted to refer to message reduction circumlocutions (Lyudmila, Nelli, Hans), approximation (Lyudmila) rephrasings (David, Nina), using mime (Lyudmila).

There are two interesting points that can be found in the answers above: David's comment in Example 40a brings along the view of valuation of facilitated language: to make communication work, he sometimes has to use "bad English". So "good" and communicatively successful are not the same thing for him. Somewhat similarly, Nina (Example 46) reports that she likes using advanced vocabulary when she masters it, which suggests that she dislikes using simpler words. She, however, claims that this inclination to use fancy terms may be overridden by consideration of the other's face. This question of valuation should not be ignored when speakers' linguistic choices are discussed.

As discussed above, type A mechanisms can be used to address problems originating in the speaker's own or the other's resources. Also they can be used to address a combination of problems, as can be seen in the following examples 48-50. Processing time pressure can encourage the speaker to use a direct, resource-related mechanism (1d) as a kind of short cut, instead of retrieval of the proper expression or finding a better expression interactively. This kind of pressure was reported in Examples 48 and 49 where all-purpose words are used (1d6), and in Example 50 with a grammatical reduction (1d19).

Example 48a (dialogue)

Kaisa	so do you have- do you have lots of erm , responsibilities there >of course this money< money thing	1d6 use of all-purpose words
Lyudmila	mhmm yeah but i think that , the director of the store/	

Example 48b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo	What do you mean by this 'money thing'?
Kaisa	I am used to speaking in this way with other foreigners, like when I was in Germany. I couldn't think how to say it shortly and nicely because I didn't want to spend too much time and effort on this. So I just said this 'money thing' I knew that she would understand what I meant because we just talked about it.

Example 49a (dialogue)

Lyudmila	just came , and has a normal price , we can pay for it , but if for example it's some kind of , err thing for three euro {euro}	1d6 use of all-purpose words

Example 49b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Can you comment on the underlined part?
Lyudmila:	I wanted to say something like… clothes on sale…or products with a reduced price, I mean not normal price. But I couldn't find a good way to say it so fast.

Example 50a (dialogue)

Pierre	for how long you was working in thats medicine / company	
Hon-Fai	>yeah< three years	
Pierre	>three years / quite long [time]< so, what's makes=	
Hon-Fai	[yeah]	
Pierre	= you STOP your work	
Hon-Fai	mmhm, no no , i/ eh when i- when i graduate from my china university /	1d19 grammatical reduction
Pierre	yes/	
Hon-Fai	i ALWAYS/\ work in medicine company	1d19 grammatical reduction
Pierre	<okay> after that university, studies, and what was your · JOB/ , [what] was your-	

Example 50b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Do you still work at the medicine company, or have you stopped working there?
Hon-Fai:	No, I have stopped work in that company.
Tarmo:	But you protest here when Pierre asks you when Pierre asked you when you stopped working there?
Hon-Fai:	I understood it wrong. My listening ability is not so good.I understand the question in other way. In my opinion, he asked why I stopped working there, and I always worked there, I don't work in any other place in China after graduation
Tarmo	Do you notice that you say 'I work' and not 'I worked' about things that have happened in the past?
Hon-Fai	Verb forms are difficult for me, I often have to say the form that comes first or it takes too much time to think of the right form

While, admittedly, in the examples above, 1d-type mechanisms were used to cover deficit in resources, they were also reported to facilitate coping with the processing time pressure.

These findings seem to suggest that Dörnyei and Scott's framework, albeit mostly fit for LF communication, needs four expansions, which are shortly described below. The first three relate to the recipient design in LF interaction in particular, while the fourth expansion could be valid also in NS-NNS interaction.

(1) Use of type 1A and 1D mechanisms with other-orientation

Recipient design, or foreigner talk, i.e. orientation to the other's limited resources, can imply use of 1A-type PSM such as self-repetition, or, 1D-type PSMs, such as circumlocution. Thus they are used not only to repair problems in speaker's resources, but also hearer's resources.

(2) Proactive use of PSMs

This recipient design in LF interaction can make the speaker to *anticipate* a problem in hearer's resources, and thus use a PSM proactively. It could be argued that this kind of PSM use does not fit the definition of a PSM adopted for the present study, which requires that the speaker is potentially aware of the problem during the course of communication. However, if we assume – and as the

interviewed participants report - that in lingua-franca communication the mutual awareness of the lingua-franca setting makes the participants at least sometimes orient to the limited resources of both participants, this orientation includes *anticipation* of potential problems. Consequently, the participants are assumedly aware of not only the problems perceived, but also the problems to be anticipated to be caused by the lingua-franca nature of communication (as David explained in Example 37). Thus addressing specific problems not only reactively, but also proactively fit into the framework of PSMs.

(3) Addressing the problems of comprehensibility of a correct utterance

PSMs, such as rephrasing, need not be addressed to an utterance where the speaker has some production difficulties, or which the speaker finds ungrammatical after making the utterance. Instead, it may be addressed to a perfectly grammatical utterance of the speaker, if the speaker anticipates it to be problematic to the hearer. Adapting Seidlhofer's (2001:150) words, as quoted in Chapter 2.3, the use of PSMs in the speaker's mind is linked to the idea "Can she understand this with her lingua-franca English?" rather than "Is this proper English that I am trying to say?"

(4) Use of 1D-type PSM's to address both resource deficit and processing time pressure.

The speaker may use a direct mechanism as a short cut, a more economical solution compared to attempting to retrieve a more appropriate utterance or using interactive PSMs. This was discussed in more detail in connection with examples 48-50 above.

5.4 How do the interlocutors experience the reasons for the use of PSMs and choices between various PSMs?

5.4.1 Introduction

In relation to RQ3 on interlocutors' experience of the reasons for the use of PSMs and choices between various PSMs, the answers of the participants are discussed with reference to the suggested interplay of factors affecting lingua-franca communication, which was presented in Chapter 2.6. This interplay comprises factors such as task/goal, linguistic competence, culture, face, and rights and obligations. Also, the reasons that the participants suggest are discussed in relation to Firth's let-it-pass and make-it-normal principles as well as the principles of quality and economy, which Poulisse suggests to be lying behind the choice between various PSM's (see Chapter 2.7).

In the retrospective interviews, the participants were asked to comment on the use or non-use of PSMs. As earlier mentioned, all potential cases of PSM use were not covered. Those

connected to the detected cases of misunderstanding and non-understanding or prominently marked language usage were of primary interest.

The presence of competing discourse worlds (see Chapter 4.7) was minor according to the commentary from the participants. In the task instructions, the participants' were asked to act as themselves, i.e. they were advised to take no roles. However, since the task was more or less artificial, one of the participants (Pierre, information-seeker in Dialogue 2) could be clearly seen as acting in a role. For example, he asked Hon-Fai if he is searching for potential customers in Europe, although he knew that in real life Hon-Fai is no more employed by the company. Also, another participant (Kaisa, information-seeker in Dialogue 4) explained one of her utterance with the information value for the video film audience. Mostly, however, the participants seemed to act as themselves and their commentary did not suggest presence of competing discourse worlds, either.

It should be noted that there were numerous cases when the participants were asked about the choice of a PSM, they either could not recall what had happened or reported that the choice was so automatic that they did not really pay attention to it. This can be seen in examples 51-53.

Example 51 (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: Do you think Nina understood f and b when she said 'yeah'?
David: I thought she wouldn't understand it so I was prepared to explain what it means and didn't really pay attention when she said yeah. But maybe she after all had heard the term as she said yeah. I didn't think then.

Example 52 (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: Why did you ask this 'so you already have'?
Hans: I cannot say.
Tarmo: Svetlana sometimes used present tense, for example 'we go' about things that happened in the past. Did you find that this would have made it more difficult to understand what happened in the past and what not?
Hans: It is possible but I really don't remember that.

Example 53a (dialogue)

Pierre <okay> after that university, studies, and what was your · JOB/ , [what] was your-
Hon-Fai [oh i]
Pierre profession/ in thats company\

Example 53b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: What made you choose another word? Isn't 'job' actually easier to understand than 'profession'?
Pierre I did it just to try another word, did this change quite automatically, I didn't much think about it.

These comments give right to the criticism of consciousness and intentionality presented by dialogists (see Chapter 3.3.4) to such extent that in many cases linguistic adjusting of the message seem to be non-conscious and is thus beyond study of PSMs. On the other hand, the cases may also suggest that retrospective interviews do not give access to all mental processing that takes place

during the dialogue for the simple reason that participants cannot remember what they were thinking during the interaction. This also means that the participants may not afterwards recall all PSMs that were conscious at the moment of utterance.

In the case of the production mechanisms (Group 1D), totally non-conscious case candidates were excluded as they defy the definition of a PSM, i.e. they are just marked language of a non-native speakers. As for other types, even many of the reasons that the participants report in the retrospective interviews are probably reasons that were rather non-conscious at the point of utterance, and only later could they establish an argument for their use. They are included in PSM's as mechanisms that the speaker is 'potentially aware of'. This, however, raises the question, how automatic even interactive PSM's can be, as has been suggested by scholars in the dialogistic tradition (see e.g. Linell 1998:93).

Nevertheless, the plentiful commentary that the participants *did* manage to provide strongly suggests that in numerous cases problems of communication are near the conscious end of the conscious-non-conscious continuum, and so are the means by which the problems are addressed.

5.4.2 Interplay of goal and face

E-mail interviews also reveal that importance/unimportance of the communicative goal is something that the participants are aware of. Unimportance was mentioned as a reason for not attempting to reach understanding, as can be seen in Example 54.

Example 54a (e-mail interview)

Question: In situations when you have been speaking English with someone and you don't quite reach understanding with the other, does it often happen that you don't try to make it clearer (e.g. by asking the other to repeat, making sure that the other understands you, saying the same thing again with other words) but you just let the situation pass?

Linda: [...] If it's not important I may go on and not ask, but there's nothing wrong with asking. If you don't understand what the other says and you want to understand, so can't go on anyway without making it clear.

Lyudmila: [...] If it is not important for me, or I will that the question is just a simple unswere I don't ask to repeat. But ofcause if I feel that it is needed I always ask to repeat.

Nelli: I would say that I don't usually do that, I always try to get my point though. If it's important, I sometimes draw pictures if someone doesn't understand me in any other way.

In most answers, the un/importance can be interpreted to be the local goal, whereas Ralph mentions the whole situation, the overall goal.

Example 54b (e-mail interview)

Tarmo: (the same question as in 54a)
Ralph: [...] If the situation is not important, I may not ask. I may think that I come back later with the same question if it is too much trouble.

The significance of goal seemed to be realised on two levels in the participants' retrospective commentary. On one hand, the overall task or goal of finding enough relevant information for the written report was mentioned in the retrospective interviews. On the other hand, in some cases the participants referred to the more local goal of finding out about the subtopic at hand. Feigning understanding (2b) was in some cases explained by the perceived unimportance of the local communicative goal or topic. This can be seen in examples 13 and 14, which were discussed on page 76.

As can be seen in Example 13, Nina prefers to encourage David to go on with his story although she reports that she does not understand the abbreviation. Another somewhat similar example, No 14, shows a situation which would be fragile in Firth's terms, i.e. catching the name of the dance crew where David had been working. The videotape reveals that David pronounced the name quite hastily and unclearly. Nina had not included the name of the dance crew in the written report, although it could be considered essential information, thus I suspected non-understanding at the level of intelligibility and subsequent feigning of understanding (2b). In the retrospective interview, the name of dance crew was left out from the transcript that was shown to Nina.

It is interesting to note that the goal does not operate on its own, but it is linked with the face concept; Nina reports that she knows she cannot lose her face by not knowing the name of the dance crew. Here, and also elsewhere, Nina reports strong dislike of any interactive PSM; she finds them a potential face threat. Thus the face concept works here in two places; first, since there is no chance of getting caught for not knowing the name of the dancing group, there is no threat of losing face for Nina. In other words, the lack of face threat makes the subtopic less important for her. Second, as Nina's overall attitude towards the interactive handling of non-understanding is negative, i.e. she finds e.g. asking for confirmation or repetition a face threat, this attitude discourages use of an interactive PSM. This is congruent with Jenkins's (2000:77) suggestion that in lingua-franca interaction interlocutors are unwilling to express non-understanding due to fear of face loss. Thus face considerations affect the goal in two ways: in situations where face threat of interactive PSM is perceived high, a participant is more willing to sacrifice the local communicative goal. Furthermore, if there is not risk of losing face by getting caught of non-understanding, the local communicative goal is devaluated. This, in turn, seems to be realised in feigning of

understanding and other manifestations of let-it-pass principle. Thus goal and face form a subtle interplay in the choice of a PSM.

In the following example, the question of goal is not linked to understanding a problematic word, but finding a suitable English expression. The unimportance of the expression is not based on the perceived unimportance of the whole subtopic, but simply the unimportance of retrieving one troublesome word.

Example 55a (dialogue)

Maria	°it's twelve hours° (· · · · ·) and what err kind of flowers do you sell	
	only cut/ , flowers or err · · ·	1d17mime +3d2 indirect appeal for help
	(makes a gesture with both hands)	
	[@ (nnn)@]	(??) 3b73/3b72
NelII	[@all kind of all kind of]flowers@ @	
(·)		
Maria	@@@@ what is your favourite flower/	

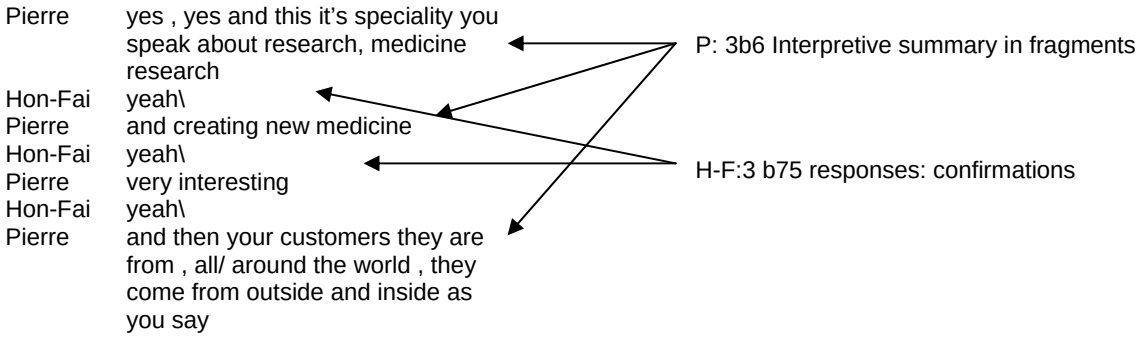
Example 55b (Retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	What made you answer her before she finished her question?
Nelli:	I suppose she didn't have anything against it because she couldn't find the word. And I could easily guess what she meant.
Tarmo:	So, what do you think she was trying to say?
Nelli:	Maybe 'green plant' or something. But in this situation it was irrelevant because we really sell all kinds of flowers.

In Example 55a, Maria has difficulties with the lemma retrieval. Nelli sees from hand gestures that Maria cannot find a word, but does not offer her own version. Instead she resorts to a larger concept ('all kinds of flowers') instead of the problematic one, and this way the problem is made irrelevant. As Nelli sees that the word that Maria is attempting to retrieve is not important in the situation, i.e. it is not important to utter 'green plants' or 'potted flowers', she discards this communicative goal set by Maria by offering a larger concept which also shows to Maria that the retrieval of the troublesome concept is useless. This kind of problem solving –mechanism does not exactly fit the classification of Dörnyei and Scott (although conceptually based strategies have been described by others, e.g. Færch and Kasper 1983b). For sure, it is interactive; it is a response to indirect appeal for help (3d2), implemented though pause and mime. It resembles a rephrase (3b73), or an expansion (3b74), but they are supposed to be addressed to speaker's own problematic trigger, not the other's original trigger. Thus this is something close to the category 1B, other repair, where the other's original problematic 'zero utterance' is replaced by a larger concept that is linguistically more simple (i.e. the concept of 'potted flowers' replaced by 'all kind of flowers'). Since the state of affairs made the local goal of the word-level communication problem irrelevant, it was passed.

Similarly, the *importance* of a goal in connection with the uncertainty brought by the lingua-franca setting was explained to be the reason for commencing an interactive mechanism in one case (see Example 56 below). In Pierre's explanation, the importance of the overall goal, i.e. knowing correct information for the report, is linked with language proficiency and overall orientation to the lingua-franca setting, as he says that reaching mutual understanding is less self-evident.

Example 56a (dialogue)



Example 56b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: Why are you making this summary?
Pierre: To make sure I got everything right.
Tarmo: What made you suspect that you weren't having everything right?
Pierre: I don't know if it was anything special here. But I needed to know the correct information for the report, and because we are both foreigners we don't always get the meanings right.

The perceived importance of goal and sensitivity to face are not consistent all through the dialogue, but may show variation as a result of the interaction. In Example 57 participants comment how frustration with multiple unsuccessful attempts to communicate may urge the speaker to reconsider the importance of goal (David) or feign understanding for protection of face (Hans).

Example 57 (e-mail interview)

Tarmo: In situations when you have been speaking English with someone and you don't quite reach understanding with the other, does it often happen that you don't try to make it clearer (e.g. by asking the other to repeat, making sure that the other understands you, saying the same thing again with other words) but you just let the situation pass?

David: If you try to explain something in three different ways and the other doesn't get it, I may think well, it really isn't so important.

Hans When I want to ask something, it often happened that I ask the person to repeat it. It often happened, espacially in Finland and many exchange students, that I do not understand the other person. Mostly I ask to repeat. If I do not understand it by the 3rd time, I sometimes shame and pass the situation as if I understood. I feel shamed if I feel I should understand and still not understand. By the first time, I mostly ask again. It also depends on the time, if we must hurry, I won't ask, but if there is no hurry, I can ask.

I shame because I did not understand it. I begin to think if it is my fault that I did not understand the person or his. Sometimes you do not know, if you do not know word or the other persons´

pronouciation is too bad, so I be better quiet. It would be embarrassing to let him notice that his pronunciation is so bad that I have to ask all the time.

As discussed above, a threat to face may be caused by non-understanding, or the initiation of an interactive handling of a problem. In addition, smoothing the communication too much may similarly be perceived a face threat. This can be seen in Example 58.

Example 58 (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: How did you find it that David went on explaining although you had said 'okay'
Nina Maybe he just wanted to give some examples, it was quite ok here. And it's part of his personal speaking style, that he speaks a lot. But sometimes I am really irritated when someone continues explaining something very simple although I have got the idea from the first explanations and said so too.

Nina's comment in Example 58 shows that offering too much help can also be considered an insult, a threat to face. So protecting the interlocutor's face would require adjusting the speech to the right level; both too difficult and too much facilitated speech can be experienced as a threat to face. In addition, an expression of non-understanding can be perceived as a threat not only to the non-understanding hearer's face but also to the speaker's face (as in Example 59).

Example 59a (retrospective interview)

Question: In situations when you have been speaking English with someoneand you don't quite reach understanding with the other, does it often happen that you don't try to make it clearer (e.g. by asking the other to repeat, making sure that the other understands you, saying the same thing again with other words) but you just let the situation pass?

Nina: It really irritates me if I have to explain a lot what I mean or what the other means. You don't get anywhere with the actual story. First, it makes me feel really stupid if I have to ask questions all the time, like I would be stupid and would not understand anything, and, second, it could insult the other like "are you so stupid that you can't explain anything properly". I mean I don't want to give such an expression to the other that she would be somehow bad at explaining things in English.

On the other hand, benevolence, in the form of refraining from difficult language, cannot be taken for granted, as shown in Nina's comment in Example 46 on page 92. This kind of divergent behaviour was also found by the study of Knapp (2002); divergence or convergence of goals may affect the wish to save interlocutor's face.

In the present data, the rights and obligations are discussed in relation to the task and the co-participant. The factors related to rights and obligations were reported to affect the choice of PSMs in connection with two other factors, goal and face. The goal of compiling a written report was loose in such a way that whenever the information-seeker found it too troublesome to find about a fact, she could easily drop the topic and, as there was no obligation to include any specific topics in the report, the information seeker had a right to decide between different topics. With a more specified task with certain topics, it is assumed that the speakers would have taken more trouble. Also, it seems to be the case in Example 60 that there was no obligation felt towards the speaker.

Example 60 (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: If you didn't hear, why didn't you ask?
Nina: I didn't think it was so important, as I knew he would never find it out that I didn't get it.

As long as the conversation went on, and the information-seeker could decide on the topic handling, there was no fear of face loss as a result of non-understanding. In Firth's terms, the setting in general was quite robust. As finding out enough information for the report in about fifteen minutes was merely the only obligation, it encouraged the choice of more economical strategies. Thus it can be said that the idea to include a written report to raise the level of understanding criterion was only partly successful.

In this kind of information exchange dialogue, however, it could be assumed that confirming the correct information would be within the rights of the information-seeker, so the goal in itself rather gives a right to negotiate on the meaning than prevent it. Also, as this was a dialogue, interlocutor may have felt more entitled to guide the topic handling than in a polylogue. This is reported in the e-mail interview by Hans (Example 61).

Example 61 (e-mail interview)

Question: In situations when you have been speaking English with someone and you don't quite reach understanding with the other, does it often happen that you don't try to make it clearer (e.g. by asking the other to repeat, making sure that the other understands you, saying the same thing again with other words) but you just let the situation pass?

Hans: [...]Also, it depends if it's just the two of us, or if there are more people. If there are more people I may not ask because the others may well understand and it would not feel right to interrupt the story if it is only me who doesn't understand [...].

Information-providers reported feeling obligation of giving correct view of their work experience, but it was never mentioned in connection with PSM choice. It seems to be that rights and obligations function rather in the background than in the foreground of PSM choice.

5.4.3 Addition to the interplay of contextual factors: proximity of participants

Sensitivity to face in lingua-franca interaction varied considerably between various participants. In contrast to Nina, four other participants (Linda, Kaisa, Hon-Fai, Pierre) regarded interactive handling as a natural part of lingua-franca interaction, and did not consider this a threat to the face. This can be seen in Examples 62 in the answer to the same question as above, and in Example 63.

Example 62 (e-mail interview)

Linda: […] but there's nothing wrong with asking […]

Kaisa: I usually try quite hard because it's nice to have mutual understanding. But of course in a sentence there may be a word I don't understand and I don't ask it if I can understand the whole sentence without asking the specific word. It doesn't harm you if you learn something when you talk to someone

Example 63a (dialogue)

Hon-Fai	yeah\, >i work-i work< in,	
	>marketing<-marketing inqui-	H-F 1d15 retrieval 1d15 retrieval
	(*Pierre nods)* inqui- inquirating	3d2 indirect appeal for help
Pierre	[research /]	
Hon-Fai	[°>depart<°] yeah,	P: 3b3 guess/1b other repair
	research dep-	
Pierre	research [[department]]	H-F : 3b71 response confirm
Hon-Fai	[[research]] department	P:3b3 guess/1b other repair
Pierre	very good, i see , i see	
		H-F: 3b71 response repeat

Example 63b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: what made you help him?
Pierre: He needed help, I knew it. We often talk like this that there's a pause when he doesn't know the word and then I say the word. He expects me to do it.

Example 63c (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: Did you expect Pierre to help you or did he help you on his own free will?
Hon-Fai: I excpected him to help because sometimes when I don't know a word he can give me a hand.

Between Hon-Fai and Pierre, asking and offering help did not seem to involve any threat to the face. As they both know that Pierre is more competent in English, Hon-Fai's retrieval for words functions as an indirect appeal for help. Pierre follows here make-it-normal principle by providing other-repairs, which are not used in any other dialogue. Similarly, there are more own-accuracy checks as well as confirmation checks and replies to them. There are two potential explanations for this. First, they knew each other better than the other dyads, and second, Hon-Fai's proficiency is definitely at too low a level so that he could handle this task smoothly. Knowing each other quite well, they are also both aware of this. The interview answers of two other participants support the former explanation that knowing each other well diminishes face threat caused by use of interactional PSMs. See Example 64 below.

Example 64 (e-mail interview)

Question: In situations when you have been speaking English with someone and you don't quite reach understanding with the other, does it often happen that you don't try to make it clearer (e.g. by asking the other to repeat, making sure that the other understands you, saying the same thing again with other words) but you just let the situation pass?

Hans: It depends on the situation. If I know the person well, it is more probable that I ask [...] Also, it depends if it's just the two of us, or if there are more people. If there are more people I may not ask because the others may well understand and it would not feel right to interrupt the story if it is only me who doesn't understand. If someone askes me sth. I just answer.

Lyudmila: It is also depend with whom I am speaking. If I know the person well it's easier to ask "what did you say?". On the other hand, if I know the person well it is easier to guess what she might mean even though she would use strange words or something. If it is not important for me, or I will that the question is just a simple unswere I don't ask to repeat [...]

Handling of misunderstanding can be made implicitly in order to save the interlocutor's face. When David misunderstood Nina's question, Nina accepted his answer (let it

pass) and repeated her question later as if it had been a new one. She explains her choice in the following manner, as explained in Example 65:

Example 65 (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: Why did you repeat your question as if it was new?
Nina: Why should I criticise his answer, as I could make use of the information he gave anyway? I rather repeated as if it was the right answer, which way it was nicer to him.

Thus there seem to be place for face-sensitive let-it-pass of perceived misunderstanding (which can be regarded as feigning understanding at the level of interpretation). Since the earlier mis-comprehended question is camouflaged as an introduction of a new topic, it imposes much less threat to the interlocutor's face. Simultaneously, the speaker need not sacrifice her communicative goal.

A somewhat similar case can be seen in Example 66; only this time Pierre reports to have dropped the topic not for face-saving, but rather for time-saving purposes. However, his answer seems a little suspect as he returns to the same topic a moment later.

Example 66 a (dialogue)

Pierre and it's err in which city it's err-located/
Hon-Fai °mmhm°
(·)
Pierre which city is located your company where you was working mister , Hsu
Hon-Fai city/
Pierre [yes]
Hon-Fai [yeah]… mhmm my policy/ my policy is err (· ·) err in- mark- marketing inquire- inquire-inquireses
Pierre °mhmm°
Hon-Fai inquireses err assitance assistant
Pierre yes i know\ and in which city/ is your company/ in which [city in China]
Hon-Fai [oh {{sutou}}]

Example 66b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo: How do you think that Hon-Fai manages to answer your question.
Pierre: He doesn't understand it, not at all.
Tarmo Why did you drop the topic and accept a new one? Why didn't you try to correct it?
Pierre: I knew we wouldn't have so much time on one thing, and the camera was on, so I was a bit nervous maybe.

These results suggest that participants find goal, face and proximity of speakers form a complex interplay which affects their choice of a PSM. Whether or not a participant initiates an interactive PSM may depend on the perceived importance of goal. The goal, in turn, may be sacrificed due to face considerations caused by unsuccessful interactive PSMs. Lack or presence of face threat, which is caused by getting caught for feigning understanding, affects how important the goal is considered. Furthermore, the speaker may refrain from use of production mechanism (e.g. self-rephrasing) in order to not insult the interlocutor. Also, the goal and face show dynamic

development during the interaction; interactive handling of a problem may raise face concerns and/or encourage devaluation of the goal.

5.4.4 More additions to the interplay: Perceived proficiency level and time pressure

In principle, both the speaker's and the interlocutor's skill level could affect the choice of a PSM. As discussed above, part of the recipient design is adapting one's language to the perceived level of the interlocutors. This could be assumed as one of the factors affecting the choice of PSM, too. There are several reports of this in the data. However, there was no case where the speaker would have explained *choosing* a certain PSM instead of another because of her own limited resources (i.e. choosing a direct mechanism due to inability to produce an interactive mechanism).

As Hans explained in Example 16, the reason for offering a guess was that he sensed that the interlocutor's language skills were inadequate to convey the intended meaning, and he wished to co-operate. Also, the choice between e.g. repetition of the original trigger and rephrasing the original message can be explained by the interlocutor's assumed understanding skills in relation to the problematic item. This can be seen in the following Example 67.

Example 67a (dialogue)

David	mmhm\ , <u>well</u> my experience/ in the company was >certainly good< but then	2c1 filler
(·)		
Nina	[excuse me/] <u>could you repeat</u> *(leans towards David)*	3b1 asking for repetition
David	[erm] i'm saying my experience/ , work experience in the [[company]]/	+ 3b71 response: repeat
Nina	[[yeah]]	
David	was certainly good [i had]	
Nina	[yeah]	

Example 67b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Why do you think Nina missed what you said?
David:	Maybe my voice was too low or I spoke too fast – I'm sure she would have understood so simple words otherwise.
Tarmo:	Why did you choose to repeat, not to say it in another way?
David:	It was so short and simple.

Also, the language level of the speaker herself together with time pressure may encourage to use an economical direct mechanism instead of e.g. using an interactive mechanism to find the right or spending the time for retrieval of the correct expression. So the direct mechanism acts as a kind of economical 'short cut', compared to the more troublesome interactive mechanism, or retrieval of correct form. This kind of explanation was given in Example 48 on page 93 where Kaisa explained her use of 'money thing' and in Example 50 on page 94 where Hon-Fai described his habit of grammatical reduction with verb tenses.

Time pressure can also encourage the speaker to drop a problematic topic and start a new one. This has been shown in earlier research on small talk. Example 68 shows feigning understanding at the level of interpretability; "I pretend to understand how your comment is relevant at this point of our conversation". Time pressure was mentioned as one of the reasons.

Example 68a (dialogue)

Pierre	then when / did you start\- which year / did you start \ working with the company, mr hon-fai/
Hon-Fai	which /
Pierre	which year, yes
Hon-Fai	°mm yeah° · mmhm · · · · oh , i remember/
Pierre	yeah
Hon-Fai	i [remember],
Pierre	[°>precisely<°] (??)
Hon-Fai	i– i work∂/, okay \ when i- ,when my , company /
Pierre	yes /
Hon-Fai	has made-has made a new medicine/, (hand gesture) we must go outside/ to inquire, err market
Pierre	[yeah]
Hon-Fai	[market] and about how to think about our company (makes a hand gesture) >new medicine\<
Pierre	yes so , you are looking for customers/\

Example 68b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	How do you think that Hon-Fai manages to answer your question.
Pierre:	He doesn't understand it, not at all.
Tarmo	Why did you drop the topic and accept a new one? Why didn't you try to correct it?
Pierre:	I knew we wouldn't have so much time on one thing [...]

Another example of this is Example 69, where Pierre is asked about the passage in Example 50 on page 94. Pierre detected the misunderstanding by Hon-Fai (at the level of comprehensibility) but drops the sub-topic "work or worked" and does not attempt to correct it.

Example 69 (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	You use here past tense all the time, like 'what was your job' but Hon-Fai uses the present tense all the time. Did you notice that?
Pierre:	I knew from before he doesn't work there anymore, he can't work because now he's in Finland and not in China. So I paid no attention to the wrong verb form. In my mind, we were talking about past happenings all the time.
Tarmo:	Why then did he protest your idea that he doesn't work there anymore?
Pierre:	I don't know, maybe he didn't get my meaning, but I wanted to go with other things, so I didn't stop here to talk more about it...

Although, due to their invisibility, it was difficult to detect specific message reductions (1d2) - i.e. leaving out intended elements of the message - with the present method, it was easy to conclude that the language proficiency of the information-provider affected how linguistically demanding messages she attempted to express. For example, in the following Lyudmila (Dialogue 4) whose competence was lower than Ralph's (Dialogue 6), gave relatively simple information, modest in quantity, while the more competent informant Ralph provided the

information-seeker with a more ample and more complex message. Although this phenomenon cannot be identified as a message reduction (1d2) in Dörnyei and Scott's (1997) sense, it can be considered an avoidance strategy as described in the European Framework (Council of Europe 2001:63), i.e. lowering the goal level to improve success in a more limited area. Thus by avoiding too difficult sub-topics in general, setting the communicative goal lower, the information-provider could avoid the need to use problem-solving mechanisms on a more local level. Examples 70 and 71 show how much more ambitious Ralph's answer was than Lyudmila's to the same question.

Example 70 (dialogue)

Linda	mhmm/\ · okay · · °mhmm° what is your business/ idea
Ralph	>you say/<
Linda	business idea
Ralph	ehm , the business idea eh in general is · ehm is the bis- different metal constr- reconstruction that is the main idea
Linda	they reconstruct also/
Ralph	yes they reconstruct , the-they reconstruct like repair the roads if they are bad or · >depending on it depends on the on the< type of contract that is awarded by the government

Example 71 (dialogue)

Kaisa	and ehm and about the business idea do you know much about them
Lyudmila	well i guess that business idea is just · that customer can find whatever he or she want in that shop · °yeah° (Kaisa nods)

Keeping the topics at a simple level could also be seen in general e.g. in Dialogue No 5, if compared to the more complex content of Dialogues No 3 and No 6. While in Dialogues No 3 and 6 such subtopics as organisation structure of the company and the various duties of the interviewee were covered in some detail, Svetlana in Dialogue No 5 is happy to provide information on simpler topics such as why she liked the jobs, job descriptions in very general terms etc.

Thus if the proficiency of the interlocutors is considered adequate to understand the utterance, the speaker may opt for more economical ways such as repetition, rather than paraphrasing. As for the speaker, time pressure may urge the speaker to use a production mechanism as a short cut instead of an interactional one that might have resulted in an more informative or exact utterance. Also, time pressure may urge participants to choose time-economical let-it-pass –related approach, e.g. feigning understanding.

5.4.5 Elusive role of culture

The culture of participants may affect all linguistic choices in the complex manner discussed above in Chapters 2.5-2.6. It was, however, difficult to determine how the choice of PSM was related to culture. The participants were asked about their communication style and cultural considerations in it, and although some of them reported that taking the other's culture into account affects their

communication style (see Example 72 below), culture was never actually used as an explanation of any concrete passage. Thus, the impact of culture on use and choice of PSM is obviously non-conscious. Furthermore, with such a small number of subjects, no conclusions can be made on the possible cultural differences on the basis of various individual's communication style. This elusive role of culture is the choice of PSMs can be seen in the comments of Example 72.

Example 72 (e-mail interview)

Question:	When you speak English with people from different countries and cultures, do you think that you on purpose speak differently with different people? If yes, how do you notice that?
Lyudmila:	Also with for example Germans and Finns I speak more calmly, and with Spanish people I speak with hotter temper.
Hon-Fai:	Difficult to explain how I speak differently. Finns are more peaceful, but Moroccans are always hot conversators. But at parties Finns are much more sociable and more like Moroccans.
Pierre:	With some people, for example Italian and Spaniards and people from the Baltic states you can be more relaxed; they don't get insulted so easily.
Kaisa	Yes, for example if I'm talking to a person from a certain country, China or Arabic countris for example, I leave some topics out (taboo topics, for cultural reasons).
Nina	No, it doesn't depend on the culture, but on the individual.
Linda:	I don't speak much differently with different people., only if person can't understand what I´m saying I'm trying to explain it in different words or language.

In none of these answers is there any reference to use of PSMs. Also, in the retrospective comments about specific passages, culture was not mentioned as a potential reason.

For an explanation of PSM use, culture seems to function rather implicitly on the background than prominently on the foreground. Dörnyei (1995:63-64) suggests that there may be cross-cultural differences in attitudes towards various PSM's, e.g. use of certain kind of PSM's may be considered bad style. Although speakers' PSM use as well - as other linguistic choices - are presumably influenced by the various cultures involved in the setting (own, other's, surrounding Finnish, Anglo-Saxon imported along with the language), they are not aware of this influence in an explicit manner.

Consequently, it seems that by using this method, it is very difficult to establish any direct relationship between PSM choice and culture. Apart from participants' self-commentary, a more detailed analysis of the influence of culture on the choice of PSM is beyond the scope of the present study.

5.4.6 When identification of the problem is a problem

Non-understanding combined with the mutual inability to define where the problem exactly originates, may encourage participants to treat the problem in a robust way. In Example 73, when

Lyudmila expressed non-understanding by asking Kaisa to clarify the original question (3b2), Kaisa first tried to expand the original trigger. That did not help, so Lyudmila made a wild guess, evidently accepting a lot of uncertainty in top-down processing, and started to answer accordingly. When Kaisa noticed misunderstanding, she let the situation pass and continued as if Lyudmila had understood her question correctly. Thus Kaisa feigned understanding (2b) at the level of interpretability ("I pretend to understand how your comment is relevant at this point of our conversation"). The reason she reported was inability to spot the problem and thus attempt to find solution for it, combined with time pressure. Consequently, inability to define the problem source seems to encourage let-it-pass –related mechanisms; such as feigning understanding.

Example 73a (dialogue)

Kaisa	okay · · · · and about the organisation , err do you @know much about@ the organisation , °yourself°	
Lyudmila	mhmm · can you say more , clearly	L: Non-understanding (comprehension)
Kaisa	mhmm how does it work and/	+ 3b2 asking for clarification
(· ·)		K: 1d17 3b74 response:expand
Lyudmila	[well yeah]	
Kaisa	[°mhmm°]	L: 2c1filler
Lyudmila	each month , it has eh some kind of campaign/	L: Misunderstanding (comprehension)
Kaisa	uh-huh\/	
Lyudmila	and eh basically if you have as wellington- if you are wellington loyal customer	
Kaisa	yeah/	K: 2b feigning understanding
Lyudmila	you have a chance each month to buy err some products with special offer	(interpretability) – let-it-pass
	with some kind of err · · · reduction , *(seeks eye contact)* well in a low price	2c1 1a2
Kaisa	aha okay	

Example 73b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Can you explain what you didn't understand? (the first utterance of Kaisa's was excluded from the transcript when it was shown to Lyudmila)
Lyudmila:	She asked something about the organisation…but I still don't understand for sure what she meant.
Tarmo:	Can you specify what you didn't understand….Would you say that you understood the words but not the idea, or was her pronunciation unclear.or…
Lyudmila:	I guess both the pronunciation was unclear and there were words I didn't know. This 'work' and 'organisation' together….I really didn't get the idea.
Tarmo:	You started to answer, though? Why didn't you ask for more clarification if you weren't quite sure?.
Lyudmila:	I think I guessed what she could mean.
Tarmo:	How did you know you guessed it right?
Lyudmila:	She was happy with my answer, she didn't say anything like 'no, that's not what I meant'

Example 73c (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Why do you think Lyudmila didn't understand you?
Kaisa:	I don't know. My question was very clear… I wanted to know how the company is organised…and that´s why I didn't know how to say it in another words.
Tarmo:	Were you happy with her answer?
Kaisa:	No, I quite soon realised that she didn't get it.
Tarmo:	But you didn't protest?
Kaisa:	I thought it would take too much time. And I really didn't know how to say it in such a way she could understand if she didn't understand the first question.
Tarmo:	Do you usually feel awkward if you have to explain and ask for clarification?
Kaisa:	No, not usually, when we talk with other students we really do it all the time. But here I didn't want to spend too much time on that.

Identification of what is wrong may prove difficult, but the participant may have a feeling that there is something wrong and therefore asks for confirmation. The participant can be said to aware of the problem in a blurred way. This kind of unspecified worry of the difficulty is seen in Example 74.

Example 74a (dialogue)

Lyudmila	and now they err · establish this small , err catalogue , but [it's] really small	1d5 approximation
Kaisa	[yes]	
Lyudmila	and it has · for example photos and it can be get in-in the shops [[there]] in the desk you-	
Kaisa	[[yeah]]	
Lyudmila	-can just take it	
Kaisa	so it doesn't cost anything	3b3 asking for confirmation
Lyudmila	no	3b75 reply: confirmation
Kaisa	okay	

Example 74b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	How do you understand this?
Kaisa	That you can get the catalogues in the shops.
Tarmo	Can you think any reason why you had to confirm it?
Kaisa	maybe just to make sure because there was probably something obscure in the way she said it…but I can't know for sure if that's the reason why I said it

As Kaisa suggests, there are at least three obscure points in Lyudmila's message. The first potential problem source is to call a very small leaflet 'a catalogue', which term is assumedly an approximation as there is a hesitation before it. Second, the word choice 'establish' is uncommon, and third, the marked structure 'it can be get'. Although these all are quite transparent and could pass without noticing, Kaisa chose to ask for confirmation. Admittedly, this kind of confirmation check may just act as a signal of comprehension and may be used in NS conversation without any information seeking function.

In addition to non-identification of the problem, there were at least two dialogues where the problem source was misidentified by one participant. In this first case, the consequences of the misidentification are not fatal. In Example 75, the speaker repeats her utterance in another way, i.e. from the speaker's point of view, it was a 1a2 self-repair because she was unsure about the

word and judging by the facial expression of the interlocutor she thought that she had chosen the wrong word. However, here the interlocutor Kaisa explains that the puzzled look on her face derived from different reasons, so it was uncertainty of one's mastery of lexis and misinterpretation of the interlocutor's facial expression that made Lyudmila use self-repair.

Example 75a (dialogue)

Lyudmila	you have a chance each month to buy err some products with special offer with some kind of err · · ·	2c1 filler
	reduction , well in a low price	1a2 self-repair motivated by Kaisa's facial expression
Kaisa	aha okay	
Lyudmila	and also err , it has , every week, it has new product , [which]-	
Kaisa	[uhum/]	
Lyudmila	-can be also cheaper · than normal days [[n-]]	
Kaisa	[[so]] is this pro-, urr, how uh- >°sorry to interrupt you°<	
Lyudmila	°it's okay°	

Example 75b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Were you looking for some other word when you said 'reduction'`
Lyudmila:	No, it was just that first I didn't remember the word 'reduction', and when I said it Kaisa looked as if she didn't understand, so I thought it may not be a right word in this situation and I said it in another way.

Example 75c (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	Why do you think she said 'reduction' in other words?
Kaisa:	Maybe she wasn´t sure… and I was thinking hard how it is written so she may have thought I didn't know the word.
Tarmo:	But you knew the word?
Kaisa:	Oh yes.

In another example, misidentification of the problem results in choosing a cure which is worse than the illness. In this example, it can be seen how sometimes participants perceive the source of the problem differently, and thus the attempts to address the problem prove unsuccessful. See the following lengthy example, No 76. While according to Linda, Ralph's fast speech and "strange accent" were the major sources of understanding problems, Ralph saw that the problems derived from Linda's "level of understanding" and especially the limited vocabulary. When Ralph attempted to help by offering wordy circumlocutions and expansions (which obviously make him speak even faster), it made things even worse for Linda. Ralph didn't comment if he tried to speak more slowly or not, but if he did, he did not succeed too well. I, too, as a non-native speaker, found more incomprehensible passages in Ralph's speech than in all of the other eleven participants'

speech altogether. (i.e. passages that I had to check with Ralph before I managed to transcribe them).

Example 76a (dialogue)

Ralph	ehm , the business idea eh in general is · ehm is the bis- different metal constr- reconstruction that is the main idea
Linda	the reconstruction also/
Ralph	u , the-they reconstruct like repair the roads if they are bad or · >depending on it depends on the on the< type of contract that is awarded by the govenment
(·)	
Linda	okay/ because at first i understood that they're just err making constructions for the buildings
Ralph	[ah]
Linda	[now] you're saying that they are repairing roads
Ralph	yes if the- whenwhen i say conSTRUCTION , it doesn't apparently mean that they have to- everything have to be new , you can RECONSTRUCT the road · · a bad road can be reconstructed , [so] conSTRUCTION
Linda	[Mhmm\]
Ralph	err can be done in different form either you construct from the beginning/ , or YOU conver- YOU RECONCTRUCT what have been constructed before
(·)	
Linda	<okay>

L: 3b3 asking for confirmation +

R: 3b75 confirmation

3b2: asking for clarification

3b73 response: rephrase/3b74 exapand

Example 76b (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	How did you find Ralph as a conversation partner? Do you think it was easy for you to reach understanding?
Linda:	[...]He gave me a lot of information and spoke so fast. He also had a very original accent, he pronounced some words so strangely that I couldn't really understand. Sometimes he explained the same thing in so many different ways that it was difficult to understand that he speaks about the same concept because he was using different words. Like this 'civil engineering' and 'construction'.

Example 76c (retrospective interview)

Tarmo:	In this conversation with Linda, did you feel that you had to adjust your language (for example explain in other words, using easier words) because the other didn't know English so well?
Ralph.	Absolutely yes.
Tarmo:	How did you adjust your language?.
Ralph:	I understood at some point that some words I used were totally strange to her, so I have to choose a simplier form of that word.

As can be seen from Ralph's interview, English for him - rather than a foreign language - is the second language which he is used to using with his fellow countrymen. Thus he is probably accustomed to not having a need to adapt his language for lingua-franca purposes but

rather sees communication problems deriving from shortages of the non-native speakers, since these problems do not occur in communication with his fellow countrymen.

The results show that, quite expectedly, identification of problems can be problematic. Non-identification of the problem may lead to follow let-it-pass principle. In cases of mis-identification of the problem source, while in some cases participants may manage the problematic situation successfully, in other cases this misidentification may result in the choice of useless problem-solving mechanisms, or even mechanisms that make situation worse. Thus, if the proficiency of the interlocutors is considered adequate to understand the utterance, the speaker may opt for more economical ways such as repetition, rather than paraphrasing. As for the speaker, time pressure may urge the speaker to use a production mechanism instead of an interactional one, which might have resulted in a more correct output. Also, time pressure may urge participants to choose time-economical let-it-pass –related approach.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of the results

6.1.1 Use of problem-solving mechanisms (PSM) in information exchange dialogues (RQ1)

This study has attempted to describe how participants in an information-exchange dialogue used PSMs to solve problems in communication. Use of different mechanisms was by no means equally distributed among various mechanisms. Absence or low frequency of some mechanisms can probably be explained by the threat they place to speaker's face (e.g. direct Appeal for Help), the hearer's face (e.g. other repair), effort and time they need, or their inherent un-cooperativeness (mumbling, omission). Self-rephrasing (after a problematic utterance) and restructuring (in the process of forming a problematic utterance) were frequently used and seemed to be a well-functioning mechanism to assist problematic message composition. Mechanisms that would have showed plurilingual approach of the speaker, i.e. using PSMs that utilise L3 (foreignising, literal translation, code-switching) were rare. Low occurrence of interactive own-performance -oriented mechanisms can also be explained by the threat it imposes to speaker's face combined with poor economy.

Verbal markers of the mechanisms were hardly used at all (4 occurrences), which is consonant with findings of Wagner and Firth (1997:326). Participants in the present data seemed to favour non-marked mechanisms, or marked them non-verbally (with mime, facial expressions).

Asking for confirmation and summarising have been suggested to be characteristic features of information-seeker's language in all information exchange dialogues (Becker et al 2000:96). However, this seems to apply to the present lingua-franca data as far as interpretive summaries are concerned, while for confirmation requests, results of the present study seem to suggest that their use is dependent on the proximity of the participants and/or language level of the information-seeker.

To summarise, participants seem to favour PSMs that are economical, and when the maxim of economy is sacrificed, PSMs that are co-operative. They tend to avoid those that can be considered unco-operative would threat either the "proficiency face" of the speaker or the "proficiency face" of the interlocutor. Also, the tendency seems to be to refrain from mechanisms which explicitly refer to the language problem (other repair, direct appeal for help, expressing understanding). This is partly consonant with Firth's (1996:245) make-it-normal principle, according to which the interlocutor diverts attention from the marked language by offering helping

utterances. Although Firth suggests that these utterances could include e.g. other-repairs, the interlocutors in the present data favoured more subtle means, such as interpretive summaries.

6.1.2 Fine-tuning Dörnyei and Scott's model for LF communication (RQ2)

Another aim of this study was to explore how the PSM model adopted for this study fits LF communication. As earlier discussed, although Dörnyei & Scott (1995, 1997) and Dörnyei and Kormos (1998) focus on L2 user in their description of PSM's, their approach falls short of acknowledging the effect of hearer in the use of production mechanisms. In the vast majority PSM occurrences, admittedly, the relationship between the problem source and the mechanism employed seemed to match Dörnyei and Scott's framework. However, there was some evidence that the recipient design caused by the lingua-franca nature of the situation may change the relationship: this was seen in use of type 1A and 1D mechanisms with other-orientation to address problems in hearer's resources. In this data, the speaker used e.g. circumlocution or approximation. This finding is congruent with Haegeman (2002:159). Sometimes this was even done proactively, i.e. when the speaker *predicted* potential non-understanding or misunderstanding. However, as this was reportedly done with a specific, word-related problem in mind, it is consonant with the definition of PSM adopted for this study. Also, PSMs were sometimes addressed to utterances which the speaker knew to be lexico-grammatically correct but still communicatively non-functional due to the limited resources of the interlocutor. Sometimes two different problem sources seemed to cause the use of a PSM. (Use of 1D-type PSM's to address both resource deficit and processing time pressure).Thus results of the present study support the idea that there should be a link between (at least some of) 1D type mechanisms, and – in addition to speaker's resources - the other's resources. In sum, the results provide some support to the idea that the framework suggested by Dörnyei and Scott would need lingua-franca expansions to take recipient design into account.

6.1.3. How do the interlocutors experience the reasons for the use of PSMs and choices between various PSMs? (RQ3)

As Dörnyei and Kormos (1998:379) suggest, knowledge of the situation and task demands do affect the choice of PSM. The third main aim of this thesis was to explore and elaborate a model of various factors that participants perceive to affect the choice. Although, as discussed in Chapter 4, the participants' own commentary is not the method to rely on solely in determining the "real" causes behind the PSM choice, it provides a significant insight into the matter.

In Chapter 5.4 the reasons that participants reported were discussed with reference to the linguistic masala of Meierkord (2002) and socio-pragmatic principles of Spencer-Oatey & Jiang (2003). It was found that while culture and rights and obligations seemed to affect from the background, goal or task – both local and global – language skill level (of both speaker and the interlocutor) and face considerations were perceived more prominent explanations. Consequently, it seems that none of the frameworks alone presented in Table 2 can offer a working explanation to how participants perceive to be motivated in the use and choice of PSMs.

Results of the present study suggest that for the participants, goal, face and proximity of speakers form a complex interplay which affects their choice of a PSM. Whether or not a participant initiates an interactive PSM may depend on the perceived importance of goal, which supports the results of Poulisse (1997) on use of PSMs in general. The goal, in turn, may be sacrificed due to face considerations caused by unsuccessful interactive PSMs. Lack or presence of face threat, which is caused by getting caught for feigning understanding, affects how important the face is considered. Also, the goal and face show dynamic development during the interaction; interactive handling of a problem may raise face concerns and/or encourage devaluation of the goal. The intergroup posture, as suggested by Lesznyák (2002), i.e. how participants treat each other rather member of the (ethnic) group than individuals, gained support in the commentary of the participants, but was never used to explain an individual PSM choice. The perceived proficiency was also shown to affect the choices of PSMs; if the interlocutor's proficiency is considered adequate to understand the utterance, the speaker may opt for more economical ways such as repetition, rather than paraphrasing. As for the speaker, time pressure may urge the speaker to use a production mechanism instead of an interactional one, although using an interactional mechanism might have resulted in a more successful outcome. Also, time pressure may urge participants to choose time-economical let-it-pass –related approach.

The results also show that identification of problems can be problematic. Non-identification or misidentification of the problem source may result in the choice of useless problem-solving mechanisms, or even mechanisms that make situation worse. Some of the reasons that the participants reported could be traced back to the two alternative principles suggested by Firth: let-it-pass –principle (i.e. letting non-understanding or opaque utterance pass without addressing it) and make-it-normal –principle (making the interlocutor's "abnormal" talk "normal" by offering help in the form of guessing, completions, and other-corrections) . Another useful theory, as Poulisse (1997) suggested, seems to be explain the choice of PSM with the principles of

clarity (i.e. the speaker choose the alternative that makes her message as clear as possible) and economy (i.e. the speaker opts for the least effort in her choices).

Although all the data of the present study consisted of dialogues, polylogues were mentioned in the interview by one of the participants (see Example 61 on page 102). This comment of polylogue discouraging interaction is, however, incongruent with findings of Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004), which show that frequent interaction is more typical of polylogues than dialogues. Wilkes-Gibbs (1997:262-265) denote that the same level of understanding not achieved in multi-party groups as in two-party groups. However, in her data in both dialogues and polylogues the same amount of collaborative effort was taken.

The suggested models of interplay of various factors affecting LF communication (as discussed in Chapter 2.6) need to be elaborated in relation to PSM choice. Results from the present study suggest that a more comprehensive model for the interplay of factors is needed. A suggestion for this kind of model based on results of the present study is presented in Table 8. It should be highlighted that the different factors are not exclusive, but may overlap. One factor may function in only one or several parts of the communication process (e.g. either in formulating the message, or in interpretation the interlocutor's message, or both). Also, the table should still be considered rather fragmentary than comprehensive, as the cases of this study on which it is based on are still relatively small in number.

The main division in the suggested model is made between the two approaches of the participant, Economy approach and Clarity approach. The uppermost level comprises a gamut of various factors that had been suggested by the participants that encourage the participant to presume either of the approaches. The factors are further divided into those related to goal and topic, face, identification and age of problem, perceived language proficiency, and others. The second level consists of the three sets of principles, economy/clarity and let-it-pass/make-it-normal, and the participant's attitude towards certainty/uncertainty in interpretation. Finally, on the bottom level, are the actual PSMs.

Table 8 Factors affecting the choice of PSM, as experienced by participants

		Clarity Approach	**Economy Approach**
Contextual, discoursal, and pragmatic factors encouraging the use of this type of approach (as reported by participants)	Related to goal and topic	▪ The overall communication goal perceived *important* (*global high* understanding criterion) ▪ local subtopic perceived *important* ▪ fragile situation (non-understanding easily detected and disrupts communication)	▪ The overall communication goal and /or local subtopic perceived *unimportant* (*low* understanding criterion) ▪ local subtopic perceived *unimportant* ▪ robust situation (non-understanding not easily detected or does not disrupt communication)
	Related to face	▪ Communication failure would be perceived a threat to face ▪ Initiating an interactional PSM is *not* perceived a threat to face	▪ Communication failure would *not* be perceived a threat to face ▪ Initiating an interactional PSM is perceived a threat to face
	Related to identification and "age" of problem	▪ Problem can be easily identified (e.g. one unknown word, unclear sound) ▪ "fresh" problem, no earlier attempts of repair	▪ Problem *cannot* be easily identified (e.g. in the case of non-understanding) ▪ "stale" problem, with earlier unsuccessful repair attempts
	Related to perceived language proficiency of participants	▪ *Strong* orientation to the lingua-franca aspect (e.g. consciousness of limited resources, "acceptance" of LF nature of the situation) ▪ Speaker finds the proficiency level of the hearer *too low* to understand the original trigger ▪ The speaker's proficiency level is high enough not to raise face concern	▪ *Weak* orientation to the lingua-franca aspect (ignorance of limited resources, "denying" the LF nature of the situation) ▪ Speaker finds the proficiency level of the hearer *adequate* to understand the original trigger ▪ The speaker's proficiency level is so low that the interlocutor's sensitivity to the speaker's face is raised
	Other factors	▪ Little time pressure ▪ Familiar interlocutor(s) ▪ Discourse type that *encourages* interaction (e.g. informal chat) ▪ small number of participants	▪ Much time pressure ▪ Distant interlocutor(s) ▪ Discourse type that *discourages* interaction (e.g. a speech to a large audience) ▪ large number of participants

Table 8 (continues) Factors affecting the choice of PSM, as experienced by participants

Principles/maxims followed in this approach	▪ Follow *maxim of clarity* in the choice of problem-solving mechanism ▪ As a hearer: follow make-it-normal –principle ▪ Allow *little* uncertainty when interpreting obscure passages using contextual devices (i.e. in top-down processing)	▪ Follow *maxim of economy* in the choice of problem-solving mechanism ▪ As a hearer: follow let-it-pass –principle; allow both your own non-understanding and the other's misunderstanding ▪ Allow *great* uncertainty when interpreting obscure passages using contextual devices (i.e. in top-down processing)
In this data (information exchange dialogue), the approach is typically realised in the use of these problem-solving mechanisms	Initiation of interactional mechanisms ▪ Interpretive summaries ▪ Asking for clarification ▪ Asking for repetition ▪ Indirect appeal for help ▪ Own-accuracy check Rephrasings and expansions as responses Direct mechanisms - e.g. approximation, circumlocution, self-rephrasing - Used to cover deficit in one's own resources - Used both proactively and reactively to cover other's limited resources	Indirect mechanism ▪ Feigning understanding at levels of ▪ intelligibility ▪ comprehension ▪ interpretation Repetitions as responses Direct mechanisms - e.g. circumlocution, approximation, use of all-purpose words, grammatical reduction - Used as 'short cuts' to save time (compared to retrieval of an unmarked expression or compared to interactive mechanisms)

As the effect of these factors is subtle and far from uniform and constant, factors on opposite sides of the table may override one another depending on how much emphasis participants place on them. For example, although in Dialogue No 2 Hon-Fai's proficiency was at such a low level that face concern caused by it could have made Pierre to choose economy approach many times, this did not happen. Familiarity of the interlocutors and acceptance of the nature of lingua-franca interaction abolished the potential face threat, and allowed the choice of clarity approach.

6.2. On the nature of LF interaction

One of the overall aims of the present study was to contribute to the relatively limited knowledge about the nature of LF communication. Overall claims of nature of lingua-franca language must be

made with great care, since other contextual features than being lingua-franca may have greater significance as an explanation.

Consonant with findings of Jenkins and Seidlhofer (2001), plenty of marked language passed unnoticed, without causing any understanding problems, or without causing use of any corrective PSM's. Interlocutors managed to interpret the intended messages correctly despite the marked, sometimes even opaque, expressions. Top-down processing in LF interaction, thus seem to incorporate a lot of permissiveness in use of marked language. Firth's (1996) idea of looser accountability in pragmatic meanings seems to be applicable to other levels of meaning as well, i.e. at the semantic and syntactic level.

The number of misunderstandings (14 instances) and non-understandings (28 instances) detected were relatively small in the data, especially if we exclude Dialogue No 2 which accounted for 8 misunderstandings and 4 non-understandings. Misunderstandings were fairly equally distributed along the duration of each dialogue, which does not support the findings of Lesznyák (2002) of an evolvement of more skilful topic handling and fewer understandings towards the end. Admittedly, in the data of the present study the dialogues were shorter (about 15 mins) than in Lesznyak's study (40 mins), and the discourse type is different. The relatively small number of misunderstandings in LF interaction is consonant with House (2002:248). Similarly - and considering the discourse type somewhat surprisingly - many misunderstandings were handled following let-it-pass principle. As for information-seekers, this could be explained by the task, i.e. the lack of obligation to find out some specific piece of information; instead the information-seeker could let the misunderstanding pass and without causing threat to the interlocutor's face that the interactive handling of misunderstanding would have caused, redirect her attention to novel topics, as long as this provided her with usable information for the report. This resembles House's (ibid: 259-260) finding that participants in LF interaction seemed to be globally self-centred, but locally co-operative. Marked language did not per se cause understanding problems. The few misunderstandings and non-understandings, equally distributed along the duration of each dialogue, had sometimes no connections to marked language.

The commentary of the participants also support the stance presented by Firth and Wagner (1997:286-289) that in the study of LF use, the users of language should be treated specifically as *users* rather than *learners*. Participants oriented to accomplishing the task; there were few signs of orientation to learning of language. (However, see Example 62).

Face threat caused by initiation of interactive handling of the problem seemed to make participants opt for economy approach and let-it-pass principle, which also involve sacrificing the

communicative goal. Awareness and acceptance of the nature of LF communication could probably have helped L2 speakers to get rid of some of the face concern, which has been planted to language users partly by the native-performance dominated language instruction. Seidlhofer's (2001) demands for descriptions of lingua-franca language use in learning material is thus supported as, without such descriptions, awareness and acceptance of LF communication can hardly be reached. The pedagogical implications of this study are discussed in more detail below in Chapter 6.5.2.

As for plurilingualism, the results do not support the idea of McKay (2003:2) that the use of several languages could be regarded as a default case. Within this interaction, participants rarely resorted to other languages. One of the reasons may have been the research setting: when the subjects were instructed to communicate in English, and these instructions were given by their English teacher, they obviously did the job as they were asked. Furthermore, there were no traces of using English here as tertium comparationis, i.e., referents from speakers' home cultures that did not have counterparts in the English language were not described by giving the closest word in the English language and then explaining the difference from the English expression, as suggested by Doyé (1999). This could have been expected since in four of the six dialogues the topics were non-English (i.e. the working language of the work experience had been other than English), there could have been some need for that.

Results of the present study could not shed much light on the emergence and significance of a lingua-franca culture (cf. Firth 1996, 2000; Meierkord 1998, 2002). Although some participants reported that the intergroup posture (cf. Lesznyák 2002) has significance in their communication, it could not be traced to the level of PSM choice and use.

To summarise, the results of the present work supported many of the earlier findings of LF communication, especially in relation to communicative effectiveness vs. code-convergent language use. However, the need to protect the positive face, especially one's positive image as a language user, (as an explanation of economy approach in choice of PSMs) became more prominent than in many of the earlier studies. This was also seen in lack of overt reference to language-based problems or to lingua-franca setting, and use of more subtle mechanisms instead.

6.3 Study constraints

There are certain constraints which must be kept in mind when discussing the findings. They have to do with research questions, methodology, discourse type and participants. One of the results of the study is that the goal of communication may have a great effect on both the use and choice of PSMs. This implies that the discourse type, which sets the goals of participants to a great extent, is

very decisive also in the interpretation of results. Thus, whenever any generalisations on lingua-franca communications are attempted, the crucial role of the discourse type must not be neglected. The information exchange dialogue in itself is rather "simple" situation socially and interpersonally. Some discourse type, negotiation, for example, with different goals of interaction, might bring different results (cf. Lesznyák 2002)

There were no results available concerning information exchange dialogue in NS-NS or NS-NNS setting, so that a comparison LF/NS-NNS/NS-NS could have been made to find out how LF information exchange dialogue differs from the other two language combinations. Thus any conclusion concerning LF communication in contrast to NS-NNS or NS-NS communication in information exchange dialogues should be considered tentative.

As discussed in Chapter 4.7, PSM's differ from each other to a great extent in what how they can be identified (compared to unintentional uses) and classified. Some mechanisms are "invisible" and can be detected only through detailed retrospective reports from the speaker. With the present method, invisible mechanisms could not be mapped comprehensively. A more comprehensive study on invisible PSMs would call for methods with more opportunity to introspection. However, the present method provided a fairly reliable overall picture on the use of semi-visible and visible PSMs, and the retrospective interviews provided some deeper insights into some specific instances of the use of invisible PSMs, too.

The second methodological constraint concerned the task given to participants. As they could by themselves quite freely, after all, decide on the subtopics, they had a lot of options for topic change and resorting to let-it-pass principle. So, although the high understanding criterion was aimed through a written report, it could have been better reached by using a more strictly defined task. This lack of high understanding criterion concerning individual subtopics was seen in several comments by the participants (see Example 14 p. 76 and Example 60 p. 102.)

A third methodological point is the experimental setting, i.e. not using an authentic dialogue, which incorporated two discourse worlds. It may be claimed to have distorted the findings (see Firth and Wagner 1997:294). However, from the lingua franca point of view, the situation was real (English was a real lingua franca), and although the task was given, the speakers were not instructed to play any roles. Furthermore, both the analysis of the dialogues and commentary of the participants suggest that the competing discourse may have had only a minor effect on the subjects.

The subjects of the present study had all quite extensive routine in using English as a lingua franca, since some of them were pursuing the whole degree in English, and others were in Finland as participants of a student exchange programme with duration of 5 to10 months. A study

with less experienced LF users could bring different results, as assumedly language users learn to make better use of PSMs. On the other hand, these participants may be assumed to represent quite typical LF users.

Finally, another theoretical concern may be presented against the concept of face in intercultural settings, such as the ones in this study. There are some reservations to be made against universality of Brown & Levinson's (1987) idea of face. Yu (1999:283) criticises their idea of face for being too individualistic, and thus not suitable for e.g. the Chinese culture. However, several participants in the present study, albeit Europeans, reported about face considerations in such a way that the idea of face as suggested by Brown and Levinson can be considered largely relevant (See Example 57 p. 36 and Example 59 p. 36).

6.4 Implications and suggestions for future research

6.4.1 Theoretical implications and research suggestions

The results on use of PSMs in LFI, the suitability of the framework adopted, and the choice of PSMs give rise to several implications, both theoretical and pedagogical. The findings of the present study denote that the discourse type cannot be neglected as an explanation of various linguistic features and choices of speakers. LF or not, goal of communication is one of the major factors in choices of linguistic elements. The goal, in turn, is to great extent dependent on the discourse type. Overgeneralisations concerning universal features of LF language use could be avoided by a more careful consideration of the discourse type. The effect of discourse type and participant roles have been, admittedly, given more prominent role in other lines of study, e.g. in LSP studies (see e.g. Swales 2000:64).

Also, LSP studies (Swales: ibid) acknowledge the problems of the English hegemony in many fields (science, business). At worst, as Mauranen (1993:172) denotes, this monoculture when accompanied with requirements of strict standardisation, may suppress creativity and innovation. These setbacks could be fought back by encouraging diversity within a genre. This diversity, naturally, could include practices where LF speakers could use language (e.g. PSMs) in such a way that would benefit efficient communication from the L2 speaker's point of view as well. The approach of the present study to combine PSM study and lingua-franca point of view would benefit genre-based LSP studies as well.

As earlier mentioned, the there were no results available concerning information exchange dialogue in NS-NS or NS-NNS setting. The present approach, however, could be used to gather comparable data from NS-NNS and NS-NS settings.

The results of the present study support Meierkord's (2002) idea of LFI as a linguistic masala to such an extent that goal and competence of participants indeed play part in the choices the speakers make. Meierkord (ibid: 129) admits that other factors in the setting have their effects, too. If seen through the lens of use and choice of PSMs, I would like to add the following candidates to be added in the ingredients of the linguistic masala: proximity of speakers, face, time pressure, attitude towards and awareness of LF nature of the interaction, ability to identify sources of communication problems, and number of participants. The role of another ingredient of Meierkord's masala, culture, was not prominent in the present study although Dörnyei (1995:63-64) suggests that various culture-based values may affect speakers attitudes towards PSMs. The role of culture in use of PSM would require a closer examination with a different methodology.

The results obtained clearly show that face must also be considered with a specific LF point of view: the limited linguistic resources of the speaker may make her protect her face as a user of language (e.g. unwillingness to admit non-understanding due to threat of face loss). Also, the speaker may refrain from using too difficult language not to threaten the hearer's face, or the hearer may let non-understanding pass not to address the low proficiency of the speaker. It could be said that participants mutually protect one another's positive"proficiency face", i.e. image as a good language user. This specific aspect of face in LFI would also be a fruitful area of further studies. The results also suggest that the significance of face to the speaker may vary considerably, depending on her personal attitude towards lingua-franca communication; whether or not the speaker is willing to admit limits of her resources and the inherent need for interactive handling. This attitudinal aspect of LF speakers is also quite an unexplored area.

The results also call for some adjustments to the Common European Framework (Council of Europe 2001), especially in relation to LF communication. The lingua-franca aspect is totally neglected in the skill level descriptions of the CEF. As Example 76 of the present study shows, high-level core skills of both participants do not automatically result in smooth LF communication. If, for instance Dialogues No 1 and 6 are compared, the number of understanding problems does not correlate with participants' overall skill levels. Rather, the smoother flux and lack of problems in Dialogue No 1 can probably be explained by what could be called lingua-franca competence; the ability to adapt one's own communication style to the other's, as was suggested by Seidlhofer (2001:147). The Common European Framework should incorporate introduction of lingua-franca point of view in all aspects of language use and, in particular, introduce strategic skills from lingua-franca point of view. Admittedly, these areas would need more empirical research before their significance at each skill level could be defined.

As mentioned earlier, attitudinal problems and inability to spot problem sources correctly prevented the fluent speakers from reaching mutual understanding several times. This also implies another interesting question about the significance of "problem spotting ability" in communication.

Finally, as the study of PSMs (or CSs) has been slumbering since the active days of late 1990's, the recent emergence of the lingua-franca studies might give a restart impetus to it. The benefit could be mutual: On the one hand, study of LF communication could benefit from a more elaborate study of strategic language use, with the help of the detailed frameworks such as the one by Dörnyei and Scott expanded, or deep-penetrating insights of strategic language use by psycholinguists. As in this study, PSMs could be approached from the particular LF point of view. On the other hand, study of the PSMs in lingua-franca communication could bring some more light on what is universal in strategic language use, and what is language-specific, culture-specific, or specific to lingua-franca communication.

6.4.2 Pedagogical implications

The pedagogical implications are discussed with reference to teaching of PSMs on one the hand, and learning and teaching to communicate in English as a lingua franca on the other. The definition of a PSM adopted for the present study enables at least to consider the teachability of PSMs (see Chapter 3.2). The question naturally is, what *can* be taught and what is *desirable* to teach about PSM use on the basis of the findings of the present thesis.

CEF also recommends (see Chapter 3.2) to focus attention occasionally on the development of PSM use and treating strategies as an objective. Also, it (2001:131) states that:

> Statements of the aims and objectives of language learning and teaching should be based on an appreciation of the needs of learners and of society, on the tasks, activities and processes that the learners need to carry out in order to satisfy those needs, and on the competences and strategies they need to develop/build up in order to do so.

Bearing in mind (see Chapter 2.1) that probably up to 80 per cent of all verbal exchanges in English in the world are carried out without a native speaker present, the lingua-franca aspect should be acknowledged in the definition of the learner's needs quoted above. In particular, the strategic language use should be considered from the lingua-franca communication viewpoint.

Results of the present study also further elaborate Sifakis's (2004:245-248) pedagogical approach that has a strong emphasis on LF contexts and raising the learner's awareness of communication problems and mechanisms to solve them. As the results indicate, identification of the problem source is not always successful, and misidentification may result in using PSMs that

are harmful. Care and sensitivity in identification of the problem source is something that could be encouraged among learners of language. Also, as was seen in Dialogue 6, the speech of a fluent speaker may prove often unintelligible. This could be enhanced by raising awareness of phonological features desirable in lingua-franca usage, as presented by Jenkins (2000). This should be part of any language instruction even to more fluent speakers. Knowledge of internationally more intelligible pronunciation alternatives may help a fluent speaker to spot problem sources in her own speech as well as brush up her speech when an interlocutor requests a repetition or non-expresses non-understanding.

The results obtained indicate the effect of face in the use of PSM's, and the effect of "proficiency face" in particular. On their basis, one may assume that awareness training could also enhance the communicative competence of learners. Making learners aware of the role of face could on the one hand help the learners to use face-sensitive PSMs (e.g. repeat questions camouflaged as new questions, interactive PSMs where the limit of language-related and content-related problems are blurred), on the other hand reduce unnecessary fear for face loss, and thus entail more willingness to use clarity approach in the choice of PSMs. The learners should be provided model dialogues between fairly fluent non-native speakers where understanding problems occur and are solved efficiently, e.g. through the use of interactive PSMs. Dialogues and polylogues between non-natives, with misunderstandings, non-understandings, expressions of non-understanding, and ample use of different kind of PSM methods, should rather be a default case than exception in textbooks. As Dörnyei's (1995) results indicate, the quality of PSMs can be improved through systematic training. Part of this improvement might involve making the language user aware of the possibility of choice between giving up communicative goals and using an interactive PSM to address non-understanding. Also, learners should be provided with model realisations of these PSMs, i.e. model phrases to carry out a certain PSM.

The demand of PSM teaching is consonant with the demand of Seidlhofer (2003:22) that English learning should be re-orientated towards its cross-cultural role. This includes resorting to disciplines such as intercultural communication, language awareness, and communication strategies in language teaching. Also, by acknowledging the lingua-franca perspective in general, not only from PSM point of view, educational materials would better serve the needs of an English language learner in the present-day world.

In sum, the present study supports the demands earlier made that there should be what could be called a change of paradigm in the design of curricula and learning materials; from the NS communication towards successful LF communication as a model. Encouraging the learners to

sensitivity to the uniqueness of lingua-franca contexts, willingness to take some extra effort to ensure mutual understanding, and discarding of unnecessary face concerns should be the leading principles in the curriculum work.

6.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has aimed to integrate the findings of RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3 in order to give an overall view of the use of PSM's in an information exchange dialogues where English is used as a lingua franca. The present study has shown that PSM use in LFI is a fairly complex issue. This study has sought to examine the effect of LF situation on the relationship of a communication problem and a mechanism to solve it. The results indicate that, in problem-solving, the awareness of mutual non-nativeness guides the participants simultaneously to orient to both their own and the other's limited resources. Also, the results of the study demonstrate that choice between various PSM's is made on the basis of highly complex and subtle interplay of contextual factors. Since LF communication evidently forms an integral part of L2 speaker's English skills, the concept of language competence needs to be reconsidered with LF approach in mind. Part of this LF approach is awareness and skills of using various PSMs. I hope the present study has managed to make a modest contribution to so far limited knowledge base of LF communication.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Task instructions for the participants

Person A

OVERALL DESCRIPTION OF THE TASK **Please read all this paper through first.**

Your tasks are
1. To find out information about
1. **a company where Person B has worked**
2. **Person B's work in that company.**

and
2. After that write a description of what you have found out.

Task 1. Talking with Person B about his/her work experience+company	15 minutes

- Ask Person B to tell you the information about a company and his/her work at the company.
- You can make notes when you are talking.
- During these 15 minutes you are being videotaped.
- You can ask Person B about anything you want about the company. Below are some topics to help you. You <u>can</u> ask about the topics below, but you <u>don't need</u> to.

Person B's own experience
- tasks & duties
- how long worked
- when?
- working hours

Company
- size
- location
- owners
- field
- products
- customers
- market areas
- marketing
- business idea
- organisation

Task 2. Writing a description	15 minutes

After the interview you have 15 minutes time to write a description of the company and Person B's experience in the company.

(You are not being videotaped anymore.)
The description should be as detailed as you can write in 15 minutes.

You can use your notes when you are writing.

Person B

OVERALL DESCRIPTION OF THE TASK **Please read all this paper through first.**

Your tasks are to

1. Think about some working experience that you remeber well. You will have time to get prepared and refresh your memory.

2. Answer Person A's questions about

- **the company where you have worked**
- **your personal experience in the company.**

Task 1 Getting prepared	15 minutes

- You have 15 minutes time to refresh your memory and think about your work for some company and the details of the company.
- Choose a working experience and a company that you remember well.
- You can make notes when you are getting prepared if you want, and you can use these notes during your later conversation
- You don't have to prepare any long talk or lecture; just get prepared to answer A's questions on the basis of what you know and remember
- However, the more details you can remember, the better

Task 2 Talking with A about your work experience and about the company

- Do <u>not</u> give a "presentation" about the company - just answer Person A's questions.
- However, give as detailed and full answers as you can.
- If you don't know or remember something that Person A asks, just say that you don't know or remember – or make a guess.
- During these 15 minutes you are being videotaped.

Appendix 2: Report by the information-seeker of Dialogue No 4

Dialogue No 4

Report by the information-seeker, Kaisa (Finland)
Information-provider: Lyudmila (Russia)

I interviewed Lyudmila about her working experiences in a Finnish clothing store chain Newton Fashion. She worked ~~previously~~ , last year , for the first year in this company in Kerava. Otherwise it was ok, but the travelling took too long time and made the working there a bit more difficult this year, however she started in Hyvinkää with a contract lasting until the new year, but if possible she would like to continue working there after that, too. Lyudmila works from 2 to 20 hours per week, from 2 to 5 days a week mostly on weekends and evenings. If there are some problems in the working hours, they are quite easy to change with other co-workers. After the first year it is possible to have 2 holidays per year, which, of course, is also very nice.

The clothing store in Hyvinkää is located in Jokela, next to Anttila. It ~~has other stores in more than 150~~ All together ~~it has~~ there are more than 150 Newtons in Finland. There are also some stores in Estonia, but in Sweden and USA where Newton tried to expand it didn't ~~work~~ go so well.

In the beginning Newton Fashion was owned by Newton but in the 70 or 80 it was sold to Backman. So for example ~~if~~ during ~~some~~ sales* you can get certain pieces of clothes cheaper if you are Backman's loyal customer.
*which are held every month
Every week there are ~~at~~ clothes for a cheaper price also for other customers and new products come every day.

Lyudmila's duties are to serve customers and to build windows which are changed every week. She also has to ~~ee~~ put on the computer the total sales at the end of the day. As a member of staff she gets to pick her working clothes from the shop and gets a staff discount.

Newton is a clothing store chain selling clothes for young and middle-aged women, men, children and big-sized women. It also sells some cosmetics. It advertises in TV and some magazines and also has a catalog which you can take from the shop for free, but it is quite small. The business idea is to sell clothes for many kinds of people.
I In big cities there can be several shops, but in smaller only one. The shops are divided to 4groups according to their size. The shop where Lyudmila works is in group c, so they have bit more selection.

Appendix 3: Transcript of Dialogue No 4 with commentary on PSMs

Date of recording	15 Sept 2003	
Conversation No	4	
Length	15mins 45 secs	
Information-seeker:	Kaisa, L1 = Finnish	
Information-provider:	Lyudmila, L1 = Russian	
Lyudmila	now i'm still working in Newton fashion/	
Kaisa	mhmm · and how long have you worked there	
Lyudmila	i have been working there since eh june two thousand two (· ·)	
Kaisa	okay/ · and · mmhm, how long working hours did you have > or do you have<	2c1 1a1
Lyudmila	<well in> *(gazes away with a thoughtful look)*	
Kaisa	do you work every day there or	perceived nonunderstanding
Lyudmila	not every day just maybe from two to twenty hours per week	1a1/3b74 1d1
Kaisa	okay/	
Lyudmila	during the weekends and evenings	
Kaisa	okay · · · · (makes notes) mhmm , well how have you liked it/, is it ok or	2c1
Lyudmila	yes very nice job you can communicate with people and	1a1 1d1
Kaisa	yeah, [is it-is it] not too hard or	
Lyudmila	[it's] no, not at all	
Kaisa	okay so how does it go with your school does it take too long time or	2c1
Lyudmila	no it's-it's quite good this year because last year/, i was working in [kerava]	2c21
Kaisa	[°yeah\°]	
Lyudmila	so i had to travel by train a lot and it took a lot of hours more , for trave[[ling]]	
Kaisa	[[okay\/]]	
Lyudmila	but now i, moved , eh my-my working place in hyvinkaa/	2c21
Kaisa	mhmm\/	
Lyudmila	and it's quite good to get , get there and doesn't take-take much time so it's really nice with studies	2c21
Kaisa	°okay , that's good° ehm about the company , how big is it	2c1
Lyudmila	well it's a , chain of cloth-clothes shop, [shops]	2c1 2c1
Kaisa	[mhmm/]	1d15
Lyudmila	and err in finland there are more than one hundred fifty · [[stores/]]	
Kaisa	[[>one hundred fifty/<]]	
Lyudmila	yeah , around the country it also has some shops in estonia/	3b3 3b75
Kaisa	°uh-huh/°	

Appendix 3 (2/8)

Lyudmila	it also tried err to open some stores in sweden , and , but it didn't last , [a long time]-	
Kaisa	[okay]	
Lyudmila	-maybe one year or two and , in usa it didn't	1d1
Kaisa (2"00')	okay (coughs) , sorry · · · (makes notes) mhmm so this place where you work now , is in hyvinkaa [where] in hyvinkaa	
Lyudmila	[yes] it's jokela	
Kaisa	okay	
Lyudmila	it's situated in L-market	
Kaisa	uhuh · mhmm and the owners/ , do you know much about them	
Lyudmila	well first when the shop was established/, the owner was err newton	2c
Kaisa	okay/	
Lyudmila	and then err maybe seventies or eighties err shop chain was sold to backman (·)	
Kaisa	[°okay°]	
Lyudmila	[so] that now the owner of this-this is backman	2c21
Kaisa	okay/ and in what field is this company	following the script/not talking topically
(·)		
Lyudmila	excuse me/	nonunderstanding/interpretability
Kaisa	in what field is this company	3b71
Lyudmila	[clothe]-clothes	1d15
Kaisa	[nn] okay · and the products , do you like them selves, (hand gesture) ehm do you like them , the products yourself	1d17 1a2
Lyudmila	yes [yes]	
Kaisa	[what] kind of products are they nn young or older	
Lyudmila	they are for women , there are for young , err for err middle-aged and also for those who has big sizes	
Kaisa	[okay]\/	
Lyudmila	[also] it's , has men clothes , children's and also some cosmetics	
Kaisa	okay\/	
Lyudmila	in-in helsinki it has also , [shoes]	
Kaisa	[okay]	
Lyudmila	dep-department	
Kaisa	and , the market areas , where-where is-are these err pieces of chain located in general OH >there are so many s-@<	2c21 1d15
Lyudmila	well in some cities err there are several shops , little ones , one but all shops err eh divided on four groups it depends on the size of shop	2c1
Kaisa	okay	
Lyudmila	for example where i'm working now has group c	
Kaisa	what	3b5/nonu/inter/world-knowledge
Lyudmila	so it has eh en more variety of clothes	3b74

Appendix 3 (3/8)

Kaisa	yeah , so a is smaller [than] d	
Lyudmila	[yeah]	
Kaisa	ehm about marketing , what type of marketing do they have	
(· ·)	(Lyudmila gazes away)	
Lyudmila	i don't know (smiles)	
Kaisa	@okay@	
Lyudmila	@@	
Kaisa	and ehm and about the business idea do you know much about them	
Lyudmila	well i guess that business idea is just · that customer can find whatever he or she want in that shop · °yeah° (Kaisa nods)	2c1
Kaisa	so basically it's for lo-many kind of people	3b6 interpretive summary 1d17 3b75
Lyudmila	yeah	
Kaisa	okay · · · · and about the organisation , err do you @know much about@ the organisation , °yourself°	Topic shift, driven by the task
Lyudmila	mhmm · can you say more , clearly	L: Non-understanding (comprehension) + 3b2 asking for clarification
Kaisa	mhmm how does it work and/	K: 1d17 3b74 response:expand
(· ·)		
Lyudmila	[well yeah]	L: 2c1filler
Kaisa	[°mhmm°]	
Lyudmila	each month , it has eh some kind of campaign/	L: Misunderstanding (comprehension)
Kaisa	uh-huh\/ (nods emphatically)	
Lyudmila	and eh basically if you have as backman- if you are backman loyal customer	
Kaisa	yeah/	
Lyudmila	you have a chance each month to buy err some products with special offer with some kind of err · · · reduction , (seeks eye contact) well in a low price	2b feigning understanding (interpretability) – let-it-pass 2c1 1a2 for her
Kaisa	aha okay	
Lyudmila	and also err , it has , every week, it has new product , [which]-	2c21
Kaisa	[uhum/]	
Lyudmila	-can be also cheaper · than normal days [[n-]]	
Kaisa	[[so]] is this pro-, urr, how uh->°sorry to interrupt you°<	1d8
Lyudmila	°it's okay°	
Kaisa	ah, how often do these new products come there	
Lyudmila	err it comes , each day comes something	
Kaisa	/okay\	
(· ·)		
Lyudmila	and before it comes , on the previous day we get a list of products which are coming	
Kaisa	°okay° (makes notes) · · · · · · <and> · · · · eh · hmmm	
(· · · · ·)	*(looks at her papers, looking worried)*	

		2c1 Appendix 3 (4/8)
Lyudmila	well for example after christmas , they have a big sale , so it's err , two weeks there this err · · percentage of sale is bigger and [bigger]	2c1
Kaisa	[yeah]/	
Lyudmila	and during the christmas , during december they have some kind of err calendar	1a1
Kaisa	mhhm\/	
Lyudmila	where err each day , in different stores >each day< they have special offer	
Kaisa	okay °it's nn°	
Lyudmila	and also after , juhannus day	
Kaisa	yeah/	
Lyudmila	it has sale	1d11
Kaisa	ok , so do you-do you know how they (coughs) how they advertise these sales [or] special events	2c21
Lyudmila	[yeah] err it also can be on tv/	
Kaisa	mhmm/	
Lyudmila	and also in some mag-magazines	
Kaisa	yeah	
Lyudmila	and now they err · establish this small , err catalogue , but [it's] really small	
Kaisa	[yes]	
Lyudmila	and it has · for example photos and it can be get in-in the shops [[there]] in the desk you-	1d5
Kaisa	[[yeah]]	
Lyudmila	-can just take it	
Kaisa	so it doesn't cost anything	
Lyudmila	no	
Kaisa	okay · · · so *(sigh)* · · have you got many friends through this work	3b3 3b75
Lyudmila	yes (nods)	
Kaisa	so you know each other very well through [work]	
Lyudmila	[yeah] yeah we do	
Kaisa	do you know well err the other persons working in other err [[companies]]	
Lyudmila	[[yeah]]	
Kaisa	i mean in kerava or in helsinki or	1d5 1d17
Lyudmila	yeah sometimes we have to call if for example järvenpää can find this size , in our [shop]	
Kaisa	[°mhmm°]	
Lyudmila	so if he ask us we can call to some other shops and well this calling and we're talking and get to know-	
Kaisa	yeah	2c1
Lyudmila	-other people	
Kaisa	so you get them by yourself so don't just like , phone them and say please send us , you go there and get the piece	3b3 2c1
Lyudmila	no sometimes we just have to know if it's available/	
Kaisa	°uhum°	3b76

		1d15 Appendix 3 (5/8)
Lyudmila	nn the shop and tell to client and he if he will-prefers he can get it himself or or we can just ask , other Newton Fashion to send us	
Kaisa	yeah , does it cost any extra	
Lyudmila	yes it cost but sometimes it cost to the client [and]=	
Kaisa	[yes]	
Lyudmila	=sometimes we-we take	1d5
Kaisa	okay	
Lyudmila	this	
Kaisa	ahh what does this depend on , when does the client pay and when does the company	
Lyudmila	well i guess when the product is new/	2c1
Kaisa	°mhmm/°	
Lyudmila	just came , and has a normal price , we can pay for it , but if for example it's some kind of , err thing for three euro {euro}	1d4 circumlocution for 'product at a reduced price' 1d6
Kaisa	oh yeah [nn]	
Lyudmila	[nn]	2c1
Kaisa	yeah · okay /\· · <and> · · · so how long are you planning to work in this newton fashion in kerava aah no , in hyvinkaa	1d17
Lyudmila	>in hyvinkaa< well now i have a contract till new years/ and after that if there is possibility i would like to work till err the next study year	Appeal for help in topic handling
Kaisa	okay · *(makes notes)*· · · · so what else	
(· · · · · ·)		2c21
Lyudmila	but what-what about my dut- my duties how [to sell customers]=	
Kaisa	[oh yes] (*looks relieved and delighted)*	
Lyudmila	=and to build windows or departments , like err young department and major department err it's with we can we get instructions/	
Kaisa	yeah/	
Lyudmila	how to put it	
Kaisa	yeah/	1d5
Lyudmila	how to put for example this err window [or-]	
Kaisa	[so] you change [[it]]	
Lyudmila	[[yeah]]	
Kaisa	every week or , okay	
Lyudmila	and also in the end of the day , we have to collect the money from the cash register/ and err , put into the computer the total sale of the day , and so	
(· ·)		2c21
Kaisa	so do you have- do you have lots of erm , responsibilities there >of course this money< money thing	2c21 1d5
Lyudmila	mhmm yeah but i think that , the director of the store/	
Kaisa	mhmm\/	

Appendix 3 (6/8)

Lyudmila	has more responsibilities like put (*gazes away)*· · ·°palkka° salaries/	1d11 3d2
Kaisa	yeah@	
Lyudmila	@ @ and save them on the computers but	
Kaisa	°yeah°	
Lyudmila	but everyone else have practically the same duties	
Kaisa	okay do you know about the other workers are they studying at the same time too or are [they]-	
Lyudmila	[no]	
Kaisa	-just working	
Lyudmila	they are working [[there]] yeah	
Kaisa	[[okay]] so would you say this is a good place for others , > also to work there<	
Lyudmila	yeah	
Kaisa	other students	
Lyudmila	yes of course	
Kaisa	°yeah okay°	
Lyudmila	[it's really nice]	
Kaisa	[°nnn°]	
Lyudmila	and err in kerava , where i worked before , one woman has been working there for forty years	
Kaisa	ah@	
Lyudmila	so i think it's quite nice to [note]	
Kaisa	[yeah]	
Lyudmila	how the company is growing and how [[the]] products are changing and so	
Kaisa	[[yeah]] so <u>do get *(coughs)* as being one of the staff , members so >do you get<</u> some kind of discounts of the products	1d8
Lyudmila	yes\ *(nods)*	
Kaisa	okay\	
Lyudmila	and also , each season , we get working clothes	
(· ·)		
Kaisa	uhuh\/	
Lyudmila	so we can pick it by ourselves they [just-]	Nonunderstanding/comprehension
Kaisa	[oh from] the shop/	
Lyudmila	yes\	
Kaisa	okay/\ · · °yes , that' nice° · (*makes notes)* · · so is there some kind of err strict rule of what you can wear there , are they just err clothes from the shop , or can you wear whatever you want	
Lyudmila	yeah whatever you want but preferably-	
Kaisa	yeah	
Lyudmila	-clothes that you get	
Kaisa	yeah\ · · *(makes notes)* · okay *(sighs)* · · mhmm · · *(looks at her papers)* · · · . so you work there <on> , weekends and some weekdays	
Lyudmila	yeah	

Appendix 3 (7/8)

Kaisa	how many days per week , is it twenty hours , [or] nnn	
Lyudmila	[yeah] no it depends it's err i can work from two days to , five days , and during the holidays it >of course< were more hours	1d8
Kaisa	°mhmm°	
Lyudmila	maybe thirty	
Kaisa	okay so you can-can you say like each month err how much you want to work there or can you ehm decide it yourself or do they just give you the hours	1d8
Lyudmila	yeah , they give you hours , and for example if someone is ill they can decide do her work instead of [her]	
Kaisa	[yeah] okay so can you change the hours easily	
Lyudmila	yes of course , if the other person is-, don't mind	1d8
Kaisa	yeah , so you just , change with other workers there and no , there's no boss telling	3b6
Lyudmila	no	3b75
Kaisa	okay that's nice , <ehm> · · so are you the youngest worker there	2c1
Lyudmila	yeah yeah · · · and also twice a year we can have , err holidays in [summertime]-	
Kaisa	[°uh°]	
Lyudmila	-during three weeks , and during the winter one week	
Kaisa	°okay/ that's nice° was that like that from the first year or , like when you started there could you- during the first year could you al-also take the holidays	1a1/3b74 nonunderstanding/comp can be judged by L:s gaze
Lyudmila	no I only when after one year-after one year passed i had my holidays	1d8
Kaisa	okay	
Lyudmila	only this summer	
Kaisa	yeah · · okay · · @so@ · °what else° · · ehm	
(· · · · · · · · · · · ·)		
Lyudmila	well err when the september start/	
Kaisa	[yeah/]	
Lyudmila	[we had] err summer clothes on sale	2c1
Kaisa	°mhmm°	
Lyudmila	and we had something like eh take two and pay for one , so it was , quite nice because customers were , very excited about this and	
Kaisa	yeah	
Lyudmila	nn also we have customers from russia/ because of the border is really near	
Kaisa	yeah	
Lyudmila	so it is eh very good that i can speak russian because i'm-i'm russian	

Appendix 3 (8/8)

Kaisa	°yeah >of course<° did it help you to get this job	
Kaisa	yeah	
Lyudmila	and also the err making tax-free shops	1d5
Kaisa	°oh° do you need a lot of different languages , when you work there	
Lyudmila	well	
Kaisa	the customers are there many people who don't speak finnish °for example°	1a1
Lyudmila	well just russians when they come and dont' understand something	
Kaisa	yeah	
Lyudmila	then i can explain	
Kaisa	so erm · · · · °>i don't know what to say<° erm · · do you think there are more russian than finnish customers	
Lyudmila	no , finnish of course are , more	
Kaisa	yeah	
Lyudmila	finnish customers	
Kaisa	erm do you know err if they advertise a lot these take two pay one [campaign]	
Lyudmila	[yeah] yeah i think in newspapers , on tv	
Kaisa	yeah okay	
Lyudmila	and also err different kind into-into the shop there is some kind of thing that says	

Appendix 4: Transcript Conventions

A: [this is] B: [yeah] really but i don't [[know]]	
A: [[yeah]] ……	overlapping speech in square brackets
inqui- inqui- ……..	truncated speech
A: so [is] this= B: [yeah]	
A: =far away ……	utterance that continues below without a pause is marked with " = "
, ……	short pause (< 1 sec)
· ·· ··· ……..	pauses within one speaker's contribution (1 sec, 2 secs, 3 secs etc)
(·) (· ·) (· · ·) ……	pauses between different speakers' contributions (1 sec, 2secs, 3 secs etc)
@ …….....	laugh
@well@ ……..	utterance said laughing
WELL ……..	extra prominence capitalised
(nnn) ……..	unclear speech (n=one syllable)
well/ ……..	rising intonation
well\ …….....	falling intonation
wellV …….....	falling+rising intonation
>i mean now< ……..	faster rate than surrounding talk
<what is that> ……..	slower rate than surrounding talk
°right° ……..	low volume
butter {bu:tə} …….....	strongly marked pronunciation is given in curly brackets
{{ne'matomaranz}} ……..	pronunciation of non-English words is given in double curly brackets
i really don't know (*raising his forefinger*).....	transcriber's comments italiced in brackets; if they refer to a certain part of the text, this text is underlined with dashes

Comments in the right-hand column refer to the underlined parts of the text.
In some cases when the reference is large or fragmentary, it is indicated by an arrow.

(left column:)		(right column:)
What do you mean by that		3b1 asking for repetition
Pierre Legrand	yes , yes and this it's speciality you speak about research, medicine research	PL: 3b6 Interpretive summary in fragments
Hon-Fai Hsu	yeah\	
Pierre Legrand	and creating new medicine	
Hon-Fai Hsu	yeah\	
Pierre Legrand	very interesting	
Hon-Fai Hsu	yeah\	
Pierre Legrand	and then your customers they are from , all/ around the world , they come from outside and inside as you say	

Appendix 5: Example of interview questions and answers

Conducted by e-mail 24 Sept 2003 and completed face-to-face on 20 Oct 2003.

Dialogue No 4, Lyudmila, the information provider

1. How well do you knew each other with Kaisa? Assess this in the scale from 0…5 where 5 means 'very close friends' and 0 means 'total strangers'.

Total strangers 0*1*2*3*4*.5 very close friends

2

2. Had you talked with Kaisa before this?

Yes, of cause.

3. How often do you talk?

1 to 2 times per week

4. Do you always speak English when you meet? If not, what other languages do you use?

If we meet at school we speak English, if in other place then Finnish.

5. How did you find her as a conversation partner? Do you think it was easy for you to reach understanding?

About the conversation partner I would give "3", about understanding during the conversation about 3 too. I think that mostly it is because of different nationalities and lenguage dificulties. One doesn't understand what the other mean by saying smth.

Then some other questions about you speaking English in general.

6. When you speak English with people from different countries and cultures, do you think that you on purpose speak differently different people? If yes, how do you notice that?

It is depends, sometimes I find it easy to speak with foreigner sometime not. But usually with some people I can speak very well English and with some I do misstakes. The reason I think in different personalities. People from different countries may have different points of view to the same word. Also with for example Germans and Finns I speak more calmly, and with Spanish people I speak with hotter temper.

7. In situations when you have been speaking English with someone and you don't quite reach understanding with the other, does it often happen that you don't try to make it clearer (e.g. by asking the other to repeat, making sure that the other understands you, saying the same thing again with other words) but you just let the situation pass?

It is also depend with whom I am speaking. If I know the person well it's easier to ask "what did you say?". On the other hand, if I know the person well it is easier to guess what she might mean even though she would use strange words or something. If it is not important for me, or I will that the question is just a simple unswere I don't ask to repeat. But ofcause if I feel that it is needed I always ask to repeat or try to use simple words that I could get the idea.

If yes, can you think any reason why you would do so?

(No answer)

Appendix 5 (2/2)

8. Do you speak differently in English than in your own language? In order to achieve mutual understanding, do you feel that have to be more active or make more effort?

I speak different in English than in my own tounge because I don't have enough vocabulary of English words to express myself. I should study more because always when I don't know how to say smth I get mad. Then I have to calm down.

9. In this conversation with Kaisa, did you feel that you had to adjust your language (for example explain in other words, using easier words) because the other didn't know English so well?

I think that the level of Kaisa's lenguage is very well and towards to her I didn't have to explain in easier frases.

If yes, how.

- -

If not here, do you do it with other people?

Yes, sometimes. If person doesn't know English well, or I don't have the right words to be more clear I try to use the word I know or my hands.

10. In this conversation with Kaisa, did you feel that you had to adjust you language (for example explain in other words, using easier words) because you didn't know the correct expressions?

Yes, I think so.

Appendix 6: Questions and answers in the retrospective interview with relevant extracts from the transcript

Conducted 20 Oct 2003
Interviewee: Lyudmila, the information-provider of dialogue No 4,

1

Lyudmila	now i'm still working in Newton /
Kaisa	mhmm · and how long have you worked there
Lyudmila	i have been working there since eh june two thousand two
	(· ·)
Kaisa	okay/ · and · mmhm, how long working hours did you have > or do you have<
Lyudmila	<well in>
Kaisa	do you work every day there or
Lyudmila	not every day just maybe from two to twenty hours per week

Tarmo: ***Why do you think Kaisa repeats this?***
Lyudmila: ***She was just impatient, didn't give me enough time to answer, I needed time to calculate what is the sum of hours.***

2

Lyudmila	well it's a , chain of cloth-clothes shop, [shops]
Kaisa	[mhmm/]
Lyudmila	and err in finland there are more than one hundred fifty · [[stores/]]
Kaisa	[[>one hundred fifty/<]]
Lyudmila	yeah , around the country it also has some shops in estonia/
Kaisa	°uh-huh/°
Lyudmila	it also tried err to open some stores in sweden , and , but it didn't last ,
	[a long time]-
Kaisa	[okay]
Lyudmila	-maybe one year or two and , in usa it didn't
Kaisa	okay , sorry · · · mhmm so this place where you work now , is in kotka [where] in kotka

Tarmo: What do you mean by this it didn't`?
Lyudmila: It didn't succeed. I just left it out because it was self-evident.

.

3

Lyudmila	well first when the shop was established/, the owner was err Newton
Kaisa	okay/
Lyudmila	and then err maybe seventies or eighties err shop chain was sold to stockmann (·)
Kaisa	[°okay°]
Lyudmila	[so] that now the owner of this-this is stockmann
Kaisa	okay/ and in what field is this company
(·)	
Lyudmila	excuse me/
Kaisa	in what field is this company
Lyudmila	[clothe]-clothes

Tarmo: ***Why do you ask 'excuse me'?***
Lyudmila: ***I had mentioned about three times before that it was clothes shop…and it's quite well-known in Finland. So I was really surprised like "does she really ask that"***
Tarmo: ***Why do you think she asked about the field?***
Lyudmila: ***I don't know.***

Appendix 6 (2/4)

4

Lyudmila [also] it's , has men clothes , children's and also some cosmetics
Kaisa okay\/
Lyudmila in helsinki it has also , [shoes]
Kaisa [okay]
Lyudmila department
Kaisa and , the market areas , where-where is-are these err pieces of chain located in general OH >there are so many s-@<
Lyudmila well in some cities err there are several shops , little ones , one but all shops err eh divided on four groups it depends on the size of shop
Kaisa okay
Lyudmila for example where i'm working now has group c
Kaisa what
Lyudmila so it has more variety of clothes

Tarmo: ***How do you understand Kaisa's question?***
Lyudmila: ***She wanted to know about location of the shops of our chain.***
Tarmo: ***How do you know you got it right?***
Lyudmila: ***She didn't show any signs of suprise or not understanding when I answered…and I didn't even think about this then…if I hadn't been sure what she meantI would have asked "do you mean this"?***

5

Kaisa and ehm and about the business idea do you know much about them
Lyudmila well i guess that business idea is just · that customer can find whatever he or she want in that shop · °yeah°
Kaisa so basically it's for lo-many kind of people
Lyudmila yeah

Tarmo: ***Is this the right idea that she got?***
Lyudmila: ***Yes, I think so.***

6

Kaisa okay · · · · and about the organisation , err do you @know much about@ the organisation , °yourself°
Lyudmila mhmm · can you say more , clearly
Kaisa mhmm how does it work and/
(· ·)
Lyudmila [well yeah]
Kaisa [°mhmm°]
Lyudmila each month , it has eh some kind of campaign/
Kaisa uh-huh\/
Lyudmila and eh basically if you have as stockmann- if you are stockmann loyal customer
Kaisa yeah/

Tarmo: ***Can you explain what you didn't understand?***
(the first line of the transcript was not shown to Lyudmila)
Lyudmila: ***She asked something about the organisation…but I still don't understand for sure what she meant.***
Tarmo: ***Can you specify what you didn't understand. Would you say that you understood the words but not the idea, or was her pronunciation unclear.***
Lyudmila: ***I guess both the pronunciation was unclear and there were words I didn't know. This 'work' and 'organisation', I really didn't get the idea.***
Tarmo: ***You started to answer, though? You didn't ask for more clarification.***
Lyudmila: ***I think I guessed what she could mean.***
Tarmo: ***How did you know you guessed it right?***
Lyudmila: ***She was happy with my answer, she didn't say like 'no, that's not what I meant'***

Lyudmila you have a chance each month to buy err some products with special offer with some kind of err · · · reduction , well in a low price
Kaisa aha okay
Lyudmila and also err , it has , every week, it has new product , [which]-
Kaisa [uhum/]

Appendix 6 (3/4)

Lyudmila -can be also cheaper · than normal days [[n-]]
Kaisa [[so]] is this pro-, urr, how uh->°sorry to interrupt you°<
Lyudmila °it's okay°

Tarmo: ***Were you looking for some other word when you said 'reduction'`***
Lyudmila: ***No, it was just that first i didn't remember the word 'reduction', and when I said it Kaisa looked as if she didn't understand, so I thought it may not be a right word in this situation and I said it in another way.***

7
Lyudmila and before it comes , on the previous day we get a list of products which are coming
Kaisa °okay° (makes notes) · · · · · · <and> · · · · eh · hmmm
(· · · · ·)
Lyudmila well for example after christmas , they have a big sale , so it's err , two weeks there this err · · percentage of sale is bigger and [bigger]
Kaisa [yeah]/
Lyudmila and during the christmas , during

Tarmo: ***What makes you start a new topic? Did she ask for help?***
Lyudmila: ***She didn't ask, but I wanted to help, because I could see on her face that she didn't know what to say.***

8
Lyudmila where err each day , in different stores >each day< they have special offer
Kaisa okay °it's nn°
Lyudmila and also after , juhannus day
Kaisa yeah/
Lyudmila it has sale
Kaisa ok , so do you-do you know how they how they advertise these sales [or] special events

Tarmo: ***What made you change the language?***
Lyudmila: ***I didn't know the word for it in English, so it was easiest way to say it in Finnish.***
Tarmo: ***How would you have said it to a non-Finn?***
Lyudmila: ***I guess I would have explained something about a festival day in June.***

9
Kaisa do you know well err the other persons working in other err [[companies]]
Lyudmila [[yeah]]
Kaisa i mean in kouvola or in helsinki or
Lyudmila yeah sometimes we have to call if for example a client can't find his size , in our [shop]
Kaisa [°mhmm°]
Lyudmila so if he ask us we can call to some other shops and well this calling and we're talking and get to know-
Kaisa yeah
Lyudmila -other people
Kaisa so you get them by yourself so don't just like , phone them and say please send us , you go there and get the piece
Lyudmila no sometimes we just have to know if it's available/

Tarmo: ***How did you understand this 'companies'?***
Lyudmila: ***different shops of Newton in other places***
Tarmo: ***But doesn't other companies actually mean other than Newton?***
Lyudmila: ***Yes but…I didn't even think about it then…but it is quite clear she meant other places or shops of Newton because it wouldn't make sense other way.***

Tarmo: ***Now after seeing the situation, can you guess what made her understood that you usually go and get the piece of clothing yourself?***
(Lyudmila could also see the transcript)
Lyudmila: ***I don't know.***

Appendix 6 (4/4)

10

Kaisa yeah , does it cost any extra
Lyudmila yes it cost but sometimes it cost to the client [and]=
Kaisa [yes]
Lyudmila =sometimes we-we take
Kaisa okay
Lyudmila this
Kaisa ahh what does this depend on , when does the client pay and when does the company

Tarmo: ***What do you TAKE here?***
Lyudmila: ***Take responsibility…and Kaisa understands it quite right.***
Tarmo: ***How do you know this?***
Lyudmila: ***She asks this question that makes sense only if she thinks it my way.***

11

Lyudmila >in kotka< well now i have a contract till new years/ and after that if there is possibility i would like to work till err the next study year
Kaisa okay · · · · · so what else
(· · · · · ·)
Lyudmila but what-what about my my duties how [to sell customers]=
Kaisa [oh yes]
Lyudmila =and to build windows or departments , like err young department and major department err it's with we can we get instructions/

Tarmo: ***What makes you start a new topic? Did she ask for help?***
Lyudmila: ***That was again that she needed help, couldn't think what to say.***
Tarmo: ***Do you think she needed help because of language or because she didn't know what to ask?***
Lyudmila: ***I think she didn't know what to ask…but of course I knew that it would be easier to ask more questions in your own language. Maybe I helped then more easily.***
Tarmo: ***Do you mean that you wouldn't have offered help so much if this was done in Kaisa's mother tongue?***
Luydmila: ***Maybe…but I cannot say for sure.***

12

Lyudmila mhmm yeah but i think that , the director of the store/
Kaisa mhmm\/
Lyudmila has more responsibilities like put · · ·°palkka° salaries/
Kaisa yeah@
Lyudmila @ @ and save them on the computers but
Kaisa °yeah°
Lyudmila but everyone else have practically the same duties

Tarmo: ***Why to change language? You obviously know the word 'salary' since you found it in a second!***
Lyudmila: ***But it just slipped my mind! Of course I know it.***

Appendix 7: Description of Problem-Solving Mechanisms

In the following PSMs adopted for the present study are briefly summarised, mainly on the basis of Dörnyei and Scott (1997:187 - 192) with some additions from Dörnyei and Kormos (1998:361). For transcript conventions, see Appendix 4.

Direct mechanisms directed to one's own performance (Group 1A)

Self-rephrasing (1.A.1)
The speaker repeats an expression with some change, for example by using a paraphrase or adding something.

I don't know the material...what it is made of

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Self-repair (1.A.2)
The speaker makes self-initiated corrections in her speech right after an utterance.

The weather get be...gets better

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Direct mechanisms directed to other's performance (Group 1B)

Other repair (1.B.)
The speaker corrects some part in the interlocutor's previous speech.

A: I was still in the army and because the surgeon said...
B: I guess you mean sergeant...not surgeon
A: Oh yeah, sergeant.

(Example based on my field notes)

Direct mechanisms directed to deficit in resources (Group 1 D)

Message abandonment (1.D.1)
The speaker leaves a message unfinished because of some language difficulty.

It is a person er…who is responsible for a house, for the block of house…I don't know (laughter).

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Message Reduction (1. D.2)
The speaker leaves out some elements due to language difficulties or even avoids a topic that she considers problematic language-wise. This problem-solving mechanism is virtually impossible to spot without retrospective commenting of the speaker.

Passenger: Are the children going to school at this time of the day?
Taxi-driver: Yes, some children go to school in the evening.
Passenger: Why do the small children go the school in evening?
Taxi-driver: Because not enough room· · oh , it is too difficult to say · don't know English so well.

(My example, based on my field notes)

Message Replacement (1. D.3)
The speaker replaces the original message with a new one when she considers her linguistic resources insufficient for the original message.

Retrospective comment by the speaker:

Sometimes I just let it go and forget if the thing what I want to say is too difficult.

(Retrospective Interview, Example from the material of the present study)

Circumlocution (1. D.4)
The speaker describes, illustrates, or exemplifies the target message.

Ice becomes water (instead of "Ice melts").

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Approximation (1. D.5)
The speaker uses a lexical items which shares semantic features with the intended word, i.e. a related term or a superordinate term.

Marketing inquiries (instead of "marketing research")

(Example from the material of the present study)

Use of all-purpose words (1. D.6)
The speaker uses general-meaning, semantically relatively empty words instead of more specific ones.(e.g. stuff, thing)

I can't work until you repair my thing.

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Word-coinage (1. D.7)
Using an existing L2 word-formation rule to an improper word, thus creating a non-existing L2-word.

un + junk + ion -> unjunktion (instead of street clearing)

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Restructuring (1. D.8)
Leaving a verbal plan unfinished due to linguistic difficulties and continuing with another plan for the same message.

All the premises are erm , they have business already there.

(Example from the material of the present study)

Literal translation (1. D.9)
The speaker translates a compound, phrase, or an idiom literally from L1/L3 to L2. Note that this is often done also unconsciously, in which case it is not a problem-solving mechanism.

air ball (instead of balloon; the source language could be e.g. German, Russian, Finnish)

(Example based on Dörnyei and Scott 1997 with my modification)

Foreignizing (1.D.10)
The speaker uses a L1/L3 word with L2 pronunciation and/or morphology.

My guest from the ministerium (with English-sounding pronunciation)

(Example by Dörnyei & Kormos 1998)

Code Switching (1.D.11)
The speaker includes L1 or L3 words within L2 speech.

My father was working as a chauffeur. (French word for "driver")

(Example based on my field notes)

Use of similar sounding words (1.D.12)
The speaker replaces a word which she is unsure of with a word (or non-word) with similar sound but a totally unrelated meaning.

I don't know yet what to do at Eastern (for "Easter")

(Example based on my field notes)

Mumbling (1.D.13)
Swallowing or muttering a word that the speaker is unsure of.

Omission (1. D.14)
The speaker leaves a gap instead of a word and goes on as if the word had been said.

then…er…the sun is is …hm…sun is…and the Mickey Mouse

(Retrospective comment:) I didn't know what ´shine´was.

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Retrieval (1.D.15)
The speaker says a series of incorrect or incomplete items before reaching the correct and complete expression.

we…we err- our company

(Example from the material of the present study)

** Overexplicitness (1.D.16)*
Using more words than is needed in normal L1 speech to get the message through.
Note that this is the only mechanism abandoned from the present study.

Mime (1.D.17)
Either expressing a whole concept non-verbally, or by using both verbal and non-verbal means.
Grammatical substitution (1.D.18)
Changing grammatical properties of a lemma through overgeneralization or transfer.

It depends <u>of</u> how much you earn.

(Using 'of'' instead of 'on'. My example based on field notes)

Grammatical reduction (1.D.19)
The speaker uses simplified grammar believing that the interlocutor can "normalise" the grammatical meaning from the context (e.g. using only one tense in every situation.)

Indirect mechanisms directed to one's own performance (Group 2A)
Verbal strategy markers *(*2.A*)*
The speaker uses verbal marking phrases as warning signals to indicate that she is not using the L2 code in an appropriate manner.

On the next picture…I don't really know what it's called in English…uh, it's this kind of bird that…

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Indirect mechanisms directed to other's performance (Group 2B)

Feigning understanding 2.B
The speaker makes an attempt to carry on with the conversation although she does not understand the interlocutor's message.

Interlocutor departments include accounts , department production , on the production (Speaker nods) which we have the f and b , [that's]
Speaker [yeah]
Interlocutor food and beverage , and the entertainment department

(Retrospective comment:) Certainly, I meant 'go on' [with yeah]. I had no idea what f and b means.

(Example from the material of the present study)

Indirect mechanisms directed to processing time pressure (Group 2C)

Use of fillers (2.C.1)
The speaker uses gambits to fill pauses, gain time, and hold the floor at times of difficulty. (*e.g. okay, well, you know, actually, it's a good question, it's a bit difficult to explain*)

Repetitions (2.C.2)

Self-repetition (2.C.2.1)
The speaker repeats a word or several words right after they are said.

yeah , then I go to then I go to err university

(Example from the material of the present study)

Other repetition (2.C.2.2)
The speaker repeats words of the interlocutor right after they are said.

Interlocutor then then what was the best experience that you liked the most
Speaker best experience is, I got a lot of those, it's when I do the bouquet

(Example from the material of the present study)

Interactional Strategies directed to one's own performance (Group 3A)
Comprehension check (3.A.1)
The speaker asks a question to make sure the interlocutor understands what she means.

And what's the diameter of the pipe. The diameter. Do you know what the diameter is?

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Own accuracy check (3.A.2)
The speaker checks with the interlocutor that what she just said was correct by either asking a concrete question or by repeating the expression with a rising intonation.

Speaker have some special/ special/ err function/ function
Interlocutor functions/

(Example from the material of the present study)

Interactional Mechanisms directed to other's performance (Group 3B)

Asking for repetition (3.B.1)

The speaker asks the interlocutor to repeat when she does not hear or understand properly.

Interlocutor and they used to specialise in game meat only
Speaker what/

(Example from the material of the present study)

Asking for clarification (3.B.2)

The speaker requests an explanation of an unfamiliar expression.

Interlocutor	and they used to specialise in game meat only
Speaker	what/
Interlocutor	game meat
Speaker	what's that

(Example from the material of the present study)

Asking for confirmation (3.B.3)

The speaker asks the interlocutor to confirm that she understood or heard something correctly.

Do you mean that…

Guessing (3.B.4)

The speaker makes a guess thus asking the interlocutor to confirm that she understood or heard something correctly. This is similar to Asking for Confirmation, but with lower degree of decision.

Oh, then it's not the washing machine. Is it a sink?

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Expressing non-understanding (3.B.5)

The speaker expresses either verbally or non-verbally that she does not understand.

Interlocutor	and it's err in which city it's err-located/
Speaker	mmhm
	(Pause 1 sec)
Interlocutor	which city is located your company where you was working

(Example from the material of the present study)

Interpretive summary (3.B.6)

The speaker paraphrases the interlocutor's message to check that she has understood correctly.

Speaker	yes , yes and this it's speciality you speak about research, medicine research
Interlocutor	yeah
Speaker	and creating new medicine
Interlocutor	yeah
Speaker	very interesting
Interlocutor	yeah
Speaker	and then your customers they are from , all/ around the world , they come from outside and inside as you say
Interlocutor	yeah

(Example from the material of the present study)

Response: repeat (3.B.7.1)

The speaker repeats the original trigger or the interlocutor's improvement suggestion i.e. after an other-repair.

Speaker	yeah\,>i work-i work in, marketing-marketing inqui- inqui- inquirating
Interlocutor	[research /]
Speaker	[°>depart<°] yeah, research dep-

(Example from the material of the present study)

Response: repair; (3.B.7.2)

The speaker provides a self-repair after the interlocutor has expressed non-understanding.

Speaker The water wasn't able to get up and I...
Interlocutor Get up? Where?
Speaker Get down

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Response: rephrase; (3.B.7.3)

The speaker rephrases the trigger after the interlocutor has expresses non-understanding. This is different from circumlocution because this is other-initiated and comes only as an addition after the original expression, not as its substitute.

Speaker and they used to specialise in game meat only
Interlocutor what/
Speaker game meat
Interlocutor what's that
Speaker eh eh wild meat [you] got from the [[forests]] there
Interlocutor [oh/] [[okay]]

(Example from the material of the present study)

Response: expand (3.B.7.4)

After the interlocutor expresses non-understanding, the speaker puts the issue in a larger context.

Speaker: Do you know maybe what the diameter of the pipe is?
Interlocutor: Pardon?
Speaker: Diameter, this is err, maybe your learnt mathematics and...

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Response: confirm 3.B.7.5

The speaker confirms what the interlocutor has suggested.

Interlocutor game meat
Speaker what's that
Interlocutor eh eh wild meat [you] got from the [[forests]] there
Speaker [oh/] [[okay]]
(Example from the material of the present study)

Response: reject (3.B.7.6)

The speaker rejects the interlocutor's suggestion without offering an alternative suggestion.

Interlocutor Is it plastic?
Speaker No

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Interactional Mechanisms directed to deficit in resources (Group 3D)

Direct appeal for help 3.D.1

The speaker explicitly asks the interlocutor for help with a lack in her L2 proficiency, for example

It's a kind of old clock when it strucks err... I don't know, one, toe or three clock then a bird is coming out. What's the name?

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Indirect appeal for help 3.D.2

The speaker indicates implicitly verbally or non-verbally that she needs help with an L2 item.

I don't know the name/ *(pause, eye contact)*

(Example by Dörnyei and Scott 1997)

Appendix 8: Descriptions of skill levels strategies in CEF

Source: Council of Europe. 2001. A Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. (64-65, 86-87)

Production strategies

PLANNING

C2 *As B2*
C1 *As B2*
B2 *Can plan what is to be said and the means to say it, considering the effect on the recipient/s.Can rehearse and try out new combinations and expressions, inviting feedback.*
B1 *Can work out how to communicate the main point(s) he/she wants to get across, exploiting any resources available and limiting the message to what he/she can recall or find the means to express.*
A2 *Can recall and rehearse an appropriate set of phrases from his/her repertoire.*
A1 *No descriptor available*

COMPENSATING

C2 *Can substitute an equivalent term for a word he/she can't recall so smoothly that it is scarcelynoticeable.*
C1 *As B2+*
B2 *Can use circumlocution and paraphrase to cover gaps in vocabulary and structure. Can define the features of something concrete for which he/she can't remember the word. Can convey meaning by qualifying a word meaning something similar (e.g. a truck for people = bus).*
B1 *Can use a simple word meaning something similar to the concept he/she wants to convey and invites 'correction'. Can foreignise a mother tongue word and ask for confirmation.*
A2 *Can use an inadequate word from his/her repertoire and use gesture to clarify what he/she wants to say. Can identify what he/she means by pointing to it (e.g. 'I'd like this, please').*
A1 *No descriptor available*

MONITORING AND REPAIR

C2 *Can backtrack and restructure around a difficulty so smoothly the interlocutor is hardly aware of it.*
C1 *Can backtrack when he/she encounters a difficulty and reformulate what he/she wants to say without fully interrupting the flow of speech.*
B2 *Can correct slips and errors if he/she becomes conscious of them or if they have led to misunderstandings. Can make a note of 'favourite mistakes' and consciously monitor speech for it/them. Can correct mix-ups with tenses or expressions that lead to misunderstandings provided the interlocutor indicates there is a problem.*
B1 *Can ask for confirmation that a form used is correct. Can start again using a different tactic when communication breaks down.*
A2 *No descriptor available*
A1 *No descriptor availabe*

Interaction strategies

TAKING THE FLOOR (TURNTAKING)

C2 *As C1*
C1 *Can select a suitable phrase from a readily available range of discourse functions to preface his/her remarks appropriately in order to get the floor, or to gain time and keep the floor whilst thinking. Can intervene appropriately in discussion, exploiting appropriate language to do so. Can initiate, maintain and end discourse appropriately with effective turntaking.*
B2 *Can initiate discourse, take his/her turn when appropriate and end conversation when he/she needs to, though he/she may not always do this elegantly. Can use stock phrases (e.g. 'That's a difficult question to answer') to gain time and keep the turn whilst formulating what to say. Can intervene in a discussion on a familiar topic, using a suitable phrase to get the floor.*
B1 ***C****an initiate, maintain and close simple, face-to-face conversation on topics that are familiar or of personal interest. Can use simple techniques to start, maintain, or end a short conversation.*
A2 *Can initiate, maintain and close simple, face-to-face conversation. Can ask for attention.*
A1 *No descriptor available*

CO-OPERATING

C2 *As C1*
C1 *Can relate own contribution skilfully to those of other speakers. Can give feedback on and follow up statements and inferences and so help the development of thediscussion.*
B2 *Can help the discussion along on familiar ground, confirming comprehension, inviting others in, etc. Can exploit a basic repertoire of language and strategies to help keep a conversation or discussion going.*
B1 *Can summarise the point reached in a discussion and so help focus the talk. Can repeat back part of what someone has said to confirm mutual understanding and help keep the development of ideas on course. Can invite others into the discussion.*
A2 *Can indicate when he/she is following.*
A1 *No descriptor available*

ASKING FOR CLARIFICATION

C2 *As B2*
C1 *As B2*
B2 *Can ask follow-up questions to check that he/she has understood what a speaker intended to say, and get clarification of ambiguous points.*
B1 *Can ask someone to clarify or elaborate what they have just said. Can ask very simply for repetition when he/she does not understand.*
A2 *Can ask for clarification about key words or phrases not understood using stock phrases. Can say he/she didn't follow.*
A1 *No descriptor available*