

vide the communicative teaching strategies to go with them. Chapter 4 will look more closely at notional-functional approaches to syllabus design, including their strengths and limitations.

### 1.3 TOWARD A CLASSROOM MODEL OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

A great deal of work with teaching and testing for communicative competence has been done in Canada, where there is widespread public support and even demand for the development of functional L2 skills. The promotion of bilingualism at both federal and provincial levels has resulted in a variety of experimental language teaching programs for learners of all ages and educational backgrounds. One of these programs includes an evaluation of communicative competence in French as a second language for schoolchildren in the province of Ontario. As a preliminary step in this evaluation, Canale and Swain (1980) conducted an extensive survey of communicative approaches to language teaching. Their purpose was to develop a theoretical framework for subsequent curriculum design and evaluation in L2 programs. The framework they proposed and subsequently refined (Canale, 1983) merits attention because it brings together the various views of communicative competence we have considered and places linguistic competence, or sentence-level grammatical competence, into a proper perspective within the larger construct of communicative competence. The four components of communicative competence that this framework identifies are *grammatical competence*, *sociolinguistic competence*, *discourse competence*, and *strategic competence*. The remainder of this section elaborates on the nature of each of these components with examples from language learning and teaching. Together these four components suggest a model of communicative competence as a basis for curriculum design and classroom practice.

#### Grammatical Competence

Grammatical competence is *linguistic competence* in the restricted sense of the term as it has been used by Chomsky (see page 10) and most other linguists. It is that part of language performance with which we are most familiar—that is, the grammatical well-formedness that has provided the focus of L2 study for centuries. The descriptions of grammar we have followed have been different. *Traditional grammars*, which provide rules of usage that are proper for written language, have their foundation in the word classes or categories of meaning established for classical Greek and Latin. *Structural grammar* has focused on spoken language and provides an analysis of observable surface forms and their patterns of distribution. Contemporary forms of *generative grammar* are concerned with the relation between the grammatical interpretation of sentences and surface structure as a means of discovering *universal categories of grammar* and the *nature of human cognitive processes in general*. Though definitions differ, the goal in each case is an adequate description of the sentence-level formal features of language. A particular grammar represents an attempt to

describe how the elements of language systematically combine. Deciding whether or not a particular structure exists or is possible is based on the frequency of occurrence of these structures in the speech and writing of native speakers, as it is on the intuitions of native speakers with long practice in the use of the language. These data and judgments then provide the linguist with a basis for stating a rule. No existing grammar is complete, of course, because language behavior is complex and to date has eluded satisfactory systematization.

The relationship between any one descriptive sentence grammar and language learning is yet another matter. Experienced language users can provide linguists with the data they need to formulate linguistic rules. Yet these same native speakers would in most instances be unable to formulate the rules themselves. *None of them learned to use the language by first learning the rules*. In fact, the rules are so complex that not even the linguist who formulated them could remember them all. Linguists themselves have been among the more outspoken critics of attempts to apply linguistic description to second language teaching. The remarks made by Chomsky at the 1966 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages are legendary.

I should like to make it clear from the outset that I am participating in this conference not as an expert on any aspect of the teaching of languages but rather as someone whose primary concern is with the structures of language and, more generally, the nature of cognitive processes. Furthermore I am frankly rather skeptical about the significance for the teaching of languages of such insights and understanding as have been obtained in linguistics and psychology. Surely the teacher of language would do well to keep informed of progress and discussion in these fields and the efforts of linguists and psychologists to approach the problems of language teaching from a principled point of view are extremely worthwhile from an intellectual as well as a social point of view. Still it is difficult to believe that either linguistics or psychology has achieved a level of theoretical understanding that might enable it to support a "technology" of language teaching. [Chomsky 1966, p. 43]

Grammatical competence is mastery of the linguistic code, the ability to recognize the *lexical*, *morphological*, *syntactic*, and *phonological* features of a language and to manipulate these features to form words and sentences. Grammatical competence is not linked to any single theory of grammar, nor does it assume the ability to make explicit the rules of usage. A person demonstrates grammatical competence by using a rule, not by stating a rule.

#### Sociolinguistic Competence

Grammatical competence has been the domain of linguistic studies proper, but *sociolinguistic competence* is an interdisciplinary field of inquiry having to do with the social rules of language use. Sociolinguistic competence requires an understanding of the social context in which language is used: the roles of the participants, the information they share, and the function of the interaction. Only in a full context of this kind can judgments be made on the appropriate-

ness of a particular utterance. Although we have yet to formulate a satisfactory description of the language code, we are even further from an adequate description of sociocultural rules of appropriateness. Yet native speakers know these rules and use them to communicate successfully in different situations. One of the goals of intercultural analysis is to make explicit the rules of a culture and thereby help nonnatives to understand and adapt more easily to patterns with which they are unfamiliar.

Judgments of appropriateness involve more than knowing *what* to say in a situation and *how* to say it. They also involve knowing when to remain silent. Or, in fact, when to appear *incompetent*. Women of my generation may remember being cautioned by their mothers not to speak up too much in class so as not to "show up" the boys, and counseled to "act dumb" on occasion so as to give the men in their lives a feeling of superiority. The appearance of incompetence in this instance was considered *appropriate*—that is, a sign of sociolinguistic competence. Similarly, Saville-Troike (1982) cites examples from several language communities in which speaking in a bumbling and hesitating manner is appropriate when one is speaking with those of perceived higher rank. She goes on to suggest that a speaker of a second language may be well advised in some instances not to try to sound too much like a native speaker for fear of appearing intrusive or, conversely, disloyal from the perspective of the speaker's own L1 community. Paradoxically, then, there is a certain sociocultural competence evidenced by those L2 speakers who *deliberately* maintain a formal register or an academic style of speech in some situations in which a familiar or informal register might be appropriate for native speakers. These L2 speakers are aware that such "proper" or "schoolbook" language is in keeping with the role of "stranger" or "foreigner" that has been assigned to them by native speakers and is thus more likely to promote successful communication.

A similar observation can be made for differences in *dialect*. A school playground incident recounted by Julie is a case in point. When she was ten years old, her class had been studying a language arts text that described the use of slang expressions and offered examples of popular American slang—*groovy*, *flick*, *shades*, *hep-cat*, *blow my mind*, *cool man*. Julie is an adept mimic and loves to act. During recess she was regaling her friends with her "jivin'," making use of the words she had learned with all the appropriate gestures and body movements. An African American classmate reacted assertively: "Y'all don't talk like that. Us people talk like that. Y'all come to our neighborhood talkin' like that, y'all get yo ass kicked in!"

Among adults the message may be a good deal more subtle. The *overstepping of social or linguistic boundaries* may meet with anything from a smile to subsequent avoidance. Successful L2 users have a sense, however, of the proper distance to be maintained and of the ways in which that distance is signaled. This understanding is very important to a theory of sociolinguistic competence.

### Discourse Competence

*Discourse competence*—sometimes called *textual competence*—is concerned not with the interpretation of isolated sentences but with the *connection* of a series of sentences or utterances to form a meaningful whole. Like sociolinguistic

competence it is the subject of interdisciplinary inquiry. The theory and analysis of discourse bring together many disciplines—for example, linguistics, literary criticism, psychology, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, print and broadcast media.

Recognition of the theme or topic of a paragraph, chapter, or book; getting the gist of a telephone conversation, poem, television commercial, office memo, recipe, or legal document requires discourse competence. It is apparent from the preceding examples that the organizational patterns of discourse differ, depending on the nature of the text and the context in which they appear. Patterns do exist, however, and they play an important role in the interpretation and expression of meaning, a global meaning that is always greater than the sum of the individual sentences or utterances that make up a text. A description of the various structures underlying discourse is sometimes referred to as *discourse grammar* (Morgan 1981).

The connections that exist between sentences are often not explicit. That is to say, there may be no *overt* expression of a link between one proposition and another. Based on general knowledge of the real world, as well as familiarity with a particular context, a reader/listener *infers* meaning. The meaning of a text, then, to return to the premises of speech act theory explored in Sections 1.1 and 1.2, depends on the *values*, *intentions*, and *purposes* of the reader/hearer, as well as on those of the writer/speaker.

The following examples illustrate the role of inference in the interpretation of discourse:

1. Chico suddenly turned and ran because he saw a policeman coming down the street.
2. Chico saw a policeman coming down the street. Suddenly he turned and ran.

In the *sentence example* (1), the relation between the two propositions, *Chico suddenly turned and ran* and *he saw a policeman*, is explicit. Our knowledge of grammar and of the conventional meaning of the word *because* lets us relate the two parts of the sentence. In the *discourse example* (2), grammatical competence alone will not provide meaning. Interpretation requires an ability to make a common-sense inference of the situation. We might well interpret the discourse to mean *Chico turned and ran because he saw the policeman coming down the street*. But to do so requires us to make certain assumptions about *Chico*, a *policeman*, *the street*, and so forth. That is, we create a scenario in our head. Our interpretation could easily be invalidated, moreover, by contextual factors of which we are not aware. To illustrate, the incident involving Chico and the policeman might conclude as follows:

Chico saw a policeman coming down the street. Suddenly he turned and ran. The 5th Street bus had just passed him by and he was going to be late for school again! There was no time to ask about Pedro. Maybe tomorrow.

*Text coherence* is the relation of all sentences or utterances in a text to a single global proposition. The establishment of a *global meaning* or topic for a whole passage, conversation, book, and so on is an integral part of both

expression and interpretation and makes possible the understanding of the individual sentences or utterances included in a text. *Local* connections or structural links between individual sentences provide what is sometimes referred to as *cohesion*, a particular kind of coherence. Some examples of the formal cohesive devices that are used to connect language with itself are pronouns, conjunctions, synonyms, ellipses, comparisons, and parallel structures. The identification by Halliday and Hasan (1976) of various cohesive devices used in English is well known, and their work has influenced text analysis as well as teaching and testing materials for English as a second language (ESL).

Kaplan's (1966) study of contrastive rhetoric is an example of discourse analysis applied to paragraph organization in the ESL context. His familiar diagrams illustrate what he considers to be dominant patterns of formal written discourse in major language groups (Figure 1.4). These diagrams attempt to describe how thought patterns are structured in formal written style. Their intent is to signal differences in organizational style and to aid learners in the interpretation and construction of L2 texts. To be sure, the proposed models themselves reflect a cultural bias inasmuch as paragraph construction in English is represented as a straight line from which the other patterns appear to digress. Nevertheless, these diagrams represent an important early attempt to deal with meaning beyond sentence-level structure. (See Figure 1.4.)

To summarize, discourse competence is the ability to interpret a series of sentences or utterances in order to form a meaningful whole and to achieve coherent texts that are relevant to a given context. Success in both cases is dependent on the knowledge shared by the writer/speaker and the reader/hearer—knowledge of the real world, knowledge of the linguistic code, knowledge of the discourse structure, and knowledge of the social setting.

### Strategic Competence

There is no such person as an ideal speaker/hearer of a language, one who knows the language perfectly and uses it appropriately in all social interactions.

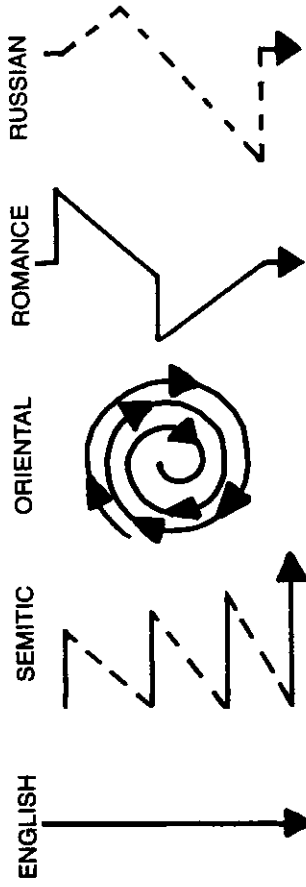


FIGURE 1.4

### Dominant Patterns of Formal Written Discourse in Major Language Groups

Source: *Language Learning*.

### Pause to consider . . .

how discourse competence is different from sociolinguistic competence. How is it different from grammatical competence? In each sample below, can you identify which competence the "error" reflects?

1. His ears bobbed with every movement. He stopped suddenly when he heard a siren and cocked his head. The dog ran down the street.
2. WOMAN: (to her co-worker) Where did our secretary went?
3. SERVER: (taking a customer's order) What do you want?

Why do you think Kaplan chose to represent English written discourse (his own L1) as a straight line from which other major language groups differ? In your experience, is it common for classroom L2 learners to see the language they are studying as "funny" or "strange" when compared with the one they already know and use? How can this attitude get in the way of L2 learning?

None of us knows all there is to know of English or French or Japanese or Spanish. We make the best use of what we *do* know, of the contexts we have experienced, to get our message across. Communicative competence, whether in our native language or a second language, is *relative*. The strategies that one uses to compensate for imperfect knowledge of rules—or limiting factors in their application such as fatigue, distraction, and inattention—may be characterized as *strategic competence*, the fourth component of communicative competence in the Canale (1983) framework. It is analogous to the need for coping or survival strategies identified in Savignon (1972a). What do you do when you cannot think of a word? What are the ways of keeping the channels of communication open while you pause to collect your thoughts? How do you let your interlocutor know you did not understand a particular word or that he or she was speaking too fast? How do you, in turn, adapt when your message is misunderstood? Adult native speakers routinely cope with a variety of factors that, if not taken into account, can result in communication failure. The strategies we use to sustain communication include paraphrase, circumlocution, repetition, hesitation, avoidance, and guessing, as well as shifts in register and style. The dialogues below illustrate the importance of strategic competence. Examples (1), (2), and (3) are dialogues in which I was an indirect participant. Examples (4a) and (4b) are excerpted from transcripts of a test of oral language proficiency, the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) Oral Interview (Hinofotis, Lowe, and Clifford 1981).

1. TELEPHONE OPERATOR: I have a collect call from Sandra. Will you accept the charges?

CATHERINE: I'm sorry. She's not here right now.

TELEPHONE OPERATOR: (adapting to the child's voice on the line) It's from Sandra. Will you accept it?

CATHERINE: Oh . . . Yes.

2. A husband and wife were returning home from a shopping trip, and as they pulled into the garage they passed a group of neighborhood children playing on the lawn. Noting one child with whom she had not spoken for a while, the wife casually asked her husband, "I wonder how old Davie is now?" To which the husband replied, "I don't know. I'll ask him."

HUSBAND: (shouting from the garage) How old are you, Davie?

DAVIE: Fine.

HUSBAND: Five?

DAVIE: Fine.

HUSBAND: How old are you?

DAVIE: Six.

3. The scene is a crowded New York delicatessen. A visiting Frenchman has just ordered a Swiss cheese sandwich.

WAITRESS: What kind of bread do you want for your sandwich: white, whole wheat, or rye?

FRENCHMAN: (Wh)ye.

WAITRESS: White?

FRENCHMAN: (Wh)ye.

WAITRESS: White?

FRENCHMAN: Whole wheat.

4. The following excerpts (a) and (b) are from FSI interviews.

a. NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 1: What's a redneck?

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: Um hm.

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 1: What would you say? Have you heard this expression?

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: No.

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 1: Okay.

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: Um hum.

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 1: How 'bout, um . . . let me try another one.

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 2: What's a, what's a . . .

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: Well! I would like to know what is a. (general laughter)

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 1: Oh, (laughs) okay.

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 2: Oh, (laughs) well, ah . . .

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: Will you explain it to me?

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 2: A redneck is a . . . conservative, ah usually you find . . . ah, person living in the South very frequently.

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: Um hm.

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 2: Um, from rural areas of ah . . .

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 1: Typically intolerant of different ideas . . .

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: Mm, mhm.

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 1: So you refer to a person as being a redneck, and it's ah slightly derogatory. It's a derogatory term.

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: Um hm. Ah, has it, has it anything to do with red tape?

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 1: No.

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: No.

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 1: That's interesting.

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: Mhm.

NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER 1: Ah.

NONNATIVE SUBJECT: Oh, oh. It's all red. (general laughter)

b. NATIVE SPEAKER EXAMINER: What's a redneck?

NATIVE SPEAKER SUBJECT: A redneck. Oh gosh, I've heard that word a lot. (laughter) Um, um, I don't know what it means. It's a person who is not . . . How could you describe it? . . . a person who is not a deceiver, somehow it has a negative connotation. I've never used the word.

In the preceding examples native and nonnative speakers alike use strategies for coping with limitations in their knowledge or restrictions in the use of that knowledge in a particular setting. This ability to communicate within restrictions thus includes an ability to adapt one's communicative strategies to a variety of changing and often unexpected interpersonal conditions. Rephrasing, repetition, emphasis, seeking clarification, circumlocution, avoidance (of words, structures, topics), and even message modification (for example, the Frenchman's decision to have a Swiss cheese sandwich on whole wheat rather than on rye) are among the strategies that we all use to meet the demands of ongoing communication.

In both L1 and L2 use this adaptation requires one to take the perspective of the other participants in a transaction, to empathize with the perspective of others. *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary* defines *empathy* as the "power of entering into another's personality and *imaginatively experiencing* [emphasis added] his experiences." Horwitz and Horwitz (1977, p. 110) have described the relevance of this kind of imagination for language learning: "Empathy is necessary for communicative competence. . . . Given a 'complete' repertoire of all the appropriate linguistic and sociolinguistic skills, a person without empathy would still be unable to define from a mutual perspective (that of the other person as well as his own) what the particular interpersonal context was and what kind of language it required." In sum, the effective use of coping strategies is important for communicative competence in all contexts and distinguishes highly competent communicators from those who are less so. Strategic competence is thus an essential component in a descriptive framework for communicative competence.

### Pause to consider . . .

the role of strategic competence in communication. Recall a situation in your second language learning experience in which all your "book learning" seemed to fail you, and you were simply left with your ability to cope—that is, to make use of what can be called *strategic competence*.

### One Hypothetical Model

The foregoing discussion of the components of communicative competence has said little about how these components interact to determine communicative competence in a particular context. What, for example, is the ratio of grammatical competence to sociolinguistic competence at the beginning stages of language acquisition? How far will self-assuredness or sportsmanship go in overcoming structural and/or sociolinguistic ineptitude? How do gestures and other *paralinguistic* features of communication fit into the framework?

To answer the last question first, gestures, distance, posture, and facial expressions communicate meaning along with the words we speak. Our use of these paralinguistic features may be conscious or unconscious. There is a gesture code just as there is a linguistic code; decisions to use a particular gesture along with or in place of words are made by each of us. There are sociolinguistic rules governing gestures, and there are sociolinguistic rules governing speech. A particular gesture may be appropriate in only the most informal settings. Their use by nonnatives may or may not enhance communication with native speakers. A gesture may serve as a coping strategy by either filling in for a word or expression or sustaining rapport throughout a momentary silence. Paralinguistic features, then, have many of the same attributes as linguistic features in the preceding theoretical framework of communicative competence.

The manner in which the various components of communicative competence interact is open to speculation. The nature of this interaction would seem to depend, at least, on the nature and extent of the learner's language experience in both L1 and L2. Those who have learned a second language in a traditional, formal classroom environment would presumably present a profile different from those who have learned the language in a natural or immersion setting. The acquisition of L2 communicative competence poses the further problem of *transfer* from L1 competence. Can coping strategies developed in L1 be used in L2 communication? Are there universal sociolinguistic rules that provide a communicative base in L2 before the acquisition of a single linguistic structure? These questions may well arouse the same speculation as questions bearing on the transfer of the linguistic code. How helpful are cognates, for example? Do they *mislead*—the false cognate problem—as much as they lead? Are similar structures a more likely source of continued error than clearly dissimilar structures? (Corder 1981).

The relation of self-assuredness to communicative competence is of particular interest. For Canale and Swain (1980, p. 38), "Exposure to realistic situations is crucial if communicative competence is to lead to *communicative confidence*" [emphasis added]. However, the relationship of communicative confidence to communicative competence is perhaps just the reverse; it may be that *communicative confidence leads to communicative competence*. To use the swimming analogy of which methodologists are so fond, communicative confidence in language learning may be like learning how to relax with your face under water, to let the water support you. Having once known the sensation of remaining afloat, it is but a matter of time until you learn the strokes that will take you where you want to go.

Figure 1.5, representing an inverted pyramid, suggests a possible relationship between grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence as overall communicative competence increases. The proportions drawn have no empirical basis and are intended only to serve heuristically for other integrative descriptions. They serve, minimally, to illustrate that communicative competence is greater than grammatical competence and that one does not go from one to the other as one strings pearls on a necklace. Rather, an increase in one component *interacts* with the other components to produce a corresponding increase in overall communicative competence.

The diagram shows how a measure of sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence allows a measure of communicative competence even before the acquisition of any grammatical competence. Universal rules of social interaction and a willingness or need to communicate through gestures, facial expressions, and any other available means may serve to get a message across without the use of language, provided there is a willing partner. (For a description of this process in native language acquisition, see Bruner's [1975a] article, "From Communication to Language—A Psychological Perspective.") Beginning with the inverted tip of the pyramid and moving upward, grammatical, sociolinguistic, and discourse competence increase along with a corresponding overall increase in communicative competence.

Strategic competence is present at all levels of proficiency although its importance in relation to the other components diminishes as knowledge of grammatical, sociolinguistic, and discourse rules increases. The inclusion of strategic competence as a component of communicative competence at all levels is important because it demonstrates that regardless of experience and level

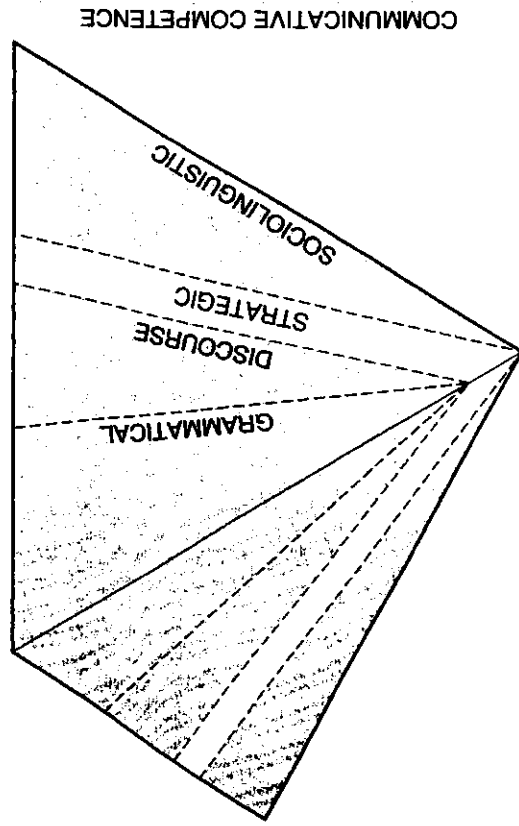


FIGURE 1.5

The Components of Communicative Competence

of proficiency one never knows *all* a language. The ability to cope within limitations is an ever-present component of communicative competence. Whatever the relative importance of the various components at any given level of overall proficiency, one must keep in mind the *interactive* nature of their relationships. The whole of communicative competence is always something other than the simple sum of its parts.

#### 1.4 A FINAL WORD ON DEFINITIONS

Lest we leave this discussion of definitions with the impression that communicative competence is a twentieth-century invention, we should include a few definitions from earlier times. Communicative competence may be new as a term, but it is not entirely new as a concept. Communication has been a goal of L2 teaching in many other times and places. That L2 programs have often fallen short of attaining their professed goal is due to a myriad of circumstances, many of which have nothing at all to do with the method of teaching. Lack of interest, lack of time, lack of funds for materials and qualified teachers are among the more obvious reasons why a well-conceived program may not produce the results hoped for. There are also instances where the goal of communication has been reached *in spite of* a particular method. In these instances it has often been teachers who have intuitively supplemented a method with activities designed to encourage language use "outside" the program. What's more, highly motivated learners have just as often stuck with a task—analysis of syntax or memorization of isolated vocabulary items, for example—and waited for the opportunity to use their newly learned information in a communicative setting.

That one learns to communicate by communicating, then, is not a new idea. It has been around as long as there have been language learners. The most celebrated early instance of an L2 learner proclaiming the virtues of language acquisition through language use is Montaigne's commenting in his *Essays* on having learned Latin. The sixteenth-century French philosopher learned to speak Latin by conversing with his tutor, as well as with his parents. "Without method, without a book, without grammar or rules, without a whip and without tears, I had learned a Latin as proper as that of my schoolmaster" (1580, p. 1, 26; my translation). One of the most important reasons for the widespread competence in Latin at the time was its use as the language of scholarship and communication in the church.

Comenius (1592–1670) is well known in the history of language teaching methodologies for his objection to the method of L2 teaching that had resulted from the teaching of skills of grammatical analysis in the Middle Ages. The preoccupation with grammatical analysis had grown so that by the Renaissance it was viewed as a method for actually teaching the language. In the words of Comenius, "Right from the very beginning of the course, youngsters are driven to the thorny complexities of language; I mean the entanglements of grammar. It is now the accepted method of the schools to begin from the form instead of the matter, from grammar, rather than from authors . . ." (1648, cited in Kelly 1969, p. 227).

In the nineteenth century, proponents of the Natural Method—language learning through language use—spurned both phonetic and grammatical analysis. They rejected translation, which by the end of the eighteenth century had become the basis of L2 teaching. Denying that explanation was a necessary part of teaching, they claimed that learners should be allowed to discover for themselves how to function in their new language. "With respect to method, the artificial one must be given up and a more natural one must take its place. According to the artificial method, the first thing done is to hand the boy a grammar and cram it into him piece by piece, for everything is in pieces; he is filled with paradigms which have no connection with each other or with anything else in the world. . . . On the other hand, the natural method of learning languages is by practice. That is the way one's native language is acquired" (Petersen 1870, pp. 297–298).

Thirty-four years later, in his familiar treatise *How to Teach a Foreign Language*, the Danish methodologist and linguist Otto Jespersen would cite these words and conclude: "It is now half a century ago since N. M. Petersen uttered these golden words, and still the old grammar-instruction lives and flourishes with its rigmaroles and rules and exceptions" (1904, p. 111). And again, "Language is not an end in itself . . . it is a way of connection between souls, a means of communication" (1904, p. 4).

No, the course of language teaching methodology never has run smooth. And before we take too much pride in recent innovations we would do well to consider the long history of language teaching that has preceded us. The goal of connection between souls is one that many have held before us. It is a goal we would do well to keep in sight as we pursue the methods and means of communicative competence.

#### SUGGESTED READINGS

- J. Austin. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. An influential collection of lectures delivered at Harvard in 1955 that traces the development of the author's theory of speech acts and classification of language functions. This work is the result of his reaction to the then widely held assumption that form equals function.
- N. Brooks. 1964. *Language and Language Learning: Theory and Practice*. This guide to audiolingual methodology was widely referred to by foreign language teachers in the United States during the 1960s, when audiolingualism was at its peak of influence.
- N. Chomsky. 1972. *Language and Mind*. A collection of essays concerned with the interrelatedness of linguistics, philosophy, and psychology, as well as ways in which the study of language structure can contribute to an understanding of human intelligence. A good introduction to the volume is Chapter 4, "Form and Meaning in Natural Languages," the text of an informal lecture to an audience of teachers and students from secondary schools and colleges.
- M. Coulthard. 1977. *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. Summarizes the contributions of numerous linguists, philosophers, anthropologists, and others to the study of conversation. It concludes with a brief discussion of language teaching and learning.
- K. Diller. 1978. *The Language Teaching Controversy*. An accurate summary of various schools of linguistic thought and their relationship to language teaching methods past and present.