The Communicative Approach to Language Teaching: The King is dead! Long live the King![1]

JOHN T. ROBERTS'
University of Essex

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to argue that though the Communicative Approach to Language teaching in its original sense has long been theoretically dead, it has for an almost equally long time at least potentially existed in a new form, and continues to thrive. By no means here for the first time is this sort of proposal made, but what remains to be done is to firmly pronounce the death of 'Communicative Approach to Language Teaching Mark I' and to formally welcome, if somewhat belatedly, that is to say, by at least 17 years, its successor: 'Communicative Approach to Language Teaching Mark II'. At the same time, the attempt to disambiguate 'Communicative Approach to Language Teaching' from 'Communicative Methodology' is made again, because students of Applied Linguistics often reveal a complete failure to grasp the difference, as well as failure to understand why the term 'Cornrnunicative Method' is meaningless. The story related here will be very familiar to some, but less so to others, which is why it is detailed. It is, of course, only one story, one interpretation, and there are others.

KEYWORDS: British communicative approach to language teachin'g, language as a social tool, demand for English, David Wilkins, Council of Europe, Dell Hymes, John Munby, new directions, proposals.

---

*
   Address for correspondence: Department of Language and Linguistics, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex C04 3SQ, England. Tel.: 00-44-1026-872185. E-mail: jtr@essex.ac.uk

I. INTRODUCTION

The Communicative Approach to Language Teaching (Mark I) was first identified in Roberts (1982:97ff, 1983:99ff) as 'the British tradition', an analysis later echoed in Richards and Rodgers (1986:64ff). 'British' in this context is not used jingoistically, but genealogically, to summarise the provenance of the Approach, since, with few outstanding exceptions (eg Van Eck. Richterich). it was pioneered by British linguists and applied linguists and among these, the name most prominent in the early stages was that of Wilkins, who was one of the first, if not the first, to use the term 'communicative approach' (1974b). His work for the Council of Europe on the 'common core in a unit/credit system'[2], from which the concepts NOTION and FUNCTION emerged, was crucial to further developments.

II. IDEATIONAL INPUTS AND SOURCES OF INSPIRATION

There are at least four factors to be considered here: 1. The viewing of language as a social tool. 2. The increasing demand for instruction in English. 3. Wilkins's and others' work for the Council of Europe. 4. The missing link — the 'aha' experience provided by Hymes.

11.1. The viewing of language as a social tool

The social role of language and its place in the 'social process' as a means of cornmunicating meaning were perhaps first hinted at (in the C20) by Firth (1957a,b) but others, including Halliday (1967, 1970a,b, 1973, 1975, 1978), Austin (1962, 1963) and Searle (1965, 1967, 1969), also supplied major contributions to the developing focus on language as a social tool. The perceptions of linguists do, of course, not infrequently percolate into thought about language teaching and what the aims of this latter should be. At the same time, it would be naïve to think that linguists were responsible more than in some part for shifts of priority in aims. Equally important are social, cultural and political factors. For example, if one considers the emergence of Audiolingualism (for a lucid account, see Rivers 1964), the strongest motivation for its methodological direction and its insistence upon the acquisition of the 'four skills' was connected with the American national interest and the need to forge ties with other peoples in the world in the interests of preventing and resolving conflict (with the United States). Of course, to explain the form and direction taken by Audiolingualism as manifestations of the work of the structuralist linguists and behaviourist psychologists would be legitimate as far as it goes, but would ignore the imperative, the 'call to arms', addressed to these linguists and psychologists to give their all to the Army Specialized Training Program in time of desperate national need, and then, later, in peacetime, to develop a programe for high school, in the national interest. The work of William Riley Parker (1961), *The National Interest and Foreign Languages,* though possibly misinterpreted, was

undoubtedly seminal here, at least among the politicians.

Taking a wide, historical point of view, and aware of the vicissitudes of fashion and other diverse factors involved, Kelly does not see the development of language teaching aims as following a continuum, indeed he does not really see any 'development' at all, but as a process of cyclic shifting from one of only three universal aims to another:

> In language teaching three broad aims can be distinguished: the social, the artistic (or literary), and the philosophical. The first aim demands that language should be regarded as a form of social behavior and a type of communication. The artistic aim treats language as a vehicle for creativity, demanding both appreciation of creative activity and creative activity itself...The philosophical aim demands training in analytic techniques and often confuses linguistics with language teaching.
>
> *Kelly (1969: 396f)*

We cannot, of course, envisage that when the emphasis on one aim shifts onto another, it is a complete shift and that the other aims are abandoned. But what we can say is that this or that aim becomes the dominant one, at least in certain domains and circles able to propagandise effectively their own (allegedly) novel initiative. For the purposes of discussing the British Communicative Approach to Language Teaching, we might argue that consciousness-raising with regard to the social role of language created a predisposition among British thinkers about language teaching of the mid and later 20th century to accept that the teaching of English was to be pursued for social and cornrnunicative purposes, that English was to be regarded as a social tool for the carrying out of transactions through language, the empirical consequences of which transactions, however, might be far from linguistic.

If we locate the most intensive process of consciousness-raising with regard to English as a social tool as happening throughout the 1960s, we have to observe that outside the then modern English Language Teaching-focused circles, it was the 'philosophical aim' which continued to hold sway in the educational institutions of the Anglo-Saxon world, foreign languages being taught basically by Grammar-Translation. This also applied to the teaching of English and other non-indigenous languages in foreign schools and Universities at that time. Not that school and University authorities were necessarily opposed to the idea of leaming languages for the purposes of communication, but believed, or hoped, that the ability to communicate would graft itself on naturally and without pedagogical intervention to the leaming acquired via a grammatical or situational syllabus. This is no doubt still the case in some if not many countries, despite noteworthy changes of direction in others.

However, the 'conscientious-raising' resulting from the work of linguists can only be, as suggested above, a partial explanation for a shift in orientation in certain circles. Other forces and pressures need to be taken into account.

11.2. The increasing demand for instruction in English

A historical statistic which comes to mind is that if we go back to just 1770 or thereabouts, barely 15,000,000 people spoke English natively (Encyclopedia Americana, 1974). There may be 'dynamic' statistics showing the increase of native speakers over the years since then but for present purposes they have not proved retrievable. However, recent statistics, or, rather, guesstimates, are available for numbers of native speakers, speakers of English as a second language and speakers of English as a foreign language. The central authority here would appear to be Crystal (1997:360ff, but see also his English as a global language, 2nd edition, forthcoming) though there are entirely independent sets of statistics for languages employed by users of the internet. The English-Speaking Union (http://www.esu.org/faqs.html), largely resting on Crystal's work, states that it is difficult to estimate the number of speakers of a language, but puts the figure for English at around 377 million native speakers plus around 300 million speakers of English as a second language and maybe 300 to 700 million speakers of English as a Foreign Language. Some time ago, the British Council (http://www1.britishcouncil.org/india), advertising a seminar by Crystal in India, refers to the latter's contention that English would now seem to satisfy the criteria for being considered a (or the) 'global language' by reason of its high-profile presence throughout the world, with, possibly, a quarter of the world's population making up its speakers.

It is likely, of course, that numbers of native-speakers will now remain stable, perhaps even diminish. But in either case, they are as irrelevant to the demand for English as a Foreign Language/English as a Second Language as these, in our current understanding of what they involve, are to native-speakers. Where the demand for EFL/ESL is concerned, at least two factors are significant.

First, in the non-Anglo-Saxon-low-population-growth countries of Europe, for example, the tendency has now long been to increase the dorninance of English as the first foreign language over other foreign languages in the school curriculum. Also irnportant is the fact that in some countries English is being extended further down the curriculum, ie the starting age is being lowered. So, even in countries with a stable or dirninishing population, demand for English, if cornpulsion to leam it rnay thus be designated, can be increased through modifications in educational policy, this policy being influenced by consideration of the role and function of English in the world and the benefit to society (or a society) of ensuring that as many young citizens as possible learn it.

Second, in high-population-growth countries with an educational policy compelling all or some proportion of school pupils to learn English, increase in population means increase in learners. Iran, for exarnple, has expanded its population from 35m to 70m in more or less one decade. However, there may be greater complexity involved, as changes to educational policy may extend the age range throughout which English is compulsory and/or may spread the teaching of English to ever higher proportions of the school population.

In addition to the above, the number of University courses in which English is a compulsory adjunct is growing. And outside the education system, private schools and colleges thrive as more and more adults realise that to carry out their work efficiently, even if this starts minimally with ability to use the internet in English, they need to brush up half-forgotten skills or acquire ones on which they have missed out earlier. Quirk was talking in reverse terms in 1978 about the importance of 'exporting' English, almost as though it were a commercial product.

One would have thought that it must be obvious that the demand for English teaching now is far greater now than in the 1960s, yet the astonishing growth in demand was apparent enough even then, over thirty years ago[3], as one of the dynamos behind the development of the British Communicative Approach to Language Teaching.

How can the remarks in this section, devoted to English, be justified in view of the Council of Europe's determination, commented upon in the next section, not to allow English to become the bully-boy language of Europe but to examine how to facilitate the teaching and learning of a broad spectrum of European languages? The proof of the pudding was in the eating: virtually only English-speaking linguists became involved in the central research, and they were able to adopt English with confidence as exemplificative, knowing the international interest it attracted and the demand for instruction in it.

11.3. Wilkins's and others' work for the Council of Europe

Concern for the future of Europe was the rationale for the establishment of the Council of Europe, spawned as a result of The Hague Congress in 1948. European unification, the creation of an economic and political union and the drafting of a European charter of human rights were among its preoccupations from the outset. The founding of a European Common Market, initially with six member countries, was first discussed in 1957 and commenced in the 1960s.

The idea that European countries should become more and more closely intertwined naturally entailed consideration of the role of the national languages of the member states and the question as to which one or ones, if any, should become a *lingua franca/linguae francae*. However things may have worked out in practice, there could have been no politically acceptable way of promoting certain languages above others at the time, and there never has been since, and so the question had to become: How do we facilitate the learning of each other's languages, especially by busy adults?

The necessary research was broken down into a number of investigations intended to prepare the way for a 'unit credit system', a course, or set of materials, credit being awarded for each unit completed. The units themselves were to be identified 'in behavioural terms' or as 'situation-based units'. There would, it seems, be many more units than any one learner would require but learners would choose units with reference to their nature as learners and to their linguistic needs. However, in Wilkins's view, at the hub of the system there had to be

a 'common core' providing a "grammatical minimum for the situational units. This minimum has come to be called the threshold level (T-level). It was also concluded that the succeeding situational units would be related to the core" (Wilkins 1972:1f).*

> The general aim, therefore, is to identify the units in behavioural terms...In order to achieve this it is necessary to abandon the conventional grammatical syllabus which attempts to teach the entire grammatical system without regard to its application to specific language needs and to the fact that not all parts of the system are equally important to all leamers. This syllabus is to be replaced by one which ... has been called a situational syllabus ... It was generally agreed that situation-based units can be more practically based on an initial general linguistic competence. albeit of a somewhat elementary type, that there is a common-core of language which most situational varieties draw upon and that there are uses of language, particularly by more advanced leamers, which are not restricted to particular situations and which would not be predicted from a situational analysis. The conclusion was reached that the first stage of the unit/credit system would have to provide a grammatical minimum for the situational units ... The aim of this study is to attempt to define the nature of the common grammatical core and to illustrate it with reference to English...There are a number of ways in which one might wish or attempt to determine the content of the common core ... In this paper an alternative to situational and grammatical approaches to the definition of content is proposed and outlined. It involves asking the question: "What are the notions that the European leamer will expect to be able to express through the target language?" It therefore represents a notional or semantic approach to the construction of syllabuses. It should be possible to establish what kind of thing a speaker needs to say, what situational constraints will be operating and, from these, what linguistic forms are suitable for the encoding of his message.
>
> *Wilkins (CCC/EES (72) 67))*

The idea, then, is neither to prescribe too much content in an unfocused way (grammatical syllabus), nor to prescribe 'situation-bound' language, but to define and prescribe, in the first instance, such linguistic items as realise supra-situational expressive needs. These expressive needs or categories were divided by Wilkins into: Semantico-Grammatical Categories, and Categories of Communicative Function.

A. Semantico-Grammatical Categories

> These are notional categories which, in European languages at least, interact significantly with grammatical categories. This is why they contribute to the definition of the grammatical content of leaming... (Wilkins *op. cit.*) includes:
>> Time
>> Quantity
>> Space
>> Matter
>> Case
>> Deixis

Each category is further analysable, and each sub-category can be linked to lexico-

grammatical exponents, eg TIME (Wilkins's examples curtailed):

Table 1 (*op.cit*:4f)

TIME	LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL EXPONENTS
1. Point of time	It's one o'clockl a quarter to three/ twenty-five past eight etc.
2. Duration	for + NP (durational nouns)/ since + NP (point of time)
3. Time relations	Present tense/ past tense/ going to + V/ before, after + NP
4. Frequency	Adverbs/ Verbs - Present tense (habitual meaning)/ Adverbials - on + P (eg Mondays)
5. Sequence	First, then. next, finally
6. Age	(expressions of which "hardly seem of vital necessity to most learners")

B. Categories of Communicative Function:

> There is a fundamental distinction, very important for language teaching, between what we do through language and what we report through language ... Language learning has concentrated much more on the use of language to report and describe than on doing things through latiguage ... The thesis of this paper is that what people want to do through language is more important than mastery of language as an unapplied system ... In this section a categorisation is proposed for assigning utterances to particular functions ... They include some categories needed to handle cases where there is no one-to-one relation between grammatical category and communicative function and others involving expression of the speaker's intention and views ... The framework adopted is largely ad hoc ... Broadly, we are concerned with what the speaker intends to achieve than with the effect he may inadvertently have. (op. *cit*.:12ff)

Wilkins enumerates the categories thus:

> Modality
> Moral Discipline and Evaluation
> Suasion
> Argument
> Rational Enquiry and Exposition
> Personal Emotions
> Emotional Relations
> Interpersonal Relations

We will look here in more detail at Wilkins's category SUASION, though examples for each of the others and of the subcategories within them are also given:

Table **2** (*op.cit.*:18)

SUASION	PLAUSIBLE EXPONENTS[4]
ie utterances designed to influence the behaviour of others	
1. *Suasion*	1. *Suggestion*
	Let's *go* to the zoo
	We could go to the zoo
	Shall we go to the zoo?
	(I suggest a visit to the zoo/ that we go to the zoo)
-persuade, suggest. advise, recommend. exhort, beg, urge, propose	
2. *Prediction*	1. *Warning (comprehension only?)*
-warning, caution, menace, threat, (prediction), instruction, direction, invitation	Be careful!
	Look out!
	Mind (the puddle!………..
	(If you don't go, you may miss the last bus)
	2. *Direction (comprehension only?)*
	Take a 73 bus to Oxford Street and get off at Oxford Circus. Or take a taxi.
	You'll have to...
	Telephone instructions etc.
	3. *Invitation (comprehension only?)*
	Would you like to have a drink?
	How about a drink?
	Have a drink, won't you?
	Won't you have a drink?
	(Can I persuade you to have a drink?)

Though Wilkins's ideas as exemplified above, and expanded upon to some extent elsewhere in his paper, were advanced as suggestions only, their inspirational value will be discussed later.

The other important strand of work being executed in parallel with Wilkins's work on notions and functions was that on the 'common core' or, as it later became known more widely, the 'threshold level', ie the minimal amount of grarnmatical knowledge required by a learner wishing to operate communicatively across the spectrum of notions and functions. Wilkins claims not to have contributed to the threshold level — see fn vi — even though his name appears on one of the relevant publications. See, for example, Trim 1973, Trim, Richterich *et* al 1973 & 1975, Van Eck 1973.

11.4. The missing link — the 'aha' experience provided by Hymes

In the history of epistemology, it can be extremely difficult to specify who first conceived a certain idea and to where or whom this idea was transmitted next. Language teaching history,

as a sub-branch of epistemological history, often presents problems in this respect. For example, did Wilkins read the seminal work of the American sociolinguist Hymes — On Comrnunicative *Competence* — first published in 1971, yet possibly around in draft form for several years before this date?' (See also Hymes 1964, 1969, 1972). In Wilkins's 1972 Council of Europe paper there are no references. We do know that by 1976 at the latest (Notional *syllabuses*) he had read Hymes's The Ethnography of speaking (1968), but we still do not know whether Hymes had a direct influence on the 1972 paper. It may simply be that this paper and Hymes's work appeared practically simultaneously and fortuitously complemented each other, as they certainly did, Wilkins supplying the beginnings of an inspiration for a new type of syllabus-design, and Hymes providing some hints as to the sort of areas in which a speaker would require competence in order to communicate. Actually, one does not need to remain agnostic on this issue, since Wilkins's very own testimony (supplied 22.07.03) shows that the answer to the disjunction 'directly influencedinot influenced at all' lies somewhere between these polarities.[6]

Approaching the insights provided by Hymes, we have to remember that for methodological reasons Chomsky had insisted on a distinction between competence and performance, the former standing for the tacit knowledge underlying the native speaker's use of a language and the latter representing actual language use and instances of language use. The immediate object of Chomsky's concern was competence, and for him it could not be adequately studied by looking at performance, so he proposed not to investigate it through the latter at all. (For more detail, see Chomsky 1965). This distinction was the starting point for Hymes in his seminal work, or at least for the extracts published in Pride and Holmes 1971.

It must be emphasised that Hymes is no more of a language teacher than Chomsky; his paper is essentially a contribution to sociolinguistics. However, as he says, it was written with an eye to the "language problems of disadvantaged children" (*op.cit*.: 269) and while the ideas he discusses are indeed relevant to such problems, they are also relevant to the concerns of any language teacher whether of the MT or of FLs.

With reference to the language problems of disadvantaged children, Hymes contends that: "To a great extent programs to change the language situation of children are an attempt to apply a basic science that does not yet exist" (*ibid.*). To justify his position, he quotes from p.3 of Chomsky 1965:

> **Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.**

He then cornrnents (1971:270) that: "Frorn the standpoint of the children we seek to understand and help, such a staternent rnay seern alrnost a declaration of irrelevance". However, he hirnself finds Chornsky's perspective indeed relevant, though it would be dangerous if "such a lirnited conception of linguistic theory were to rernain unchallenged (ibid.) because so rnany data and problems would be left out of account:

> The special relevance of the theoretical [ie Chomsky's] perspective...is the image it puts before our eyes ... the image (or theoretical perspective) expresses the essential equality in children just as human beings...

On the other hand (*op.cit.*:270f):

> The limitations of the perspective appear when the image of the unfolding, mastering, fluent child is set beside the real children in our schools ... To cope with the realities of children as communicating beings requires a theory within which sociocultural factors have an explicit and constitutive role; and neither is the case.

So, the problern for Hyrnes is that acquisition of cornpetence is seen, in the Chomskyan rnodel, as independent of sociocultural features, requiring, to develop, only suitable speech in the environrnent of the child. In order to ernphasise the irnportance of the social cornponent, he raises the question of differential cornpetence, covering intra-subject differences such as speaking one language badly and another atrociously or having differential receptive and productive cornpetence but also inter-subject differences whereby there exist in the same speech-cornrnunity those who speak in threadbare sentences, and those who have mastery over socially-valued dialects in several languages. Accordingly, one needs, in order to work with children and with the place of language in education, a theory which can deal with heterogeneity, differential cornpetence, the constitutive role of sociocultural features, and so on. Such ideas can only appeal to language teachers concerned with the speech cornrnunity of the classroorn.

A further notion of great appeal is that of appropriateness. Insofar as one is concerned to explain how a child comes to be able to understand (in principle) any and all of the grarnrnatical sentences of a language, any child with just that ability would be likely to be institutionalised, and even more so if not only sentences but also speech and silence were randorn and unpredictable. Therefore it is not just a question of explaining how a child understands and produces sentences, but of explaining how this child acquires knowledge of sentences as appropriate. In short, a child knows how to accornplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech events and to evaluate their accomplishrnent by others. And, again, such knowledge is exactly what language teachers want to cultivate in their learners who wish to cornmunicate rneaningfully rather than sirnply recognise and produce grarnrnatical sentences.

Hymes breaks away, then, from the model that defines the organisation of language as solely consisting of rules for linking sound and meaning. Without rules for use, or appropriateness, the rules of grammar are vacuous. Furthermore, a theory of levels of speech acts is prompted. What is grammatically the same sentence rnay be a statement, a command or a request, and two grammatically different sentences rnay both be statements or commands or requests, and we need to be able to account for such phenomena in terms of the conditions under which sentences can be taken as alternative types of speech act, and under which types of act can be realised as alternative types of sentence, which means setting up a theory of communicative competence, of which grammatical competence is only one aspect . In such a theory, inasmuch as it bears on language (and we will narrow it down to this for present purposes, though Hymes's view of anthropological behaviour is more embracing), the two traditional judgments of an utterance, of grammaticality, with respect to competence, and of acceptability, with respect to performance, are inadequate, because judgments of acceptability must match types of performance with grammaticality. Hymes's proposal is to see judgments about language as being not of two but of four kinds, which rnay be elicited by asking four questions about an utterance (or other type of anthropological behaviour):

Table 3 (based on Hymes 1971:284ff)

1. Whether (and to what degree) something is formally possible;
2. Wliether (and to what degree) something is feasible in virtue of the means of implementation available;
3. Whether (and to what degree) something is appropriate (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated;
4. Whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually performed, and wliat its doing entails.

For example, a sentence rnay be grarnmatical, awkward, tactful and rare, and this sort of judgment rnay be elicited either from the viewpoint of the system of language or from the viewpoint of the person using it. In the case of the latter, that person will both assess the conduct of others and of himself on each of the four parameters, and would also have a capability with regard to each. The model of the ideal speaker-hearer, whose competence is neutral between understanding and production, can no longer apply, since the ability to understand and assess the speech acts of others rnay and probably will differ from the ability to produce speech acts. Neither can it be assumed that the knowledge acquired by different individuals will be identical, despite identity of manifestation and apparent system. Yet again, the implications for the learning and teaching of communication in the classroom cannot be ignored.

The more general anthropological issues raised by Hymes not being relevant here, we may already observe the following:

1. One may readily see why Chomsky wanted to delimit his own field of interest so narrowly! On the other hand, one can also see what he leaves out of account.

2. Hymes's paper is intended to be programmatic, ie to suggest a line of research.

3. That research has never been done in any detail, but the poignancy of the ideas was enough to capture the imagination of language teaching theorists because:

> a) Language teaching is precisely concerned with real people in real situations, often in heterogeneous speech-communities (such as classrooms) and with differential levels of competence in various respects.
>
> b) Acquisition of competence can be seen (by language teaching practitioners) to involve both sociocultural and non-cognitive factors.
>
> c) Linguistic competence, in the sense of grammatical knowledge alone, clearly does not ensure the ability to communicate.
>
> d) Linguistic competence does not guarantee appropriacy, which is essential to successful communication.
>
> e) It is true that there are no straightforward mappings between grammatical structures and purposive uses of language.
>
> f) The 'four questions' prompt a new way of judging utterances in a communicative context.
>
> g) The concept of cornrnunicative competence inspires a whole new way of looking at things, ie one must pay attention to all those features which subtend successful communication, and these are more than grammatical competence.
>
> h) Once one escapes from the idea of linguistic competence as an all-or-nothing concept, one can begin to ask in which domains someone must be communicatively competent, ie here is the key to narrowing down objectives and ensuring greater efficiency of teaching.

The research recommended by Hymes into cornmunicative competence having been done or not, there are several proposals in the literature, no doubt very incomplete and to a large extent overlapping, but more or less intuitively appealing, with regard to the constituents of this type of competence — eg Canale and Swain (1980), Canale (1983), Taylor (1988), Widdowson (1989), Di Pietro as reported in Roberts 1986[7], but see also Di Pietro 1974, 1975, 1976, 1978a, 1978b, 1979, 1981a, 1981b, 1987. See Johnson and Johnson (1998) for a summary of some of the proposals.

As a final word in this section, it will be evident how gratifyingly Hymes's ideas mesh with those of Wilkins, adding to the basically linguistic perspective of the latter a psychological and behavioural dimension.

III. AN EXAMPLE OF OUTPUT: THE APOTHEOSIS OF SYLLABUS DESIGN

The pursuit of Wilkins's ideas at the level of syllabus design has probably not been more thorough or more purist than in the work of Munby 1978, (but see also the review by Brumfit of 1978), who is interested in specifying the 'target communicative competence' to the nth degree.

In his book, Communicative *Syllabus Design*[8], Munby spends the first 153 (of 218) pages discussing theoretical and practical issues relating to syllabus design and communicative competence. He synthesises the work of many linguists over a very broad spectrum, including, and most relevantly in this present context, that of Wilkins and Hymes. What amount to his very extensive prolegomena, in which he examines in great detail and draws together the components of the system he is working towards, are divided into eight chapters: 1. Communicative competence and a theoretical framework; 2. Designing the model (needed for specifying communicative competence): parameters and process; 3. Communicative needs: purposive domain and setting; 4. Communication needs: interaction and instrumentality; 5. Communication needs: dialect and target level; 6. Communication needs: communicative event and comrnunicative key; 7. Language selection; 8. Sociosemantic processing and linguistic encoding.

In the next chapter, 9, the discrete points isolated as components of communicative competence or in some other way subtending it are blended into 'the operational instrument', "a full operational instrument for specifying target communicative competence" (op cit:154). The process envisaged is that the user is enabled to "construct a profile of the communication needs of a particular participant or category of participant, and then to convert the profile into the needs-related specification of syllabus content" (*ibid*). The instrument is divided into two parts: 1. Processing the profile of communication needs, 2. Specifying the syllabus content. Part one progresses from 0.0:PROCESSING THE PROFILE OF COMMUNICATION NEEDS through to 8.0: SPECIFYING THE SYLLABUS CONTENT. Each part contains sub-sections, so that in Part One, which contains 8 major headings, there are ± 326[9] items of which the user — the needs analyst/syllabus designer — is meant to take cognisance, even if only to deem many of them irrelevant to a particular participant/group of participants. However, it is more complicated than this because some points need full answers, some are accompanied by open-ended questions or categories and some require weighing against more than one parameter, eg:

> Table 4 (*op.cit*:154f) slightly modified to simplify presentation but also truncated
>
> 2.3 Psychosocial setting
>
> What is the psychosocial setting in which the participant will use English? Using the inventory of psychosocial environments, on each applicable continuum select the appropriate element, modifying as necessary (e.g. non-intellectual, usually noisy. fairly demanding).

Inventory of psychosocial environments

2.3.1 culturally similar	culturally **different**
2.3.2 age/sex **discriminaiing**	age/sex **non-discriminaling**
2.3.3 **intellectuallthinking**	**non-intellectuallunthinking**
2.3.4 aesthetic/refined	**non-aestheticlunrefined**
2.3.5 **ethical** *	**non-ethical**
2.3.6 sporty/recreational	**non-sporty**
2.3.7 religious/ritualistic	secular
2.3.8 political	**apolitical**
2.3.9 professional	**non-professional**
2.3.10 educaiionally developed	**educationally undeveloped**
2.3.11 technologically sophisticated -	**technologically unsophisticated**
etc through to:	
2.3.25 sympatheiic	unsympathetic

(n.b. **Information previously identified about the participant's identity.** communicative **purpose, and especially physical setting, points to the types of** environment **that apply in ihe particular case.)**
*By 'cthical' is mcaiit constraincd by moral considcrations.

In Part Two of the Operational Instrument, there are ±298 points of which the needs analystlsyllabus designer is meant to take cognisance, again, even if only to deem many of them irrelevant to a particular particigant/group of participants. There are also open-ended questions or questions which involve identifying various parameters and writing prose about them rather than checking off. The instrument does have to be seen in its entirety for its weight to be fully appreciated, and the discussion preceding it must be read if it is to make sense. Nonetheless, even without doing that, one will perceive that tackling an instrument covering some 624 criteria and also inviting open-ended entries is a formidable task. However, assuming the ground is covered, then, from Munby's perspective, of course, the information essential to designing a syllabus has been gathered.

In Chapter 10, Munby offers two examples of syllabi, one for an imaginary participant needing English for occupational purposes and the other for a pretended participant concerned with educational purposes. We will look here at the former case. The participant is a 30-40 year old head waiter/relief receptionist from Valencia working in Es Cana who wants to progress from a very elementary level of English. To be fair, both his syllabus and that of the other hypothetical participant do not look so horrendously complex as the Operational Instrument might have suggested, since great swathes of that instrument have proved irrelevant, eg the educational aspect in its entirety. Nonetheless, it contains daunting challenges if fully operationalised.

The communicative events involving the head waiter would be:

Table 5 (*op.cit.*:196)

Event 7.1

Communicative activities

7.1.1 Attending to customers' arrival

7.1.2 Attending to customers' order

7.1.3 Serving the order

7.1.4 Attending to customers' complaints and well-being

7.1.5 Attending to the bill

7.1.6 Attending to customers' departure

Subject matter

Referential vocabulary categories for activities 7.1.1 to 7.1.6:

[a] food (generic and specific)

[b] drink (generic and specific)

[c] cooking

[d] utensils (generic and specific)

[e] tobacco

[f] money/bill

[g] cloakroom

[h] service

The above. on a situational syllabus, would look fairly innocuous. But there is, in fact, a far greater complexity here because the participant must not just learn expressions and phrases and articulate them in more or less any manner. but with the right attitudinal tone. In the following example, 'micro-function' should be understood as more or less equivalent to what Wilkins calls a 'function'.

Table 6 (*op.cit.*:198f)

LANGUAGE MICRO-FUNCTIONS AND ATTITUDINAL-TONES

Input: the profile of needs

Event 7.1

	Productive	
Activity	*Micro-function*	*Attitudinal-tone*
7.1.1	1. intention	[+ formal]
	2. prohibit	[+ polite] , [+ regretting]
	3. direct	[+ polite]
	4. request	[+ courteous]
	5. explaiiation	[+ polite] , [+ finii]
	6. greeting	[+ correct] , [+ welcoming]
7.1.2	1. suggest	[+ personal] , [+ deferential] , [+ encouraging]
	2. advise	[+ personal] , [+ deferential]
	3. predict	[+ cautionary] , [+ deferential]
	4. describe	[+ discriminating] , [+ patient]
	5. affirm	[+ lively] , [+ compliant]
	6. question	[+ helpful], [+ efficient]
	7. confirm	[+ efficient]
	etc/etc...	

We will look briefly of sorne exarnples of linguistic realisations which Munby suggests befitting a head waiter:

Table 7 (*op.cit.*:201) shortened - samples of (sample) linguistics realisations

The instrument applied

4 May I take yoor coat, sirlmadam?

5 It is necessary to book, I'm afraid. All these tables are reserved./We close at_____.

6 Good morning/afternoon/evening, sir/madam.

7.1.2.   1 May I suggest the?/Would you care to try the_____? It is a very typical local dish.

    2 May I recommend the_____?

    I think you would like the_____.

    Our house speciality is the_____. I don't think you will be disappointed.

    3 You may find the_____too hotlspicy.

    4 It's peppery/hot/spicy/cold/_____. (Yes. it is/No, it isn't.)

    It's hotter/milder/more_____than_____.

    It's not as_____a s_____.

    It's like_____.

    It's deep fried/shallow fried/grilled/boiled/stewed/baked/roasted/braised/

    in batter/butter/wine_____

    There is garlic/_____ in it. (Yes. it does/No, it doesn't.)

    It's a drylmedium dry/medium sweet/sweet wine

    5 I'm coming, sir/I'll be with you in a moment, sir.

    6 Yes, certainly, sir. What would you like?

    What vegetables would you like?

    How would you like your steak?

    Would you like something to begin withlsome dessert or cheeselsomecoffee/a drink first?

    Would you like some wine with the meal? I will bring the wine list.

    7 (numeral)_____,(numeral)_____, etc.

    I'm very sorry but the_____is finished/not available.

    I'm afraid it has been popular today/I'm afraid there is a

    shortage of_____at the moment.

    9 It's madeof _____,_____,_____

    It's a kind of _____

    _____for you, sir/madam?/The_____?

7.1.3.   1 I'm very sorry, I will get it immediately.

7.1.4.   1 I'm very sorry, I will bring a hot/cold/fresh/clean/_____one.

    I'm sorry but we are very busy/short-staffed today. We will be as quick as we can.

The above sample utterances are, of course, idiomatic in British English and typical of those one would expect of a waiter in a good class restaurant in Britain, where the attitudinal tone constantly in the background is generally one of deference.

One of the things to be noted here is that our waiter is a complete stereotype. We know nothing of him personally, which, strictly speaking, matters not one jot if the client wishes to maintain a strictly formal relationship in the 'real life' setting of the restaurant. However, if we are to teach this man from Valencia, it could well pay us as teachers to know more about him. The Operational Instrument elicits little personal information apart from

age, sex, domicile and linguistic achievement. We do not know whether he is Juan Miguel or Pedro, whether he is happy in his work, whether he is content in his personal life (as far as we can gather), whether he watches football on Sunday aftemoons or whether, in the season, and later in the afternoon, he attends the corrida with his bota and hispuro. Interestingy, his clients, from the linguistic realisations offered, would appear at worst to include a few slightly difficult customers, whereas some, in reality, can be dreadful and deserve firm rather than deferential language.

Does the waiter characterised, or caricatured, by Munby, represent only the male equivalent of one of the Stepford wives?[10] Does he have no personal needs? No personality? No linguistic means ofjustifiable defence?

What Munby has done here is to adopt the 'Tablets from on High' approach as the needs analyst, ie he wants the waiter to behave verbally as he, Munby, thinks he should. This is an 'offline' needs analysis, done in advance, from the outside. Apart from not suggesting the investigation of personal needs, he does not refer to 'on-line' analysis, that is, the reviewing of needs once the course has started and real people, or participants, are involved.

Nonetheless, what Munby supplies in the Operational Instrument and in the chapter 'The Instrument Applied' is an absolutely classical model or paradigm of syllabus design as implicit in the thinking behind the British Communicative Approach to Language teaching, and from this point of view he provides a crystal-clear example of what lies at the heart of the approach.

A final but crucial point to notice here is that the syllabus does not contain any guidelines for implementation in the classroom. This is in accordance with Wilkinsonian thought, as has been briefly hinted at above, but more elaboration will follow below.

IV. THE BRITISH COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH QUESTIONED

As already argued, the British Communicative Approach has its most visibly direct antecedents in Wilkins 1972. The date 1972 gives us an idea of a time-span —some 32 years since the seminal idea was sown, and perhaps some 31 during which this approach has for many represented an 'orthodoxy'. Certainly also for something like 22 years the Approach has inspired syllabus-designers and course-materials writers to produce a flood of documentation with new —new, that is, in the C20— orientations.

It cannot be stated sufficiently that the British Communicative Approach has centred on the syllabus, that is, the goals of learning, rather than on the processes of learning — firstly because it started off precisely as an initiative in syllabus-design and secondly because it has never, in essence, been concerned with learning-theory. The nearest Wilkins himself has ever come to saying things about learning is:

1. We cannot say much about teaching, **because** we do not know what learning is and entails;

2. The functional/notional syllabus may increase motivation.

This is not to say that nothing at all has happened on the methodology front. While the implementation of the approach has basically rested upon the individual teacher's judgment (and has been unprincipled to the extent that teachers may not have been able to explicate the reasons for their judgments) there has been much searching around for principled techniques appropriate to the implementing of the new type of syllabus, and perhaps it is worth noting that some of the main ideas have come from Wilkins's erstwhile 'acolyte', Johnson. Such ideas include:

1. Information-gap (whereby a 'knowledge vacuum' is deliberately created between different pairs or groups of participants who then have to fill it with information variously at their disposal. Information gap is a claimed pre-requisite for communication).

2. Learning by doing (not in itself a new idea, but in the modern context to be interpreted as engaging in tasks representative of those of the 'real world').

3. Use of authentic materials (highly ambiguous, but often interpreted as materials written or spoken for consumption by native-speaker interlocutors or audicnces).

To turn to Brumfit, he advanced in 1984 (*q.v.*) a proposal both simple and ingenious, though perhaps also cynical. According to him, behavioural categories, by which he meant Wilkins's functions and notions, could not be systematised because we have no means of grading and sequencing them. This being so, he concluded, we cannot teach them systematically, because the role of teacher, as opposed to that, say, of animator or native speaker model, is precisely to systematise language by grading and sequencing it and feeding it out as a system. He obviously did not take the view of those inspired by the paradigm of L1 acquisition that the learner's brain would sort effortlessly through the raw data and do its own systematising — and actually, that is to caricature a view which would not in that extreme form be held even by someone like Krashen (eg: 1982, but see also Ellis's review of 1981). But, of course, the argument runs, we have long experience of systematising gramrnar and considerable expertise in so doing. Thus, given that learners need a grammatical core", we should keep grammar as the central pillar of teaching, with the grammatical component

focusing upon accuracy. Round this we should wrap a spiral of communicative activities focusing on fluency. Thus, in the accuracy sessions, fluency would be treated marginally, and in the fluency sessions vice-versa[12].

Interesting and, evidently, inspirational as such ideas have been, there is no way in which they have provided the basis for a *method* as opposed to a loose *methodology* — even, one might say, certain *methodological guidelines.* Yet one might also say: How could they have hoped to do more than this, given the absence of a learning theory? Also, of course, since the British Communicative Approach has placed particular emphasis on needs, and must thereby, in logic, admit a whole gamut of these, to varied and various segments of which different students or groups of students may be or may be deemed to be subject, it is hardly possible to legislate for any one *closed* set of teaching procedures designed to meet them, and here we understand 'method' in the sense proposed by Mackey 1965, in other words, essentially as a recipe, just as we understand 'approach' in the terms of either Anthony 1963 or Richards and Rogers 1986, indifferently in this case. To repeat, an account of Communicative Methodology may be found in Johnson & Johnson (1998:68-74), but for greater detail, discussion and proposals, see, for example: Brumfit 1979, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1980d, 1980e, Candlin & Bruton 1974a, Candlin, Bruton & Leather 1974b, 1976 (these latter references containing adumbrations of empirical work), Johnson & Morrow 1981, Widdowson 197211979, 197311979, 1978,1979, Allen & Widdowson 1974/1979.

It is to be noted that references to original works on the British Communicative Approach and Communicative Methodology peter out in the Johnson & Johnson entry around 1984, suggesting that theoretical moribundity had by then set in, and that the approach had flourished in the literature for approximately one decade from waxing to waning, possibly a little more than par for the course where approaches and methods are concerned, which is not to say, of course, that approaches and methods cannot be adopted by teachers long after the theoretical input into them has dried up".

V. A VERY DIFFERENT, THOUGH NOT ENTIRELY REMOTE, APPROACH TO LANGUAGE TEACHING

There is no doubt that the syllabus, as a generic concept, has been visibly enriched by the British Communicative Approach to Language Teaching (though Prabhu 1987 warns us that enrichment of the syllabus may stand in inverse proportion to enrichment of learning) while, on the methodological side, nothing, to put it bluntly, exactly world-shattering has emerged, and certainly nothing which could hope to stand up in some respects to empirical investigation or even rigorous theoretical scrutiny. Yet, this said, debate about the British Communicative Approach does intersect with methodological debate inspired from rather different directions, and the embodiment of this intersection is to be found, in Britain, in writers such as Littlewood and Breen and Candlin, for example. While one might at one time

have wished to stress, for epistemological reasons, that the term 'Communicative Approach' should *only* evoke the British Communicative Approach, a proposition which will shortly be countered, the term 'communicative teaching' is ambiguous, indeed, polysemous, because it can apply to any teaching whose aim is to foster communicative competence. Thus, for example, Allwright (1977a, 1977b) and Savignon (1972,1980), variously, claim to have taught communicatively in the total absence of what we conceive of as the communicative syllabus, in fact, in the absence of a syllabus of any description in the conventional understanding of the terrn. Neither is one sure to what depth of raciocinative ramifications, as opposed to pedagogic good sense, the arguments for their own particular methodological solutions could be pursued. Yet there is a body of theory underlying certain 'communicative' initiatives which starts, in the modem era, with the Reforrn Movement and continues through Audiolingualism and Nativism (see, for example, Newmark 1971, Newmark & Reibel 196811970) up to the C20 version of the Natural Method (Krashen & Terrell 1983), and this theory rests upon two basic concepts:

> 1. Language for spontaneous performance is acquired rather than learned.

> 2. What happens in L2 acquisition is (at least to some or even a large extent) explicable in terrns of what happens in L1 acquisition.

Whether or not, for the moment, one accepts these propositions — and one may, in the end, be sceptical of them — they do have some claim to relate to leaming theory, that is, they emanate from schools of thought which (though, where detail is concemed, are mutually antagonistic) offer an explanation as to how people leam languages, and, precisely for this reason, encourage those who subscribe to them to go on and make statements about classroomprocesses andprocedures. In effect, they represent a position which asserts:

> 1. We know what, ceteris paribus, takes place naturally in language leaming.

> 2. What the teacher does in the classroom should, minimally, not interfere with what takes place naturally.

> **3.** In the classroom one should try to replicate as closely as possible the conditions under which natural language leaming occurs.

Here, we return to Littlewood. If Johnson's contribution to the British Communicative Approach has been rooted in what Prabhu calls 'pedagogics' — ideas about
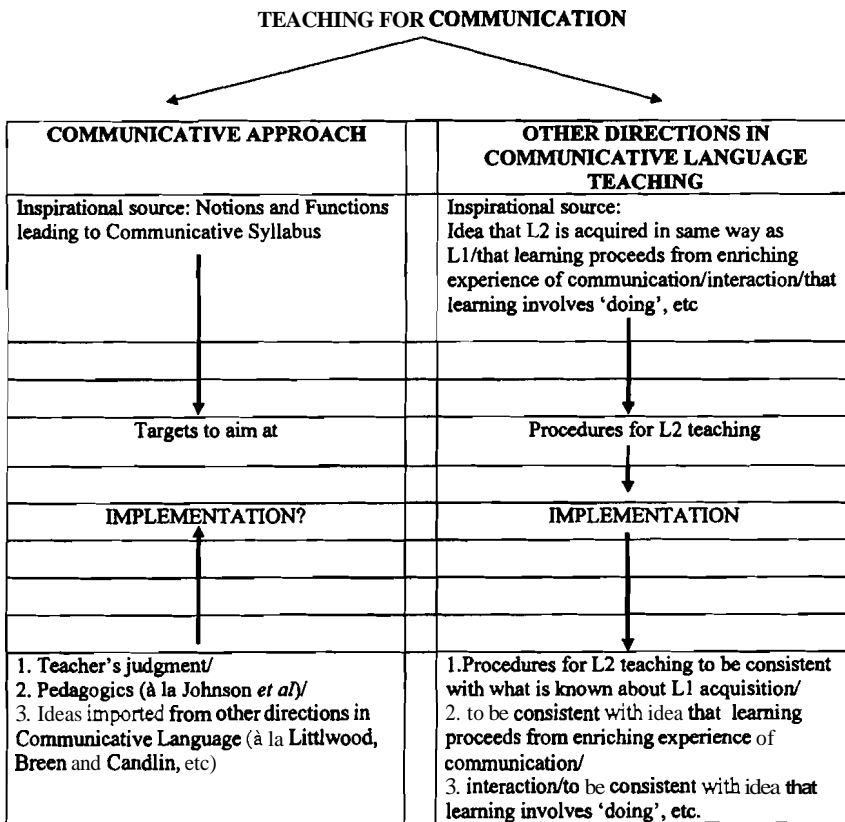
effective teaching informed by classroom experience — Littlewood's contribution has been to try to feed into the British Communicative Approach a contribution drawn from the acquisition/learning debate insofar as this has resulted in teaching procedures. While Marton's (1988) version of 'communicative strategy' is method-like in that it consists of a fairly closed set of techniques, it is rather remote from the directions discussed here, especially as it is strongly teacher-led (see review by Roberts 1991), but 'communicative strategy' is not in itself a bad designation for the direction represented by Littlewood and others.

The opposition between syllabus-driven teaching and teaching centred on classroom processes may be characterised as the difference between encouraging *cybernetic* classroom events, on the one hand, and fostering *emergent* events, on the other. By 'cybernetic' is meant an automatic process, unleashed, at least in principle, ultimately by the syllabus and its implementation. However, all writers on the implementation of the British Communicative Approach have insisted that the teacher adopt the role of facilitator rather than instructor, so that emergent events are welcomed. 'Emergent' events, on the other hand, are those arising almost as if of themselves and are often highly unpredictable prior to the interaction of the participants involved. This conception is clearly represented by, for example, Breen & Candlin (1984), who see it as a model for the classroom. A syllabus is not excluded, but it is constructed by the learners, not imposed from without. Here it is more a question of thinking of a continuum than a clear-cut polarity. Of the many stances in-between, that of Brumfit (*op.cit.*) falls at the centre.

To summarise thus far, the British Communicative Approach to Language Teaching as inspired by Wilkins was and essentially remains an approach to the *what* but not the *how* of teaching and learning. Nonetheless, there has to be a *how* in order to implement the approach, and, as mentioned, Johnson and Littlewood, for example, come up with solutions from two different directions —pedagogics on the one hand and the L1/L2 analogy, on the other. Implementational ideas have come as afterthoughts; they are not inherent in the approach. By contrast, 'communicative language teaching', whether exemplified in the Direct Method, Audiolingualism, Nativism or the C20 version of the Natural Approach, has always been rooted in the *how,* with the *what,* if not taken for granted (ie no syllabus at all) at least not entirely in the foreground. It may, at first blush, seem monstrously heretical to fínd common cause between the methods or methodologies cited, but it cannot, in the end, be seriously denied that the practitioners of these methods, even without knowing the term with all its rnodern implications, were deeply concerned that their learners should acquire 'communicative competence'.

VI. A REPRESENTATION OF THE DIFFERENT MODI OPERANDI BETWEEN THE BRITISH COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH AND OTHER DIRECTIONS IN COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING

Table 8: a representation of the differences between teaching for communication n the British Communicative Approach and other directions in Communicative Language Teaching

TEACHING FOR COMMUNICATION

COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH	OTHER DIRECTIONS IN COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING
Inspirational source: Notions and Functions leading to Communicative Syllabus	Inspirational source: Idea that L2 is acquired in same way as L1/that learning proceeds from enriching experience of communication/interaction/that learning involves 'doing', etc
Targets to aim at	Procedures for L2 teaching
IMPLEMENTATION?	IMPLEMENTATION
1. Teacher's judgment/ 2. Pedagogics (à la Johnson *et al*)/ 3. Ideas imported from other directions in Communicative Language (à la Littlwood, Breen and Candlin, etc)	1.Procedures for L2 teaching to be consistent with what is known about L1 acquisition/ 2. to be consistent with idea that learning proceeds from enriching experience of communication/ 3. interaction/to be consistent with idea that learning involves 'doing', etc.

Notice the *retrospective* arrow on the left! — ideas about implementation are not generated by the approach itself.

Inasmuch as the British Communicative Approach is one particular exponent of the more general approach 'Teaching for Cornmunication', the concepts 'notions and functions' and 'communicative syllabus' are *particular* to it, and are independent of other initiatives to

teach for cornrnunication. Where it comes to implementation, however, of the 'solutions' 2 and **3,** the 'principled' solutions, one ideational strand, Johnson's, isparticular and the other, Littlewood's, is borrowed from another, more general tradition:

Table 9: particular versus general ideas

Notions and functions..............….................particular
Communicative syllabus.....…....................…..particular
Jagogic …….….…..….…..….…..….…..….…...par   — eg   ⑴
Other Communicative pedagogics…….……....int(ʌitl other traditions
— Littlewood, Breen and Candlin etc.

VIII. SOME POINTS OF CONTRAST BETWEEN THE 'BRITISH' COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH AND MORE TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

The table below is intended to summarise some of the contrasts between the British Communicative Approach and more traditional approaches, that is, those involving such elements as Grammar Translation and listen-repeat. While intended to stimulate thought/discussion, it should not, however, be taken too seriously, since it presents the extreme polarities we have been at pains to avoid, and things are seldom this black and white. The left-hand column is to be interpreted as shorthand for: 'The British Communicative Approach incorporates/includes/is based on', etc, then 'whereas traditional approaches incorporate/include/are based on…', etc. [14]

Table 10: see box immediately below

SOME POINTS OF CONTRAST BETWEEN THE 'BRITISH' COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH AND MORE TRADITIONAL APPROACHES	
COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH	**TRADITIONAL APPROACHES**
Performancehchavioural objectives.	Academic / linguistic objectives.
Utterances/messages/'meanings'.	Sentences.
Discourse (as semantic units).	Text (as formal structure).
Use.	Usage.
Spontaneity/fluency.	Accuracy / 'valued' language.
Functions/notions taught round 'common core'. Teacher uses metalanguage or gives many examples?	Grammar. Teacher uses metalanguage.
Goal: to teach how to satisfy communicative needs.	Goal: to teach 'the language'.
Appropriacy of lexis.	Often, restricted registers/lexis.
'Meaningful' exercises *involving* language, eg: editing a class newspaper.	Linguistic exercises, eg: 'Replace the infinitive forms of verbs in brackets with the correct finite form'.
Communicative competence.	Linguistic competence.

Learn by doing.	Learn by rote/cognition [though not true of all traditional methods].
Content.	Form.
Materials: as approriate to needs. Emphasis on problem-solving, 'real life' tasks performed through language. Often sociocultural emphasis.	Materials: often literary. Emphasis on linguistic tasks. Restricted themes. 'Civilisation' rather than culture. Tend to be 'idealised'.
Testing: seeks demonstration of ability to perform.	Testing: seeks demonstration of knowledge/ability to produce well-formed sentences.
Highlights language as social tool.	Highlights learning of foreign languages as intellectual discipline.
Learner: viewed as actively involved in learning	Learner: all too often regarded as 'empty vessel'
Teacher: offers stimulus and experience/co-ordinates classroom activities.	Teacher: authority on target language.
Syllabus: specifies target communicative competence.	Syllabus: specifies linguistic objectives, eg: 'Knowledge of the present and imperfect subjunctive'
Linguistic error: judged in context of task.	Linguistic error: penalised.
Speaking and aural comprehension rather than reading and writing? Depends on needs.	Reading/writing often emphasised at the expense of listening, so there is a greater emphasis on comprehension of the written word and written exercises, tests and examinations

In view of what is suggested above, the caveat about polarisation remaining, we may ask ourselves: Did the British Communicative Approach bring about anything seriously worthwhile even though it itself had nothing new to offer in methodological terms, depending rather, for its implementation, on ideas conceived retrospectively, or drawn from elsewhere?

The answer has to be a resounding: Yes. To cite some reasons for this positive evaluation:

1. The syllabus itself was innovative and based upon careful consideration of what type of language is involved in communicative events, even if these events themselves could not be subjected to a simplicity metric and graded and sequenced.

2. The Approach generated in its time a high degree of excitement, attracting preoccupation with questions of implementation and therefore the drawing together from different directions of various methodological strands.

3. Though the idea of 'teaching for communication' was not new, except for a specific designation for it, the very naming of an approach or method focuses

attention upon the concepts central to it, and this happened with the British Communicative Approach to Language teaching. What took place was a paradigm shift.

4. Attention was drawn in debate to the concept of 'authentic materials' (and we reserve judgment about a precise definition here), and also to concepts such as 'signification' versus 'value', 'text' versus 'discourse' and 'usage' versus 'use'). See, in particular, Widdowson — works cited.

5. The concept of communicative competence allowed itself to be conflated easily and productively with the Communicative Approach and the categories notions/functions, bringing into thought about this approach a psychological/behavioural dimension.

6. Again, though imported from 'other directions' rather than being inherent in the approach, attitudes towards teachers and learners changed rapidly, the teacher becoming a facilitator and the learner being regarded as a highly active participant.

7. The commitment to individual needs, of course, much reinforced the thrust of point number 5, above. Here the key question is: What do the participants want to do with the language/their sponsors want them to do with the language?

8. Though the British Communicative Approach as originally conceived 'ran out of steam' in the mid-1980s, at a profounder level, the paradigm shift has persisted, at least in those circles interested in communicative learning and teaching.

9. Despite numerous methodological innovations, the C20 only saw in the language teaching/applied linguistics field two paradigm shifts worthy of that appellation[15]. The first was Audiolingualism, seated in a long tradition of 'empiricist' language teaching, in the way that all new paradigms have on board much historical baggage, eg in the linguistics domain the paradigm S$\Rightarrow$NP+VP contains within it the old Greek analysis: A sentence consists of a subject and a predicate (strongly contested, of course, in other schools of linguistics with perhaps less hectoring voices, eg in that represented by Tesniere 1959176). But Audiolingualism was ill-fated. Firstly, it did not 'deliver' at classroom level, provoking howls of derision and despair from practical teachers, and, secondly, because its theoretical platform was built upon structuralist linguistics and behaviourist psychology, it was smashed by Chomsky, beginning with his ferociously mordant review of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior* in the *New York Review* of books, 1959, with the clearing up done by his converts and acolytes. But, thirdly, and

significantly, Audiolingualisrn was herrnetic and doctrinal and could, by reason of its theoretical underpinnings, in no way adrnit questioning and the irnportation of new ideas into any sort of debate. Like Lafontaine's oak-tree, when the gale carne, it was blown over, lock, stock and barrel. On the other hand, the British Cornmunicative Approach to Language Teaching was never constructed as a formidable, unbending edifice. It was, in a very British way, an offering of a palette of novel ideas, suggestions and proposals, and the very absence of a learning theory invited the questioning of the weaknesses, the absorption of new ideas and a thoroughly stirnulating and inspirational debate. Does this have any significance for us in the C21 today? This will be answered directly, in the conclusions.

CONCLUSIONS

We rnay sornetirnes be ternpted to laugh at the atternpts of teachers in the past to irnpart foreign languages to their learners. At least two things should give us pause to be more reflective:

1. There is no evidence whatsoever frorn history that since the advent of *horno sapiens* the hurnan brain has becorne more sophisticated and we have becorne 'cleverer'. The great language teachers of the past, including such people as the illustrious Erasrnus, were not fools. It is clear that Erasrnus hirnself tried to teach for cornrnunication (see Roberts 1986) albeit in ignorance of the term. If things have changed it is because we have built up greater knowledge of the world and developed new and expanding technologies, though we rnust recognise that the 'science' of Applied Linguistics is pitched at sorne level at what can be enormous obstacles — hurnan hearts and rninds — and sirnply does not compare at this time in its own technological progress with fields such as cornputer science or medicine.

2. To say 'always' rnight be to exaggerate, but it has at any rate long been arnong the airns of language teaching to create fluency in learners in the interests of expanding mental horizons and fostering peace arnong nations (see, for exarnple Rivers 1981 and Gouin 1880). Cynics rnay laugh, pointing to the terrible carnage rife in the world at this very hour, but any language teacher losing faith in this ideal would best resign.

To try to teach people to cornrnunicate linguistically and interculturally is, sirnply, a decent and honourable thing to do. We need to cast around again and again, refining our solutions. Despite the current opaqueness and even helplessness in rnany respects, what is

clearer than ever is that the pursuit of communicative goals entails the cultivation of both *fluency* and **accuracy.** Fluency which is inaccurate can be treacherous and accuracy which wants of all spontaneity can prove to be a complete block to cornmunication with more proficient interlocuters.

The aims of fluency and accuracy do not necessarily have to be pursued simultaneously, though, plainly, some methodologies aim at this. There are argurnents in both directions. Roberts & Harden 1997, for instance, make the observation as experienced University teachers of German that they would rather arrange for the grafting of fluency onto the accuracy, or gramatical knowledge, of students taught hitherto by such methods as Grammar Translation than vice-versa. 'Grammar Translation' is not a sacrosanct concept here — rnethods such as Silent Way (Gattegno 1963, 1975a, 1975b, 1976, 1977) and Cognitive-Code Leaming Theory (Mueller 1971) might well have an application in this part of the endeavour. On the other hand, say, the Natural Approach and Nativism are more ambitious in trying to combine the learning operations, but neither attends in any systematic way to the question of needs in the Wilkinsonian sense, but do not, either, exclude their entering the picture at a later stage. One might suppose that Hurnanistic Techniques could have a contribution to make towards fluency, though preferably presented in a better form than that of which Moskowitz (1978) is capable. Di Pietro's Strategic Interaction — see references above — would plainly have a major application in the grafting on of fluency to accuracy. Quite where Prabhu (1987) stands is not clear, especially as he is opposed to inter-leamer communication. Suggestopaedia? Hmrn? (Saferis 1978).

The final contention here would be that, without any rejection of the value of the artistic and philosophical aims of language teaching, where these are appropriate, the communicative aim is a highly valid one for thousands and millions of learners, and is therefore one to be pursued vigorously in the C21. Plainly, as we have seen, the British Cornmunicative Approach to Language Teaching expired theoretically well before the end of the C20, and is therefore confined to history, though with a place of paramount importance in it, whereas we can easily see that a more intemationally-based Communicative Approach may carry us forward if it is one which can unite under one aegis all *plausible* attempts to teach for cornmunication, of which some are discussed elsewhere in this joumal issue: Task-Based Language Leaming, Co-operative Language Learning and Content-Based Instruction, which share the overriding principle of teaching for communication but envisage different rneans of implementation[16].

Those agreeing with this proposition may also be pleased to continue to talk about the Communicative Approach to Language Teaching provided this is understood in the new light which, it is to be hoped, this paper has to some extent cast upon sets of ideas which sometimes seem to be poised to evaporate into a diaspora, though in essence fruitfully unifiable or, at the least, conflatable. It is in this context that we may legitirnately pronounce: The King is dead! Long live the King!

Of course, and, actually, in the end, it goes without saying that the Communicative Approach to Language Teaching, in the 'new' sense, leads us all on into the C21. Moreover, despite the considerable attention accorded here to the English language, the Comrnunicative Approach has universal application.

NOTES:

[1] This is the traditional way of announcing the death of an English monarch and wishing well to the successor. The last time the formula used was in 1953, when it took the form: The King is dead! Long live the Queen! The announcement was made on radio, but also in institutions such as schools, in which an ad hoc official messenger visited classrooms to tersely intone the message. One would expect that the next time it is used, if at all, the major terms in the two propositions will be reversed.

[2] It will be seen from Fn vi that Wilkins did not work on the core itself, though his name was associated with the total scope of the research undertaken.

  Crystal, fearing for the integrity and survival of other languages, disapproves of the idea that Anglo-Saxons should be content to remain monoglots, but believes that English as a global language has now reached the stage at which there is a 'snowball effect'. It is salutary to remind oneself, however, that English has achieved its present position through a series of historical accidents, and that a reversal is not absolutely unthinkable. The Latin language itself, for example, did not break down, but Ancient Rome did, with the power behind the language evaporating, even if it was kept alive in certain institutions for many hundreds of years thereafter.

[4] This is not Wilkins's phrase; it is simply meant to make clear what this column represents. There is something not very satisfactory about the table, but it is copied exactly from Wilkins.

[5] It is not certain whether, in fact, Habermas (1970) introduced the term 'communicative competence' before Hymes or vice-versa. But at any rate, his conception, resulting from what Munby (*op.cit.*: 12) calls "A socio-philosophico-semantic approach" did not fire the imagination of applied linguists and Munby questions its appropriacy in the language teaching context.

[6] How strange to be transposed back into the events of so long ago — not exactly half a century but an awfully long time nonetheless. There's always a danger that I will confuse what actually happened with perceptions that developed afterwards and that I shall reconstruct history in the process. At least I won't attempt to DEconstruct history. It will probably be easier to spell out the process by which I got where I did before replying directly to the question about Hymes. There were two sources of influence on my thinking that went into the Council of Europe

work which underlay the 1972 paper. The first was the strong current interest in both theoretical and applied linguistics in speech acts —Austin was all the rage and the notion of what we DO with language was getting a lot of attention. The second was the set of factors driving the Council of Europe work. Principal among these (to be brief) was the desire to set up a system of language objectives (and hence organization) that was responsive to individual need. Such a system would need to identify both what were common needs among learners and what were specific to individuals or groups. The commission that I undertook was to identify a common core that would serve all learners as a basis for subsequent differentiation. I saw little point in simply looking at existing schemes in order to see what they had in common grammatically and lexically. I came to the conclusion that if there were common needs it would be because there are certain things which all speakers need to express in language and if there were specific needs it was because people use language in different contexts and with different purposes. What was needed therefore was a system of categories through which both common and specific needs could be identified (I never did identify a common core. By then I had changed my aim to providing a tool for others to do so). Categorizations of speech acts existed and were being developed by a number of linguists. I felt that the idea of looking at what learners would DO with language was a crucial insight, but I also felt that you could not rely on this exclusively to predict what people attempt to communicate in language. You have to provide for some essential semantic concepts and relations that are typically expressed in grammar and lexicon. I therefore tried to develop some ideas about semantic universals, notions that are expressible in all languages and cultures but in potentially many different ways. As you know, the outcome was a set of so-called <u>semantico-grammatical cateeories</u>, a set of <u>modal cateeories</u> (initially included in the next category) which deal essentially with the speakers' attitudes to their own speech and <u>cateeories of communicative function</u>, a set that deliberately went beyond the restricted set of illocutionary acts to incorporate other functional categories that seemed likely to be significani in any analysis of speech aims. The above makes it clear that I did not come to my fonnulations through Hymes. The speech act literature was a greater influence. It is interesting that we at the Council of Europe did not originally use the word <u>communicative</u> in association with our work and though I am happy that it should be seen as part of what contributed to the emergence of a communicative approach, I agree with you that the deliberate avoidance of methodological issues (because we saw our role as identifying aims not means and had no desire to suggest or impose a methodology) meant that the implementation of our approach was not at all fully developed, initially at least. So where does Hymes come into this? There is no doubt that we were well aware of notions of communicative competence and of ethnographic ideas about language functions. By the time I wrote Notional Syllabuses I included the ienn even though it does not appear, I think, in the 1972 paper. NS was actually written well before 1976 when it was published. I can't recall dates but it was suggested by OUP (rather, its representative) who then sat on it for an inordinate amount of time before they actually put publication into effect. We are probably talking about 1973. I mention this because it shows the awareness of Hymesian notions at an early stage. I think that the simplest summary is io say that we did not initially see ourselves as 'applying' Hymesian notions of communicative competence but that they were so much part of the current discourse that we would have seen what we were proposing as being very consistent with them and readily associated with them. I haven't had time to look over my papers and am relying on my memory for all this (I leave for a holiday in Canada in a couple of hours' time). . . David Wilkins, personal communication.

[7] Unfortunately, Di Pietro himself never managed to publish his proposals. They were reconstructed by myself, with his permission, after I had attended a series of lectures given by him on the basis of unpublished notes. He made some later modifications to his ideas, as I learnt through correspondence, but was in the mid to later 80s preoccupied with his methodology called 'strategic interaction' and with the publishing of his book of same title (1987). There followed a quite different type of publication: *American Voices* (see references), but that was the last of which he was capable. Drained by his fight against lung cancer, he died of pneumonia on his sixtieth birthday in December 1991. Roberts 1986 is not merely a summary of Di Pietro. It takes his ideas as a framework, but adds many examples and exercise-types.

[8] Submitted not so long before publication by CUP for a PhD from the University of Essex, England

[9] A precise calculation is not easily possible as it is sometimes not clear whether an item represents just one point or two.

[10] The part in inverted commas supplied by http://www.rottentomatoes.com/rn/TheStepfordWives-l 074503/aboutphp. The rest by jtr: "Katharine Ross stars in this classic horror film as Joanna, a woman who moves to Stepford, Connecticut along with her husband (Peter Masterson) and her best friend, Bobbie (Paula Prentiss). As the two women meet the other housewives who live in Stepford, they begin to notice that all of them are interested only in cooking, cleaning, and pleasing their husbands. Joanna and Bobbie are alarmed further when their husbands join the mysterious Stepford Men's Club, which convenes in a heavily-guarded guarded mansion..." What is going on in the Men's Club is that robots looking extemally the same as the (still living!) Stepford wives are being prepared...

[11] The belief on the part of some that there was no place for grammar teaching in the British Communicative Approach was naïve and based upon erroneous vulgarisations of the approach.

[12] Well, this was pretty much the practice in the post-war (after WWII) grammar schools in Britain except that with one language assistant (native speaker) per language per school, the fluency practice was, to say the least, sparse.

[13] One would hesitate to talk about a 'theoretical input' as opposed to an input composed of a particular constellation of traditional assumptions into Gramrnar-Translation, for example, but the fact is that, initiated by Johann Valentin Meidinger in around 1795 and offered as a new and 'amusing' way of leaming languages, it still persists nearly two hundred years later, though no-one will offer a theoretical justifícation for it.

[14] Where, in particular, attitudes towards learners are concerned, there is not meant to be any suggestion here that the British Communicative Approach to Language Teaching brought these about by itself. Rather. such changes are likely to have had their ultimate source in issues discussed in Chomsky's work, beginning with the distinction between acquisition and learning and then pursued in more depth in *Topics in the theory of generative grammar* (Chomsky 1969, *q.v.*). Many of Chomsky's ideas relating to the LAD hypothesis, for example. were absorbed into the general body of 'language teaching theory' around the turn of the 1960s/1970s.

[15] This assessrnent does not take into account paradigm shifts in linguistics and, say, psychology, even though these impinged on language teaching theory.

[16] Some inspiration for the remarks made here has, of course, been supplied by Stern 1981, who looked forward to the synthesis of linguistic and pedagogical/psychological strands of thought about language teaching, though his view was perhaps more specifically focused.

REFERENCES

Alatis, J. E., Altrnan, H. B. & Alatis, P. M. (Eds.) (1981). *The second language classroom —directions for the 1980s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Allen, J. P. B. & Widdowson, H. G. (1974). Teaching the cornrnunicative use of English. *IRAL*, 12, 1, and in C. J. Brurnfit & K. Johnson (Eds.), 1979.

Allwright, R. L. (1977a). Language learning through comrnunication practice, *ELT Documents*. 3 (1976), and in C. J. Brumfit & K. Johnson (Eds.), 1979.

Allwright, R. L. (1977b). Interference and intervention in language learning. Mimeo: University of Essex.

Anthony. E. M. (1963). Approach, rnethod and technique. *English Language Teaching* 17, 63-67.

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Austin, J. L. (1963). Perforrnative-constative. ln Caton (Ed.), 1963.

Blatchford, C. & Schachter, J. (Eds.) (1978). *On TESOL*. Washington D.C.: TESOL.

Bouchard, D. L. & Spaventa, L. (Eds.) (1980). *A TEFL anthology*. Washington, D.C.: English Teaching Division, Educational and Cultural Affairs, International Cornmunication Agency.

Breen, M. P. & Candlin, C. N. (1987). Which rnaterials?: A consurner's and designer's guide. *ELT Documents* 126. London: British Council.

Brurnfit, C. J. (1978). Review of J. L. Munby: *Communicative syllabus design. Times Educational Supplement*, 11/8/78.

------. (1979). Notional syllabuses — a reassessment. *System*, 7, 2.

------. (1980a). Frorn defining to designing: cornrnunicative specifications versus cornrnunicative methodology in foreign language teaching. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 3, 1.

------. (1980b). Linguistic specifications for fluency work: how meaningful a question? Paper presented to the Berne Colloquium on Applied Linguistics, June (rnirneo).

------. (1980c). EFL teaching-where are we now? *Practica1 English Teacher*, 1, 1

------. (1980d). Towards a comrnunicative rnethodology. Plenary paper presented at the TESOL -Italy Convention, Novernber 8-9 (rnirneo).

------. (1980e). Cornrnunicative language teaching: problems and prospects. Paper presented at the MEXTESOL Seventh Annual Convention, Acapulco (rnirneo).

------. (1981). Accuracy and fluency: a fundamental distinction for cornrnunicative teaching rnethodology. *Practica1 English Teacher*, 1, 3.

------- (1984).*Communicative methodology in language teaching: the roles of fluency and accuracy.* Cambridge: Carnbridge University Press.

Brurnfit, C. J. & Johnson, K. (Eds.) (1979). *The communicative approach to language teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Canale, M. (1983). From cornmunicative competence to cornrnunicative language pedagogy. In Richards & Schrnidt (Eds.) 1983.(EDAL)

Canale, M. & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of cornrnunicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics,* 1/1 1-47.

Candlin, C. N., Leather, J. H. & Bruton, C. J. (1974a). *English language skills for overseas doctors and medical staff: work inprogress,* Reports 1. Lancaster: University of Lancaster.

Candlin, C. N., Bruton, C. J. & Leather, J. H. (1974b). *Doctor-patient communications skills,* Working Papers 1. University of Lancaster (rnimeo).

Candlin, C. N., Bruton, C. J. & Leather, J. H. (1976). Doctors in casualty: applying cornrnunicative cornpetence to cornponents of specialist course design. *IRAL,* 14, 3.

Chornsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax.* Carnbridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Chornsky, N. (1969). *Topics in the theory ofgenerative grammar.* The Hague: Mouton.

Corder, S. P. (1967). The significance of learners' errors. *IRAL,* 5

Corder, S. P. (1975). Error analysis, interlanguage and second language acquisition. *Language Teaching and Linguistics Abstracts,* 8, 4.

Corder, S. P. (1980). Second language acquisition research and the teaching of grarnmar. Plenary address to the BAAL Annual Meeting (rnirneo).

Corder, S. P. & Roulet, E. (Eds.) (1973). *Theoretical linguistics models in applied linguistics.* Brussels: AlMA V /Didier.

Corder, S. P. & Roulet, E. (Eds.) (1974). *Linguistic insights in applied linguistics.* Brussels: AlMA V Didier.

Coulthard, M. (1977). *An introduction to discourse analysis.* London: Longrnan.

Crystal, D. (Ed.) (1997). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language* (2nd edition). Carnbridge: Carnbridge University Press.

------- (forthcorning). *English as a global language* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Curran, C. A. (1972). *Counseling learning: a wholeperson approachfor education.* Apple River, IL: Apple River Press.

Curran, C. A. (1976). *Counseling learning in a second language.* Apple River, IL: Apple River Press.

Curran, C. A. (1976). *Counseling learning in a second language.* Apple River, IL: Apple River Press.

Di Pietro, R. J. (1974). The semiotics of role interpretation. Paper presented at the First International Congress of Semiotic Studies, Milan, Italy, 2-6 June (mimeo).

------- (1975). The strategies of language use. In P. A. Reich (Ed.), 1976.

------- (1976). Contrasting patterns of language use: a conversational approach. *Canadian Modern Language Review,* 33, 1.

------- (1978a). Verbal strategies, script theory and conversational performances in ESL. In: Blatchford and Schacter (Eds.), 1978.

------- (1978b). Verbal strategies in the modern language classroom. Paper first delivered at the Spring 1978 Conference of PSMLA. In *The Bulletin,* 57, 2, 1979.

------- (1979). The promise of psychological models for second language study. Editorial. In *Interfaces - a newsletter in linguistics, psychoanalysis, language learning and therapeutics,* 12, University of Delaware.

------- (1981a). The open-ended scenario: a new approach to conversation. Paper presented at the 15th Annual TESOL Convention, Detroit, MI, 3-8 March (mimeo).

------- (1981b). Discourse and real-life roles in the ESL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly,* 15, 1.

------- (1987). *Strategic interaction: learning languages through scenarios.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dreitzel, H. (Ed.) (1970). *Recent sociology,* No.2. London: Collier-Macmillan.

Ellis, R. (1981). Review of Stephen Krashen's *Second language acquisition and second language learning. BAAL Newsletter,* 12.

Encyclopedia Americana, 1974.

Firth, J. R. (1957a). *Papers in linguistics* 1934-1951 Oxford: Blackwell.

Firth, J. R. (1957b). *Studies in linguistic analysis.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Fishrnan, J.W. (Ed.) (1969). *Readings in the sociology of language.* The Hague: Mouton.

Gattegno, C. (1963). *Teaching foreign languages in schools the silent way.* New York: Educational Solutions Inc.

------- (1975a). *On being freer.* New York: Educational Solutions Inc.

------- (1975b). *The mind teaches the brain.* New York: Educational Solutions Inc.

------- (1976). *The common sense of teaching foreign languages.* New York: Educational Solutions

Inc.

------- (1977). *The science ofeducation.* New York: Educational Solutions Inc.

Gouin, F. (1880). *L'art d'enseigner et d'étudier les langues.* Paris: Librairie Sandoz et Fischbacher, successeur.

Gumperz, J. J. & Hyrnes, D. (Eds.) (1964). The ethnography of cornrnunication. *American Anthropologist,* 66, 6, part 2.

Habermas, J. (1970). Towards a theory of communicative competence. In H. Dreitzel (Ed.), 1970.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1967). *Intonation andgrammar in British English.* The Hague: Mouton.

------- (1970a). Language structure and language function. In J. Lyons (Ed.), 1970.

------- (1970b). *A course in spoken English: fntonation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

------, (1973). *Explorations in the functions oflanguage.* London: Edward Arnold.

------- (1975) *Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language.* London: Edward Amold.

------- (1978). *Language as social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning.* London: Edward Arnold.

Hymes, D. (1964). (Introduction) Towards ethnographies of communication. In J. J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), 1964.

------- (1968). The ethnography of speaking. In: Fishman, J.W., ed. 1968.

------- (1969). Sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking. In E. Ardener (ed.), 1971

------- (1971). On communicative competence. This seminal paper was first published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971. Shortened version in J. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), 1972, and extensive extracts in Brumfit & Johnson (eds.), 1979.

------.(1972). Models of the interactions of language and social life. In J. J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), 1972.

Johnson, K. & Johnson, H. (Eds.) 1999. *Encyclopedic dictionaty ofapplied linguistics: A handbook for language teaching.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Johnson, K. & Morrow, K. (Eds.) (1981). *Communication in the classroom.* London: Longrnan Group Ltd.

Kelly, L G. (1969). *Twenty-five centuries of language teaching.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Krashen, S. D. (1982). *Second Ianguage acquisition and second language learning.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Krashen, S. & Terrell, T. D. (1983). *The natural approach: language acquisition in the classroorn.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Littlewood, W. (1981). *Cornrnunicative language teaching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mackey, W. F. (1965). *Language teaching analysis.* London: Longmans, Green & Co Ltd.

Marton, W. (1988). *Methods in English language teachirig —frameworks and options.* London: Prentice Hall International.

Morrow, K. (1981). Principles of communicative methodology. In K. Johnson & K. Morrow (Eds.), 1981.

Moskowitz, G. (1978). *Caring and sharing in the foreign language class.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Mueller, Theodore H. (1971). *The effectiveness of two learning rnodels: the audio-lingual habit theory and the cognitive code-learning theory.* In P. Pimsleur & T. Quinn (Eds.), *The Psychology of Second Language Learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (pp. 113-122).

Munby, J. (1978). *Cornrnunicative syllabus design.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Newmark, L. (1971). A minimal language teaching program. In P. Pimsleur & T. Quinn (Eds.), 1971.

Newmark, L. & Reibel, D. A. (1968). Necessity and sufficiency in language leaming. *IRAL,* 6, 2, and in Lester, M (Ed.), 1970.

Parker, W. R. (1961). The National Interest and Foreign Languages. A discussion guide prepared for the US National Commission for UNESCO. Washington. 3rd edition.

Pimsleur, P. & Quinn, T. (Eds.), *The Psychology of Second Language Learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Prabhu, N. S. (1987). *Second Language Pedagogy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pride, J. & Holmes, J. (Eds.) (1972). *Sociolinguistics.* Harmondsworth, Mddx.: Penguin Books.

Richards, J. C. & T. S. Rogers (1986). *Approaches and rnethods in language teaching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Quirk, R. (1978). The importance of exporting English. *The Observer,* 9 July.

Reich, P. A. (Ed.) (1976). *The second LACUS forum.* Colombia, S.C. 2906: Hombeam Press.

Richterich, R. & Chancerel, J. L. (1978). *Identifying the needs of adults learning a foreign language.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Republished by Pergamon Press, 1980.

Rivers, W. M. (1964). *The psychologist and the foreign language teacher.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

------- (1981). *Teaching Foreign-Language Skills.* Second Edition. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago

Press.

Roberts, J. T. (1982). Recent developments in ELT, Part I, *Language Teaching,* 1512, 94-110.

Reprinted in V. Kinsella (Ed.) (1983) *Surveys* 2: *Eight State-of-the-Art Articles on Key Areas in Language Teaching.* Carnbridge: Carnbridge University Press, 96-141.

------. (1982) Recent developments in ELT, Part II, *Language Teaching,* 1513, 174-194. Reprinted in V. Kinsella (Ed.) (1983) *Surveys* 2: *Eight State-of-the-Art Articles on Key Areas in Language Teaching.* Cambridge: Carnbridge University Press, 96-141.

------. (1986). The use of dialogues in teaching transactional competence in foreign languages. *ELT Documents,* 51-85.

------. (1991). Review of M. Waldemar: *Methods in English Language Teaching - Frameworks and Options* (1988). Prentice Hall Intemational. *Journal of Applied Linguistics,* Vol. 12. lssue 2, 217-234.

Roberts, J. T. & Harden, T. (1997) Native or non-native speakers teachers of foreign languages? Old and new perspectives on the debate. *TEANGA* 17 (The lrish Yearbook of Applied Linguistics), 1-28.

Saféris, F. (1978). *Une révolution dans l'art d'apprendre.* Robert Laffont.

Savignon, S. J. (1972). *Communicative cornpetence: an experirnetit in foreign language teaching.* Paris: Marcel Didier.

------. (1980). Teaching for communication. In Bouchard & Spaventa (Eds.), 1980.

Searle, J. R. (1965). What is a speech act? In Black (Ed.), 1965.

Searle, John R. (1967). Human communication theory and the philosophy of language: sorne remarks. In F. Dance (Ed.), 1967.

Searle, John R. (1969). *Speech acts.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stern, H. H. (1981). Cornmunicative language teaching and leaming: toward a synthesis. In Alatis *et al.* (eds), 1981.

Tesnière, L. (1959176). *Éléments de syntaxe structurale.* Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.

Taylor, D. (1988). The meaning and use of the term 'cornpetence' in linguistics and applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, 912, 148-68.

Trim, J. L. M. (1973). Draft outline of a European unitlcredit system for modem language learning by adults. ln Trim, J. L. M., Richterich, R., van Eck, J. & Wilkins, D. A. (1973). *Systems development in adult language learning.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Republished by Pergarnon Press, 1980.

Van Eck, J. (1973). The 'threshold' level. In Trim *et al.* (1973). Also in: The Threshold Level. Strasbourg: Council of Europe (1975).

------. (1975). *The threshold level.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Republished by Pergamon Press, 1980.

Widdowson, H. G. (1972). The teaching of English as communication. *English Language Teaching, 27,* 1; also in Brumfit & Johnson (Eds.), 1979.

------. (1973). Directions in the teaching of discourse. In Corder & Roulet (Eds.),1973, and C. J. Brumfit & K. Johnson (Eds.), 1979.

------. (1978). *Teaching language as communication.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

------. (1979). Knowledge of language and ability for use. *Applied Linguistics*, 1012, 128-37

Wilkins, D. A. (1972a). *An investigation into the linguistic and situational content of the common core in a unit credit system.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Reprinted in Trim *et al.,* 1980.

Wilkins, D. A. (1972b). Grammatical, situational and notional syllabuses. *Proceedings of the 3'" International Congress of Applied Linguistics.* Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag.

Wilkins, D. A. (1974a). Notional syllabuses and the concept of a minimum adequate grammar. In Corder & Roulet (Eds.), 1974, and Brumfit & Johnson (Eds.), 1979.

Wilkins, D. A. (1974b). A communicative approach to syllabus construction in adult language leaming. *Modern Languages in Adult Education,* EES/Symposium 57, 10. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Wilkins, D. A. (1976). *Notional syllabuses.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.