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ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION FOR A GLOBAL WORLD

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

English is an international language, spoken by far more non-native speakers than native speakers and in a wide variety of accents. Pronunciation skills are vital to successful communication in English. The aim of pronunciation teaching for learners of English today is international intelligibility—an achievable and relevant goal.

International intelligibility can be taught by focusing on the pronunciation features contained in the Lingua Franca Core (LFC), a list of priorities for teaching pronunciation in English. This can be followed up with work targeting learners' more specific pronunciation goals, including any specific accent they may aspire to. This approach to pronunciation teaching prepares learners for international interactions by exposing them to multiple accents and helping them be intelligible to people from other language backgrounds. It makes use of the learners' first language as a means of interpreting and categorizing new language.

Pronunciation teaching is best integrated with other language skills and can have a positive impact on speaking, listening, vocabulary learning, and reading.

Digital technologies can provide useful tools for learners and teachers, and learners will benefit from teachers' guidance on how to select and use apps and other online resources for pronunciation work.

Learners' pronunciation can be assessed in the classroom, using various methods for diagnostic and progress testing. Teachers can also provide the immediate corrective feedback that is so beneficial for the development of pronunciation skills.

Teachers commonly express a lack of confidence in teaching pronunciation. This can be counteracted through continuing professional development, which will familiarize teachers with the concept of international intelligibility, deepen their knowledge of pronunciation, and help them make links between theory and practice.

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INTRODUCTION

The globalization of English in recent decades has brought about significant changes in the language. Non-native speakers now make up more than three-quarters of English users and have had a particularly strong influence on the pronunciation of English, which is more varied today than ever.

A key concept underpinning current approaches to teaching pronunciation is international intelligibility, that is, the capacity to make oneself understood in communication with people from different first language (L1) backgrounds. The speakers most likely to be successful in global communication are not necessarily those who have a native-speaker accent; rather, international intelligibility is the product of competence in the pronunciation features that are common to many accents.

These features constitute the principal focus in what has become known as an English as an international language (EIL) approach to pronunciation teaching. In this approach, emphasis is placed on making learners aware of how English operates in the world today, how international intelligibility is achieved, and how important pronunciation is to success in spoken communication. Effective pronunciation teaching equips learners to deal with multiple native-speaker and non-native-speaker accents. It is integrated into other language skills work and includes principled classroom assessment.

This paper explores the implications of adopting an EIL approach and offers practical guidance on implementing it in the teaching of pronunciation.

Section 1 addresses the following key questions:

- What is international intelligibility and why is it the principal goal of pronunciation teaching?
- How do language users adapt to those they are communicating with?
- What is the connection between accent and identity?

This section concludes by looking at the benefits of an EIL approach to pronunciation and the challenges it presents.

Section 2 examines the impact of pronunciation on successful communication and the crucial role it plays in the development of speaking, listening, and reading skills, and in the learning of vocabulary.

Section 3 identifies and compares the teaching priorities for two different pronunciation goals—international intelligibility and a native-speaker accent—and explores the common ground between them.

Section 4 explores the practicalities of teaching pronunciation:

- How do we integrate pronunciation into other language areas in teaching?
- How do we make use of our learners' first language(s)?
- How do we make the best use of digital resources for teaching and learning?

Section 5 examines the assessment of pronunciation, both in formal examinations and in the classroom.

Section 6 considers the role of institutional support in successful pronunciation teaching. It offers a re-assessment of the strengths of non-native speakers in the teaching of pronunciation and shows how institutions stand to benefit from investing in teacher development in this area.

The paper concludes by affirming that the most relevant goal for English pronunciation teaching is international intelligibility. We argue that this equips learners with the pronunciation skills essential for international communication and helps them understand different accents, while requiring them to master only the key pronunciation features needed for success in speaking. Teaching to this goal does not exclude learners who wish to aim for a native-speaker accent and places all teachers—native and non-native speakers alike—on an equal footing.

Key terms in **bold** are explained in the Glossary.

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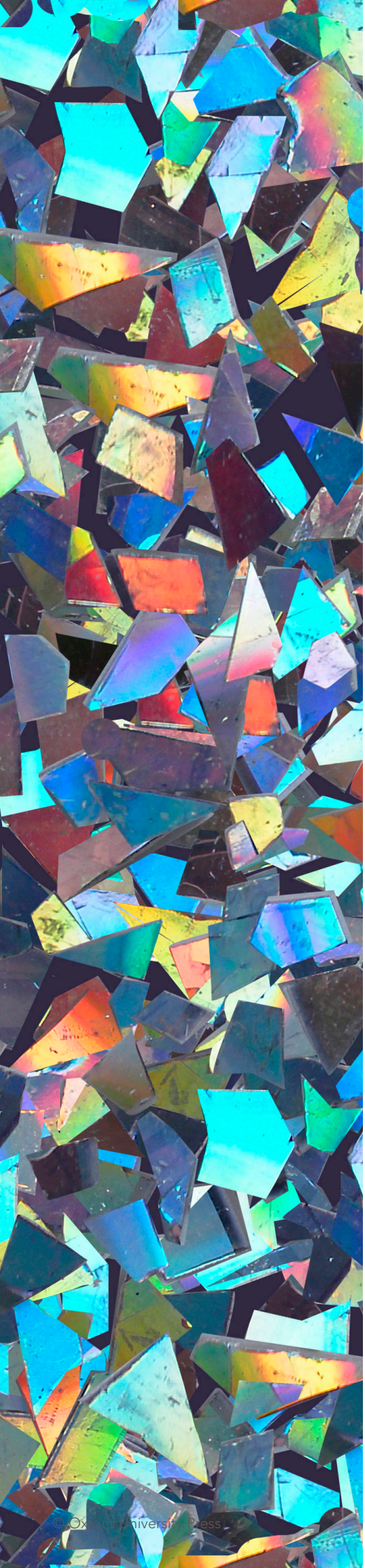

01

PRONUNCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION

With English now operating as the dominant language of global communication, the goals of pronunciation teaching and learning have shifted. Whereas it was once assumed that learners aspired to a native-speaker accent, the emphasis is now on helping them to become intelligible in international communication. Current approaches reflect the view that although users of English need to understand the many different accents they will encounter, they can choose the accent that they wish to aim for.

THE EVOLUTION OF ENGLISH

Recent decades have seen a rapid globalization of commerce, tertiary education, scientific research, the arts, tourism, and professional sport. As a result, non-native speakers have increasingly found themselves using English as a shared language of communication with other non-native speakers, frequently in the absence of native speakers, and this has given rise to what is often referred to as **English as an international language (EIL)**. Indeed, by the beginning of the 21st century, experts had estimated that almost 80 percent of communication in English no longer involved native speakers.[1]

Like all living languages, English is constantly evolving to suit the needs of its users. With globalization, the growing number of non-native speakers, together with native speakers, are bringing about multiple changes to the English language. These changes can be found in the grammar of the language but more so in its vocabulary and most notably in its pronunciation.

> By stressing the importance of pronunciation teaching and learning, we can sow the seeds of our learners' success in their English studies and in their future careers.
>
> EE-LING LOW

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CHANGING GOALS FOR PRONUNCIATION TEACHING

During much of the 20th century, pronunciation teaching for learners of English as a foreign language was governed by the 'nativeness principle',[2] with the goal assumed to be the attainment of a native-speaker accent—often either British **Received Pronunciation (RP)** or its US equivalent, **General American (GA)**. This assumption was challenged by the arrival of communicative approaches in the 1980s, which placed the emphasis on **communicative competence** and questioned the need for learners to achieve native-speaker accents. Increasingly, it was felt that a more appropriate goal for learners was to be comfortably intelligible[3] and that teaching should be guided by the 'intelligibility principle'.[4] This has given rise to the current view that an appropriate goal for pronunciation teaching is **international intelligibility**, that is, the capacity to make one's speech understandable to people from a wide range of language backgrounds, both native speakers and non-native speakers, and thus to participate effectively in international communication.

INTELLIGIBILITY, COMPREHENSIBILITY, AND ACCENTEDNESS

Intelligibility refers to how easily a listener can identify the individual words or phrases that a speaker produces ('I can understand almost everything'). Related to this are the more subjective concepts of **comprehensibility** and **accentedness**.[5] Comprehensibility relates to the effort required by the listener to understand what the speaker is saying ('I don't have to concentrate to understand'). Thus, speakers can be intelligible but may be judged to be poorly comprehensible if understanding their speech requires concentrated effort on the listener's part. Accentedness is the extent to which listeners judge the speaker's accent to deviate from what they consider neutral or 'standard'—in other words, how much of an 'accent' the speaker has ('The speaker's accent is different from mine').

While comprehensibility and accentedness are strongly tied to listeners' personal perceptions, intelligibility can be measured more objectively—for example, by having untrained listeners transcribe the words that they hear in short phrases taken from recordings of natural speech and then checking which were heard correctly. Accentedness need not be a barrier to intelligibility; in one study, a significant number of listeners identified speakers as being heavily accented but also successfully transcribed what was said, demonstrating that the speakers had been intelligible.[6] Nevertheless, intelligibility, comprehensibility, and accentedness are not necessarily unconnected: if listeners perceive speakers as poorly comprehensible or have a bias against their accent, they may invest less effort in listening to them. This might seem to indicate that speakers wishing to improve their intelligibility should work on eliminating their foreign accent. However, research shows that such an approach will not necessarily improve intelligibility.[7] Working on what is damaging to intelligibility is far more productive than trying to eliminate accent.

THE LINGUA FRANCA CORE

Research into intelligibility in spoken interactions between non-native speakers was pioneered by Jennifer Jenkins, who gathered empirical data in both study and social settings. Jenkins analysed breakdowns in communication that could be attributed to pronunciation and this allowed her to identify a small number of aspects of English pronunciation that appeared to be central to intelligibility between non-native speakers. From this, Jenkins created a list of priorities for pronunciation in English, which she called the **Lingua Franca Core (LFC)**.[8] The LFC has given rise to a great deal of debate and controversy among pronunciation experts, but later research,[9] especially work done in Europe and South-East Asia, has broadly confirmed Jenkins's original proposal. The LFC has important implications for teaching, which we explore in Section 3.

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ACCOMMODATION SKILLS FOR PRONUNCIATION

Accommodation refers to the way that language users adapt to those that they are communicating with, whether through adjusting their use of language, or through changes in their body language. Pronunciation **accommodation skills** involve users adjusting their expectations as listeners or modifying features of their own speech. They are crucial for speakers using English as an international language since they will encounter a wide range of non-native-speaker and native-speaker accents. In part, this is because native speakers themselves have a wide range of different national and regional accents. In addition, some aspects of English pronunciation—such as the exact quality of individual vowels or the *th* sounds—are not at all easy to acquire, which leaves non-native speakers with different accents influenced by their first language (L1).

Because of the many accents that they will encounter in EIL contexts, learners will need to be able to adjust their listening to what they actually hear, as opposed to what they might expect to hear on the basis of the native-speaker accents that they have been exposed to in the classroom. In other words, pronunciation teaching needs to train learners in **receptive accommodation**, the skill of adjusting one's expectations as a listener in order to understand the many accents encountered when using English with speakers from a variety of language backgrounds.

Productive accommodation is the ability to adjust one's output to one's listener(s), taking into account their needs and their level of competence in English. Some native speakers do this naturally in order to make themselves more easily understood. With guidance from their teachers, non-native speakers can also do this by identifying and working on the aspects of their pronunciation that are most likely to compromise their intelligibility in EIL settings. For example, Spanish speakers might enhance their international intelligibility with work on the distinction between the /b/ and /v/ sounds. Bulgarian speakers can enhance their international intelligibility by paying attention to not devoicing voiced consonants at the end of words, for example *mad* vs *mat*. Teachers can also help learners to deliberately adjust different features of their pronunciation to support a less experienced listener.

ACCENT AND IDENTITY

The connection between accent and identity is another key issue in the area of pronunciation for learners[10] and one that is quite strongly contested. Some experts claim that English language teachers who insist on learners acquiring a native-speaker accent are depriving them of the opportunity to signal their L1 cultural identity through their second language (L2) accent. Others argue that it is misguided to deny learners help with intelligibility problems in order to protect their identity. Both arguments are valid but need careful interpretation.[11]

There are numerous studies in which learners have stated that they would like to sound like native speakers.[12] However, many of these studies were carried out either in **English as a foreign language (EFL)** settings where the implicit goal of pronunciation teaching was a native-speaker accent or in settings where the learners were immigrants trying to settle into new lives in English-speaking countries. For learners who belong to the latter group, trying to identify with their new surroundings while retaining their L1 cultural identity may have complex and sometimes competing effects. This was evidenced by a study of immigrant learners of English in Canada which revealed how learners 'may either enhance or suppress one of their two identities by manipulating their language, in particular, their pronunciation of both languages'.[13]

An intelligibility-based approach to pronunciation teaching allows learners to retain L1 pronunciation features that do not compromise international intelligibility and thus recognizes learners' rights to maintain the link between their accent in English and their L1 identity. Recognition of this right is reflected in the 2018 update to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), according to which idealized native-speaker models that ignore the retention of L2-influenced accent 'lack consideration for context, sociolinguistic aspects and learners' needs'.[14]

EIL-oriented pronunciation teaching does not exclude learners who wish to attain a particular native-speaker accent. As we discuss in Section 3, a preferred accent can be developed as an extension of international intelligibility as learners progress towards higher levels of competence and are able to fine-tune their pronunciation.[15]

> Teaching my students pronunciation is never about them adopting a different accent and losing their own identity. My lessons focus on teaching pronunciation so that conversations with others, whether native or non-native speakers, are communicated well and interpreted accurately.
>
> Nicholle, Teacher, UK

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BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES OF EMPHASIZING INTERNATIONAL INTELLIGIBILITY

Research suggests that an EIL approach to the teaching of English pronunciation offers a number of benefits, as well as presenting certain challenges.

Benefits

- **Achievability**
  Taking an EIL approach allows learners to aim for the realistic and achievable goal of international intelligibility. By placing non-native-speaker and native-speaker accents on an equal footing, it relieves the pressure learners may feel to sound like native speakers.
- **Economy of effort**
  EIL pronunciation allows learners to focus principally on those features of pronunciation that are central to international intelligibility.
- **Preparation for international communication**
  Exposing learners to a variety of accents and training them in productive accommodation helps equip learners with the skills they need to engage in real-world international communication.
- **Preservation of L1 identity**
  Recognition by exam boards of intelligibility as the appropriate goal for pronunciation teaching shows learners that speaking English with an accent is accepted. This empowers them to retain their L1 accent when speaking English if they wish and, with this, their L1 identity.
- **Choice**
  An EIL approach to pronunciation allows learners to choose their own long-term goals for their pronunciation.
- **Motivation**
  Discussing EIL in the classroom and demonstrating that non-native speakers outnumber native speakers of English can show learners that they, too, 'own' the language. This may boost their confidence and motivation.

Challenges

- **Differing learner goals**
  Within any group of learners, some may wish to aim for a native-speaker accent and others for international intelligibility. The teacher will need to make it clear to the learners that both are possible within an EIL approach.
- **Differing learner L1s**
  A group of learners with different L1s will find different aspects of pronunciation challenging. However, with sensitive handling, their accents can be a resource for work on accommodation skills.
- **Learner age and readiness**
  Teachers need to decide when learners are ready to discuss EIL and non-native-speaker accents. Before students are ready to do so, teachers will need to make decisions about the focus of pronunciation teaching on behalf of their learners.

SUMMARY

Teaching pronunciation for international intelligibility provides learners with an attainable goal which respects their right to show their identity through an L1-influenced accent while still allowing them to pursue a native-speaker accent if they choose to do so. For teachers, the Lingua Franca Core can be used to identify the most relevant pronunciation features for learners working towards international intelligibility. Through EIL communication, learners will be exposed to a variety of different accents and they therefore need support in accommodating to them as listeners as well as in accommodating their own pronunciation as speakers. Teachers can help learners to develop these skills by ensuring that they have suitable exposure to the accents they are likely to encounter.

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02

THE IMPORTANCE OF PRONUNCIATION

Pronunciation skills are crucial for successful communication in English in today's globalized world. However, they also have a more significant contribution to make to language learning and use. In this section, we consider how pronunciation skills relate to learners' overall competence in international communication, and we examine the importance of pronunciation with regard to speaking and listening skills, vocabulary learning, and reading skills.

PRONUNCIATION AND COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Pronunciation has long been accepted as an essential part of **communicative competence**,[16] that is, a speaker's knowledge of a language and how to use it. A concept dating back to the 1970s, communicative competence is defined from the perspective of native-speaker behaviours and cultures. However, the globalization of English has led to a broadening of this concept to reflect the use of **English as an international language (EIL)**. The goal is now to develop the language knowledge and usage skills needed for communicating with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, or in other words, to develop **intercultural communicative competence**. Studies of EIL show that pronunciation can account for up to two-thirds of communication breakdown between non-native speakers.[17] **International intelligibility** is therefore an essential component of intercultural communicative competence, and this makes the teaching of pronunciation more relevant than ever.

Surveys of learner attitudes and beliefs indicate that they are fully aware of the important role pronunciation plays in successful communication: the majority of learners rate pronunciation as a priority, either agreeing or strongly agreeing with statements highlighting its importance when learning English.[18] Since learners value pronunciation so highly, it seems safe to assume that they will be receptive to focusing on pronunciation in their lessons. And as we explore below, good pronunciation relates to and can boost performance in other areas of learning English.

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SPEAKING SKILLS

Studies have demonstrated that deliberate pronunciation training improves students' confidence when speaking English.[19] This is significant because we know from other research that students who are less sure about their pronunciation competence are less willing to participate in speaking tasks.[20] Beyond the boundaries of formal research, teachers everywhere have first-hand experience of how poor pronunciation can seriously impact a learner's self-confidence—an effect stemming not only from the difficulty that learners experience in pronouncing words but also from their perception that their spoken English is poorly intelligible to their listeners. Teachers can support learners in becoming clearer, more confident speakers through simple classroom activities such as teaching them how to check the pronunciation of new vocabulary prior to speaking, helping them with sounds they find hard to articulate, and showing them how to link words so as to increase fluency.

LISTENING SKILLS

Bottom-up processing

Communicative approaches to listening traditionally focus on the application of **top-down processing**, such as using contextual clues to understand spoken English. More recently, experts in **English as a foreign language (EFL)** listening have agreed that more attention needs to be paid to **bottom-up processing**, which involves **decoding** the individual phrases, words, and sounds that learners hear. This is especially important for lower-level learners, who are often unable to make use of either contextual clues or prior knowledge to fill gaps in their understanding. It is also important in EIL settings, where interlocutors frequently do not share a common cultural background or prior knowledge. As a result, they may be forced to use bottom-up processing and rely on the phonological components of what they hear to understand the message.[21]

Listeners first need to break the continuous sound of spoken English down into meaningful units, short phrases, or individual words. They must then quickly and accurately recognize words or, if necessary, individual sounds. It has been argued on this basis that pronunciation teaching should reintroduce the ear-training and sound discrimination exercises that were widely discredited with the arrival of communicative language teaching.[22]

Connected speech

Pronunciation also overlaps with listening in terms of understanding the changes to words that speakers make in **connected speech**—that is, modifications to the dictionary form of a word through processes such as **assimilation**, **elision**, or **coalescence**. These effects are most noticeable when speech is rapid and spontaneous,[23] and listeners who are unaware of them will face serious obstacles in their attempts to understand natural-speed native-speaker English. This focus on connected speech for listening is especially appropriate for intermediate and higher-level learners.

VOCABULARY LEARNING

Sound–spelling norms

Students need guidance in the correct pronunciation of new vocabulary so that they do not apply their L1 sound–spelling norms to English words they are learning. For example, if the learners' L1 has a much more transparent sound–spelling system than English, they may pronounce 'real' as /reˈæl/. This would not normally be intelligible to listeners with other L1s and communication would be compromised. Similarly, learners expecting to hear 'library' as /ˈlaɪbrəri/, with three full syllables, might not recognize the word when it is embedded into natural speech and pronounced as /ˈlaɪbri/ with two syllables.

Vocabulary retention

In addition, evidence from neurolinguistics demonstrates the importance of good pronunciation for the retention of L2 vocabulary. Words that we meet are initially processed in **working memory** using what is known as the **phonological loop**. This consists of an 'inner ear' and an 'inner voice', which hold and repeat verbal information so that it can be transferred successfully from working memory to long-term memory. Most researchers now agree that good pronunciation assists the phonological loop in successfully preparing new vocabulary[24] for storage in long-term memory, from where it can later be retrieved for use.

READING SKILLS

For beginners who are learning to read in English, pronunciation is not an optional extra. This is because of the way the written forms of English words are processed in working memory. Both L1 and L2 reading involves decoding written words by accurately and fluently matching sounds to the letters or letter combinations on the page.[25] Thus, knowing the correct pronunciation of letter combinations such as *-ght*, *-igh*, or *-tion*, or the possible pronunciations of *ea* for words like 'head', 'meat', or 'break', contributes positively to word reading fluency and, more generally, to overall reading fluency. Research into reading in English as a second language concludes that the reading problems experienced by some learners are the result of poor pronunciation of the sounds of English.[26] Assisting these readers in improving their pronunciation could therefore help them to read better.[27]

> Research suggests that pronunciation can account for up to two-thirds of communication breakdown between non-native speakers.
>
> ROBIN WALKER

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SUMMARY

The importance of pronunciation for learners cannot be underestimated. Vital to international intelligibility, it is an essential component of intercultural communicative competence. Surveys reveal that learners view pronunciation as a crucial factor in their progress in learning English, and this intuitive judgement is affirmed by research which shows how good pronunciation contributes to success in other aspects of learning English, including speaking, listening, vocabulary learning, and reading.

English is a global language. Both native and non-native speakers need to develop the skills for effective mutual intelligibility.

JANE SETTER

03

WHAT TO TEACH

As the goals of pronunciation teaching have shifted, so have views on how 'good pronunciation' should be defined and what exactly learners need to be taught. In this section, we explore what 'good pronunciation' means, together with teaching priorities and different models of English. We consider how pronunciation teaching for speaking can be made relevant to all learners, whatever their pronunciation goals. Finally, we look at the pronunciation skills needed for successful listening in **English as an international language (EIL)** contexts, and at how best to equip learners for success.

WHAT IS GOOD PRONUNCIATION?

English as a foreign language (EFL) approaches to teaching assumed 'good pronunciation' to be synonymous with a near-native-speaker accent. However, the goal of **international intelligibility** in an EIL approach calls for a broader definition. Ee-Ling Low makes the case for 'listener-dominated norms', suggesting that 'the speaker should try, as far as possible, to achieve **intelligibility** with the listener'.[28] Meanwhile, Rosina Lippi-Green argues for the 'communicative burden' to be shared between the speaker and the listener, with the more competent speaker in any exchange accepting a greater share of the responsibility for a successful outcome.[29] 'Good pronunciation' in these terms is pronunciation that is comfortably intelligible to the listener—it does not have a single codifiable form. This represents a clear departure from the traditional native-speaker-dominated norms for pronunciation teaching.

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) also now defines successful pronunciation in terms of intelligibility, acknowledging in its 2018 update that the former focus on native-speaker accent was mistaken:

> In language teaching, the phonological control of an idealised native speaker has traditionally been seen as the target, with accent being seen as a marker of poor phonological control. The focus on accent and on accuracy instead of on intelligibility has been detrimental to the development of the teaching of pronunciation.[30]

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Even for high levels (C1 and C2), the 2018 CEFR descriptors for phonological control acknowledge that the speaker's intelligibility is not affected in any way by features of an accent that may be retained from other languages.[31] In other words, learners of English can achieve the very highest levels of competence while retaining a non-native-speaker accent.

Thus, researchers and international guidelines for language teaching concur that for learners of English, 'good pronunciation' is what successfully contributes to effective and efficient communication in a given situation. It is what is comfortably intelligible to the listener(s), whether they are native or non-native speakers. It is listener-oriented in that it involves **productive accommodation** to both the listener and the context on the part of the speaker. No single accent of English—native-speaker or non-native-speaker, standard or otherwise—automatically represents 'good pronunciation'.

The evolution in what constitutes 'good pronunciation' enables learners to move away from the native-speaker accent goal; however, this does not mean that they have to. In surveys of learners' views in the early 2000s, respondents pointed overwhelmingly to the attainment of a native-speaker accent as their ultimate goal. More recent studies suggest that this preference is changing,[32] perhaps due to increasing awareness of EIL. Simon Cole reports how, when he explained the difference between EIL and EFL goals to his students, they were 'pleasantly surprised' that they had a choice.[33] A survey of school students in Finland found that they 'do not seem to have aspirations to native-like pronunciation'.[34] It is therefore important that teachers talk to learners about their pronunciation goals.

RESPONDING TO DIFFERENT LEARNER GOALS

Teachers may find that within one class some learners aspire to a native-speaker accent and others to international intelligibility. Fortunately, there is a lot of common ground between these two goals. Experts are researching how pronunciation can be taught in a way that allows learners to follow the same route initially and then branch out to pursue their own personal long-term goals, whether a native-speaker accent or international intelligibility. As Figure 1 illustrates, the pronunciation features in the **Lingua Franca Core (LFC)** provide a shared path over the common ground, allowing learners to quite quickly become widely intelligible to willing interlocutors—both native and non-native speakers—in most contexts.[35] From there, learners can pursue their personal pronunciation goals.

> Being understood in a language is much more important than sounding like a native speaker.
>
> JANE SETTER

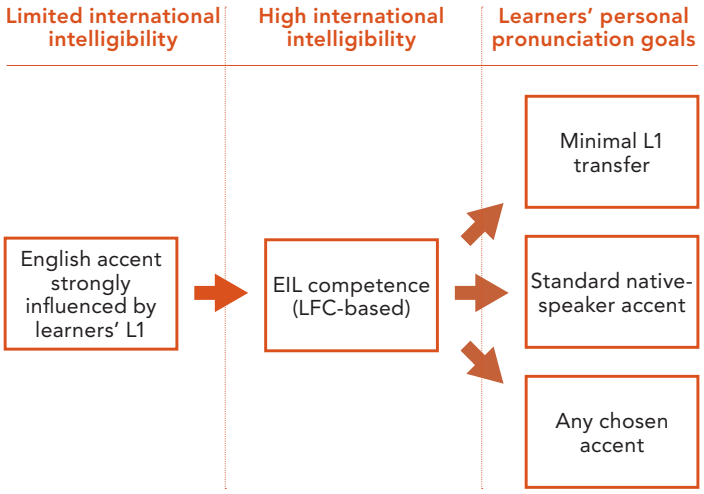

Figure 1. Achievement of different learner goals

MODELS OF NON-NATIVE-SPEAKER ENGLISH

A common concern expressed by teachers regarding an EIL approach to pronunciation teaching is the lack of clear models of English. Opponents of such an approach suggest that without native-speaker models for students to work towards, standards of pronunciation will fall to a point where communication fails. By contrast, exponents of EIL propose three possible options for suitable models:

1. existing native-speaker models for pronunciation teaching, avoiding features outside the LFC
2. recordings of expert users of EIL
3. the teacher's own pronunciation.

Model 1 is a convenient and practical option given the amount of pronunciation practice material already available in ELT materials—usually in **Received Pronunciation (RP)** and/or **General American (GA)**. Model 2 is made feasible by websites and mobile apps which provide access to the speech of expert users of EIL (see Section 4). Whether or not they are aimed at language learners, these online resources can provide useful material for creating practice activities.

Model 3 is of special significance. If the only acceptable model were one particular native-speaker accent, teachers who do not speak with this accent would be clearly disadvantaged. In practice, this would affect not just the vast majority of non-native-speaker teachers but also all the native-speaker teachers with non-RP or non-GA accents. In an EIL approach to pronunciation, however, all teachers whose pronunciation is internationally intelligible are good models for their students. In that respect, an EIL approach empowers teachers and places non-native-speaker teachers on an equal footing with their native-speaker counterparts. In addition, in some ways, non-native-speaker teachers are better placed as instructors, given that they will be guiding their learners on the same journey that they have taken themselves to attain international intelligibility.[36]

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PRODUCTIVE COMPETENCE

The pronunciation features included in Jenkins's Lingua Franca Core (LFC) are those that learners require for basic **productive competence**. Table 1 summarizes the pronunciation features that learners need to prioritize in order to be internationally intelligible according to Jenkins's original study and subsequent work by other researchers.[37]

Identifying these pronunciation features gives teachers clear guidance on priorities for learners who will use English as an international language. When we compare EIL and native-speaker accent priorities (see Table 2), we can observe that the latter includes features which are not relevant for EIL. Indeed, some features may even be detrimental to international intelligibility.

Priority pronunciation feature	Example
Most consonant sounds	The pronunciation of /f/ as /p/, with 'coffee' sounding like 'copy' could seriously impair international intelligibility. Similarly, replacing /tʃ/ with /ʃ/ would make 'chairs' sound like 'shares' and also threaten intelligibility. Exceptions: Common variants of /θ/, /ð/, and /r/ are acceptable and widely intelligible, e.g. 'think' may be pronounced as 'tink', 'then' as 'den', and 'ready' with a trilled *r*.
Aspiration of /p/, /t/, and /k/ at the beginning of a word	If aspiration is too weak, a word may be mistaken for another, e.g. 'pear' will sound like 'bear', 'tense' like 'dense', and 'coat' like 'goat'.
Consonant clusters at the beginning or in the middle of a word	Adding an extra sound is unlikely to affect intelligibility, but consonant sounds cannot usually be deleted from a cluster, e.g. 'stone' is likely to be understood if pronounced as 'sitone' but not as 'tone' or 'sone'.
Vowel length	There needs to be a clear distinction between long and short vowels, e.g. 'fill'/'feel', and between vowels length in different contexts, e.g. 'back'/'bag'.
Nuclear (sentence) stress	The placement of stress in a sentence shows the emphasis of the speaker and therefore affects its interpretation, e.g. 'I've rented a FLAT'/'I've RENTed a flat'/'I'VE rented a flat'.
Word stress	Word stress needs to be correctly placed to achieve intelligibility, e.g. listeners may not recognize 'balloon' pronounced as 'BAlloon', 'folLOW' as 'follow' or 'creation' as 'CREation'.

Table 1. Priority pronunciation features for productive competence (based on the LFC)

Aspect of pronunciation	EIL priorities (based on the LFC)	Native-speaker accent priorities
Consonant sounds	Most sounds are important except for LFC-acceptable variants	All sounds
Consonant clusters	Important at the beginning or in the middle of words	Important in all positions
Vowel length	Long/short contrasts and shortening of vowels before voiceless consonants are important	Long/short contrasts are important
Nuclear (sentence) stress	Important	Important
Word stress	Important	Important
Vowel quality	L1-influenced vowel qualities are acceptable as long as they are consistent	Important. Vowel qualities should be as close as possible to the target native-speaker accent, with minimal influence from L1.
Vowel reduction, use of **schwa** (/ə/), and **weak forms**	Unhelpful to intelligibility; only taught for receptive purposes	Important
Assimilation, **elision**, **coalescence**	Can be unhelpful to intelligibility; only taught for receptive purposes	Important
Stress-timed rhythm	Not important	Important
Pitch movement (fall, rise, fall–rise, etc.)	Not important	Important

Table 2. EIL and native-speaker accent priorities

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Some features of pronunciation work aimed at cultivating a native-speaker accent are not important for EIL, while some **connected speech** features of native-speaker English (such as weak forms, schwa and vowel reduction, assimilation, elision, and coalescence) may impair intelligibility in EIL settings. This is because, individually or in combination, they can lead to problems with **recoverability**, the extent to which a speaker's utterance is identifiable from what the listener hears. For example, pronouncing the word 'particularly' as /ˈptɪkli/ makes it harder to recover; it is more easily recoverable as /pæˈtɪkjuleli/. Various studies conclude that since weak forms and vowel reduction do not add to EIL intelligibility and could compromise it, they should not be taught for productive competence in EIL.[38]

Accent addition

Mastering the EIL priority areas of pronunciation gives learners a good level of international intelligibility. Once they have reached basic EIL competence, they can embark upon a process of **accent addition**,[39] working on the features of their chosen accent that they have not yet acquired. For learners whose long-term goal is an RP accent, for example, the next steps would be to work towards productive competence in the connected speech features and exact vowel qualities that characterize this accent. For learners whose pronunciation target is high EIL competence, the next step would be to work on productive accommodation. This could include consciously altering their pronunciation to make themselves more clearly intelligible to a particular listener and/or reducing the influence of their L1(s) on their English pronunciation.

RECEPTIVE COMPETENCE

Learners' **receptive competence**—that is, their capacity to understand when listening—is greater than their productive competence: they can understand more than they can produce. In EIL settings, learners will encounter a wide range of non-native-speaker accents because of the variation in EIL speakers' language backgrounds. In addition, there are features of native-speaker connected speech which EIL speakers do not need to be able to produce but do need to understand as part of international intelligibility.[40] Pronunciation teaching has a significant role in equipping learners to deal with both of these areas as listeners.

In the past, a great deal of pronunciation and listening practice was restricted to a small number of native-speaker accents. Now a wider range of accents are being used in listening practice and in the future, learners will need opportunities to hear an even greater variety of native-speaker and non-native-speaker accents. Pronunciation practice activities will also have to offer explicit guidance in the ways that different accents in English affect what listeners might expect. If you know that the person you are listening to regularly pronounces /w/ as if it were /v/—for example, pronouncing 'well' as 'vell'—then it is much easier to adjust your listening to that speaker.

Specifically designed classroom activities can allow learners to 'hear, analyse and compare key features among a variety of accents'.[41] For instance, learners could listen to how different speakers deal with a specific pronunciation issue, such as *th* in 'this', 'those', or 'then', and comment on what they heard and even on which pronunciation they prefer. This kind of **guided exposure** helps learners improve their ability to understand other speakers' accents, that is, their **receptive accommodation**. This, in turn, facilitates international intelligibility, helps learners see accent as a natural phenomenon, and increases their openness towards diversity.

Instructors can use the wide range of speech corpora freely available online, such as the English Language Listening Library Online, the Speech Accent Archive, or the International Dialects of English Archive (see Further reading and resources on page 35). These allow teachers to demonstrate accents from different varieties of English spoken around the world, giving learners the opportunity to experience and compare their features. Additionally, if a class is made up of speakers from multiple L1 backgrounds, recordings of two speakers with different accents reading the same passage can be used for in-class comparisons, provided that the learners are happy to do this and the activity is handled sensitively.

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SUMMARY

In today's world of global communication, the definition of 'good pronunciation' is the capacity to be intelligible to a given listener in a given context. Whether learners aspire to a native-speaker accent or to international intelligibility, there is a lot of common ground between these two seemingly opposing goals which all teachers can cover with their learners. For speaking skills, productive competence in the Lingua Franca Core will provide a solid foundation for ensuring learners' international intelligibility. For listening skills, receptive competence in a wider range of pronunciation features, including the ability to understand many different accents, will help promote communicative success.

It is important that my students can pronounce words, phrases, and sentences well enough to be easily understood by both native and non-native speakers. The goal should not be to sound like a native speaker but to develop a pronunciation of English that will allow communication to occur.

Ricardo, Professor, PANAMA

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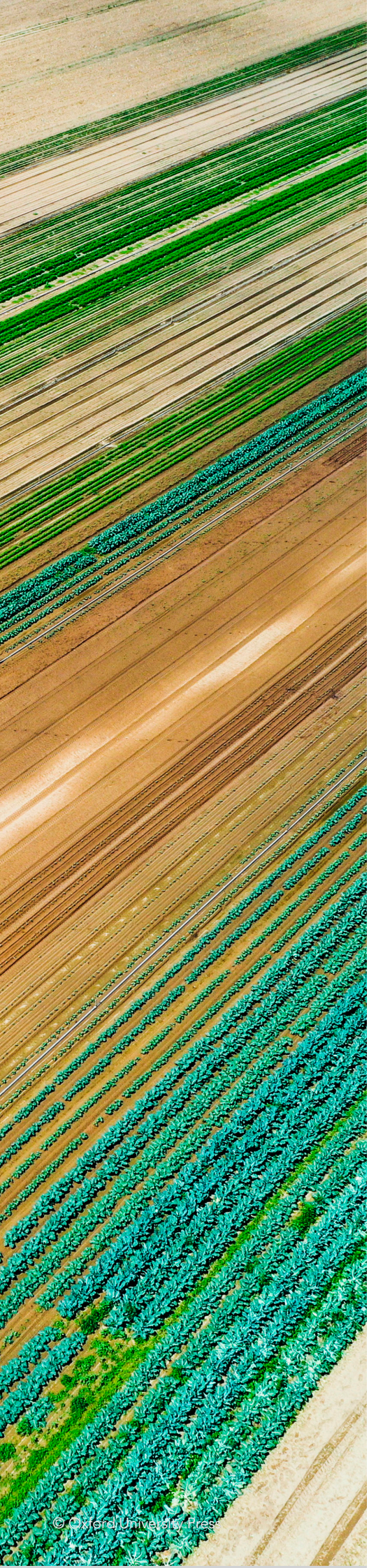

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04

HOW TO TEACH PRONUNCIATION

How pronunciation is taught depends to a great extent on who is teaching, where they are teaching, and who they are teaching. Nevertheless, there are a number of key principles that characterize effective pronunciation teaching in any context. In this section, we demonstrate how teachers can convey the importance of pronunciation skills and of **international intelligibility**. We show how pronunciation teaching can be integrated with work on other language skills, and how it can make use of the learners' L1. We also consider how new technologies, used selectively, can offer valuable resources for the classroom or self-study.

SHOWING THE RELEVANCE OF PRONUNCIATION

Whatever their teaching context, teachers can make a lasting impact on their learners' motivation and progress in developing pronunciation skills by:

- **Helping learners understand the importance of pronunciation for effective communication**
  This can best be done by explaining how pronunciation relates to success in other language skills. Learners can also be encouraged to bring in their own examples of pronunciation issues that have hampered real-life communication to discuss in class.
- **Exploring with learners the goal of international intelligibility**
  This is an achievable goal for all learners and one from which learners can go on to perfect a specific accent of their choice if they wish to. (See Appendix 1 on page 29 for practical ideas.)
- **Establishing priorities for each group or individual learner**
  These can be based on their learning goals and accompanied by discussion about the importance of each priority.

AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO TEACHING PRONUNCIATION

Pronunciation is intrinsic to the teaching of other skills, especially speaking and listening, and so pronunciation activities need to be anchored in one or more of the other language skills being taught.[42] Pronunciation is a support system that works in the background whilst other systems are in operation.

Pronunciation and speaking

Pronunciation supports speaking in different ways. Work on new language structures, for example, requires pronunciation practice. Activities focusing on accurate pronunciation of plural *-s* or regular past tense *-ed* endings are well represented in ELT coursebooks, but other structures can also provide opportunities for pronunciation work. For example, **consonant clusters**, a common source of difficulty for learners, can be practised through third conditional structures such as 'If we hadn't followed them, we'd've got lost'. Practice like this integrates pronunciation into accuracy-focused oral work on a grammar structure. Learners can also work on the pronunciation of lexical chunks, such as 'if I were you', 'I see what you mean', or 'it's on the tip of my tongue'. Helping learners to produce lexical chunks more fluently will optimize the contribution of these chunks to their overall speaking fluency.

Pronunciation and listening

Pronunciation can help learners deal more effectively with the **bottom-up processing** requirements that listening places on them.[43] Work on minimal pairs will help learners recognize the difference between problematic sounds. The less effort needed to distinguish between /æ/ and /ʌ/, as in 'hat' and 'hut', for example, the more attention the listener can devote to contextual clues and other aspects of **top-down processing**. Targeted pronunciation work can also help learners to pick up on the **weak forms** of function words. It can be very hard for learners to make sense of 'He said that they could have won.' where four of the words are weakened and come one after another. Similarly, 'and a dress' sounds the same as 'an address' and it is not easy to distinguish between 'I'll go' and 'I'd go' or between 'she's gone' and 'she'd gone'.

Pronunciation and vocabulary

Vocabulary knowledge underlies success in both speaking and listening, and vocabulary work provides an ideal opportunity to integrate pronunciation into lessons aimed primarily at language or skills work. Checking vocabulary prior to speaking allows teachers to detect pronunciation problems and deal with them before they distract learners during the speaking activity itself. Problematic consonant and vowel sounds, consonant clusters, and word stress can all be addressed at this stage in a way that brings out the real value of pronunciation.

Integrating pronunciation

THE LEARNERS' L1

A significant factor affecting the learning of L2 pronunciation is the learner's L1. This will strongly influence the way that learners perceive the sounds and **suprasegmental features** (such as stress, rhythm, and intonation) of the target language since they will categorize what they hear through their L1 system. Hearing English through 'L1 ears' creates difficulties for learners. These difficulties can occur with the features of English pronunciation that are altogether absent from the L1 and with those that are significantly different from the L1, but problems are especially likely to arise with features that are deceptively similar.[44]

Interestingly, for learners whose goal is international intelligibility, there are many features of their L1 pronunciation that can be usefully brought to bear on their progress with the pronunciation of English.[45] As a minimum, the L1 will provide the basis on which learners can build their competence in the key features of the pronunciation of English for international intelligibility.[46] For example, the English sound /ŋ/, as in 'thing' and 'hanger', is not found in French but it is pronounced in the French word *dingue*, where it is present as an **allophone** (an acceptable variant). Similarly, the sound /v/ is not found in Mandarin Chinese but /f/ is. If learners are asked to make /f/ and are then shown how to add voicing, they can easily make a /v/ sound. The L1 also provides learners with a lens through which they can investigate the sound systems of L2 English speakers with other L1 backgrounds,[47] and this will help them to accommodate their pronunciation to speakers of different varieties of English. (See Appendix 1 on page 29 for more ways of using the learners' L1 as a classroom resource.)

TECHNOLOGIES FOR TEACHING PRONUNCIATION

A wide range of technologies are now available to assist in the teaching of pronunciation. These include technologies that are specifically developed for pronunciation teaching and form part of **computer-assisted pronunciation teaching (CAPT)**. They also include general-purpose digital tools, such as video-conferencing or recording apps, which teachers are using for pronunciation work in increasingly creative ways.

Using computer-assisted pronunciation teaching

Most of the online resources and apps created to help learners improve their pronunciation can be used in class and offer a number of advantages, including:

- the provision of consistent language models
- a wide range of voices (male and female, native speaker and non-native speaker)
- the potential to facilitate learner autonomy
- scope for extended individualized practice.
- their portability as an online or smartphone resource
- unlike human teachers, they never get 'tired'

CAPT resources offer a wide range of different speaker models, thereby providing the exposure that is essential for **English as an international language (EIL)** settings. An app developed by the National Institute of Education in Singapore, for example, uses a non-native-speaker accent as the model.[48] The app allows users to record themselves and share their recordings with a closed social media group and their instructor. This enables peers to listen to and comment on each other's pronunciation patterns.

Despite the potential benefits of CAPT resources, many are not yet sufficiently developed to ensure that their use has the desired result. A 2013 review of smartphone apps found that most focused on a single aspect of pronunciation, often an individual sound which did not necessarily affect **intelligibility**.[49] Most also used native-speaker accents as the model, and if they gave feedback on the learner's production, they did so by comparing it to the chosen native-speaker accent rather than by measuring the speaker's intelligibility.

Automatic speech recognition (ASR) is a significant aspect of CAPT and there has been a good deal of research into its usability in teaching pronunciation.[50] ASR technology is rapidly improving and is now being used for high-stakes testing. However, two key issues need to be addressed: firstly, its capacity to deal with variation and to rate intelligibility rather than accent, and secondly, its capacity to offer immediate, meaningful feedback to the user.

As with smartphone apps, if the first issue is not resolved, ASR will be of limited value to learners aiming to use their English for international communication. Equally importantly, ASR and other CAPT resources need to offer learners immediate, quality feedback, with clear, individualized guidance identifying errors and indicating how they can be corrected; otherwise learners risk repeating the same erroneous form and reinforcing incorrect pronunciation.[51]

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Selecting digital resources

Even where good resources and apps are available, human teachers will continue to play an essential role in pronunciation teaching for the foreseeable future. Learners will need guidance from their teachers on which apps and resources are most useful, which parts of an app or program are most relevant to their needs, and how to correct an erroneous pronunciation feature identified by the app or CAPT resource they are using. When assessing the usefulness of an app or CAPT resource, teachers need to consider the following factors:

- **Suitability and choice**
  Does the resource offer learners what they need and can they choose what to work on and in what sequence?
- **Place and pace**
  Can learners choose where they will practise and at what speed they will advance?
- **User instructions**
  Are the instructions simple and explicit?
- **Repetition**
  Is there opportunity for abundant repetition as is required to make the new pronunciation skill automatic?
- **Feedback**
  Is feedback immediate and useful? Smiley or sad emojis indicating right and wrong answers can provide immediate feedback, but this feedback is of limited use to learners, especially with incorrect answers.
- **Progress**
  Does the app or resource keep a reliable record of the learners' progress and can learners easily see their progress?

SUMMARY

Effective pronunciation teaching starts with demonstrating to learners the importance of pronunciation for effective communication. It helps them understand that international intelligibility is a valid and achievable pronunciation goal which offers a good basis for progressing to speaking English with any accent they choose. Work on pronunciation skills is most effective when integrated into the teaching of other language skills. The learners' L1 has a significant role to play, being both an obstacle to and an important resource for learning the pronunciation of English. Technologies are another resource for teaching and learning pronunciation. While they bring a number of advantages, learners need guidance from teachers on which technologies will help them most.

Rapid technological developments mean that learners can have easy access to global varieties of English through virtual platforms. This exposure will help them to appreciate and understand global varieties of English.

EE-LING LOW

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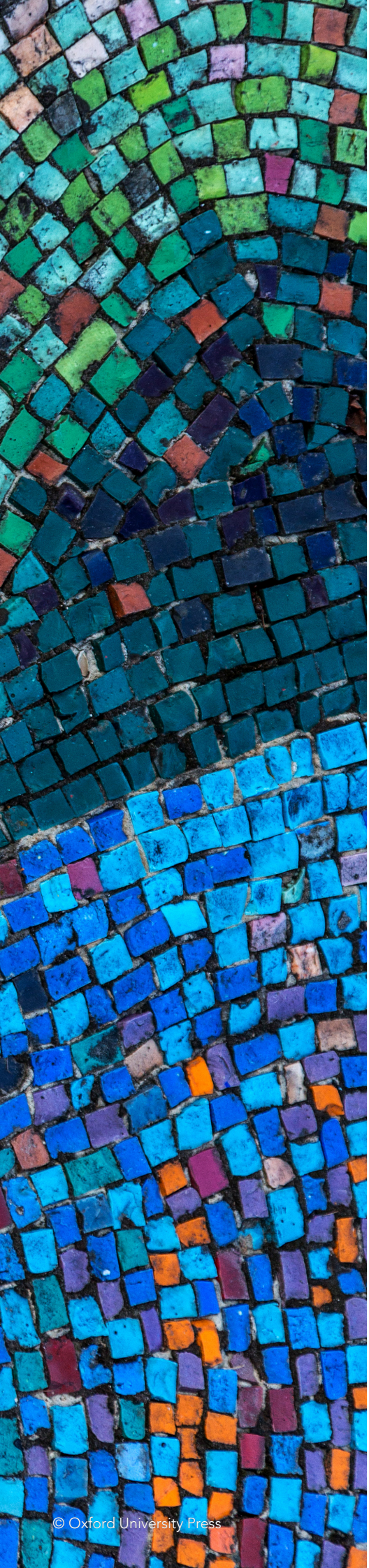

05

THE ASSESSMENT OF PRONUNCIATION

The significance of **English as an international language (EIL)** is reflected in new approaches to assessing pronunciation. Indeed, as we will see, most examination boards now conceptualize pronunciation in terms of **international intelligibility** rather than native-speaker accent in summative assessment. In this section, we also look at ways of assessing pronunciation in the classroom and consider the important role of feedback and correction in formative assessment.

SUMMATIVE ASSESSMENT OF PRONUNCIATION

The summative assessment of pronunciation is included in all the major international examinations in English. These examinations focus on the **holistic assessment** of pronunciation as part of speaking and now test candidates according to their **intelligibility**[52] or adherence to 'an internationally intelligible model'[53] rather than a native-speaker accent. This development is in accordance with the 2018 CEFR scale for phonological control and demonstrates the willingness in language teaching and assessment to evolve in response to the growth of EIL. However, the use of international intelligibility as a construct for assessing speaking proficiency is complex. It is the focus of much ongoing research by the assessment community[54] and constitutes a significant challenge for English language assessment.

CLASSROOM ASSESSMENT OF PRONUNCIATION

The assessment of pronunciation in the classroom is essential. It is a way for teachers to demonstrate the importance of pronunciation and for learners to measure their progress, a key factor in achieving good pronunciation. Focusing classroom assessment on international intelligibility rather than proximity to a specific accent reflects the role of pronunciation in global communication. For the most part, we recommend the use of holistic classroom assessment (looking at all aspects of pronunciation) rather than **discrete item testing** (assessing individual features). However, there are situations when a discrete item test can be appropriate. For example, if a group has just finished a unit or module in which they worked on a specific contrast between two sounds, a simple test requiring them to demonstrate their ability to perceive and produce this difference would be effective.

In general, experts and skilled practitioners agree that classroom assessment should take the form of **diagnostic testing** at the beginning of a course and **progress testing** during the course to provide learners with ongoing feedback and help them to measure their progress.

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Diagnostic testing

For the purposes of diagnostic testing, some pronunciation experts recommend obtaining and recording samples of two types of learners' spoken output which require them to:

- read a set text aloud
- speak spontaneously.[55]

Using a set text guarantees that all the students in the group can demonstrate the pronunciation of the target items in the same controlled context. The easiest way of choosing an appropriate set text is to pick one from a recent unit in the class coursebook, such as part of a reading passage or the audio script from a listening activity. If a listening passage is chosen, it is best to use a monologue so that all the students are assessed on the same text.

The disadvantage of using a set text is that reading aloud is not easy and is especially challenging for students with dyslexia. This problem can be avoided by obtaining samples of spontaneous speech—for example, by getting learners to answer questions, describe pictures, or talk about themselves. However, such activities can present other challenges for some students. It is also unlikely that all students will produce the same features in the same contexts, which can make comparisons between students difficult. Ideally, both types of speech sample should be obtained from each learner, but there may be circumstances in which it is better to sacrifice one option and use the other in order to allow each learner to perform at their best. Timid students may well prefer a set text, for example, whilst a student with dyslexia may prefer spontaneous speech.

Once analysed and marked by the teacher, these samples can serve as the basis for determining individual learners' priorities or for identifying areas that are problematic for the class. Until quite recently, with English being learned mainly as a foreign language, samples were marked against a specific native-speaker accent. However, in EIL settings, it is preferable to measure learners' pronunciation against features recognized to be central to achieving international intelligibility.[56]

Progress testing

Progress testing can now be facilitated by modern technologies which allow students to record speech samples much more easily. After practising a pronunciation feature through a classroom activity, students can make a recording of the activity or a related task and send it to their teacher for assessment. This also provides an opportunity for peer and self-assessment, since learners can listen to their own recordings and those of their peers. They can also be invited to make various attempts at the target feature(s) based on any feedback they receive from their peers or teacher, without seeing these repeated attempts as 'cheating'.[57]

Feedback and correction

One of the teacher's key roles in the classroom is to provide immediate, meaningful feedback to learners as they attempt a new pronunciation feature. For example, this can be done by:

- showing learners how to put their thumb and forefinger on their throat to feel the vibrations produced by voiced sounds
- stretching an imaginary rubber band to remind learners about vowel length
- clapping out word stress or **nuclear (sentence) stress**.

Learners also need to become aware of each other's mistakes so that they can offer peer correction, i.e. provide fellow learners with meaningful feedback in the absence of the teacher. Getting students to work on pronunciation activities in small groups is a fundamental way of stimulating peer feedback. In addition, a number of studies suggest that learners benefit from support in monitoring and correcting their own pronunciation. It has been found that although learners may sometimes find it difficult to self-assess their pronunciation,[58] in the absence of either teachers or peers, self-monitoring can be effective.[59]

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Learner portfolios

One way of combining both diagnostic and progress testing and both holistic and discrete item testing is the use of learner portfolios.[60] Portfolios are well suited to adult and teenage learners, can be used with classes of any size, and do not generate a significant amount of extra work for teachers. Typically, a portfolio would include:

- a recording of a diagnostic test done at the beginning of a course, together with a marked version highlighting problem areas
- the written and recorded versions of pronunciation activities or tasks done during the course
- marks and teacher's comments from progress tests
- notes on any pronunciation problems encountered—both in class during speaking tasks and outside the classroom in real-life communication.

Portfolios allow learners to identify their own pronunciation problems and gauge how far they are from targets they have set for themselves. With this information, the teacher can suggest activities that will help the learner to overcome these problems. An additional advantage of learner portfolios is that they provide both the learner and the teacher with a tool for progress testing. At the end of a course, the completed portfolio could be given a final mark which could contribute to any overall summative assessment of the learner. Better still, the portfolio could provide the full year mark and so eliminate the need for a more traditional end-of-course pronunciation test.

SUMMARY

Formal assessment is beginning to take account of EIL pronunciation, as evidenced by the fact that international examination boards now reference the testing of pronunciation to international intelligibility rather than proximity to a native-speaker accent. In the classroom, teachers can focus principally on formative assessment, making use of the opportunities that digital technologies provide for learners to record their speech. These recordings can be assessed by the teacher and are also a good source of material for self- and peer assessment. The assessment of pronunciation should generally be holistic, conducted as part of a wider authentic speaking task, although discrete item testing can be useful at the beginning of a course or at specific points during the course. Learner portfolios provide an excellent means of diagnostic and progress testing of pronunciation. When kept over a period of time, portfolios can also contribute to the summative assessment of individual learners.

> Assessing pronunciation in the classroom allows teachers to demonstrate its importance to learning and enables learners to measure their progress.
>
> ROBIN WALKER

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06

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR TEACHERS

Studies show that teachers, particularly non-native speakers, lack confidence in teaching pronunciation. In this section, we examine the knowledge gaps identified in these studies and consider the types of professional development that might be of greatest benefit to teachers. We also look at how teaching institutions can boost teachers' knowledge, skills, and confidence, and how investing in professional development in pronunciation teaching can have a positive impact on all involved.

TEACHER BELIEFS

Teachers often report that they have not had the opportunity to acquire the relevant knowledge and skills to help them to teach pronunciation. In addition, many non-native-speaker English teachers are anxious about the perceived inadequacy of their own accent when this does not match the native-speaker accents featured in course materials. Similar anxieties may be experienced by native-speaker teachers whose accent is not the same as those used in recordings for pronunciation work. This lack of confidence is a result of the emphasis that was previously placed on a native-speaker accent as the ultimate goal of pronunciation practice, and although surveys of learners indicate a shift towards **international intelligibility** as the perceived goal, this may not be reflected in the goals that non-native-speaker English teachers set themselves. Their role as models of English for their students may still push them towards pursuing a native-speaker accent, even if they are aware of **English as an international language (EIL)** and its emphasis on **intelligibility**.[61]

Interestingly, studies show that learners place less importance on the native-speaker quality of their teachers' accents than teachers themselves do.[62] This is supported by research which reveals that being a non-native-speaker or native-speaker teacher 'is not a critical factor in teachers being effective pronunciation teachers'.[63] In addition, pronunciation teaching experts increasingly see non-native-speaker teachers as bringing certain strengths that native-speaker teachers cannot, especially when pronunciation is being taught for EIL purposes.[64] The non-native-speaker teacher has already been through the process of learning the language and so shares the learning experience of their students. This should 'constitute the basis for non-native teachers' confidence, not for their insecurity'.[65]

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EQUIPPING TEACHERS TO TEACH PRONUNCIATION

Surveys have indicated that teachers from most entry points into their profession, whether through university degrees or private certification courses, perceive a need for further professional development in the teaching of pronunciation and in the preparation of materials for teaching purposes.[66] This development would include:

- a good understanding of the implications of the globalization of English in terms of learner goals and priorities
- an increased understanding of the phonetics and phonology of both English and the learners' L1(s)
- a working knowledge of how transfer from the learners' L1 can be both an obstacle and a resource for teaching pronunciation
- an awareness of how pronunciation is acquired in a second language and the effects of factors such as age, aptitude, L1 phonology, learner motivation, and practical knowledge
- a working knowledge of tips and techniques for effective classroom teaching, including how the L1 can be exploited to help learners to achieve international intelligibility
- access to a bank of reliable teaching resources, including practical activities, apps, and websites
- access to different varieties of world Englishes through online databases of speech corpora.

As members of a global society, we need to communicate with a variety of people, even in our own countries. We need to speak our common language—English as an international language—for mutual understanding in education, employment, and social interaction. We need to teach pronunciation that will be clear enough to avoid misunderstanding each other.

Kazunori, Professor, Japan

Investing in teacher development in the teaching of pronunciation is crucial. It gives teachers the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills to help learners improve their language skills, prepare for examinations, and communicate in English with greater confidence.

ROBIN WALKER

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THE IMPORTANCE OF TEACHERS' CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

We have argued in this paper that effective pronunciation teaching is crucial for learners of English, promoting both **intercultural communicative competence** and the development of other language skills. However, there are also other reasons why supporting teachers' professional development in the teaching of pronunciation may be viewed as a worthwhile investment:

- **Up-to-date teacher knowledge**
  In recent years, the English language has undergone major changes which are hugely significant to the teaching of pronunciation. It is only through professional development in pronunciation that English teachers can keep up with a field that impacts on so much of what they do in the ELT classroom.
- **Teacher confidence**
  Many teachers, both native speakers and non-native speakers, feel insecure about their accent, particularly if it differs significantly from the accents that feature in the teaching materials they use. Teachers also commonly report feeling unsure of their understanding of English pronunciation and that they have received insufficient training to be able to teach it well.[67] Continuing professional development in EIL can help reduce these insecurities and, in the long term, strengthen teachers' professional self-esteem as well as improving their classroom performance.
- **Success in examinations**
  Teachers who understand English pronunciation and the concept of international intelligibility are better equipped to prepare candidates efficiently and effectively for external examinations, which now evaluate pronunciation in terms of intelligibility rather than native-speaker accent.
- **Student evaluations**
  Many learners value pronunciation highly and are likely to respond positively if their teachers display knowledge and pedagogical competence in the pronunciation of English.

SUMMARY

Both native-speaker and non-native-speaker teachers are aware of a need for training in various aspects of pronunciation. Many find it hard to relate any formal instruction that they received in phonetics and phonology to the needs of day-to-day classroom teaching. Non-native-speaker teachers are especially likely to experience insecurities over their accent. However, these concerns are ill-founded, not only because a native-speaker accent is rarely a primary concern for learners but also because non-native-speaker teachers' own learning experiences put them in a strong position to help their learners to become internationally intelligible. Institutional support is required to help teachers appreciate what they bring to pronunciation teaching, to enable them to keep up to date with changes in the pronunciation of English, to better prepare their learners for external exams, and to provide the focus on pronunciation that their students want and need.

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CONCLUSIONS

With the globalization of English, the goals of pronunciation teaching have undergone a major transition. Whereas learners of English as a foreign language (EFL) were encouraged to pursue a native-speaker accent, English as an international language (EIL) emphasizes international intelligibility. Thus, the goal of current approaches to pronunciation teaching is to enable learners to communicate effectively with English speakers from diverse language backgrounds. Indeed, major international examination boards, in step with the updated CEFR descriptors, have now adopted international intelligibility as a basis for their assessment of pronunciation.

Research has provided clear guidelines on what international intelligibility means and how it can be achieved by taking the Lingua Franca Core as a starting point. Communicating in English in international contexts involves working with a wide variety of accents. This means that learners need to develop the listening and speaking skills required to be able to accommodate to the accents around them.

Pronunciation skills are essential to effective international communication in English. Pronunciation also has an important effect on the development of both speaking and listening skills as well as contributing to vocabulary learning and to success in learning to read in English.

Good pronunciation cannot be defined in terms of proximity to a particular native-speaker accent. Instead, it lies in a speaker's ability to be intelligible to the listener. For many learners this means becoming internationally intelligible, although others may prefer the goal of a native-speaker accent. While these goals are different, there is a lot of common ground between them. In addition, an EIL approach means that teachers who have personal experience of being internationally intelligible in English—whether they are native or non-native speakers—will be good models for their learners.

Effective teaching integrates pronunciation with listening, speaking, and vocabulary learning. It also makes use of the learners' first language, which informs their perception of the pronunciation of English and can serve as a valuable classroom resource. Digital resources can contribute to the development of pronunciation skills when used selectively and with initial guidance from the teacher.

Classroom assessment of pronunciation is useful for diagnostic and formative purposes and also provides an opportunity for corrective feedback. Holistic assessment is generally preferable to discrete item testing, and portfolios are an excellent option for both formative and summative assessment of individual learners.

Teachers need support in the form of professional development in pronunciation teaching. Institutions which provide this support will gain both short-term and long-term benefits as a result of their investment. Teachers are empowered to improve their knowledge, skills, and confidence, while learners can focus on an achievable goal of international intelligibility, developing the skills they need to engage in effective, real-world, international communication in a range of contexts.

KEY MESSAGES

- The main pronunciation goal for learners of English today is international intelligibility rather than a native-speaker accent.
- It is not necessary to be a native speaker to teach and assess pronunciation effectively. In fact, non-native speakers may be better placed to serve as role models for learners.
- Pronunciation can support the development of other language skills and vocabulary, as well as helping learners to develop effective international communication.
- Working towards international intelligibility is a good starting point for all learners, regardless of their ultimate pronunciation goals.
- Investing in continuing professional development will help institutions and teachers to:
  - improve pronunciation teaching
  - support better learning outcomes and exam preparation
  - encourage more positive attitudes towards pronunciation.

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APPENDIX 1: PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHING PRONUNCIATION

Below are some suggestions for classroom activities aimed at raising learners' awareness of the goals of pronunciation practice, harnessing their first language (L1) as a classroom resource, and helping them accommodate to different native-speaker and non-native-speaker accents of English.

DETERMINING GOALS AND PRIORITIES

1 Introducing English as an international language

Prompt your students to consider the use of English in the world today, asking them to work in groups and discuss questions such as the following:

- How many people around the world now use English for work, study, or travel purposes?
- Are most of these people native or non-native speakers?
- When you use English outside the classroom, who do/will you speak to most: native speakers or non-native speakers?
- Is it better to have a native-speaker or a non-native-speaker accent? Why?

You can then offer students data on the numbers of native and non-native speakers of English in the world today (380 million native speakers and 1,500 million non-native speakers)[68] and discuss the fact that English is now used predominantly between non-native speakers for international communication in many different areas of private and professional life.

Ask students to share their own experience of using English with other non-native speakers. Suggest that no accent is better or worse than any other; rather, it is about being understandable to other speakers.

2 Successful non-native speakers of English

Find some short video clips of celebrities or internationally successful people—for example, from the world of sport, the arts, politics, education, tourism, or business—speaking in English with obvious non-native-speaker accents. Before showing students the videos, ask them to:

- identify each speaker and the topic they are talking about
- listen and be ready to say how they feel about each accent.

After listening, allow the students to work in small groups to share their answers and thoughts. Then discuss their answers and comments before pointing out that all of the speakers have clear non-native-speaker accents but that presumably they are all intelligible in English given that they have achieved success in their fields.

Conclude that acquiring a native-speaker accent is a choice that learners may make but not a prerequisite for the successful use of English.

3 Determining pronunciation teaching priorities for learners who share the same L1

Find a list of common pronunciation problems experienced by learners with the same L1 as your students. Compare this list with the priorities for **international intelligibility** (see Table 1 on page 15). The items which appear on both lists are the priority areas for pronunciation work with your group. For example, for Japanese speakers of English, common problems are:

1 confusing /l/ and /r/
2 pronouncing /v/ like /b/
3 using /s/ for /θ/ and /z/ for /ð/
4 placing a small vowel within a **consonant cluster**
5 not using the **schwa** sound, /ə/
6 using equal stress for all syllables in a word or sentence.

Problems 3, 4, and 5 are not important for international intelligibility. Problems 1, 2, and 6 are therefore the teaching priorities.

USING THE LEARNERS' L1 AS A RESOURCE

4 The L1 as the starting point

Some difficult features of English pronunciation can be successfully produced by starting with a sound or pronunciation feature that is part of the learners' L1. For example, Mandarin Chinese has the sound /f/ but not /v/, /s/ but not /z/, and /ʃ/ but not /ʒ/. Teachers can show students how to add voicing to the sounds they know from their L1 to make the target sound in English.

5 Hidden sounds

Some sounds of English are **allophones** (acceptable variants) of sounds that exist in the learners' L1. Close approximations to the /ŋ/ sound in 'sing', for example, can be found in many other languages, such as the *n* sound in:

- the French expression *en garde* (as used in the sport of fencing)
- the Polish verb *tankować* (to fill up the car)
- the Spanish word *banco* (bank).

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6 Making use of L1 accents

Most languages have numerous regional accents and these often contain a target feature of English that is not a sound in the learners' own L1 regional accent. The sound /ʃ/ in 'ship' or 'wish' is found in various regional accents of Spanish, for example, and words starting with *x* in certain parts of Spain are pronounced with an initial /ʃ/. Similarly, the São Paulo accent of Brazilian Portuguese pronounces the *d* in *bom dia* (good morning) as /dʒ/, the initial sound in the English word 'January'.

LEARNING TO UNDERSTAND DIFFERENT ACCENTS

7 Introducing accent variation and non-standard accents

You can work with your students to help them understand that accent variation is completely normal. With groups who share the same L1, you could start by asking them to make a list of the accents that are typical in their L1. Next, invite individual students to tell their partners or the whole group whether they have a preferred accent and why. If the country you are in has a standard accent, encourage students to say how they feel about this and why they think it became the standard. Finally, ask your students how they would feel if they were obliged to speak their L1 in an accent other than the one that they naturally use.

Guide the discussion tactfully to bring out the idea that accents are natural and that our reactions to different accents are often more emotional than rational. Also suggest that provided we are intelligible, we should be allowed to speak a language with any accent we choose.

8 Listening to accents in the shared-L1 classroom

When students share the same L1, they may not get much exposure to other accents of English. However, the internet offers plenty of resources that enable teachers to overcome this problem. Two types of listening text can be used, scripted or unscripted, but it is usually best to start with scripted texts.

The Speech Accent Archive (see Further reading and resources on page 35) allows you to listen to the same paragraph read by speakers of different L1s. Select a paragraph and show your students the transcript. Once they have read and understood it, invite them to read the text aloud to their partners.

Next, students listen to the text spoken by speakers from three or four different L1s. Ask the students to comment on what they have heard—for example, whether anything about the speakers' accents surprised them and which features differ from their own accent.

9 Listening to specific features of accented English

Some features of English pronunciation are subject to more variation than others. In **English as an international language (EIL)**, for example, there are acceptable variants for *th* sounds (see Table 1 on page 15). Speakers also deal with certain consonants clusters in different ways, often depending on their L1 background.

Choose one of these areas or a pronunciation feature that is problematic for your learners. Then go online and find some short recordings of speakers with other L1s using this pronunciation feature. Useful resources include the English Language Listening Library Online and the International Dialects of English Archive (see Further reading and resources on page 35).

Play the recordings for your students, asking them to listen out for the pre-selected pronunciation feature. Ask them to comment on how the speakers deal with this feature in their different accents and whether students can or should do the same themselves.

10 Listening to colloquial native-speaker English

Understanding natural native-speaker speech is hard for many learners because of the **vowel reductions** and **connected speech** features that characterize it. While students are doing a listening exercise that uses native-speaker speech, they might complain about finding part of the recording especially difficult. One effective way of focusing on such extracts is to use the dictogloss technique.

First, identify a difficult section of the recording, ensuring the extract is no more than 15 seconds in length.

Then put students in pairs or threes and replay the extract, telling them to listen first and then write down whatever they can remember. Repeat this process until the learners have finished or are unlikely to benefit from listening again.

Next, show students the transcript and give them time to compare it with their own version. Typical sources of problems are **weak forms** or features of connected speech.

Finally, play the extract again so that students can read and listen at the same time.

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APPENDIX 2:
COMMON DIFFICULTIES AND SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

Here are some common difficulties that schools, teachers, and learners may experience with pronunciation teaching and learning, and some ways of addressing them.

TIME PRESSURE
'With everything else on the curriculum, there isn't time for pronunciation.'

Teachers today are under enormous time pressure, so it is only natural to feel this concern, but pronunciation can be integrated into existing lessons. For example, when introducing new vocabulary, include a focus on difficult sounds or word stress. Similarly, new grammar structures, such as conditionals, provide an opportunity to practise sentence stress. Working on pronunciation can improve learners' speaking and listening skills, their vocabulary and grammar learning, and even their reading fluency.

AGE LIMITATIONS
'You can't teach pronunciation to adults. It's too late at their age.'

Adult learners are not too old to be taught pronunciation. In fact, they usually benefit from explicit teaching rather than being left to pick it up. Adults tend to be conscious of their pronunciation problems and receptive to practical suggestions as to how to remedy them. They are good at using information about how sounds and other pronunciation features are produced and at understanding concepts like aspiration, voicing, vowel length, or stress. Adults are also likely to have personal experience of communication difficulties arising from poor pronunciation, which will motivate them to improve.

CLASS SIZE
'I have 30 or more students in my class. There isn't time to listen to everyone's pronunciation.'

Big classes need not be an obstacle to good pronunciation practice. Pronunciation work can start with whole-class repetition, which can be followed by work in pairs or small groups. Whole-class work has the advantage of allowing shy learners to attempt a target pronunciation feature without fear of being overheard.

When they are working in pairs or small groups, students can listen to each other and decide if their peers' pronunciation is correct or not. If they cannot agree, you can join the group and give your input, making suggestions for improvement as appropriate. Peer feedback can be just as effective as teacher feedback, and practising pronunciation in small groups is the ideal setting for learners to give and receive this type of individualized feedback.

GOALS
'When I ask them what their goal is, my students say they want to sound like a native speaker.'

Find out from your students why they are learning English. Very often, they will realize through this discussion that they are learning English as a tool for international communication with others in their field of work or education, or for travel and tourism purposes. None of these situations involves integrating into a group of native speakers of English. Instead, what is needed is to be intelligible to people from many different first language (L1) backgrounds, and this can be achieved through many different non-native-speaker accents. You can also explain to your learners that in international communication, native speakers of English are not automatically the most intelligible speakers, and some features of native-speaker accents, such as **connected speech**, can interfere with **international intelligibility**. For students who want to have a native-speaker accent, an internationally intelligible accent provides a solid foundation from which to work towards their ultimate goal.

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THE TEACHER'S ACCENT

'How am I going to teach pronunciation with my accent? It's so different from the accents that feature in the teaching materials I use.'

Anxiety over accent affects both non-native-speaker teachers and native-speaker teachers whose accents differ from those used in teaching materials. Of course, if the goal of pronunciation practice is to achieve a specific accent, it is obviously a great advantage to speak with that accent. However, for learners of English, the most usual goal for pronunciation is international intelligibility, which is possible in many different accents. In these contexts, the pronunciation of non-native-speaker teachers with experience in using English as an international language is more relevant than a native-speaker accent.

In addition, non-native-speaker teachers who share their students' L1 have the advantage of having personally made the journey to intelligible English pronunciation from the same starting point. They can be an ideal model for their students and will have special insights into any problems that their students are likely to encounter.

Similarly, native-speaker teachers with non-standard accents also bring certain advantages to the classroom. They show that English is spoken with different accents and that all are valid provided they are intelligible.

ASSESSMENT

'My students only want to learn what comes up in exams.'

It is only natural for students to be concerned about what will be most useful when they are preparing for exams. It is worth reminding them that all of the major international exam boards include pronunciation-related criteria directly or indirectly in their assessment of speaking skills. It is important to show students how pronunciation is assessed in the exam that they are working towards and to explain how your teaching of pronunciation is relevant to this goal.

Even when there is no external exam on the horizon, students' pronunciation skills need to be assessed regularly throughout the year. This demonstrates concern for students' pronunciation and speaking skills, which can only have a positive effect on their motivation.

BELIEFS ABOUT PRONUNCIATION TEACHING

'Pronunciation doesn't need to be taught. Learners just pick it up from listening to English in class, watching films on TV, or going online.'

It is important to teach pronunciation—very few learners appear to have the special aptitude for the sounds and rhythms of a language necessary for learning pronunciation skills independently. This is especially so when the learners in a group share the same L1, as this will influence their pronunciation of English. They will converge phonologically on their L1, becoming more intelligible to each other while becoming less intelligible to speakers of other L1s. Only their teacher can stop this happening by pointing out when transfer from the L1 is allowable and when it is an obstacle to international intelligibility.

Learners working alone to improve their pronunciation tend to focus on individual sounds, such as when they are using apps or other digital resources. However, there are **suprasegmental features** of pronunciation, especially **nuclear (sentence) stress**, which are just as important as individual consonant or vowel sounds. Moreover, working independently on individual sounds without guidance and feedback from a teacher may actually have a detrimental effect. Technology can be a useful aid to learning pronunciation, but a trained teacher is an essential ally for almost every learner.

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GLOSSARY

accent addition
Adding new features to a speaker's existing pronunciation skills. Contrasts with accent reduction, which is teaching designed to eliminate a 'foreign' accent.

accentedness
The extent to which individual listeners perceive a speaker's accent to be different from their own or the local accent. Accentedness is subjective: the same speaker may be judged as having a 'light' or 'heavy' accent by different listeners.

accommodation skills
The ability to adapt to specific speakers or listeners in order to facilitate communication—either by modifying aspects of one's own speech or adjusting one's expectations as a listener. See also *productive accommodation* and *receptive accommodation*.

allophone
One of a number of different and acceptable ways of saying the same sound. Replacing one allophone with another does not change the meaning of a word. For example, the word 'red' is pronounced with different allophones of /r/ in Scotland and England.

assimilation
The effect produced in *connected speech* when two consonants come together and the articulation of one consonant changes in order to aid pronunciation. For example, in 'red pen', the /d/ assimilates to /b/ in preparation for the /p/.

bottom-up processing
A way of processing spoken and written texts that involves building smaller units into larger ones in order to reach an understanding of the text as a whole. In listening, this means building from syllables to words and then to phrases.

coalescence
The effect produced in *connected speech* by the blending of sounds. For example, in 'didn't you', the sounds represented by the letters *t* and *y* blend together to form a /tʃ/ (*ch*) sound.

communicative competence
Knowledge of the grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation of a language, and one's ability to use these appropriately in different settings with different interlocutors.

comprehensibility
The listener's perception of how easy it is to understand the spoken language of an individual speaker. Comprehensibility is subjective and distinct from, although related to, *intelligibility* and *accentedness*.

computer-assisted pronunciation teaching (CAPT)
The use of computer software or apps to provide learners with guidance and practice in pronunciation, often outside the classroom, in the absence of a teacher.

connected speech
A typical characteristic of native-speaker speech. Refers to the way that individual words come together in short bursts of continuous sound with no audible gaps between them. It often produces changes in the pronunciation of individual sounds or whole words, such as *assimilation*, *coalescence*, and *elision*.

consonant clusters
A group of two or more consonants that come together within an individual word or across a word boundary. For example, the word 'consonants' has two clusters: *ns* and *nts*.

decoding
In reading, the ability to use knowledge of letter–sound relationships to convert letters into sounds. In listening, the ability to separate the continuous sounds of *connected speech* into individual phrases, words, or sounds.

diagnostic testing
Assessment carried out at the beginning of a course of study in order to identify learners' strengths and weaknesses.

discrete item testing
Testing individual aspects of a language, such as particular grammar rules or, in pronunciation, specific sounds..

English as a foreign language (EFL)
English taught to non-native speakers so that they can communicate principally with native speakers of the language.

English as an international language (EIL)
English taught to non-native speakers so that they can communicate principally with other non-native speakers.

elision
The effect produced in *connected speech* when a sound, usually a consonant, is deleted to facilitate the pronunciation of a word or phrase, for example, the /t/ in 'postman'.

General American (GA)
An accent often referred to as the norm when teaching American English pronunciation. It is the majority accent in the US and is felt to lack any of the characteristics of less common regional or ethnic accents.

guided exposure
Introducing learners to accents they may encounter in their future use of English, highlighting features of each accent that might make it difficult to understand.

holistic assessment
Assessing whole areas of language use, such as writing, reading, or speaking, within the framework of the communication of a message.

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intelligibility
The extent to which the words a speaker says are understood by the listener. Intelligibility can be measured objectively. If a speaker is fully intelligible, listeners will be able to transcribe 100% of their output.

intercultural communicative competence
The ability to understand different cultures, relate them to one's own cultural system, and make adjustments to one's own cultural norms in order to communicate successfully with people from other cultures.

international intelligibility
The ability to speak English in a way that is intelligible to listeners from all around the world who use English for international communication. The majority of these listeners will be non-native speakers. Native speakers are not automatically internationally intelligible.

Lingua Franca Core (LFC)
A list of priorities for teaching the pronunciation of English arising from research pioneered by Jennifer Jenkins.

nuclear (sentence) stress
In a short spoken phrase, one word will be stressed more than the others. This word carries the nuclear stress. In English, changing the nuclear stress in a phrase often changes its meaning, for instance, by indicating a contrast: 'They're arriving on FRIday' emphasizes the time, while 'They're arRIving on Friday' emphasizes the action.

phonological loop
The component of working memory which is responsible for processing words or phrases that are being read or heard so that they can be stored in long-term memory.

productive accommodation
Adjustments that speakers make to their pronunciation in order to become more intelligible to their listeners. These can involve speaking more slowly, articulating words more clearly, or deliberately avoiding features typical of *connected speech*.

productive competence
The ability to produce a sound, word, or other language feature.

progress testing
Assessment carried out during a course of study in order to see if the learners have improved in specific areas taught over the most recent part of the course.

Received Pronunciation (RP)
An accent often referred to as the norm when teaching British English pronunciation. It is a minority accent in the UK but often viewed as a prestige accent.

receptive accommodation
Adjustments that listeners make to their expectations of what sounds, words, or whole phrases normally sound like in order to understand specific speakers, for example, if listeners know that a speaker usually pronounces /w/ as /v/ or /e/ as /ɪ/, they can adjust their expectations accordingly.

receptive competence
The ability to understand a sound, word, or other language feature produced by other speakers.

recoverability
The extent to which a word, phrase, or utterance can be identified on the basis of what the listener actually hears. Some features of *connected speech* can interfere with recoverability.

schwa
The weak vowel sound /ə/, found only in unstressed syllables in spoken English, for example, in the unstressed syllables in 'doctor' (/ˈdɒktə/) or 'again' (/əˈgen/).

suprasegmental features
Features of pronunciation above the level of the individual sound, for example, stress, rhythm, and intonation.

top-down processing
A way of processing spoken and written texts that involves using larger units in order to identify smaller ones. In listening, this often means using background knowledge or contextual clues to help identify individual words or phrases.

vowel reduction
The effect produced when native speakers of English pronounce unstressed syllables with weak vowel sounds, usually *schwa* (/ə/).

weak forms
Many English function words, such as prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, and auxiliary verbs, have two pronunciations: a strong form and a weak form, which often contains the vowel sound schwa (/ə/). Examples of weak forms include 'and' (/ən/) in 'up and down' (/ʌpənˈdaʊn/) and 'for' (/fə/) in 'it's for you' (/ɪtsfəˈjuː/).

working memory
A component of memory which holds and works on short-term information so that it can be stored in long-term memory.

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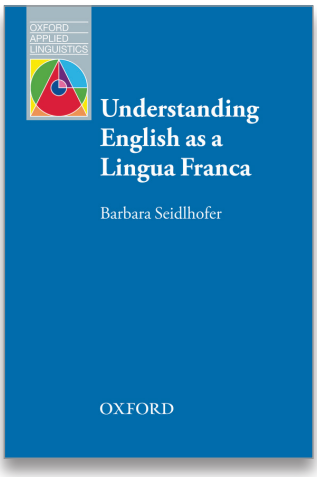
International Dialects of English Archive:
www.dialectsarchive.com

Speech Accent Archive:
accent.gmu.edu

YouGlish:
youglish.com

IATEFL Pronunciation Special Interest Group:
pronsig.iatefl.org

TESOL Speech, Pronunciation, and Listening Interest Section (SPLIS):
my.tesol.org/communities/community-home?CommunityKey=216797a8-3459-435c-a5df-7434af29f4c3



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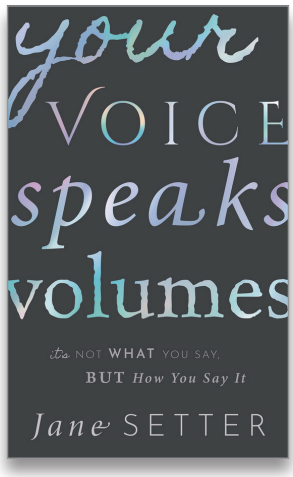

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ENDNOTES

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13 Gatbonton, Trofimovich, & Magid (2005), p. 492
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17 Jenkins (2000)
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03 WHAT TO TEACH

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32 Erling (2005); Çakir & Baytar (2014)
33 Cole (2002), p. 32
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42 Sicola & Darcy (2015)
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05 THE ASSESSMENT OF PRONUNCIATION

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06 INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT

61 Jenkins (2007)
62 Ballard & Winke (2017)
63 Levis et al. (2016), p. 25
64 Llurda (2004); Derwing & Munro (2015)
65 Seidlhofer (1999), p. 238
66 MacDonald (2002); Henderson et al. (2012); Breitkreutz, Derwing, & Rossiter (2001)
67 Derwing & Munro (2015)
68 Seidlhofer (2011)

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