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## UNDERSTANDING FOREIGN ACCENT AND PRONUNCIATION TEACHING - ISSUES IN RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

### ABSTRACT

*Empirical studies are essential to improving our understanding of the relationship between accent and pronunciation teaching. However, the study of pronunciation has been marginalized within the field of applied linguistics. As a result, teachers are often left to rely on their own intuitions with little direction. Although some instructors can successfully assist their students under these conditions, many others are reluctant to teach pronunciation. In this article we call for more research to enhance our knowledge of the nature of foreign accents and their effects on communication. Research of this type has much to offer to teachers and students in terms of helping them to set learning goals, identifying appropriate pedagogical priorities for the classroom, and determining the most effective approaches to teaching. We discuss these possibilities within a framework in which mutual intelligibility is the primary consideration, although social ramifications of accent must also be taken into account. We describe several problem areas and identify some misconceptions about pronunciation instruction. In addition, we make suggestions for future research that would address intelligibility, functional load, computer-assisted language learning, and the role of the listener. Finally, we recommend greater collaboration between researchers and practitioners, such that more classroom- relevant research is undertaken.*

### INTRODUCTION

The issue of “foreign accent”, one of the most noticeable marks of Second (L2) and Foreign Language learning (FLL) has taken much attention in the literature of L2 acquisition and FLL since the advent of “Audio-lingual Method”, which set native speaker fluency as a goal for language learners. One of the reasons why so much attention is given to accent-related issues is because of the fact that there is a growing awareness, among L2 researchers, teachers and teacher trainers, of the key role of pronunciation in communication.

The main discussion in the previous studies and related research mainly covers attitudes of students towards non-native accents of English, factors influencing foreign accent of non-native speakers, the ways of examining perceptions of non-native accent of languages other than English and the ways of minimizing foreign accent. However, most of these studies are based on the accent problem of immigrant students and teachers and reactions to their accented speech by the native speakers. The number of studies dealing with foreign accents of non-native students and teachers in their own settings is very limited.

In countries like Turkey where English is taught as a foreign language subject, foreign accent issue

emerges naturally among the learners and teachers of English. Despite this fact, unfortunately, the research on this issue is very limited in Turkey. The existing studies focused on the subject in terms of identity and foreign accent, pronunciation problems, disadvantageous of being a non-native teacher, and reactions to teachers' bad pronunciation.

To shed light on the current issue, this research paper aims to fill the gap in the literature by particularly exploring the foreign accent problem of non-native teachers by highlighting first the composition of the accent and then factors causing foreign accents, harms of foreign accent and reactions from students and colleagues towards foreign accented-speech.

## **The nature of accent**

In this section, the nature of the accent and the definitions of accents from the points of different disciplines are elaborated on. To understand the nature of accents is of high importance to see the real causes of foreign accent problem. Moreover, to avoid terminological ambiguities or misunderstandings in the literature, some basic terminology is clarified following the composition of accent.

## **The composition of accent**

According to Flege (1984), the recognition of foreign accent is related to acoustic differences between native and non-native speakers' segmental articulations and suprasegmental levels, which are the main components of accent. Of these, segmental articulation is concerned with segment-related problems like saying "tree" instead of "three" and segments such as vowel and consonant allophones. Suprasegmental levels, above the level of the segment, are concerning phonological phenomena such as word stress, intonation and tone.

In addition to these, the critical role of *prosody*, the study of suprasegmental features of speech, such as word stress, rhythm and intonation, in the production and perception of non-native speech has been demonstrated and it is held that prosody has an impact on judgments about foreign accented-speech.

The main elements of accents are stress, pitch and juncture as closely situated to inner circle. These are the main compositions of accent. The term "stress" refers to "the force of breath with which sounds are produced; that is, the strength or weakness of the force is determined in relation to other forces of breath in the utterance or utterances of a person". Since English is a stress-timed language and the stress is not fixed and Turkish is a syllable-timed language, there is no chance of knowing in advance where the different stress levels will occur in the speech. That makes non-native Turkish teachers sound with a foreign accent.

Pitch, a component of stress, is also an important characteristic of accent, which is related to the frequency of the vibration of the vocal cords. The faster the vocal cords vibrate, the higher the pitch gets. It can distinguish meaning at a suprasegmental level. For non-native teachers, the foreign-accented speech is inevitable due to the pitch range in English.

Juncture, according to Carr (2008), is a boundary or transition point in phonological sequence. Junctures include syllable, foot, morpheme and word boundaries. They are believed to play a role in certain phonological generalizations. Doty and Ross (1973) point out that juncture is a pause in utterance but something more than a sole pause. It is regularly accompanied by slowing the rate and changing the pitch of the voice immediately preceding the voice. For this reason, it functions as a signal of primary accent since a

word sounds different depending on whether it is enunciated very carefully as a single word or uttered in the flow of speech. The non-native teachers cannot apply the rules of juncture in their speech; that's why, they fall short of uttering the words in the flow of speech and they sound foreign-accented. The other elements are also markers of foreign accent but when compared to main elements of the accent (i.e. stress, pitch, juncture), they have a fiddle role.

### **Factors influencing degree of a foreign accent**

There is a bulk of research trying to identify the factors that have an effect on foreign accent of speakers. A great amount of previous research has concentrated on immigrant speakers' accent-related issues and how they are perceived by the society in which they live. Researchers like Flege *et al* (1995), Piske *et al* (2001), Esteki and Rezazadeh (2009) have summarized the main factors influencing the foreign accent of speakers as age of L2 learning, gender of the speaker, continued LI use, length and type of instruction, length of residence, language learning aptitude and motivation towards the target language.

### **Inter language and transfer LI transfer**

"The term "inter language" was coined by American linguist Larry Selinker, in recognition of the fact that L2 learners construct a linguistic system that draws in part, on the learners' LI but is also different from it and also from the target language" (Ellis, 1997, p. 33). The same is held to be true for FLL. Thus, a learner constructs the knowledge of a new language on the existing one by developing a unique system. According to Selinker (1972), first language transfer is among the five cognitive processes involved in the development of inter language. This LI transfer may play either a facilitative or debilitating role in learning the target language. For example, Turkish learners' mental representation of English vowels is different from their representation of Turkish vowels. It also differs from a native speaker's vowel system. It is somewhere in-between. According to Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, systematic differences should be found between LI and TL in order to predict the potential sources of errors in terms of accent-related issues.

Another factor that affects foreign accent from the point of transfer is whether the target culture is a "perfect fit language" or not. In perfect fit languages, each phonetic symbol stands for a different phoneme and each symbol is represented by the same grapheme. Although Turkish is a language close to perfect fit, English is not. That's why prospective teachers and teachers-on-job tend to articulate some complex words or phrases in the way they do in mother tongue. This negative transfer results in an accented pronunciation and speech. So, these teachers have to learn the relationship between phonetic letters and phonemes in English to minimize their foreign accent.

### **Affective factors**

In language learning, affective factors are taken into consideration in order to lower their negative influence on learners and teachers. One affective factor mostly recited in accent studies is motivation. Student interest is one of the main elements of motivation in language learning. When students are interested in integrating with the members of target community, they might also develop a concern for their pronunciation and accent. If students are indifferent to the culture and members of the TL, they are not likely to make an

effort to master a near-native like pronunciation due to the lack of motivation.

## **FOREIGN ACCENT-RELATED PROBLEMS**

After having highlighted the background information on accent in general and the major factors that influence the degree of nonnative teachers' foreign accent, it is time to go deep into the foreign accent-related problems of nonnative teachers. To be able to draw an explanatory picture of the issue, the differentiation between native teachers and nonnative teachers are to be briefly discussed.

Byram (2004, p. 444) defines the nonnative teacher as "a foreign language teacher, for whom the foreign language they teach is not their MOTHER TONGUE; who usually works with monolingual groups of learners; whose mother tongue is usually the same as that of their students." This definition fits well into the situation in Turkey. Then, a Turkish teacher who teaches English to a group of Turkish students in Ankara is called nonnative speaker teacher of English, just as his/her English colleague teaching English to the same group is a native speaker teacher of English. However, they are currently referred to as nonnative and native teachers. There is a bulk of study dealing with advantages and disadvantages of being a normative or native teacher. The foreign accent has been found as one of the disadvantages of being a nonnative speaker.

### **Phonological problems**

For foreign accent, there is not an exact and comprehensive definition which is universally accepted. However, the general consensus is that the term covers the defects in pronunciation of non-native speech compared to the norms of native speech (Gut, 2009). Thus, the nonnative teacher with a foreign accent can be claimed to possess deviations in articulation, rhythm, voice and symbolization.

In applied linguistics, the foreign accent issue is related to pronunciation teaching. Since it is neglected in foreign language teacher education programs (FLTEP), deviations emerge involuntarily due to negative LI interference and cause non-native teachers to sound unprofessional and unintelligible. The students, especially those having previous experience with native teachers, expect their language teachers to sound near-native like since they are the mere source of input and only model to imitate in classroom.

Demirezen (2007) reports that foreign accent is the pointer of the inefficiencies of a speaker in the articulation, pronunciation, and intonation of a FL in a native-like habit. Since many non-native teachers speak English in the way they do in their LI, they carry over noticeable qualities of a foreign accented-speech without being aware of this fact. The biggest danger is that as students of these teachers get familiar with this foreign accent, they internalize it after a while without noticing. The unavoidable result is lots of students with fossilized errors and a heavy foreign accent in their speech, which is not a desirable outcome.

### **Communicative problems**

Though foreign accent issue is directly connected to the pronunciation, articulation and intonation of the FL, it may cause communicative problems to arise during communication. In Kim's study (2007) students perceived teachers with less foreign accent as easier to understand. In another study by Derwing et al. (2002) difficulty in understanding foreign-accented speech was reported by students. Moreover, the errors in

rhythm, stress and intonation patterns can result in serious misunderstandings (Hahn, 2004). The reason is that in English, intonation patterns express both particular functions and pragmatic information. When the listener cannot recognize the intonation pattern, the speaker's intent may be misinterpreted.

The non-native teachers' foreign accent and bad pronunciation negatively affects students since they are more likely to internalize the foreign-accented speech of their teachers. They often have problems making themselves understood in contexts where people speak flow and foreign-accent-free English. For example, exchange students report that they experience communicative problems in their host countries due to their bad pronunciation. This is mainly due to the effect of teachers' deviant speech on students.

### **Identity Problems**

Some non-native teachers deliberately carry a strong foreign accent in their speech to announce their national identity. For this reason, their English is far from being accurate, fluent, and sounds non-natural to the students. Such teachers are expected to teach the Standard English at schools but they themselves have not acquired the Standard English yet. So, how can they teach it?

Levis (2005) also points out that accents, speakers' identity, group membership and social belonging are all connected to each other. Therefore, many non-native teachers tend to carry some characteristics of their mother tongue in speech to imply their national or personal identity. The influence of identity on foreign accent of non-native teachers is as effective as factors like gender and age. Nonetheless, that should be borne in mind that achieving a near native-like accent does not mean one's betraying or losing his/her own national and ethnic identity.

### **THE MARGINALIZATION OF PRONUNCIATION WITHIN APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

An extensive, growing literature on L2 speech has been published in journals that focus on speech production and perception, for example, *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, *Journal of Phonetics*, and *Language and Speech*. Yet this work is rarely cited or interpreted in teacher-oriented publications. Researchers may not be aware of this literature in part because it is inaccessible to those without specialized knowledge of phonetics. Moreover, some of the research may not be perceived as practical because it has been carried out under strict laboratory conditions, so that it is not immediately clear how the findings apply to the classroom. However, the consequences of ignoring this important body of work are serious. Levis (1999), for instance, presents the disturbing observation that "present international research is almost completely divorced from modern language teaching and is rarely reflected in teaching materials" (p. 37). This problem can be resolved only if applied linguists take responsibility for interpreting technical research for pedagogical specialists and incorporating pertinent findings into teacher training materials and student texts. Despite teachers' increased interest in pronunciation in recent years, as evidenced by the establishment of a TESOL interest section and a proliferation of pronunciation materials for learners, it remains a much marginalized topic in applied linguistics. Consider, for example, *The Handbook of Second Language Acquisition* (Doughty & Long, 2003), in which the authors do not mention pronunciation research. An informal survey of recent applied linguistics journals intended for teachers also reveals few papers on pronunciation, and an examination of many recent general ESL teacher texts shows only minimal attention to pronunciation, if any, for instance, devotes only 2.5 pages to the topic, most of which is concerned with

describing the critical period. Other teacher preparation books have even less information. Although Harmer (2001) gives more attention to pronunciation than others do, he cites no research. In the past, traditional textbooks designed to prepare ESL teachers to teach pronunciation did not explicitly mention any research findings (e.g., English Language Services, 1966, 1967). In their comprehensive texts on pronunciation teaching, Dalton and Seidlhofer (1994) and Celce- Murcia, Brinton, and Goodwin (1996) introduced an important change to the field by including references to research that provide useful background information. Despite this significant step, the need remains for texts that make direct links between research findings and ways to address specific problems.

The lack of attention to pronunciation teaching in otherwise authoritative texts has resulted in limited knowledge about how to integrate appropriate pronunciation instruction into second language classrooms. Reputable programs often use materials based on perceptions of successful practice, with little or no reference to research findings and without empirical evidence of improved outcomes. This situation thus creates a twofold problem: relatively little published research on pronunciation teaching and very little reliance on the research that does exist.

## **UNDERSTANDING FOREIGN ACCENTS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE LISTENER**

It is well established that foreign accents are a normal consequence of second language learning. Numerous studies have shown that most people who acquire a second language after early childhood are likely to exhibit nonnative patterns of pronunciation. The strength and nature of such accents vary with L1, with the age when the L2 learning began, with L1-L2 use and L2 experience, and with motivational factors.

At the same time, native and nonnative listeners are surprisingly adept at noticing when speech differs from their own variety. Flege (1984), for instance, found that phonetically untrained listeners could identify nonnative speakers on the basis of short samples of speech, including phrases, words, individual segments, and even segment portions of about 30 milliseconds in length. Clearly, native listeners are extremely sensitive to nonnative productions. Most probably they succeed at detecting foreign-accented speech by relying on multiple cues, such as segmental variations and prosodic factors. Munro, Derwing, and Burgess (2003) found that listeners could detect accentedness even in a single word presented backward. This finding suggests that, along with speech characteristics commonly noted in pronunciation texts, voice quality may help listeners to recognize NNSs, as proposed by Esling and Wong (1983).

## **SOME CURRENT PROBLEMS AND MISCONCEPTIONS**

As a result of pronunciation's marginalized status, many ESL teachers have no formal preparation to teach pronunciation. Breikreutz, Derwing, and Rossiter (2002), for instance, reported that 67% of ESL teachers surveyed in Canada had no training at all in pronunciation instruction. This phenomenon is not limited to North America: Burgess and Spencer (2000) also called for more pronunciation training for teachers in Britain. MacDonald (2002) cites several studies in Australia indicating that many teachers do not teach pronunciation "because they lack confidence, skills and knowledge". The general lack of teacher preparation may partially explain the findings of another survey in which only 8 of 100 adult intermediate ESL learners indicated that they had received any pronunciation instruction, despite having been enrolled in ESL programs for extended periods of time.

Relying on experiences and intuitions sometimes serves teachers well. Those who have strong observation skills and who are phonologically aware may address learners' needs satisfactorily. These same teachers may develop critical evaluation skills so that they gain a sense of what will and will not work for their students. Their intuitions may well be confirmed by research findings. However, expecting teachers to rely solely on intuition is unrealistic and unfair. Other aspects of pedagogy receive extensive attention in teacher preparation courses and materials, but in many instances L2 instructors are apparently left to teach themselves how to address pronunciation with their students.

The consequences of inadequate teacher preparation are many. In some instances, students simply do not receive any instruction, or they are directed to focus on the most salient characteristics of their accent, regardless of their influence on intelligibility. For example, Derwing and Rossiter (2002) found that, of students who were able to identify any pronunciation problem in their own speech, 90% identified individual segments, with *th* as the overwhelmingly most frequent response (see comments later on functional load).

Another concern is that those untrained instructors who do choose to teach pronunciation may rely too heavily on pronunciation textbooks and software without regard for their own students' problems. This strategy does not work for several reasons. First, most materials have been designed without a basis in pronunciation research findings. This omission precludes teachers' understanding of the rationale for the content and activities suggested and thus does not allow for appropriate matching to students' requirements. Second, teachers who do not have a foundation in either linguistics or pronunciation research may not be able to make wise choices with respect to uses of computer software, whether it is specifically intended for pronunciation instruction or not.

For example, Sustarsic (2003) recommends using Dragon Naturally-Speaking (ScanSoft, 1997) software (a program that automatically transcribes speech) as a means of providing feedback to learners on their pronunciation. Of course, if computer software could actually provide useful, individualized feedback to learners on their pronunciation, the teacher's burden would be dramatically reduced. However, as observed by Derwing, Munro, and Carbonaro (2000), that software was not intended for this purpose. Nor does it respond to L2 users' speech in the same way that human listeners do, and any adjustments that the learners make to accommodate the software may be useless or even counterproductive in real interactions.

A third serious problem caused by teachers' lack of knowledge of phonetics has been discussed by Wang and Munro (2004), who note that ESL learners sometimes experience pedagogical misdirection when they are taught the English /i/-/ɪ/ distinction (e.g., beat vs. bit). Hillenbrand and Clark (2000) observed that North American English speakers distinguish between /ɪ/ and /i/ primarily on the basis of vowel quality rather than length. Yet other research (Bohn, 1995) reveals that learners of English from many L backgrounds tend to perceive /ɪ/ as a long vowel and /i/ as a short vowel with little or no difference in quality. This problem is reinforced by teachers who mistakenly tell student that the important distinction between these two vowels is length. Wang and Munro (2004) showed that, with only a small amount of perceptual training, ESL learners who had received misleading instruction on this point could learn to focus more on the differences in vowel quality and to largely ignore length.

ESL instructors who have not had opportunities for professional development in pronunciation teaching may develop some teaching strategies that actually have little or no value or that may be counterproductive. For example, in a teacher-oriented publication, Usher (1995) claimed that the distinction between /b/ and /p/ should be taught to students as a difference in breathing, such that /b/ requires inhalation while /p/ requires exhalation. This assertion directly contradicts the well-established fact that

normal English speech sounds are never produced while inhaling (e.g., Cruttenden, 1994). Similarly, having students hold a pencil between their nose and upper lip has been advocated as an all purpose exercise for improving English pronunciation (Stuparyk, 1996). We know of no evidence to suggest that such a technique has any value. Rather, such activities not only waste students' time and money, but also may cause more problems than they solve.

One misapprehension about L2 speech instruction is that technology is a panacea for correcting pronunciation. Among the greatest potential benefits of computer-assisted language learning (CALL) are the opportunities it could provide for individualized instruction and for exposure to a wide range of voices and contexts through extended listening practice. At present, however, it seems that most available software is of the "one size fits all" variety, designed to appeal to a mass market. Moreover, much of the recent CALL software appears to exploit the impressive multimedia capabilities of computers, rather than present content that is linguistically and pedagogically sound. For instance, Breitzkreutz et al. (2002) found that the most popular pronunciation software programs in Canadian ESL classrooms focused exclusively on segmentals rather than prosody, and that some had inaccurate representations of allophonic variation. Merely presenting a large number of phonological contrasts has little value with no indication of what is important, either in terms of the learner's needs (depending on LI and on individual differences) or of what matters for intelligibility.

To avoid these negative outcomes, it is important first, that instructors have opportunities to learn about pronunciation pedagogy and, second, that such teacher preparation be grounded in research findings. Teacher trainers need to help instructors develop the skills to critically evaluate materials and curriculum on the basis of empirical research.

## **FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS**

With the heightened interest in pronunciation now evident among pedagogical professionals, applied linguists need to undertake programmatic research that will extend knowledge of pronunciation learning. We see several directions in which this work should proceed.

First, more research should be conducted on intelligibility to establish the most effective ways of assessing it and to identify the factors that contribute to it. No single approach to intelligibility assessment can take into account all the subtleties that might influence a listener (see Zielinski, 2004). However, researchers seem to agree that the intelligibility of L2 utterances can at least be estimated using a variety of techniques, one of which is the transcription task. Further work using transcription and other methods of collecting listeners' responses will help establish the bases of intelligibility; in addition, researchers need to explore how several factors interact at prosodic, segmental, and voice quality levels.

Closely linked to the intelligibility question is the role of functional load. The gravity of certain types of errors is believed to differ, depending on the functional load of the phonological contrasts that the learner has incorrectly produced. For instance it has been proposed that the substitution of /t/ for /θ/ (ting for thing) is less important than the substitution of /b/ for /p/ (bat for pat). Although important theoretical work has already discussed the issue of functional load, more systematic experimental studies are needed that test predicted hierarchies, along the lines of Wingstedt and Schulman (1987).

Further work on CALL software should take into account research findings on intelligibility and functional load to yield materials with appropriately motivated content that meets students' needs.



Pennington and Ellis (2000) have shown that software can help L2 learners acquire prosodic patterns if it focuses their attention on crucial distinctions. This is a promising area that deserves further development. Of course, other pedagogical materials should also take into consideration research findings to provide useful instruction for learners.

A wide range of listener factors, such as familiarity with foreign- accented speech, willingness to communicate, and attitudes toward L2 speakers, contribute to the success of any communicative activity. These phenomena require extensive further research. Preliminary evidence suggests that native listeners can benefit from training to improve their skills at listening to accented speech. More attention should also be focused on the mutual intelligibility of NNSs of English. This is especially important at a time when English is increasingly used as a lingua franca around the world.

One of the most important challenges in the coming years is an emphasis on greater collaboration between researchers and practitioners to encourage more classroom relevant research. It is not reasonable to expect all teachers to have the expertise, time, and resources to conduct the type of research that we see as critical. Although some individuals successfully balance teaching and research (usually in university settings), the structure of the ESL programs in which many instructors work makes it difficult to assume both roles. Ideally, teacher preparation programs should provide ESL teachers with sufficient background to enable them to assess their students' pronunciation problems and to critically evaluate research findings, materials, and techniques to determine their applicability for their students. At the same time, researchers need to understand classroom dynamics and students so that they can work in concert with teachers to ensure appropriate research methodology and meaningful findings. In the meantime, applied linguists with an interest in pronunciation should ensure that ESL teacher preparation programs offer courses in pronunciation pedagogy firmly rooted in existing research. Researchers and teachers owe this to ESL students, many of whom view pronunciation instruction as a priority.

## CONCLUSION

Foreign accent, in most cases, is accepted as an indicator of being a foreign language learner or L2 learner. The reason lies in the fact that these learners speak with a noticeable accent that carries over the traits of their native speech. It is really hard to claim that foreign accents can be regularly eliminated with some kinds of pedagogy or speech therapy. Coskun and Arslan (2011) concludes in their study that it is of no use for speakers trying to speak like a native speaker since many speakers use English to communicate with other non-native speakers. However, such a manner is unacceptable for non-native teachers since they are responsible for teaching a Standard English. Further, for EFL learners, it is also required to have a near native-like accent. That does not mean denying or denigrating the varieties of accents but having a Standard English fluency that eases communication with others.

Some non-native foreign language teachers think that they have a right to keep their foreign accent as an indication of their personal identity. They are afraid of betraying or even worse losing their national identity by sounding more like a native speaker of English. However, the English they speak with LI flow is not accurate and natural. While speaking, such teachers not only transfer their intended meaning but also their identity, which is not among the goals of FLE. Therefore, these teachers should give up retaining the characteristics of their mother tongue in their speech.

Foreign accents of non-native teachers bring out some harms on the part of students, as well. Such students also fear to sound like their teachers and might develop negative attitudes towards language learning and their teacher. They might prevent students from establishing a good rapport with their teachers. Even worse, some students can react to bad or wrong pronunciation of their teachers. Accordingly, such teachers lose their professional image in the eyes of their students.

To sum up, this paper concludes that foreign accent is a serious issue for nonnative teachers. These teachers should, at least, minimize their FA to the least degree, if they cannot get rid of it completely. For them, there are three kinds of target accents to gain: native accent, native like accent and near native-like accent. Other accents apart from these are labelled as accented speech that is not appreciated for those in language teaching profession. Of these, native-like fluency is almost impossible and near native-like accents requires settlement or high exposure in an English speaking country. However, non-native teachers should gain at least near-native like accent to sound professional and intellectual. Plus, they should determine a Standard English for themselves, either British or American, and be consistent with the use of it. In this way, they will sound more professional, natural and confident in the ears of listeners and students.

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