Using the Lingua Franca Core to promote students' mutual intelligibility in the multilingual classroom: Five teachers' experiences

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Abstract

Jenkins' (2000) Lingua Franca Core (LFC) details pronunciation features that her research has suggested are crucial for speakers' mutual intelligibility when they are using English as a lingua franca (ELF). The multilingual classroom is, ipso facto, an ELF environment; but current ELF pedagogical materials are all geared towards monolingual groups and assume a degree of familiarity with the learners' L1 which is unrealistic to expect from a teacher whose learners represent many different L1 backgrounds. This dissertation seeks to answer the question: if a resource existed which made the necessary knowledge more readily accessible, would teachers of multilingual classes be willing and able to use it to facilitate their students' mutual intelligibility?

In this dissertation, after discussing existing literature on LFC-based pedagogy and potential barriers to its implementation by teachers of multilingual groups, I will present a novel resource which contrasts twelve L1s against the contents of the LFC in a tractable grid format. I will then document and discuss its use in a language school environment.

The resource was given to five teachers at St George International (SGI) language school in London to pilot with their classes. The teachers were interviewed before and afterwards to discover their typical approaches to pronunciation instruction, their perceptions of students' mutual intelligibility and their experiences of using this LFC-based resource to devise and deliver a pronunciation syllabus.

The interview data suggest that preparing to teach pronunciation in this way was an innovative approach for these teachers and that, despite their apparent willingness, they were not wholly able to use the LFC grid as intended. I conclude that having appropriate material from which to devise an LFC-based syllabus for a multilingual class is not enough. Further necessary preconditions are: stable class composition; existing knowledge of the LFC; and training in contrastive phonology and pronunciation.

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List of abbreviations used

EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESL	English as a Second Language
L1	First language spoken
L2	Other languages spoken
LFC	Lingua Franca Core
NNS	Non-native speaker(s)
NS	Native speaker(s)
SGI	St George International

1 Introduction

In recent decades, the sociolinguistic reality of English has evolved considerably: its L2 speakers now vastly outnumber its L1 speakers (Crystal, 2008:6), and increasingly few interactions in English involve native[1] English speakers (Graddol, 2006:87). As Mauranen (2009:1) puts it, "English has established its position as the global *lingua franca* beyond any doubt" (italics in original). In light of this development, various scholars have questioned whether we should maintain the traditional deference in English language teaching (ELT) to the 'native speaker' ideal (particularly where pronunciation is concerned), with its concomitant stigmatisation of 'non-native' English as somehow 'deficient' or 'failed' (e.g. Rampton, 1990; Widdowson, 1994; Firth & Wagner, 1997; V. Cook, 1999; Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2001).

This suggestion has not been uncontroversial, however. From Quirk's (1990:9) famous dismissal of any varieties other than British or American English as acceptable teaching models as "half-baked quackery", to Trudgill's (2005) and Sobkowiak's (2005) polemics in defence of standard NS pronunciation models such as RP, emotionally and ideologically charged terms like "oppression", "ownership", "prejudice", "irrelevant", "judgment" and so on occur frequently in arguments by ELF advocates and their opponents. Though this makes for engaging reading, Remiszewski (2005:304) points out that "through its provocative nature, such language only distracts one from the actual reality of the EFL [sic] classroom and instead provokes political shootouts."

In particular, Jenkins' (2000, 2002) 'Lingua Franca Core' (LFC), a list of pronunciation features which might facilitate intelligible pronunciation among users of English as a lingua franca (ELF), has been one of the most hotly debated proposals in ELT for some time. However, while debate over LFC-based pronunciation instruction has raged for years in the academic literature, any such dialogue remains practically non-existent in practitioner circles. This is unsurprising given that much of the existing literature in practitioner-based publications such as the ELT Journal focuses on objections to ELF-oriented teaching in general (e.g. Kuo, 2006; Sowden, 2012; Sewell, 2013) rather than pronunciation instruction specifically; and that even in the wider ELF literature,

[1] I am aware of the controversy and potential ambiguity of the terms 'native', 'non-native', 'L1' and 'L2', and of the alternative terms proposed by, for example, Rampton (1990), Jenkins (2000) and Cook (2010). However, as this paper focuses more on the practicalities of pronunciation teaching than matters of identity, I will avoid detailed ideological debate and adhere to the most widely-used terms. Their use in no way reflects any value judgments on my part.

teachers' own voices are rarely heard. For example, the compilations of recent research into ELF edited by Mauranen and Ranta (2009) and Archibald *et al* (2011) feature very few studies involving teachers.

When teachers' perspectives are investigated in ELF research, the focus tends to be broadly on attitudes regarding intelligibility, correctness, models and goals, etc. in general (e.g. Timmis, 2002; Jenkins, 2005a; Sifakis & Sougari, 2005; Lai, 2008; Sifakis & Sougari, 2010; Groom, 2012), rather than on the implementation of LFC-based pronunciation instruction (a few rare exceptions are Da Silva, 1999; Walker, 2001b; Zoghbor, 2009). Accounts of attempts to integrate the LFC into real classroom practice remain conspicuously scarce; and those which do exist refer mainly to classrooms where learners all share an L1. For teachers of mixed-L1[2] classes, precious little guidance is available, despite this being manifestly an ideal environment for developing ELF intelligibility.

In this paper, I will first discuss existing literature on the LFC, exploring some of the key issues surrounding its potential implementation in ELT practice. I will then outline my research plan, which involves practising teachers using LFC-based reference material to devise a course of pronunciation instruction. The final two chapters will report on the outcomes of this study and draw conclusions as to the feasibility of other teachers using similar material to design and implement an ELF-oriented pronunciation syllabus.

For reasons of space and scope, I will focus my discussion throughout on consideration of how realistic and appropriate LFC-based instruction would be in my own professional context, i.e. St George International (SGI), a private language school in London at which all classes comprise learners from various L1 backgrounds.

[2] Throughout this paper, I will favour the terms 'shared-L1' and 'mixed-L1' over the traditional 'monolingual' and 'multilingual' classroom descriptions, in an effort to avoid representing groups of students as monolithic wholes.

2 Literature review

2.1 Development of the Lingua Franca Core

Standard native-speaker (NS) accents have traditionally been held as the best, or only, models for pronunciation instruction in ELT. Jenkins (1997:15) notes that the choice is typically made between Received Pronunciation (RP) and General American (GA) and that the means of devising a pronunciation syllabus is contrastive analysis between the chosen model and the learners' L1 (a popular example is 'Learner English', edited by Swan & Smith, 2001).

Paradoxically, many scholars, including advocates of this approach, acknowledge that achieving native-like pronunciation is an unrealistic goal for most learners (e.g. Wong, 1987; Morley, 1996). Furthermore, Abercrombie's oft-cited claim (1949:120, in e.g. Derwing & Munro, 1995:74; Field, 2005:400) that English learners' pronunciation need only be "comfortably intelligible" begs the question: intelligible to whom? The majority of research into intelligibility[3] either features or assumes monolingual NS listeners, as various writers have pointed out (e.g. Taylor, 1991:426; Jenkins, 2000:158; Rajadurai, 2007:94).

ELF takes as its starting point the observation that NS varieties and norms do not reflect the sociolinguistic reality of English use in the world today, which takes place predominantly between non-native speakers (NNS). From this perspective, NS listeners' judgments of the intelligibility or 'acceptability' of L2 English users' speech are inappropriate. Jenkins (2000, 2002) therefore endeavoured to derive through empirical enquiry, rather than traditional native-oriented assumptions, a description of what constitutes or promotes intelligibility in ELF interaction, now the predominant use of English in the world. She argued that the combined efforts of ELF interlocutors at phonological accommodation to each other's speech and accurate production of certain pronunciation features (the 'Lingua Franca Core', or LFC) should promote their mutual intelligibility, at least insofar as these features are well-rationalised by her data and

[3] Derwing & Munro (1995:76) give a broad definition of intelligibility as "the extent to which a speaker's message is actually understood by a listener." I share Jenkins' (2000:79) assessment that intelligibility is a two-way street: "even at the level of pronunciation, intelligibility is dynamically negotiable between speaker and listener, rather than statically inherent in a speaker's linguistic forms". For reasons of scope, however, I focus in this paper predominantly on the speaker's side of the interaction, restricting my discussion mainly to the LFC.

analysis. The LFC also excludes those elements which Jenkins judged either not teachable or not learnable in a classroom context.

The LFC may be presented as follows (not in any priority order). I have reorganised and elaborated this list slightly from that presented in Jenkins (2000:159), as the brevity with which it appears therein seems to have been one of the chief causes of misunderstandings and misinterpretations of its contents. My additions are derived from Jenkins' own explanations and justifications of LFC features in various publications (e.g. 2000, 2002, 2009). I have also grouped phonetic requirements (which Jenkins lists separately) with consonants and vowels, as this is where such information is typically found in teachers' reference material (if included at all), and my main concern is how accessible the LFC is to practising teachers.

1. All English consonants with provisos as follows:
   - /θ/, /ð/ not necessary (most substitutions possible, but probably not /ʃ/, /ʤ/ or /z/)
   - dark [ɬ] not necessary (substitution of clear /l/ (possibly preceded by schwa if syllabic) or /ʊ/ probably acceptable)
   - Rhotic retroflex approximant [ɻ] (as in GA) rather than other varieties of /r/
   - intervocalic /t/, not flapped [ɾ], intervocalically and in word-medial /nt/ clusters (as in RP)
   - aspiration of /p t k/ when occurring in initial position in a stressed syllable

2. Consonant clusters:
   - no simplification of initial clusters
   - medial and final clusters simplified only according to L1 elision rules (especially in clusters containing /t/ and /d/)
   - epenthesis generally permissible to ease articulation, provided the epenthetic syllable is not then stressed
   - paragoge (addition of final schwa) generally permissible, provided the paragoge does not create a homonym (e.g. 'hard' sounding like 'harder')

3. Vowels:
   - length contrast preserved but L2 qualities acceptable if consistent
   - length of diphthongs preserved but L2 qualities acceptable if consistent
   - vowels shortened ('clipped') when occurring before a fortis consonant
   - /ɜː/ preserved

4. Suprasegmentals:
   - nuclear stress placed appropriately, especially for contrast/emphasis
   - stream of speech divided into meaningful tone units (word groups)

Room is allowed outside the LFC for *receptive* learning of other features (e.g. weak forms in NS English connected speech) and *productive* transfer of other L1 features (e.g. approximations of particular English consonants, providing they do not overlap with others), resulting in an L2 accent which would be perfectly acceptable according to Jenkins (2000, 2007), given that accent is so closely tied to expression of identity.

2.2 Reactions to the LFC

Though some welcomed the advent of an ELF-oriented approach to pronunciation instruction and began exploring the feasibility of its application to ELT practice (e.g. Da Silva, 1999; Walker, 2001a, 2001b & 2010; Keys & Walker, 2002; Zoghbor, 2009), reception of the LFC has more often been remarkably sceptical, even hostile. The creation of an apparently concrete list of 'what's in' and 'what's out' for pronunciation teaching was bound to provoke strong reactions (see, for example, the volume edited by Dziubalska-Kołaczyk & Przedlacka, 2005). This was not quite Jenkins' intended interpretation of the LFC, but it was nevertheless taken as such by many; and she did anticipate that the LFC may be untenable for some, as it represented "an almost complete reversal of current phonological orthodoxy" (2000:135).

Phillipson (1992) argues that the persistence of NS norms and the NS ideal in ELT is unfortunately perpetuated by experts who have *a priori* credibility in the eyes of a wide global audience, despite some dubious assertions on their part. Indeed, most arguments in defense of RP despite the statistically low likelihood of learners using, or meeting users of, this model continue to be quite flimsy. They tend to assert without credible justification that RP self-evidently remains the most prestigious (e.g. Przedlacka, 2005) or to effectively conclude that we may as well continue teaching these models because that is how it has always been done and native speakers will always be the best (e.g. Scheuer, 2005), while at the same time acknowledging that actual achievement of native-like pronunciation has never been a realistic goal (e.g. Trudgill, 2005; Sobkowiak, 2005). Jenkins has been at pains to remind proponents of such views that the LFC was never intended as a prescriptive replacement for prior models (e.g. 2005b:203). She also astutely observes (2005b:204; 2007:26; 2009:14) that while ELF proponents do not force an assumed LFC goal on their learners without consulting their wishes, the reverse does appear to be the case with regard to RP and GA.

The majority of objections to the LFC seem in fact to stem from simple, or simplistic, misunderstandings of some of its basic tenets. Szpyra-Kozłowska (2005), for example, fails to differentiate between *productive* and *receptive* aspects of pronunciation ability, and claims such a differentiation would "[put] the teacher in a somewhat awkward position" (2005:166), though she gives no justification for this assertion. She also criticises Jenkins (2000) for not giving teachers specific guidance on how to deal with learners' arbitrarily substituting /f/ and /s/ for dental fricatives, for example, ignoring a key purpose of the LFC: to describe, not prescribe. (I would suggest that substitutions should be consistent, as Jenkins (2000:145) suggests for vowel quality.) Scheuer (2005) levels various similarly misguided criticisms at the LFC, such as continually equating "irritating" with "strongly foreign-accented" (e.g. 2005:125), despite her own earlier acknowledgement (2005:116) that it is *individual listeners* who may judge particular accents as 'irritating', rather than a particular pronunciation having this quality inherently, and despite the fact that Jenkins mentioned this risk of irritation only once (2000:138, as a "possible" reason to disallow substitution of /z/ for /ð/).

Two more legitimate concerns, in my view, relate to the inclusion or exclusion of certain elements in the LFC. Firstly, various sweeping assertions have been made about 'learnability' and 'teachability', without sufficient explanation or justification. To give one example: Jenkins (2000:141) argues that "the basic pedagogic rule [behind pre-fortis vowel-clipping] is itself simple and thus learnable in the classroom", yet Wells (2005:106) asserts that it "helps intelligibility but is difficult to teach and learn". In terms of empirical support, I am no better placed to offer insights in this respect, but in my own experience of teaching this very pronunciation point, I would tend to agree with Jenkins here. However, more research to corroborate this is certainly needed. Similarly, Dauer's (2005:547) claim that "[t]eaching vowel length before final consonants requires good phonetic training, which many teachers lack" may be true, but requires further substantiation. If all that is required is an ability to differentiate fortis from lenis consonants word-finally and recognise the preceding vowel, I daresay most pre-service teachers in my training experience would be able to cope with this.

The second fair objection to the LFC concerns whether its contents need amending or 'fine-tuning'. The inclusion of vowel length and the exclusion of word stress seem to be the most commonly questioned points. Wells (2005) posits that length distinction is only necessary for some vowels (e.g. in 'leave' vs. 'live'), observing that plenty of NS

varieties manage without a length distinction between some vowels (e.g. 'shoot' vs. 'foot'); and Dauer (2005) observes that other long-short vowel contrasts are not discussed in depth by Jenkins (2000), thus the attention to be given to these by teachers following the LFC remains unclear. Regarding word stress, Dauer (2005) also rightly points out that this influences vowel length, aspiration and nuclear stress—all included in the LFC, though word stress itself is not. Jenkins (2000:150) acknowledged these points, and admitted that word stress was a "grey area", though she still regards word stress as broadly 'unteachable', a point with which Dauer (and I) tend to disagree. Furthermore, Field (2005) found that both NS and NNS listeners' understanding was adversely affected by misplaced word stress, though the direction of the shift and changes in vowel quality also played a part.

Clearly, more research into what comprises the LFC is needed (as Jenkins herself acknowledged from the outset (2000:235)). Further investigations have tended to support the core contents that Jenkins originally proposed (e.g. Osimk, 2010; Deterding, 2013), but continued research will offer valuable insights as to its 'fine-tuning' (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011:288).

2.3 Pedagogical implications of the LFC

2.3.1 Learners' goals

One fundamental purpose of the LFC is to offer an alternative to traditional NS pronunciation models (typically RP/GA) for those learners for whom such models are not relevant. But determining what is 'relevant' to learners is not necessarily a simple task.

Jenkins (e.g. 2000, 2007) and Seidlhofer (e.g. 2011) argue that a person's accent is closely tied to their sense of identity. This much is not generally disputed; but the further claim that learners may *therefore* wish to preserve elements of their L1 accent in their L2 speech has been somewhat contentious, leading some to dismiss the LFC as being driven more by political correctness than consideration of learners' real needs (e.g. Scheuer, 2005; Sobkowiak, 2005; Waters, 2007). Remiszewski (2005) takes a more moderate stance, convincingly arguing that there remains inadequate concrete evidence for the assertion that L2 speakers of English may wish, consciously or unconsciously, to keep vestiges of their L1 accent lest their L1 identity be obscured or threatened by

native-like L2 pronunciation. It should be noted, however, that Jenkins did concede that such a desire cannot be *assumed* (e.g. 2000:161; 2005a:541); her point was that it should be *allowed*.

Some scholars have directly consulted learners to elicit their views on pronunciation models, and have discovered a general continuing desire to pursue NS goals. One frequently-cited large-scale questionnaire study was conducted by Timmis (2002), who found that a majority of students and teachers preferred to aim for NS-like pronunciation, even if they felt this was an unrealistic goal. However, students were only given two options to choose from:

> (1) "I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker." and
> (2) "I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country."
>
> (Timmis, 2002:242)

This appears a rather reductionist view of the options open to students. Timmis followed up these questionnaires with interviews to probe deeper into participants' responses, but it would be interesting to see if initial responses might be different if a third or fourth option were suggested to them, such as "I am clearly not a native speaker; this would be unrealistic; but my first language is not identifiable from my speech." Recent research by Sung (2013) involved more open-ended discussion with participants, and the results suggested that while some learners regard NS-like pronunciation as an attractive ideal, they did not necessarily consider it clear or intelligible enough to represent an indisputably superior model for their own speech.

Various writers have pointed out that it is not necessarily straightforward or easy to determine students' true preferences regarding pronunciation (e.g. Walker, 2010:60), and that neither learners nor their teachers necessarily know who their interlocutors will be in future (e.g. Taylor, 1991:429; Trudgill, 2005:79; Jenkins, 2006:159). This potential overlap between EFL and ELF learners is particularly noticeable in my teaching context, where students typically have a variety of different motivations for learning English (as discussed in Seidlhofer, 2011:17-19). Some are already based in London; others want to stay there to work or study; some are just on holiday for a week

or two; and so on. There are increasing numbers of students who tell me they are learning English because they feel it will afford them better employment opportunities in future, but this vague notion leaves the question of their interlocutors wide open.

Nonetheless, while we cannot always accurately determine learners' goals and needs, using this as a reason not to consider the potential utility of the LFC at all seems rather defeatist. By the same logic, we could dispense with RP, since we do not know if our learners will ever meet someone who speaks or understands RP, which is not necessarily any more inherently intelligible than any other native variety and is spoken only by a "minute" population nowadays (Cruttenden, 2001:81).

2.3.2 Teachers' awareness, attitudes and approaches

To adopt an LFC-based syllabus, teachers first need to be familiar with the LFC: its existence, contents and purpose. But general awareness of ELF, let alone the LFC, is low among ELT practitioners in my experience. To give an anecdotal example, a workshop I recently conducted was attended by ten ELT practitioners from various contexts, all based in London. Only three knew any more than what the letters in "ELF" stood for (but very little, by their own admission): they were a Director of Studies, a senior teacher/teacher trainer with some ten years' experience, and a recent pre-service (Trinity CertTESOL) trainee from our own school (whom, not coincidentally, I myself had trained). None of the workshop participants had heard of the LFC.

Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011) note that while debate around ELF has clearly taken off in ELT circles, the practicalities of applying the theory appear not to have trickled down to the classroom yet.[4] They highlight the importance of access to ELF theory and a need for more practitioner-led research in order for teachers' to "reconsider their beliefs and practices and make informed decisions about the significance of ELF for their own individual teaching contexts" (ibid.:306). My fear is that both will involve a sea-change in many teacher education programmes and institutional attitudes, not to mention a willingness and motivation to dedicate considerable (and probably unpaid) time to such professional development, which in my experience are all very difficult, though not impossible, to bring about.

[4] For a detailed discussion and a proposed framework of teacher education intended to develop awareness of ELF, see Sifakis (2007).

Similarly, in order to base a syllabus on the LFC, teachers presumably need to feel that it provides an appropriate guide for their students. Awareness and access to ELF theory and research will influence such a decision, as will discussion with the learners regarding their needs and goals. Achievement of the former prerequisite is doubtful; and the latter should not be taken for granted, either. The vast majority of teachers with whom I have worked appear to take a genuine interest in their students' lives, jobs, personalities and so on; most also analyse their students' needs, whether formally or informally; some are also aware of whom the students use English with (e.g. mostly NS or NNS). Few, however, appear to discuss students' pronunciation goals with them. This does not seem to be an adequate basis for selecting RP, GA, the LFC or any other model or guide as the best option for instruction. However, in my experience, it does seem to be the norm.

Another implied demand on teachers following an LFC-based syllabus is an extensive knowledge of their learners' L1 background(s). This is not explicitly stated as such in Jenkins' (2000) original proposals, but the implication is clear through her advocacy of NNS teachers who share their students' L1 as an ideal model of successful L2 ELF use. Tailoring classroom pronunciation work according to the likely difficulties of a particular L1 may be appropriate for bilingual teachers in shared-L1 classroom environments such as that of Da Silva (1999) or Zoghbor (2009); but it is not realistic to expect such depth of knowledge from a teacher faced with the potentially wide variety of L1s represented in a mixed-L1 classroom, whatever the teacher's L1. Furthermore, it is by definition impossible that a NS teacher (as most are, at SGI) of a mixed-L1 class can represent a "local teacher" who shares "the learner's mother tongue" and "whose accent incorporates…the local version of the non-core items" (Jenkins, 2005b:203).

2.3.3 LFC reference and practice materials

In the absence of personal knowledge of the learners' L1(s), teachers wishing to create an LFC-based syllabus will need reference material which makes the relevant information easy to find and collate. Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011:305) point out that Walker's (2010) handbook is currently the only reference source for teachers wishing for *practical* pedagogical guidance. Indeed, he gives very helpful advice on how to exploit learners' knowledge of their L1—especially its different regional accents—to make associations between the L1 and L2; but though excellent in its coverage in many ways, Walker's (2010) book is evidently intended more for NNS teachers of shared-L1 groups, perhaps due to the fact that "more English teaching is carried out around the

world in monolingual than multilingual classes" (Jenkins, 2000:191). This resource is certainly less suitable for teachers of mixed-L1 groups, to which Walker devotes very little space, rightly acknowledging this context as "quite problematic" (2010:99).

Ostensibly the best way to ensure the majority of the students' diverse needs are met, the majority of the time, is to identify likely areas of difficulty that different L1 groups may have in common. But a book format, with information spread across many pages, makes locating and comparing such information somewhat awkward. There are also several L1s omitted from Walker (2010) which are frequently represented at SGI, including the two most common: Italian and French.

Furthermore, although the language-specific reference sections in Walker's (2010) book present the key information in a clear, succinct and accessible way, they do not all mention the same points in the same level of detail: for example, both the Russian and German sections mention the tendency to devoice certain consonants word-finally, but the Russian section also notes that this will affect word-final consonant clusters, whereas the German section does not, leaving the reader wondering if the word-final devoicing rule does not apply to clusters in German. These discrepancies occur presumably by virtue of their having been written by different contributors, and focusing only on the specific problems of their respective L1s. However, this inconsistency presents a conundrum for a busy teacher investigating whether a group of students with various L1s will encounter the same difficulties.

That said, following a NS model is not necessarily much easier in this respect, though published materials do exist which contain tables of pronunciation features likely to be problematic for various L1 backgrounds contrasted side-by-side on one or two pages (e.g. O'Connor & Fletcher, 1989; Bowler & Cunningham, 1999; Kelly, 2000). This format makes finding areas of overlapping need among various L1s (and therefore quick selection of points for inclusion in a lesson or syllabus for a mixed-L1 group) much less cumbersome than flipping through the many pages in Walker (2010) (or, for NS-oriented analysis, Swan & Smith, 2001, or Kenworthy, 1987), and trying to find where various items coincide.

SGI classrooms may contain a potential mix of different motivations and goals among the students; but if we focus on what happens *within* the classroom, their use of English here is indisputably as a lingua franca. From its absence in virtually all ELF pedagogic

literature, we might infer that in the mixed-L1 classroom, students' mutual intelligibility will take care of itself—but this is not my experience. Exposure alone is not enough to develop ELF accommodation skills, as Jenkins (2000:190) warns; and I would add the same is true of learners' productive competence. My colleagues and I often comment on our students' having difficulty understanding one another's pronunciation, particularly when their L1 backgrounds are very different (e.g. French and Chinese).

Thus, the opportunities afforded by the mixed-L1 classroom for testing their mutual intelligibility are invaluable, as the students themselves represent genuine ELF interlocutors. As Rogerson-Revell (2011:255) points out, they are therefore more appropriate judges than teachers, who possess disproportionately specialised skills in listening to learners' speech due to the very nature of their work, and who may therefore be unusually lenient or critical in evaluating intelligibility. There are some activities particularly well suited to this environment, as opposed to a shared-L1 classroom. Jenkins (2000:189) suggests 'information gap' exercises and student-student dictation, for example. This would indeed focus the exposure learners already have in a mixed-L1 group to speakers from different L1 backgrounds, providing valuable opportunities to repeat, clarify and signal (lack of) understanding.

In theory, teachers can tailor classroom activities to the particular needs of their learners (as Zoghbor, 2009, demonstrated). With limited relevant linguistic knowledge of the range of L1s represented in a mixed-L1 group, teachers may look to existing published pronunciation materials for classroom practice. However, these tend to be quite conservative and conventional. Kachru (1997:72) observed that "in the role of gate-keepers, the most influential group is the ELT enterprise itself." NS standard models, especially RP, are still the most widely used in pedagogic material (see Wrembel (2005) for a detailed survey of widely available pronunciation coursebooks and CD-ROMs). Until more published material becomes available that focuses specifically on the LFC, preparing LFC-oriented classroom activities will require teachers to adapt or create their own materials, or use materials-light or materials-free techniques.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research objectives and design

The mixed-L1 classrooms at SGI represent an authentic ELF environment due to their composition of various NNS backgrounds; and sometimes, students' pronunciation leads to breakdowns in their interaction. These seem propitious circumstances for testing the utility of the LFC in facilitating ELF intelligibility. However, teachers of such classes may struggle to exploit this opportunity, due to a lack of detailed knowledge or suitable reference material on which to base a syllabus that will address the potential areas of difficulty arising from their students' diverse L1 backgrounds.

This research therefore aimed to find out: if appropriate reference material existed, would teachers be willing and able to use it to inform their pronunciation instruction?

To investigate this, first such a resource needed to be created; then teachers could be asked to consult it in order to plan and deliver an LFC-based syllabus appropriate to their students' overlapping needs and later evaluate the effectiveness of this approach.

I created the resource myself (Appendix 1) but chose to ask others to pilot it, to limit the subjectivity of the evaluation and broaden the number of classes involved beyond the two in my own timetable. The piloting period was timed to coincide with two weeks during which I was due to be away, so that my presence would not somehow be perceived as surveillance and unduly influence the participants' behaviour. I also felt one week would be too short for teachers to acquaint themselves with an unfamiliar resource and a potentially unfamiliar approach to planning their pronunciation teaching, but that anything longer than two weeks would represent too great an intrusion on my colleagues' time and may result in fewer, if any, willing participants.

When I started, I was uncertain about the teachers' general experience of consulting pronunciation reference material and planning their pronunciation instruction. To maintain a flexible approach that would allow me to explore emergent issues and themes, I required a qualitative approach (Dörnyei, 2007:37; L. Richards, 2005:67). I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews, so that I could keep my broad research question in mind while allowing participants' input to offer specific insights and new directions for exploration (Dörnyei, 2007:136).

3.2 Creating the material

3.2.1 Collation and compilation of L1 data

A key consideration in compiling the LFC resource was which languages to include. As I intended to pilot the material at my own school, I decided on the ten most commonly represented L1s over the past year. These were, in descending order of number of students: Italian, French, Spanish, Russian, Japanese, Portuguese, Arabic, German, Polish and Chinese. I then extended this to include the next two on the list: Turkish and Hungarian. SGI receives few Turkish students but they tend to stay for several months, so there is a high likelihood of any given class including a student whose L1 is Turkish. And at the time of creating the grid, my own class included two Hungarian students. Siptár and Törkenczy (2000:3) note that Hungarian is rarely discussed in teachers' pronunciation guides or in international literature generally; including Hungarian therefore enriched both the LFC resource and my own practice.

To contrast these twelve L1s with English, I consulted mainly Walker (2010), 'Learner English' (edited by Swan and Smith, 2001), Rogerson-Revell (2011) and Kenworthy (1987). These sources did not cover all of my selected L1s (e.g. Hungarian) and sometimes lacked information relevant to the LFC (e.g. placement of nuclear stress). Therefore, I also consulted other language-specific sources[5] *ad hoc*.

I kept track of all the information I found in one extensive Excel spreadsheet (Appendix A), regardless of whether it would eventually be omitted from my LFC-focused resource, as it sometimes appeared to have relevance to the LFC (e.g. information about particular vowel contrasts proving difficult for learners with a particular L1 sometimes illuminated whether length distinction in general would likely be problematic). Decisions to stop searching for data were made "when further data [did] not seem to add new information" (Dörnyei, 2007:244) or when a given piece of information was definitely irrelevant to the LFC and would not likely affect other LFC features (e.g. a language being syllable-timed).

Compilation of the L1 data was complicated by different sources occasionally giving contradictory information. As the majority of sources I consulted were designed for

[5] These sources were: for Spanish, Walker (2001a, 2001b); for Arabic, Zoghbor (2009); for Chinese, Duanmu (2000) and Zhang & Yin (2009); for Turkish, Kallestinova (2009); and for Hungarian, Baker (1982), Varga (1975) and Siptár & Törkenczy (2000).

quick reference, their information was typically brief and explanations of the inclusion or exclusion of particular details were rare. For example, Rogerson-Revell (2011) says there are no diphthongs in Arabic, Zoghbor (2009) and Smith (2001) claim there are two and Moubarik (in Walker, 2010) does not mention them at all, presumably because he asserts earlier that length distinctions in general are not problematic for Arabic learners, but this is not made explicit. As I speak no Arabic and had no Arabic-speaking informants, I faced a dilemma regarding what to include in my resource. Similarly, some books within the same series contradicted each other: the intermediate New Headway Pronunciation Course, for example, indicates that the /iː/-/ɪ/distinction is important for Hungarian learners, but the upper-intermediate version has no tick in the corresponding column.

In these cases, I first consulted additional sources, seeking further explanation or a majority opinion. A less desirable option in terms of empirical rigour would have been to give priority to the ELF-oriented literature (as opposed to general phonological literature), as these authors have already considered what is likely to be problematic for ELF. However, not all authors give equal attention to the different LFC features, and this approach would still not address some of the L1s in my selection. Ultimately, I judged it best to 'play it safe' and assume that if at least one source suggested the pronunciation feature in question would be problematic, then it might be, and should therefore be included in my resource. If a teacher addresses it and it proves straightforward for the student(s) in question, no harm is done and relatively little time lost.

One final complication was that some L1s have several significant varieties and/or standards, e.g. Arabic, Chinese, Portuguese. Authors take different varieties as their starting points and give accordingly different guidance. I strived to include all their information, by noting in the completed resource that *some* speakers *may* have problems in certain areas and by including a general 'scale of difficulty' in the grid design to indicate whether features were 'generally NOT problematic'.

3.2.2 Design and presentation

To reduce the demands on teachers' time and background knowledge, my resource needed to help teachers do the following with greater ease and speed:

1. Identify areas of overlap in their students' needs.

2. Understand the features described.
3. Prepare to apply the resultant syllabus in practice.

3.2.2.1 Identifying overlapping needs

To present the L1 data I had compiled, I opted for a printed grid format such as that used in several existing (non-LFC-based) pronunciation handbooks and coursebooks (e.g. Kelly, 2000:144-146; Rogerson-Revell, 2011:291; Bowler & Cunningham, 1999:4; Cunningham & Bowler, 1999:4). Having pronunciation features along one axis and L1s along the other makes complex, interrelated information more tractable and facilitates quick identification of commonality across several categories. To represent varying degrees of difficulty posed by particular pronunciation features to speakers of particular L1s, I opted for four levels of greyscale shading with accompanying notes for teachers on how to interpret this system.

Practicalities of size and readability were also addressed. Using large-format (A3) paper allowed the grid to accommodate all necessary information and maintain legibility, while being small enough to be folded and carried with other teaching materials. I consulted guides to publication design (Hurlbert, 1976; Swann, 1987) regarding typeface, colour and font size and thus chose a standard sans serif font (Lucida Sans Unicode) as the most readable and least liable to distort phonetic symbols when printed.

3.2.2.2 Understanding LFC features

Jenkins (2000:140) notes that two phonetic aspects of the LFC rarely appear in pronunciation courses (aspiration and pre-fortis vowel clipping), and that most NS teacher education courses do not prepare teachers with formal phonetics training (ibid.:201). Based on the typical qualifications held by teachers at my school, I could anticipate this as being problematic for implementing an LFC-based syllabus. However, as Harwood (2010:14) argues, "materials writers…need to make their materials suitable for a wide variety of teachers, who have different amounts of experience [and] are more or less qualified". I therefore endeavoured to present the LFC in a way that would be accessible to most of my colleagues, regardless of their level of training and experience.

I avoided jargon which I judged likely to be unfamiliar or opaque (e.g. 'fortis' and 'lenis') and standardised any terminology which had been inconsistent in the literature (e.g. 'elided', 'omitted', 'dropped' all became 'dropped'). I avoided the potentially value-laden

terms 'native' and 'non-native' except as a shortcut to understanding (e.g. for permissible consonant cluster simplifications—cf. the extensive discussion in Jenkins, 2000:141-143). I included teacher's notes on the back of the grid with brief explanations of any other terminology used, guided by my own initial impressions of the LFC (for which I referred to the notes I had taken in the first year of my MA course). The teacher's notes also elaborated on particular points crucial to the LFC (e.g. that /t/ must not be flapped), and on the rationale behind the LFC. In the interests of being concise and keeping the resource text-light, examples of each language-specific problem were not included on the grid.

3.2.2.3 Preparing to teach

SGI teachers have busy schedules. To help them use the grid efficiently, I included suggestions in the teacher's notes (and in person when explaining the project) on how to narrow down the information to reflect the L1s represented in their classes, and included space for them to write specific students' names next to particular L1s for ease of reference when planning/teaching. I also anticipated that my colleagues might be hindered from implementing their prepared syllabus by uncertainty over how to practise less familiar LFC features, so I included a list of suggested resources and checked the teachers knew where to locate them in the SGI staffroom.

3.3 Piloting the material

3.3.1 The school context

SGI is fairly typical of private language schools in London, with approximately 4,000 full-time students passing through in an average year and around 20 full-time teaching and training staff, nearly all L1 English speakers, ranging from newly-qualified to having over 20 years' experience. A diverse mix of nationalities and first language backgrounds are represented in the student body.

Classes are mostly groups of general English (all levels), business English (CEFR B1 level and above) and exam preparation (IELTS, CAE and FCE). A system of continuous enrolment means that some new students arrive every Monday, some leave every Friday, and there is a great deal of overlap between different students' course lengths. Group composition (i.e. mix of L1s, reasons for learning English, etc.) and teachers' timetables are therefore liable to change from week to week.

3.3.2 Recruitment methods

With prior permission from the school principal, an email (Appendix 2) was circulated inviting teachers to contact me if they wished to participate. Both this email and a subsequent meeting with those who responded outlined the purpose of the project and confirmed that participants should meet two key sampling criteria (Dörnyei, 2007:128): they had noticed instances of communication breakdown between their students which appeared attributable to pronunciation, and they normally include pronunciation work in their lessons. Though the number of teachers recruited was low, their willingness to participate was nevertheless likely to yield a rich dataset (Dörnyei, 2007:129).

In accordance with university ethical guidelines, the five participants were given an information sheet (Appendix 3) detailing the project and the deadline by which they could choose to withdraw, and 48 hours to consider these before agreeing to participate. They were reminded throughout the project of my dual role as colleague and researcher, and reassured that their relationship with one would not influence the other.

3.3.3 The participants

Five teachers took part in the study. All teach full-time at SGI and have known me as a colleague for at least a year.

Teacher A has been teaching for 6 years, in Germany and the UK. She holds the CELTA and Delta qualifications[6] and is also a CELTA and CertTESOL trainer. She is currently studying for an MA in Policy Studies in Education. She has a basic knowledge of ELF.

Teacher B has been teaching for 2 years, in Spain, Palestine and the UK. He holds the CertTESOL and PTLLS qualifications and started studying for his DipTESOL shortly after this research was conducted. He had no knowledge of ELF before this project.

Teacher C has been teaching for 1 year, in France and the UK. She holds the CertTESOL qualification. She had no knowledge of ELF before this project.

[6] CELTA and Delta are pre-service and in-service teacher training qualifications accredited by Cambridge ESOL. CertTESOL and DipTESOL are the equivalent qualifications accredited by Trinity College London. PTLLS is a qualification which prepares candidates to teach in the UK Lifelong Learning Sector.

Teacher D has been teaching for 12 years, in France, Cameroon, Kazakhstan and the UK. She has also worked as a teacher trainer. She holds the CertTESOL and DipTESOL qualifications and a diploma in ELT Management. She is currently studying for an MA in Education. She has a basic knowledge of ELF.

Teacher E has been teaching for 6 years, in Slovenia and the UK. She holds the CELTA qualification. She understands the basic concept of ELF as relating to NNS-NNS interaction, but has little in-depth knowledge.

3.3.4 Data collection

Each participant was interviewed twice, once before the two-week material piloting period and once after. The interviews were conducted in an empty classroom at SGI and audio-recorded in high-quality digital format. Following Dörnyei's (2007) advice, all interviews started with straightforward factual questions (e.g. about the L1 mix in the teacher's class at the moment) to "set the tone and create initial rapport" (ibid.:137) and finished with an opportunity for the interviewee to add any other comments. All questions were carefully phrased so as not to lead or confuse the interviewees (e.g. with biased phrasing or jargon) (Dörnyei, 2007:108). Due to the open-ended, exploratory nature of the research, the interview questions were further refined as the interviews progressed, with each informing the next (see Appendix 4 for the basic schedules).

The first-round interviews were primarily intended to afford a more concrete foundation for contextualising this research than my own beliefs or assumptions regarding pronunciation teaching at SGI, and to offer a potential benchmark for comparison if the post-pilot interviews revealed any changes in a teacher's normal conduct. The interview prompts were therefore designed to address how the teachers identify their students' pronunciation needs, if/how they determine where these needs overlap in a mixed-L1 class, what pronunciation features they address in class and how they address these. I also wanted to elicit examples of intelligibility breakdown which the participants had noticed.

I deliberately avoided overt description and discussion of ELF at this stage, partly to avoid entering into ideological discussions and potentially skewing their perceptions or evaluations of ELF, and partly because I knew most teachers at our school are generally unfamiliar with the concept anyway, let alone its implications for teaching. The teachers had elected to participate because they were interested in the possibility being offered

to them, namely that existing research into NNS-NNS intelligibility (i.e. the LFC) might be able to help their students better understand each other's pronunciation, which they had noticed was sometimes a problem in their classes. The notion of ELF was therefore addressed explicitly only after the piloting period.

The second-round interviews primarily addressed the teachers' analysis and evaluation of the grid and feedback on their experiences of using it. The questions regarding the LFC grid itself were carefully prepared so as not to be biased or influenced by my own personal ideology, as Tomlinson (2003b:16) warns against. The questions regarding ELF intelligibility in class were impacted by my discovery in the first round (see section 4.1.1 below) that the teachers did not appear to have recorded instances of student-student intelligibility breakdowns in any systematic way, and rarely remembered specific examples. I therefore focused more on whether the LFC grid helped them identify and address *potential* areas of ELF intelligibility in class, or perhaps led them to notice things they may not have noticed before. Retrospectively, the decision to use a relatively open-ended research design proved wise, as it allowed me to respond flexibly and quickly to such issues, which only emerged once the project was underway (Dörnyei, 2007:40).

3.3.5 Data analysis

As the interview data were to be used primarily as a resource, not for linguistic, discourse or ethnographic analysis, I did not transcribe all ten hours' worth of recordings in their entirety. I listened to each interview several times, first taking notes of themes related to the research objectives and of themes shared among, or unique to, various participants. I then transcribed the relevant sections in full.

Using the original recordings and my notes, I re-read and annotated the transcripts, identifying and analysing salient points and highlighting common themes. (See Appendix 5 for illustrative samples of these documents, Appendix 6 for my transcription conventions, and Appendices B and C for the full recordings and annotated transcripts.)

3.4 Limitations and considerations

Qualitative research inevitably involves a degree of subjectivity and interpretation, and all participants, including the researcher, will influence the representation of 'reality' due to the centrality of their personal meanings and views (Dörnyei, 2007; K. Richards,

2003). In the absence of a team of researchers to conduct independent analyses of my data, I took several other measures to temper my own subjectivity:

- Before providing the LFC grid to participants, I invited informal comments on it from non-participant colleagues, so my interview prompts would not be biased towards what I hoped/expected to hear.
- During the interviews, I frequently summarised the points made and checked I had understood participants' comments as they had intended. (The occasional instances when they subsequently rephrased these suggested that this was a useful technique in monitoring my interpretation of their meaning).
- In the second-round interviews, I revisited points from the first round which I felt would benefit from clarification and to check my interpretations.

Throughout the study, I invited all participants to be open and honest in their discussions and to be justly critical in their evaluations of the LFC resource. The extent to which they did so may have been influenced by their awareness of our existing professional relationship and of my multiple roles (researcher, interviewer, colleague); but we are fortunate enough to work in a friendly environment which encourages mutual professional respect, and we generally give and accept feedback and criticism with good grace. Nevertheless, there were moments during the interviews where I resisted probing certain points further so as not to appear to be challenging my colleagues' professionalism. Thus, some issues (especially those discussed in sections 4.1 and 4.4, below) were not as fully explored as I would have liked.

Clearly, as this study featured only five participants who all work in the same school, their combined experience will not be representative of the whole ELT industry. Furthermore, I discovered during the second-round interviews that two of my five participants had missed several days' work during the research period due to illness. They were therefore unable to use the grid as regularly or extensively as we had anticipated. It would be interesting to take on board the initial findings from this study and to pilot the material again with other teachers from a variety of institutional settings, perhaps over a longer time period.

4 Findings and discussion

In the following sections, I include illustrative excerpts from the interview data. Following Roberts' (1997) advice (cited in Dörnyei, 2007:248) I have tried to remain sensitive to clarity of presentation, the 'politics of representation' and the desirability of evoking the speakers' own natural voices, and have therefore used standard orthography and removed incidental features such as repetition, false starts, hesitation and my own prompts/backchannelling, unless I deemed their inclusion essential to understanding the excerpt. Where I include my own speech, it appears in ***bold italics***; paraphrased words appear in square [ ] brackets; non-linguistic information (e.g. laughter) appears in round ( ) brackets. For my original working transcriptions of key themes in the data, with annotations, see Appendix C (on the accompanying CD).

4.1 General approaches to pronunciation instruction

4.1.1 Instances of unintelligibility

The first-round interviews revealed that student-student unintelligibility does occur in the participants' classes, but rarely (perhaps because the majority of the classes were quite high-level). From some teachers' recollections, it appeared that some students struggled with pronunciation features which appear in the LFC, such as pausing appropriately (Teachers A, Teacher C), distinguishing /ɜː/ from other vowels (Teacher D), and long-short vowel contrasts (Teacher B), and therefore, greater familiarity with the LFC might enable these teachers to aid their students' mutual intelligibility. However, no participant was in the habit of keeping any systematic record of their students' unintelligible pronunciations, and this did not change during the piloting period. Furthermore, the teachers did not use the LFC grid as scrupulously as I had hoped (see section 4.2 below) to anticipate and address such issues in class. Thus, I was unfortunately unable to consider the effects of LFC-based instruction on their students' mutual intelligibility after (versus before) the piloting period.

When prompted to recall instances of students' unintelligible pronunciation from recent lessons, some teachers appeared to have difficulty identifying exactly what the problem was. For example:

> It wasn't that she'd said the wrong words or that the grammar was so wrong I couldn't understand, it was that it came out very mumbled and, yeah it was really … different sounds were wrong … I can't remember

> to pick out which ones. … it could've been that she started too quickly, I think a mixture of intonation, speed and individual sounds being wrong that made it difficult to follow for me and for the other students.
>
> (Teacher A)

As such points arose during the interviews, I resisted the temptation to probe further as I did not want to appear to challenge the teachers' professionalism in terms of their knowledge of pronunciation features or monitoring of students' understanding and learning.

4.1.2 Preparing for the needs of a mixed-L1 class

All but one of the participants (Teacher B) reported having consulted 'Learner English' (Swan & Smith, 2001) when uncertain as to the potential difficulties of learners from a particular L1 background. However, Teacher D pointed out that although its depth and breadth of information and explanation are helpful, "it's difficult for a group" because consulting it for multiple L1 backgrounds is quite time-consuming. She alone was aware of an existing published grid designed to show areas of commonality between different L1s (in Kelly's 'How to Teach Pronunciation' (2000)), but she nevertheless preferred to try and determine her students' needs according to observation, rather than with reference to published resources:

> for me the best way is just to observe and see what they produce … within a couple of lessons I can kind of see what they- what I think they need in terms of pronunciation.
>
> (Teacher D)

When I asked participants how they identify *common* areas of pronunciation difficulty to focus on in a mixed-L1 class, most struggled to answer directly. Their responses tended to constitute lists of different L1s' *individual* difficulties, based on their experience of teaching such learners. For example:

> I know from the years of teaching, I know exactly which problems will appear with certain language groups. … it's like OK, French first language, there's no /h/. It's '/æpiː/', '/eləʊ/' you know what I mean. So I would automatically know from the experience, I would know OK Arab, this problem, Chinese, this problem
>
> (Teacher E)

Teacher B overtly acknowledged the principal difficulty of pronunciation instruction in mixed-L1 classes:

> it's hard to know what to focus on rather than what their problems are. For example I could spend ages teaching or trying to do /r/ and /l/ but that wouldn't be of much use for half the class.
>
> (Teacher B)

Overall, the concept of learners from different L1 backgrounds having overlapping areas of difficulty and that these might be pre-determined and planned into a lesson or course seemed simply not to have occurred to the majority of these teachers (indeed, my own observations to this effect were part of what initially prompted this research).

4.1.3 (Not) planning what to teach

Perhaps the most striking finding was that the provision of the LFC grid had made very little difference to these teachers' general approaches to pronunciation instruction. With or without the LFC grid, they did not prepare anything like a pronunciation syllabus. Apparently, this is simply not something that they do, even when furnished with materials intended to make the task easier.

Most teachers reported that the assigned coursebook will typically inform their lesson planning, including pronunciation, whether through the inclusion of specific exercises or by providing a lexical or grammatical focus to which the teacher might add some extra pronunciation practice in-class. For example:

> if I'm teaching, I don't know, present perfect or something and then the 'e d' ending
>
> (Teacher B)

> if we've got new vocabulary, or a vocabulary lesson, then I'll teach the pronunciation of that particular word or those particular words but I wouldn't, say, for example, have a lesson where it was just focusing on a certain sound … I've never done that before actually
>
> (Teacher C)

In terms of pronunciation instruction that is more directly relevant to their specific groups of students, the approach taken by most participants appeared to be that what can be observed in class is what the students need. In other words, for determining and addressing students' pronunciation needs, the teachers' own observations take precedence over what might be predicted from empirically-based literature.

Teacher D, for example, described her in-class pronunciation work during the research period as "not really … a main focus, it's more something that comes up," and noted that her "way of dealing with pronunciation tends to be … unplanned" as she "like[s] the idea

of things that emerge." The other teachers' accounts evinced similar approaches, noting that they "kind of prefer to do it with emergent problems" (B) and they "don't usually plan a pronunciation lesson, I just—... it comes up" (C), typically because they "never know where the discussion's gonna go" (E).

There are several evident barriers here to the implementation of an LFC-informed approach to pronunciation instruction. First, if addressing pronunciation issues as they emerge, the teacher must appropriately identify the 'problem' in the instant that it arises. This is very difficult to do, as Teacher A observed:

> there are definitely times when one student has had to say 'Sorry?' you know or 'Pardon?' or whatever … it's hard to know then whether it's just you know 'were you listening?' or was it a pronunciation issue or you know 'did someone make a noise outside the classroom and you just missed it?'

Of course, I do not suggest that spotting the source of an unintelligibility issue *ad hoc* is impossible, but it does seem likely that teachers will, when put on the spot, notice what they are primed or predisposed to notice, something two participants in fact mentioned:

> if your awareness is raised you become more sensitive to things around you … if something <u>does</u> come up in class, it would ring a bell
>
> (Teacher D)

> it's the areas where I know there's mistakes, that's when I notice they're making mistakes
>
> (Teacher B)

This highlights a second issue: if an emergent issue is one of intelligibility between students (ELF intelligibility), and assuming the source of the unintelligibility was accurately identified, the teacher would need a reasonable degree of familiarity with the LFC to select from its contents an appropriate guideline for instruction or immediate correction. None of the present study's participants had heard of the LFC before taking part, so cannot be imagined to have had the LFC contents in their heads as a ready resource to draw on.

Third, in making spontaneous judgments regarding ELF intelligibility, a NS teacher may already be at something of a disadvantage, being *ipso facto* unable to imagine how their students' speech sounds to another learner's ears, other than by the reactions they can observe. In any case, as Kenworthy (1987) and Rogerson-Revell (2011) point out,

teachers may not be the best judges of learners' intelligibility, regardless of the approach taken.

Fourth, we have seen that the teachers' own observations and experience are particularly influential in their spontaneous judgments of, and responses to, pronunciation issues in class. While intuitions gained from experience undoubtedly contribute valuably to teachers' practice (see Atkinson and Claxton, 2000, for an excellent anthology on this subject), it is worth noting that four of the five teachers in this study have English as their L1, and none had detailed knowledge of ELF or the LFC. It follows that their intuitions regarding what should be corrected may be accordingly biased towards NS norms, and indeed, this was suggested in some of the first-round interview data. One example is worth quoting at length here:

> there's been lessons where we've been working on something and I've just thought oh guys come on you know you can do this better. You can do this nicer. For example with sounding polite.
> ***Is that something that between them they seemed to be misunderstanding or- do they think each other's not being polite or not interested-***
> No. No I don't think it was that, I think but I could see that if they spoke like that when they went out, especially as their level of English is so good, that they would potentially get you know maybe not mistaken for a native speaker but their English is so good that if they're if the way that they're saying the English isn't as good then that that could cause problems, you know? cos they can completely ask for things in a restaurant in a very native speaker-like way in terms of the language they're saying but yeah. Maybe using the wrong intonation might make them come across as a bit rude
>
> (Teacher A)

NS-like pronunciation also appeared to be expected by the one teacher in the study whose L1 is not English:

> a lot of them come with wrong pronunciations, like they go /pɒljuʃən/. /pɒl'juʃən/. Which is you know or- 'win won won' they go /wɒn/. /wɒːn/. Things like that. Which I-
> ***What do you think is the issue there?***
> Because of the sounds that their teachers- whoever was teaching them at home did not get the right sounds correctly.
> ***What's wrong with the way they're pronouncing that word in your opinion?***
> W- it's not wro- I can understand what they're saying. But it's not the pronunciation which is in a dictionary, so if they wanna have this sound, an English sound, they should probably pronounce it the way people pronounce it

(Teacher E)

The impact of the NS norms implicit in all of these teachers' approaches may also be bolstered by the NS norms typically perpetuated by published ELT materials. When the pronunciation focus of their lessons derives not from 'emergent issues' but from the assigned coursebook, it is likely that it will be informed by RP, not the LFC. Wrembel (2005) demonstrated the pervasive NS orientation in thirty common published pronunciation courses, many of which feature in the SGI staffroom; and a brief survey of the 'Speakout' coursebook series (in use at SGI during the research period) also reveals RP to be the model for pronunciation.

Thus, no matter how willing these teachers may have been to embrace ELF principles, they would have had difficulty in putting the LFC into practice if they continued to teach pronunciation on an *ad hoc* basis, or base lessons on what was recommended to be covered in the coursebook.

When I prompted participants to justify their 'unplanned' approaches, two participants raised a key point about teacher education:

> I don't normally actually plan to teach pronunciation. It's not something I ever really learnt how to do so I normally just address it in class.
>
> (Teacher B)

> I have never really studied pronunciation in depth before. So I kind of deal with it as and when it comes up.
>
> (Teacher C)

For those who were more confident in teaching pronunciation, the main explanation they gave for not creating a tailored syllabus was fairly simple:

> It would be nice to have time. To do the things that we would like to. I mean as in prepping for lessons, for every single lesson, not just for this.
>
> (Teacher E)

In fact, the issue of time might be less problematic for creating a bespoke pronunciation syllabus than for the need to constantly *re*-create it. All five participants saw changes to the composition of their classes during the research period, and attendance in at least one class (Teacher E's) was rather erratic. Two participants voiced frustration at the problems posed by the continuous enrolment system:

> with this class which is always changing it is hard to plan something
>
> (Teacher D)

> one week you have some students and you're doing whatever, consonant sounds or whatever that you're doing, and they're doing that fine, then someone else comes in the next week who can't do that, and what do you do, do you do it again? … I mean I might revisit it but not at so much length.
>
> (Teacher B)

Their strategy in these circumstances seems to be not to waste precious time on preparing a bespoke syllabus if the students for whom it has been tailored may not all remain present to benefit from it.

4.2 Using the LFC grid

As discussed above, no participant used the LFC grid to create a pronunciation syllabus for their class(es). The teachers' habitual approaches to pronunciation instruction remained largely unchanged; that is, they continued to address pronunciation in class with reference to the language point they were teaching or the 'problems' that emerged during a lesson. What was interesting was how they had worked the LFC grid into these habits of practice. Most evident was the largely unprincipled and unorganised approach to using it, to which all the teachers admitted:

> what I did was drew these purple bits on … I don't know why I haven't highlighted these two … maybe I just got distracted or something I don't know
>
> (Teacher A)

> I did want to try and do something with it more proactively but I wasn't really sure what to do with it.
>
> (Teacher B)

> I was looking at it after things were coming up. Which is probably not the right way to do it.
>
> (Teacher C)

> at the beginning of the two weeks I was like 'OK I'm gonna be good about this and use it' … I didn't really think about what I was gonna do with it to be honest.
>
> (Teacher D)

> I was reading it on the way home on the bus or whatever … but no I didn't [use it to prepare for a lesson] sorry.
>
> (Teacher E)

Teacher D appeared to have studied the grid most closely, but admitted that, despite her initially good intentions, "to be honest it kind of fizzled out," attributing this again to lack of time: "life gets in the way." This is a shame, as aspirated /p t k/, preservation of /ɜː/ and pre-fortis vowel clipping would all have been relevant to all five of the L1s represented in her class over this period, and do not appear to be things she usually teaches. Yet despite having the LFC grid, she neither identified nor addressed these areas in class during the research period.

Two participants (A and C) fell ill during the two weeks, which may account for a lower level of engagement with the material. In the three days Teacher C was at work, her approach (looking at the grid after her lessons) seemed to act as a kind of check on her own intuitions and in-class observations, though she admitted that she forgot to pursue the things she had noticed (such as the /p/-/b/ distinction for Arabic-speaking learners) in subsequent lessons. Teachers A and D used the grid similarly, more to inform their own knowledge than to plan what to cover in class, and their accounts revealed that their typical preferences and habits regarding pronunciation instruction, rather than the intended purpose of pedagogic aids, guided their use of such materials:

> I think the way that I wanted to use this was to have as a reference guide that would make me more aware of what was going on.
>
> (Teacher A)

> I used it in a way that was more kind of theoretical, for my own theory rather than directly connected to a lesson that I have done or will do … just to keep these things in my mind. … I used it as I naturally would have done.
>
> (Teacher D)

Of course, this is an inherent risk of materials design—whatever preparation goes into the creation of a resource (and the accompanying teacher's notes), a teacher will be free to use it how he/she likes unless explicitly instructed to do otherwise and monitored in doing so. In this study, I wanted to learn from the teachers' using the LFC grid as they "naturally would have done", so they were instructed to identify priorities for their class, but not to completely overhaul their normal teaching practice. I did not want to interfere, but just to potentially influence. In retrospect, perhaps this gave them too much license to ignore the main purpose of the grid.

Teachers A and D also suggested why it may have been more useful to refer to the grid during lessons:

> if the pronunciation point comes up in a lesson I could note it down there on the spot … so I don't forget or don't leave it till afterwards and then never do it.
>
> (Teacher D)

In fact, Teacher E reported using the grid something like this, at one point taking a moment during class while the students were busy doing another activity to consult it for guidance on a problem that had just arisen. Perhaps having the LFC on the wall of the classroom, like a poster, might be a useful compromise between preparing tailored instruction and reacting on-the-spot to what emerges in class.

Despite not using it to plan a syllabus as such, Teachers B and C—perhaps coincidentally, the two participants with the least teaching experience—felt it had helped them identify and feel prepared to address potential areas of pronunciation difficulty which they felt they would not otherwise have noticed in class or fully appreciated. For example:

> one thing I noticed that it was useful for was helping me spot or see where difficulties would be, whereas before I would often just hear the same mistakes that I was aware of … so this kind of gave me some more areas of focus … So it broadened my kind of like awareness I suppose.
>
> (Teacher B)

4.3 Evaluating the LFC grid itself

Notwithstanding the evident confusion over its intended purpose and use, the grid was generally well received by all participants. Several commented on its being easier to refer to quickly than Learner English, "with all of its you know pages and pages and pages of things" (A), and instead being "like a snapshot of that whole book but all the most important points" (C). Several participants' comments on its user-friendly presentation also vindicated my design decisions, such as the aspect of having all twelve languages visible on one page, side by side (mentioned by Teachers C and E), using a greyscale colour-coding scheme to show the relative level of difficulty likely to be posed by certain pronunciation features (B, C), and presenting the information in a table

format which could be scanned easily (A, B) and written on by the teacher to personalise it to his/her class (A).

Most teachers appeared able to identify areas of likely pronunciation difficulty for their students, such as aspirated /pʰ/ (Teacher E), the velar nasal /ŋ/ (A), and the /p/-/b/ contrast for Arabic speakers (C), though these examples were reported from memory and acknowledged as uncertain by the participants, none of whom had kept a systematic record of pronunciation issues in their classes during the research period. Teachers B and D confirmed they had no difficulty identifying areas of likely need for their students, though Teacher B could not state concrete examples, and it did not seem to occur to Teacher D to look for where her different students' needs overlapped until I reminded her in the interview of this being a key purpose of the grid design.

Two participants (A, D) suggested an electronic version of the grid would make it easier to remove irrelevant information (e.g. columns for L1s not represented in a given class), an idea which I had originally entertained but was forced to dismiss due to lack of technical expertise. Other suggested changes were merely cosmetic and were not mentioned during participants' evaluations of their ability to read and understand the grid, so would probably not enrich its purpose and facilitate its use by teachers, but may render it more aesthetically pleasing.

More pertinent to my research aims were the recurring comments in the interview data regarding participants' ability to understand the features of the LFC, as represented in the grid. Teachers A, B and D appeared to have no trouble understanding the terminology used, though Teacher B admitted the necessity of referring to the teacher's notes to check his interpretations were correct, and Teachers A and D noted that some points in particular would have been more readily grasped if the grid had included examples:

> so Portuguese /l/ 'word-finally and before consonants', OK, 'word-finally' OK, so if it's like 'little', OK fine, and then before consonants, you know it takes a little bit of time to just think 'oh what is- where is- what <u>is</u> a word where there's a /l/ before a consonant?'
>
> (Teacher A)

> like 'word-final consonants' … 'devoiced' … they're things that I know but it's not spontaneous so perhaps that's something that kind of stopped me looking at it every day cos it does involve quite a lot of

> thought and I mean the terminology's not always something that comes to mind instantly.
>
> (Teacher D)

Teacher D further explained that the extra time required by thinking of examples for a pronunciation feature mentioned in the grid forces the user to "almost study it rather than use it." The implication is that without this extra information, the user may not take the trouble to understand the information properly, or may misunderstand or overlook something, which in fact proved to be the case for two other participants:

> I don't get it actually. 'Word-finally'? What does that mean 'word-finally.'
> ***At the end of a word.***
> Oh! I see- no. Definitely change it. … the way I see it here it would be like 'word-initially'. Word: "initially". Or word: "butterfly".
> ***You mean in the word "butterfly"?***
> Yes.
>
> (Teacher E)

> I don't know if I've taught [consonant clusters] before (pause) umm oh yes I probably have. Yes. (pause) Like 'computer' or something, dropping the 'r', no?
> ***No … like a group of several consonants in a row like if you say 'street' you have /s t r/***
> Ohhhh OK OK OK OK oh no I don't think I've taught that before.
>
> (Teacher C)

I had endeavoured to use mostly simple, widely-used terminology in the grid to avoid overwhelming the teachers with unfamiliar jargon. Where the use of certain terms could not be avoided without compromising linguistic accuracy and clarity, I included explanations (with examples) in the teacher's notes on the back. Only Teacher B appeared to have referred to these with close attention, and he found them "useful". Teacher C felt she had understood all the linguistic terms, but as the excerpt above shows, she nevertheless had misunderstood at least one. Teachers A and D both commented that, although they were familiar with the terminology in the document, it did require some thought, and they speculated that less experienced or novice teachers would probably struggle with such phonological terminology and potentially be deterred by its presence in reference material. Teacher E maintained that while "it's a very high level of language you're using, as in very technical and very academic," she did not think it was possible to simplify it any further.

Teacher E made one other interesting observation which the other participants did not mention: "it sounds like so complicated—I know it's not but … it's difficult if I need to teach—it's not about me and you, it's about teaching them." This indeed is the real danger in selecting or grading terminology appropriately for such a document. Though the primary users were assumed to be teachers, the logical consequence of their consulting the grid is that they will convey the information to learners via their instruction. In this respect, the extra detail given in a resource such as Walker's (2010) book is very helpful. The participants were referred to this book for further reading in the list on the reverse side of the grid, but unfortunately, none of them consulted it.

4.4 Perceived relevance of ELF

A potential barrier to these teachers' effective use of the LFC grid was their perceptions of its immediate relevance to their practice. Tomlinson (2003a:101) reminds us that:

> "We should recognize that the wants of the potential users of materials should be cared for as well as their needs. This is especially true of learners and teachers, who will not make effective use of the materials if they do not relate to their interests and lives at the time of using them."

Evident in the interview data was a persistent attachment to NS norms, or at least to teaching pronunciation features commonly associated with them, in spite of the views shown by several participants which suggested an openness to ELF principles and, in at least one case, a willing repudiation of the traditional NS ideal. The focus of the interviews was not primarily on investigating the sources of the teachers' attitudes to pronunciation instruction; but their knowledge of and attitudes towards ELF were briefly solicited as the opportunity was there, and this revealed some paradoxical beliefs and practices, not dissimilarly to other research in this area (e.g. Jenkins, 2005a).

Several participants (A, B, D) seemed open to the notion of ELF and the reality that NS goals may not always be relevant. Teacher B even argued that some features are perhaps more important for learners' receptive than productive command:

> I don't see the use of trying to iron out someone's accent I don't think it's particularly worth it. … that's why when I'm doing intonation I don't try and get them to use the weak forms unless they're comfortable using it. It's more for them to be able to recognise it when they're

> listening. So it's clarity of meaning rather than 'correct pronunciation'. … I don't think they're fussed whether they don't- about weak forms really or sentence stress. They're more concerned about that for when they're listening rather than when they're speaking cos I think they realise it doesn't really matter if they don't use the weak forms it's not the end of the world.
>
> (Teacher B)

Similarly, most participants did not appear to regard non-native pronunciation as a problem *per se* (with the possible exception of Teacher C, though she did not express an overt view in this respect). Several also recognised 'correctness' as being an issue for debate:

> [two of my students] want to stay here long-term and for them their pronunciation is, you know, they want it to be faultless basically. Whatever that means.
>
> (Teacher D)

> if we're willing to accept that not everyone is gonna speak like a native speaker and that not everyone needs to … it's more about helping communication between people happen, and not just helping one person 'sound right', whatever 'right' means.
>
> (Teacher A)

> I think people can be understood without necessarily pronouncing things correctly. Or properly.
> ***How do you judge what's 'correct' or what's 'proper'?***
> … I suppose the standard is RP or whatever but I don't think that's the best way I reckon.
>
> (Teacher B)

However, when pressed to expand on terms such as 'rightness' or 'correctness', they revealed contradictory views. Teacher A, for example, recognised the need to be flexible in accepting grammatical variation and accept that "our students might not say things in the way that we would or in the way that we were taught in school", but made this comment with reference to not correcting a student's recent use of an American English construction. Teacher B admitted the gap between belief and practice more overtly, but only seemed to realise this during the interview itself:

> I suppose generally I probably think in terms of native speakers. Cos a lot of them want to go to university and stuff so … I guess that doesn't mean they're necessarily gonna be speaking to native speakers.

NS are clearly not wholly irrelevant to our students in London; it would be remiss to suggest that all learners' broader goals are for ELF usage, even if this is the nature of communication within their classroom. Seidlhofer (2011) describes the conceptual differences between the EFL, ESL and ELF paradigms, with corresponding differences in learners' motivations. Teacher D pointed out that these may all be represented in one classroom, and the needs of those students planning to stay in the UK clearly influenced her pedagogy:

> there's always like a 'native colleague' or colleagues that they're talking about that they're trying to impress and that- actually it's really sad but I notice it a lot that the students often business students they've been criticised by their boss by their native-speaking boss or by a native-speaking colleague and they feel the pressure from this particular person, I think that's where a lot of their insecurity comes from and they're comparing themselves to a native-speaking boss or colleague … in meetings it's often mixed nationality but I think yeah more often than not there's an English-speaking person that's influencing them in some way to improve.

Most participants reported that many of their students live in the UK or want to study or work there, in which case correcting their pronunciation according to NS norms may not be entirely inappropriate. Yet taking this NS-oriented approach as the default, in conjunction with limited awareness or analysis of precisely what is causing their students' mutual unintelligibility, has clear potential consequences for these teachers' implementation of LFC-based instruction in order to facilitate intelligible pronunciation within the classroom, regardless of who students are going to talk to outside it.

Furthermore, the interview data demonstrated some lack of clarity regarding students' goals. Teacher A, for instance, felt that the approach taken "depends upon the aims of the students" and noted that she tries to establish this with students at the start of every week by discussing together "what are their main focuses, what do they want most"; but it was not clear whether her students ever mentioned pronunciation, or, indeed, if it was offered to them as an option. Similarly, Teacher B acknowledged when pressed that he did not know if his students would want to work on pronunciation, as he had never asked about this in his syllabus discussions. He also recounted the typically vague dialogues that ensue when teachers ask students directly about their goals:

> ***What do you think are your students' aims…in terms of their pronunciation of English?***
> To improve it probably.

(laughter)
That's very general.
That's what they normally say though isn't it yeah, 'I'm here to improve my English.'

The issue here probably lies in how such questions are phrased and posed. In any case, we are left without a very clear basis on which to make decisions regarding pronunciation instruction. I would add that what students say they want to study and what teachers judge they need to study may not always be neatly aligned.

In addition to the learners' goals, needs and desires, there are the teachers' views and expectations to consider. Of the five participants in this study, Teachers C and E showed the greatest reluctance to forgo the traditional NS orientation in ELT. Though Teacher E seemed to have a reasonable degree of appreciation of some of the background to ELF theory and research, particularly the sociopolitical history of the spread of English, she had evident trouble believing that English NS are already significantly outnumbered by NNS and that usage of English as a lingua franca already predominates statistically. She had acknowledged earlier in the interview that it is unnecessary—perhaps even detrimental—for ELF intelligibility to use weak forms, for example (though she did not phrase it this way), but maintained that her students "always say that they would like to speak the way the British speak so they would like to use the weak forms, the pronunciation and everything".

Teacher C's reaction to ELF was the most notably averse. Despite occasional concessions that in certain contexts the LFC "would be really important" and "very useful", I felt that she said these in order to gratify my role as a researcher and the creator of the LFC grid. Elsewhere, she appeared rather to express the view that NNS have no authority over linguistic norms and innovations: there is one correct way to pronounce English words, and that is how NS do it. I present here a lengthy excerpt for the sake of transparency in supporting this interpretation:

Personally, I think <u>all</u> of those sounds should be included. Although maybe cos of research they said 'oh right you don't need t-' it's not a problem, but if a word's supposed to be, or a sound's supposed to be, pronounced in a certain way then I think it should be taught- regardless of how they use it- how they decide to use it- like I wasn't taught to say 't h' as /f/ but I say it like that sometimes but at least I know how to say it the way it's supposed to be said. …
Why would you try not to say /θ/ as /f/?

> Because I want to pronounce English correctly! The way it's supposed to be pronounced! (laughs) The way- I don't- maybe that's just my understanding of it, like if it's being taught- and this is the way I- this is my opinion- it if it's- that's the way it's supposed to be said I want to say it in that way. It's like if I was learning another language and- the language- me respecting the language, if Spanish people pronounce their 'b' as a 'v' I'm gonna pronounce it in that way. Not in the ways that it's been interpreted as along the line from people that don't speak the language as native speakers. Do you see what I mean. So I- I'd wanna learn it as it's supposed to be said. And that- that's- and I feel maybe that's how the students might want to learn it as well.

Like those participants apparently more open to ELF principles, there were also some contradictory practices expressed in Teacher C's account, and yet she did acknowledge the influence her own prejudices may have on her students' expectations and goals:

> They want to learn it in the way that it's originally said.
> ***Why do you think that is?***
> Maybe it's because of- I said that. Maybe it's because (laughter) I said 'this is the way you should say it' (laughter) 'this is how you c-' but I do stress to them that 'you know what if you want to say it that way you're not wrong OK' but I say 'just general you might hear that but this is the way it should be said.'

I did not wish to press Teacher C further on these points for fear of damaging the rapport we enjoyed during the interview and generally as colleagues; however, she later admitted that she did not know the true foundation for how or why NS pronounce things they way they do (nor, indeed, do I), but that her personal opinion was that the way she was taught, growing up as a NS in London, is the way she should now teach her students.

I dedicate such extensive space here to this participant not to criticise or ridicule her views or approach but to demonstrate the vast differences in practice that exist between several teachers who work closely together, attend professional development events together, and may even teach the same students (by means of the co-teaching system), because these will undoubtedly affect their willingness and ability to use the LFC grid for its intended purpose, which is the central question in this research.

In fact, Teacher C later expressed a desire to learn more about ELF, and her explanation of why she had not pursued this already was enlightening:

> I thought OK, it's not that relevant here, I don't hear people talking about it much, do I really need to know about this

This seems to underline the importance of face-to-face discussion and teacher training: simply coming across the term 'ELF' occasionally is not enough. Indeed, for many of the participants in this study, the second-round interview was the first time they had really considered the concept of ELF and its implications or applications. Some participants seemed even awestruck by the notion:

> it's so broad- as a lingua franca, like (pause) so it's almost impossibly broad in my mind
>
> (Teacher B)

> It's very complex (laughs) … it's such a broad subject like with pronunciation there's so much involved in it
>
> (Teacher C)

Teacher A was similarly at a loss, failing to notice the connection between ELF and the LFC:

> the implications then for pronunciation teaching, or learning … I guess they are plentiful aren't they really (laughs) because if different learners have different issues then where is that middle point that people can come to?
>
> (Teacher A)

My original intention was to avoid the necessity of existing knowledge of ELF or prior agreement on the use of particular terminology (including distinctions made in the academic literature, but not typically in ELT practice, such as 'comprehensibility' versus 'intelligibility') by focusing on a context that indisputably reflects ELF usage: the mixed-L1 classroom. In hindsight, perhaps this was naïve—the participants tended not to see any need to consider in-class and out-of-class English usage as separate phenomena, or to focus particularly on ELF:

> But why would you make a difference then. How would you distinguish between- why would you have this extra distinction between in the classroom and- why. Two different things?
>
> (Teacher E)

> I think lingua franca's … as good as any other way of looking at pronunciation … I don't think you need to focus on it being lingua franca, cos it is. … I mean if you have a mixed class, mixed nationalities, then lingua franca stuff's gonna be happening anyway.
>
> (Teacher B)

Unfortunately, such ambivalence contributes to the difficulty of implementing the LFC, or even discussing its potential merits, in contexts where it might really make a difference.

5 Conclusion and implications for further research

Overall, the teachers' approaches to working with the LFC grid do not seem to have been very focused. Yet despite their methods being at odds with the intended purpose of the LFC grid, the material itself was generally welcomed and seen to be broadly user-friendly. Barriers to its effective use related rather to:

- circumstances: unpredictable and inconsistent class composition was combined with limited time and inclination to prepare for this situation;
- teaching habits: these teachers had never before approached pronunciation instruction in the way I was asking them to; and
- teacher training/expertise: these teachers had limited formal knowledge and training in ELF, the LFC and syllabus design for a mixed-L1 group.

Future research on potential uses of an LFC grid might therefore include working with teachers of mixed-L1 classes over a longer period, providing more training (and monitoring) in using it to devise an appropriate syllabus, and with classes whose composition is static and whose attendance is regular.

Perhaps expecting the participants to use the LFC grid to inform their pronunciation teaching over two weeks without any other guidance or training was asking too much: preparing a pronunciation syllabus in this way is simply quite innovative for these teachers. Teacher E sagely observed that "to respond to novelties […] depends on who introduces the novelties." I had hoped that the introduction of the LFC grid by a friendly colleague might make the difference between these teachers' ignoring such a material if it had just appeared in the staffroom and their availing themselves of the opportunity it potentially afforded for facilitating their students' mutual intelligibility. However, it may be that "you have to be committed to make your own learning and development to use something like this well" (Teacher D). I do not intend to suggest that these teachers are not interested in professional development, but perhaps an invitation to participate in a two-week project with no financial incentive and which potentially requires considerable concentration and changes of deep-seated habits of practice on their part was not motivation enough.

Nonetheless, the participants' frank accounts of what they did with the grid are satisfyingly illuminating inasmuch as they reflect the normal practice of what is, in my

experience, a fairly typical range of teachers in a private language school in London (though I do acknowledge the small scale of this research). The fact that they did not go too far out of their way to accommodate the LFC grid in their regular practice suggests that their experience of using it is reliably rooted in the reality of practice; and this is the research context I intended to explore, as opposed to a more controlled experimental setting which may have led to purely academic speculation, removed from practitioners' real experience.

Ultimately, in order for teachers to even attempt to implement LFC-based instruction, they need to first fully appreciate its potential relevance and utility; and in order to achieve this, more discussion is needed of the LFC—not just ELF in general—in practitioner circles. Such discussion cannot be confined to academic circles if any kind of change is even to be entertained as plausible in practitioner circles. If ELF and the LFC are continually neglected in staffrooms, pedagogic materials and teacher training, they will become (if not already) conspicuous only by their absence. Ignorance and indifference will affect the debate around the LFC, rather than any informed opinion of its principles.

This was quite evident in the interview data reported above. Again, while I do not mean to imply any kind of negative value judgment as to the quality or appropriacy of the participants' teaching, their lack of knowledge about ELF, the LFC, or comparative phonology in general made it very difficult to really engage in meaningful discussion of the key issues. But so much the better: this probably reflects the majority of English language teachers in our context and therefore demonstrates all the more strongly that teachers themselves need to be more actively involved in trying to apply the LFC in real classrooms if it is to be regarded as a valid option for instruction.

In other words, a focus on praxis is key. Teachers need to be in a position to make informed choices about the relevance of the LFC to their immediate contexts. And this means that in general, more research needs to be done into applications of the LFC specifically, not just implications of ELF in general or attitudes towards accents. Teachers can make better informed pedagogical decisions if they truly appreciate the direct potential impact of ELF theory and research to their everyday practice.

14,986 words

Appendix 1: Complete LFC grid (folded insert)

Multilingual grid for identifying overlapping pronunciation problems and priorities

	My students:	Italian	French	Spanish	Russian	Japanese	Portuguese	Arabic	German	Polish	Chinese	Turkish	Hungarian
CONSONANTS	/p/ (aspirated)												
	/p/ (in general)								word-initially (some speakers)			between vowels and before /æ/	
	/b/			between vowels; contrast with /v/		contrast with /v/		contrast with /p/				before /æ/	
	/t/ (aspirated)												
	/t/ (in general)		word-finally			before /ɪ/, /iː/, /ʊ/ and /uː/	before /ɪ/ and /iː/		word-initially (some speakers)			between vowels	
	/d/			between vowels		before /ɪ/, /iː/, /ʊ/ and /uː/	word-finally; before /ɪ/, /iː/ and /e/						
	/k/ (aspirated)												
	/k/ (in general)							contrast with /g/	word-initially (some speakers)			between vowels	
	/g/			between vowels	word-initially (some speakers)	between vowels		contrast with /k/					
	/f/					contrast with /h/					contrast with /h/ (some speakers)	before /æ/	
	/v/			contrast with /b/	word-initially (some speakers)	contrast with /b/		contrast with /f/			contrast with /w/ and /f/	before /æ/ and contrast with /w/	
	/s/	before /m/, /n/ and /l/	word-finally	word-finally (some speakers)		before /ɪ/ + /iː/	between vowels		word-initially		contrast with /ʃ/ (some speakers)		
	/z/	word-initially				word initially and before /ɪ/ and /iː/	word-finally						
	/ʃ/										contrast with /s/ (some speakers)		
	/ʒ/					contrast with /dʒ/		contrast with /dʒ/ (some speakers)			contrast with /r/ (some speakers)		
	/h/						contrast with /r/ (word-initially)						
	/tʃ/										only for some speakers	between vowels	
	/dʒ/			contrast with /j/		contrast with /ʒ/					contrast with /z/ (some speakers)		
	/m/		word-finally after /z/	word-finally			word-finally					word-finally and before /æ/	
	/n/					after vowels	word-finally				contrast with /l/ (some speakers)	word-finally	
	/ŋ/												
	/r/					contrast with /l/	contrast with /h/ (word-initially)				contrast with /l/ (some speakers)		
	/l/					contrast with /r/	word-finally and before consonants			contrast with /w/ at ends of words/syllables			
	/w/	word-initially and contrast with /v/					before /ʊ/ and /uː/		contrast with /v/	contrast with /v/ and with /l/ at ends of words/syllables		contrast with /v/	contrast with /v/
	/j/			contrast with /dʒ/		before /iː/ and /e/	before /iː/						
	word-final consonants	may be (de)voiced/short vowel added on	/s/, /t/ may be dropped		/v/, /b/, /d/, /g/ devoiced		short vowel may be added on		/v/, /b/, /d/, /g/, /z/ devoiced	most devoiced	may be voiced/ dropped/short vowel added on	/b/, /d/, /g/, /dʒ/ devoiced	
CONSONANT CLUSTERS	at start of words: no dropping of any sounds					some consonants may be dropped, or so many short vowels added that the word becomes very long							clusters that do not contain /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/ or /j/ are pronounced as voiceless throughout
	in middle/at ends of words: can only drop what sounds a native speaker might drop	some consonants may be dropped	/z/ may be dropped from word-final clusters	some consonants may be dropped	final consonant may be devoiced	some consonants may be dropped, or so many short vowels added that the word becomes very long	some consonants may be dropped; final unstressed syllables may also appear to be dropped		final consonant may be devoiced	final consonant may be devoiced	/r/, /l/, /t/, /d/, /f/ and /v/ frequently deleted in word-medial clusters after a vowel (e.g. *silver* becomes *siver*); final consonants may be dropped		some voiced consonants may be devoiced
VOWELS	long-short contrasts	all vowels quite short										all vowels quite short	length only distinctive for some vowels
	/ɜː/				after /w/								
	long vowels shortened before unvoiced consonants												
OTHER	placement of nuclear stress, especially for contrast/emphasis						learners may also use changes in word order for contrast/ emphasis	learners may also use changes in word order for contrast/ emphasis					

Reading the grid

The column down the left-hand side shows all the aspects of pronunciation which are thought to be essential for successful communication in English between non-native speakers.
The general rule to reading the grid is: the darker the box, the bigger the problem with this aspect of pronunciation.
(Thus, an entirely white box means this is a minor area for attention; a grey + black box means this may be very difficult for these learners.)
Specifically, the colour-coding works as follows:

generally NOT problematic
generally NOT problematic (except in those contexts detailed in notes in the box)
generally problematic
generally problematic (especially in those contexts detailed in notes the box)

Example 1. This box: after /w/ means Russian speakers tend to have trouble pronouncing the sound /ɜː/ in general, but especially after /w/ (e.g. in the word 'work').

Example 2. This box: before /m/, /n/ and /l/ means Italian speakers tend to generally have no trouble with the sound /s/, except when it comes before /m/, /n/ or /l/ (e.g. the word 'smoke' might be pronounced like 'zmoke').

General notes

In a multilingual class of students who speak different first languages, they tend to have different problems when learning English pronunciation. This grid allows you to see where their areas of difficulty overlap, so you can decide what to prioritise when teaching to avoid their having trouble in understanding each other's pronunciation.

The contents of this grid are based on research which suggested some things were more important than others for communication in lingua franca situations, or in other words, situations where people who don't speak each other's first languages use English to communicate. It is not intended to be a diagnostic tool, but it could be a useful basis for identifying which pronunciation aspects to prioritise in a multilingual English classroom if the learners have trouble understanding each other's pronunciation.

Because the grid is not based on the traditional method of contrasting learners' pronunciation with native speakers' pronunciation, some things which are familiar to you might seem to be missing (e.g. word stress, or the sounds /θ/ and /ð/). These have been left out deliberately, according to the research this grid is based on; but of course, if you're teaching and you notice something is causing a breakdown in communication between students but it isn't represented on this grid, you can and should still address it!

There is a row at the top of the grid, under the list of languages, for you to write your own students' names in, for easier reference when lesson planning/teaching.

To avoid confusing one column which is relevant to your class with others that aren't, you could either black out the language columns that are not represented in your class, or highlight the ones that are.

Notes on specific items

/p/, /t/ and /k/

Lots of languages have these sounds, and they often contrast with /b/, /d/ and /g/. However, in English it is very important to aspirate /p/, /t/ and /k/ when it occurs at the beginning of a stressed syllable.

This means that when the /p/, /t/ or /k/ sound is 'released' in words/phrases like 'pig', 'ton' or 'a curl', a small puff of air should also be released, so they don't sound like 'big', 'done' or 'a girl'.

/t/

Many British and American speakers drop or change this sound at the ends or in the middle of words (e.g. 'got', 'butter', 'winter') and some speakers (especially American) may pronounce it like /d/ (e.g. 'litre' sounds like 'leader'). You should encourage your students to avoid all of this and always pronounce the sound clearly as /t/.

/ŋ/

This sound doesn't exist as a phoneme in many of the languages listed here, but it may exist in some contexts without learners' even realising they're producing it (e.g. where /n/ is followed by /g/ or /k/).

/r/

This sound should be pronounced wherever it appears in spelling. If the learners roll their 'r's, this is acceptable.

word-final consonants

This row may override or overlap with information elsewhere on the chart, e.g. German speakers usually have no problems with /b/ in general, but they may devoice it at the end of words.

consonant clusters in the middle or at the ends of words

Normally, learners should never simplify English clusters by deleting sounds. However, some English clusters are more commonly pronounced with one sound dropped, e.g. the /t/ in the word 'facts'. If this is the standard pronunciation, it is acceptable for learners to do it, too. Otherwise, encourage them to pronounce all sounds in the cluster accurately. If they really struggle, they may add very short vowels between the consonants (which they might do naturally anyway).

vowels

Students still need to learn English vowels, but the contrast in length (e.g. /ɪ/ and /iː/) is more important than the quality of very similar vowels (e.g. /æ/ vs. /e/). Similarly, the length of diphthongs is more important than their quality.

The only vowel shown in the research to cause problems of understanding was /ɜː/. Otherwise, specific quality is not a high priority as long as learners are consistent, e.g. don't switch randomly between /pæs/ and /pɑːs/ for 'pass'.

shortening long vowels before unvoiced consonants

In English, there is a contrast between short and long vowel sounds, like the difference between 'ship' and 'sheep'. However, even the long vowels are usually pronounced slightly shorter if the following consonant is unvoiced.

For example, the vowel in 'seat' is slightly shorter than the vowel in 'seed'.

nuclear stress

Fluent speech is divided up into manageable chunks (for speaker and listener), often called 'tone units', usually less than a sentence. Within each unit, one or two words are more prominent than others. This is often taught as 'sentence stress'. Proficient speakers choose (probably without conscious thought) which words to stress in order to highlight them. It is this stress which we can move around a sentence to contrast different meanings (e.g. 'Do you want to go NEXT weekend?' means 'as opposed to this weekend'). Placing and sometimes moving stress in this way can be very difficult for learners.

Suggested resources for preparing to practise different aspects of pronunciation

(All of these books are available in the staffroom.)

1. Individual sounds
Ship or sheep?
Tree or three?
Pronunciation Games
How to Teach Pronunciation – *units 3 and 4*
New Headway Pronunciation Course series – *especially Upper-intermediate unit 6 for /ŋ/*
Sounds English
English Pronunciation in Use (Intermediate)

(The last three are especially useful for exercises which contrast commonly confused sounds; and 'How to Teach Pronunciation' contains some helpful suggestions for 'learner-friendly' explanations of how to produce sounds, plus ideas for practising them.)

2. Consonant clusters
English Pronunciation in Use (Advanced) – *section B*
New Headway Pronunciation Course Intermediate – *pg. 7*

3. Vowels
English Pronunciation in Use (Intermediate) – *especially unit 19 (ɜː)*
Ship or sheep? – *especially unit 12 (ɜː)*
Sounds English – *especially for long-short vowel contrasts*
Teaching the Pronunciation of English as a Lingua Franca – *pgs. 82-84, especially for shortening vowels before unvoiced consonants*

4. Word groups and nuclear stress
English Pronunciation in Use (Intermediate) – *section C*
English Pronunciation in Use (Advanced) – *section C*
Teaching the Pronunciation of English as a Lingua Franca – *pgs. 85-7*

5. Contrastive/emphatic stress
New Headway Pronunciation Course Elementary – *pgs. 42-43*
New Headway Pronunciation Course Intermediate – *pgs. 25 & 44*
Pronunciation Games – *unit C10 ("Intonation Directions")*

Appendix 2: Recruitment email to participants

From: Patsko, Laura <laura.patsko@kcl.ac.uk>
Date: 21 March 2013 14:40

Dear all,

As you may be aware, I am currently studying for my MA in Applied Linguistics and ELT. I would like to know if any of you who are currently teaching a general English class would be interested in participating in my final research project.

In my experience, students in multilingual classes sometimes have trouble understanding each other's pronunciation (even when their teacher has less/no such trouble). However, it is difficult for their teachers to identify precisely which areas of pronunciation it would be helpful to prioritise in class, especially when the learners come from many different language backgrounds which the teacher is not familiar with.

If this sounds familiar to you, and if you would be interested in trialling a simple reference document (created by me) which would help you identify what pronunciation needs your learners have in common, please reply to this email by next Tuesday (26th March).

I will arrange a brief meeting with everyone who replies to give you all more detailed information about the project. Coming to this meeting would not oblige you to participate, but would give you the chance to learn more before confirming if you would definitely like to be involved.

Thank you very much for your time,

Laura

(Student-researcher, King's College London)

Appendix 3: Participants' information sheet and consent forms

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

REC Reference Number: **KCL/12/13-288**

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

An investigation of pronunciation priorities for the multilingual classroom

I would like to invite you to participate in this postgraduate research project, which forms part of my MA in English Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics. The aim of my research is to investigate how teachers of multilingual general English classes can identify priorities for pronunciation teaching when their class comprises learners from many different first language backgrounds, who may have different areas of difficulty.
You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

- If you agree to take part, I will arrange a convenient time to interview you in person. I would like to conduct two interviews, with 1-2 weeks in between. Each interview will take about 30-60 minutes. With your permission, I would like to audio record these interviews.
- The first interview will concern your views on teaching pronunciation, what reference material you use to identify priorities for students in multilingual classes, and what you feel is important for developing intelligible pronunciation between students.
- After the first interview, I will provide you with a document from which you can identify a selection of pronunciation features to address in your classes over the following 1-2 weeks. This document is based on existing reference material for teachers but is designed to minimise the demands on teachers' specialist knowledge and preparation time which would ordinarily be required in order for them to address the issues arising from the variety of different first languages which are represented in their multilingual classroom.
- The second interview will focus on your experience of using this document.
- The information you provide will be treated in confidence and I will keep all recordings and transcripts securely. When the data is transcribed, the names of all participants will be removed and any other identifying details will be changed to preserve your anonymity. (Remember, however, due to the school's sociable, open-door atmosphere, other staff will likely be aware that you are participating in the project.)
- All recordings will be destroyed upon acceptance of the dissertation by the exam board.
- The school's name will also be anonymised in the final report, unless the Principal wishes it to be named. Readers may be able to discover my own identity as my name and biography appear on the school website, but it should not be possible to identify you in this way.
- You are under no obligation to take part in this project. If you do decide to take part you are still free to withdraw from the study at any time and without giving a reason. You may also ask for your data to be withdrawn by contacting either me or my supervisor (whose contact details are given below). However, it will no longer be practical to withdraw your data after June 14th 2013, once it has been written up.
- If you decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form (overleaf).
- If you would like to receive a copy of my final report, please indicate this on your consent form. The report will not be made publicly available, but will be read by my supervisor and by other participants in the project if they wish to receive a copy.

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact me:
Researcher: Laura Patsko Email: laura.patsko@kcl.ac.uk
If this study has harmed you in any way, you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information:
Supervisor: Susan Maingay Email: susan.maingay@kcl.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: An investigation of pronunciation priorities for the multilingual classroom

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: KCL/12/13-288

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Please tick or initial

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researcher involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data at any point up until June 14th 2013. ☐
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the terms of the UK Data Protection Act 1998. ☐
- The information you have submitted will be published as a report; please indicate whether you would like to receive a copy.

Yes	No

- I understand that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me in any publications, though others in my school will likely be aware that I am participating in this study. ☐
- I consent to my participation in the interviews being audio recorded.

Yes	No

Participant's Statement:
I _____

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed **Date**

Investigator's Statement:
I _____

confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed **Date**

Appendix 4: Interview schedules

First round:

→ *Introduce interview. Thank the teacher for giving up their time and explain that I'd like to learn a bit more about how they go about teaching pronunciation.*

Can you tell me about the class you're currently teaching?
(Find out: level of group
length of time teaching this group
range of language backgrounds represented.)

Do your learners seem to have similar or different language needs? (In what ways?)

What kind of topics/language points/skills do you work on in class?

Do you work on pronunciation in class? What aspects of pronunciation? (Why these? How do you choose what to prioritise?)

(if not already mentioned:)
Are you familiar with any reference material designed to help teachers predict their students' pronunciation needs? (Which ones? Have you used them?)

(if not already mentioned:)
Do you use any particular techniques/materials to teach pronunciation? Do you feel they are effective? (Do you have any knowledge from your own observations/feedback from students in this respect?)

(if not already covered:)
What aspects of pronunciation do you think are important for students in general/this class?

→ *Summarise interview's key points. Ask: "Is there anything you'd like to add?"*

→ *Thank them again and close. Go on to show them the reference document which I have created. Explain how they can use it to find areas of overlap between the needs of learners from their class's various language backgrounds and thus identify pronunciation features which they have in common, and which could be addressed in class over the next 1-2 weeks. Explain that our next interview will involve feedback on how they found the experience of working with this document.*

Second round:

→ *Thank the teacher again for giving up his/her time. Explain that the purpose of this interview is to find out about her experience of using the grid over 2 weeks. Remind him/her to be totally honest as his/her feedback will be very valuable.*

1. Preliminaries
- Can you confirm the details of the class you're currently teaching?
  (Check if anything has changed since last interview, particularly range of language backgrounds represented.)

- What aspects of pronunciation have you been working on recently?
  (Have you been doing anything different from usual? If so, what and why?)
- How have you addressed these?
  (Have you used a particular resource book?
  Did you use any exercises/resources you've used before? If so, did you have to adapt them?
  Have you used any resources that were new to you?)

2. Using the grid; teaching based on the LFC
- How did you use the document I gave you?
  (Before class, when planning? During class, for reference? etc.)
- Were you able to identify common (overlapping) areas of potential pronunciation difficulty among your students?
  (What did you identify? Are these the things you usually notice or did you notice anything different? Did this affect how you responded to students' pronunciation incidentally in class?)
- Do you feel that working on the elements you'd identified with the grid had any effect on your students' ability to pronounce things more intelligibly (clearly) when speaking with other students? *(And how did the students react? Did they recognise these elements as problematic?)*
- Did you feel that anything particularly important was *not* covered in the grid?

3. The grid itself
- Was the grid easy to work with? What did you think of its presentation?
- What did you think of the terminology in the document? Did you understand the different pronunciation features mentioned? *(If not, which were unclear? Do you normally feel comfortable with phonology features and terms?)*
- *(If relevant:)* How did it compare with other material you've used?
- Do you think you would use this material again? *(Can you suggest any changes?)* How do you think other teachers might respond to it? How do you think students might respond?

4. Teaching pronunciation in general; taking an ELF approach
- Our last interview suggested that although you may prepare pronunciation activities, you don't normally prepare a pronunciation syllabus as such for your classes. How did you find this experience? *(Easy? Useful? Appropriate?)*
- As you know, the pronunciation features in this grid are based on research into English as a Lingua Franca. What's your understanding of this concept? *(Had you heard much about it before taking part in this research?)*
- What do you think it means for teachers and learners in a school like ours?
- Do you feel that such an approach was/is useful for your students?
- What do you think teachers need to know if they want to take this approach?

→ *Follow up any points from the first interview that could be revisited/expanded.*

→ *Summarise interview's key points. Ask: "Is there anything you'd like to add?"*

→ *Thank him/her again and close. Remind him/her of the timeframe (up to 14th June 2013) within which he/she can still decide to withdraw without giving any reason and have his/her data removed from the project. (Refer him/her to contact details on the information sheet he/she received at the start of the research period.)*

Appendix 5: Illustrative samples of annotated transcripts

Teacher A – first-round interview

students' reasons for studying English

01:20
They are a good advanced- solid advanced group, they're all quite young, um most of them are there is a 17-year-old and a few 19-year-olds umm yeah I think the eldest is 24 so quite young. They're all either (-) aspiring to go to university in this country or in their own countries, doing things like medicine and or even um like interior design, ((student's name)) has studied already actually in England.

showing/explaining how to articulate sounds

10:15
show- show them with my mouth umm and describe how to make the sound umm get s- then I get kind of students to just practise it quietly to themselves umm you know and then and then with a partner and see and if there's two sounds that are similar like /s/ /z/ see if they can test their partner so they write both sounds down and then say one of them and their partner has to say which one they're saying. And things like that.

18:55
In terms of techniques, like I said earlier so u- you know showing with my mouth or using your fingers or even you know maybe drawing on the board if it comes to it like how to- where your tongue goes, talking people through how to make the sound um recommending that they go home and watch themselves in a mirror you know um [How do you use your fingers?] um so that's your if that's your kind of mouth ((holds up left hand in C shape)) and where your tongue goes in it ((holds index fingers of right hand in front of left hand's C shape)) like so it needs to push up in here ((moves point of index finger up)) [so you've got one hand to show the shape of the mouth and your finger to show the position of the tongue] Exactly. It's so if you need to say /l/ so you'd say /l/ ((showing tip of finger representing tongue touching top of mouth shape))

some specific students tending to have more pron. trouble (leading to unintelligibility) than others

04:45
The Japanese lady has (-) the most trouble with pronunciation.

11:18
I think at the moment ((short sigh)) with this class (+) I haven't done much. (-) I think there's definitely more I could do and now we've got (-) the (-) Japanese speaker in there, I think it would be worth doing more. [Why do you say that?] Because she- the others (-) have pretty clear pronunciation, yes they don't sound like nats- native speakers but there's no trouble understanding (-) each other. But the Japanese speaker (-) has trouble making herself clear. [To you? Or-] T- to all of us. Today for example we um she was trying to explain this TV programme to us in- that happens in Japan and it- none of- nobody really knew what she was t- talking about for a while and then it took me really kind of 'OK so' and talk- getting her to talk us through it step by step and doing lots of questions back and trying to work out what she was saying and it was (-) mainly pronunciation that was the problem.

23:00
they all have little problems maybe with individual- individual sounds, but the Japanese lady I would say is the one who mostly would need to work on that. [D-did you say she joined the class recently?] Yesterday.

35:33
When there was this Chinese guy in the class ((student's name)), advanced very advanced student umm but sometimes yeah his speech was umm either occasionally because of individual sounds, or more to do with the speed he spoke, or you know stress and things like that could confuse everybody quite a bit especially when he was doing his Friday presentation or something and he'd just go off like a juggernaut and and uh and uh yeah and it would take some s- me to kind of 'OK whoa' ((laughter)) 'put the brakes on' and to slow him down a bit. um so there was a bit more when he was in the class.

working with emergent language (not using/following published material or a set syllabus) – pursuing what "comes up"

05:46
So for example this week we were talking about all the welfare reforms from the government [in the UK?] Yeah. And comparing it to their countries' welfare systems if they have them, how it works, um what's fair for welfare um and we read a newspaper article and discussed it um but discussed things, read a newspaper article, discussed more. And um so lots of vocabulary came up related to political things or the welfare system, benefits and things like that, um and that's the kind of thing they told me they want to work on most is speaking and vocabulary. And they like reading articles.

07:00
[Do you follow any book with that group?] No. [Cos it's conversation so you- do they bring what you're gonna talk about or do you bring- or-] Um apart from the reading exercise yesterday, the last two weeks I've not used any paper material with them. I've used that Eyewitness Guardian app, I used that last week [that's a photography app I think?] Yeah exactly yeah and so and you know so when we look at the picture and I set a couple of questions and then whatever springs off of that we discuss.

07:32

Umm so last week one of these photographs was of a load of ballet dancers warming up and so we started discussing things like culture, um and um h- do we- have we- ever been to the ballet or theatre or things like that um do we enjoy it ha- what happens in our own countries in terms of um what people do in their spare time, and then we discussed um we moved onto what kind of things we did when we were children, did we take part in these kind of activities when we were children, um (-) so and we got taught some uh Hungarian traditional folk dancing by one of the ((laughter)) by one of the students um which was fun umm ((laughter)) and um so that was that day, another day um there'd been a picture of um the holy festival in- in India where they throw the coloured paint at each other [ah, the festival of colour or whatever it's called] Yeah and um and that sparked a big conversation where we- where we- where we exchanged information on the different weddings that happen in different countries so the way the structure of a wedding day and then lots of vocabulary came up about that.

26:58
Topics that come up can be anything. We do use a book but I don't- I I use it sparingly.

27:24
Last week we were- crime came up and we um (-) we ended up discussing different- different things like that yeah um ((exhales)) lots of anything

28:42
I remember like a few weeks ago um a word came up (+) and it was really complicated and I can't remember what it was but it was- it was a really diffic- like 'anaesthetic' or something really hard to say and um and we ended up (-) like (-) I ended up um like um uh backchannelling it and you know

not planning (pronunciation) work

08:48
[If I understand correctly then so what drives the lessons in the week is kind of what topics come up and the vocabulary that comes out of it] Exactly.

09:27
In terms of pronunciation (-) I've not- I've not focused a- a large chunk of the lesson on anything with pronunciation, there's been bits and pieces here and there. [Can you remember any of the bits and pieces that have come up?] Umm, the /θ/ sounds came up cos a few- a couple of them last week were having big problems with that and also /s/ and /z/ as well and trying to- try- trying to help (-) a couple of students in particular (-) be able to notice the difference between those sounds but but yeah quite kind of informally, I guess, incidentally rather than-

13:45
[Do you ever set out to work on pronunciation in that class or do you always deal with it incidentally]

With that class I've never set out to do it, no. Yeah, not with that class.

27:41
[In your morning class do you work on pronunciation?]
less (-) so (-) probably than the afternoon class to be honest ((laughter)) um if I do then um- or when I do- I tend to- with these guys I tend to do it more as a (-) individual thing. So for example if ((Italian student's name)) uses a really Italian way of saying something then I'll say 'hey' you know and do it individually with him [So more as correction? or-] Yeah. Yeah exactly.

comparing countries/cultures in class

05:46
So for example this week we were talking about all the welfare reforms from the government [in the UK?] Yeah. And comparing it to their countries' welfare systems if they have them, how it works, um what's fair for welfare um and we read a newspaper article and discussed it um but discussed things, read a newspaper article, discussed more. And um so lots of vocabulary came up related to political things or the welfare system, benefits and things like that, um and that's the kind of thing they told me they want to work on most is speaking and vocabulary. And they like reading articles.

Teacher A – second-round interview

significant changes in class composition during research period

01:47
So the first week you were away, I was sick for three days. [Ah, OK! OK] Yeah. So I wasn't here Monday Tuesday Wednesday. [OK] I came back in and in the advanced group there were some Russians now, and a Greek, and then the Italian, the Malaysian (-) the German had gone (+) the Saudi girl was there one of the days, so big change. But I was only there for 2 days. The next week, 2 students. Um down to the Italian and the Malaysian. [That was the advanced group] Yeah [And then the upper-int group?] The upper-int group also big changes. [OK] Unfortunately. [No, that's OK] Umm so I need to skip my mind back [that's fine, take your time] um OK so last week was those guys so the week before (-) there was (man-) there was a German, the same German, Turkish, umm (-) yeah the Saudi woman (-) but again she wasn't there for the whole time um just one Saudi now, the other one had gone. Umm and (+) who've I said Turkish, German, Saudi umm (+) and a French person (-) yeah. And then the week after that, last week, there was umm Turkish, German, French and Saudi.

43:22

[so what and how do you prepare, in terms of- maybe not lesson by lesson but in terms of a syllabus, what do you project to cover in a certain amount of time and how do you go about that] With the afternoon conversation classes, it's very rare that I have one for very long, cos I always end up ge- getting given a one-to-one student. So I discuss with them at the beginning of every week, cos there's always new students each week, um I discuss with them what are their main focuses, what do they want most, um and then that's how within the lessons- if they say they want something as specific as um a specific grammar point then I will move conversation towards something that would use that so pff present perfect, 'let's talk about life experiences' for example. Um or w- like I did with these guys, they said they wanted more vocabulary, so that's what we focused on a bit more, so I didn't choose topics but when we were talking about those topics, I made sure that I um got as much as vocabulary up on the board by the end of the lesson for them in that topic area as possible. With the morning classes, that are a little bit more structured, again, there's big changes all the time and I've got the advanced class and it's very rare that we have long, long-term advanced students, I mean we've got two in there now but those are the only two, so again, week to week, you kind of- I kind of have to be aware of my students' end goals, for the long-term ones, and the short-term ones have to you know they fit in somewhere along the line

what she's been working on recently (in general)

03:38
[How did you go about preparing what you were gonna do with those classes with all your students coming and going?] Umm in the advanced group of course well I was away for the first few days, I came back and um I- cos I was still gathering energy, I um just used the next page in the coursebook that the cover teacher hadn't done so um I have no- I can't remember what it was um but it was from Speak Out Advanced I think and umm yeah and it was on I dunno it w- probably some reading or listening or something like that. Umm yeah and I just did that for those two days cos it was just like 'uh OK, get through the days'. With the upper-int um speaking group they are um- in that first bit when I got back, um because it was conversation class I did my normal thing and went in and start- saw what people were talking about and started a conversation and we moved on from there. Um and looked at lots of vocab, it's one thing they said they really want, vocabulary, so yeah we did that. Last week, um in my full weeks, I um the advanced group only went down to two, and ((Italian student's name)) wasn't there for the first couple of days and- he's the Italian- and the Arab- um Malay student, she wants to do CPE at some point so and ((Italian student's name)) actually wants to do CAE at some point so since then I've been working on bits and pieces from both exams with them umm and (-) today we did a big review- cos it just came up, we did a bit review of narrative tenses um and things like that. And the adv- um the- um conversation group, um we have yeah f- continued with the same kind of thing. They've said they want lots of vocab building so I've been trying to build in as much extra vocab in as possible but within lots of conversation.

what pronunciation she's been working on recently

06:08
I think I ha- I haven't changed- I don't think I've done any more work on pronunciation than I had before. Umm but whether that's- I think that's probably down to the fact that I was pretty ill for that first week and then last week you know I was kind of working my way back up to to feeling normal again. Had I not had that, had I been just a- a normal plane the whole way through, I think I would've spent a bit more time thinking about this and I think it would've changed how I teach. Um so it's unfortunate that that happened at that time

09:43
There was one day when the /ŋ/ came up and we spent a bit of time I think it- it had come [so that sound ((pointing at participant's highlighted grid)), that that the velar nasal is something that actually all of your students' backgrounds in that class have in common as a problematic area potentially] Exactly. And they all did struggle with it. I mean I think- and I said in my first interview with you it's the Jap- it was the Japanese lady in this class who was the most- who had the most problems [yeah you mentioned her before] Yeah. Um and so yeah we did look at that. [What did you do? How di- I mean did you prepare an exercise to look at it? Or-] No. I um- I think the way that I wanted to use this was to have as a reference guide that I could um (-) that would make me more aware of what was going on. [When] (-) So something I could- so like I did, like look at before class, have these things in mind, um and then i- when things came up from one student I was more able to think 'Ah. This is a point when everyone could benefit from this, so let's spend some time looking at it.'

13:37
[When you say you noticed that it was a problem, it came up ((the /ŋ/ sound)), what came up? Was it somebody said a word with the /ŋ/ sound and the other student or you didn't understand?] Hmm. I'm not sure if there was a misunderstanding because of it. (-) Um I think I think it was more that I realised there was a problem with that sound, that it was being made in the wrong part of the mouth. So it wasn't that it was- you know cos 'sin- sinning' I can't say it ((laughter)) um but uh that's not in the c- in context, that's not an issue really, you know if y- even if you said 'sinnin' it would kind of maybe be OK in context so [so as far as you recall, everything continued, there was no intelligibility breakdown, but you recognised they weren't making the sound as a /ŋ/] Yeah exactly [as far as you remember] yeah yeah exactly. Sorry I don't really remember.

34:12
[you mentioned /ŋ/ cos you remember it being one of your 'big purple lines' … what other priorities did you identify for that group?] umm (-) we did do- I can't rem- I'm sorry but I can't remember what the context was (-) and how we did it but I mean stress comes up for most of my speakers- most of my students sorry [as in nuclear stress, so the-] Yeah yeah. Um and I know I worked on um with this group we did do some work on on (-) stress but I- to be- I'd be lying if I

said it was definitely because of this ((indicating LFC grid)). Umm [what kind of stress] we actually spent um (-) a couple of lessons- portions of each lesson over a couple of days going over (-) both word stress and sentence stress. (-) We looked at a couple of like patterns of stress so like on words with '-ion' for example that the stress comes on the syllable before. I remember doing that with them. Umm (+) yeah um and we'd been doing kind of some bits of debating and um and you know arguing back t- with people and things like that so we looked at kind of stress of you know- how you could repeat back what someone has just said and emphasise something that you want to- so um (-) so 'you want' I dunno 'you want to do that to them?!' or something like that [how did they find that] um fairly (-) easy once they- cos it was kind of mixed in with not just pronunciation, not just stress, but also that you know linguistic skill of you know taking what someone says and twisting it and saying it back to them um I dunno what you call that ((laughter))

(not) planning what will be covered in a lesson

41:52
[you say you don't plan lessons much, which I- if I understand you correctly, from the interview and as a colleague, that doesn't mean not preparing] no [but it means not planning, not writing out a procedure as such] yeah, and I- with the conversation classes, for example, I will always have an idea up my sleeve just in case I go in and there's not much conversation coming that day, but for example last week the topics we covered were from like, from the housing market and discussing how housing markets work in our different countries, so an hour and a half spent on that and th- vocab that came up and things, and I'll go on, start a conversation- one person was talking about how expensive his rent was, we started discussing that, brainstormed some vocabulary for the bit that we were talking about, I thought of a question, set them off talking about the question, when that kind of comes to an end we go over a little bit of- so instead of doing delayed correction, I end up- that kind of- I work- because they want more vocab, so I work that into vocabulary that they needed, or could need in a minute and do some elicitation and things and then get that on the board, set them off with another question um so we did like the healthcare systems, housing market, theatres and things, and um yeah lots of things over the last week.

43:22
[so what and how do you prepare, in terms of- maybe not lesson by lesson but in terms of a syllabus, what do you project to cover in a certain amount of time and how do you go about that] With the afternoon conversation classes, it's very rare that I have one for very long, cos I always end up ge- getting given a one-to-one student. So I discuss with them at the beginning of every week, cos there's always new students each week, um I discuss with them what are their main focuses, what do they want most, um and then that's how within the lessons- if they say they want something as specific as um a specific grammar point then I will move conversation towards something that would use that so pff present perfect, 'let's talk about life experiences' for example. Um or w- like I did with these guys, they said they wanted more vocabulary, so that's what we focused on a bit more, so I didn't choose topics but when we were talking about those topics, I made sure that I um got as much as vocabulary up on the board by the end of

Teacher B – first-round interview

contents of the LFC

07:28
Actually last week I spent a couple of lessons looking at long and short vowel sounds cos there was some confusion about you know some bad pronunciation well mispronunciation in class (something to do with) the short and long vowel sounds. [Can you remember what happened?] It was something like um someone talking about a 'bitch' and saying 'bitch' and then [they meant to say 'beach'] Mm. [Was it just those two that you focused on or did you kind of-] No I chose a few I looked at um (-) /iː ɪ ʊ uː/ yeah just the main (-) vowel sounds.

17:14
I don't think they're fussed whether they don't- about weak forms really or sentence stress (-) they're more concerned about that when- for when they're listening rather than when they're speaking cos I think they realise it doesn't really matter if they don't use the weak forms it's not the end of the world.

reasons for correcting

07:14
[What kind of things do you correct?] Sss- sounds. For example with the Italians again like saying something like I dunno /pʌblɪsiːz/ instead of /pʌblɪsaɪz/ I don't think anyone said that but something like that. Actually last week I spent a couple of lessons looking at long and short vowel sounds cos there was some confusion about you know some bad pronunciation well mispronunciation in class (something to do with) the short and long vowel sounds. [Can you remember what happened?] It was something like um someone talking about a 'bitch' and saying 'bitch' and then [they meant to say 'beach'] Mm. [Was it just those two that you focused on or did you kind of-] No I chose a few I looked at um (-) /iː ɪ ʊ uː/ yeah just the main (-) vowel sounds.

responding to/considering students' pronunciation on an individual basis

06:34
[Do you work on pronunciation in class?]
Yeah. I um (+) s- yeah I (generally) look at intonation and sentence stress though. [Intonation and sentence stress.] Yeah indiv- I do- if it's a new word and there's pronunciation problems (-) we have a look at it [you mean like when you're doing vocabulary or] Yeah [if a new word comes

up] Yeah exactly yeah. [Can you think of a recent example?] (+) ((sigh)) No. But then when individuals have problems with pronunciation I do a lot of on-the-spot correction.

09:04
[OK. So how do you choose what to focus on?] Well that's why- with the vowel sounds that was like a common thing (-) that kind of (-) it's (xxx) it's a general difficulty in English I think [you mean the short and long or just the vowels in general] Sh- just the short and long vowel sounds yeah. But if an individual has an issue maybe I'll spend a little bit of time like just doing on-the-spot. [You mean correcting rather than-] Cor- correcting them yeah like yeah getting them to practise.

working with emergent language (not using/following published material or a set syllabus) – pursuing what "comes up"

04:33
[So would you say you do kind of some planning of what you're gonna teach but then you also do a lot of reacting to what comes up or-] Yeah.

05:20
[so you do a bit of grammar, one or two points every week] Vocabulary I tend to just do things that come up you know 'emergent' vocabulary

21:47
[OK so is it f- correct me if I'm wrong is it fair then to summarise that you tend to use the book to plan what you're going to cover in each lesson but you'll respond to other things as they come up in the class?] Yeah. [And those could be related to anything] Yeah.

how to predict what problems learners will have

04:43
with some of them (-) becomes (-) even with the Italians you kind of- it's quite easy to tell when they're (+) well in terms of- not in terms of predicting what's gonna come up and recognising when they're translating in their head or using just the structures ((from their L1))

prioritising based on what is a 'common' need

09:04
[OK. So how do you choose what to focus on?] Well that's why- with the vowel sounds that was like a common thing (-) that kind of (-) it's (xxx) it's a general difficulty in English I think [you mean the short and long or just the vowels in general] Sh- just the short and long vowel sounds yeah.

reliance on experience to anticipate students' needs

5:11
I think it's from teaching them such a long time that I pick up [yeah you start to notice] and I suppose it's similar to Spanish a little bit so it's sort of-

advanced students need 'fine-tuning'

08:05
that's why I want to do this ((participate in this research project)) is cos pronunciation is very important, especially at advanced level when you're trying to tighten these things up

familiarity with published material

10:01
[Are you familiar with any reference material that's designed to help teachers predict particular areas] No. [So you don't use any of the- or are you f- are you aware of any but you just don't use them yourself] I'm not even really aware of any.

15:04
[Are there any materials that you use cos we've talked a lot about techniques] Nope. [None at all.] No. [Are you aware of any? Like do you know any that your colleagues use or anything that you've seen in observations or anything like that?] No. No. [Not at all for pronunciation.] Well except for the phonemic chart. Does that count? [That counts, yeah. How do you know about the phonemic chart.] From the CELTA or TESOL or whatever it was. [OK. Did you talk at all about pronunciation otherwise on that course] Yeah but I don't remember using any materials in particular.

showing/explaining how to articulate sounds

11:04
[Are there any particular techniques or materials that you use to teach pronunciation] No I just use the board. I try and (+) gesticulate a lot to try and- or I try and describe what's going on with the mouth like with /θ/ and /t/ for example /θ/ and /ð/ I- you know I use the analogy of a cork in the wine bottle the /θ/ that's stopping the air coming out? which sometimes helps. So I try and describe what's going on in the mouth rather than (-) just say 'copy this sound' [Right. Do you get them to copy as well?] Yeah yeah yeah. Or try to. ((laughter)) And yeah with the vowel sounds like /iː ɪ/ ((indicates emphatic stretching of lips)) you know try and use the- to give them more of a visual sense of- [so you use gesture, you use your arms, to show long or small] Yeah yeah or like you know slightly exaggerated.

using the whiteboard to support pronunciation teaching

11:59
[And you said you use the board? So what do you do on the board] I just write the word and the phonemic sign but I make a (xxx) the phonemic sign I just use as like a indicator that it's a different sound rather than trying to get them to learn- I've never tried to teach the phonemic alphabet. [A different sound to what to another sound or to the spelling?-] For example if I write- yeah if there's a spelling with a- same spelling with a different sound or it's for example I can't think of any examples but I write the phonemic sign and say 'here's what this sound is' to show that the spelling's the same but the sound is different.

12:40
[Do you do the same thing when you're doing intonation and sentence stress do you indicate anything on the whiteboard?] Yeah yeah [So what kind of- what do you show] um the sentence (-) uh I often (+) mark the stress pattern or whatever [with like circles?] Yeah. If there's linking sounds sometimes put those in (xxx) um (-) for example with 'have' when it's an auxiliary verb sometimes I'll write 'of' the word 'of' next to the phonemic thing then (together) just to give them the impression of (-) what it sounds like and why people sometimes write 'could of' cos I think that helps a little bit.

Teacher B – second-round interview

why (SGI) teachers don't seem to prepare a pronunciation syllabus

28:00
what I'm finding is that in general (-) a lot of teachers don't really prepare a pronunciation syllabus] yeah [um and th- this idea of what emerges or what comes up seems quite common. Why do you think it is that that's a- such a common approach to teaching pronunciation] (-) mmm (+) [um- I mean uh- honestly, whatever your opinion or your experience is] (+) I mean with me personally- I- I always try and teach str- I always plan to teach sentence stress actually things like- (sorry, nuclear) stress (xxx) sentence stress, things like that. I do plan to teach that. (-) But that's more for their listening- just be- I mean one of the reasons that- is that- I think- is that just- teaching pronunciation is like (-) ssp- I suppose more with short-term students it's that it's pointless. Because they're not gonna use it. They're not gonna- if there's a- if something comes up as a problem, there's a big kind of important problem- you know I could have like uhh French and Italian speakers and I could go and teach /θ/ and /t/ and /ð/ and spend the whole lesson doing it, and make the sounds fine in isolation and in a few words and (in the) examples, and soon as they s- leave the classroom and start speaking it's just um people just speak naturally (like they do) [so you don't feel like there's any hope for them correcting-] no I mean if someone's doing a presentation or something they might have a bit more of an impetus- (-) it's not that I don't think there's any hope ((laughter)) it's that I just don't think that they're- that's their priority, their priority is to be- is to communicate and to be understood. And I think people can be understood without necessarily pronouncing things correctly. [How do you-] Or properly. [I was gonna say, how do you judge what's 'correct' or what's 'proper'?] Well yeah. [i- uh- in your opinion or in your experience] Well in my experience I don't (-) I don't really- I suppose th- the standard is RP or whatever but I don't think that's the best way I reckon.

32:57
I think yeah within- in- continuous enrolment (+) it's (-) how do you foc- yeah. [Yeah go on] How d- how do you focus on- or how do you choose what to do. Cos if you have- you have changing students every week (+) uhh [go on] (+) um sorry. [That's alright. I mean why do you think continuous enrolment poses a problem] Just because y- y- you have one week you have some students and you're doing whatever, consonant sounds and- or whatever that you're doing, and they're doing that fine, then someone else comes in the next week who can't do that, and what do you do, do you do it again, or- [mm, what do you do?] well that's why (xxx) [What do you do in that case. Say you've been working on the the /v/, you said that came up, your advanced class, and then your students changed, did you revisit that sound? (-) Was it still relevant with the new students?] Yeah I mean I might revisit it but not in so much de- like- at s- not so much length.

working on pronunciation with advanced (as opposed to lower-level) students

51:53
yeah I think obviously if you had a lower- a lower-level class you'd do much more teacher intervention or or help [for] them understanding each other. [And in that context, what kind of approach do you think is appropriate for the teacher to take] How do you mean [Euhh any way, in terms of what you prepare, or how you correct, or what you're looking for, listening for] Well I think (there'd be) a little bit more variety in terms of (-) (I dunno) correcting or helping with pronunciation when they're- when communication breaks down, which it probably would do more- with more regularity, I guess. [But in your advanced class you just don't find you have to do that very much] No.

own knowledge/awareness of pronunciation features (incl. LFC features)

05:54
you know I'm often listening for grammatical or lexical errors. (-) And with the pronunciation you know (-) things- th- m- (-) it's the areas where I know there's mistakes, that's when I notice they're making mistakes. So this ((indicates LFC grid)) helped me see where the mistakes could be. [And you think you wouldn't have noticed them normally then] probably not [or you may not have] or I might not have been aware of them necessarily yeah. [OK. And you know that the /v/ sound was one of the ones that you noticed.] Y- I think so yeah. I can't remember the other ones though. [Can you remember any particular students who were having trouble with that sound that you noticed?] Uhhh (+) no. No. [OK. It's just worth asking] Yeah yeah. (-) No sorry I can't. Can't remember. (-) I think there was another one (+) no I mean yeah there's a few a- areas where (-) I noticed things (-) but I can't remember what they were. [Do you remember if they were just in this top part of the chart, where the consonants are, or if you noticed anything from the lower-] I mostly looked at this bit ((indicating the top of the grid, the consonants section))

because (+) I mean because there was so much for it- for me to take in (-) with it all. And like I say with pronunciation I've only ever really learnt to teach the sounds, I've never really- like consonant clusters and stuff like- ((laughs)) there's so much depth going on! And (-) [Well what made you feel like that] uhhh [I mean what do you mean by 'depth'] In terms of me just hearing like mistakes and errors and like (-) I just- I find it difficult to notice pronun- pr- yeah yeah I just find it- or no it's not that I don't- I don't notice the difficult areas or the mistakes but- (-) and especially in the advanced group when they can understand each other and I can understand them it's kind of (+) I sort of just ignore it (-) a bit.

12:29
[So you said a minute ago that you used this really more as a guide. A guide to what- can you elaborate?] So when- error correction essentially. Of what to look out for, like what areas they might be making mistakes in. [So that in the lesson-] (-) Um if they (made any) mistakes in those areas I'd- because often when I'm doing error correction like- you know making notes, or monitoring, I'll be hearing the same mistakes that I always make a note of- that I'm aware of. And this kind of just made me go 'oh OK so sometimes these guys have trouble with this', then I was more aware of it, so I noticed it when they made the mistakes. Whereas before I- uhh I probably wouldn't have noticed or been as aware of it, if that makes sense. [Can you remember any examples?] No. ((laughter))

16:09
[When you were actually looking at the grid itself, and reading it, and identifying commonalities or common difficulties, did you i- were there moments where you thought 'ah, I've never thought of that' or 'I wouldn't have thought of that' or- was there anything new to you?] Yeah kind of where- for example with Italians, with the 's' before 'm' and 'n' I was like 'oh OK yeah that's'- like the consonant sounds together or clusters or whatever [that's not something-] cos like I said I've never really learnt like much about pronunciation. On the TESOL it was just individual sounds. [So on your initial training you didn't cover-] Not massively.

17:00
No I've never thought about (-) the position within the word or whatever of the (-) individual sound necessarily. [Ah OK so you tend to- if you're teaching a sound you'd look at it- you wouldn't think about (xxx) where in the word it was] Yeah yeah. [But this made you think of that] Yeah.

23:36
that's what I found useful about this is just in terms of the emergent (-) stuff it's quite useful [such as?] Like I said with the- like- errors and stuff. Just being a bit more aware of what (-) areas there might be problems with. But that was more for- as like individual speakers rather than them understanding each other necessarily. (With um) like I said the advanced (or) like in the upper-intermediate groups there's- (-) [that happens less?] there's never massive misunderstandings, and again if there is a misunderstanding they just repeat and it's normally (-) OK.

26:05
often with vowel sounds I mean I'm just thinking of Italian student with long and short vowel sounds (+) um you know that I'd (-) focus on as a result of something that came out in class rather than (-) [so even though you know that's a likely area of difficulty you wouldn't normally go in with the intention of teaching that-] well I had done previously with the group, I had (-) yeah I had spent a couple of lessons doing that. [With an all-Italian group?] No. (-) But I think it's- oth- other students have trouble with that as well. [You mean producing it or understanding it?] Producing it. [Th- the long and short contrast you mean] Mm-hm.

reference to (own) teacher training

03:06
I don't normally actually plan to teach pronunciation it's not something I ever really learnt how to do so ((laughter)) I normally just address it in class. [Never really learnt how to do it?] Not r- I mean on the TESOL we had a l- s- (-) doing a lesson on pronunciation yeah n- not really- never really. There's a workshop idea for you.

16:09
[When you were actually looking at the grid itself, and reading it, and identifying commonalities or common difficulties, did you i- were there moments where you thought 'ah, I've never thought of that' or 'I wouldn't have thought of that' or- was there anything new to you?] Yeah kind of where- for example with Italians, with the 's' before 'm' and 'n' I was like 'oh OK yeah that's'- like the consonant sounds together or clusters or whatever [that's not something-] cos like I said I've never really learnt like much about pronunciation. On the TESOL it was just individual sounds. [So on your initial training you didn't cover-] Not massively.

integrating pronunciation work with other language/skills work

11:54
if I'm teaching I dunno present perfect or something and then the 'e d' ending (I'll have) an idea of what I'm gonna do to practise it and teach it. [So is it fair to say that when you do cover pronunciation it's usually linked to something grammatical or lexical] yeah [you don't go in saying 'this bit's- we're gonna look at pronunciation] Yeah yeah yeah yeah. [What about with listening? Do you ever go in to do work on listening and think about pronunciation that you'll do with the listening?] No. [Like you do with the grammar?] No. Never done that.

Teacher C – first-round interview

avoiding pronunciation work for fear of shaking students' confidence

05:18
[What are they trying to get right that you feel is making it crumble?] The- the- the whole complete sentence like before they say it it's like they wanna make sure that it's right before they say it so [you mean words? or the grammar-] Yeah [or the sounds? or the-] More the grammar cos the- they never seem to say like uh pronunciation wise they say it's it's always the grammar part 'is it him? is it her? is it is? is it be?' um so not really pro- cos pronunciation is almost like I feel with this particular group when I tell them pronunciation they go 'yeah yes yes yes we understand' and it's like 'no you don't understand! Let me say it again' ((laughter)) and they repeat it back and um yeah I sup- I think- and I try not to hone in on the pronunciation too much because I just want to get them sp- their confidence speaking up.

14:23
So in- instead of um me going straight in and saying 'oh you said that wrong' or you know that- not- I wouldn't say that to them but you know me going in and being like um 'I walked' not 'I walk' do you know what I mean, instead of me stopping them- because if I do that I kind of I've noticed, they just go off, they're like 'oh…' and they forget what they're saying, and so- it's just little things that I've noticed. Things that I've done before in other classes where that hasn't been a problem but these particular students it- it does affect them if I stop them whilst they're speaking yeah.

group dynamics affecting confidence and motivation

09:50
I'm seeing how they ((the two Arabic-speaking students)) got on together um and I have to work with personality especially ((Syrian student's name)) she's quite she gets frustrated if she's not getting things. So because I put her with ((the Qatari student)) I don't want her to go ten step backwards so I put her with somebody who's a little bit lower than her just to kind of get her (-) umm motivated because as soon as she gets something wrong I know if I put her with ((Brazilian student's name)) will get impatient cos he's quite impatient, ((Japanese student's name)) won't talk at all, she'll just go really quiet, I tried that on Monday so I thought 'right I'm gonna try her with ((Qatari student's name))'. That formula seems to be working. Because he needs her help and then she needs his help.

native speaker pronunciation norms

09:19
((the Arabic-speaking students)) have pronunciation difficulties that are the same but they (-) it doesn't make a difference if I put them two together because they- they both don't know what the correct pronunciation is do you see what I mean so in a way, it's good because they can hear a native speaker saying the words so (xxx) maybe they can kind of try and emulate what the person said so that's why I get them to sit together.

26:00
obviously words that they've heard or that they've been saying wrong, and they were saying /tiːtʃɜː/ and like do you know so we were going through the 'er' sound [So how were they pronouncing it 'wrongly', were they stressing it, or-] Stressing it too much, 'teacher' [changing the vowel? or how- what were they doing] It's the 'errrr' sound, it was too long, they were like an /ɜː/ like the 'bird' sound, /ɜː/. Yeah and I'm saying it's an /ə/, /tiːtʃə/ or /dɒktə/. So that was one that we did um (-) and I didn't realise they all had a problem with that but it wasn't until they all said it and I was like 'oh! OK. you're not quite sure how that's pronounced' so then I- that's when I would do-

student-student intelligibility

32:58
So I would say that linking the words together so they kind of get used to (-) maybe used to putting the words t- in association and not so like isolation like 'where-do-you-live' I want them to kind of link it like 'it is one question and it's all together, and say it like it's a question!' do you see what I mean so that's the pronunciation I want them- I kind of try and get them to do so when they are asking each other questions I do say like 'OK how would you say this' and we try and link it together and the different sounds in between as well
…
I'd say that's the most important one. [What's made you judge that particular area as very important?] That be- only because of how I hear them speaking to each other. So when they are speaking to each other it's very like I said static, and then ma- I think that causes problems with the other person trying to understand what they're saying because it's so broken up that they've had to think about it as well like 'what- what did she say?' do you know what I mean, so if it's like 'where do (-)' and then 'you (-) live' and then so if it- if it's just said more naturally, like 'Where do you live' like they might ge- my opinion is that they'll get used to hearing that that phrase and that that those words that sound altogether and know what that means but when it's so broken up they kind of think about it too much- that's that's my the- that's where I feel they take so long to speak to each other, cos they're thinking too much.

34:45
[Have you noticed any moments where they've had trouble understanding each other?] Yes. Yes. That's uh when ((Syrian student's name)) speaks because ((she))'s [this is the very weak student from Egypt] uh-huh um Syria, so she's uh, she doesn't form her sentences all together, so obviously people- she just gives like a verb, or noun so they don't really get the question. She'll say it in a question tone but they don't get- well I can get it, I understand what she's saying cos I've had her one-to-one I know the kind of question that she asks but they don't seem to understand it.

36:53
[So aside from the words they choose or the volume, do you ever notice any other difficulties with them understanding each other's speech?] Ummm so far (-) no- it's more- I- ((laughter)) I'll tell you when- the more broken it is, sometimes, it's like they just pick up a word that they get, and they'll answer the question so (-) that's something I need to look at because I hear- sometimes when I hear them speaking, they're- they've obviously picked out a word, I think they heard 'from'. Like 'where' and 'from'. They all think 'OK she said 'Where are you from''. OK, and they'll answer the question. But when I hear them ask the question back, it's not correct, so I'm thinking, 'well how do you understand what she said to you if you can't repeat it back to her?' Do you see what I mean. So they're obviously just picking out words that they get so I don't think they have a big problem understanding each other, it's just that- if they know certain vocabulary, then I think they can kind of piece it together themselves in- in their own mind what they think the person's saying. [OK, so they use a lot of context] Yeah, yeah exactly.

how she judges her pronunciation teaching to have been effective

29:43
[How do you know if things are working, or do you feel that they are-]
If they're producing the language or the- the sounds correctly, then I feel like yes, they've got it. If I can actually hear they're using it correctly. If- and also, I tell you what also does it for me it's not just in that lesson, if I did it on Monday and I ask them again on Thursday, for example, then I will say 'OK you- they've kind of they kind of (-) have got this' but if it's complete- if they don- have no idea what I'm talking about by the time that it gets to Thursday then I feel well it obviously that wasn't effective because I feel if it's effective it will st- kind of stay with you, you'll get it (-) a little bit. Um (-) I'm not saying you have to do it once and then they always remember it, but if there's some sort of idea of what I was talking about then yeah they get it.

commonality in students' pronunciation difficulties

09:19
((the Arabic-speaking students)) have pronunciation difficulties that are the same but they (-) it doesn't make a difference if I put them two together because they- they both don't know what the correct pronunciation is

24:05
[And how do you determine what they all have in common?] I read the book, the Learner English book, that- that's the main thing I- cos I look at the language and I look at the difficulties that are common in that language and then if I see it's in the book that I'm (studying) then I- I go with it from there.

24:25
[So do you- at the moment you have students in your class who speak Arabic, um Portuguese and Japanese] That's right. [So have you already been to Learner English then and looked at those sections-] Yeah! Yeah I have. I've looked- I always look at it jus- just so I can kind of get an idea as to what problems they have, [Can you think of an example off the top of your head of something that you found they all have in common?] Not all, that's the thing. I didn't really find all this time because for the Japanese for example, she- the 'l' and the 'r' is a problem um for ((Brazilian student's name)) he had problems with um (-) I think it was like the 'o' sound like for example- it turned into a joke cos he kept saying /lɒndɒn/ all the time you know

26:03
they were saying /tiːtʃɜː/ and like do you know so we were going through the 'er' sound [So how were they pronouncing it 'wrongly', were they stressing it, or-] Stressing it too much, 'teacher' [changing the vowel? or how- what were they doing] It's the 'errrr' sound, it was too long, they were like an /ɜː/ like the 'bird' sound, /ɜː/. Yeah and I'm saying it's an /ə/, /tiːtʃə/ or /dɒktə/. So that was one that we did um (-) and I didn't realise they all had a problem with that but it wasn't until they all said it and I was like 'oh! OK. you're not quite sure how that's pronounced' so then I- that's when I would do-

Teacher C – second-round interview

own knowledge/awareness of pronunciation features (incl. LFC features)

13:49
There was things I didn't know before [such as] Quite a few actually! ((laughter)) [Yeah go on, it's fine] You know, things uh that others have in common, I didn't know about, um for example if I just focus on the Arabic ones- yeah like with ((Arabic-speaking students' names)) I didn't know about for example this- these sounds here like with e- the /f/ (the /v/) [the /f/ contrasting with /v/] yeah. Because maybe it's (that) I couldn't hear it when they were saying it, do you know what I mean, so to me- maybe cos you you kind of in your head you kind of already know what it's going to sound- what it should sound like so when they say it, i-m- to me it's like 'oh she- she's saying it correctly' but then when- but maybe if I if I really focused on that sound, I would find that she is actually saying it incorrectly. [So by looking at this, you realised some things you didn't know before] Yeah yeah yeah. [But- and you didn't notice them in the class] No [anyway] no I didn't. But maybe because the sound didn't come up enough [maybe] so I didn't hear it but when I looked at this I was like 'oh OK that's something to look- or kind of work on'.

reference to (own) teacher training

15:01
I have never really studied pronunciation in depth before. So I kind of deal with it as and when it comes up. Do you see what I mean so there were lots of things that I didn't know like- i- like for some of the things like where y- like where you said when they drop consonants or- an- I- a lot of that I wasn't really aware of at the time. Maybe I hear it but I- I wasn't- it di- didn't click to me that (xxx) only this particular um speakers- these particular speakers will say things like that,

you know? So it was just- yeah. [So when you're reacting to things as they come up, what do you base your reactions on? If y- if you haven't done a lot of study of pronunciation in depth, and some of these things you weren't aware of, how do you feel you're a- y- whe- when you spontaneously react, for example when you correct, what do you base your judgments on] Ummm previous experience? (-) M- I mean I- I think I- I know, I know the pronunciation sounds and I know how it should sound, but (-) I dunno maybe I just- (-) I- I tend to do pronunciation as I'm teaching the word for example, see what I mean, so [yeah you mentioned that in your first interview] yeah so if I- if we've got new vocabulary, or a vocabulary lesson, then I'll teach the pronunciation of that particular word or those particular words but um I wouldn't say for example have a lesson where it was just focusing on a certain sound (in fact) I- I've never done that before actually. Yeah it's always been (vocabulary) I try and integrate it with the new vocabulary.

integrating pronunciation work with other language/skills work

16:12
I tend to do pronunciation as I'm teaching the word for example, see what I mean, so [yeah you mentioned that in your first interview] yeah so if I- if we've got new vocabulary, or a vocabulary lesson, then I'll teach the pronunciation of that particular word or those particular words but um I wouldn't say for example have a lesson where it was just focusing on a certain sound (in fact) I- I've never done that before actually. Yeah it's always been (vocabulary) I try and integrate it with the new vocabulary. [What about other types of pronunciation besides individual sounds what about things down here like the grouping of words or placing stress in groups of words] Ohh OK OK yes, yeah, oh no no, I've done that before [what kind of things you have] Yes we- when we did wh-questions we- and I was trying to get them to uhh i- umm stress certain part of their questions like 'Where do you live?' for example, putting the stress on the right part of the question, and the intonation

working on pronunciation with advanced students

36:52
You get to the advanced level, and you think OK, you've kind of got the grammar bit fine, they know lots of v- words together, so wh- what is it they need to like tighten up and and it's usually the fluency. And that's where this comes in. [And how would you define 'fluency'?] 'Fluency', word stress, linking their words together, um (-) yeah. That's kind of my definition.

how she used the grid

10:15
Because I wasn't planning the pronunciation (class)- I was looking at it after things were coming up. Which is probably not the right way to do it. But- but I was umm- so- i- it was just so- I was more conscious of it then because it- so i- if there was a pronunciation problem, when it was umm when I w- noticed that it was there, then I'd look back at this ((indicating the grid)) and see 'ohh, what what what other problems might they have' or- and then that's something I could build on for the next lesson and I- and I'd come back to it. Do you see what I mean. Cos if it was just- the only reason why I think I did it that way um aside from the fact that maybe when I was planning I wasn't- I- I was- if I'm being honest I was forgetting to incorporate the pronunciation, because it- generally, in my lessons, I I think I told you before, I don't usually plan a pronunciation lesson, I just- I- i- it comes up. Because I- I never always know exactly what's gonna be the problem but with this- this is (obviously) supposed to eliminate that problem do you see what I mean ((laughter)) [Well, it's one way] Yeah yeah but um I was looking at it after, just to s- kind of compare what I found and what what was on here as well so that I could see 'oh maybe I was missing this out' or 'maybe I should've focused on this more' and you know? So it was uh it was it was good to refer back to after the lesson.

11:37
When I referred back to it I was seeing that um what I thought was just a student- one student's problem i- is either um a- a common problem- because I think maybe cos you know when you see your student from another country and they can pronounce it fine and you see someone else from the same country that can't pronounce so then you think 'well is it an- a general problem? or is it just that person that can't pronounce it'. So that- that's why I would look at it afterwards, just to see that the- (then I'd) find that it is actually a general problem. And then I'd focus on it. [And you found that- di- were there some examples of that then, in the in the week where you were using it] Yeah so [you noticed something and then you looked at this afterwards and then (found)] Yeaah, yes, so [can you remember which-] just uh the main two was the 't h'- the 't h' and the /p/- /p/ and the /b/ sound. [OK. So the /p/ and the /b/ are here, the /θ/ isn't on the grid] No [but when you came to look at this and you saw the /p/ and the /b/, you realised- a- for the Arabic and the Portuguese or just the Arabic?] Well yeah see tha- that's what I was thinking w- 'how comes he can't- couldn't say it properly' but then then when you say about the /p/ sound being aspirated that's probably what I was missing, cos I was thinking I remember he ((meaning the Brazilian student)) can't say /b/. And maybe he was overthinking it as well because he's trying to understand what ((Qatari student's name)) was saying and so- he (is probably) making errors as well cos he wasn't sure what was the right way to say it so tha- I had to take that into consideration as well. He probably can pronounce it but it's just the fact that he was hearing somebody else say it and he kind of thought 'oh this is the right way to say it' or- you know?

20:34
I had a good look at it beforehand, before even loo- go- taking it to any lessons, so that, one, so that if I did need to refer to it I wasn't trying to work out anything and then that's why- yeah before, (remember) when I spoke to you and I just asked you one question but other than that uhh I I understood exactly what was here so when I did- I would look at it like I said after the lesson only because then I felt like I could digest it a bit better whereas- and yeah po- possibly because (as) I said I don't plan my pronunciation lesson usually [so you didn't use this to plan it either] No [that's your normal normal practice] Yeah yeah I c- cos I cos I can never predict- especially my- like they're so dynamic and vibrant that I never know what's gonna come up so I

tend to keep the lesson not rigidly planned, so we have a topic that we're gonna focus on and then things usually come out of that.

27:58
if I had that week where I wasn't ill, I definitely would have used this more. Because the first week I was just kind of like looking at it, thinking 'oh this is good, that's a good idea' or 'I could probably integrate that with that' but cos I only used it for three days [and then you were off sick] and then I was off sick yeah. Which is a bit of a bummer.

the pronunciation features she identified using the grid

03:50
This I noticed w- th- 'p' and the 'b' we did that a lot because I didn't realise how much of a problem it was to be honest until it was highlighted there. I thought umm I just thought because ((Syrian student's name)) and ((Qatari student's name)) had quite low level in terms of a- all-rounder- th- they'd never studied English before- cos they had so many difficulties w- with pronunciation I thought that was just another one. But I didn't know it was a specific one for that language type. So when I found out that that was quite difficult- I also foun- I know it's not a problem for um- a big problem for Portuguese but for some reason ((Brazilian student's name)) w- didn't pronounce it properly. [Which] The 'p' and the 'b'.

07:10
[Did you notice that problem- (-) you said it was a problem between the students, one of them was trying to say /p/ and the other one was hearing it as /b/, and you noticed that there and then in the class, it wasn't something you'd prepared to cover] No, I didn't prepare that at all, yeah. [But did you notice it- was that class after you'd looked at this grid?] Umm I noticed- no, so I heard it, and then I saw that it was in here, cos I didn't know it was a big problem at first [In the same lesson or later] No after, after, yeah, so I didn't- cos I didn't plan to use it, and thought 'oh! let me just have a look if it is a big problem' cos I thought maybe that's just something that some-individual problem, they can't make that sound. But then I saw it's an actual problem.

Teacher D – first-round interview

students' needs/goals and who they use English with

00:54
one of them is err well improving in- (English) in order to go- to get a master's so she hasn't actually started working yet. Umm the others are yeah- all working at the moment and then they tend to change there's like the one student who's always there and then others come and go (-) but we have had a couple of yeah students as well.

02:51
[Do they seem to have different or similar problems when they're learning English?]
Mmm as a group (+) I'd say fairly similar yeah [so what kind of things do they struggle with] umm listening, listening to natural speech, especially na- listening to native speakers umm (-) what else (-) I- that's the main thing and um in terms of vocabulary like phrasal verbs w- learning phrasal verbs and idiomatic expressions cos I mean the- they're at a level where they (-) the- they've got an excellent grasp of the vocab but when it comes to you know expressions, idiomatic things-

34:38
[Do you know who they're using English with mostly?] I think it tends to be a mixture of both, like um, for those in work (-) they- there's always like a 'native colleague' or colleagues that they're talking about that they're trying to impress and that- actually it's really sad but I notice it a lot that s- the students (-) often business students they've been criticised by their boss by their native-speaking boss or by a native-speaking colleague and (-) they feel the pressure from this particular person, um (-) I think that's where a lot of their insecurity comes from and they- they're comparing themselves to a native-speaking boss or colleague or [but is that boss or colleague in the minority are you saying? or-] It tends to be, yeah. Yeah. So I- I think they speak to them- you know in meetings it's often mixed nationality but I think yeah more often than not there's like a- an English-speaking person that's influencing them in some way to improve.

what she works on in class

05:41
I use the kind of coursebook loosely I mean I tend to- yeah maybe at the end of the week or at the beginning of the- the new week umm brainstorm some ideas what topics do they want to cover or do they need to cover this week or I- I have a look at th- the contents page of the coursebook and see what interests them to have a- like a loose topic and then like I focus a lot on vocabulary with them and (-) I really like dictation um and I use that at least once a week so [how- for what] for example uhh last week we did risk like (-) risk in business and stuff so I found uhh like ten idiomatic expressions that we use for risk like um 'we're skating on thin ice', 'we need to tread carefully', (-) and like made a sentence for each one and dictated the sentence naturally like as I would say it to you. Umm so then I dictated- I read all of them once and then they compared answers and then all of them again and then we- I elicited the answers on the board (-) and so then you- from there, there's the vocab work like (getting them) to guess the meaning umm and then (-) looking at why it was difficult for them to catch everything I said so then looking at features of connected speech, and getting them to g- do a few examples on their own of (-) linking and elision and stuff [like what annotating on a text, or saying it or both] so annotating it so we might look at the first one together so 'OK why was this one difficult to- why was it difficult to catch this word' or 'why did this word sound- this- these words sound like one big word' and kind of elicit the features together on the board and then get them to for example choose three sentences to annotate and then read them read them read them out loud. So it kind of- (-) it's good for like writing practice, and practising spelling, listening, vocab, pronunciation, umm (-)

and then yeah a lot- kind of discussion-based stuff sometimes the case studies in the coursebook [what coursebook are you using?] um Market Leader. Umm Market Leader Upper-int, so I don't use it a lot because I find it's often not challenging enough for them.

what students like/want – their interests driving class content

05:41
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working on pronunciation (both productive and receptive) in class

06:11
I really like dictation um and I use that at least once a week so [how- for what] for example uhh last week we did risk like (-) risk in business and stuff so I found uhh like ten idiomatic expressions that we use for risk like um 'we're skating on thin ice', 'we need to tread carefully', (-) and like made a sentence for each one and dictated the sentence naturally like as I would say it to you. Umm so then I dictated- I read all of them once and then they compared answers and then all of them again and then we- I elicited the answers on the board (-) and so then you- from there, there's the vocab work like (getting them) to guess the meaning umm and then (-) looking at why it was difficult for them to catch everything I said so then looking at features of connected speech, and getting them to g- do a few examples on their own of (-) linking and elision and stuff [like what annotating on a text, or saying it or both] so annotating it so we might look at the first one together so 'OK why was this one difficult to- why was it difficult to catch this word' or 'why did this word sound- this- these words sound like one big word' and kind of elicit the features together on the board and then get them to for example choose three sentences to annotate and then read them read them read them out loud.

08:14
[How do the students find it ((the dictation work))?]
They really like it. Yeah. The first time they do it they're like horrified, they- they're lucky if they catch a word, but in the end they- they really like- they really like it and it's (-) I think a lot of- and also the listening exercises in the coursebook tend to be more like listening for general meaning or and (-) they get most of what they hear, like (-) but some- there are some things they just they can't understand a single word so I think the dictation helps them really to focus on um accuracy and recognising f- connec- features of connected speech so- they can start to make sense of what they hear outside.

09:01
[Is it always you who provides the dictation. Like who actually does the reading-] No, sometimes they do it in pairs, so I give uhh a short text or some sentences to the- one to A and they have to dictate it to B and vice versa ... [How do they get on with that kind of activity] umm (-) I always make- if I'm gonna do that I make sure that I- I've done a dictation some- before like maybe at the beginning of the week. Because otherwise (-) umm they'll just read it really slowly, so I always make sure that I've modelled a dictation at some point during the week where it's like you know you read each sentence and then you can pause between sentences but (-) get to the end of the sentence. ...

10:32
[So they're reading texts to each other that they haven't seen before they're just going straight from-] Yeah. [And the ones who are doing the dictation, do they have any time to prepare what they're going to dictate?] umm I normally give them like a couple of minutes before they start but then (+) yeah I have- I mean- [I'm just curious to know how it works...] yeah (-) I haven't tried it where- cos part of the idea is that there are unknown items cos that's the- the kind of input for the next part where we look at the vocab so (+) yeah I mean I guess that's one of the issues is that they don't know how to say like the stuff correctly so that- [So when they're- if they've got their couple minutes' preparation time what are they doing in the- what are they- exactly do you think they're preparing- what do you see them working on when they're preparing are they looking at words they don't know or how to say them or-] yeah yeah they might put- underline a word they don't know or umm (-) they might g- say like some of them would like try and do the sort- kind of analysis we've done together in class like maybe underline the stress or or like mark where they put the pause and the- or like if- a word they might find difficult to pronounce when they come to it

14:13
normally like at the beginning of a class- it's- but it's been difficult with this one because cos ((Japanese student's name)) has been here forever and I think I've done this exercise like maybe two or three times I don't want to overdo it with her but like introducing the phonemic script, like I like to do that, as like a first or second lesson with students and also in one-to-one. Um and just you know present it as a tool, so it's gonna be useful, that you're gonna see it when- when I- when you know we correct pronunciation together so I kind of make that a priority to present in the first couple of lessons

33:24
something we do sometimes with the dictated sentences it's d- like rather than say the words, use another sound like 'da'. And it's- it comes- the idea came from Pronunciation Games, it's like a 'da da' game where you say a sentence and y- th- you have to guess which sentence they're saying from like ((exaggerated musical intonation to illustrate)) 'da da da da da'. That. And so sometimes if I- if they're (-) umm if I feel that they need to practise like changing their pitch then we'll do the sentences just with 'da' or another sound that they choose.

LFC features

15:28

the difference between /ɜː/ and /ɔː/ like 'work' and 'walk', that one. (-) It's mostly /ɜː/ actually that seems to be problematic /ɜː/ mmm [How is it problematic is it that you don't catch the word or they don't catch it from each other or they're just saying it the wrong way or-] They tend to say it the wrong way. For example wo- like wo- they'll say 'walk' rather than 'work'. Uh or /wirk/ uh- they make it into the /ir/ so maybe actually pronoun- maybe not /ir/ but pronouncing the silent 'r's

Teacher D – second-round interview

ability to identify different L1s' potential difficulties (incl. overlap)

31:52
[Did you or were you able to identify any areas of overlap in the ones that you s- highlighted. Did you see anything that they had in common.] Umm (-) not particularly to be honest, I mean I think (-) like the Japanese lady she's m- yeah- her problems are with consonants really. Diffen- differentiating between various pairs of consonants and the Russian student is is more vowels in my opinion so (-) no not particularly.

37:18
[Is there anything that when you were looking at this before the lesson you saw 'ah OK so that- so they both have a problem with this' for example or here with this sound they both have a problem with uhh /ŋ/ like 'sing'. Was there anything like that that you then pursued in the lesson or addressed-] No I didn't no. No. (-) That would've been a good idea. [Y-yes] ((she laughs))

student-student communication and intelligibility

05:04
[You mentioned in the last interview about using dictation frequently including student to student dictation umm did you do it- this again in the past two weeks the dictation either by you or between the students] uh I've done it just from me to the students and not with student to student in the past two weeks.

38:38
I find that the vowels can cause misunderstanding or (-) s- stop comprehension altogether. [With whom?] Umm I mean I guess not so much with this level but (-) yeah maybe lower levels like pre-int students or even intermediate students. [So who is it who can't understand what they're saying] Who is it um teacher? Somet- or na- native speakers umm (-) I guess not so much between each other between non-native speakers but yeah if they're listening to native speakers I think that's where it could cause misund- well (-) communication (-) barriers. [If they're listening to native speakers?] yeah [or speaking to them?] I think both actually both.

46:23
[Did you notice any of that in these past two weeks of students have difficulty understanding each other's pronunciation] Umm (-) no. Not pronounc- I mean more kind of their sentence structure or like the grammar but not- I wouldn't say pronunciation no.

comparing the grid to other reference materials/resources

53:29
[How did this compare with the other material that you've used] Um (+) I think the grid in in 'How to Teach Pronunciation' is (-) kind of (+) it's more- I would find it more useful if my objective was to have an immediate func- u- application in the lesson. So yeah 'this lesson I want to do pronunciation', I'll have a look and (-) it kind of (+) it hands it to you on a plate if you see what I mean it's like 'this is the difficulty, that's it'. This one [that that grid you mean] yeah. But this involves more thought. That's why for me it's more about my own learning like you know like my own trying to understand (a thing) or trying to notice or trying to c- make connections between he- what I've seen here and my observations so- I dunno like the other grid is more like a quick fix solution, it doesn't really make you think about (-) the difficulties (-) but it has- it could have a more immediate impact on the lesson.

56:43
Learner English because the explanations are in sentences it's (+) um easier to digest. (+) Mm (+) (dunno) it's strange cos it- yeah I guess this out of the three ((the LFC grid, the 'How to Teach Pronunciation' grid and 'Learner English')) for me (-) this ((the LFC grid)) makes me work harder. I mean intellectually. Umm (+) cos the other two it's you know one of them's a quick reference ((the grid in 'How to Teach Pronunciation')) and the other one's ((('Learner English')) not so quick but it's s- still handed to you it's still explained to you but this you have to work things out.

aspects of the grid that could be changed/improved

17:38
it would be good to h- I mean (-) examples help me. Rather than explanations. So- but the problem is the space. The idea is to reduce it and keep it in you know one one A3 grid. (-) But I would have found it beneficial to have examples, like 'word-final consonants' (xxx) 'dev- devoiced-' and I know what these terms mean but it's- I have to sit and go 'OK'- (xxx) (-) the time it takes to kind of think about these things and they're things that I know but it's not spontaneous so (-) perhaps that's something that (-) um (-) kind of stopped me looking at it every day or- cos it does involve quite a lot of thought and I mean the terminology's not always something that comes to mind instantly.

18:33
I thought maybe some kind of colour coding could work. I dunno (-) colour-coding what but (-) mmm (+) just something with more colour. [What prompted you to think that that might be (a good thing)] Umm (-) mm. (+) Mm good point. (+) It's just more attractive. I dunno s- it's stupid but for me it's more attractive [no it's not stupid] to look at something with many colours rather than black and white umm but I don't know how that what kind of coding I would respond to. [Mm-hm. But in terms of visual appeal-] Well (+) yeah I (+) it's clear, it's simple, I don't- what is it. I can't pinpoint it. (+) Yeah I mean if it had m- some colour it would be more appealing

40:36
I think it is really thorough. Umm (-) yeah I think e- examples (-) for me would be really useful. Umm (-) but I mean y- you know example and explanation ideally but then it would- there'd be so much information there it's it's hard isn't it. [Such resources or similar resources exist umm there's a book which is based on the same research, have you consulted the book or would you consult the book for the same- where you might find examples and explanations] Umm (+) yeah I mean I haven't in the past two weeks but yeah there are times where like (I dunno) Learner English for example where I've loo- you know if I've got (-) I dunno I can't think of a specific example but you know I know there's something that's not right but I can't identify it then I might go to the- Learner English or (-) you know a one-to-one student (-) whose w- n- where I'm not familiar with their like kind of typical pronunciation errors I might go to the- to Learner English (-) if I've got time ((laughs)) umm (-) yeah.

49:09
I couldn't get my head round it. 'The darker the box, the bigger the problem' (-) but then I couldn't see any difference in darkness. [Oh OK, as in from white- completely light to grey with black.] OK. [Because in the absence of a colour printer ((laughing)) this was the rationale of the-] But I mean cos 'the darker the box' that implies that this is like light grey and then this is a shade of grey hi- a darker shade of grey and then- [I see] -t's just- it was the wording.

58:14
I like the grid (-) concept. I would like- I mean I- I'd like to see something where there is maybe space to record things as well or maybe like (-) a kind of tick box if this this is something I need to focus on in my lesson or (-) or maybe even like that suggests (-) ways of using it. [How do you mean] Like (-) kind of ideas box why not- as you said to me why not take- it's a simple thing but ((laughing)) I didn't think of it- is yeah look look at the ones that are grey across all of the nationalities you have and use that as use that in a lesson somehow.

59:19
[How do you think other teachers might respond (then) to the grid] I think (+) it is (-) it can be time-consuming um (-) I think the terminology yeah would put some people off (+) I think (+) mmm (-) people who are committed to their professional development would- would spend time (-) um (-) raising their own awareness through using this grid. Um (+) yeah it's (+) I think it just depends on the motivation of the teacher really. Um y- y- I think you have to be committed to make your own learning and development to use something like this well. The kind of- the other (what's the name) the grid- Ga- Gage? No. [Kelly] Kelly. I think that grid would be yeah as I said kind of 'quick fix'. You know 'need to do this for my lesson' um (-) but yeah this involves some engagement in the teacher's (+) yeah professional development so I think it depends on the motivation of the teacher. Yeah.

1:19:11
Even within one class I'd probably refer to this more for certain students than others um (+) yeah [but you'd still be looking at it very much on that individual level] I think yeah more individually but n- I- that's what I'm- what I've been using- like that's the way I've been doing it so (-) it's out of habit rather than actually sitting down and like (-) deciding to do it this way. And no this has been useful to talk about it cos it's something so simple like just to go across and say 'OK yeah these two are similar why not work- do a pronunciation point (xxx)' so (-) I mean that's why it might be good to have some like recommended like applications of this [you mean activities or you mean examples] uh just exam- maybe some example- like how you can use this grid.

reference to possible electronic version of grid

47:23
I need colour. Um (-) as I said before I don't know how you could co- I don't have any suggestions of how you would tailor the colour coding but just something that (-) I mean maybe it could be something onli- like on the computer and rather than highlighting it here might just (you know) highlight and (-) like I could be responsible f- for the colour coding I use cos you know I don't need some of these columns. Umm I mean or it could be something for example you go online, you click the nationalities that you're teaching, and it prints out something like this but cos it's- you're not gonna have all of these columns there's more space for examples.

Teacher E – first-round interview

student-student intelligibility and accommodation

20:16
A couple weeks ago I had in my pre-int class I had 8 Japanese and 4 (-) other-speaking people and [8 Japanese in one group] Yeah [and 4 others who were from different countries] Yeah [Asian countries?] No. Brazil, Italy, I think France but I can't remember, and Russia I'm not sure. [OK and what happened] They couldn't understand the Japanese and the Japanese couldn't understand them. It was a complete disaster to begin with. Then some of them really you know when I explained 'OK but you know we all pronounce things differently blah blah blah, in the north of England and America, everywhere differently', some of them really became cooperative and really tried, worked hard, but some of them were just (-) racist and refused to- I mean he ((the Brazilian student)) changed class.

21:49
There's always- there are always problems. Like I said. All the European speaking countries, if you pair them with people who are from outside Europe, there is a problem. But it goes both ways. It's not just the Japanese or Chinese not being able to understand Europeans, it's the other way around. So my Italian European student says 'I can understand the French guy but I can't understand the Arab girl'. You know. For example. So- why that happens? You're gonna write the master's and then we'll know, we'll be able to teach.

24:41
[How did you identify that it was a problem the way she was pronouncing 'hometown' or 'high' was it-] Because I couldn't h- understand what she was saying. [You couldn't- could the other students?] No. It was 'hometime' and I'm like 'why is she talking about hometime, we're talking about villages and cities' or something. [How did you determine what she was trying to say?] She wrote it on the board I think.

27:45
Students don't understand students. It rarely happens that they wouldn't understand what I said. When they don't understand what I said, it's because I'm shortening, like for example this morning, my upper-ints, I was teaching them 'I wish', 'if only' and 'should have'. So I was saying 'should've'. 'Should've bought', 'should've eaten' and they were like 'What?!' and they didn't understand until I wrote it on the board and showed them that 'should have' becomes 'should've'. So it's not 'should bought'- because they thought I was saying 'should bought'. And they couldn't hear it for example. [And what about the other way round, you understanding their speech] No I usually do understand. Like 95% of the time. It's not a problem.

38:50
I assigned someone to ask ((IELTS Speaking exam Part 2)) questions. So. A student had to ask another student the question 'Tell me something about your home town.' And I paired them so that they were like from different groups, and the guy's like 'what did you just say?' [different groups? different countries?] Language groups. [Different language groups.] They were like 'what did- I don't understand', (and) looking at me, like a French guy is sitting and the Turkish guy is asking him. And ((imitates uncomfortable laughter)) the guy doesn't understand. And then the Turkish guy is sitting and the Italian girl's asking him and he's like- which- I think it raised a lot of awareness (-) how they can't understand each other. And they realised the importance of speaking to each other because in the world they'll encounter people from different language groups and they'll- they'll need to understand what they're saying.

40:12
It's never grammar or vocabulary. It's always pronunciation. [Really? Is it easy to work out-] Cos you know even if they don't know the grammar (-) even if they say 'I am agreeing with you' or 'I am agree with you' or whatever, something that's wrong, the people are not stupid, they understand what the meaning is. They know he's trying to say 'I agree with you'. Or you know 'I think' [so they're kind of] 'like you' or something. [So they can tell from looking] Yeah you always understand the context. Doesn't matter about grammar or vocabulary even if you don't know you say 'you know the thing that you know that footballers use', 'oh the ball', 'yeah yeah yeah'. But it's the pronunciation that's the biggest problem.

what causes student-student intelligibility breakdown (in her opinion)

22:30
I don't- I don't think it's a sound, you know? as such. I think it's more the intonation. I would say it's more the intonation. Again, I'm not expert on Japanese or Chinese, but from what I know ((starts clapping abruptly with about half a second between claps)) it's more cut off sounds you know? They say ((abruptly)) 'Hello! How! Are! You!' so they cut them off. And they speak English the same (-) so it's a different- and then consequentially their rhythm- the rhythm is completely different as well. So I think that causes the problem to the Europeans, at least to the French, Spanish and Italian speaking because you know their language is more like poetry

23:39
((Chinese student's name)) today- she can't say 'hometown'. 'Time', 'hometown' and 'high' she can't- the way she says them, it's ['high' as in opposite of 'low'] Yeah yeah. 'High' as in opposite of 'low', 'time', and 'hometown'. ((imitates student's pronunciation)) /həʊtaɪ/ /həʊtaɪ/ [And what happened in the lesson?] I said 'look at me' I dunno there was a discussion about something. And I said 'Look at me. ((exaggerates, lengthening vowels and emphatically releasing consonants)) Hometown.' … I said 'don't listen to me, cos if you're gonna listen go me, there's no way you can repeat it.' [but you asked her to look at you] Yes!

40:56
it's the pronunciation that's the biggest problem. [And are you able to identify- or are they able to identify what the pronunciation is um doing or not doing that's causing the problem] No. (-) No. Cos they're not that- I mean maybe I had a couple of students who were aware of- I think the first time when they come here it's like- because when- y- they come from their own country, they mostly speak with other people who speak the foreign language the same way they do, so they're not even aware of that problem. So this is like a revelation coming here. And someone telling them that it doesn't matter obviously- you know explaining different languages, different origins of languages (-) and they like that because they like remembering stories you know they remember. And they're like 'oh yeah yeah she's right that's why I have a problem with this' or 'yeah yeah that's why she has a problem'.

avoiding pronunciation work for fear of shaking students' confidence

11:33
OK, everyone knows ((Chinese student's name))'s got problems with pronunciation so we bring this up and we try to help her in a positive way. So we try and good- in classes with good rapport, you know we're quite open about it- or the Turks, the Turkish scholars, you know, we're close, we can talk about things and I can say, 'look, because you're Turkish, you make those

mistakes' but not 'this is bad' but 'just because your language structure is different'. 'Cos you're Italian, cos it's a syllable-stressed language, you make those mistakes' you know what I mean? So we can do that but of course if the rapport's not that good, I don't wanna go and insult anyone by you know 'Oh! You're Italian! You know shit about sentence stress!' [Right so you try not to single out-] No, I try not to single out- unless we have really good rapport and everyone knows that we're doing this to help each other you know- and everyone is grown-up enough to know- and of course, if the problems come up, I stop the class and we do that- it's like 2 minutes 3 minutes. But other than that I wouldn't go- I would try to do on-the-spot correction, (-) ((small sigh)) but if I ask someone to repeat a word three times you know they start blushing and they start being embarrassed and they- so I try to avoid singling them out.

avoiding teaching segmental pronunciation because of her own confidence

15:09
To be honest I avoid pronunciation if I can. (xxx) No like ((colleague's name)) and I. ((Colleague's name)) and I both hate pronunciation part- teaching pronunciation I know- [Really?] She hates it. It's like the- it's a nightmare. I can't write well. I'm sure that if you tell me a word now I can't [you mean transcribing with the phonemic-] Yeah. I can't transcribe. Not that I don't know the wo- the letters, I do. But I don't hear the sounds properly. [That's interesting. Can you elaborate on that?] I dunno. It's probabl- I- I- I mean I was surprised because um ((colleague's name)) said that she has the same problem because sh- her first language is English I always thought because my first language is not English that I hear the sounds differently. But I would make mistakes with different 'o's, different (-) you know. I dunno which sounds would make w- w- diphthongs and the vowel sounds definitely.

17:02
The sounds are a problem for me. But as in word stress, or sentence stress, or intonation, or rhythm, that's the easiest thing and that's th- really fun.

familiarity with published reference material

12:52
Yeah. The- the- what's it called the book, Student Learner? No. [Lear- Learner English?] Learner English, yeah. [The black one.] Yeah yeah yeah the big one, yeah. I remember- I know a lot about Chinese problems because two years ago I had this student- elementary student so- elementary Chinese, whatever you say, he doesn't get it. Like our student ((referring to another Chinese student in the school whom we have both taught in the past)). So (-) I copied the whole chapter out of the- Learner English and then I started to work on those problems, not just pronunciation also grammar [How did you find it working with that resource?] It was fine you know it's like a basic thing at least you- you get acquainted with the language at least it gives you some information. Obviously for the languages that I speak (-) like- which are closer to me like Italian, French and Spanish, I've got more experience which means I don't need Learner English I know what the problems are. But yeah I thought it was OK I mean- coming from the- not knowing anything about Chinese I remembered- or- I learnt some things.

Teacher E – second-round interview

aspects of the grid that she found useful

38:36
This is the fir- for me this is the first time I see this you know you've got nationalities and then you can see the overlapping- it's n- it's clearer you know. Of course you know I can tell you Chinese and I dunno Japanese (-) (well) they have the 'l' and 'r' problem obviously so- but if you go- you'd go I dunno ((reading from grid, running her finger along a row and looking at two columns)) "l' 'r'- contrast 'r'- the same Chinese'. [OK. So having them physically next to each other was helpful] Yeah. Yeah.

what she knows and how she feels about ELF

58:47
[Can I ask what's your understanding of that concept. The concept of English as a Lingua Franca. What do you know about it.] Well I just understand it as the language which was naturally or- I dunno maybe through economic reasons chosen as a language that everyone uses to communicate. Whether you're Chinese or French you need to communicate somehow and it's unlikely that a French person's gonna learn ten new languages so somehow through history because of history because of in my opinion the economy English developed to be the new lingua franca after the Latin. So I think everyone (-) somehow (-) adopted this (-) even if they are against it for one reason or another but they're like more pragmatical- you know th- practical as- K- OK 'we need to communicate with Saudis with Chinese with Taiwanese so what do we do. OK everyone's gonna speak English'. [And what do you understand as the implications of that for English teachers and learners] For English teachers that you are not gonna get many beginners any more. You're gonna get false beginners. Or elementaries. Cos you know- and especially now with the internet I think it's gonna be- the language is gonna be much more accessible. Twenty years ago it wasn't because people would dub like Italy and Fra- Spain they would dub films. So you- people didn't hear it. But now when you have downloads and uploads and whatever they do it's- they're much more you know open to consuming the language therefore they will be false beginners unless they live somewhere in the middle of nowhere. [OK so in terms of what they arrive with in class they already have some knowledge of the language.] Yes. [What about what they need to learn- what they need to get to- I mean what- if English is being used more as a contact language between people who speak different first languages and they need something in common (-) what do you see as the implications of that concept for what their goals are what they need to learn and perfect and particularly with reference to pronunciation] Well to be clear in pronouncing you know you don't have to- it's not so much about the accent it's more about being clear, that you say 'boy boy boy'. But it's not /p/. I think that you're just clear in the way

you're pronouncing- that's the the most important. But yeah of course there's always gonna be issues. [So a lot of the- in terms of being clear, the things that are included on the- on this grid are things that were shown in at least one particular research study to influence that clarity- that i- specifically the word they use is 'intelligibility'. And that means that some things like linking sounds for example or weak forms are actually excluded from this because they s- were suggested in research to make things <u>less</u> clear, less intelligible.] (-) Yeah but why would you exclude them if that's the way- maybe in twenty years' time when you are in minority and people will speak, I- ['you' who] as in native speakers as in ((slowly, pausing between each word)) 'I would like to-' because they will not say 'I'd like to' (-) maybe, maybe things will shift. But for now I think the weak forms are quite important and (-) still- [for understand- for- to p- to produce? or to und-] to produce as well, and to understand. [So this is where actually some of this research has come from is because they're saying that native speakers <u>are</u> in the minority now and that- and again this is just one perspective um but the perspective is that if native speakers are in a minority- if the majority of English in the world now is happening between non-native speakers what is it that's necessary for them to understand each other. And that's where we arrived at this list of features. Which means that things like weak forms aren't there. So again in terms of what that means for our classrooms how do you feel about that as a possible approach for our context here in London.] No I think- I wouldn't exclude it because they always say that they would like to speak the way the British speak so they would like to use the forms the weak forms the pronunciation and everything so no. Because in London there are still a lot of people whose (-) people whose first language is English and (-) no. I wouldn't exclude it. Not at this point- like I said maybe in twenty years' time maybe we will all speak Spanglish or Manglish or Japenglish or-

1:03:38

[How would you feel about (-) teaching them to <u>understand</u> things like weak forms but not to produce them in their own speech or not to insist that they produce them in their own speech] I dunno I think it goes hand in hand. So I'd do both but sure I wouldn't force them to produce them. I wouldn't force (anyone) [I mean is that s- yeah how do you feel about that- not forci- not insisting that they produce s- s- certain things that aren't on this grid but that they be aware of them in receptive-] Yeah yeah that's fine. That's fine as well. That's fine. Because you can always speak the way you want to but you need to be able to understand the way other people speak so it's fine yeah.

listening to native speakers

21:19

[you kind of touched on something I was gonna ask you later which is that did you feel that anything particularly important was not covered in the grid. You mentioned connected forms but-] Maybe elision, maybe the intrusions, you know but- [but a- am I correct in understand that that's because they come up when your students listen to native speakers speak] Yeah. [In their <u>own</u> speech (-) they don't seem to use those-] No they don't [from what you've told me] No. And that's why it d- [Is that causing problems of understanding the other students do you think?] No. Because <u>none</u> of them- the majority of them do not use those things. And that's the problem I think because when they teach them wherever they come from they teach them this 'PR' or you know the grammatical forms of br- I dunno what they teach them but probably- you know the Japanese schools- they come here with perfect grammar scores and they can't put two sentences together. Usually. In most cases. So there must be some problem in the way English is taught in their countries to why they don't understand. For me you know first-hand experience again- it's very difficult to say because I had a private tutor since I was six and I went to England every summer since I was twelve so you know it's- I'm not a typical school product. So it's difficult for me to comment [that's OK I m- that's fine I- it's a- quite interesting to have your insight of learning English because the other participants in the study don't have that, they don't remember- as native speakers they don't have any recollection of learning the language] Of course yeah. [What I'm getting at is the difference between your students understanding native speakers and your students understanding each other. Do you see similarity or difference in those different types of intelligibility?] You see I can't tell you- I can't comment on that because I don't know what kind of problems they have when they speak with natives. So it's impossible for for you and me to comment [just f- no that's true I I mean from what they tell you does it seem like- and from what you observe in your lessons-] I think most problems are the (-) the weak forms the shortening or connecting- maybe together with speed of uttering the- of uttering the sentences. [When they listen to-] to the natives yeah. Because they would come up and they would say 'oh teacher teacher-' not 'teacher teacher' but '((participant's name)) she said yesterday 'if I would sa- seen" or something you know and I'm like "if I would seen' no 'if I'd have' or 'I would have seen' but they couldn't hear it you know so they so they come up with points as in 'no actually we're contesting what you told us' and I'm saying 'no actually you didn't hear it because you sometimes don't'. I mean <u>you</u> wouldn't- if I say 'I'd have told you' what did you hear. What did you really hear. [Yeah.] You <u>know</u> that I said 'I <u>would</u> have told you' but [mm but they don't know that.] No. [When they speak together they don't- are you saying they don't use those contracted forms weak forms] No. [Do they understand each other though when they speak together] Yeah they do. [Again w- w- uh differences of nationality backgrounds-] Yeah yeah they do they do but again because they're on the same level you know. They <u>don't</u> use the contractions. I was drilling them the weak form for you know for half an hour for sure and they all thought it was funny- 'What?!' [What what goal] Just to be able to go out and understand that sometimes if they just hear past participle for example it doesn't mean that somebody said something but that they should connect with the second part of the sentence and think about what was [fill in the gaps] missed in the first part yeah like fill in the gaps yeah. Just so that they are not like confused 'why why what who what'- just to to make them- so that it's easier for them to understand even if they don't understand everything you know. To fill the gaps yeah basically.

Appendix 6: Transcription conventions

Adapted from K. Richards (2003:81-2, 173-4).

normal text	normal speech
<u>underlined</u>	emphasis
.	falling intonation
,	rising intonation (e.g. unfinished or listing)
?	questioning intonation
[ ]	interjection by interviewer
italics	words in another language
‘ ’	quoted speech
/ /	phonemic or phonetic transcription
( )	uncertain transcription
(xxx)	unable to transcribe
(( ))	non-verbal features or interviewer’s observation
-	word cut off/changed
subscript	whispered
(-)	short pause
(+)	long pause

Interviewer’s back-channelling noises (e.g. ‘mm-hm’ or ‘OK’) have generally been omitted from the transcriptions where they were judged likely to prove distracting or irritating to the reader and did not affect the message being conveyed.

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