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'Mind your Local Accent'

Does accent training resonate to college students' English use?¹

Abstract

The recent development of English as a lingua franca (ELF) has encouraged language policy makers and educators to view the English language and ELT from an alternative but critical perspective that challenges some language ideologies, such as standard language and linguistic imperialism. Current ELT practices seem to neglect the trend towards the development of the global status of English. In addition, ELT is still largely native-oriented and less ELF-oriented. A Chinese university is the context of this case study. From an ELF perspective, this paper addresses some ELT issues, particularly with regard to teaching pronunciation, through the analysis of two documents and a discussion of the student participants' interview comments. It is argued that current pronunciation teaching is still native-oriented and based on the English as a foreign language (EFL) perspective. The ELF concept is emergent and has not been fully recognised. This paper proposes a teaching approach called Teaching of Pronunciation for Intercultural Communication (ToPIC), which suggests ELF-informed pronunciation teaching strategies for intercultural communication in relation to students' wider language-use goals in the conclusion.

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1. Introduction

In today's globalised world, the use and adaptation of English in various contexts is always a topic of debate, especially in the field of education. The global spread of English has generated some ideological concerns regarding whether the use of English in different domains is a sensible trend or if it generates further inequality as a means of 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson 1992). For example, Phillipson (1992: 288) argues that English as a dominant language creates 'the unequal power relations between English and other languages'. In this regard, the image of the dominant language (English) is being exalted, while other languages are being devalued. Therefore, the linguistic relationship between English and other languages reproduces 'English linguistic hegemony' (Phillipson 1992: 289).

The ideological concept of 'linguistic imperialism', of course, goes to an extreme and ignores the complexity of post-colonial discourses and socio-political contexts as well as the fact that people are not always forced to learn English (Bisong 1995; Brutt-Griffler 2002). They, however, can act as agents to use English in different international scenarios and intercultural communication settings. People also realise that it is not sensible to reject learning and using English – the de facto international language today – as it will deprive them of 'enriching interactions with multicultural communities and traditions through the English language' (Canagarajah 1999: 1).

Because English is used by more non-native English speakers of English (NNSE) than its native counterparts today (Graddol 2006; Sung 2011; Seidlhofer 2011), people tend to view the development of English from a global perspective, namely from the framework of World Englishes (WE) and English as a lingua franca (ELF). It is argued that from the paradigms of WE and ELF, the model of native speakers of English (NSE) is no longer the only arbiter for people who learn and use the language (Cook, 1999; Graddol, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2011; Widdowson, 1994). In the paradigm of WE, the development of New Englishes (Brutt-Griffler 2002; Kachru 1992a; Platt, Weber & Ho 1984) has reincarnated English with 'a new identity, a local habitat, and a name' (Kachru 1992b: 10). Thus, new varieties of English are being formed and codified as 'nativised' or 'indiginised' varieties of English, being adopted and used by local people in certain communities. In the paradigm of WE, English is no longer regarded as the sole property of NSEs (Dewey 2007; Widdowson 1994; Yano 2009).

Although as a breakthrough that early research of WE has moved the English language out from the traditional standard native ideology, being national-based, the WE model

still focuses on 'a narrow selection of standardized forms in particular communities' (Pennycook 2007: 21). The WE model, to some extent, fails to envisage the complex nature of the English language, as the types of English speakers are more dynamic than Kachru's original tripartite demarcation of ENL/ESL/EFL. By breaking a traditional notion of national boundary when describing the spread and development of English, the paradigm of English as a lingua franca (ELF) does not view English as a 'bounded entity' from the perspective of restricted community. In this sense, English is used from a more flexible and dynamic perspective 'among interlocutors with varied multilingual repertoires' (Jenkins 2015: 55).

ELF, therefore, resonates the current status quo of the use of English across national boundaries with speakers of different lingua-cultural backgrounds. Although some scholars criticise the concept of ELF from various perspectives, such as to misinterpret that ELF excludes the NSEs, or argue that ELF is another means to promote a 'fixed' variety (Canagarajah 2012; O'Regan 2015; Park & Wee 2014), they seem to neglect the essence of ELF research in which that current mainstream researchers of ELF focus more on the *function* of English, rather than its *form* and thus do not aim to codify ELF as a variety² (Cogo 2008; Dewey 2007; Mauranen 2012; Ishikawa 2015). With current linguistic landscape in mind, I would argue that English should be regarded from a plurilingual or multilingual perspective as 'ELF represents how the majority of English speakers actually *use* the language in their daily lives' (Jenkins 2014: 8). Recent development of ELF also realises the importance of viewing ELF in the paradigm of multilingualism, in which 'English as a Multilingua Franca' (Jenkins 2015).

Due to the global status of English and people acting as agents in English language learning, the concept of linguistic imperialism is being challenged. This paper will reflect upon the background of the diversity and fluidity of English as a lingua franca to investigate the current status of pronunciation teaching in China, with a focus on an optional pronunciation training course offered by a university in southeast China. This paper will critically review the documents related to college English teaching as well as this pronunciation training course to determine whether this pronunciation training course is based on the concept of English as a foreign language (EFL), and to what extent it would fit the ELF framework. I will first introduce the background of English in China and then discuss previous studies on accent attitudes in the Chinese context. By analysing the *College English Curriculum Requirements* (2007) and the syllabus of the

² Jenkins (2015) also comments in detail some misunderstandings of the nature of ELF and what ELF really is in its conceptualisation.

pronunciation training course, this paper will discuss in what ways the documents may or may not match the *status quo* of the development of ELF. Apart from document analysis, I will also present my interview data from Chinese university students who have experience taking the training course. Students' reflections on this pronunciation training course will be analysed to gain a more in-depth understanding of whether and how important students may need pronunciation training during their English learning journey, especially in regards to their future career and English use. Echoing the current ELT status in the Chinese context, this paper concludes by providing a pronunciation teaching approach against the framework of ELF.

2. English in China

China has the largest population of English learners or, from an ELF perspective, English users, with an estimated number of 400 million (Wei & Su 2012). From a WE perspective, China is an expanding circle country where English is used as a foreign language. Interestingly, scholars view the situation of English in the Chinese context from different perspectives. This distinction is particularly salient when debating whether a variety of English exists in China (see Hu 2004; Wang 2015; Yang & Zhang 2015). There is a continuous dispute in terms of whether English in China should be perceived from a WE perspective or from an ELF perspective as well (see Fang, forthcoming).

It should be noted that English is currently the first foreign language taught and learned in China. People realise the rising power of English in Asia (Cheng 2012) and, until recently, people have seen the importance of English learning for the 'international stature' of China (Lam 2002). As a language, English is linked to various aspects in Chinese people's daily lives, such as education, tourism, and job promotion purposes (Adamson 2004; Feng 2012). Today, it is not surprising to note that English has gained a prestigious status in various domains, with results that are mainly 'generated by the desire of the country for modernity and prosperity and of individuals for life opportunities' (Feng 2012: 365). This, however, also creates certain ideological concerns that the use and vogue of English in China may lead to the notion of 'linguistic imperialism', from which people will lose their local cultures and perhaps even the Chinese identity.

One the one hand, people understand that the use of English will help them to get closer and embrace the world against the backdrop of globalisation. English as a global language enables people to gain more opportunities and therefore maintain a competitive edge in their study and career. In this sense, English is thus regarded as a useful and powerful tool that is 'crucial to China's modernisation and increasing participation in globalised cultural, economic and political activities' (Hu & McKay 2012: 348). On the other hand, some scholars worry that merely the promotion of English in the Chinese context will result in negative impacts to undermine the Chinese culture and identity (Guo & Beckett 2007; Niu & Wolff 2003, 2007). Therefore, learning English may take too much time and too many resources for China, particularly if English itself is more valued than the Chinese language and culture (Yang 2006).

The debate of English learning in China will likely continue, as argued by Kirkpatrick (2006: 71), learning English today is 'a choice fraught with conflicts of ideologies and interests'. Fang (2015: 51) also points out that '[t]he situation of English in China is complex and is not simply a linguistic debate, but is more embedded in socio-political and ideological differences between the English language and Chinese culture and identity'. For example, the recent *Gaokao* (Chinese University Entrance Qualifying Examination) reforms in China have mandated that the weighting of the English exam will be cut from the original 150 to 100 points, while Chinese as a subject will increase from 150 to 180 points. Furthermore, the English subject is not to be placed in the traditional *Gaokao* examination system (*The Guardian* 2013; Zheng 2014). This can be interpreted as one means for the local authorities to promote the importance of the Chinese language and Chinese culture, but further investigation is still needed.

Under such linguistic background, it is worth investigating Chinese people's attitudes towards the spread of English in China. Previous studies have explored people's attitudes towards the development of a potential variety of English in China, namely China English, as well as how people perceive China English (CE) accents (Bian 2009; He & Li 2009; Hu 2005; Kirkpatrick & Xu 2002). In the following section, I will discuss some previous studies, which draw upon this concept, and provide a big picture of people's attitudes towards CE accents.

3. Researching China English Accents

A research gap in studies to investigate Chinese students' perceptions of their own English accents and other English accents in the ELF paradigm currently exists (see Fang 2015 for an empirical study of this concept). It is traditionally believed that CE, or Chinese accented English, is a type of linguistic interference of the L1. Previous research is based simply on the traditional research framework of second language acquisition (SLA), which prioritises the concept of native standard ideology. In this

sense, some argue the importance of abandoning a CE accent and the necessity to improve Chinese learners' English accents so they will sound more native-like (Fong 2009; Huang 2010). Some researchers have also researched the CE accent from the perspective of WE. Previous empirical studies indicate that it is still too early to stipulate CE as a variety of English (Xie 1995; Yang & Zhang 2015), as in general, native varieties of English seem to be perceived as a preferred model by Chinese learners of English (Evans 2010; Hu 2004; Kunscchak & Fang 2008), although students may not be able to distinguish the American and British versions of English (Xu, Wang & Case 2010).

In terms of CE accents, for example, Bian's empirical research (2009) discovers that Chinese students show a love-hate relationship towards a local CE accent. It is noted that in this study, although students may still perceive native standard accents as a benchmark in English pronunciation learning, they perceive complex attitudes towards their own CE accents. Some students even begin to challenge the authority of native accents and learn to tolerate their own CE accents. Therefore, Bian (2009: 73) summarises that 'students' pronunciation could be an educational resource to enhance their sense of control over this global language, and prepare them for their future identity of being legitimate English speakers at home and abroad'.

From an ELF framework, Jenkins (2007) investigates teachers' attitudes towards various English accents. Based on the data collected, she points out that although a CE accent receives low scores for its 'correctness, acceptability and pleasantness', perceptions of the CE accent are not quite consistent. Although quite a number of Chinese respondents and those whose first language is not Chinese describe CE as a pejorative term, some 'Chinese respondents were particularly positive about their own English accents relative to their overall ratings' (Jenkins 2007: 165). Similar to Bian's research findings, Jenkins's study also shows a concept of solidarity among some Chinese respondents about their own CE accent and their resistance to the entrenched native English accents.

Previous research has not indicated that CE accents impede intelligibility (Munro & Derwing 1995). However, given that even a heavily CE accent does not necessarily reduce the comprehensibility of L2 speech, there is still a potential 'mismatch between those learners' own accent goals and their ability to perceive accents' (Scales, Wennerstrom, Richard & Wu 2006: 735). It is again quite possible that Chinese learners and teachers are aware of the spread and use of English worldwide, while they may still feel that English should belong to those who speak it as a native language (Fong 2009; Hall, Wicaksono, Liu, Qian & Xu 2015; Hu 2005). However, some voices from teachers

and students may reveal that they do not oppose local English varieties being included as a legitimate part of the language curriculum (He & Li 2009; Hu 2005 – see also my interview data in section 5.2).

In sum, when addressing the concept of a CE accent, it can be concluded that at the current stage, most Chinese language learners still perceive their own English accents with reference to the native model from the perspective of English as a foreign language (EFL). This, however, may be attributed to reasons such as students' own learning experience, the power issue of the native standard model of English, and the English learning atmosphere in the Chinese context, 'where near-native standard has been for a long time implanted in the learners' brain' (Bian, 2009: 68). Therefore, I would argue the significance of researching language learners' attitudes towards the local CE accent in the Chinese context, as well as the model(s) and approach(es) used in pronunciation teaching. From the perspective of Global Englishes (GE), it is necessary to critically evaluate the current educational materials used in pronunciation teaching in China to further investigate the 'gap' between language teaching and language practice, and also to understand language learners' pragmatic needs of language learning (cf. Galloway & Rose 2015; Sung 2015; Wang 2013; Zheng 2013). In what follows, I shall move to my research context, a medium-sized university located in southeast China. All the data collected aim to understand the concept of pronunciation teaching in detail and to evaluate to what extent this course is ELF-friendly or is EFL-informed.

4. Methodology

4.1 Research Context

All the data were collected at a university located in Southeast China, where the English Enhancement Programme was initiated. All students who enrol in the university must take the English placement test, and they need to pass a certain level of English before graduation. The university has recruited many English teachers from abroad, and these instructors work together with Chinese teachers as a team to train students in English. The international teachers are from traditional inner circle countries such as the US and the UK, and also from outer and expanding circle contexts. Two-thirds of the Chinese teachers have studied or trained abroad, which expands the diversity of this teaching group. In addition to a traditional compulsory programme, the university also offers various components, such as intercultural communication, pronunciation training, IELTS

preparation workshops, and extracurricular activities, which provide a platform for students to practise their English after class.

The university is a multilingual context, where people speak several different Chinese dialects. Students come to this university from different provinces in China and realise the diversity of regional Chinese accents; they can all use Mandarin as a lingua franca for communication (also see Li 2006). The students also have enough exposure to different English accents through the diversity of their English teachers, some contact with international students and watching foreign TV series. Against this background, it is interesting to research how students perceive their own English accents, as well as how they evaluate a course of pronunciation training.

4.2 Participants

The university has offered courses in pronunciation training for undergraduate students across the whole university since autumn 2009. Recently, the programme was expanded, and pronunciation training was offered to Chinese postgraduate students. This research focuses on students who had experience with this pronunciation training course.

Students with experience taking the course were asked to voluntarily participate in a series of interviews. Two groups of students were interviewed during two different semesters. One group of students interviewed had taken the course in the 2012-2013 academic year; 5 of these students were interviewed in May 2013 at the near end of the course. Another group of 4 students was interviewed more recently in June 2015; at the time of the interview, all students had already finished this course. As students are not allowed to take the course twice (unless they fail the course), two different groups of students were chosen to be interviewed for comparison purposes and also to obtain a more detailed understanding of the course from the students' feedback.

4.3 Research Instruments

I adopted a qualitative approach for data collection. To investigate the related policy documents in relation to pronunciation teaching in China, two documents have been included for analysis. One is the *College English Curriculum Requirements*, which was published in 2007 (see section 5.1.1); I thus focus on the requirements, specifically on listening and speaking, to investigate to what extent this document is EFL-oriented or ELF-informed. The other document for analysis is the syllabus used for this

pronunciation training course (see section 5.1.2). Through document analysis, I shall determine the requirements, teaching objectives and teaching methods used in this course, which will help me further understand the current status of pronunciation teaching in China.

In addition to document analysis, face-to-face interviews were also adopted as another research instrument. As mentioned in the previous section, 9 students altogether were chosen to participate in interviews. The student interviews provided rich data for me to evaluate the pronunciation training course, as well as to guide me from an ELF perspective for further suggestions.

5. Data Analysis

5.1 Document Analysis

5.1.1 College English Curriculum Requirements

English is a compulsory subject in universities in China, which means that students of all majors must learn English and must also pass English exams to a certain level before they can obtain their graduation certificate³. Some universities in China require students to pass the College English Test (CET) Band 4, as a minimum requirement for students' English level before graduation. As a guidance, the revised version of the *College English Curriculum Requirements* (CECR) was published in 2007 with a detailed description of the requirements for college English teaching. The teaching requirements of the CECR are set at three levels, from basic requirements to advanced requirements. Based on the CECR (2007: 5):

The basic requirements are the minimum level that all non-English majors have to reach before graduation. Intermediate and advanced requirements are recommended for those colleges and universities which have more favourable conditions; they should select their levels according to the school's status, types and education goals.

Based on this background information, I will analyse some requirements of the CECR, especially the aspect of speaking skills and pronunciation teaching. We should also bear

³ At the current moment, the CECR focuses only on college English teaching to undergraduate students in China. Based on my current knowledge, the general English level for postgraduate students in China is yet to be published.

in mind that the objective mentioned in the CECR is worded as follows (2007: 5, my emphasis):

The objective of College English is to develop students' ability to use English in a *well-rounded way*, especially in listening and speaking, so that in their future studies and careers as well as social interactions they will be able to *communicate effectively*, and at the same time enhance their ability to study independently and improve their *general cultural awareness* so as to meet the needs of China's social development and *international exchanges*.

The objective described in the CECR will be used as a reference point to allow me to investigate the three levels of requirements in detail. I will refer to the objective and focus on the description of listening and speaking (in relation to pronunciation teaching), as these two skills are highly emphasised by the CECR, to discuss whether the requirements of the three individual levels resonate to the current linguistic landscape. Although the CECR is a timely guidance for ELT in China, it also has certain 'gaps' when viewed from an ELF perspective or, at the very least, a gap between English language *teaching* and *practice*. I will turn to the analysis of the CECR as follows.

In terms of listening skills, for both the basic and intermediate levels, the CECR requires students 'to be able to employ basic listening strategies to facilitate comprehension' (2007: 7) and 'should be able to understand, by and large, courses in their areas of speciality taught in English' (2007: 11). Interestingly, for the advanced level, students are required 'to follow talks by people from English-speaking countries' (2007: 13, my emphasis). Although it seems vague here to imply what 'English-speaking countries' means, it can be assumed that at a higher level, students are expected to understand the English produced by its native speakers (from a traditional perspective). It is true that at the current stage of ELT in China, students may have more exposure to native accents of English, such as mainstream UK and US English; however, this expectation is unrealistic and not sufficient as the aim of English learning because NSEs make up only a minority of the language's speakers. When viewing this concept from a broader perspective, it will be more possible for Chinese students to use English with other NNSEs in the future, even if they choose to study abroad after graduation. As English is used as a global language, understanding English produced by people from Englishspeaking countries is only one side of the coin. At a higher level, however, students should be expected to understand a variety of both native and non-native accents, including some regional native accents.

In terms of speaking skill requirements, the concept of 'correctness' is emphasised at both the basic and intermediate levels, as students are expected to produce 'correct pronunciation and intonation' (2007: 7). However, given the fact that English functions as an international language, it is not sensible to view English from a traditional dichotomy of correctness versus incorrectness. Interestingly, for the requirements of higher level English, this dichotomy seems to be abandoned (and may or may not be intentional). Although the concept of 'accuracy' is still retained, in the advanced requirements, students' language skills are emphasised, such as summary skills and presentation skills. It is mentioned that students should be able 'to make concise summaries of extended texts or speeches in fairly difficult language. They should be able to deliver papers at academic conferences and participate in discussions' (2007: 13). To some extent, the CECR may not realise the status quo of English thoroughly, although in advanced speaking requirements, the CECR tends to be more flexible compared to the basic and intermediate levels.

Based on the CECR, I would argue that the awareness of ELF should be raised to focus on developing language learners' overall listening and speaking skills and fostering students' skill of, say, sensitivity to English accents in terms of listening and accommodation strategies in terms of speaking. Sometimes a native accent is not a panacea for enhancing international intelligibility, because native English accents are not the most intelligible ones for intercultural communication (Deterding 2013; Smith 1992; Walker 2010). Therefore, as Piller (2002: 180) argues,

it seems inappropriate to treat L2 users as perpetual learners. [...] we cannot turn to native competence and performance as a measure of L2 proficiency because the expert L2 user is a multilingual while the typical native speaker is conceptualised as a monolingual.

5.1.2 Course Syllabus of a Pronunciation Training Course

Based on the CECR, the data analysis will further draw upon a pronunciation training course taught at a university located in southeast China. I hope to understand a perspective of pronunciation teaching by looking at the syllabus and asking students who have taken the course to provide feedback. In order to investigate the effectiveness of this programme, I will first analyse the syllabus of this course.

From the syllabus, the course description is as follows: 'This course focuses especially on pronunciation and Interpersonal skills. It helps students to become more competent, confident and effective in their overall communication skills'. This is sensible as there exists a stereotype that Chinese students lack confidence and interpersonal skills in communication. One of the reasons is that Chinese students tend to lack confidence in their own English accent when using English to communicate with other people. Therefore, a course like this seems significant to help students build confidence in the process of communication.

However, based on my knowledge, the course syllabus has some self-contradictions when addressing the issue of pronunciation teaching and the international status of English. Therefore, I believe that some aspects from the syllabus should be critically evaluated; otherwise, students will be misled and restricted their knowledge of the use of English worldwide, or they will not be able to build any confidence if the approach and guidance of instruction are still largely based on native standard ideology.

The syllabus also lists several goals of the course that students will need to achieve. One such goal is to '[i]dentify and *replace* pronunciation of sounds and words that are influenced by native tongue especially those that interfere with communication and enhance their ability to speak using easily intelligible English as international language (EIL) standard (my emphasis). Interestingly but not surprisingly, this goal states the importance of *replacing* students' local accents that are 'influenced by native tongue' (at least not 'interfered by'), as most of the pronunciation trainings will do and aim for. Here, 'native tongue' refers to students' local Chinese accents. Therefore, as clearly stated, local Chinese accents should be 'replaced' in this pronunciation training course. This led to the question of what the *ideal* (or *idealised*) accent(s) would be that would replace students' local accents – a British or an American accent? Or are there any other accents for which students need to replace their local CE accents with? Similarly, the following statement expects students to 'enhance their ability to speak using easily intelligible English as international language (EIL) standard'. This is quite tricky, as the concept of 'standard', in which people talk about the concept of English as an international language, tends to be avoided. It is noted that even from a traditional perspective of SLA or when dealing with concepts within the framework of EFL, the concept of 'standard' is still rather vague and disputable.

The syllabus addresses the phenomenon of English being spread worldwide and tends to avoid the trend to train students to sound like speakers of Received Pronunciation (RP), which, I believe, is a breakthrough compared to the current ELT situation in China.

Although RP may be regarded as the most prestigious accent model in the British Isles (McArthur 2002; Trudgill 2002), it is also thought to have lost the privilege it once enjoyed. Today, very few people in the UK speak a traditional model of RP, with numbers ranging from 3% to 5% (Trudgill 2002). This has made the notion of 'standard' vague, especially in terms of accent, when we look at the changing nature of a language. As Jenkins (2005: 150) argues, 'there is no such thing as a "standard" accent'. Fang (2015: 14) also argues: 'The ideology of standardisation has also been challenged because it is by its very nature ill-defined and can also lead to an overly simplistic understanding of the nature of language' (cf. Lippi-Green 2012; Milroy & Milroy 2012).

Moving on, I found that one of the 'teaching and learning methods' states that '[s]tudents listen to minimal pairs and other materials in *different accents* to improve their listening ability and knowledge of *other English sounds'* (my emphasis). The syllabus here reflects the concept of ELF as it states 'different accents' and 'other English sounds', although this needs further investigation to understand what 'different accents' and 'other English sounds' mean during the teaching process. However, similar to the CECR, one of the 'intended learning outcomes' is also restricted to the notion of 'correctness', as both '*correct* stress patterns' and '*correct* intonation' (my emphasis) are mentioned in the syllabus. Again, when looking at the paradigm of ELF, where the concept of intelligibility is advocated, it is neither necessary nor possible to mention the concept of 'correctness'.

In sum, through a discussion of the course syllabus, some components of understanding of the spread of English across the world (the concept of English as an international language and exposure to different accents) can be found. However, it is a pity that the concepts of 'standard' and 'native ideology' are still entrenched and a local CE accent is negatively perceived. In contrast, Graddol (2006: 87) has argued from an ELF perspective that the target model 'is not a native speaker but a fluent bilingual speaker, who retains a national identity in terms of accent, and who also has the special skills required to negotiate understanding with another non-native speaker'. This proposal is yet to be fully implemented in the current ELT in the Chinese context.

5.2 Interview Data Analysis

In order to understand students' feedback regarding this pronunciation training course, two series of interviews were conducted. The first interview series was carried out by the researcher in May 2013 amongst students who were taking the pronunciation

training course during that time⁴. The second interview series was conducted by a colleague of the researcher two years later in May 2015. The students who participated in this series of interviews had finished the course and were at the time taking a different course related to Global Englishes (GE). A profile of these students can be found in **Table 1**.

Table 1: Profiles of Students for Interviews (all pseudonyms)

Interview Series	Student Participants	Gende r	Major	Length of Interview
1	Thomas	М	Law	21:58
1	Andrew	М	Business	12:46
1	Ruby	F	Business	19:54
1	Eva	F	Journalism	10:51
1	Tiffany	F	Journalism	18:51
2	Wendy	F	Journalism	67:22
2	Rosaline	F	Journalism	49:30
2	Carrie	F	English	58:09
2	Vincent	М	English	58:40

5.2.1 Class Experiences and Outcome

In general, students who had experience taking the pronunciation training course provided positive feedback for their course experience. In terms of the teaching content, students mentioned that they learned both *segmental* and *suprasegmental* components of pronunciation. However, some students responded that the class outcome had not been the same as expected, as the students had not been able to improve their pronunciation and speaking skills. For example, while Eva mentioned that she is more confident and willing to use English after the course, Ruby and Tiffany seemed to perceive a negative perspective:

⁴ The interview lengths are rather short in the first interview series, because this was a second round of interviews focused on students' feedback of the pronunciation training course only. The first round of interviews in 2013 concentrated more on students' attitudes towards their own and other English accents (see Fang, 2015 for more detail).

Excerpt 1

- 1. Researcher: erm based on the class itself (1) based on what you expect and your experience do
- 2. you have some new ideas ermh towards pronunciation do you have any change as
- 3. what you had before
- 4. Tiffany: er:: i could pronounce the sound before (1) but did not to pay much attention and:: not
- 5. too sensitive. yes not too sensitive. but after attending this class i become VERY sensitive
- 6. (...) and when i listen to other people reading i feel that he or she should correct
- 7. something
- 8. Researcher: erm
- 9. Tiffany: yes (.) it is. and (.) and after attending this class i feel that i could not speak @@@
- 10. because this class is really XXX. every time when i read i feel (1) er (.) i pronounce the
- 11. word wrong. i would go back again. what happen (.) i should be reading quite fluently
- 12. but again (1) again (.) i have to improve everything

It is good that Tiffany developed her sensitivity to sounds, which I believe is a positive outcome. Interestingly, Tiffany mentioned that she 'could not speak' after attending this course as she was afraid that she would pronounce a sound in a wrong way. Tiffany laughed to show her embarrassment at her own pronunciation after taking the course, which indicates that Tiffany felt less confident and fluent in her accent after being drilled and corrected for her own English. This outcome does not match the course description or the purpose of the course (see 5.1.2).

One positive aspect of this course, however, is that students may find the course helpful for them to master some basic knowledge on phonology, such as stress, pause, and intonation, as well as some presentation skills, like body language. In terms of pronunciation training, Ruby mentioned that she had difficulty pronouncing th- sounds, as 'every time I would read and then stop to put my tongue out to practise; it is quite complicated every time when I read the word I cannot (1) pronounce in a natural way'. Although th- sounds have been argued not to be a must for international intelligibility (Deterding 2013; Jenkins 2000), they are still a major focus of pronunciation instruction.

Wendy, a student who was interviewed in 2015, also brought up this situation. She mentioned that in this pronunciation training course, the teacher would intentionally correct students' th- sounds. When she pronounced /ð/ to /d/, for example, this would

be corrected by the teacher. Echoing the course description in relation to English as an international language and the hope for students to be exposed to different accents, I would argue that this teaching approach is still native-oriented; even the lecturers of this pronunciation training are not from inner circle countries. Wendy also mentioned another key aspect, in that 'we are Chinese, and we do not have th- sound in Chinese. [...] I am more used to pronouncing the /ð/ sound to the /d/ sound because I feel more comfortable @@@'. This comment, however, is more ELF-oriented and also reflects her resistance to the native ideology and the native-oriented approach of pronunciation instruction.

Another student, Rosaline, who was interviewed in 2015, commented that her pronunciation training teacher's accent is not 'standard': 'I do not really like my teacher's English accent. [...] Every time I can hear her local L1 accent at the end when she finishes reading each sentence'. Later in the interview, Rosaline also mentioned her pronunciation teacher and said that she 'advertised her accent as standard @@', but 'I could not understand her accents at the beginning'. However, after being taught about the concept of GE, she developed a new perspective of English accents: 'Personally, I do not feel that English should sound like British or American'.

Similarly, Carrie and Vincent, both majoring in English, had similar experiences when talking about their own pronunciation course designed only for English major students. The pronunciation course designed for English major students in China also focuses more on pronunciation drilling to eliminate students' own L1 accents. Again, after taking the course related to GE, they understood the concept of their own CE accent in relation to identity, although they still have a negotiation process to their own English accents and may have conflicts with their target accent(s)⁵. It must be pointed out that I do not blame the pronunciation training course itself; however, I would argue that this type of course should strive to raise students' language awareness, rather than drilling students' pronunciation for the purpose to 'improving' or 'correcting' their pronunciation (see the *Discussion* section in more detail).

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⁵ I believe that students who major in English have the option to choose their own accent aspiration to be more native-like depending on their use of English in the future. However, they should also be trained to understand and develop an awareness of ELF.

5.2.2 ELF Approach in Pronunciation Instruction

The question of whether an ELF approach can be adopted in pronunciation instruction was asked in the first series of interviews. Based on these interviews, 4 out of the 5 students were positive towards the idea of adopting an ELF approach in pronunciation instruction. Although Andrew mentioned that it is acceptable to employ an ELF approach, he pointed out that American and British English are still the targets of many Chinese learners of English. As a student who took the pronunciation course, he believed that British English accents are still promoted by the teacher. Tiffany was a little hesitant in her answer: 'yes, but in fact I would (1.5) I would learn (1) American accents myself afterwards'. By contrast, Eva seemed to support the idea of adopting an ELF approach in pronunciation instruction, by saying 'it is all right. [...] It is not necessary to limit the scope of learning a certain accent of a certain country'. Thomas also supported the idea of adopting an ELF approach in pronunciation instruction, and he responded to the question in a confident manner.

Excerpt 2

- 1. Thomas: this idea i believe (.) should (.) can be accepted in general
- 2. Researcher: erm=
- 3. Thomas: =because a language will be different (1) in different countries to have changes. you
- 4. can say that in spain there is spanish english. so (1) it always it will generate certain
- 5. difference in the certain language. therefore if if (.) people from different parts of the
- 6. world come to communicate together it needs a (1) err:: the so-called same (.) same
- 7. language inclined to its standard [language
- 8. Researcher: [erm
- 9. Thomas: in fact teaching based on this should (.) should be supported should be supported. After
- 10. all the majority of us are those students (1) not in very high level. so in terms of the
- 11. learning process it (.) we should first solve the err:: similarities then to solve certain
- 12. problems. for example you learn (.) voice and accent and you have good good
- 13. foundation in terms of certain aspects of accent
- 14. Researcher: erm

Thomas viewed the concept of accent variety and the purposes of communicating with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. He also understood the

importance of the idea that Chinese people will use English for various purposes in their daily lives. He believed that the inclusion of an ELF-oriented approach in pronunciation teaching would be helpful for international communication purposes. When having contact with people from different backgrounds, a restricted 'native-oriented approach' might not be useful as language contact should constantly undergo negotiation and accommodation to fulfil the communication purposes. Of course, further research will be needed regarding when an ELF-oriented approach into pronunciation teaching could be accepted in the Chinese context.

Ruby, however, seemed to be against this idea. She was the only student amongst the 5 who only accepted that American and British English accents have their power. It seems that a native-oriented ideology is still rooted in her mind.

Excerpt 3

- 1. Ruby: but currently american and british english (.) they are quite (.) aren't they
- 2. Researcher: erm=
- 3. Ruby: =why do we need to have a lingua franca. aren't american and british english lingua franca (...)
- 4. Ruby: it needs time to see whether this kind of accents can be promoted. if you (.) like (.) cannot
- 5. promote such accent it is the same as american or british english. but (1) you cannot
- 6. impose the idea that people from different countries should learn the lingua franca.
- 7. Researcher: erm=
- 8. Ruby: = i think it is meaningless [because (.)
- 9. Researcher: [ermh
- 10. Ruby: american and british English are already there (.) there for a long time. (it is like) err
- 11. people (1) people will listen to them even they do not learn english
- 12. Researcher: erm
- 13. Ruby: and (1) in fact you develop a new lingua franca and you cannot be sure every country
- 14. can accept it. for example if all the textbooks will be changed into this then:: i think (.) it
- 15. is quite meaningless and (1) and if this lingua franca can be applicable in the america.
- 16. how about in britain. if it is and american or british english will be downfallen [@@@
- 17. Researcher: [ermh

It seems that Ruby took it for granted that British and American English are the two 'standard' versions of English; thus, she did not want to learn other types of English. It is interesting that she realised the power issue, which was evidenced by her mentioning that if an ELF approach is adopted, native speakers of English will lose their power. In spite of her stance not to accept the idea of employing an ELF-oriented approach in pronunciation teaching, Ruby mentioned some relevant issues: the recognition and acceptance of this approach, and how textbooks should be redesigned to be more ELF-friendly.

In sum, based upon the interview data, it is noted that in general, this pronunciation training course provides students with an option to practise their pronunciation. The design of the course also aims to help students develop their communication skills. However, pronunciation drilling might not be as helpful as other skills such as presentation skills, when evaluating the course. In terms of the ELF-oriented approach of pronunciation teaching, students seemed open to this idea, although they had certain dilemmas in relation to how this idea could be accepted and applied. Nevertheless, it could be claimed that a critical pedagogy does not have a say in this pronunciation training class, and little ELF awareness is recognised.

From an ELF perspective, we need to consider whether all the features of pronunciation are equally important and if some commonalities observed in ELF research may even enhance intelligibility (Deterding 2013, personal communication). To some extent, students' language awareness is more important to be included in a pronunciation course, but it seems that students who are taking this specific pronunciation training course have yet to develop such awareness. At the current stage, although teachers might feel 'safe' to teach from an EFL-perspective and reluctant to adopt an ELF-oriented approach in pronunciation instruction, there is need to consider whether ELF-oriented teaching 'might interfere with intelligibility, or whether conversely it might actually enhance the ease with which speakers can make themselves understood in international settings' (Deterding 2013: 9).

6. Discussion

I have analysed the two documents related to pronunciation teaching in China, and presented students' interview comments of a pronunciation training course. In general, the CE accents and students' own English accents are viewed in a negative way, which should be eliminated from the perspective of pronunciation training. From a critical perspective, a native-oriented ideology is still quite entrenched in the pronunciation

training course, even though the idea of English as an international language is mentioned. Students may gain some positive aspects when practising their pronunciation from the pronunciation course; however, based on some student interviews, we realise that the class outcome might not always match the class description and objectives mentioned in the syllabus. The pronunciation course creates an image that the students' own CE accents are a 'burden' for their English learning, resulting in the constant correction of students' pronunciation. In this way, students need extensive drilling on their pronunciation. Thus, viewing this issue from a critical perspective may create adverse consequences.

In an EFL framework, students are trained to eliminate their own L1 accents. This may create a false image in terms of accent attitude and pronunciation instruction. The concept of an ELF-oriented approach of pronunciation training was welcomed by a majority of students during the interview. At the current stage, there are few guidelines for an ELF-oriented approach, so there is always a mismatch between ELF theory and the actual practice of teaching pronunciation (Lippi-Green 2012; Kuteeva 2014; Moyer 2013). It seems that native English accents are the de facto reference in the majority of current pronunciation training, as they are still mistakenly disguised as more intelligible than non-native English accents.

In terms of adopting an ELF-oriented approach in pronunciation teaching, I would argue that a longer process will be required to develop both language teachers' and students' awareness, as 'until awareness of ELF is more widespread, most learners of English will assume that the only meaningful goal is native-like pronunciation' (Walker 2010: 61).

7. Implications

As a case study, this research indicates that even though the global status of English has been acknowledged by language teachers and learners, the current practice of ELT, including pronunciation teaching in this research, still heavily relies on a native-oriented perspective. Therefore, I shall offer some suggestions to create a more ELF-friendly environment and approach for ELT, particularly for pronunciation teaching. Echoing Kumaravadivelu's argument of 'post-method' language teaching (2003, 2006), including the concepts of *particularity*, *practicality* and *possibility*, I call for a shift in ELT to be more ELF-oriented for international communication. Although there are some further issues in terms of how an ELF-oriented approach can be applied in a pronunciation curriculum, I propose a pronunciation teaching approach called ToPIC (Teaching of

Pronunciation for Intercultural Communication) that is based on the 'post-method' approach (see Fang 2015 for more detail).

First and foremost, echoing the concept of 'particularity', language teachers should fully understand the culture and context of teaching. This will require teachers to know their students' language learning needs and goals. For example, Deterding (2013) mentions a de-contextualised pattern-drilling method of pronunciation teaching in China and adds that teachers often do not know which features of pronunciation may create communication problems. Here, the concept of 'particularity' draws upon the importance of the opportunity of English learners to reconsider the issue of the idealised image of a native speaker. Learners will also be given a chance to explore the concept of English as a world language and to develop a critical perspective towards native-oriented language ideology, as the world is multilingual and has much linguistic diversity. It is vital for both language teachers and learners to be sensitive to teaching contexts, as well as to the future possibilities and opportunities for learners who need to use English in their careers. As we can see from the data, current ELT documents are still guite native-oriented, and this lack of ELF-oriented textbooks thus creates the pitfall that learners should only imitate native accents of English. Therefore, although reforming and challenging, it is suggested that textbook designers include the components of multilingualism to critically evaluate the current teaching materials and to realise the situation that 'English is being used in the larger social context and design curricula that are in keeping with the English demands of the students' (McKay & Bokhorst-Heng 2008: 196).

Second, the concepts of 'practicality' and 'possibility' require both teachers and students to raise language awareness on the global status of English and develop new attitudes towards it to put these new theories into practice. For example, WE and ELF theories should be included in the pronunciation training course. From this perspective, ELT would no longer be restricted to an EFL paradigm. It is hoped that both teachers and students would understand the current linguistic landscape and could develop a critical linguistic awareness in terms of pronunciation teaching. Furthermore, professional development is key for language teachers — many English language teachers in China have few opportunities to update their theories and understandings in relation to ELT — thus keeping an outdated understanding of English and an ineffective teaching approach in relation to students' wider language-use goals. Therefore, I argue that both pre-service and in-service teachers should receive education and training on updated theories in relation to ELT. From this perspective, the concept of 'possibility', which reinforces teachers' and students' conversations, will become more meaningful, as

teachers will understand what and how to teach for the purpose of negotiating and coconstructing language learners during the language learning process. It should also be noted that the ToPIC approach does not view NE accents as an ultimate goal for learners of English; however, the concept of 'communicacy' (Sussex & Kirkpatrick 2012) and others, such as 'willingness to communicate' (Peng 2014), 'accommodation strategies and communication skills' (Cogo 2009; Jenkins 2000; Kubota 2015), for example, should be focused on during the process of pronunciation training to develop language learners' global awareness.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion, this research draws upon the issue of pronunciation teaching from an ELF perspective. Based on document and interview analysis, it is found that the concept of a native-oriented approach is still quite entrenched in teaching practice, while students do welcome a more ELF-friendly approach in pronunciation teaching. In fact, a native-oriented approach does not adequately assist students with their English learning; this method may even create an adverse effect as it neglects the fact that students are likely to have much contact with NNSEs when using English in the future. From an ELF perspective, I propose an approach called ToPIC in pronunciation teaching that I hope will create a more ELF-friendly approach in ELT from a global perspective. It requires language educators and language learners to revisit the teaching context, learning objectives, models and norms of ELT, to critically challenge the entrenched native ideology and to develop a pluricentric perspective to raise language learners' awareness of the diversity of English and accommodation skills when teaching and using English (Dewey 2012; Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2011).

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