

“Kattokaa nyt missä se kieli on”

English and French teachers' views
on pronunciation and its teaching

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract Tutkielman tarkoituksena oli selvittää, mitä mieltä suomalaiset englannin ja ranskan opettajat ovat ääntämisen roolista kieltenopetuksessa, ja millaisin keinoin he tukevat oppilaidensa ääntämisen oppimista. Alan kansainvälisessä tutkimuksessa olettautuu usein, että opettajat opettavat omaa äidinkieltään, joten halusin tällä tutkimuksella myös selvittää, miten suomalaiset kieltenopettajat kokevat oman roolinsa opettamiensa kielten ei-syntyperäisinä puhujina. Tutkielma on luonteeltaan laadullinen, ja sen aineisto kerättiin haastattelemalla viittä opettajaa, joista jokainen opettaa tai on opettanut sekä englantia että ranskaa, joko peruskoulu- tai lukiotasolla. Haastattelut toteutettiin puolistrukturoituina teemahaastatteluina ja ne nauhoitettiin ja litteroitiin. Tämän jälkeen niiden sisältö analysoitiin teemoittain sisällönanalyysin menetelmiä käyttäen. Teemat valittiin tutkimuksen neljän tutkimuskysymyksen perusteella. Tutkielman tulokset osoittavat, että haastateltavat pitävät ääntämisen roolia tärkeänä sekä englannin että ranskan opetuksessa, etenkin kielenoppimisen alkuvaiheessa. Ääntämisen oppimisen tärkeimpänä tavoitteena haastateltavat pitävät ymmärrettävyyttä, ja heidän mielestään opetuksessa on tärkeää painottaa sekä yksittäisiä äänneitä että prosodisia piirteitä. Ranskan ja englannin erilaisista rooleista johtuen informaalilla oppimisella on suurempi merkitys englannin kuin ranskan ääntämisen omaksumisessa. Tämän vuoksi ranskan ääntämisen oppiminen painottuu enemmän luokkahuoneeseen, ja tuen tarve on suurempi. Perinteisten metodeiden kuten ääneen lukemisen ja virheiden korjaamisen lisäksi opettajat kertoivat ääntämisen opettamisessa käyttävänsä mm. erilaisia pari- ja ryhmätyöskentelytapoja, kuten pelejä. Englannin ja ranskan ei-syntyperäisinä puhujina opettajat kokevat ymmärtävänsä oppilaidensa vaikeuksia syntyperäisiä puhujia paremmin. Toisaalta he pitävät omien ääntämistaitojensa ylläpitämistä ja kehittämistä tärkeänä, jotta he voivat toimia hyvänä ääntämismallina oppilailleen.	
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION	5
2 TEACHING PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH	7
2.1 Pronunciation in language learning and teaching.....	7
2.1.1 Importance of pronunciation in language learning and teaching.....	7
2.1.2 Contents of pronunciation teaching.....	8
2.1.2.1 The nativeness principle and the intelligibility principle.....	9
2.1.2.2 Segmental and suprasegmental features.....	10
2.1.2.3 Choice of pronunciation models	11
2.1.3 Methods of teaching pronunciation.....	13
2.1.4 Goals of teaching pronunciation	14
2.1.4.1 Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR)	15
2.1.4.2 Finnish national core curricula	17
2.2 Scaffolded assistance	20
2.2.1 The zone of proximal development and scaffolding.....	20
2.2.2 Feedback and error correction.....	21
2.3 Previous studies	22
3 THE PRESENT STUDY.....	28
3.1 Aims and research questions	28
3.2 Participants	29
3.3 Data collection.....	29
3.4 Methods of analysis.....	31
4 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	32
4.1 Role of pronunciation in teaching	32
4.1.1 Importance of pronunciation	32
4.1.2 Goals of pronunciation teaching	35
4.1.3 Contents of pronunciation teaching.....	40
4.2 Assisting learning of pronunciation	43
4.2.1 Methods in the classroom.....	44
4.2.1.1 Text-based methods	44
4.2.1.2 Error correction	49

4.2.1.3 Pair and group work	51
4.2.1.4 Devices and teaching aids	53
4.2.1.5 Pre-existing knowledge	54
4.2.1.6 Associations and visualisations	56
4.2.2 Classroom atmosphere	58
4.2.3 Formal and informal learning.....	61
4.3 Teaching pronunciation as a non-native teacher	66
4.3.1 Role of the teacher's own pronunciation skills	66
4.3.2 Maintaining the teacher's pronunciation skills	68
4.3.3 Advantages of being a non-native teacher.....	70
4.3.4 Disadvantages of being a non-native teacher.....	73
5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY	81
APPENDIX: Interview structure.....	85

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: Phonological control.....	16
TABLE 2 Objectives of instruction	19

1 INTRODUCTION

Pronunciation is the major contributor to successful spoken communication, and how anyone learning a language can expect to be understood with poor pronunciation skills is outside of our comprehension (Setter and Jenkins 2005: 13).

The previous quote from Setter and Jenkins effectively summarises the role of pronunciation in language learning and teaching, and provides a starting point for the present study. Pronunciation is arguably one of the most complicated aspects of learning a language. Even though it is closely related to the theoretical framework provided by the fields of phonetics and phonology, it is also affected by factors such as personality, motivation and attitudes. Despite its role in all spoken communication, the importance of pronunciation has often been questioned, unlike that of other areas of language, such as grammar or vocabulary. Some of its aspects have also been considered “unteachable” or even “unlearnable”.

Pronunciation has also been an important topic for me personally, both as a language learner and as a future language teacher. Like most other language learners, I have struggled with foreign sounds and tried to practice features such as intonation and rhythm to make my speech sound more natural. Yet I have accepted that sounding like a native speaker is probably an unattainable and unnecessary goal.

Out of professional interest, I chose to deal with the pronunciation of both English and French in this study. Like most language teachers in Finland, I will teach more than one language. Therefore I felt that including two languages would better prepare me for my future professional life and enable me to draw comparisons between the two languages. From point of view of Finnish, the pronunciation of both English and French can be considered relatively difficult and highly irregular. The roles that those languages have in Finnish society are very different, and therefore, Finns tend to be more accustomed to hearing English than French. English pronunciation is thus often considered “easy”, whereas one often hears claims of French pronunciation being “impossible to learn”.

The purpose of the present study is to find out how Finnish teachers of English and French feel about pronunciation and its role and importance in language learning and teaching. I also aim at discovering how the teachers assist their pupils in learning pronunciation and how they feel about their own capability to assist that learning as non-native speakers of the languages.

The present study begins with a theoretical background. Its first section discusses the importance of pronunciation in language learning and teaching as well as its contents, methods and goals. The second section provides a description of the concept of scaffolded assistance, whereas the final section looks at previous research on the topics of this study, both in Finnish and international contexts. Chapter three presents the methodology of the present study. It describes the aims and research questions and provides information on the participants, the data collection process and the methods of analysis. In chapter four, the results of the study are presented along with extracts from the interviews. The final chapter summarises the most important aspects of the study and discusses its results in relation to previous research.

2 TEACHING PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH

This chapter provides a theoretical background for the present study. In its first section, I will discuss the role of pronunciation in language learning and teaching and present some of the main pedagogical questions of the field. In the second section, I will present the concept of scaffolded assistance, which is central in the process of providing pupils with effective assistance in the classroom. In the last section, I will introduce previous studies that function as background information and provide points of comparison.

2.1 Pronunciation in language learning and teaching

In this section, I will first discuss the importance of pronunciation in language learning and teaching. I will then move on to the contents of pronunciation teaching and the choice of pronunciation models. Thirdly, I will discuss methods of pronunciation teaching. The final part will present the official goals of pronunciation teaching as described in the Finnish National Core Curricula and the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

2.1.1 Importance of pronunciation in language learning and teaching

Pronunciation, according to Tergujeff (2013: 9), has a crucial role in successful communication, and it often creates the first impression of a speaker's overall language skills. Yet it is an aspect of language to which many teachers give very little attention, partly because of their lack of knowledge of phonetics, partly because they are unsure of whether their own pronunciation is a suitable model (Brown 1991: 1). Compared with aspects such as grammar and vocabulary, second language pronunciation has also been a rather neglected aspect in research, and teaching materials and practises have often been influenced by common-sense intuition (Derwing & Munro 2005: 380).

Most second-language (L2) learners, however, are aware of the social dimensions of accents, and therefore are motivated to improve their pronunciation skills (Leather

1999: 1). As Brown (1991: 1) states, learners often feel that having a poor pronunciation constitutes a major barrier in gaining success in English.

Learning pronunciation does not necessarily have to mean learning a native-like accent, though, since foreign accents can also be viewed more positively. According to Lauret (2007: 13), they are a welcome part of our linguistic diversity, provided they do not disrupt intelligibility. Even though a strong accent can be an important aspect of a speaker's identity, it can, unfortunately, lead to interlocutors concentrating on *how* something is said instead of *what* is said (Lauret 2007: 19). As Dalton and Seidlhofer (1994: 4) state, especially native speakers of a language, upon hearing a new person, quickly start making value judgments based on the way he or she speaks. These judgments can also apply to pronunciations that are considered too native-like: Dalton and Seidlhofer (1994: 7) mention that an L2 speaker who attempts to speak with a native-speaker accent can even be seen as an "intruder who is claiming solidarity without warrant".

At any rate, the importance of pronunciation in determining a language learner's overall proficiency should not be underestimated. As Brown (1991: 1-3) states, even a fluent, advanced-level learner, who uses grammatically correct structures and suitable vocabulary, can be unintelligible if his or her pronunciation is poor. A learner can, in his or her speech, avoid complex grammatical structures and difficult vocabulary, but this is not the case with pronunciation. Instead, all the sounds of a language are usually needed also at the very earliest stages of learning. Kalmbach (2007: 191) questions the utility of learning complicated verbal structures, for instance, before learning the pronunciation skills that are needed to actually be understood in real communicative situations.

2.1.2 Contents of pronunciation teaching

In this section, I will first present the nativeness and intelligibility principles that affect pronunciation teaching and its contents. I will then move on to discussing segmental and suprasegmental features and their importance. Finally, I will discuss the choice of pronunciation models.

2.1.2.1 The nativeness principle and the intelligibility principle

According to Lewis (2005: 370), two contradictory principles, the *nativeness principle* and the *intelligibility principle* have long influenced pronunciation teaching and research. The former principle, which was dominant until the 1960s, holds that achieving native-like pronunciation is possible and desirable, while the latter holds that simply being understandable is the main goal (Lewis 2005: 370). Although there is much evidence against the nativeness principle, Lewis (2005: 370) notes that it still affects pronunciation teaching and learning. Many learners, for example, want to “get rid of” their foreign accents, and many teachers, similarly, see native-like accents as the ideal. Most pronunciation materials that are currently available also follow the nativeness principle (Lewis 2005: 371).

Dalton and Seidlhofer (1994: 6) support the intelligibility principle by pointing out that it is important to remember that what is presented as a reference pronunciation cannot be equal to what the learners are expected to achieve themselves. According to Nation and Newton (2009: 78), it is extremely unlikely, though not impossible, for anyone else but young children to reach a native-like level in pronunciation. Instead of aiming at this mostly unattainable goal, the emphasis should therefore be on the aspects of pronunciation that are the most crucial to intelligibility, i.e. on the features that carry a high *functional load*.

Derwing and Munro (2011: 316) claim that research has focused too much on the strength of a foreign accent and the accuracy of production, even though it is intelligibility that is the most important factor for successful communication. They add that although there is much research on error prediction, much of it can be considered pedagogically insignificant, since not all features that pose difficulty for learners are actually worth teaching (Derwing and Munro 2011: 317).

As Prator (1991: 18) argues, it can be problematic to define the concept of intelligibility too, since it depends on so many different factors, both linguistic and non-linguistic. Li (2009: 105) mentions that L2 learners of English actually often find it easier to understand the foreign accent of someone with a linguistic background

similar to theirs, in comparison to listening to native speaker varieties or the accents of other L2 learners. Yet it would probably not be acceptable to have Finnish English, for example, as the model of imitation for learners in Finnish schools. Derwing and Munro (2011: 318) underline that before a teacher can set priorities, it is essential for him or her to define intelligibility and understand how it can be achieved.

2.1.2.2 Segmental and suprasegmental features

The main contents of pronunciation teaching can be divided into *segmental features*, i.e. the individual sounds of a language and *suprasegmental features* that include features such as intonation, stress and rhythm. These two groups, however, are closely intertwined. One cannot speak without rhythm or intonation, and these suprasegmental features also affect the quality of the individual phonemes (Laroy 1995: 39).

According to Laroy (1995: 39), suprasegmental features have often been considered *unteachable*. He argues that intonation and rhythm can be “focal points of personal resistance to learning” since the intonation and rhythm of one’s first language are linked with one’s identity (Laroy 1995: 39). Setter and Jenkins (2005: 2) also note that suprasegmental features, even more than other aspects of pronunciation, operate on a subconscious level, and are therefore not easy to manipulate. The role of suprasegmentals in interaction, however, is crucial. As Tergujeff (2013: 26) points out, they seem to affect intelligibility more than the accurate production of individual phonemes.

Tergujeff (2013: 10) particularly stresses the importance that intonation has in communication: its various functions include conveying emotion, interest, doubts and attitudes, signalling emphasis, helping the interlocutor to recognise grammatical structures and giving turn-taking cues. Cruttenden (2008: 324) notes that dividing sentences into intonational phrases, for example, can make a learner’s speech sound more “natural and lively”, whereas long sequences of low-level syllables can even make a speaker sound “bored and surly”.

Despite their role in achieving a natural, native-like pronunciation, the importance of suprasegmental features in international communication has also been challenged (Jenkins 2000; Lewis 1999). The findings of Kang and Moran (2014), for example, provide evidence for the importance of segmental features. They point out, however, that certain segmental deviations (e.g. replacing /ð/ with /d/) do not carry a high functional load and should not be considered errors that affect intelligibility (Kang and Moran 2014: 184).

2.1.2.3 Choice of pronunciation models

As Brown (1991: 8) states, native-speaker varieties have traditionally been the accents that have been used as the model for imitation, but he goes on to question whether this can still be justified, taking into account the growing number of non-native English speakers. He is especially against the use of Received Pronunciation (RP), since the number of people who actually use it is so limited. Morris-Wilson (1992: 14) has an opposing view and strongly advocates the use of RP, arguing that it is “the most carefully and fully described of all British accents” and therefore “the most preferable one for Finnish learners to learn”. However, American and international varieties of English have probably gained more prominence in Finland during the past two decades, so today, Morris-Wilson’s views might be considered somewhat dated.

Since intelligibility is generally accepted as a priority in pronunciation teaching today, the role of native varieties can be questioned. Derwing and Munro (2011: 317), for example, argue that choosing native-like pronunciation as the goal can actually lead to a situation in which pronunciation is not worth teaching, since achieving that goal is very unlikely. Deterding (2005: 425) also argues that relying on prestigious pronunciation models such as RP can hinder learners’ ability to understand normal spoken language. He suggests that learners should also get exposure to Estuary English and other nonstandard accents that they are likely to encounter when interacting in English with people from different countries (Deterding (2005: 438).

Li (2009: 82) stresses the role of English as a means of international communication, and so argues for the use of a variety better adjusted to the actual needs of the learners. As Brown (1991: 8) states, the traditional idea has been to teach non-native learners to communicate with native speakers, but today, more emphasis should be placed on the situations in which non-native speakers converse with other non-native speakers. Sharifian (2009: 2) argues that when considering the *international* and *intercultural* nature of English in the modern world, no single variety should be chosen as a *lingua franca*.

To be able to concentrate on the most important issues, Jenkins (2002) proposes a pronunciation syllabus for English as an international language, the primary motivation of which is the intelligibility of non-native speakers of English, rather than native speakers, which has traditionally been the case. She presents what she calls the Lingua Franca Core, a set of phonological and phonetic features that are crucial for intelligibility in international contexts. She emphasizes the importance of tonic stress and the aspiration of consonants, for example, but suggests that some common features, such as the weak forms of short words, need not be covered in classroom. She actually goes on to argue that the use of full vowels instead of the schwa sound in words such as *to* and *was* makes speech more intelligible (Jenkins 2002: 98).

According to Wachs (2011: 191), the choice of variety is an important topic of discussion in the teaching of French, too. She questions the status of standard French as the sole norm, but she notes that most learners want to speak “good French”, i.e. a variety without a strong foreign accent.

One of the reasons for choosing a native-speaker variety as a model for imitation is their prominent role in most teaching materials. As Sharifian (2009: 9) says, the image given of native speakers in most textbooks is extremely positive, so learners will more easily want to mimic their accents. It has to be noted, though, that regardless of their origin, most learners also have more favourable attitudes to native-speaker accents such as RP than to their own, local accents (Llurda 2009: 123).

For language teachers who themselves are non-native speakers, the situation might be delicate. According to Llorca (2009: 129), they often consider themselves permanent learners, who are most likely never going to attain their personal goals of learning a native-speaker like accent. As Baxter (1991: 52) argues, the conceptions that a language teacher has about the language and his or her own role as its speaker are central within the teaching process. A teacher who is unsure of his or her own qualities as a language user is, after all, unlikely to project the needed confidence onto the student either. Llorca (2009: 131) encourages non-native teachers to assume the role of rightful language users by reflecting on their personal experiences on multilingualism and multiculturalism, and by emphasizing intercultural communication instead of concentrating on national cultures.

2.1.3 Methods of teaching pronunciation

Lauret (2007: 14-15) highlights that the nature of pronunciation is different from other aspects of language: learning vocabulary and grammar mostly involves processes of memorization and logic, whereas learning pronunciation is above all about physical performance. In order to learn the pronunciation of a foreign language, a learner needs to develop both his or her *perceptive* and *productive* competences, that is, he or she both needs to be able to distinguish sounds from others and to utter them in his or her own speech. Phonetic explanations, used as a method of teaching, can help students produce the sounds that are new to them, but as Abercrombie (1991: 89) argues, teachers should remember that what they are teaching is pronunciation in practice, not phonetics as such.

Wachs (2011: 191) stresses the role of motivation and attitudes. According to her, it is important for the teacher to evoke interest in the sounds of the new language. She states that pupils must be willing to learn to be able to succeed, so it is crucial to build their motivation and discuss the negative attitudes that they might have about pronunciation.

Baker (2014: 146) divides pronunciation activities into three main groups: controlled activities, guided activities and free activities. Controlled activities, which include

listening tasks, explanations, examples, checking activities, etc. have traditionally been the core of pronunciation pedagogy, and many of them are still valued by teachers (Baker 2014: 153). Although they can be advantageous to learners, Baker notes that their dominant role in the classroom might raise some concerns. The use of more communicative activities coupled with controlled ones could, according to Baker (2014: 154), be more effective and better prepare learners for using pronunciation features in authentic conversations. Guided activities include preparation for projects, mutual exchange activities, learner feedback activities, etc., whereas free activities include presentations, discussions and the use of games and drama (Baker 2014: 147).

Careful consideration is needed when choosing pronunciation activities. As Laroy (1995: 5) puts it, some of the traditional methods such as drills can often make learners hate or even fear the study of languages and thus even inhibit their speaking. Lauret (2007: 159) discusses another widely used method, reading aloud, and points out that it is a difficult activity even for many native speakers. He adds that pupils need to be given time to prepare if the teacher wishes to get a realistic picture of their pronunciation skills.

The question remains of whether everything that has to be learnt also has to be taught, since many, according to MacCarthy (1991: 299), believe that it is possible to acquire a good pronunciation simply by being in contact with the language. In the case of English, in particular, learners are usually exposed to the Anglo-American media also outside of the classroom. As the time available for pronunciation instruction is usually quite limited, MacCarthy stresses the importance of spending it usefully.

2.1.4 Goals of teaching pronunciation

This section provides a description of the official goals of pronunciation teaching. Firstly, I will introduce the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, which is important, since its principles are applied to the teaching of all

foreign languages in Finnish basic and upper secondary education. I will then present the key objectives as defined by the national core curricula for those levels.

2.1.4.1 Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR)

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (abbreviated CEFR) is a comprehensive set of guidelines published by the European Council in 2001. It provides descriptions of the goals, methods and contents of language teaching and definitions of different levels of language proficiency (CEFR 2001: 1). The CEFR (2001: 24) divides language learners in three main groups based on their skills: *basic users (A)*, *independent users (B)* and *proficient users (C)*. Each of these broad level groups is further divided into two levels, e.g. *effective operational proficiency (C1)* and *mastery (C2)*.

The CEFR (2001: 116) includes a chapter on phonological competence that presents some of the aspects to be taken into consideration in the teaching of pronunciation. In addition to the individual *phonemes* (sound units) of the language and their features and realisations in particular contexts, the list also includes *prosodic features* such as word and sentence stress, rhythm and intonation. Some more advanced features of phonetic reduction are also mentioned, e.g. vowel reduction, strong and weak forms and assimilation.

The idea of the CEFR (2011: 117) is that it can be applied to the teaching of any language. Therefore, it does not explicitly state which specific features should be included at different stages of learning. Instead it suggests that its users consider what phonological skills are required and whether it is more important to place more emphasis on individual sounds or prosody. It also leaves open the question of whether phonetic accuracy and fluency are an appropriate goal for beginning language learners.

Although the CEFR does not provide an explicit list of features that should be included in teaching, it includes a detailed description of the *phonological skills* that learners should have at each of the levels presented earlier. These descriptions are

presented in full in Table 1. The levels that are relevant for this study will be discussed more thoroughly in Section 2.1.4.2.

TABLE 1. Phonological control (CEFR 2001: 117).

	PHONOLOGICAL CONTROL
C2	<i>As C1</i>
C1	<i>Can vary intonation and place sentence stress correctly in order to express finer shades of meaning.</i>
B2	<i>Has acquired a clear, natural, pronunciation and intonation.</i>
B1	<i>Pronunciation is clearly intelligible even if a foreign accent is sometimes evident and occasional mispronunciations occur.</i>
A2	<i>Pronunciation is generally clear enough to be understood despite a noticeable foreign accent, but conversational partners will need to ask for repetition from time to time.</i>
A1	<i>Pronunciation of a very limited repertoire of learnt words and phrases can be understood with some effort by native speakers used to dealing with speakers of his/her language group.</i>

As Table 1 shows, the CEFR suggests that the learning of phonological skills is a process that continues progressively until a learner has reached the level of *effective operational proficiency (C1)*. The criteria for that level and the level above it (C2) are quite demanding: in addition to mastering the phoneme-level pronunciation of the language, a learner of those levels is expected to be able to “vary intonation and place sentence stress correctly in order to express finer shades of meaning.” Occasional mispronunciations are only permitted until level B1, after which the criteria do not mention mispronunciations at all. This can be considered a challenging goal even for the most advanced learners, especially in languages like English, whose phonological system includes lots of irregularities.

2.1.4.2 Finnish national core curricula

The core curricula published by the Finnish National Board of Education define the key objectives and core contents of teaching in basic education and general upper secondary education. Based on these national curricula, education providers and schools then formulate their own, local-level curricula (Finnish National Board of Education: Curricula and qualifications n.d.).

The National Core Curriculum for Basic Education that is in effect at the time of the study was confirmed in 2004. A reformed version, confirmed in 2014, will be introduced in schools in August 2016. The present version of the core curriculum for general upper secondary education was confirmed in 2003.

The main objective of foreign language teaching, according to the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2004: 138), is to prepare learners for communication situations. It is stated that pupils should get accustomed to using their language skills and understand the importance of varied communicative practice. Despite these goals, there is only one explicit mention of pronunciation in the core curriculum: in grades 7 to 9, pupils should become aware of some of the main differences between different variants of English (Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2004: 141). This only applies to English, though – different variants of other languages are not mentioned. This is probably due to the role that English has as a world language, but the curriculum ignores the fact that French, too, is spoken in different ways in different countries and regions.

The core curriculum for general upper secondary education includes no explicit mentions of pronunciation at all, although it also emphasises the importance of communication (Lukion opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2003: 100). The absence of pronunciation in the curriculum might be justified by the assumption that learners have already reached a relatively good level in pronunciation during basic education. Yet it contradicts the goals defined in the CEFR: as mentioned in the

previous chapter, the learning of pronunciation is supposed to continue until level C1.

The role of pronunciation is slightly more explicit in the newly reformed version of the core curriculum for basic education (Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2014: 245). It mentions “basic rules of pronunciation” in the objectives for grades 3 to 6, both in English and in other languages. This is, nevertheless, the only change. The objectives for grades 7 to 9 are similar to the present version: only awareness of the different variants of English is mentioned (Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2014: 401).

Although there are very few explicit mentions of pronunciation in the curricula, they clearly state the levels that pupils are supposed to attain in each of the four core skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. The levels are based on the Finnish application of the Common European Framework of Reference (presented Section 2.1.4.1), and their descriptions of oral skills also include phonological features. The Finnish version of the common reference level table differs from the original version in that each level is further divided into two or three sub-levels, e.g. *first stage of elementary proficiency* (A1.1), *developing elementary proficiency* (A1.2) and *functional elementary proficiency* (A1.3) (Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2004: 280).

The objectives of instruction for speaking skills are presented in Table 2. In Finnish schools, most pupils study English as an “A language”, i.e. they start learning it in the lower grades of basic education, most commonly in third grade. B1 and B2 languages are started in grades 7 to 9, whereas B3 languages are started in upper secondary school.

TABLE 2. Objectives of instruction (speaking skills).

	Grades 3-6	Grades 7-9	Upper secondary school
English A	A1.3	A2.2	B2.1
Other languages A	A1.2	A2.1	B1.1
English B1	-	A1.3	B1.2
English B2	-	-	B1.1
Other languages B2	-	-	A2.1-A2.2
English B3	-	-	A2.2
Other languages B3	-	-	A2.1

Let us first look at the objectives of “English A”. As can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, at the end of the sixth grade, pupils are expected to have level A1.3 speaking skills. This means that their pronunciation “can be understood with some effort by native speakers used to dealing with speakers of Finnish”. At the end of ninth grade, the objective is to have reached level A2.2, meaning that pupils’ “pronunciation is generally clear enough to be understood despite a noticeable foreign accent”. As Tergujeff (2013: 12) states, the goal for upper secondary school pupils (B2.1) is already very ambitious. Learners of that level are supposed to have acquired “a clear, natural, pronunciation and intonation”.

Because of the widespread role of English in Finnish society, its learning objectives are somewhat higher than those of other languages. Nevertheless, the objectives of other languages, e.g. French, are also quite ambitious. As Table 2 shows, learners of “French A” are expected to be one sub-level below English learners in their speaking skills during basic education. At the end of their upper secondary education, they are expected to have level B1.1 speaking skills, meaning that their pronunciation is “clearly intelligible even if a foreign accent is sometimes evident and occasional mispronunciations occur”.

French is also relatively popular as a B3 language, meaning that pupils start learning it in upper secondary school. As can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, the goal set for those three years of learning is to reach level A2.1 in speaking skills. As it was mentioned above, pupils' pronunciation at that level should be "generally clear enough to be understood despite a noticeable foreign accent".

2.2 Scaffolded assistance

Effective assistance in a foreign language classroom is a complicated process. As Hakamäki (2005: 11) states, it is not enough for teachers to get their pupils on tasks and present content – there also has to be collaborative interaction between the teacher and the pupils. Hakamäki also points out that teachers need to understand the mechanisms of discourse that they use in interaction to be able to provide effective assistance.

In this section, I will first introduce the concepts of zone of proximal development and scaffolding. I will then discuss one form of scaffolding – giving feedback – in more detail, since feedback, especially corrective feedback, has traditionally had a prominent role in pronunciation teaching.

2.2.1 The zone of proximal development and scaffolding

According to Vygotsky (1978: 90), an essential feature of learning is creating the *zone of proximal development* (abbreviated ZPD), which means that "learning awakens a variety of internal developmental processes that are able to operate only when the child is interacting with people in his environment and in cooperation with his peers". The idea of the hypothesis, according to Vygotsky (1978: 90), is that actual development lags behind learning, and this sequence results in zones of proximal development. To summarise, Vygotsky (1978: 87) states that "what is in the zone of proximal development today will be the actual developmental level tomorrow".

Based on Vygotsky's concept, Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976: 90) coined the term *scaffolding*, defining it as a "process that enables a child or novice to solve a problem,

carry out a task or achieve a goal which would be beyond his unassisted efforts". Wood et al add that in the scaffolding process, the adult "controls" those elements of the task that are beyond the learners' capacity, which allows the learner to concentrate on the elements that are within his or her competence. Scaffolding not only leads to a successful completion of the task – Wood et al point out that it can also help learners develop their competence faster than they could without assistance. The metaphor was first used to describe the mother's role in the development of a child's first language, but it has later been applied to L2 learning (Hakamäki 2005: 47).

Hakamäki (2005: 45) summarises the role of scaffolding, stating that it expands the learner's range and allows him or her to achieve a task that would otherwise not be possible. She also notes that scaffolding is a tool that should be used *selectively*, only when learners need help in achieving a task. In pronunciation teaching, the role of the teacher's assistance is thus important especially in the beginning of the learning process.

2.2.2 Feedback and error correction

Feedback, according to Hakamäki (2005: 18), is among the most widely studied aspects of L2 classroom interaction. Its importance is undeniable in pronunciation teaching too – as Baker (2014: 157) points out, teachers need to understand how to provide constructive feedback on their pupils' pronunciation. Feedback, as Askew and Lodge (2000: 1) state, is a complex notion that is usually understood too narrowly in the dominant, common-sense discourse. Askew and Lodge themselves define feedback as "all dialogue to support learning in both formal and informal situations". They present three different models of feedback: the *receptive-transmission* model, the *constructivist* model and the *co-constructivist* model (Askew and Lodge 2000: 3–12). In the receptive-transmission model, the teacher gives feedback and the learner has the passive role of a recipient. In the constructivist model, it is the learner who constructs knowledge himself or herself, and knowledge is related to the learner's own experiences. In the co-constructivist model, learning is seen in a more

collaborative way, and the relationship between the teacher and the learners is less hierarchical. Carnell (2000: 60) recommends the use of constructivist and co-constructivist strategies by pointing out that when learners see themselves as active participants, they are likely to become more committed and learn more effectively.

Corrective feedback especially has been a major question in L2 pedagogy, and there are different views on whether errors should be corrected and whether correction actually leads to learning (Hakamäki 2005: 19). As Champagne-Muzar and Bourdages (2008: 81) point out, this is the case in pronunciation teaching too, and there is no clear answer to the question of which pronunciation errors should be corrected. Therefore, the teacher has to make decisions based on the needs and the skills of the pupils. Champagne-Muzar and Bourdages (2008: 85) state, however, that teachers should always avoid correcting mistakes when pupils are producing spontaneous speech.

Setter and Jenkins (2005: 12) also argue that the whole notion of error should be readdressed. They note that the emergence of international varieties of English has reduced the importance of “accent reduction”. Instead of paying attention to pronunciation errors, they think that it is now important to develop accommodation skills and make messages clearer for all listeners.

2.3 Previous studies

According to Tergujeff (2013: 13), research on English pronunciation teaching has mainly focused on the context of English-speaking countries. In Finland, the first major study on the topic was conducted by Tergujeff (2013), but Iivonen (2005) and Lintunen (2004) have previously criticised pronunciation teaching in Finland. According to Iivonen (2005: 46), less attention is paid to phonetics than to other aspects of language, and the focus is mainly on teaching the new phonemes of the foreign language. In this section, I will introduce previous research on the topics of this study. I will start with Finnish studies and then move on to presenting some recent international research.

Tergujeff (2013) studied English pronunciation teaching in Finnish schools from primary school to upper secondary school level. She conducted a textbook analysis, a survey for teachers, classroom observations and learner interviews. Her research suggests that teachers mainly rely on traditional methods such as reading aloud, imitation and phonetic training when teaching English pronunciation (Tergujeff 2013: 46).

The focus of English pronunciation teaching, according to Tergujeff (2013: 47), is mostly on the segmental level, i.e. the individual sounds of the language. There seems to be very little explicit training on suprasegmental features, and that training mostly focuses on listening tasks involving word stress (Tergujeff 2013: 48).

Härmälä, Huhtanen and Puukko (2014a) conducted an assessment of learning outcomes for the long syllabus of English in 2013. The study did not focus on pronunciation specifically, but pupils were assessed according to the scale of the Common European Framework of Reference, which also includes criteria for the pupils' phonological skills. In total, 3,479 ninth-grade pupils from 109 different schools participated in the study, and their skills were assessed using listening and reading comprehension and writing assignments. 1,500 pupils also participated in a test of speaking skills.

The results show that Finnish pupils' English speaking skills are generally very good: in speaking skills, 77 per cent of the pupils attained the level of *good performance* (A2.2 or better), and 64 per cent of them attained the level of *excellent performance* (B1.1 or better) (Härmälä et al 2014a: 53). The results thus confirm that although the official goals are quite ambitious, pupils generally reach the level they are expected to reach. The study suggests that one of the factors influencing these results is the pupils' interest in using the English language outside of school (Härmälä et al 2014a: 12). Four out of five pupils listen to English language music daily, and almost half of the pupils watch English language films or videos every day (Härmälä et al 2014a: 143).

A similar study by Härmälä and Huhtanen (2014b) confirms that in French, the role of informal learning is less important, and the pupils' use of French outside of school

is less frequent. Only half of the pupils studying the long syllabus of French stated that they sometimes listen to French language music, and two thirds stated that they sometimes watch French films (Härmälä et al 2014b: 131). According to Härmälä and Huhtanen (2014: 8), it would be important for French teachers to strengthen their pupils' confidence in their own skills and encourage them to use French more during their free time, too.

Hakamäki (2005) studied scaffolded assistance provided by the teacher during whole-class interaction. Her study focuses on grammar instruction episodes, but the data, which comprises of 11 audio and video recorded English lessons, also includes instances of the teacher correcting pronunciation mistakes.

Hakamäki (2005: 315) suggests that assistance is effective when it enables the pupil to carry out a task himself or herself. Thus, effective assistance changes gradually according to the pupils' needs, and teachers should also avoid assisting too much. According to Hakamäki (2005: 301), it would also be important to pay more attention to the organisation of instructional episodes, so that instead of merely evaluating what a pupil says, the teacher gives him or her a chance to participate actively. By encouraging learners to participate in the teaching-learning process and by providing opportunities for speaking, the teacher can raise the pupils' confidence (Hakamäki 2005: 303).

Baker (2014) studied the connection between the cognitions and the pedagogical practices that teachers use when teaching English pronunciation. She used interviews, classroom observations and learner questionnaires to study the practices of five American English teachers. Her study reveals that the teachers most frequently used controlled, teacher-centred techniques instead of more communicative free techniques (Baker 2014: 136). Three main beliefs about pronunciation instruction emerged from her data (Baker 2014: 150). Firstly, the teachers believe that learners must be able to hear a feature before they can produce it themselves in comprehensible speech. Secondly, they believe that including kinaesthetic and tactile techniques in pronunciation teaching can make it more enjoyable and even reduce learner anxiety. Thirdly, the teachers believe that

pronunciation is a relatively boring topic to teach. Baker (2014: 155) believes that this can be due to overroutinisation and the teachers' lack of training in pronunciation teaching.

Based on her findings, Baker (2014: 157) stresses that in addition to providing clear explanations and giving constructive feedback on learner pronunciation, teachers need to value L2 learners, their identity and their willingness to acquire comprehensible pronunciation. Since the teacher can be an important source of motivation for learners, his or her beliefs and attitudes form an integral part of the learning process.

Kang and Moran (2014) studied the functional loads (abbreviated FL) of pronunciation features in the oral assessment of non-native speakers. They studied the speech files of 120 learners who had participated in the Cambridge ESOL General English Examinations, and analysed the segmental errors in their speech. The results of their study reveal that although both high FL and low FL errors decrease as the learners' proficiency level increases, the decrease is more dramatic in high FL errors (Kang and Moran 2014: 182).

The study of Kang and Moran provides support for the functional load hypothesis, and the authors suggest that the focus of pronunciation teaching should be on the phonemes that carry a high functional load (Kang and Moran 2014: 185). Kang and Moran also stress that although errors can make learners' speech accented, they do not always affect intelligibility.

Saito and Lyster (2012) investigated the effects of form-focused instruction and corrective feedback on Japanese English learners' pronunciation development. Their study, which focuses on the English /ɪ/ sound, suggests that using recasts (repetition of the answer in its correct form) to explicitly correct pronunciation errors can be effective for pronunciation development. According to Saito and Lyster (2012: 626), form-focused instruction can be beneficial both at controlled speech and spontaneous speech levels. They state that the teacher's immediate feedback is important for two reasons. Firstly, learners need to receive feedback on the

intelligibility of their pronunciation, and secondly, they need the teacher's model pronunciation to then be able to practice the correct form (Saito and Lyster (2012: 627).

Trofimovich et al (2009) conducted a two-year comparative study of the L2 pronunciation development of grade 3 and grade 4 English learners. They examined the learning outcomes of pupils attending an experimental, comprehension-based program and those of pupils attending a more regular language learning program. In the experimental program, the emphasis was on comprehension before production, and the pupils were exposed to a large quantity of high quality spoken and written input, but there was virtually no speaking practice. The results of the study show that after one year, there was no difference in the accuracy or fluency of the two groups, but at the end of the second year, the results of those attending the regular program were slightly better (Trofimovich et al 2009: 632).

As the study of Trofimovich et al (2009: 635) reveals, pupils can succeed in sounding accurate and fluent even without guidance by a teacher. The authors are unable to identify the exact reasons that contribute to these learning outcomes, but they do mention some beneficial aspects of comprehension-based learning. Firstly, the focus is on learner independence and autonomy, so pupils can progress at their own pace. Secondly, there is almost no interaction, so pupils are not under pressure to perform. The lack of interaction also means that pupils are not exposed to incorrect pronunciation of their peers. Instead, all the input they receive is in the form of high-quality recordings spoken by native speakers. Trofimovich et al (2009: 635) admit that implementing a purely comprehension-based language teaching program could prove difficult, but they highlight the usefulness of many of its aspects in any language instruction.

Couper (2006) studied the effectiveness of pronunciation teaching by conducting a study on the immediate and long-term effects of explicit pronunciation instruction. After a two weeks' teaching period, the participants' error rate dropped from 19,9% to 5,5%, and in the post-test, conducted three months later, the error rate rose to 7,5% (Couper 2006: 55). The participants were high-intermediate level English learners,

and they were tested on relatively advanced phonetic features (epenthesis and absence), but Couper (2006: 59) suggests that the results can be transferred to other contexts, too.

Based on his study, Couper (2006: 59) provides teachers with some guidelines for effective pronunciation teaching. He suggests that the teacher needs to make pupils aware of the difference between their own speech and that of native speakers. To help learners hear and practice that difference, the teacher needs to find the right metalanguage, give feedback and provide opportunities for practice.

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

In this section, the present study, its aims and methods are presented in detail. Firstly, I will present the motivations and aims of the study along with the research questions. I will then move on to presenting the participants of the study and the data collection process. Finally, I will discuss the methods used in analysing the data.

3.1 Aims and research questions

The purpose of this study is to examine English and French teachers' opinions on pronunciation, its role in classroom and their own role in assisting pupils in learning pronunciation. The teachers who participated in this study represent the lower and upper grades of basic education and upper secondary school. In international research on pronunciation teaching, it is often assumed that a teacher teaches his or her own native tongue. In Finland, however, most foreign language teachers are themselves non-native speakers of the languages they teach. It is interesting to see whether this affects the methods of pronunciation teaching or the role given to pronunciation in classroom.

More specifically, the research questions are as follows:

1. What is the role of pronunciation in teaching a foreign language according to teachers of English and French?
2. What kinds of methods do teachers of English and French use to assist learning pronunciation?
3. Are there differences in the needs or methods of assistance between English and French?
4. How do teachers feel about their own capability to assist learning pronunciation as non-native speakers of those languages?

3.2 Participants

To make adequate comparisons possible, I chose to only interview teachers who teach or have recently taught both English and French. Due to the descending popularity of French at comprehensive school and upper secondary school levels, however, the number of such teachers is quite limited, and most of them teach mainly English. These reasons considerably narrowed down the group of possible interviewees, but a total of five teachers volunteered to participate.

All the participants are female and they all work in comprehensive schools and/or upper secondary schools in Central Finland. They are all native speakers of Finnish and have studied either English or French as their major subject in university. All the teachers are of different ages and thus have different levels of teaching experience.

Three of the teachers, Terttu, Anita and Lotta, currently teach students at lower secondary and upper secondary school levels. Terttu has been working as a language teacher for more than 40 years, Anita for more than 30 years and Lotta for a bit more than 10 years. One participant, Marjaana, currently teaches at primary school level only, and her teaching career has lasted for more than 20 years. The fifth participant, Pauliina, has been teaching for approximately 10 years and she currently teaches upper secondary school students.

Terttu, Anita, Lotta and Marjaana currently teach both English and French. Pauliina currently teaches English only, but she has previously been teaching French, too. The names of all the participants have been changed in order to ensure their anonymity, which was also explained to them prior to the interviews.

3.3 Data collection

Since I wanted to study teachers' in-depth opinions and views on the topic, I chose a qualitative approach for my study. By using a questionnaire, I could have reached a wider group of teachers and received a more generalizable set of data, but instead, I chose to use interview as the data gathering method. The main reason for this was

that an interview enables more extensive answers than a traditional question sheet or a digital survey. Its conversational nature and flexibility also permit further questions, specifications and interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 75).

A theme-based interview was used, which means that although the topics and themes had been predetermined (see Appendix), the exact form and order of the interview was flexible. As Dufva (2011: 133) expresses it, the situation was let to develop like a normal conversation. On the one hand, this allowed the interviewees to elaborate on the issues they regarded as particularly important or interesting. On the other hand, it made the interviews quite different from each other and thus complicated the objective comparison of answers. As Dufva (2011: 134) points out, interview is a 'doubly subjective' method. Firstly, one of its main purposes is to bring out the interviewee's voice and his or her own point of view. Secondly, the things mentioned by the interviewee are filtered and selected by the researcher. Thus, the main task of the researcher is to try to understand the interviewee, which, according to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002: 70) is the quintessential purpose of all qualitative research.

The interviews were conducted between March and May 2013, at the respective workplaces of the participants. To avoid all possible confusions and to create a relaxed, conversational atmosphere, the interviews were conducted in Finnish, the native tongue of the participants. All the participants had beforehand been informed of the general topic of the interview, but they had not been provided with the exact set of questions. Each interview lasted for 33 to 53 minutes, and they were all digitally recorded and later transcribed. According to Dufva (2011: 139), it is important to accurately transcribe what was said, without correcting mistakes or making the language more formal. This principle was followed in the transcription process. The focus of this study is on the contents of the interviews rather than on the interviews themselves. Therefore I chose not to include details such as lengths of pauses or intonation in the transcription.

3.4 Methods of analysis

Content analysis was chosen as the method for analysing the data. After completing the transcription process, the first step was to carefully familiarise myself with the data. I then started processing the data according to the principles presented by Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002: 93). Firstly, I thoroughly re-read all the interviews and marked down all the passages that I considered relevant in relation to the research questions. Secondly, I transferred those passages into a separate file and omitted all the parts that were not related to the research questions. Finally, I grouped the passages according to different themes and the research questions of the study. This categorisation, according to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002: 103), is the most critical phase of the analysis, since it involves the researcher's subjective consideration of which expressions belong to same categories.

As mentioned above, one of the main purposes of qualitative research is to highlight the voice of the participants. To make this possible, I chose to include passages from the original interviews in my study. These examples are presented alongside my own interpretations and conclusions to strengthen the analysis. Although my analysis includes comparisons, the main aspiration was to try to understand what the topic means to the interviewees and to present it from their personal point of view (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 115).

4 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will present the findings of the present study. The analysis is divided into three main sections. Firstly, I will discuss the role of pronunciation in the teaching of English and French. I will then move on to discussing the methods of assistance used in pronunciation teaching. Finally, I will discuss pronunciation teaching from the perspective of non-native teachers.

To give more prominence to the interviewees' point of view, extracts from the original interviews are included as examples alongside my analysis. Since the original extracts are in Finnish, English translations are provided immediately after them. Square brackets have been used in cases where additional words were necessary to make the extracts clearer.

4.1 Role of pronunciation in teaching

This section covers the first research question that aims at defining the role of pronunciation in teaching foreign languages. I will firstly discuss the teachers' views on the importance of pronunciation in language teaching. I will then move on to their opinions on the goals of pronunciation teaching. Finally, I will discuss what contents they consider particularly important in pronunciation teaching.

4.1.1 Importance of pronunciation

The teacher's own attitude towards pronunciation almost certainly affects the role that is given to it in his or her teaching. Therefore I think that it is justified to start with the interviewees' thoughts on the importance of pronunciation. All five teachers who chose to participate in this study seem to show particular interest in phonetics and phonology. They all also agree on the importance of pronunciation and think its role is essential in teaching and learning of both English and French. Three major arguments supporting this view arise from the interviews.

The first argument emphasises the connection between pronunciation and oral comprehension: according to the interviewees, one cannot really learn to understand spoken language without first learning its pronunciation. Lotta discusses this in extract (1):

- 1) Lotta: Onhan se [ääntäminen] hirveen tärkeä koska eihän sitä kieltä voi oikeen ymmärtää jos ei se ääntäminen ole kunnossa.

Lotta: It [pronunciation] is really important, since you can't really understand a language if you don't know the pronunciation.

Secondly, the interviewees mention the importance of pronunciation in spoken interaction. They state that intelligible pronunciation is a prerequisite for successful communication and one's pronunciation can also play a major role in creating the first impression on his or her overall language skills:

- 2) Terttu: Pelkästään se että painottaa hirveen paljon väärin, se tekee niin raskaaks sen kuuntelemisen että ei oikeen osaa keskittyä siihen sisältöön.

Terttu: Merely making lots of errors in stress, it makes listening so hard that you can't really concentrate on the content.

As Terttu explains in extract (2), speech that contains lots of errors in stress, for example, can also be hard to listen to, which can make it more difficult to concentrate on what the speaker is trying to say.

The third major argument stems from the curricula. Phonological skills are included in the objectives of instruction and therefore should also be evaluated. Marjaana discusses this in extract (3), stating that a teacher cannot really evaluate something that has not been covered in his or her teaching:

- 3) Marjaana: Se on myöskin siis ihan opetussuunnitelman mukainen arvioitava asia, ja miten voin arvioida asiaa jota en opeta, en mitenkään.

Marjaana: It is also an aspect that has to be evaluated, according to the curriculum, and how can I evaluate something that I don't teach, I can't.

In spite of these arguments, four of the interviewees also admit that they often spend too little time on pronunciation, lack of time being the main reason for this. Terttu, however, argues in extract (4) that no matter how much time it takes, it is important that pupils learn good pronunciation in the beginning of their language studies.

- 4) Terttu: Vaikka aikaa kuinka paljon menis siihen ni kyllä oon pitäny ihan valtavan tärkeenä, koska sitte ku ne oppii sen siinä alussa, ni sitte niistä tulee hirveen hyviä, ettei tarvi [myöhemmin] kiinnittää hirveesti huomiota.

Terttu: No matter how much time it takes, I think it's extremely important, because when they learn it in the beginning, they become really good, and you don't have to pay so much attention to it [later].

Terttu's view is supported by Pauliina, who in extract (5) presents a problem encountered at upper secondary school level. She explains that many of her pupils who have not achieved sufficient pronunciation skills during basic education have difficulties in changing the way they speak later:

- 5) Pauliina: Tuntuu että niillä on tosi vaikee tässä vaiheessa sitte vaihtaa sitä, että kun ne on jollain lailla tottunu puhumaan, ni kyl se vaikeutuu iän myötä ehdottomasti.

Pauliina: It seems that it's really difficult for them at this stage to change it, when they're used to speaking in a certain way, so it absolutely gets more difficult when you get older.

Lotta discusses how the different roles that English and French have in society can affect the role of pronunciation in extract (6):

- 6) Lotta: Kyllähän se molemmissa kielissä on tärkeä, se on vähän erilainen, ehkä johtuu siitä että englantia kuitenkin yleensä on, kuulee, lapset kuulee sitä enempi, niin se tulee vähän enempi tuolta ulkopuolelta se ääntäminen jo, kun taas ranskan kielessä se ei niinkään, sitä ei kuulla, ja silloin se tulee enempi täältä luokasta, ja se on silloin melkein tärkeempi se ääntämisen merkitys.

Lotta: It's important in both languages, it's slightly different, maybe it's because there is usually English, you hear, children hear it more, so the pronunciation comes a bit more from the outside already, whereas in French not so much, you don't hear it so much, and then it comes more from the classroom, and then the importance of pronunciation is actually bigger.

Lotta explains that pupils hear English in their everyday lives considerably more than French, which means that they are already more accustomed to its pronunciation. Learning of French pronunciation, in contrast, is heavily dependent on the input they receive in the classroom.

In conclusion, all the interviewees think that pronunciation has an important role in teaching of both English and French. They note that learners need phonological skills to be able to understand spoken language and to be able to communicate successfully themselves. The role of pronunciation is essential especially in the beginning of one's language studies. In French, the role of the teacher's assistance is even more important than in English, since pupils generally hear less French than English outside of school.

4.1.2 Goals of pronunciation teaching

Although all the participants agreed on the importance of pronunciation, their views slightly differ when it comes to the goals of their teaching. Intelligibility and successful communication, however, were mentioned as the most important goals by all the teachers.

- 7) Marjaana: Niin tärkeintä on kyllä se viestinnällisyys, mutta niinku tiedetään että no ranskassa, englannissa, minimipareja on hirveen paljon että sana muuttuu kokonaan merkitykseltään jos äänne on väärä.

Marjaana: Communication is the most important goal, yes, but as we know, there are lots of minimal pairs in French and in English, and the meaning of a word can change completely if there is a wrong sound.

As Marjaana points out in extract (7), aiming at successful communication does not lessen the importance of phoneme-level practice. The large number of minimal pairs in English and French means that a seemingly small mistake can lead to a complete change of the meaning and thus make the utterance unintelligible.

The question of *what kind* of pronunciation should be learnt divides the participants in two groups. Lotta, Marjaana and Pauliina do not think that it is necessary to aim

at native-like pronunciation. They find that a foreign accent is not a problem, provided that it does not hinder intelligibility. Lotta explains this view in extract (8):

- 8) Lotta: Oothan sä ymmärrettävä vaikka sä puhusit vaikka suomiaksentilla englantia, ni kyllähän sä ymmärrettävä varmaan oot.

Lotta: You are intelligible even though you spoke English with a Finnish accent, you are probably intelligible.

Anita and Terttu, however, have a different view. They think that learners should try to imitate native speakers, although intelligibility is still the first goal. This view is expressed by Terttu in extract (9):

- 9) Terttu: No kyllä ymmärrettävyys tietysti on se ensimmäinen tavoite mutta kyllä mun mielestä pitäis yrittää kuulostaa natiivilta.

Terttu: Intelligibility is the first goal of course, but I do think that you should try to sound like a native speaker.

What is interesting is that the oldest participants of the study are in favour of imitating native speakers, whereas the youngest participants are more permissive. This could reflect the current status of English as a world language, although it has to be noted that the small scale of this study does not enable any generalisations.

Anita and Terttu also expressed a clear preference for British English, whereas Lotta, Pauliina and Marjaana consider British and American varieties to be equally acceptable pronunciation models. Despite their own views, both Anita and Terttu note, however, that most of their pupils seem to be more interested in learning American English. Terttu discusses her personal distaste for American English in extract (10):

- 10) Terttu: Englannissa mähän en tykkää amerikanenglannista yhtään, että mä siis melkein poistun huoneesta monien elokuvien aikana, mä en jaksa kuunnella sitä yhtään, niin tuota ite en tietenkään yhtään sitä yritä puhua.

Terttu: In English, I don't like American English at all, so I almost leave the room during many films, I really can't bear listening to it, so naturally I don't try to speak it at all.

Let us then move on to the teachers' views on the official goals of pronunciation teaching. Tables 1 (see section 2.1.5.1) and 2 (see section 2.1.5.2) were presented to the participants during the interviews when discussing the goals defined in the national curricula and the CEFR.

- 11) Anita: Niin no se [selkeä ja luonteva ääntäminen] nyt voi tietysti tarkoittaa ihan mitä tahansa.

Anita: Well that [clear and natural pronunciation] can of course mean anything.

According to Anita, Marjaana and Terttu, one major problem of the level descriptions of the CEFR is their vagueness. Anita discusses this in extract (11), stating that "clear and natural pronunciation", for example, can mean anything.

Marjaana expresses similar thoughts, calling the criteria a "conceptual jungle". As she explains in extract (12), she thinks that the criteria can be interpreted in so many ways that a pupil's grade is heavily dependent on the teacher's own interpretation of the levels:

- 12) Marjaana: Voidaan antaa kaikille todella surkea arvosana tämän perusteella, tai näitä voidaan lukea toisin päin niin että kaikki, kaikki mun niinku säälittävä vinkki ääntäjä ni saa, saa hyvän osaamisen kriteerit.

Marjaana: You can give a really poor grade to everyone based on this, or you can read them the other way round so that everyone, even the most pitiful pronouncer reaches the criteria for good knowledge.

The vagueness is due to the fact that the CEFR is meant to be used in all foreign language teaching. As was mentioned in chapter 2.1.5.2, the language-specific national curricula do not include any more details either, so teachers are forced to interpret the general criteria themselves.

Lotta and Pauliina have a less critical view of the levels of the CEFR, although they, too, admit that the definitions are quite broad. Lotta even sees the broadness as a positive thing. As she expresses in extract (13), she thinks that the definitions are

“quite good” because they do not force teachers to concentrate on any specific details.

- 13) Lotta: Kyllä mun mielestä nää on aika hyvät määritelmät, et nää ei niinku aseta liian semmosta suurta painetta saavuttaa jotain tiettyjä yksityiskohtia.

Lotta: I think these definitions are quite good, since they don't put you under a lot of pressure to reach some specific details.

The teachers also have dissenting views on whether the goals are realistic or appropriate for basic and upper secondary education. Pauliina, who teaches upper secondary school pupils, discusses the concept of “natural pronunciation” in extract (14). She describes the goal as “really tough”, though she later also states that some of the most gifted learners do reach that goal.

- 14) Pauliina: Toi luontevuus erityisesti niin kyllähän se vaatii jo, se on tosi kova tavote loppujen lopuks niinku intonaatiolta ja muutenkin.

Pauliina: Natural [pronunciation] especially is demanding, it's a really tough goal after all, for intonation and otherwise too.

- 15) Anita: Parhaat oppilaat pääsee noihin tavoitteisiin kyllä, mutta on se aika poikkeuksellista.

Anita: The best pupils do reach those goals, but it's quite exceptional.

As can be seen in extract (15), Anita, too, thinks that reaching the official goals is “quite exceptional”. She states that both in English and French, only the best pupils reach the goals. Terttu's perception is more optimistic: she thinks that many upper secondary school pupils already have a “clear, natural pronunciation” and that even ninth-graders are “really good” at pronunciation. She bases her opinion on experience in international collaboration, comparing her pupils' pronunciation skills with those of pupils and even language teachers in other European countries. She discusses this in extract (16):

- 16) Terttu: Siis monilla lukiolaisilla on mun mielestä parempi, selkeämpi ja luontevampi intonaatio kun eteläeurooppalaisilla. ... Ku meilläki oli oli

saksalaista ja espanjalaista ja italialaista enkun opee ja sitte meiän lukiolaisia, ni ajoittain oli huomattavasti parempaa ja autenttisempaa se meiän lukiolaisten englannin puhe ja jopa ysien, jopa hyvät ysit on hirveen hyviä.

Terttu: I think many upper secondary school pupils have a better, clearer and more natural intonation than Southern Europeans. When we had German, Spanish and Italian teachers of English and then our upper secondary school pupils, at times the pupils' speech was considerably better and more authentic, and even that of ninth-graders, even ninth-graders are really good.

Although Lotta previously described the level definitions as "quite good", she names two major problems that make reaching the goals complicated, especially in French. Firstly, she mentions the heterogeneity of groups, a problem that she discusses in extract (17). She states that in the same group, there are usually really gifted learners and really weak learners, which makes it difficult to plan the teaching effectively.

- 17) Lotta: Siel on niitä ketkä sitte oikeesti on tosi lahjakkaita ja sit ne ketkä ois halunnu lopettaa jo kaks vuotta aikasemmin tai ois ehkä kannattanu lopettaa.

Lotta: There are those who are really gifted and then those who already would have wanted to quit two years earlier, or who maybe should have quit.

Secondly, Lotta mentions lack of appropriate teaching materials. She claims that many of the French textbooks that are used in teaching do not follow the levels of the CEFR, forcing teachers to look for suitable materials elsewhere. She presents this problem in extract (18):

- 18) Lotta: Suomenkieliset materiaalitkin niin tai mitä on niin eihän ne mitenkään niinku pohjaudu näihin eurooppalaisiin taitotasojuttuihin et periaatteessa se on opettajasta kiinni mitä se ottaa.

Lotta: The Finnish materials that there are, they aren't in any way based on the European skill levels, so it's basically up to the teacher, what he or she chooses.

In conclusion, all the participants see intelligibility and successful communication as the most important goals of pronunciation teaching, both in English and in French. Lotta, Marjaana and Pauliina think that having a foreign accent is acceptable, as long as it does not hinder intelligibility. Terttu and Anita have a different view and want to aim at native-like pronunciation.

Anita, Marjaana and Terttu criticise the level descriptions of the CEFR for their vagueness: the definitions are so broad that grades can be heavily dependent on the teacher's own interpretation.

4.1.3 Contents of pronunciation teaching

Finally, let us look at the *contents* that the interviewees consider important in pronunciation teaching. They all agree on the importance of practising both segmental and suprasegmental features, but their opinions are more divided on the question of whether to include more theoretical aspects, e.g. the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

The suprasegmental features that the participants consider particularly important are intonation, rhythm and stress. Based on the teachers' experience, erroneous intonation is a factor that native speakers find even more distracting than erroneous individual sounds. Marjaana discusses this in extract (19):

- 19) Marjaana: Jos natiivikielenpuhujilta, englannin puhujilta kysytään, että mikä häiritsee eniten, ni useimmiten se on se väärä intonaatio, ei niinkään yksittäiset äänteet.

Marjaana: If you ask native speakers, English speakers what bothers them the most, it's usually the wrong intonation, not so much the individual sounds.

Terttu and Anita also justified the importance of stress and intonation by providing examples of errors that can lead to misunderstandings. Terttu mentioned a personal experience of misplacing the stress of the word "unique" /ju:'ni:k/ on the first syllable, resulting in a pronunciation closer to that of the word "eunuch" /'ju:nək/. Anita noted that the absence of rising intonation, especially in French, often makes learners' questions sound like declarative sentences, which create confusion.

- 20) Anita: Sitte ihan tää niinku ajattelun kehittäminen, ja musta se on niinku, olennainen osa sitä että, ymmärtää ne säännöt ja miks äännetään niinku äännetään.

Anita: Then the development of reasoning skills, I think it's an essential part, understanding the rules and why [a language] is pronounced the way it is.

Anita also mentioned the development of basic reasoning skills as one of the goals of pronunciation teaching. As can be seen in extract (20), she thinks that in addition to learning good pronunciation, it is important for pupils to understand *why* languages are pronounced the way they are.

Anita is strongly in favour of teaching phonetic symbols, and she is unhappy about the fact that pupils' knowledge of them is generally quite poor. As she discusses in extract (21), she thinks that phonetic symbols are essential in learning to read foreign languages and understanding where to place the stress.

- 21) Anita: Mä yritän niinku aina niinku opettaa näitä foneettisia merkkejä koska nehän on niinku ihan oleelliset et englannin ja ranskan niin, niin et että pystyy vierasta tekstiä lukemaan ja, ja tajuamaan että miten, missä siellä on paino.

Anita: I always try to teach these phonetic symbols because they are really essential in English and French, so that you can read foreign text and understand how, where the stress is.

The other participants agree that teachers themselves need to master the phonetic alphabet and other basic concepts of phonetics and phonology. They think, however, that teaching should focus on more practical issues, i.e. practising the most important segmental and suprasegmental features of the language.

New technologies have probably somewhat diminished the role of phonetic symbols. Consulting a dictionary for the pronunciation of an unknown word, for example, used to require at least some sort of know knowledge of the symbols. Now, however, most pupils have smartphones that give them access to online dictionaries and audio recordings of the words.

Lotta and Marjaana emphasise the importance of making sure that pupils understand the difference between a word's orthography and its pronunciation. As Lotta explains in extract (22), even if a pupil knows how a word is supposed to be pronounced, he or she might fail to understand the importance of correct

pronunciation and instead pronounce the word “the way it is written”, as if speaking Finnish.

- 22) Lotta: Niinku alakouluikänen ei välttämättä, se saattaa tietää et joku äännetään ja joku luetaan, mut se ei välttämättä silti ymmärrä sen asian merkitystä.

Lotta: A primary school pupil doesn't necessarily, he might know how something is pronounced and read, but he doesn't necessarily understand its importance.

Marjaana sees language learning as a *comprehensive process* and includes also non-verbal communication in pronunciation teaching. As she discusses in extract (23), she thinks that it is important to teach how facial expressions and gestures can support our communication in foreign languages:

- 23) Marjaana: Mä nään niinku sen [ääntämisen opettamisen] sillai kokonaisvaltasena, että myöski me opetetaan ihan sitä ilmeitten ja eleitten tukemaa, nonverbaalisen viestinnän ottamista tueksi siihen omaan viestintään.

Marjaana: I see it [pronunciation teaching] in a comprehensive way, so that we also teach how to use expressions and gestures, nonverbal communication, to support our communication.

Pauliina links pronunciation teaching with practising general *oral expression* in different communication situations. She thinks that upper secondary school pupils need to be able to vary their pronunciation, especially intonation, in different situations, e.g. when giving a formal speech or when participating in a debate. She discusses this in extract (24):

- 24) Pauliina: Myöski sitte se ilmasuvoiman kehittäminen, että eri tilanteissa pystyis itseensä ilmasemaan niinku selkeesti, ei yksin se pelkkä se äänteiden oikeellisuus vaan sitte eri tyylistä viestintää. Että on niinku on puheen pitämistä ja on debattia ja, ja, on niinkun neuvottelutilanteita ja, että se myöskin ehkä liittyy kuitenkin siihen äänen käyttöön, että sitte kaikki tämmöset erilaiset intonaatiokuviot ja muut tulis.

Pauliina: Then also developing your power of expression, so that you can express yourself clearly in different situations, not only the correct sounds but also different styles of communication. That there is giving speeches, debates, negotiation situations, etc. and it is about using your voice, and then getting all these different intonation patterns and so on.

As was mentioned in section 2.1.5.2, awareness of different variants of English is included as one of the goals in grades 7 to 9. The teachers take this into consideration primarily when practising listening skills. They note that teaching materials often feature recordings of English speakers from different countries of the English-speaking world, which facilitates the teacher's task.

Lotta also mentions spoken language and whether it is important to include its features in pronunciation teaching. As an example, she gives the French basic negation. In written language, it is formed by placing the word "ne" before the verb and the word "pas" after it. In spoken language, however, the word "ne" is usually dropped. Being aware of such phenomena is certainly important for language learners, but the question of whether to adopt them in one's speech is trickier. Lotta discusses this question in extract (25):

- 25) Lotta: Monet omaksuu sen et ne jättää sen ne-sanank pois, mut halutaanko me sitte et ne oppii just sitä puhekieltä, et en tiää.

Lotta: Many [pupils] acquire the habit of leaving out the "ne" word, but is it spoken language that we want them to learn, I don't know.

In conclusion, all the interviewees think that it is important to practise both segmental and suprasegmental features, especially intonation, rhythm and stress. Lotta and Marjaana also highlight the importance of understanding the difference between a word's orthography and its pronunciation. No major differences between the two languages are mentioned.

4.2 Assisting learning of pronunciation

This section covers the second and third research questions that aim at discovering what kinds of methods teachers use to assist learning of pronunciation. I will firstly present the teachers' views on the methods of assistance they use in the classroom when teaching pronunciation. I will then discuss their opinions on how classroom atmosphere can affect pronunciation teaching. Finally, I will discuss the teachers' views on formal and informal learning of pronunciation.

4.2.1 Methods in the classroom

In this section, I will discuss the methods of assistance that were mentioned during the interviews. The methods have been divided into six categories.

4.2.1.1 Text-based methods

All the teachers mentioned methods that somehow involve texts, either textbook chapters or other texts such as songs or poems. In these methods, texts are used either directly, e.g. by making pupils read them aloud, or indirectly, by repeating words and expressions from texts in other contexts.

The first method that Anita and Terttu mentioned is *reading aloud*. Anita discusses this in extract (26):

- 26) Anita: Jos mä aattelen jotain englannin opetusta jossa nyt ei sillai sillä lailla systemaattisesti oo välttämättä tuu harjoteltua [ääntämistä] nii, nii ehkä sellanen lukeminen että, että luetaan ääneen.

Anita: If I think about teaching English, where there isn't necessarily any systematic practising [of pronunciation], so maybe it's reading, reading aloud.

Anita explains that in her English teaching, there is not necessarily any systematic practising of pronunciation. Instead, pupils learn it by reading aloud texts. Pronunciation seems thus to be considered primarily an oral version of written language. Terttu expresses a similar view in extract (27):

- 27) Terttu: No en mä muuta keksi kun että mahdollisimman paljon annetaan se mahdollisuus siihen lukemiseen.

Terttu: Well I can't think of anything else but giving opportunities to read as much as possible.

It has to be noted that Anita and Terttu only teach English to pupils who have already been learning it for a few years. Therefore, their pupils are already supposed to know the basics of pronunciation.

Pauliina also mentions reading aloud and discusses its role in extract (28):

- 28) Pauliina: En [korjaa] sellasissa jossa on tarkoitus niinku keskustella, keskustella aiheesta tai vapaasti ja näin. Mutta sitte jos se on just niinku kappaleen lukemista jollonka se on niinku enemmän sitä ääntämisen harjottelua niin, niin niin sillon, joo.

Pauliina: I don't [correct] when the idea is to have a free conversation about a topic and so on. But when it's reading aloud a text and it's more about practising pronunciation, then I do [correct].

Pauliina explains that reading aloud is an ideal task for correcting pupils' mistakes in pronunciation, since in that situation the focus is on the *form* and not the content. When pupils discuss more freely, correcting their mistakes might disrupt the flow of conversation or discourage them.

Pauliina also notes in extract (29) that not all texts are equally suitable for reading aloud:

- 29) Pauliina: Se vähän riippuu tekstistä, et jos se on joku sellanen dialogi tai muu ni sithän niitä voi harjotella just niinku pareittain ja ryhmissä ja näytellä ja nauhotella ja tehä niillä vaikka mitä, mut sit jos se on semmonen tietopohjanen englannin teksti jostain kurssilta kahdeksan ni ei niitä nyt yleensä lueta [ääneen].

Pauliina: It depends on the text a bit, if it's a dialogue or something, then you can practise it in pairs and in groups and act them and record them and do all kinds of things, but if it's a fact-based English text from the 8th course, you don't normally read them [aloud].

Pauliina explains that dialogue-based texts are more suitable for different kinds of reading aloud activities than fact-based texts from the more advanced upper secondary school courses. The problem with this view might be that although dialogues are certainly more authentic as reading aloud exercises, their vocabulary is often quite limited. To reach the goals of the CEFR, upper secondary school pupils also need to practise more challenging vocabulary, e.g. scientific words.

Lotta's primary method of assistance also involves texts, but in a different way:

- 30) Lotta: Jos siinä onnistuis niinku silleen, että niitä ilmasuja mitä sieltä kappaleesta harjotellaan ja toivon mukaan paljon parin kanssa suullisesti ni myöskin niinku tavallaan onnistuis toistamaan siinä omassa luokkakeielessään, et ne [oppilaat] kuulis moneen kertaan niitä samoja asioita, ja tavallaan tulis se tuki siinä jo.

Lotta: If you succeeded in that by practising the expressions from the text, orally in pairs a lot hopefully, but also succeeding in repeating them in your own classroom language, so that [pupils] hear the same things many times, and the assistance kind of happens in that way already.

As Lotta explains in extract (30), she believes that pupils learn pronunciation through *repetition*. She tries to include expressions from the texts in her own classroom language as much as possible, so that pupils hear them multiple times and are thus repeatedly exposed to the correct pronunciation model. In addition to this receptive learning, students also practise the same expressions productively in oral exercises that they do in pairs.

Anita picks individual words and expressions from texts and uses them to practise pronunciation. She discusses this in extract (31):

- 31) Anita: Jostain tekstistä sitte poimitaan että, otetaan just niitä nasaaleja taikka sitte jotain erilaisia niinku suomelle vieraita äänteitä ja, ja englannissa sitte niinku englannissahan ni öö, tää painon paikka on semmonen mikä, mikä on semmonen niinku harjoteltava ... tulee poimittua sitte näitä tämmösiä, tieteellisiä pitkiä sanoja ni, että tota, responsibility.

Anita: Then we pick from some text, pick just those nasal sounds or various sounds that are foreign to Finnish and, and in English then, in English eh, this placement of the stress is something that, that we like practise ... I tend to pick these long, scientific words, so, like, responsibility.

Anita explains that she chooses words and expressions to illustrate the phonological features that she is teaching. As an example, she mentions that long, scientific words like “responsibility” can be used to teach word stress.

When studying a new text, Marjaana tries to focus her pupils’ attention on the words that usually cause difficulties:

- 32) Marjaana: Fokusoiminen niihin juttuihin missä ääntäminen voi olla hankalaa, että just tänä aamuna kolmasluokkalaisille opetettiin rakennussana *building*, niin se että he ei huomaa U:ta ei sanota, että se on /bildɪŋ/, ja sitä toistettiin sitä muutamaan kertaan siinä.

Marjaana: Focusing on those things where pronunciation can be difficult, just this morning I taught the word “building” to third-graders, so the fact that they don’t realise you don’t pronounce the U, that it’s /bildɪŋ/, and then we repeated it a few times.

As Marjaana explains in extract (32), it can be difficult for young pupils to notice the difference between the written and spoken forms of a word. When teaching the word “building”, for example, she explicitly focuses on the fact that the letter U is not pronounced.

Textbook chapters and dialogues are not the only texts that are used: Anita and Marjaana also mentioned using songs, poems or rhymes in pronunciation teaching. Anita discusses this in extract (33):

- 33) Anita: Mitä mä oon käyttäny varsinki paljon niinku alakoulussa ja myös sitte niinku yläasteella ni on kaikki nää tällaset runot ja lorut ... ne on mun mielestä niinku oivallisia niinku ääntämisen opetteluna, ja jossain englannissaki nää tämmöset nursery rhymes ni nehän on aivan mahottoman hyvää materiaalia ni opetella ja just sitte ne on vielä niin hauskoja ku monet on sellasii niinku nonsense-juttuja että ne on niin absurdeja et mikä sitte voi niinku lasta ja nuorta miellyttää.

Anita: What I’ve used a lot especially in primary school and then also in lower secondary school are all these poems and rhymes ... I think they are like excellent for learning pronunciation, and in English for example these nursery rhymes, they are very good materials to learn, and then they are so funny, when many are like nonsense stuff that they are so absurd, which can then please a child and a youngster.

Anita thinks that poems and rhymes are good learning material because they are often funny or absurd, and can thus please young learners more than other texts.

Marjaana highlights the role of *repetition* when using rhymes and songs. She discusses this in extract (34):

- 34) Marjaana: Kaikki tämmöset lorut, riimit, semmoset missä tulee paljon sitä niinku tiettyä äännettä, toistoo, laulut, koska niissä se tulee vähän niinku luonnostaan vähän niinku vahingossa, ja kun se opitaan oikein ni sen jälkeen se siirtovaikutus sitte, puheessa muihin sanoihin ku se on niinku drillaantunu tavallaan aivoihin niin sanottu syöte, automatisoidaan näillä tämmösillä kertautuvuudella.

Marjaana: All these rhymes, in which a certain sound comes many times, repetition, songs, because in them it comes a bit like naturally, like by accident, and when it's learnt in the right way, then the transfer, in speech to other words when it's in a way drilled to the brain that so-called input, it's automatized with this repetition.

Marjaana explains that songs and rhymes can help pupils learn naturally, because the same sound is often repeated various times. She believes that such repeated input can lead to a transfer of these skills to the pupils' own speech.

Texts can also be used when studying pronunciation outside of classroom. The first method of assistance that Pauliina mentioned in the interview is encouraging pupils to practise pronunciation independently. She discusses this in extract (35):

- 35) Pauliina: Sitte pyyetään tekemään niinku lisätyötä sen suhteen, kun tota esmes kirjan teksti, että ne saa kuitenkin MP3:sina tuolta sivulta ladattua ja pyyetään ottaa ne omalle koneelle ja, ja tota niin harjotteleen enemmän sen suullisen tai sen ääntämisen kautta, mallin kautta sitten niitä, niitä tekstejä.

Pauliina: Then we ask them to do extra work with it, the textbook texts for example, you can download them as MP3s from the website, and ask them to download them to their own computer, and practise more orally or through pronunciation, through models, the texts.

Pauliina explains that she asks pupils who need more practice in pronunciation to download audio recordings of the texts from the Internet. They can then listen to the recordings and use them as models to practice their pronunciation skills. Learning that happens outside of classroom will be discussed more thoroughly in section 4.2.3.

In conclusion, methods that involve texts seem to have an important role in the participants' pronunciation teaching, both in English and in French. In some of the methods, texts are used directly, e.g. when pupils read textbook chapters aloud or listen to songs or poems. In others, texts are used indirectly, e.g. when the teacher

uses expressions from the texts in his or her own classroom language so that pupils are repeatedly exposed to the correct pronunciation model.

4.2.1.2 Error correction

Different methods of error correction were mentioned. In some of them, it is the teacher who corrects errors, whereas in others, pupils themselves have an active role and correct their peers' errors. To avoid discouraging their pupils, the teachers generally prefer methods that do not interrupt the pupils when they are speaking.

In extract (36), Terttu discusses how she sometimes activates the whole group to correct their fellow pupils' mistakes:

- 36) Terttu: Joku on lukenu jonku pätkän tai lauseen ja mä sitten sanon että, hirveen hyvin luettu mutta muutama painotus oli väärin, että kuka huomaa.

Terttu: Someone has read a passage or a sentence and then I say very well read but a few stress placements were incorrect, who noticed.

Terttu explains that when a pupil has finished reading a passage, she first compliments the pupil but then points out that there were some mistakes, and asks if other pupils noticed them. On the one hand, this method activates also the pupils who are not currently reading, but on the other hand, it may cause anxiety for the pupil whose turn it is to read.

Terttu discusses error correction in conversational situations in extract (37):

- 37) Terttu: Ja sillan kun jotain keskustelua on niin sillanhan tietenkään mä en koko aikaa oo korjaamassa muutaku sitte perästä päin saatan sanoo, että huomasiitko joku ton jutun, että mikä oli, niin että se ei katkee se puhevirta.

Terttu: An when it's some kind of conversation, then I naturally don't correct all the time, except afterwards I might say, did someone notice that thing, what was it, so that the flow of speech is not interrupted.

Terttu explains that when the task is to have a free conversation instead of reading aloud, she avoids correcting errors, since she believes that correction could interrupt

the flow of speech. She can then draw pupils' attention to some errors after completing the task.

Pauliina expresses similar thoughts in extract (38):

- 38) Pauliina: Tällänen virhe mikä vois sitte niinkun aiheuttaa väärinymmärryksen niin sellaisissa tietysti, mut että muuten niin, ää jos näin hyvin käy että oppilas vastaa vapaaehtosesti englanniksi johonki kysymykseen ni tota en lähe korjaamaan ja tota, et saatan toki sanoo sen, sen sitte uudestaan, jotenki sen vastauksen, ehkä vähän eri lailla ja näin, näin siinä korjata mut että en niinku silleen suoranaisesti.

Pauliina: An error like this that could then cause a misunderstanding, in those cases of course, but otherwise then, ehm if it happens so well that a pupil voluntarily answers in English to a question, then I don't correct and, and I might of course say it, say it again then, in some way that answer, maybe in a slightly different way and so, in that way correct but not like directly.

Pauliina explains that if a pupil voluntarily answers in English, she does not usually want to correct any pronunciation errors unless they might cause misunderstandings. If she does correct an error, she tries to do it indirectly by repeating the pupil's answer in a slightly different way.

Anita also stresses the importance of encouraging pupils to speak:

- 39) Anita: Oppilaita pitää rohkasta siihen et ne uskaltaa aukasta suunsa ja, ja puhua luokan edessä sitä vierasta kieltä, mut että siinä pitää olla sit aika hienovaranen siinä ääntämisen korjaamisessa.

Anita: You have to encourage pupils to open their mouths and, and speak that foreign language in front of the class, but then you have to be quite subtle in correcting pronunciation.

As Anita explains in extract (39), she thinks that it is important for the teacher to be subtle in correcting pronunciation, since correcting errors too eagerly can discourage pupils. Lotta expresses a slightly different view in extract (40):

- 40) Lotta: Just se semmonen kannustaminen että ne uskaltais puhua vaikka ne tekis virheitä ja ne tottuis myös siihen et niitä voi korjata joskus jos ne tekee virheitä.

Lotta: That encouraging, so that they have the courage to speak even if they make mistakes, and that they also get used to being corrected if they make mistakes.

Even though Lotta, too, thinks that it is important to encourage pupils to speak freely, she also thinks that pupils have to get used to being corrected when they make mistakes.

In conclusion, the teachers see error correction as an important part of pronunciation teaching, both in English and in French, but they note that the teacher needs to be subtle when correcting errors. For instance, they generally avoid interrupting their pupils when they are producing free speech.

4.2.1.3 Pair and group work

Marjaana, Anita and Pauliina mentioned different methods involving pair or group work, such as games and reading tasks. They also discussed some of the advantages and challenges of making pupils work in pairs or in groups.

Marjaana discusses using games in extract (41):

- 41) Marjaana: Sitten hyvin paljon erilaisten pelien ja leikkien avulla missä tavallaan unohtuu se että, että tota, mun pitäis nyt jotenki jännittää et osaanks mä, vaan koska siinä peli vie mukanaan ni sillon siinä, siinä tulee sitä harjotusta sitte sillai niinku mukavalla, kivalla tavalla, oppilaalle ominaisella tavalla.

Marjaana: Then a lot using different kinds of games, where you in a way forget that you're somehow supposed to be anxious about if you know something, but the game carries you away, so it's practising in like a nice, nice way, in a way that's natural for the pupil.

Marjaana explains that the advantage of using games is that when pupils are playing, they are less anxious about their skills and they thus learn in a more pleasant, natural way.

Anita discusses the challenges of pair work in extract (42):

- 42) Anita: Jotenki tuettuna sitte et oppilaat ei jatkuvasti tee niitä paritöitä keskenään vaan että siin on myös sitte sitä ohjattua, et vaikka olis joku tämmönen parityö, ni sen jälkeen sit et kun se on käyty, ni sitte vaikka ehkä yhdessä luetaan sitte ne, vielä niinku mallin mukaan ... Et se musta niinku vaara on että, et niinku englannissa varmaan usein saattaa käydä niin et ne vuoskausia höpisee keskenään siellä ja, ja että jos ei siin oo mitään kontrollia ni nehän jää sitte et on vähän niinku kaksosilla että, tulee oma kieli.

Anita: Assisted in some way so that pupils don't all the time do pair work on their own, but that there's also that assisted, for example when there's a pair activity, when it's done, then we for example maybe read them together, like after a model ... I think the danger is that, in English it might happen is that they chatter with each other for years and, and if there's no control, it stays so that it's a bit like with twins, that it becomes their own language.

Anita explains that when pupils work in pairs, it is important for the teacher to somehow control the quality of their work. One way to do this is by going through the activity together and repeating the correct answers after a model. Anita thinks that if pupils work on their own without the teacher's assistance, there is a risk that they develop "a language of their own".

Pauliina discusses similar problems in extract (43):

- 43) Pauliina: Siinä 30 hengen ryhmässä niin siinä tosi vähän jää aikaa ja mahdollisuuksia siihen että, kun ne esimerkiksi laittaa pareittain lukemaan sitä kappaletta vaikka ni, niin niin siinä voi kiertää ja, tarttua aina silloin tällöin johonkin mutta sitte kuitenkin niinku yksilön kohalla niin se on aika, aika satunnaista.

Pauliina: In that group of 30 pupils, there is very little time and possibilities for, when you for example ask them to read the chapter in pairs, you can go around and catch something every once in a while, but on an individual level it's quite, quite occasional.

According to Pauliina, it is challenging for the teacher to assist pupils in a large group. She explains that when doing pair work, she can only occasionally help an individual pupil.

In conclusion, the participants think that using pair and group work can be a good way to enable pronunciation learning in a natural, pleasant way. Because of large

group sizes it can, however, be challenging for the teacher to assist all pupils, and he or she does not necessarily have enough time to control the quality of the pupils' work.

4.2.1.4 Devices and teaching aids

Marjaana and Anita see assistance in a more concrete way, and they mention different ways of teaching pupils how to produce the sounds of English and French. In some of them, devices such as phones and cameras are used. What is central in these methods is that pupils' attention is drawn explicitly to pronunciation.

In extract (44), Marjaana explains how mirrors and cameras can be used in classroom:

- 44) Marjaana: Peili on aivan loistava, pikku taskupeili, tai jos ei oo peilejä, kamerallahan voi ottaa itestä kuvan, seki on nykyään lapsilla kaikilla kännykkäkamera. Nii laita suu niinku sanoisit /wo/, ja sitte, otetaan kuva siitä, ootko sää, onko kaikilla saman näkönen kuva ... nimenomaan tämmöset on tosi hyviä.

Marjaana: A mirror is excellent, a small pocket mirror, or if there aren't mirrors, you can take a picture of yourself with a camera, all children have a camera phone nowadays. So put your mouth as if you were saying /wo/ and then take a picture of it, do you, do all have a similar picture ... things like this are really good.

Marjaana explains that pupils can use mirrors or their own camera phones to see what their mouth looks like when they are learning to pronounce a new sound. This method demonstrates in a concrete way how the position of the mouth affects the sound that is produced.

Anita also mentions the importance of physically demonstrating how to produce a certain sound and then making pupils practise it. Unlike Marjaana, she does not use any devices, though. She discusses this in extract (45):

- 45) Anita: Ihan yhdessä niinku luokassa voidaan harjotella sitä, että kattokaa nyt missä se kieli on ja miten ne hampaat menee.

Anita: You can practise it together in class, now look where the tongue is and how the teeth are.

Anita explains that when teaching how to pronounce a sound, she draws her pupils' attention to the position of the mouth, tongue and teeth.

Recording pupil's own speech is another method that Marjaana mentions:

- 46) Marjaana: Ei omaa puhetta kuule, paitsi sit ku joku äänittää sitä, mikä kuulostaa niinku sanottu hirveeltä itte kuunnella, mutta se että se antaa hirveen paljon informaatiota koska luulen sanovani sen ihan toisella tavalla, ja sitte ku sanooki et "mitä, kuulostaako se tuolta", eli se on hirveen hyödyllistä myöskin sitte nauhottaa sitä omaa puhetta.

Marjaana: You don't hear your own speech, except when someone records it, which as said sounds horrible when you listen to it yourself, but it gives a lot of information, because you think you say it in a different way, and then you say "does it really sound like that", so it's really useful also to record your own speech.

As Marjaana explains in extract (46), making pupils record their own speech and then listen to it gives them a lot of information about how their English or French really sounds. This can be used as a means of self-evaluation even when the teacher does not have enough time to listen to each pupil's pronunciation individually. Since most pupils have smartphones, having access to a traditional language laboratory is not always necessary.

In conclusion, Marjaana and Anita note that it is important to explicitly draw pupils' attention to the position of the mouth, tongue and teeth when learning to produce the new sounds of English and French. Pupils can either use devices such as camera phones or audio recorders themselves or simply follow the teacher's example.

4.2.1.5 Pre-existing knowledge

Marjaana and Terttu mention using the pupils' pre-existing knowledge about pronunciation when learning to pronounce new words. This includes both words

that have previously been learnt at school and words that pupils might have heard on television, for example.

Marjaana discusses this in extract (47):

- 47) Marjaana: Me joskus voidaan yhdeskin pohtia hei miten tää äännettäs, ja varsinki ranskas mä teen tosi paljon sitä et mä, on ihan joku uus sana, et hei, te tiiätte aika paljon jo ranskan ääntämisestä et mites ääntäsitte tän.

Marjaana: Sometimes we can think together, how would you pronounce this, and especially in French I do that a lot, that I, there's a new word, and hey, you already know quite a lot about French pronunciation so how would you pronounce this.

Marjaana explains that she activates her pupils by asking them to think how to pronounce a word based on what they already know about French pronunciation. By doing this, she also motivates her pupils by telling them how much they already know.

Terttu mentions a similar method in extract (48):

- 48) Terttu: Ranskas sentään on sääntöjä, englannissahan nyt ei oo ... ni mä aina sanon, että kato nyt kun siinä on tuo ee uu peräkkäin et et sää sano noin, että muistapas siinäki sanassa on tollain, ja uudestaan ja uudestaan.

Terttu: In French there are at least rules, in English there aren't ... so I always say that look, there's that E and U in a row so you don't say it like that, remember in that word it's like that, and again and again.

Terttu draws her pupils' attention to a certain combination of letters and asks them to think how that combination is pronounced in other words they know. As Terttu points out, this method is more useful in French than in English, since French pronunciation is more regular than that of English.

Examples from outside of classroom can also be used in pronunciation teaching to show pupils how much they already know. Marjaana discusses this in extract (49):

- 49) Marjaana: Esimerkiks i-kirjaimen opettamine ei oo enää yhtään vaikeeta koska niil on kaikilla iPad tai iPhone, ja se ei oo ainut, sen osottaminen et hei sähän tiät miten toi sanotaan, kattokaapas tämmöst sanaa, miten sä luet tän iPad, aaaahaa no mikä toi on toi kirjain no se on /aɪ/, aivan, just näin ... puhumattakaan television voimasta et jotain CSI ... nää tietyt kirjainyhdistelmät mitä jossain TV-tai jossain, muotijutussa tai jossain laulajien nimissä tai jossain semmose- mikä on niinku tavallaan heidän maailmastaan nii niitä yllättävän paljon on näitä mihin pystyy niinku ääntämisessä viittamaan.

Marjaana: For example teaching the letter I isn't difficult at all any more because they all have an iPad or an iPhone, and it's not the only one, showing them that hey you know how to say that, look at this word, how do you read this iPad, ah, so what is that letter, well it's an /aɪ/, exactly, just like that ... not to mention the power of TV, so some CSI ... these certain letter combinations that in some TV or somewhere, in some fashion thing or in some singers' names or in someth- that is like from their world, so there are surprisingly many of these that you can refer to in pronunciation.

Marjaana notes that her pupils are already familiar with the pronunciation of product names such as *iPhone* or letter combinations such as *CSI*. The large number of such examples has made it easier to teach the pronunciation of the English alphabet, for example.

In conclusion, Marjaana and Terttu note that pupils' pre-existing knowledge can be useful when teaching pronunciation. They draw their pupils' attention to what they already know by referring to what has been learnt previously. Especially in English, a lot of the learning happens informally, outside of school, so examples from the media can also be used.

4.2.1.6 Associations and visualisations

Marjaana and Terttu mentioned using associations and visualisations in pronunciation teaching. Such methods can be used to facilitate the learning of features such as mute letters or word stress. One of the advantages of using them is that the teacher can explain phonological features without using any difficult terminology.

Marjaana discusses associations in extract (50):

- 50) Marjaana: Ranskassa mulla on tämmösiä muistisääntöjä, öö, piirretään semmosia haamuja, tota mykkien kirjaimien ympärille, että ne on haamukirjaimia, et niitä ei sanota, sellasia mielikuvia, ja sitte ei tarvi myöhemmin sanoo ku hei se on haamu, ni ne oppilaat heti tietää et ai nii joo, tota ei saanu sanoa, eli semmosia luodaan semmosia niinku, muistiapuja.

Marjaana: In French I have these mnemonics, ehm, we draw these ghosts, ehm around mute letters, so those are ghost letters, so you don't say them, like mental images, and then later you only need to say hey it's a ghost, so pupils immediately know oh yes, you aren't supposed to say that, so like that you create like, memory aids.

Marjaana explains that she has a habit of drawing ghosts around mute letters when teaching French pronunciation. Since her pupils have made a connection between ghosts and not pronouncing a letter, she can simply tell them that "it's a ghost" when pointing to a letter and the pupils understand that they are not supposed to pronounce that letter.

Marjaana presents an example of visualisations in extract (51):

- 51) Marjaana: Erilaiset justiin visualisoinnit että missä kohtaa tulee paino, ni voidaan tehdä isommalla kirjaimella se kohta, kirjottaa se sana sillä tavalla, et se tavu mikä korostuu ni onki isommilla kirjaimilla fontti että öö, smarttitaululla pystyy leikkimään vaikka kuinka paljon tällasilla.

Marjaana: Different kinds of visualisations, so where the stress comes, you can mark that place with a larger letter, write that word in that way, that the syllable that is stressed is written in larger letters, the font, so that ehm, with a smart board you can play with things like that as much as you want to.

Marjaana explains that word stress can easily be taught by making the stressed syllable larger than the rest of the word. She adds that such effects are easy to produce with tools like smart boards.

Terttu uses visualisations too. She discusses one method in extract (52):

- 52) Terttu: Ranskassa nehän ääntää ne preesensin päätteet ihan miten sattuu ni mä teen niille semmosen lapsellisen näkösen taulukon että ensimmäinen toinen ja kolmas persoona on nolla, ja monikon kolmas on nolla ja ainoot missä tulee E on

se monikon toinen ja infinitiivi ja niistä uudelleen ja uudelleen ja uudelleen ja, että suurin piirtein niinku kaikki yhdessä kiljutaan.

Terttu: In French, they pronounce the present suffixes totally wrong so I make them this childish table, that first and second and third persons are a zero and the only ones where there is an E are the second person plural and the infinitive, and about them again and again and again and, we pretty much all scream together.

Terttu combines visualisation and repetition when teaching the pronunciation of the French present tense suffixes. By drawing a table that she describes as “childish”, she draws her pupils’ attention to the fact that the letter E is mute in most present tense suffixes.

In conclusion, Marjaana and Terttu use associations and visualisations to teach phonological features of English or French that could otherwise be difficult to memorise. Instead of learning difficult terminology or complicated rules, pupils can for example make a connection between a feature (e.g. mute letters) and a mental image (e.g. a ghost).

4.2.2 Classroom atmosphere

The participants believe that group composition and classroom atmosphere can affect pronunciation learning and teaching in various ways.

In upper secondary schools, groups usually change all the time, which, according to Pauliina, has a negative effect on classroom atmosphere. She discusses this in extract (53):

- 53) Pauliina: Se riippuu ihan hirveesti aina siitä ryhmästä mikä kullonkin aina on käsissä, ja joka valitettavasti kyllä ääntämisen suhteen ni se on ihan tosi harmi, että nää meidän ryhmät vaihtuu koko ajan ... Se on tosi monelle vaikee saada se suunsa auki siellä uudessa ryhmässä aina.

Pauliina: It depends heavily on the group that we have at a given moment, and as for pronunciation, it’s a real pity that our groups change all the time ... It’s always really difficult for many to open their mouths in the new group.

Pauliina explains that the constant changing of groups is “a real pity” because it is difficult for many pupils to speak in a new group, probably because of anxiety.

New groups can also create challenges for the teacher:

- 54) Pauliina: Siinä saattaa käydä silleen että sitte vaatii jotain sellaselta jolla oikeesti on niinku todellaki vaikeuksia niinku sen kanssa että jännittää tai, tai muuta ... se ois tosi iso asia tässä et siinä ois se luottamus ja tuntemus olemassa.

Pauliina: What can happen is that you demand something from someone who really has difficulties with anxiety or something else ... it would be a really important thing to have that trust and familiarity.

As Pauliina explains in extract (54), if the teacher does not know the pupils and their level, he or she can demand too much of them. This can be a problem if a pupil has difficulties or suffers from anxiety, for example. For pronunciation teaching to be effective, Pauliina thinks that there has to be trust and familiarity between the teacher and the pupils.

Group pressure can also be a problem, even at upper secondary school level. Pauliina discusses this in extract (55):

- 55) Pauliina: Usein ne on siellä ne alisuoriutajat niitä suuriäänisimpiä ja sitten jos ne keksii esimerkiks että ne lausuu nyt tätä englantia sitte tasan niin kun sitä kirjetetaan esimerkiks, niin se on sitte jotenki, se saadaan kuulostamaan sellanen joka sitä lausuis oikeesti ni jotenki kauheen hienostelevalta.

Pauliina: Often it's the underachievers who are the loudest there and then if they decide for example that they pronounce English exactly like it's written for example, then it's in a way, they make those who pronounce it correctly sound somehow really snobbish.

Pauliina explains that those pupils who are bad at pronunciation are often the loudest in the classroom, and their example can determine what kind of pronunciation is acceptable in the group. If they for example pronounce English in the way it is written, they can make those who are good at pronunciation and try to pronounce correctly sound snobbish.

Sometimes pupils also make comments on other pupils' pronunciation:

- 56) Pauliina: Joskus niinku on näitä jotka toisilleen naljailee kaiken aikaa kaikesta, niinku suureen ääneen korjata toisten ääntämistä, että etkö sä totakaan tienny.

Pauliina: Sometimes there are those who get at each other all the time about everything, like loudly correct the other's pronunciation, didn't you know that either.

As Pauliina explains in extract (56), upper secondary school pupils sometimes loudly criticise other pupils' pronunciation mistakes.

Marjaana has had similar experiences with primary school pupils, and she stresses that the teacher should not tolerate such behaviour. She discusses this in extract (57):

- 57) Marjaana: Mä pidän huolen että toiset ei saa pilkata eikä saa nauraa, et kaikki ollaan täällä harjottelemassa ja kaikki ollaan opettelemassa että, että semmosta niinkun, mut mä oon mielestäni aika hyvän ilmapiirin saanu luotua luokkaan että me, niinku täällä uskalletaan, kokeilla ja yrittää.

Marjaana: I make sure that others can't mock or laugh, that we're all here to practise and we're all learning that, that kind of, but I think I've managed to create quite good an atmosphere here in the classroom, so that pupils dare to try and make an effort here.

Marjaana explains that by not accepting any mockery on other pupils' mistakes, she has managed to create a tolerant classroom atmosphere where pupils are not afraid to try.

A language laboratory can be a good environment for practising pronunciation without fear of fellow pupils' comments. Pauliina discusses this in extract (58):

- 58) Pauliina: Siihen kielistudio on tietenki, et se on vanha keksintö mut se on siinä mielessä todella hyvä että, että siellä sä pystyt keskittymään siihen sun omaan juttuun, et jos siellä vaan pystyy olemaan niinku aika paljon että ne tottuu siihen työmuotoon ja, ja niinkun myöskin siellä uskaltavat heittäytyä.

Pauliina: For that a language laboratory is of course, it's an old invention but it's in that way really good, that there you can concentrate on your own thing, if only

you can be there quite a lot so that they get used to that method, and they dare to throw themselves there.

Pauliina explains that in a language laboratory, pupils are able to concentrate on their own work more easily. She notes, however, that quite a lot of time can be required before pupils get used to working in the laboratory environment.

In conclusion, the participants believe that pupils can feel anxious about their pronunciation especially when they study in a new group. Group pressure can also lead to situations in which correct pronunciation is considered snobbish in the classroom. To overcome these problems, the teacher needs to create a tolerant classroom atmosphere in which pupils are not afraid to try.

4.2.3 Formal and informal learning

The participants see learning pronunciation as a comprehensive process that is not limited to the classroom. They believe that in addition to the *formal learning* that happens at school, pupils can also learn pronunciation *informally* when they are in contact with foreign languages outside of school.

Marjaana discusses this in extract (59):

- 59) Marjaana: Mä nään sen että kieltä opitaan kokonaisvaltasesti, että koko ajan, aina kun sä törmäät siihen kieleen jollain tavalla jossaki ni se on oppimistilanne, mutta että se niinku käytännön tosiasia on se että jos mä vertaan kuinka paljon kuulen ranskaa, luokkatilan ulkopuolella versus kuinka paljon kuulen englantia luokkatilan ulkopuolella, että jos ei nyt sit satu olemaan perheessä ite ranskankielentaitosta puhujia tai ranskalaisia tai tuttuja ranskalaisia, niin kylläpä se aika vähästä Suomessa on se ranskan muu kuuleminen.

Marjaana: I think that you learn a language in a comprehensive way, so that all the time, each time you run across the language in some way, it's a learning situation, but it's a practical fact that if I compare how much I hear French outside of classroom to how much I hear English outside of classroom, if you don't happen to have a person who knows French in your family or French acquaintances, hearing French is quite limited in Finland.

Marjaana explains that every time pupils hear or use a foreign language can be considered a learning situation. Most pupils hear English almost every day, but the problem with French is that such situations are quite rare, unless there are French-speaking people in the pupil's family or circle of acquaintances.

Anita expresses similar thoughts in extract (60):

- 60) Anita: Sehän tulee kaikki mitä ne ranskaa oppii ni sehän on kaikki on niinku koulusta.

Anita: Everything that they learn in French comes from the school.

Anita's view is even more extreme – she claims that everything that her pupils learn in French is learnt at school. Marjaana contradicts this in extract (61):

- 61) Marjaana: Kyllä oppilaat kommentoi mulle sitä et hei, mä katoin telkkarissa ni siellä oli, semmonen tuli, semmonen lastenohjelma missä ne puhu ranskaa, et kyl sitä tulee myös muualta, et ei tää [luokkahuone] ainoa paikka ole.

Marjaana: Pupils do say to me that hey, I was watching TV and there was a children's series in which they were speaking French, so it does come elsewhere too, this [classroom] isn't the only place.

Marjaana explains that although French is less commonly heard than English, learning still happens outside of classroom, too. As an example, she mentions that her primary school pupils often tell her about French children's series that they have seen on television.

However, as Marjaana notes in extract (62), the amount of French input is highly dependent on how active the pupil is in seeking it:

- 62) Marjaana: Totta kai se oma aktiivisuus vaikuttaa, että voi hakee enemmänki sitä [ranskankielistä syötettä], mutta se että jos aatellaan sitä niinku yleistä tasoa, niin kyllä luonnollisesti tulee enemmän sitä englanninkielistä syötettä.

Marjaana: Of course it depends on how active you are yourself, you could seek more of it [French input], but if you think about the general level, there is naturally much English input.

Marjaana explains that whereas pupils get English input naturally, they often have to look for French input themselves. It would therefore be important for the teacher to encourage his or her pupils to listen to French outside school and suggest ways to do it.

Pauliina thinks that encouraging pupils to learn outside of classroom is important at upper secondary school level, too, also in English. She discusses this in extract (63):

- 63) Pauliina: Totta kai kannustetaan koko aika siihen että, että entistä enemmän myös, kun on kuitenkin tämmösiä periodeja, että sitte välillä on aikoja että ei ole englantia ollenkaan ja, et yritetään koko aika jatkuvasti kannustaa siihen että ottasivat sellasen tavan että vaikka kävisivät netistä kattoos uutisia ja muuta et koko aika tulis sitä inuttia.

Pauliina: Of course we encourage them all the time, when more than before there are periods like this, there are periods without any English at all, so we try to encourage them all the time to make a habit of watching news online and so on, so that they would get that input all the time.

Pauliina notes that upper secondary school pupils often have periods without any English classes, and she thinks that it is important for the pupils to receive English input outside of school especially during these periods. What she suggests her pupils to do is to watch online news in English.

Terttu believes that pupils' skills in English pronunciation are as good as they are *only* because there are so many English-speaking programmes on television. She discusses this in extract (64):

- 64) Terttu: Se [että oppilaat ovat hyviä ääntämään] johtuu ainoastaan siitä mediasta, koska aiemmin ei olleet, se on aivan eri luokkaa kun aattelen omaa kouluaikaani, ni se oli aika pöyristyttävää miten monet äänsi.

Terttu: The fact [that pupils are good at pronunciation] comes only from the media, because didn't use to be, the standard is completely different when I think about my own school times, it was quite outrageous how many people pronounced.

To support her statement, Terttu compares her pupils' pronunciation skills with the pronunciation skills that pupils had when she was at school herself. What is

interesting is that although she believes that most of the learning happens outside of school, she previously stated that it is important to spend a lot of time on pronunciation in class, too.

Terttu discusses her pupils' pronunciation skills in relation to other Europeans in extract (65):

- 65) Terttu: Sit kun on ollu nois kansainvälisissä jutuissa niin suomalaisethan on aivan fantastisia verrattuna muihin siinä ääntämisessä ... Kuvitellaan että suomalaiset olis jotenki fiksumpia, ni ei ne yhtään sen fiksumpia oo, se on täysin kiinni siitä telkkarin kielestä.

Terttu: Then when there have been international projects, Finnish pupils are quite fantastic compared to other in pronunciation ... People believe that Finns are somehow smarter, but they aren't any smarter, it's entirely because of the language of the television.

Again, Terttu praises her pupils' skills and describes them as "fantastic". Nevertheless, she strongly rejects beliefs of Finnish pupils being smarter than pupils from other countries and highlights the role of television.

Lotta also believes that watching television helps in the acquisition of pronunciation. She discusses this in extract (66):

- 66) Lotta: Kyllä se ainaki se oma havainto, tai vaikutelma on se, et en mä nyt oo kyselly kauheesti kaikilta, mutta siis musta tuntuu siltä, että kyllähän se itelläki oli, että aika paljon kun katto telkkaria ni pysty jo, pysty jo tuota omaksumaan sitä ääntämistä.

Lotta: At least my own perception, or impression is that, I haven't asked everyone a lot, but I feel that, it was like that for me too, that when you watched TV you could already acquire that pronunciation.

Lotta explains that she has not discussed the role of television with her pupils, but her perception is that they learn pronunciation by watching it. As the youngest interviewee, she also bases her opinion more on her personal experience than Terttu.

Anita only partly agrees on the role of informal learning. She discusses her pupils' skill differences in extract (67):

- 67) Anita: Moni oppii [englantia] luokan ulkopuolella, monihan osaa, monethan puhuu todella sujuvasti ja hienosti, mutta on siellä sitte paljon niitä et jotka puhuu tosiaan niiku Suomen poliitikot.

Anita: Many learn [English] outside of classroom, many can, many speak really fluently and well, but then there are also lots of those who really speak like Finnish politicians.

Anita explains that although many pupils learn outside of classroom and already have a good level in pronunciation, there are also many pupils whose level is weak. She humorously compares their pronunciation skills to those of Finnish politicians. The weaker students might spend less time listening to English or simply be less apt to learning pronunciation simply by listening.

Despite the role of media, there is still need for basic pronunciation training. Lotta discusses this in extract (68):

- 68) Lotta: Mitä mä just aattelin mun ysiluokan kanssa, mitä ei olla hirveesti tehty, mitä vois tehdä pitäis tehdä on, et ihan tämmöstä perusfonetiikkaa, studiossa vaikka, kun mä huomasin et me harjoteltiin jotain th-äänteitä ni ne ei ollu ollenkaan selkeitä.

Lotta: What I just thought of with my ninth-graders, what we haven't done a lot, what could be done should be done is, basic phonetics really, in a language lab for example, when I noticed that we were practising some th sounds, they weren't clear at all.

Lotta notes that even with ninth grade pupils it is still necessary to practise basic phoneme level pronunciation. She mentions that the /θ/ and /ð/ sounds, for example, were still unclear for her pupils.

In conclusion, the interviewees believe that informal learning has an important role in the acquisition of English pronunciation. In French, however, the interviewees believe that most of the learning happens in the classroom.

4.3 Teaching pronunciation as a non-native teacher

This section deals with the fourth research question that aims at finding out how teachers feel about their own capability to assist learning pronunciation as non-native speakers of English and French. Firstly, I will discuss the participants' views on the role of the teacher's own pronunciation. I will then move on to the importance of maintaining the teacher's own pronunciation skills. Finally, I will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of being a non-native teacher.

4.3.1 Role of the teacher's own pronunciation skills

The high goals of pronunciation teaching (presented in section 2.1.5) can also put pressure on the teacher's own pronunciation skills, especially in case of non-native teachers. Marjaana describes the role of the teacher's own pronunciation in extract (69):

- 69) Marjaana: Sillä [opettajan omalla ääntämisellä] on ihan äärimmäisen tärkeä rooli koska opettaja on malli ääntämisestä.

Marjaana: It [teacher's own pronunciation] has an extremely important role because the teacher is a pronunciation model.

Marjaana explains that the teacher's own pronunciation is extremely important, because the teacher is a *pronunciation model* for his or her pupils. The other participants agree on this and note that although different kinds of recordings are used in class, it is usually the teachers that pupils hear the most. Pauliina discusses this in extract (70):

- 70) Pauliina: Se on oikeestaan se mitä ne eniten siinä sitte tunnilla kuulee, että kuitenkin kun opetuskieli on englanti niin niin sitä yrittää ite, tai siis se on niinku se suurin, suurin tehtävä että se oma, oma kieli siinä ni olis mallikelposta.

Pauliina: That's actually what they hear the most in class, the language of instruction is English after all, so you yourself try to, or it's the main task, to keep your own language exemplary.

Pauliina explains that pupils listen to the teacher so much that it is important that the teacher's own classroom language is exemplary. As an example, she mentions new vocabulary. She notes that even for an experienced language teacher, there are always unknown words, and to avoid mistakes, it would be important to check their correct pronunciation before using them in class. She discusses this in extract (71):

- 71) Pauliina: Kuitenki tulee outoja sanoja vielä koko ajan aina vastaan, ni seki että ainahan se pitäs tarkistaa sitte se [ääntäminen], ku saattaa vetästä sen niinku, miltä se hyvältä tuntuu ja sitte se onki väärä.

Pauliina: You come across new words all the time, after all, so you should always check it [pronunciation], since you might just say it in the way that feels good to you and then it's wrong.

Terttu also discusses the teacher's pronunciation mistakes in extract (72):

- 72) Terttu: Kaikkihan virheitä tekee, mutta jos tekee virheitä joka ainoolla oppitunnilla ni kyllähän ne nyt jää mieleen.

Terttu: Everyone makes mistakes, after all, but if you make mistakes during every single class, they stick in mind.

Terttu is slightly more permissive and notes that all teachers make mistakes. She emphasises, however, that if these mistakes are too frequent, they probably stick in pupils' minds.

Anita also questions the teacher's need of trying to be like a native speaker. She discusses this in extract (73), saying that it is enough if the teacher does his or her best. What is interesting is that she previously stated that sounding like a native speaker is one of the main goals of pronunciation teaching.

- 73) Anita: Nii no, se ei varmaan oo niinku mitenkään tarkoitus et pitäis ollakaan niinku syntyperänen, että ehkä se on niinku kaikessa muussaki opetuksessa, että pitää yrittää tehdä mahdollisimman parhaalla tavalla.

Anita: Well, it isn't probably the idea that you would have to be like a native speaker, so maybe it's like in all other teaching, that you have to do your best.

According to the participants, the role of the teacher's own pronunciation is even more central when teaching French. Lotta discusses this in extract (74):

- 74) Lotta: Kun sitä ranskaa ei niin paljon kuule [luokan ulkopuolella], niin sillonhan sitä pitäis niinku opettajan puhua hyvää ranskaa että se olis niinku täyspainosta.

Lotta: You don't hear French so much [outside of classroom], so the teacher should then speak good French for it to be well-rounded.

Lotta explains that most of the French input that pupils receive comes from the classroom, and it is therefore important that it is of good quality. Although pupils listen to the teacher a lot during English classes, too, most pupils also hear English outside of school, so the teacher is not usually their only pronunciation model.

In conclusion, the participants find that the teacher's own pronunciation has an important role in language teaching, because the teacher is a *pronunciation model* for his or her pupils. This is the case especially when teaching French.

4.3.2 Maintaining the teacher's pronunciation skills

To maintain the quality of their own pronunciation skills, the interviewees note that language teachers need regular practice. Anita explains this in extract (75):

- 75) Anita: Must on niinku hirveen tärkeä kielen opettajalle on että on semmosii tilaisuuksia missä sitte pystyy niinku syntyperästen kanssa puhumaan, että ihan sen oman kielitaidon kannalta.

Anita: I think it's extremely important for language teachers to have opportunities where they can speak with native speakers, just for the sake of their own language skills.

Anita explains that it is important for language teachers to have regular spoken interaction with native speakers. Marjaana expresses similar thoughts in extract (76):

- 76) Marjaana: Sitä pitäs harjotella ja sitä pitäs myöski kouluttautua sitte ite, tietää ne omat niinku kompastuskivet ja niinku, opetella sitä ja kyllä, ainaki ennenvanhaan oli pakollinen kieliharjottelu elikkä pakollinen oleskelu kohdemaassa jossa sitä nimen omaan just tätä kynnystä yritettiin madaltaa että että opettajalla olisi oma

riittävän hyvä kielitaito, sen myöskin ääntämisen opetteluun ... kyllä se kaikkein paras koulu kyllä on ollu sitte olla siellä kohdemaassa, niinku joutuu oikeesti sen [ääntämisen] kanssa niinku tota tekemisiin.

Marjaana: You should practise it and you should educate yourself, know your own stumbling blocks and learn it, and yes, at least formerly there was compulsory residence in the target country, they tried to make it easier for the teacher to have sufficiently good language skills, also to learn pronunciation ... the best school of all has been living in the target country, really having to face it [pronunciation].

Marjaana explains that teachers need to be aware of the weaknesses in their own pronunciation skills and educate themselves. As an example, she mentions that language teacher trainees can improve their pronunciation skills through living in an English or French speaking country. She states that she personally found this experience more useful than any previous formal learning of pronunciation.

The other participants, too, have spent at least a few months in English or French speaking countries, and they agree on the importance of this experience. Terttu argues that spending time abroad would be important also later during the teaching career. She discusses this in extract (77):

- 77) Terttu: Pitäis pakottaa kymmenen vuoden välein opettajat ulkomaille, ois se ollu aiheellista, meilläki täällä oli yks joka vuos sitte jäi eläkkeelle ni hän oli ollut opiskeluaikana Kanadassa kesän eikä [myöhemmin] koko elämänsä aikana missään englanninkielisessä maassa.

Terttu: Teachers should be forced to go abroad every ten ears, it would have been justified, we had one [teacher] who retired a year ago who had spent a summer in Canada during her studies, and she never went to any English speaking country [later] during her life.

Terttu tells about a retired colleague of hers who never travelled to any English speaking countries during his or her career. As a possible solution to avoid such cases, she suggests making it compulsory for teachers to travel to English or French speaking countries every ten years, for example.

The participants also long for more in-service training on pronunciation teaching. As Terttu mentions in extract (78), she finds that pronunciation is usually a neglected aspect in language teachers' in-service training:

78) Terttu: Ei mun mielestä täydennyskoulutuksissa oo koskaan ollu mitään ääntämisestä.

Terttu: I don't think there's ever been anything about pronunciation in in-service training.

Anita sums up the question in extract (79):

79) Anita: Ehkä se on niinku omasta mielenkiinnosta kiinni sitte.

Anita: So maybe it depends on the teacher's own interest.

Anita argues that maintaining and developing teachers' own pronunciation skills mainly depends on the teachers themselves. Those who are interested in phonetics and phonology seek opportunities to improve their skills and probably also place more emphasis on pronunciation in their own teaching.

In conclusion, the participants think that language teachers need to maintain and develop their pronunciation skills not only during their studies but also later during their career. To achieve this, they find that language teachers need regular spoken interaction with native speakers and preferably opportunities to travel abroad.

4.3.3 Advantages of being a non-native teacher

The participants mention three advantages that a non-native teacher can have in pronunciation teaching:

Firstly and most importantly, non-native teachers can usually put themselves in pupils' place and therefore understand pupils' difficulties better than native teachers.

Anita discusses this in extract (80):

- 80) Anita: No kyllä varmasti niinku ylipäättänsä muillaki osa-alueilla, että ymmärtää niitä, niitä varmasti niitä oppilaiden vaikeuksia paremmin, et jos mä aattelen, että joku ranskalainen tulis opettamaan, joka ei tuntis suomea ni kyllä se aika, aika vaikeeta on. Taikka joku amerikkalainen tulis, nii että, et tuota kyllä se varmaan osaa ennakoida sitä, tietää et mikä itselle on ollu niinku vaikeeta ja sillä lailla niin, osaa asettua enemmän siihen oppilaan asemaan ehkä.

Anita: Well certainly, like in other aspects, you understand them better, the difficulties that pupils have, if I think that some French [teacher] came to teach, who wouldn't know Finnish, so it would be pretty difficult. Or if an American came, so I think you can probably anticipate it, you know what has been like difficult for yourself and so on, you can maybe put yourself in the pupil's place.

Anita explains that as a non-native teacher, she can anticipate the difficulties that pupils have, since she has herself had the same difficulties when learning the languages. She thinks that teaching would be difficult especially for those non-native teachers who do not know any Finnish.

Terttu also emphasises the importance of understanding pupils' difficulties. She discusses this in extract (81):

- 81) Terttu: Ainaki ymmärtää paremmin, on ite joutunu käymään läpi sen saman, ja mun mielestä on vielä hyvä että jos on sellanen suomalainen [opettaja] jolla on ollu vaikeuksia ... Mä uskosin, että jos ei yhtään tiedä minkälaista se on kun on vaikeeta, niin ei pysty ymmärtämään.

Terttu: At least you understand better, you have had to go through the same yourself, and I think it's good if it's a Finnish [teacher] who's had difficulties ... I believe that if you don't know at all what it's like to have difficulties, you can't understand.

According to Terttu, it is even better if the teacher has himself or herself had difficulties when learning languages. She thinks that a language teacher who has always been good at learning languages cannot understand all the problems that weaker pupils might have.

It has to be noted, that this advantage only applies to teachers who have the same native language as their pupils. The question can be more complicated in case of immigrant pupils, for example.

Secondly, Lotta mentions that non-native teachers often have a better theoretical knowledge of the language, including its phonetics and phonology. Lotta discusses this in extract (82):

- 82) Lotta: Jos sä oot natiivi ni sä et välttämättä osaa sen oman kielen kielioppia nii hyvin, eli tavallaan me ulkomaalaiset osataan paremmin joku ranskan kielioppi tai fonetiikka tai englannin kielioppi kun englantilaiset itse tai ranskalaiset itse.

Lotta: If you're a native speaker, you don't necessarily know the grammar of your own language so well, so in a way we foreigners know French grammar or French phonetics better, or English grammar, than English people or French people themselves.

Lotta explains that non-native teachers who have themselves learnt the language formally know its grammar and phonetics better than native speakers. This can also be considered a disadvantage, though, as she notes in extract (83):

- 83) Lotta: Mutta se on sit eri asia että onks se hyvä että me opetellaan vaikka kielioppia tai ääntämistä tai jotain niinku erillisenä klönttänä, et joku natiivi, ni sehän ku se puhuu sitä ni se on koko ajan siinä se kieli läsnä, ja ohan se nyt niinku ihan erilaista suihkutusta kun se että välillä sanotaan jotain ranskaks tai englanniks.

Lotta: It's another question then whether it's good that we learn grammar or pronunciation for example or something as a separate entity, for a native teacher, when he or she speaks it, the language is present all the time, and it's a completely different level of showering compared to sometimes saying something in French or in English.

Lotta ponders whether it is a good idea to learn pronunciation as a separate entity. She argues that when a native teacher speaks his or her language in class, pupils receive a completely different level of language showering compared with a non-native speaker who "sometimes says something in French or in English". What Lotta probably means is that learning pronunciation with a native teacher can be more akin to *acquiring* it naturally, whereas a non-native teacher usually teaches it more explicitly.

Finally, as Anita mentions in extract (84), a non-native teacher can more easily make comparisons between the language that is being taught and the native tongue of the pupils:

84) Anita: Ja voi [suomalaisena opettajana] vertailla niitä kieliä.

Anita: And you can [as a Finnish teacher] compare the languages.

This, however, applies to some native teachers, too, as Lotta discusses in extract (85):

85) Lotta: Se riippuu nyt siitä että ootko sää esmes natiivi joka on kuitenkin asunu Suomessa et sä tunnet suomen kielen, suomalaisen kulttuurin ja suomalaiset oppilaat ja osaat opettaa niitä silleen.

Lotta: It depends on whether you're for example a native speaker who's lived in Finland and you know the Finnish language, Finnish culture and Finnish pupils and are able to teach them accordingly.

Lotta explains that those native teachers who have lived in Finland and have learnt the language and the culture are just as capable of making comparisons and teaching Finnish pupils as local teachers are.

In conclusion, the participants think that non-native teachers can understand their pupils' difficulties better than native speakers. They also often have a better theoretical knowledge of the phonetics and phonology of the target language and can more easily make comparisons between Finnish and the target language.

4.3.4 Disadvantages of being a non-native teacher

Two disadvantages of being a non-native teacher arise from the interviews:

Firstly, Marjaana and Pauliina mention the problems or imperfections that a non-native teacher might have in his or her own pronunciation skills. Marjaana discusses this in extract (86):

86) Marjaana: Meillä suomen kielestä puuttuu joitain tiettyjä ääniteitä mitä jossain toisissa kielissä on, niin ne voi olla että ne jollekin, jollekin ei-natiiville voi tuottaa

hankaluuksia, ihan niinku opettajallekin, kyllä opettajan oma ääntäminen ei aina oo akkuraattia, valitettavasti.

Marjaana: The Finnish language lacks some of the sounds that some other languages have, so those might be, might cause difficulties for some non-native speakers, even for a teacher, not even the teacher's own pronunciation is always accurate, unfortunately.

Marjaana notes that some foreign sounds, for example, can cause difficulties for non-native speakers – also for language teachers. This can sometimes make non-native teachers an inaccurate pronunciation model for their pupils. Pauliina also discusses this in extract (87):

- 87) Pauliina: Kyllä siinä tietenki se oma vajavaisuus siinä varmasti niinku tulee välillä esiin, että et eihän se nyt tietenkään oo sama asia kun natiivi, mutta mä uskon että lukiotasolla vielä ni, niin niin ää se on ihan riittävä kuitenkin se, se malli.

Pauliina: One's own insufficiency surely comes up every once in a while, it's naturally not the same as being a native speaker, but I believe that at upper secondary school level it's still a sufficient model.

Pauliina states that non-native teachers' insufficiency arises every once in a while and that their pronunciation skills cannot be compared to those of native speakers. She still argues, though, that a non-native teacher is a sufficiently good model for upper secondary school pupils.

Secondly, Lotta mentions the non-native teacher's own insecurity with pronunciation. She discusses this in extract (88):

- 88) Lotta: Toki tulee tilanteita vähän väliä et mites toi, oliko toi nyt /bɪ'waɪldərɪŋ/ vai /bɪ'wɪldərɪŋ/ vaikka enkussa et ei voi kaikkea aina muistaa ja sit joutuu niinku tarkisteleen niitä juttuja.

Lotta: There are surely situations all the time when you wonder how it was, if it was /bɪ'waɪldərɪŋ/ or /bɪ'wɪldərɪŋ/ in English for example, you can't always remember everything and then you have to look up those those things.

Lotta notes that a non-native teacher often has situations in which he or she does not remember how to pronounce a certain word. To prevent mispronunciations during lessons, he or she then has to look up the pronunciation in a dictionary, for example.

Despite the advantages that native teachers might have, Lotta questions the importance of the teacher's native tongue and instead stresses the importance of pedagogical skills. She discusses this in extract (89):

- 89) Lotta: Kyllä tietystihän jos sä oot natiivi niin ainahan se on hyvä asia, jos sä osaat vielä niinku sen välittää sen asiasi, et sehän siinä on se, sä voit olla vaikka natiivi, jos sä et osaa sitä niinku opetusjuttua ni eihän se, ei siit oo hyötyä niinkään, et lähinnä pedagogiset taidot on siinä niinku myös tärkeitä.

Lotta: Of course if you're a native speaker it's always a good thing, if you can also pass on your knowledge, that's the point, you can be a native speaker, but if you don't know the teaching thing, it's not really an advantage, so it's mainly pedagogical skills that matter too.

Lotta explains that even though native speakers' pronunciation skills can be considered an advantage, they are not very useful if the teacher lacks the necessary pedagogical skills.

Lotta also believes that pronunciation is not the most important issue for non-native teachers, though she notes that it is an individual question. She discusses this in extract (90):

- 90) Lotta: No se varmaan on yksilöllinen juttu taas että, jos kokee että se ääntäminen on ollu itelle semmonen helppo juttu ni se ei oo ehkä niin ongelmallista, et ehkä mä sanosin, jos sä et oo natiivi ni se ongelmallisin asia on siinä et sä et pysty ilmaisemaan niitä ajatuksiasi niinku tavallaan kohdekielellä, samalla tavalla, et se ei ehkä se ääntäminen ihan niin korostu siinä.

Lotta: Well I believe that it's an individual thing, if you feel that pronunciation has been easy for you, maybe it's not so problematic, so maybe I'd say that if you're not a native speaker, the most problematic thing is not being able to express your thoughts in the target language in the same way, so maybe pronunciation isn't so emphasised there.

Lotta explains that pronunciation is not usually a major issue for non-native speakers, at least if they have been good at it themselves. She thinks that problems are more likely to occur when trying to express one's thoughts in the target language.

In conclusion, the participants think that non-native teachers sometimes have imperfect pronunciation skills and can therefore be an inaccurate model for their pupils. Nevertheless, they find that non-native teachers are sufficiently good pronunciation models for primary and secondary school pupils.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the present study I have investigated pronunciation and its teaching from the perspective of Finnish teachers of English and French. The goal was to study the topic focusing on the four main research questions. Firstly, I wanted to know how the teachers see the role of pronunciation in the teaching of English and French. The purpose on the second question was to know what kinds of methods the teachers use to assist their pupils in learning pronunciation. Thirdly, I wanted to know whether there are differences in the needs or methods of assistance between the two languages. The final question aimed at discovering how the teachers feel about their own capability to assist learning pronunciation as non-native speakers of English and French.

The study, which is qualitative in nature, was conducted by interviewing five language teachers. They all teach or have recently taught both English and French, and they work in comprehensive schools and/or upper secondary schools. The interviews were theme-based, which means that the topics had been predetermined, but the exact form and order was flexible. The interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed, after which the data was analysed using the method of content analysis.

The results of the study show that pronunciation, according to the interviewees, has an important role in the teaching of both English and French. The teachers agree with Setter and Jenkins (2005: 13) in pointing out that without phonological skills, learners would not be able to understand spoken language or communicate successfully. They stress that pronunciation is important especially when beginning to learn a new language.

As for the goals of pronunciation teaching, the participants' opinions are somewhat divided. They all see successful communication as the main goal and thus their teaching, at least partially, follows the intelligibility principle as defined by Lewis (2005: 370). Terttu and Anita, however, think that imitating native-like pronunciation

is a desirable goal, whereas Lotta, Marjaana and Pauliina are more acceptable of foreign accents.

All the participants stress that segmental and suprasegmental features are equally important in pronunciation teaching. This is in contradiction with the findings of Tergujeff (2013: 47), whose study suggests that English pronunciation teaching mostly focuses on segmental features. It has to be noted, though, that the findings of the present study are based solely on the interviews, and thus do not necessarily reflect actual classroom practices.

Although the participants see that pronunciation is important in the teaching of both English and French, they note that their different roles in the society affect their teaching. Most pupils hear English outside of school considerably more than French, which means that informal learning can have an important role in the acquisition of English pronunciation. In French, however, the role of informal learning is less important, and there is a greater need for assistance in the classroom. These findings are similar to those presented in the assessment of the learning outcomes of English and French (Härmälä et al 2014a; Härmälä and Huhtanen 2014b).

The participants mentioned a variety of methods that they use to assist their pupils' pronunciation learning. In addition to traditional methods such as reading aloud and error correction, they use different pair and group activities such as games. Their teaching thus appears to include methods from all three of the categories presented by Baker (2014: 146) – controlled, guided and free activities. The interviewees understood assistance in a broad sense – in addition to helping pupils with tasks, they can for example encourage pupils to practise pronunciation outside of school. The participants also underlined the importance of creating a tolerant classroom atmosphere to ensure that pupils can practice pronunciation without feelings of anxiety.

As for the teachers' own role in assisting pronunciation learning, the participants see that the teacher is a *pronunciation model* for his or her pupils. Therefore they think that it is important for non-native teachers to develop and maintain their own

pronunciation skills, both during their studies and later during their careers. As non-native speakers of English and French, the participants feel that on the one hand, they can understand their pupils' difficulties better than native teachers could. On the other hand, they admit that their own pronunciation skills can sometimes be imperfect and they can thus be inaccurate models for their pupils.

The main weakness of the study is perhaps the broadness of its research questions. Although all the themes of the interview are related to each other, the large number of questions made it difficult during the interviews to discuss some of the topics in sufficient detail. Due to qualitative nature of the study and the relatively low number of interviewees, it also has to be noted that no generalisations can be made based on the findings. It is probable that the five teachers who volunteered to participate in the study are more interested in pronunciation than language teachers in general and therefore emphasise the role of pronunciation in their teaching, too.

Despite these limitations, the study does succeed in its goal, studying the topic from the personal point of view of the participants. As Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002: 70) point out, trying to understand the interviewees should be the main goal of all qualitative research. The choice of study methods was successful, since using interviews and content analysis enabled answering the research questions of the study. The results provide some insights on the state of pronunciation teaching in Finland and reveal that pronunciation has an important role in the participants' teaching. The interviewees are also quite confident in their own pronunciation skills and in their capability to assist pronunciation learning. To maintain and develop these skills, however, it would be important for language teachers to have opportunities to interact with native speakers and receive additional training. This could be achieved for example by organising more international co-operation or by providing teachers with in-service training on pronunciation pedagogy.

Large group sizes seem to be one of the main challenges of providing pupils with effective assistance on pronunciation. Due to budgetary constraints, reducing group sizes is probably not a realistic option, so it would be necessary to think of other ways to overcome the problem. One solution could be dividing the group into

smaller groups and working on pronunciation with a few pupils at a time, while the others work independently on tasks that require less teacher intervention. As the participants pointed out, it is also important for the teacher to encourage his or her pupils to practise pronunciation informally.

For further research, it could be sensible to focus on one of the research questions and study it more thoroughly. It would be interesting, for example, to conduct further research on the methods of assistance that are used in pronunciation teaching. A mixed-method approach, which would include classroom observation in addition to teacher interviews, would enable the researcher to investigate how the teachers' opinions are reflected in their actual classroom practices. The effect of group size on pronunciation teaching could also be a relevant topic. This could be investigated by comparing the learning outcomes of pupils who have followed identical pronunciation training in groups of different sizes.

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APPENDIX: Interview structure

Millainen on ääntämisen rooli englannin/ranskan opetuksessa

Rooli oppimisen eri vaiheissa? Eri kouluasteilla?

Opitaanko ääntämistä lähinnä luokassa vai koulun ulkopuolella?

Musiikki? Elokvat? Oppilaan CD:t? jne.

Mitkä ovat ääntämisen opetuksen tavoitteet?

Ymmärrettävyys?

Ymmärrettävyys kenen kanssa kommunikoidessa?

Natiivinkaltainen ääntäminen?

Kenen natiivin?

Yksittäisten äänneiden oppiminen / prosodiset piirteet?

Mikä olennaisinta englannissa / ranskassa?

Kuullunymmärtäminen?

OPSissa ja EVK:ssa esitetyt tavoitteet?

Ovatko realistisia? Onko näitä mahdollista saavuttaa?

Opettajan rooli ääntämismallina

Miten opettajan oma ei-syntyperäisyys vaikuttaa ääntämisen opettamiseen?

Mitä hyötyä siitä voi olla?

Oppilaiden oman äidinkielen tuntemus? Eri kielten vertailu?

Millaisia tietoja ja taitoja opettaja tarvitsee?

Oma ääntäminen?

Omat kokemukset ulkomailla asumisesta?

Teorettisempi tieto fonologiasta/fonetiikasta?

Antoivatko opinnot tarpeeksi eväitä ääntämisen oppimisen tukemiseen?

Tukikeinot

Minkälaisia tukikeinoja käytät?

Mitä tulee ensimmäisenä mieleen ääntämisen oppimisen tukemisesta?

Palaute, korjaava palaute?

Mitä korjataan?

Kaikenlaisia virheitä vai vain silloin, kun haittaa ymmärtämistä?

Entä jos toinen suomalainen ymmärtää, mutta natiivi tai ulkomaalainen ei ehkä ymmärtäisi?

Milloin korjataan?

Vain erityisiä ääntämistehtäviä tehdessä, vai myös muulloin?

Muihin tehtäviin integroituna?

Tekstiä ääneen luettaessa?

Miten korjataan?

Millaisia palautteenantokeinoja käytetään?

Recast?

Virheen toistaminen?

Tarkentavat kysymykset?

Huomion kiinnittäminen

virhekohtaan (elicitation?)

Metakielellinen palaute?

Ilmeet/eleet tms.?

Yksittäisen oppilaan kanssa? Ryhmässä?

Heterogeenisen ryhmän aiheuttamat ongelmat?

Miksi korjataan?

Positiivinen palaute? Motivointi?

Palaute yksisuuntaisesti opettajalta oppilaalle vai
vuorovaikutteisempi palaute?

Ymmärrettävän ääntämisen rakentaminen yhdessä?

Oppilaan roolin korostaminen?

Vertaispalaute? Minkälainen rooli muiden oppilaiden palautteella?