Patterns of Pakistani English
Pronunciation and Pedagogic Priorities

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INTRODUCTION

Since English has emerged as the primary means of international communication and is spoken with different varieties and accents, Kachru (1989) has placed Pakistan in the Outer Circle. Kachru's Concentric Circles consist of three circles: Inner Circle comprising English-speaking countries, Outer Circle countries, say, Pakistan and Malaysia, in which English has a long history and serves a vital role in domains of power, and Expanding Circle countries where English has no official role, e.g. Germany and France owing to its utility as a second(ary) language. It is observed that country's commercial city, Karachi, is shaping up itself into a land of multilingual community on account of the recent high rates of migration from different language speaking regions. These current trends have shown a rapid increase in the use of English in its domains, particularly in education and business, which not only indicates the determining factor in the growth of the population, which is touching 20 million, but also signifies the instrumental use of English in the Urdu-speaking city. Although Urdu, which was a mark of Muslim identity during the Urdu-Hindi controversy in the pre-partition India, is both the language of the majority residing in Karachi and the unifying force of

the state as the national language now, it is yet to be established as an indigenous language of the nation (Rahman, 2002; Mansoor, 2005). Some are of a view that the status of the national language has been tainted with repulsive feelings of ethono-nationalist proto-elites of Sindh, the NWFP, Baluchistan and, to a lesser extent, the Siraiki area of Punjab that have spawned favorable conditions for English to permeate the whole urban land (Rahman, 1999). However, despite the fact that these quarters rightfully demand to promote their own languages, no language other than English and/or Urdu is commonly understood in Pakistan (Mansoor, 1993). Therefore, English with its controversial position enjoys 'higher status' and plays a vital role in all major domains of power, which, as a result, motivates adults, well aware of the linguistic utility in socially prestigious networks, to learn it for a better future in the emerging markets of the city (Mansoor, 2005; Haq, 1993; Rahman, 1999). In addition, it is not surprising either that different regional language speaking people flocking to this South Asian place are seen in search of destinations of greater economic opportunity abroad, taking Karachi as a transit point of employment and education. They are settling here for their well being, making Karachi a perfect example of multilingual communities.

ENGLISH AS INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE (EIL)

The growth of English with its one billion second language (L2) speakers has outnumbered its native speakers, involving 80% use of English between L2 speakers only (Benecke, 1991; Crystal, 2000; 2003). It has become the primary means of international communication. This revolutionary change has gained ground and questioned the validity of teaching Received Pronunciation (RP). Received Pronunciation is instantly recognizable accent often described as the 'British'. Its prestige is attached to the implicitly accepted social standard of pronunciation in Pakistan too and General American (GA). Similarly, General American is referred to as the standardized American accent and is also recommended for the announcers by the CNN for their utility in non-native speakers' settings. By and large, it is also agreed that native accent is an undesirable goal for L2 speakers, particularly in communication in which no native speakers are involved. Kenworthy (1987) came up with the term comfortable intelligibility as a goal for L2 speakers, but did not identify which features should be learned to be mutually intelligible. Later on, to solve the problem, Jenner (1989) made an attempt, with his Common Core, to identity common elements of speech which must be learned by all speakers for mutual intelligibility. Yet, for him, the listener was native speaker. Lately, Jenkins (2000)) has modified the Common Core and identified seven core features of pronunciation of EIL which must be taught and learned. According to her, the features, which she has categorized as Lingua Franca Core, are essential for mutual intelligibility, teachable for English as Second Language (ESL) teachers and learnable for L2 learners (ibid). This is how learners' pronunciation can be improved and the problem of identity could be reduced if not removed.

IDENTITY AND TEACHING PAKISTANI ENGLISH (PakE) PRONUNCIATION

Where English is considered a sign of social mobility in Pakistan, its pronunciation, which is the primary means of speech and intelligibility, is a mark of identity. Kachru (2003) takes this issue into account and focuses on three realities of multilingual societies: linguistic realities referring to its functional importance for successful communication, sociolinguistic realities dealing with identity and language attitude, and educational realities noting teaching English as a lingua franca. This is why integrating identity into English is as important as making pronunciation mutually intelligible and teachable in multilingual settings. Moreover, Widdowson (1994) rejects the condemnatory 'wrong' if the divergent linguistic forms convey the desired meaning successfully, because it is divergence which is emblem of identity. At the same time, it is witnessed that in the absence of a mutually intelligible pronunciation communication breaks down between non-native speakers and reduces comprehension within discourse (Gatbonton, 2005; Derwing, 2003). In other words, if learner's linguistic competence depends on pronunciation, the situation worsens when adults, with different linguistic backgrounds and strong identities, studying at tertiary level education, say in Karachi, are not helped to speak English with mutually intelligible pronunciation. Consequently students speak English with three different types of accents: broad, regional and non-regional. Laver (1994: 56-57) defines that an accent which identifies speaker's region or country is termed non-regional, e.g. Pakistani accent or South Asian accent. The accent, which is highly localized, is referred as broad, e.g. Siraiki or Sindhi accent. It is perceived to affect mutual intelligibility. Similarly, a particular accent, which identifies speaker's specific region, is known as regional, e.g. urban Punjabi or Urdu accent.

For this reason, it is imperative, therefore, to observe the rapid spread of English in the last three decades before English pronunciation is taught, as it has resulted in the emergence of varieties of World Englishes (WE) with different patterns of pronunciation. The widespread utility of English in different linguistic groups, Karachi in particular, demands minimum intelligibility criteria, which are the vital element of effective communication and undoubtedly required in multilingual classes at tertiary level education.

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To improve intelligibility in the same way, the concept of intelligibility must be well understood for a successful practice. 'Intelligibility is not speaker- or listener-centered, but it is interactional between speaker and listener' (Smith & Nelson, 1985). In other words, speech intelligibility is always mutual. Rujadrurai (2007) adds that interaction with different people from different cultural backgrounds requires active accommodation. Therefore, for the improved intelligibility of L2 speech among linguistic groups using English in Karachi, we need to highlight English pronunciation problems of adult groups and their removal through pronunciation teaching, so that the language could more easily be received and understood in and outside Karachi.

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PRONUNCIATION LEARNING

Pronunciation as a whole is the most difficult aspect of L2 learning, which in turn, if not learned properly, causes miscommunication even if speakers are good at grammar and vocabulary. To be intelligible, L2 learner's pronunciation must reach threshold level of pronunciation in English (Hinofotis & Bailey, 1980). This is how L2 pronunciation becomes mutually intelligible. For an adult learner, it becomes extremely complex due to several factors, for instance, age, first language and ethnic identity. Many researches have been carried out on the adult learner difficulty in learning pronunciation of L2, reporting that the ability to learn new sound system drops with the passage of time in L2 learners (Derwing et al, 1997; Wajnryb et al, 1997). Perhaps adults are more inhibited or less interested in learning pronunciation as compared to the young learners owing to the difficulty level and the risk of identity loss. Their ethnic identity does not let them speak like someone else. Jenkins (2000) gives a detailed account on it and discusses as to how sounds of Mother Tongue (MT) could play a vital role in learning EIL, using accommodation theory. Since adults have fewer opportunities to be a part of a conductive English language environment due to their non-English background, they are reluctant to speak. Aggravating the situation, ESL instructors are either unable to teach pronunciation or discouraging to learners. Another major reason, referred as negative interference of L1

into L2, comprises two rudimentary components: physiological practice and cognitive background. The physiological practice refers to the functionality of learner's articulators (e.g. tongue, lips, teeth, etc.) in the production of utterances in MT. As MT speakers grow old, their articulators become stiffer and make physiological practice for the production of L2 extremely hard. Adult ESL learners are unable to utter sounds of English and hence use MT sounds causing miscommunication. The latter develops due to adequate exposure to the language different from L2 sound system, which prevents the learner from perceiving L2 sound system as different from MT.

PATTERNS OF PakE PRONUNCIATION

Pakistan is one of those countries, where English is fast spreading. According to Botlan (2008), 18 million, constituting 11% of total population, speak it in Pakistan making it the third largest English using Asian country. Literature on WE is copious; however, very few researches have been carried out on the PakE. With the exception of two linguists, Rahman (1990) and Mahboob & Ahmer (2004), researches on the patterns of the English are yet to be produced. Rahman's description of English in his work, which was carried out in the UK, is criticized due to its small sample size and unclear procedural framework (Mahboob & Ahmer, 2004). Mahboob & Ahmer (2004) have produced only a paper. Another comprehensive work on the PakE is a compilation of Baumgardener (1993) comprising essays on the PakE morphology, syntax and grammar and discusses various factors determining the status of English in Pakistan and its 'Urduivization'. Interestingly, its unique pronunciation remained unnoticed. Rahman (1990) based his work on the traditional continuum of sociolinguistics: acrolect, mesolect and basilect. Although his findings tend to be overgeneralized, they do give us ideas about the patterns of the PakE pronunciation. It is reported in the work that rhoticity (Rhoticity refers to accents in which [r] occurs before a vowel. For example, RP is non-rhotic while GA rhotic) increases from acrolect to basilect, while the vowels stay monophtongised. In contrast, Mahboob & Ahmer (2004)

witness diphthongs in some cases. Nevertheless, both linguists do validate the various findings of Kachru (1992) that the RP stops are retroflexed, the RP dental fricatives are replaced with dental stops, the Epenthesis is a type of intrusion, in which an extra sound, [I] or [ə] in PakE, is added. It is referred to prothesis and anaptyxis when it occurs initially and between two consonants respectively breaks consonant clusters at the beginning of a syllable, and absence of aspiration reduces allophonic constants of the PR. Dark /l/ and /w/ are substituted with clear /l/ and /v/. Furthering this point, Rahman (1990) brings in our notice that the Pushto speakers replace /v/ with a rounded vowel when it occurs at the final position of a syllable.

METHODOLOGY

In order to explore the salient features of the PakE, data of 4000 utterances were collected from twenty students of 19 to 23 years, studying in a private university in Karachi: five Urdu speakers, five Sindhi speakers, five Punjabi speakers, and five Pushto speakers. They were fairly proficient in English and had passed all three mandatory courses of English language. These three courses were of 45 hours each and meant to help L2 learners use all four skills of English with reasonable fluency and accuracy in domains of education and employment. Each participant contributed 1000 utterances from 7th February to 20th March 2008.

Basically, this research followed the model of Roach (1983) which analyzed English phonology with the linear segmentation approach, which mainly determines the individual sounds of speech, but both Roach (ibid.) and Laver (1994) used different techniques to bring natural picture of speech. In the absence of any accepted PakE pronunciation, RP was selected as a reference model. Works presented by Jenkins (2000), Trudgill (1983), Labov (1966) and Wells (1997) were partially used to underpin the sociolinguistic factor of pronunciation, to give a holistic view to the research and to help set pedagogic priorities for the PakE language learner studying in multilingual classroom settings of Karachi.
A qualitative paradigm was mainly followed in the

research. The quantitative paradigm was also employed in order to make the data analysis more reliable, valid, less extraneous and more controlled for procedural bias (Borg & Gall, 1989; Fraenkel et al, 1995). It was on the descriptive observational variable as it was aimed to discover important features, dimensions and the degree of association of the PakE pronunciation of the population with RP.

The data were elicited using Sheffield word-list (Foulkes and Docherty 1999), the 'North Wind' reading passage and various discussions on stimulating topics. After its recording in a TCM-150 cassette recorder with built-in microphone and large front speaker, a number of sounds were identified, counted, grouped, and analyzed through Speech Filing System (SFSWin). For this whole activity, Continuous Recording Procedure was put into practice, as it was appropriate for a small group of subjects.

DATA ANALYSIS

After a careful examination of speeches of the participants, it is observed that several segmental features, which were previously not identified, do exist in the current patterns of the PakE pronunciation, making the language more intelligible than it used to be a decade ago. In addition, this investigation has also made an attempt to point out how the same language seems to have drifted away from intelligibility due to both segmental and supra-segmental features

Consonants

Since the consonants of a language do not change so much from community to community, it was witnessed in the English pronunciation of the participants also. After the analysis of the consonant phonemes of the educated PakE pronunciation, however, it was noticed that /p/, /t/ and /k/ are not realized with their aspirated allophones in the PakE resulting in lenis voiceless plosives. This shift to lenis, at times, diminishes the distinction between voiced and voiceless plosives. Additionally, /t/ and /d/ do not exist in the inventory due to a recurrent phenomenon of retroflexion in the South Asian English. Laver (1994)

says retroflexion is a striking aspect of articulation in the languages of the Indian subcontinent. Urdu, Hindi, Malayam and Pushto are some examples of this phenomenon (Dyrud, 1997; Ball, 1999). /t/ and /d/ are replaced with unaspirated voiceless palatal retroflex stop [ʈ] and unaspirated voiced palatal retroflex stop [ɖ] respectively. Similarly,/θ/ and /ð/ are replaced with dental plosives [ṱ] and [ḓ] respectively. In addition, the English alphabet also interferes in their pronunciation, as they are usually taught reading and writing as primary language skills. For example, the word thirties is pronounced with aspirated voiceless plosive. In the two-syllabic word [tʰˌ'ɔrʈiːz], the first phoneme [tʰˌ'] is used in place of /θ/ reflecting the inventory of consonant phonemes of the South Asian languages where this is normally used as a separate phoneme. Kachru(1992), Rahman(1990) and Mehboob (2004) have highlighted these features also.

It is interesting to note in Figure 1 shown below that [f] followed by [iː] has a slight tendency to become [ph] in the English of Pushto. In addition, [v] drops to 40% in the same speakers and is replaced with [w] or a sound between them. There is a gradual fall of occurrences of [ʒ] from the English of Urdu speakers to Pushto ones. This sound is replaced with [dʒ], [z] and [j] in the speech of the Punjabi speakers.

**Figure 1: Occurrence of some prestigious English consonants in the PakE**
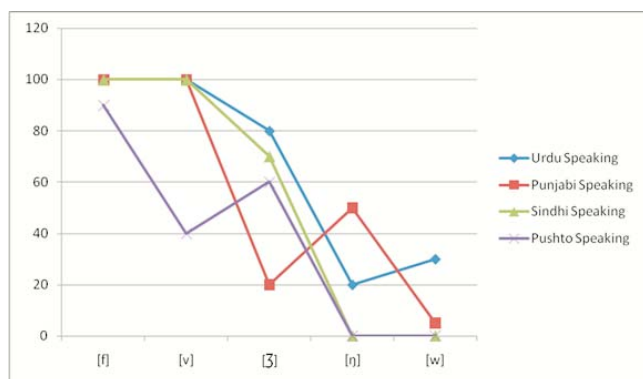
The reason for such a wide variety of sound changes needs to be discovered. At the end of a syllable, [ŋ] is very infrequent and, in most cases, clustered with [g].

In contrast, Punjabi speakers dominate its use [w] and [v] are almost allophonic variations in Pakistani languages, hence [w] sparsely found in the English of Urdu and Punjabi speakers is often replaced with [v]. In some cases, reverse is also true.

The consonant clusters, which are not analyzed in Figure 2, do not exist in the PakE. In fact, most languages in Pakistan do not have consonant cluster initially. As a result, one syllable words like *school, strike* or *drill* is split into two-syllable words with an epenthesis of [ʔ] or [ʔ]. Rural Punjabi speakers, who have less exposure to Karachi and English spoken here, insert schwa [ʔ] and speak the same words as [sʔkuʔl] and [sʔʔraʔk]. These speakers are comfortable with this change in pronunciation, which goes with the fact that Urdu and most regional languages of Pakistan have CVCC syllables.

Figure 2: Occurrence of some two-consonant clusters in the PakE
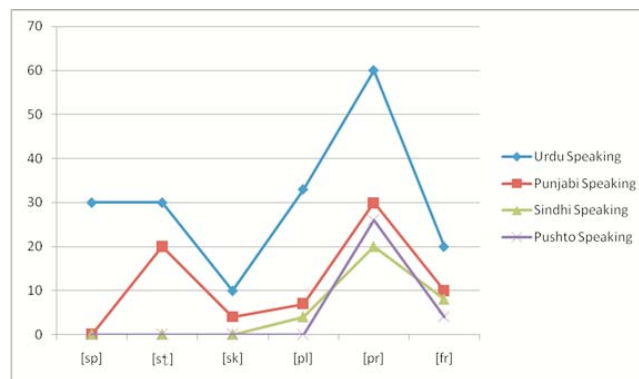
The figure 2 also shows the two-consonant cluster is becoming recurrent in the English of Urdu speakers. At the same time, it also indicates that the speakers of other languages are slowly moving towards the use of consonant clusters in their speeches. As the majority of Karachiites speak Urdu as MT or first language (L1) and English as L2 with different proficiency levels in education and employment, this validates Jenkins theory that learners accommodate positive changes in learning language (Jenkins, 2000). The reason for this change may be two fold: interaction with the Karachiites,

who are fluent in English, and listening to English speaking community via the increasing boom of media in Pakistan as a reasonable input. Perhaps this has encouraged them to speak appropriately in education and employment. Furthermore, it is also evident that the clusters with pre-initial [s], in all four languages, are rather unnoticeable.

Interestingly, it is uncertain if the PakE is rhotic or not, as the phoneme /r/ is articulated in many positions where it does not precede a vowel, e.g. [kaːrɖ], and is not articulated in some places where it occurs before consonant, e.g. [ʌnɖəsteːnɖ]. Nevertheless, Table 1 given below mentions 30 per cent of Urdu speakers speak English with an alveolar tap while the same use is sparing in other language speakers in Karachi. This post-alveolar approximant brings another aspect of articulation in the English: transitional aspect of tapping and trilling. Alveolar tapped fricative is found in highly fluent participants, whose speech is carefree and fast while alveolar trilled fricative is found in participants speaking English carefully at slow rate.

Table 1: Aspects of [r] in Pakistani languages

Language speakers	Trilled (%)	Tapped (%)
Urdu	70	30
Punjabi	85	15
Sindhi	95	05
Pushto	80	20

In addition, /r/ changes into /l/ in some cases, as it is a frequent phenomenon in English speakers of other language, e.g. Japanese. There is an urgent need for a probe into the changing use of [r] in the PakE.

Vowels
It was investigated that the PakE vowel phonemes are remarkably different from RP vowels. Following the usual practice of sociolinguistic variables, the most recurrent features of the vowel system are mentioned below:

1- [eː] replaces /æ/ and /eɪ/ of the vowels of RP. It is less frontal than /e/ of RP.
2- Frequent inhabitation of /e/ is observed. [eː] is used instead.
3- /əʊ/ and /ɔɪ/ are absent from the PakE, and replaced by [Oː] which is closer and more frontal than /ɔɪ/ of RP.
4- [o] or [a] is used in place of /ɒ/.
5- /ɔɪ/ is frequently replaced with a combination of a short vowel [ʊ] and a diphthong [ae]. So, toy is pronounced in the PakE is as [tʊae].
6- /ɜː/ is frequently shortened to /ə/ and replaced with [əː].
7- [ɪ] is regarded longer than the RP. Therefore, it is not a lax vocoid segment of /ɪ/. In fact, it is less lax and needs more muscular energy to articulate.
8- [aɪ] is more central than closing.
9- Occasional occurrence of [æː] and [æ] instead of the short open-central vowel /æ/ are witnessed, e.g. the word *language* [ˈlæːŋgvɪt].
10 - /ʌ/ of PakE pronunciation is slightly weaker and back than the RP's one. It is produced with less muscular effort.

It is also important to note that diphthongs do exist in PakE, confirming the finding made by Mahboob & Ahmer (2004). The Figure 3 given below shows the occurrences of closing diphthongs. The low vowel [a] is diphthongized, as happens in RP, with the high vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ]. In addition, the diphthongization of the mid vowel [e] with the front open vowel is on the increase. The other mid vowels have the least tendency to be diphthongized. It could be predicted hence that after the diphthongization between the low and high vowels, the mid vowels are gradually moving to be lengthened with the high vowels. Jenner (1995) has also found the three wide closing diphthongs common in all varieties of native speakers of English.

Figure 3: Occurrence of closing diphthongs in the PakE
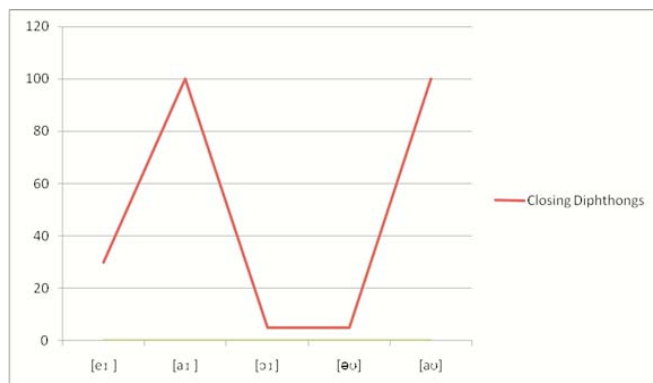
Since Karachi is a multilingual city of Pakistan, it also witnesses accents of the PakE ranging from the near RP accent, to Pakistani accent, to the most localized one, to the urban variety of English, i.e. the PakE. Figure 4 shows that the noticeable change in the continuum of the Pakistani accents. English phonemes /ɔː/ and /ɒ/ are found in the English of very few speakers, who have been brought up in the countries of Inner Circle, while [oː] is articulated by majority of Pakistanis who have lived in the urban areas of the country and speak English frequently in family and friendship. The university students, who lived in villages or on the outskirts of cities and have hardly had English communication with urban speakers of the language in the past, speak with [ɑː]. Therefore, [ɑː], which is commonly found in the Pushto and Sindhi speakers, not only disturbs intelligibility in the multilingual classrooms but is also stigmatized, hence least prestigious in Karachi. (A full-scale research on the intelligibility is being carried out to find out exactly how much these perceptions are valid.)

Figure 4: Social and regional accent difference with sound
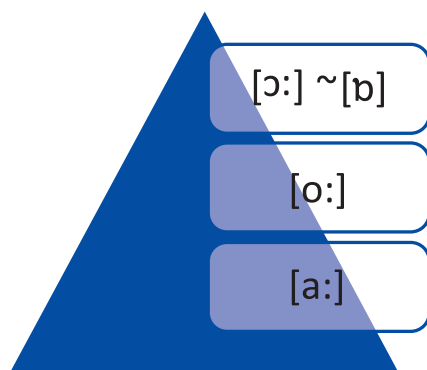
INFLUENCE OF GRAPHEMES

The other problem in PakE is the confusion between voiced and voiceless consonants. The phonemes /z/ and /d/ are always influenced by the English letters [s] and [d] and pronounced as [s] and [ḍ]. The word /hɪz/ is pronounced as [hɪs] while /wɜːrkt/ and /bʌlbz/ as [vɜːrgd] and [bəlps] respectively. It is worth-mentioning that the last two examples are more unintelligible as the change in voice has influenced the voiceless bilabial velar and the voiced bilabial plosive and made the voiceless voiced, and voiced voiceless as well. Therefore, words with -s and -ed have greater potential to disturb mutual intelligibility. This is, most probably, due to the influence of the English orthography, which is learned as the first receptive skill in the primary education system. In fact, this is writing in Pakistan, which is used as a tool for teaching pronunciation. This way of teaching seems to be fairly compatible with Urdu language teaching, which uses diacritics, along with Urdu graphemes, as a necessary pronunciation teaching tool for bridging the gap left in the Urdu alphabet. In fact, this practice is reinforced as it has historically been used by instructors for teaching the Quran, wherein recitation, sacrosanct in Islam, is taught as the first receptive skill. The same way of pronunciation learning has brought grapheme-influenced consonant gemination in the PakE as well. The learner pronounces a consonant twice. See Table 2 below.

Table 2: PakE consonant gemination in PakE

RP	PakE
i.rreversible	ir.reversible
i.llegal	il.legal
co.mmunication	com.munication
a.rrived	ar.rived

STRESS AND SYLLABIFICATION

Another striking difference found in the PakE is its idiosyncratic stress pattern. The wrong placement of word stress is potentially dangerous situation for intelligibility (Kenworthy, 1987; Brown, 1990; Dalton & Seidlhofer, 1994). This is because English is stress-

timed as opposed to syllable-timed Pakistani languages, in which a syllable is stressed and made sonorous by weakening other unstressed syllables.

Table 3: Word stress with the change in length

RP	PakE
ə'sɪs.t(ə)nt	as.ɪs'teːnt
wb'tev.ə(r)	vɔt'eː.vət
kən'dɪʃ(ə)n	kən'diː.ʃən

As a result of this difference, Pakistani learners have difficulty in placing word stress correctly. The examples in Table 3, which are lengthened in the PakE, are not perceived with clear prominence. They are both lengthened and stressed though. Maybe, this is the reason why syllables in the PakE have a tendency to be open and follow, in most cases, simplified syllable pattern of CV. See Table 4.

Table 4: A comparison of PakE and RP syllabic patterns

RP Syllabic Pattern		PakE Syllabic Pattern	
qual.ity	CVCVCV	qua.li.ty	CVCVCV
li.brary	CVCCVCV	li.b.ra.ry	CVCVCVCV
nev.er	CVCV(C)	ne.ver	CVCVC
pap.er	CVCV(C)	pa.per	CVCVC
ope.ration	VCVCVCC	o.pe.ra.tion	VCVCVCVC
con.grat.u.lations	CVCCCVCVCVCC	con.g.ra.tu.la.tions	CVCCVCVCVCVCVCC

The open-syllable pattern CV is universal, which is developed with any one of the two changes: consonant deletion or addition (Jenkins 2000). In this case, addition by epenthesis is the cause. The increase in the length of a syllable causes change in the pronunciation too. In addition, pitch and loudness remain non-contrastive. Therefore, it is hard to identity lexical stress and tonic stress, for example, stress on the words like con.fi.dent. Similarly, the place of stress remains on penultimate in both nouns and verbs of the bi-syllabic words import,

export and present. That increases confusion and brings changes in vowel places within a word as highlighted in Table 5.

Table 5: A comparison of vowel length shift between the PakE and RP

RP	PakE
/fɪit/	[fɪt
/kuːl?(r)/	[kʊlər]
/f3ːst/	[fɔst]
/siːn(ə)rɪ	[sɪnrɪ]
/tiːθ/	[tɪ.t]

The English intonation pattern does not exist either, which, according to many phonologists, not only changes the meaning of a message but also makes the language unintelligible.

PEDAGOGIC PRIORITIES

It could be concluded that PakE pronunciation both at segmental and supra-segmental levels are different from the 'standardized' varieties of English; therefore, it is essential to prioritize phonological areas which are vital for intelligibility and could be taught for the facilitation of mutual intelligibility -especially in the case of Karachi, where speakers of various regional languages come to study at tertiary level. Let's find how teaching of English pronunciation should be approached in more meaningful way for the multi-lingual ESL classroom settings in Karachi, with Jenkins' Phonology of EIL (2000).

As substitution of consonants breaks down communication, all sounds of English must be taught, except dental fricatives in this and thigh and dark /l/. In Pakistan, dental fricatives can be replaced with regional consistent dental plosives.

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However, /w/ and /ʒ/ must be taught. Those who confuse /r/ with /l/ should be helped to understand the significant differences between the phonemes.

Since the quality signifying how close a vowel is to RP or GA is not important for EIL mutual intelligibility, L2 regional vowels should be accommodated instead. The distinction, nevertheless, between long and short vowels is vital, and should be clear in speech. The long vowels /ɜː/ and /iː/ must be taught principally. Particular emphasis should be given to length. With diphthongs, just as with pure vowels, length should be preferred over the exact quality of a vowel. [ɑː] which replaces RP /ɔː/ and /ɒ/ must be taught to be ignored and substituted with PakE sound system consistent [oː] and [o] respectively.

Missing allophonic variation of /p/, /t/ and /k/ must be taught to make the PakE mutually intelligible. For that, learners should be able to release a puff of air while producing these sounds preceding vowels. They must also be taught that a vowel lengthens when it comes at the end of a syllable or precedes a lenis consonant, and shortens when it precedes a fortis consonant, e.g. lid/lit, too/tooth and ward/wart.

Consonant clusters must be intact at the initial and medial position of a word. Although we have seen that there is a gradual increase in the use of two-consonant clusters in the PakE, epenthesis is witnessed in most clusters for the ease of articulation, affecting intelligibility considerably. The epenthesis of schwa must be removed at the beginning of teaching.

In English, prominence in a tone group changes the meaning. The utterance 'THEY have got it' is different from the utterance 'They GOT it', due to a shift of the tonic stress from THEY to GOT. As a result, placement of the main stress on the wrong word in an utterance directs the listener's attention to the wrong place and leads to confusion. So, for teaching this, utterances must be divided into tone groups and learners must be taught what part carries the nuclear stress and how the tone moves down the stretch of the speech. As an ESL instructor, I observe this is quite complicated to teach to adult learners due to two reasons. Firstly, the change of tone might create identity crisis for the leaner. Secondly, learner's MT tone might not let the teacher teach the intonation of L2 successfully.

On the continuum between stress-timed and syllable-timed languages, English, with its multiple weak-form words and its heavily-reduced unstressed vowels, lies well towards stress-timing. As a result of this, learners frequently deem native speakers as harder to understand than nonnative ones. Ability to deal receptively with weak-forms and other connected speech modifications is a goal for all who will come into contact with native speakers. However, in terms of nonnative speaker's pronunciation, teaching should focus on achieving adequate prominence on the stressed syllables, rather than on attaining perfect weak forms or schwas for the reduced vowels. With correct prominence, even if totally lacking in weak forms or schwa, a learner's English will be intelligible.

CONCLUSIONS

Keeping in mind features, ESL instructors in Pakistan can successfully teach English pronunciation to adults with some appropriate strategies. To avoid inappropriate inference from spelling, L2 learners must be exposed to oral-aural activities and encouraged to be fluent first. As most of higher educational institutes are well-equipped with computers, learners may be asked to use software and interactive pronunciation exercises. They should be facilitated to focus larger chunks with appropriate intonation and speak in groups (Raza, 2006). Pairs of English phonemes should be taught separately at the end when it is needed, to help learners perceive contrasts in English sounds. If teachers are aware of the immediate needs of learners, they can teach English pronunciation better and learners will learn it efficiently in and outside Karachi.

Research# Research

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