
6. New Ways in Teaching

Listening

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Abstract

In top-down listening strategies the listener actively reconstructs the original meaning of the speaker using prior knowledge of the context and situation. Listeners also use bottom-up processing skills such as the ability to discriminate between minimal pairs. Besides these two strategies a number of other variables classify listening, including purpose for listening, the role of the listener, and the type of text being listened to. These variables are mixed in many different configurations, each of which will require a particular strategy on the part of the listener. After describing these variables, this article will go on to give a state-of-the-art overview of listening research and pedagogy quoting many recent studies. It concludes by explaining how this research can be applied to create a learner-centered approach in the listening class.

Listening is the Cinderella skill in second language learning. All too often, it has been overlooked by its elder sister: speaking. For most people, being able to claim knowledge of a second language means being able to speak and write in that language. Listening and reading are therefore secondary skills - means to other ends, rather than ends in themselves.

Every so often, however, listening comes into fashion. In the 1960s, the emphasis on oral language skills gave it a boost. It became fashionable again in the 1980s, when Krashen's (1982) ideas about comprehensible input gained prominence. A short time later, it was reinforced by James Asher's (1988) Total Physical Response, a methodology drawing sustenance from Krashen's work, and based on the belief that a second language is learned most effectively in the early stages if the pressure for production is taken off the learners. During the 1980s, proponents of listening in a second language were also encouraged by work in the first language field. Here, people such as Gillian Brown (see, for example, Brown 1984, Brown et al. 1987) were able to demonstrate the importance of developing oracy (the ability to listen and speak) as well as literacy, in school. Prior to this, it was taken for granted that first language speakers needed instruction in how to read and write, but not how to listen and speak because these skills were automatically bequeathed to them as native speakers.

The nature of the listening process

Listening is assuming greater and greater importance in foreign language classrooms. There are several reasons for this growth in popularity. By emphasizing the role of comprehensible input, second language acquisition research has given a major boost to listening. As Rost (1994:141-142) points out, listening is vital in the language classroom because it provides input for the learner. Without understanding input at the right level, any learning simply cannot begin. He provides three other important reasons for emphasizing listening, and these demonstrate the importance of listening to the development of spoken language proficiency.

1. Spoken language provides a means of interaction for the learner.
Because learners must interact to achieve understanding, access to speakers of the language is essential. Moreover, learners' failure to understand the language they hear is an impetus, not an obstacle, to interaction and learning.
2. Authentic spoken language presents a challenge for the learner to attempt to understand language as native speakers actually use it.
3. Listening exercises provide teachers with the means for drawing learners' attention to new forms (vocabulary, grammar, new interaction patterns) in the language. (pp. 141 - 142).

Two views of listening have dominated language pedagogy over the last twenty years. These are the bottom-up processing view and the top-down interpretation view. The bottom-up processing model assumes that listening is a process of decoding the sounds that one hears in a linear fashion, from the smallest meaningful units (phonemes) to complete texts. According to this view, phonemic units are decoded and linked together to form words, words are linked together to form phrases, phrases are linked together to form utterances, and utterances are linked together to form complete meaningful texts. In other words, the process is a linear one, in which meaning itself is derived as the last step in the process. In their introduction to listening Anderson and Lynch (1988) call this the 'listener as tape-recorder view' of listening because it assumes that the listener takes in and stores messages sequentially, in much the same way as a tape-recorder, one sound, word, phrase and utterance at a time.

The alternative, top-down view, suggests that the listener actively constructs

(or, more accurately, reconstructs) the original meaning of the speaker using incoming sounds as clues. In this reconstruction process, the listener uses prior knowledge of the context and situation within which the listening takes place to make sense of what he or she hears. Context of situation includes such things as knowledge of the topic at hand, the speaker or speakers and their relationship to the situation as well as to each other and prior events.

An important theoretical underpinning to the top-down approach is schema theory. Schema theory is based on the notion that past experiences lead to the creation of mental frameworks that help us make sense of new experiences. The term itself was first used by the psychologist Bartlett (1932), and has had an important influence on researchers in the areas of speech processing and language comprehension ever since. Bartlett argued that the knowledge we carry around in our heads is organized into interrelated patterns. They are like stereotypical mental scripts or scenarios of situations and events, built up from numerous experiences of similar events. During the course of our lives we build up literally hundreds of the mental schemas, and they help us make sense of the many situations we find ourselves in during the day, from catching the train to work, to taking part in a business meeting, to having a meal.

Occasionally, particularly in cross-cultural situations, when we apply the wrong or inappropriate schema to a situation it can get us into trouble. I am indebted to Erik Gundersen for the following vignette which eventually found its way into the ATLAS textbook series (Nunan, 1995).

When I was in Taiwan, I went out to this restaurant for a business dinner with maybe five or six people, and I was the least important person. There was the manager of our Asian office, a local sales representative, and a few other important people. Our host offered me a seat, and I took it, and everyone looked sort of uncomfortable, but no one said anything. But I could tell somehow I had done something wrong. And by Western standards I really didn't feel I had. I simply sat down in the seat I was given. I knew I had embarrassed everyone, and it had something to do with where I was sitting, but I didn't know what it was. ... Towards the end of the evening, our Asian manager in Taiwan said, "Just so that you know,

you took the seat of honor, and you probably shouldn't have." And I thought to myself, "Well, what did I do wrong?" And I asked her, and she said, "Well, you took the seat that was facing the door, and in Taiwan, that's the seat that's reserved for the most important person in the party, so that if the seat is offered to you, you should decline it. You should decline it several times, and perhaps on the fourth or fifth time that someone insists that you sit there as the foreign guest, you should, but you shouldn't sit there right away, as you did. (ATLAS Level 3, Unit 7)

In this situation, Gunderson applied his Western schema which says that when you are offered a seat by a host, then you take it. However, in many Eastern contexts, this is the wrong thing to do, as Gunderson discovered to his discomfort. However, the experience would have led him to modify his restaurant schemata. Seen in this way, even relatively uncomfortable learning experiences can be enriching. These mental frameworks are critically important in helping us to predict and therefore to cope with the exigencies of everyday life. In fact, as Oller (1979) has pointed out, without these schema, nothing in life would be predictable, and if nothing were predictable, it would be impossible to function. The world would appear chaotic.

In addition to stereotypical, cultural knowledge, local knowledge of participants, events and persons is important. It is difficult to interpret the following text, for example, without knowing that Jack is a vegetarian.

- Denise:* Jack's coming to dinner tonight.
Jim: I'd planned to serve lamb.
Denise: Well, you'll have to rethink that one.

The inadequacy of a strictly bottom-up approach has been demonstrated by research which shows that we do not store listening texts word-for-word as suggested by the bottom-up approach. When asked to listen to a text, and then write down as much as they can recall, listeners remember some bits, forget some bits, and often add in bits that were not there in the original listening. Additionally, it is highly unlikely that the pieces which are successfully recalled will be recorded in exactly the same words as the original message.

What has all this to do with listening comprehension? It suggests that in developing courses, materials and lessons, it is important, not only to teach bottom-up processing skills such as the ability to discriminate between minimal pairs, but it is also important to help learners use what they already know to understand what they hear. If teachers suspect that there are gaps in their learners' knowledge, the listening itself can be preceded by schema building activities to prepare learners for the listening task to come.

There are many different types of listening that can be classified according to a number of variables, including purpose for listening, the role of the listener, and the type of text being listened to. These variables are mixed in many different configurations, each of which will require a particular strategy on the part of the listener.

There are numerous ways in which texts can be classified. One common division is between monologues (for example, lectures, speeches, and news broadcasts), and dialogues. Monologues can be further subdivided into those that are planned and those that are unplanned. Planned monologues include media broadcasts and speeches. Many of these are texts which are written to be read, although this is not necessarily always the case. Unplanned monologues would include anecdotes, narratives, and extemporizations. Dialogues can be classified according to purpose: whether they are basically social / interpersonal or transactional in nature. Interpersonal dialogues can be further classified according to the degree of familiarity between the individuals involved.

Listening purpose is another important variable. Listening to a new news broadcast to get a general idea of the news of the day involves different processes and strategies from listening to the same broadcast for specific information, such as the results of an important sporting event. Listening to a sequence of instructions for operating a new piece of computer software requires different listening skills and strategies from listening to a poem or short story. In designing listening tasks, it is important to teach learners to adopt a flexible range of listening strategies. This can be done by holding the listening text constant (working, say, with a radio news broadcast reporting a series of international events), and getting learners to listen to the text several times, however, following

different instructions each time. They might, in the first instance, be required to listen for gist, simply identifying the countries where the events have taken place. The second time they listen, they might be required to match the places with a list of events. Finally, they might be required to listen for detail, discriminating between specific aspects of the event, or perhaps, comparing the radio broadcast with newspaper accounts of the same events and noting discrepancies or differences of emphasis.

This technique of developing flexibility in listening is exemplified in the following task. When engaging learners in such tasks, it is worth pointing out to learners the different strategies that are inherent in each phase of the task, and getting them thinking of situations in which the different strategies might be deployed.

Another way of characterizing listening is in terms of whether the listener is also required to take part in the interaction. This is known as reciprocal listening. When listening to a monologue, either live or through the media, the listening is by definition, non-reciprocal. The listener (often to his or her frustration), has no opportunity of answering back, clarifying understanding, or checking that he or she has comprehended correctly. In the real-world, it is rare for the listener to be cast in the role of non-reciprocal "eavesdropper" on a conversation. However, in the listening classroom, this is the normal role. In the section on the role of the learner in the listening process, I will describe a technique that can be used in the classroom for giving learners a chance to respond as they might in a conversational exchange.

Research into listening

Dunkel (1993), in her excellent state-of-the-art overview of listening research and pedagogy, suggests that the current interest in listening comprehension research has been driven by relatively recent developments in second language acquisition theory. Krashen (1982) and others suggest that comprehensible input is an important factor in second language acquisition, and that a comprehension-before-production approach can facilitate language acquisition, particularly in the early stages.

This research stimulated the development of a number of comprehension based

methods, the best known of which during the 1980s was probably James Asher's (1988) intriguingly titled Total Physical Response. Asher's methodology was also heavily influenced by the implications he derived from research into first language acquisition. Asher derived three principles from his beliefs about the nature of first language acquisition:

1. We should stress comprehension rather than production at the beginning levels of second language instruction with no demand on the learners to produce the target language.
2. We should obey the 'here and now' principle which argues that language should be associated with things that are physically present in the environment.
3. Learners should demonstrate comprehension by listening to, and carrying out instructions couched in the imperative.

An important consideration for pedagogy (and a major challenge for course designers and materials writers using a task-oriented approach) concerns task difficulty. If grammatical complexity is not to be the sole determining factor in deciding the ordering of tasks within courses as a whole, and also within units of work, then what factors can be drawn on. In the first language arena, Watson and Smeltzer (1984) suggest that factors internal to the learner such as attentiveness, motivation, interest in and knowledge of the topic, can have a marked bearing on listening success. Textual factors include the organization of information (texts in which the information is presented in the same sequence as they occurred in real life are easier to comprehend than texts in which the items are presented out of sequence), the explicitness and sufficiency of information provided, the type of referring expressions used (for example, use of pronouns rather than complete noun phrases makes texts more difficult), and whether the text is describing a 'static' relationship (for example a geometric figure) or a dynamic one (for example an accident). Brown and Yule (1983) suggest that there are four principal sets of factors affecting the difficulty of listening.

1. Speaker factors: How many speakers are there? How quickly do they speak? What types of accents do they have?
2. Listener factors: What is the listener's role - eavesdropper or participant? What level of response is required? How interested is the listener in the subject?
3. The content: How complex is the grammar, vocabulary and

information structure? What background knowledge is assumed?

4. Support: How much support is provided in terms of pictures, diagrams or other visual aids.

In their research, Anderson and Lynch (1988) identified five factors determining the difficulty of listening tasks. These were as follows:

1. The organization of information
2. The familiarity of the topic
3. The explicitness and sufficiency of the information
4. The type of referring expressions used
5. Whether the text describes a static or dynamic relationship

The tasks used by Anderson and Lynch (1988) in their research illustrate the way some of these characteristics function to facilitate or inhibit comprehension. One of these was a 'trace the route' task, in which students listen to a description of a trip around a city or part of a city and then trace the route on a map. The researchers manipulated some of the features identified above, and these variations changed the difficulty of the task. Maps laid out in a rectangular grid, with all streets and features marked, were easier than those with irregular streets. Not surprisingly, completeness of information was an important factor. Texts became increasingly difficult according to the number of features mentioned in the listening that were omitted from the map. As the number of buildings and natural landmarks increased, so did the difficulty. The most difficult version of the task was one in which the listening text and the map contained contradictory information.

Another strand of research has focused on the types of classroom tasks that facilitate listening comprehension. Spada (1990) reports on an investigation demonstrating the effectiveness of structuring the listening for the learners by providing a set of predictive exercises to complete while carrying out the listening. The predictive work, plus the opportunity for students to stop the tape during the course of the listening exercise to ask questions, led to greater gains in listening than in classes where the teacher launched directly into the listening without any schema building activities, and students were not provided with the opportunity of seeking clarification during the course of the listening.

In the listening study reported in Nunan (1997), the use of a concept mapping technique also proved effective. Students were asked to listen to an interview with a television journalist, and complete a concept map which showed, not only the key words and phrases, but the relationships between them. This task resulted in sufficiently greater recall than when subjects were simply asked to listen.

Difficulty is also affected by the extent to which listeners are required to extract information directly from the text, or whether they are required to make inferences. In the study described in the preceding paragraph, I found that learners had greater difficulty determining the truth value of statements requiring inferences than those in which the truth value could be determined directly from the listening text (Nunan, 1997). This study also investigated the types of tasks that facilitate comprehension. It was found that having learners perform tasks such as making notes, checking off key words and phrases, and completing concept maps while they were listening facilitated comprehension.

Listening in practice

As we have seen, listening and reading are often characterized as 'passive' or 'receptive' skills. The image conjured up by these terms is of the learner-as-sponge, passively absorbing the language models provided by textbooks and tapes. However, as we saw in the preceding section, there is evidence to suggest that listening, that is, making sense of what we hear, is a constructive process in which the learner is an active participant. In order to comprehend, listeners need to reconstruct the original intention of the speaker by making use of both bottom-up and top-down processing strategies, and by drawing on what they already know to make use of new knowledge.

A challenge for the teacher in the listening classroom, is to give learners some degree of control over the content of the lesson, and to personalize content so learners are able to bring something of themselves to the task. There are numerous ways in which listening can be personalized. For example, it is possible to increase learner involvement by providing extension tasks which take the listening material as a point of departure, but which then lead learners into providing part of the content themselves. For example, the students might listen

to someone describing the work they do, and then create a set of questions for interviewing the person.

A learner-centered dimension can be lent to the listening class in one of two ways. In the first place, tasks can be devised in which the classroom action is centered on the learner not the teacher. In tasks exploiting this idea, students are actively involved in structuring and restructuring their understanding of the language and in building their skills in using the language. Secondly, teaching materials, like any other type of materials can be given a learner-centered dimension by getting learners involved in the processes underlying their learning and in making active contributions to it. This can be achieved in the following ways:

- making instructional goals explicit to the learner
- giving learners a degree of choice
- giving learners opportunities to bring their own background knowledge and experience into the classroom
- encouraging learners to develop a reflective attitude to learning and to develop skills in self-monitoring and self-assessment.

There are many different ways of classifying listening tasks. They can be classified according to the role of the learners - whether they are involved in reciprocal or non-reciprocal listening. They can be classified according to the types of strategies demanded of the listener - listening for gist, listening for specific information, making inferences based on what they hear and so on. Alternatively, they can be classified according to whether the task focuses principally on linguistic skills (activating and extending the listeners knowledge of phonology, grammar and discourse), or whether the focus is on the experiential content of the material.

Reciprocal listening involves dialogues, in which the role of the individual alternates between listener and speaker. Non-reciprocal listening involves listening to monologues. In listening courses, learners are involved in both reciprocal and non-reciprocal listening tasks. In the case of reciprocal listening, they can be cast in the role of participant, in which they alternate between listener or speaker, or they can be cast in the role of 'eavesdropper' or 'overhearer'. In this second type of task, they listen in on conversations between two or more other speakers, but do not take part in the conversation themselves. Not surprisingly,

this second type of listening is the more usual type in the listening class.

I try to simulate the interactive nature of listening, and also try to involve learners personally in the content of the language lesson through activities such as the following example. In this task, the learners listen to one side of a conversation, and react to written responses. Obviously, this is not the same thing as taking part in an actual conversation, but I find that it does generate a level of involvement on the part of learners that goes beyond the usual sort of non-participatory listening task. Because learners are providing personalized responses, there is variation between learners, and this creates the potential for follow-up speaking tasks, in which learners compare and share their responses with other learners. This particular task is taken from a unit set in an airport.

Instructions To Student

Imagine that you are taking part in an airport survey. Listen and circle responses for each question.

- a. Sure. / OK. As long as it doesn't take too long.
- b. Yes, I did. / No, it was rather short.
- c. Yes, it's fine. / Well, it could be a little cleaner, actually.
- d. Yes, they're fine. / I don't think so. I think they need to do better.
- e. Yes, it did. / No. I had to wait quite along time, actually.
- f. You're welcome. / Don't mention it.

Tapescript

Um, excuse me, we're doing a survey of what passengers think of facilities at the airport. Is it OK if I ask you a few questions? Did you have a long flight?
 Uh-huh. So what do you think of the airport? Is it clean? What about the airport personnel? Are they efficient? Right. Now, how about the baggage? Did it arrive quickly and in good condition? Well, that's all. Thank you very much.

Speaking Extension Task

Student A, interview your partner. Ask these questions:

Can I ask you some questions?

Did you have a short flight?

Is the airport clean?

Are the airport workers efficient?

Did the baggage arrive quickly?

Thank you for taking part in the survey.

[Source: D. Nunan. 1997. Listen In Book 2. Singapore: International Thomson Publishing.]

Non-reciprocal listening tasks can draw on a rich variety of authentic data, not just lectures and one-sided anecdotes. In my own listening classes, I have used the following data:

- answering machine messages
- store announcements
- announcements on public transportation
- mini lectures
- narrative recounts

The increasing use of computerized messages on the telephone by companies and public utilities can also provide a rich source of data. The following text, used in a lesson on 'Entertainment' was adapted from a system developed by a chain of movie theaters. Customers call the theater to select a movie and pay for it over the telephone.

A: Feel like seeing a movie?

B: Sure. What's playing?

A: Dunno. Let's try that new computerized booking service.

B: The what?

A: That new telephone service I was telling you about.

B: How does it work?

A: Well, you just call up this number where is it? Here.

B: OK. (sound of telephone being dialed.)

C: Good afternoon, welcome to Ticketmaster. You can now book tickets to all current movies through Ticketmaster. To choose from a list of current movies, press 1 now. To choose from a list of theaters, press 2 now. To find out about Ticketmaster's new features, press 3 now. To repeat this list, press zero one.

B: Hit one.

A: OK. (beep)

C: The following is a list of movies. Enter your selection at any time.

- For the Nutty Professor press one now. For Danger in Space, press two, now. For Death at Midnight, press three now.
- A: Let's do the Crazy Professor.
- B: Oh no, I don't feel like a comedy.
- A: OK. I hate sci fi, so let's go to Death at Midnight. I heard it's quite good.
- B: OK. (beep)
- C: Theaters showing Death at Midnight. For the Odeon Queensway, press one now. For the New York Cinema, press two now. For the ABC Theater Parkside, press 3 now. For
- B: OK. Queensway's the nearest.
- A: Two?
- B: Uh-huh.
- C: You have selected the Odeon Queensway. Please select the day of show. For today, press one now. For tomorrow, please press two now. For the day after tomorrow, please press three now. (beep) Please select a show time for today. For 12:30 p.m. press one now. For 2:30 p.m. press two now. For five thirty p.m. press three now. For
- A: Five thirty?
- B: Uh-huh. (beep)
- C: You have chosen five thirty. Please enter the number of tickets you wish to purchase. Up to nine. (beep). You have booked two tickets. If this is correct, press the hash sign to continue. To re-enter the number of seats, press zero two. (beep) You have confirmed two seats. Please select a credit card for payment. To pay by American Express, press one now. To pay by Mastercard, press two now. To pay by Visa, press three now.
- A: Amex?
- B: No. Let me pay. I'll put it on Visa. (beep)
- C: You have selected Visa. Please punch in your number followed by the sharp key
- A: Wow! I'm glad we're not calling long distance!

[Source: D. Nunan. 1997. Listen In. Book 2. International Thomson Publishing.]

A recurring theme in recent books and papers on language teaching methodology is the need to develop learners' awareness of the processes underlying their own learning so that, eventually, they will be able to take greater and greater responsibility for that learning. This can be done through the adoption of a learner-centered strategy at the level of classroom action, and partly through equipping students with a wide range of effective learning strategies. Through these, students will not only become better listeners, they will also become more effective language learners because they will be given opportunities to focus on, and reflect upon, the processes underlying their own learning. This is important, because if learners are aware of what they are doing, if they are conscious of the processes underlying the learning they are involved in, then learning will be more effective. Key strategies that can be taught in the listening classroom include selective listening, listening for different purposes, predicting, progressive structuring, inferencing, and personalizing. These strategies should not be separated from the content teaching but woven into the ongoing fabric of the lesson so that learners can see the applications of the strategies to the development of effective learning.

I particularly favor the development of inferential comprehension tasks because they force the learner to process the material more deeply. They also facilitate the development of vocabulary. In short, they require the learners to do more work than tasks that only require literal comprehension.

As indicated earlier, in addition to teaching direct strategies such as selective listening and listening for gist, the teacher can also emphasize learning processes by stating goals at the beginning of each lesson. Such statements are important because learners are made aware of what the teacher is trying to achieve. The goal statement can be reinforced by self-check exercises at regular intervals during these course. These will serve to remind learners of what they have learned, and give them an opportunity to monitor and evaluate their progress.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have set out some of the theoretical, empirical and practical aspects of listening comprehension. I have suggested that listening classrooms of today need to develop both bottom-up and top-down listening skills in learners. I have also stressed the importance of a strategies-based approach to the teaching

of listening. Such an approach is particularly important in classrooms where students are exposed to substantial amounts of authentic data because they will not (and should not expect to) understand every word.

In summary, we can say that an effective listening course will be characterized by the following features (see also the design features set out in Mendelsohn, 1994):

- The materials should be based on a wide range of authentic texts, including both monologues and dialogues;
- Schema-building tasks should precede the listening;
- Strategies for effective listening should be incorporated into the materials;
- Learners should be given opportunities to progressively structure their listening by listening to a text several times, and by working through increasingly challenging listening tasks;
- Learners should know what they are listening for and why;
- The task should include opportunities for learners to play an active role in their own learning;
- Content should be personalized.

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