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Beyond Minimal Pairs

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BEYOND MINIMAL PAIRS

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Abstract:

In this paper, the author describes her experience teaching Standard American English pronunciation to speakers of other languages. She goes on to explore new ways of teaching pronunciation and explains why she thinks they can be more effective.

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In this paper I will deal with my attempts to teach Standard American English pronunciation, (which I will refer to as S.A.E.,) to speakers of other languages. I will start by describing a relevant student teaching experience including thoughts on my learning as a result of this experience. I will also explore new ways of teaching pronunciation which I now feel can be more effective than the ways I tried.

During the summer of 1981 I spent six weeks at the American Language Academy in Lyndon Center, Vermont, teaching a small group of students whose native languages were Japanese, Spanish, Arabic and Indonesian. They had come to the United States to learn English. Some of them planned to enter college preparatory schools in the fall. They were very concerned and somewhat anxious about being understood by their American peers. It seemed to me that pronunciation was the main obstacle in the way of communication, so I made working with their pronunciation one of my priorities.

One of the assumptions I made was that these foreign students would be more quickly accepted if they "sounded American." This initial acceptance I saw as playing an important role in motivating them to continue to improve their English. Since they were in an English-speaking environment, I thought it would be easy for them to pick up the accent. After all, they were constantly being exposed to American English pronunciation--the northern Vermont variety of local residents such as the postman, shopkeepers, the cafeteria staff and telephone operators, and to the "standard" variety, of national network

television and radio and, of course, their E.S.L. teachers! I assumed that my rather neutral midwestern accent would be a good model for my students.

It made sense to me that, with enough exposure to a particular way of speaking, a student would begin to imitate the sounds and intonations of that speech. After all, as a child, I had begun sounding like my parents after several years of exposure to their speech. I needed to be understood by the people around me, and was eventually successful without much effort that I can consciously remember.

I made the assumption that second language learning had a lot in common with first language learning. I also assumed that my students would learn English much the way I had learned it. One difference I saw was that they were already competent language learners. They had learned a native language and were now engaged in learning a second one. Gattegno suggests that we may have a blueprint for language inside of us, and as very young children, we'll learn to speak any language we're exposed to.[1] I thought perhaps, if this blueprint hadn't been discarded, it could be used again in second language learning.

I assumed, as Gattegno suggests, that the potential to hear and speak any language just like a native speaker was inside my students, and could be brought out. It was my role as teacher to educate my students in the original sense of the word "educare," meaning to draw out this potential. I had to create an environment where my students would be willing to let the language come out. In the next few pages I will describe

some of the ways I tried to encourage my students' attempts at communicating in English.

First of all, I decided to use only Standard American English pronunciation, speed, vocabulary and structure with my students. They could depend on me to be a model. I didn't expect them to understand everything I said. I was exposing them to the sounds of S.A.E. I know from my own language learning experience that I need intensive exposure to the "music" of a language before being ready to speak it. I need to listen carefully to the intonation, rhythm and sounds first. Only later do I work on comprehension, and finally I attempt to express my own meaning using these strange new sounds. My students were already expressing themselves well enough for me to understand their meaning, but I have had a lot of experience understanding foreigners' English. Knowing something of their languages also helped me get at what they were trying to express. The real test, I thought, would be for my students to try to make themselves understood by an average Standard American English speaker who had little or no experience communicating with foreigners.

So I asked my students to accomplish certain tasks. In order to successfully complete these tasks, they had to communicate effectively with native American English (A.E.) speakers in town. Some examples of these tasks are as follows:

1) Go to the drugstore and tell the druggist you need something for a headache. Ask him/her which medicine is best for you. Compare various kinds and

discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each one. Choose one, buy it and explain to the class why you chose that one.

2) Call the local movie theater manager and complain that they never show any movies you like. Suggest some movies you'd like to see, and ask why they can't show them instead. Convince some others to call the manager and make the same request. Invite a friend to the movies when one you like is playing. Report on it to the class.

3) Go to a restaurant alone. Order something you like, cooked to order (for example, a rare steak). If it's not exactly the way you like it, call the waiter and politely insist on getting what you ordered. Report on your experience to the class.

Successful completion of these tasks requires not only precisely understandable language, but also a certain assertive confidence that the student can make him/herself understood to speakers of S.A.E., and get what he/she wants. These situations can, at first, be intimidating to deal with in a language one is just learning to use.

The notional-functional approach is based on communicating in realistic situations like these. Notional refers to what you want, and the functional to how to get it. The goal is to communicate a need in a way appropriate to the situation. For example, you need to ask for a refund. In order to be successful, you must be assertive and convincing. The words you choose

and the way you express yourself must be appropriate. One must take into consideration much more than just words to express meaning. Such factors include degree of familiarity with the interlocuter, urgency of request and persuasive ability. These subtleties are expressed by the speaker's tone of voice, stress and intonation patterns. Along with pronunciation, these essential details can determine the outcome of the communicative situation. I wanted to provide my students with first-hand experience (successful or not) at discovering this for themselves. I thought this would help them appreciate the importance of this process which I will call fin -tuning language.

The students spent an afternoon in town, carrying out their tasks. They returned the next morning to report to the class on their findings. I observed and did not correct pronunciation during the reports. I wanted to encourage the students not to be afraid of making mistakes. The important thing was to try to communicate, after all. I didn't want them to become so self-conscious that they would be afraid to open their mouths. I had said that the process was more important than the product. So, I shouldn't have been surprised to discover that some of the same pronunciation mistakes were being made. There was little evidence of our previous pronunciation practice. We had been working on differentiating between two vowel sounds, [i] as in bit and [iy] as in beat. All of the language groups I was working with had trouble making this distinction. We had spent an hour in class pronouncing minimal pairs such as bid-bead and lid-lead. I got

these exercises from Nilsen and Nilsen's book Pronunciation Contrasts in English[2]. I had displayed the accompanying diagrams of sound production, from which they could see the correct position of tongue, lips, etc. They watched me model the sounds, then they watched themselves make them using small mirrors. When it seemed that they understood the difference and could see it and explain it, I tried to get them to feel the difference. I asked them to put their hands on both cheeks, close their eyes and practice saying bit-beat. They could feel their facial muscles moving to make those two distinct vowel sounds.

Then we worked on hearing the difference. For this, we used the language laboratory. I modeled the minimal pair, bead-bid, and they repeated it onto their cassettes, which were then played back. They could hear the difference between the model and their way of pronouncing these words. They could gradually hear their own progress towards pronouncing the vowels the way I did. I was satisfied that they had all seen, felt and heard the difference. The next step was transferring the knowledge to everyday speech, which I thought would be the easy part. But I was surprised to find that, although the students could produce the isolated sounds correctly as part of a pronunciation exercise, they didn't seem to be able to make the jump to doing the same thing in everyday conversation. The missing link, I decided, was somewhere between the mechnical and the meaningful production of the sound. Correct pronunciation should be automatic. We shouldn't have to intel-

lectually decide how to move our muscles in order to produce a particular sound. If we had to do that every time we wanted to express ourselves, we'd never come out with anything spontaneous. Perhaps the minimal pairs route was the long way home. I decided to look beyond minimal pairs.

I began to think that there were perhaps other factors involved in the process of learning to speak like a native speaker. Could something be interfering with my students' ability to really hear the correct pronunciation and/or duplicate it? Maybe my students didn't want to sound like Americans! This brought to mind a student of German I had taught who had trouble with German pronunciation. She kept telling me she wanted to pronounce German correctly, but she didn't like sounding so harsh and gutteral. She couldn't imagine herself behaving like a German would, and speech is certainly a part of behavior. She finally realized that she had a strong association between the German language and the "bad guys" in the World War II movies she had watched as a child. The last thing she wanted was to sound like one of them, or behave the way they did! After she came to terms with this she decided to take a trip to Germany. She met real people who spoke German everyday and was able to replace her negative associations with positive ones. Although she never sounded exactly like a native speaker, she got closer to her goal and felt much better about herself speaking German.

I thought perhaps my students were experiencing some similar feelings about learning English. So I initiated a discus-

sion in class about pre-conceptions they had had of Americans before coming to the U.S. Now that they were here, I asked them to tell me frankly what they thought of Americans. It came out, for example, that our custom of standing several feet away from the person we are talking with offended some students from Latin cultures. They got the feeling that we were being cold and distant, literally "stand-offish." I asked them how they would feel behaving like Americans. Would it feel like they were betraying their own sense of what is normal? If they started sounding like Americans, did it follow that they would have to act like Americans down to the last detail? Is it possible to retain one's personality and cultural/linguistic identity even when speaking another language perfectly? Is it possible to develop a new linguistic identity? Supposing my students did decide to sound and act just like an American would in a certain situation, did that mean that their native linguistic/cultural identity was lost? Isn't it possible to be bilingual and bicultural? Does this mean we necessarily have two distinct identities? Can they be fused like two branches of the same tree, sharing a common base?

My students agreed it is possible to create a new part of oneself, a part which acts and speaks differently from the rest. Some felt very little threat to their native identity, and others felt more. This may have had to do with deep psychological factors such as degree of ego permeability.

> Individual variations among adults in the ability to approximate native-like pronunciation in a foreign language are in part determined by certain

> psychological variables, best subsumed under the construct of empathy, or more broadly, the construct of permeability of ego boundaries.[3]

It seemed to be the students who felt more of an identity threat who had trouble pronouncing S.A.E. like native speakers. I concluded that it takes a certain personal and cultural flexibility to allow new sounds to enter one's ears and come out of one's mouth. This flexibility is not automatically present in an adult student but it can be worked on.

I saw this discussion as an important first step in working on pronunciation. We had to get ready to work on pronunciation first. Only when students felt ready to develop another linguistic self could we proceed successfully.[4] I gained respect for my students as people growing in new directions.

> Ultimately, only the individual himself, who is prepared to pay the price for his mistakes, is entitled to commit his time and energy to what seems to be his best interest. Anyone who takes upon himself such responsibility on behalf of another is abusing his power. If for the good merchant the customer is always right, for the good educator the learner is always right. So a new theory makes its appearance, that of the educator as a facilitator of progress toward goals chosen by the learner.[5]

I remembered my own sometimes difficult, sometimes joyful learning process of learning French while living in France for three years. There were times when I wanted to sound just like a French person and even be mistaken for one, and other times when I needed to let people know, through my verbal expression, that I am an American only trying to speak French. I decided what was appropriate at any given time.

Developing another linguistic self is a very personal process during which an understanding teacher can be helpful. I decided to try to be such a teacher.

If a student discovers resistance to sounding American, I understand and don't push or threaten. If a student then chooses to, he/she can work with him/herself on sounding various appropriate ways. As their teacher, I was interested in showing them the advantages of being able to choose how to sound at any given time, and how to use a variety of possible ways of speaking. How could I best do this? I decided that a very important factor in the process of speaking with correct pronunciation is the ability to hear correct pronunciation. My students had examples all around them, but could they actually hear what I heard? Did each one of us hear slightly differently, just as we each see our own unique shade of pink when we look at a rose? Do our eyes actually color what we see? Is our experience altered by our senses? Do we experience only what we choose to? Do we each have a sort of cultural filter which only lets in what makes sense or sounds correct to us? These questions need to be considered.

I made the assumption that my students had differences in perception, and that that could partially account for the variety of sounds they produced. How boring it would be if we all had standardized voices! We would sound like computers. The human voice is truly amazing in its range of expression. Who was I to expect these students to sound like me? Just as we have many acceptable regional and socio-economic dialects

in the English language, so we have many acceptable accents. A foreign accent can be considered desirable for an actor, for example, but probably would not be for a television newscaster. In certain situations, a flat midwestern accent is considered to be most appropriate. If people from all over the country are to understand the nightly news, for example, it must be spoken in a common language. S.A.E. is a sort of linguistic common denominator. It is the "passe-partout" or skeleton key of American English.

Assuming that each student heard the model slightly differently, I had to be more tolerant of the variety of responses I got. But <u>how</u> tolerant could I be? How tolerant was <u>too</u> tolerant? At what point did a foreign accent become an impediment to communication? I decided that the bottom line would be whether or not the foreign speaker could be understood by and understand an average American speaker of S.A.E. I asked my students to listen to the nightly news on a major network. The next day in class they participated in a role-playing exercise in which they imitated Dan Rather and Walter Cronkite reporting the news. Without realizing it, they were speaking a standard variety of American English virtually free of regional idioms or accents.[6] This exercise helped my less confident students temporarily shed their Japanese or Venezuelan identity and try on an American one. It seemed easier for them to become an altogether new character with a new cultural and linguistic identity than to attempt to integrate strange mannerisms and speech into their already well-established native

identities. While performing a task in which a new identity was adopted, they could more easily put aside their fears and inhibitions of speaking English.

This observation is confirmed by the experience of Lynn Dhority, who uses the Suggestive-Accelerative Learning and Teaching approach. I attended a lecture and demonstration he gave at the Massachusetts Foreign Language Association Convention.[7] He asked participants to step into new identities by choosing a new name, profession, personality, and language (in this case, German). Doing this freed us to take risks, which is an essential part of the learning process. We found ourselves interacting in new situations, making strange sounds and behaving in ways we otherwise wouldn't have allowed ourselves to. One of the assumptions of the S.A.L.T. approach is that we all have extraordinary, unused potential which can be tapped in an optimal learning environment. This environment can be created by an artful teacher whose personal style is congruent and integrated with the purpose of the learning situation, by multi-sensory experience/stimuli (music, lights, soft comfortable seating arrangements, lots of play, humor and imagination and supportive group dynamics.[8] Our very first language learning experience may well have been in such an environment. As babies we absorbed sounds and responded to emotional inflections of voices we heard. We were then in the "receptive phase" when we received exposure to the language. Only several years later did we enter the "active phase" when we actually used what we had learned. First language learning

is an organic process. The soil must be first prepared, then the seeds can be sown and finally we can reap the harvest! What does this approach say about working with pronunciation? I interpret preparing the soil to mean that the students must be ready and open to learning to speak the language as native-like as possible. Then, the seeds must be sown during the receptive phase. This is the period when students are exposed to the language, with all of its unique music. Most often E.S.L. students do not sit passively and listen to English for years before trying to produce it. My students were living in an English-speaking environment, so they needed to function in English, i.e., meet people, ask directions, do business at the bank, etc. However, in the classroom they could have spent the first week of the six-week summer course concentrating on absorbing the sounds of this strange new language. For me as the teacher, this would have meant taking on the active role at first, giving them my own voice and language as a model to study. Once they felt secure and comfortable and could understand most of what I was presenting, they would be ready to start letting these strange new sounds come out of their own mouths, during the active phase.

Ideally, toward the end of the six-week course, the students would be more active verbally than the teacher in class. They would have gained enough confidence, with the teacher's encouragement and support, to speak for themselves. I would not require them to speak, though, until they felt confident about expressing themselves in English. Then, if the sounds

come out a bit wobbly and the student looked to me for help, I'd repeat the sound, word or phrase "human-computer" style.[9] This is a helpful tool for a student who is unsure of how to pronounce a word. The student signals to the teacher to model the word over and over mechanically, and then repeats after the model until he/she feels secure enough to pronounce the word without outside help.

A major advantage to this technique is that a sound, word or phrase can be magnified and closely examined by the student, which enables him/her to duplicate it exactly in isolation. Another advantage of this technique is that the student can ask for just what he/she needs, no more and no less. The student is taking responsibility for his/her own learning. Some students are hesitant to take advantage of the "human computer" technique because they are not used to feeling in control of a situation in the classroom. Beginning to feel in control of this situation can lead to feeling in control of producing new sounds. Precise pronunciation at first takes conscious control, and later becomes automatic and natural.

Allowing students to have some control in a classroom situation is part of creating an optimal learning environment. Students need to feel comfortable, unintimidated and be ready to learn. Lynn Dhority invites his students to sit in comfortable arm chairs, breathe deeply and listen to classical music. Then he gives a "concert" consisting of his voice against a background of specially chosen mood music. Students passively absorb his voice in the target language. He adds a certain

emotional quality by letting his voice become very expressive--sometimes soft and flowing, sometimes sharp or strained. The "audience" listens with their eyes closed. They are in the "receptive phase." Only after much preparation does the learning become obvious. In the active phase, students start coming out with sounds, words and phrases. They are at the point where they want to express themselves in the target language. Pronunciation is not corrected at this time. The student's meaning is "understood" or nonverbally accepted, not judged by the teacher. Only after all of this does the student start to want to fine-tune his/her own pronunciation. This is when a technique such as the human computer exercise can be helpful.

This fine-tuning process comes naturally out of a need to be understood. In the S.A.L.T. approach, students are not burdened with having to sound like native speakers from the very beginning, every time they try to speak. Their natural rhythm of learning is respected, and students are allowed to spend as much time in each developmental stage as is necessary for them to feel secure enough to move on to the next.

This approach to teaching and learning seems more organic in the sense that it allows for stages of growth rather than imposing a finished product (in this case, perfect command of the language) on a student and expecting him/her to learn by repetitive drilling of a perfectly-pronounced model. The student is encouraged to pass through stages of language learning at his/her own pace. The goal is for the student to be able

to produce expression of his/her own meaning in the target language, not just to show how well he/she can mimic the teacher. This goal is achieved by setting the stage and allowing the student to act. First the teacher is a model, demonstrating the part, and later a coach, giving pointers and encouragement. A student can allow the new linguistic identity to co-exist with the native identity and choose when to give each one expression.

I feel that the S.A.L.T. approach to second language learning is very effective because it so closely follows the developmental stages of first language acquisition. For some students, sounding like a native speaker of S.A.E. may come easily, and for others it may seem impossible or even undesirable. But for those who consider it a priority, I would recommend the S.A.L.T. approach as being both effective and enjoyable.

CONCLUSION

As I have described in the beginning of the paper, during my student teaching internship, I assumed that my students would learn to speak S.A.E., largely by imitation. I have since concluded that more than immersion in a target language environment is needed in order to learn to speak like a native speaker. As Gattegno points out,

> Children do not learn by imitation, otherwise they would speak at different pitches to the various people they come in contact with. 10

He goes on to say that a child cannot see tongue movements which he/she would necessarily have to duplicate in order to talk, were this the case.[11]

During my internship, it seemed that having students repeat minimal pairs after me was only a kind of mantra, which could be compared to knocking on a door. This in itself was not enough to gain entry into a new linguistic/cultural world. My students needed an optimal learning environment in which they could be exposed to and try out new ways of expressing themselves. Repetition did play an important role once students were ready for and asked for it.

In my search for an optimal learning environment, I began investigating Suggestive-Accelerative Learning and Teaching. In this approach the learning/teaching environment plays an important role in enabling students to allow a new linguistic self to grow in stages without threatening the already existing one.

My present thoughts on the teaching of pronunciation have been influenced by my exposure to the S.A.L.T. approach.

Since choosing this topic I've spent two academic years teaching languages. I have become ecclectic, using techniques appropriate for each situation in accordance with my own assumptions about language learning and teaching. Writing this paper has enabled me to focus on pronunciation as a challenge in my teaching.

As I have shown, there is no one guaranteed way all E.S.L. students will learn to speak S.A.E. like native speakers. It

is a choice they make. It is my role, as the teacher, to create a condusive environment in which new linguistic selves may grow along with existing selves, to form whole, multi-lingual people.

ENDNOTES

[1] Caleb Gattegno, A Theory of Bilingual-Transcultural Education, Educational Solutions Newsletter, Vol. VII, No. 5, June 1978.

[2] Nilsen & Nilsen, Pronunciation Contrasts in English, pp. 1 and 8, (see appendix 1 and 2).

[3] William Acton, "Right Hemispherics and Pronunciation in a Foreign Language," TESOL, March 1983.

[4] Caleb Gattegno.

[5] Caleb Gattegno, p. 3.

[6] After writing this I found the same idea in John Esling and Rita Wong's article "Voice Quality Settings and the Teaching of Pronunciation" in the TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 17, No. 1, March 1983, p. 94.

[7] Lynn Dhority, "Suggestive-Accelerative Learning and Teaching: An Introductory Workshop," MFLA Conference, Worcester, Mass., Oct. 1982.

[8] Ibid.

[9] The "human computer" technique comes from the Community Counseling-Learning (CLL) approach to language teaching based on the works of Father Curran.

[10] Caleb Gattegno, What We Owe Children, p. 24.

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SOUND	VERTICAL POSITION	HORIZONTAL POSITION	LIP ROUNDING	DIPHTHONG-IZATION	TENSENESS
[iy] beat	high	front	unrounded	slightly diphthongized	tense
[i] bit	high	front	unrounded	not diphthongized	lax

Languages

Bulgarian
Burmese
Cebuano
Chinese
Estonian
Fijian
French
Georgian
Greek
Hausa
Hawaiian
Hebrew
Hungarian
Indonesian
Italian
Japanese
Korean
Micronesian
Navajo
Persian
Portuguese
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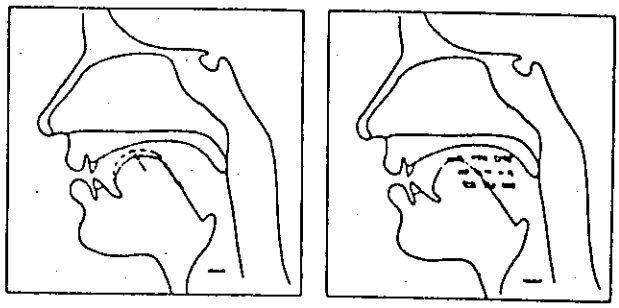


SENTENCES WITH CONTEXTUAL CLUES

Please SIT in this SEAT.
These shoes should FIT your FEET.
Do you STILL STEAL?
Those BINS are for BEANS.
They SHIP SHEEP.

MINIMAL SENTENCES

He lost the LEAD 'LID.'
This WEEK/WICK seems very long.
FEEL/FILL this bag.
She wore a NEAT 'KNIT suit.
Don't SLEEP/SLIP on the deck.

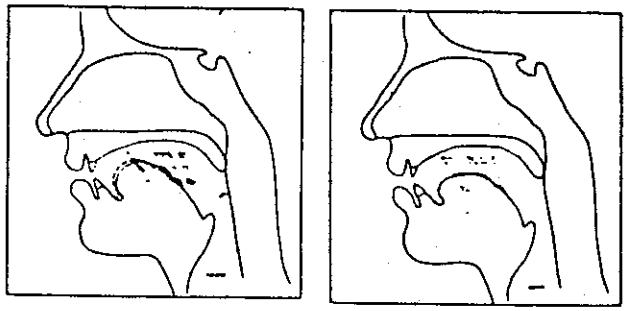
	greased-grist	deal-dill	dean-din	he's-his
	keyed-kid	meal-mill	lean-Lynn	breeches-britches
	steeple-stipple	real-rill	wean-win	eat-it
	scheme-skim	seal-sill	sheen-shin	beat-bit
	gene-gin	teal-till	keen-kin	heat-hit
	ease-is	steal-still	green-grin	cheat-chit
	leave-live	eel-ill	seen-sin	wheat-whit
	wheeze-whiz	feel-fill	teen-tin	meat-mitt
bead-bid	each-itch	heel-hill	heap-hip	neat-knit
lead-lid	beach-bitch	keel-kill	cheap-chip	peat-pit
deed-did	peach-pitch	kneel-nil	leap-lip	seat-sit
heed-hid	reach-rich	peel-pill	reap-rip	feet-fit
reed-rid	leak-lick	spiel-spill	deep-dip	skeet-skit
greed-grid	peak-pick	she'll-shill	sheep-ship	fleet-flit
leafed-lift	teak-tick	we'll-will	jeep-gyp	sleet-slit
skied-skid	cheek-chick	ream-rim	sleep-slip	greet-grit
creeped-crypt	sleek-slick	team-Tim	seep-sip	tweet-twit
ceased-cyst	seek-sick	deem-dim	sneaker-snicker	feast-fist
leased-list	week-wick	bean-bin	fees-fizz	least-list

From: "Pronunciation Contrasts in English" by Nilsen & Nilsen.

SOUND	VERTICAL POSITION	HORIZONTAL POSITION	LIP ROUNDING	DIPHTHONG-IZATION	TENSENESS
[ey] bait	mid, becoming high	front	unrounded	diphthongized	tense
[e] bet	mid	front	unrounded	not diphthongized	lax

Languages

Arabic
Cebuano
Fijian
Georgian
Greek
Hebrew
Indonesian
Italian
Japanese
Korean
Micronesian
Navajo
Pashto
Samoan
Spanish
Swahili
Tagalog
Tamil
Telugu
Thai
Tongan
Turkish
Urdu
Uzbek
Vietnamese



SENTENCES WITH CONTEXTUAL CLUES

Did you GET a new GATE?
Don't LET them be LATE.
Please TELL an exciting TALE.
Don't WAIT until you are WET.
We must pay our DEBT on that DATE.

MINIMAL SENTENCES

Can you TASTE TEST it?
They will try to use LACE 'LESS.
He wanted to SAIL/SELL the boat.
Put it in the SHADE SHED.
The women make BRAID BREAD for the tourists.

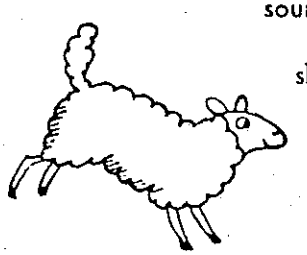
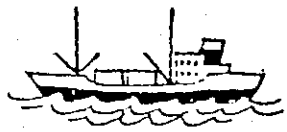
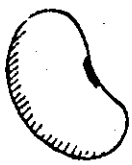
laced-lest	lace-less	tale-tell	rave-rev
raced-rest	mace-mess	flame-phlegm	ail-L
braced-breast	trace-tress	cane-Ken	bail-bell
failed-felled	fade-fed	Dane-den	fail-fell
hailed-held	shade-shed	mane-men	hail-hell
wailed-weld	blade-bled	chase-chess	jail-gel
trained-trend	spade-sped	phase-fez	nail-knell
bayed-bed	trade-tread	date-debt	quail-quell
flayed-fled	wade-wed	gate-get	wail-well
played-pled	age-edge	late-let	pain-pen
slayed-sled	wage-wedge	mate-met	rain-wren
sprayed-spread	flake-fleck	pate-pet	bacon-beckon
stayed-stead	rake-wreck	baste-best	sakes-sex
aid-Ed	bale-bell	chaste-chest	lanes-lens
laid-led	dale-dell	paste-pest	freight-fret
raid-red	shale-shell	taste-test	bait-bet
braid-bread	sale-sell	waste-west	wait-wet

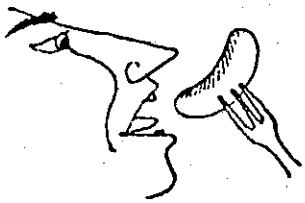
From: "Pronunciation Contrasts in English" by Nilsen & Nilsen

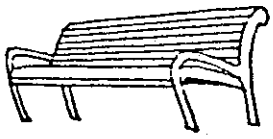
ɪ (ship)

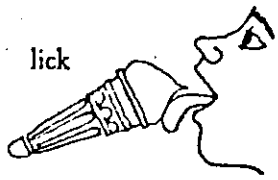
Practice 1

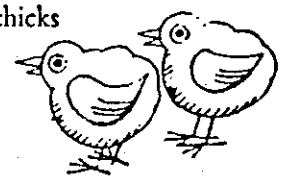
sound 1	sound 2
sheep	ship
bean	bin
cat	it
seat	sit
leek	lick
cheeks	chicks







From: "Ship or Sheep" by Anne Baker.