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The Social Dimension of Listening: From Theory to HE Practice

Abstract

The skill of Listening in Foreign/Second Language (L2) teaching and learning has been traditionally considered a “passive-receptive” skill. This paper illustrates how in the Spanish degree programme at UWI, St. Augustine we have applied the latest findings in listening research to move away from that assumption. Based on listening metacognitive strategies (Vandergrift & Goh, 2012); Sociocultural Theory in L2 learning (Lantolf & Thorne, 2007) and the Interaction Approach (Gass & Selinker, 2008) we have managed to innovate the ways in which approach the teaching and learning of listening.

This paper traces the theoretical shift from listening as a learner-internal phenomenon to a more social-oriented dimension. This social shift has deeply affected the kinds of listening teaching and learning practices in and outside the classroom in our programme. Examples of innovative listening classroom practice and research and comparison with listening practices in other HE institutions will serve to illustrate best practice in pedagogical research in the UWI Spanish degree programme.

Key words: listening comprehension, Spanish, social dimension of listening, learner autonomy, higher education

The Social Dimension of Listening: From Theory to HE Practice

Introduction

Historically Listening in Foreign/Second Language (L2) teaching and learning used to be perceived as a “passive-receptive” skill. The lack of movement or body articulation, as occurs with speaking or writing, gave this passive connotation. However, there is now a wider understanding that the processes that take place in the mind of the listener are complex and require high order cognitive skills. This understanding has removed the passive connotation.

But the complexity of listening as non-observable skill has resulted in two problematic assumptions. On one hand, listening has been approached as product-oriented activity, that is, whether the learner/listener got the right answer in a particular listening exercise. On the other hand, this product-oriented enterprise has been approached as an individual task.

A traditional picture of a listening comprehension setting is a language laboratory. In a language laboratory students are sitting in individual booths with headphones on, listening to an excerpt and answering questions. In a setting like this what matters is whether or not the individual listener is able to answer a question successfully.

Undoubtedly research on L2 listening has been influenced by research trends in second language acquisition (SLA), which have been of a cognitive and quantitative nature. However, recently SLA has witnessed the emergence of Sociocultural Theory (SCT) (Lantolf and Thorne, 2007) as a new alternative approach (Atkinson, 2011) to studying and understanding language learning as a socially-mediated process. SCT has permeated research and practice on listening as a way to favour a more social view of this skill. Along the same lines we find the interaction approach (Gass & Selinker, 2008) that adds value to negotiation of meaning in the L2 learning process.

This paper reports on a listening intervention that sought to foster more social collaboration and negotiation. Students’ voices and impressions are key to assess the value of this implementation. The Spanish degree programme at The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus has been aware of new research trends in SLA and listening. There is a continuous effort to reflect on the teaching practices that are taking place in the Spanish language classes with the aim to innovate. A few years ago with the inclusion of Moodle and the advent of the web 2.0 we saw an opportunity to reconceptualise our practices in the listening class.

Problem investigated

The nature of L2 listening as a skill internal to the learner has led researchers and teachers to approach listening from a product-oriented perspective. Although the product-oriented approach was used for several years in the context of the study, a social dimension of L2 listening has been implemented to be in tune with current SLA practices. This study has been an effort to shift students' perceptions of listening as a merely individual and product-oriented skill.

Research objectives

This paper seeks to discuss the shift that the area of research and teaching of L2 listening has experienced from a cognitive to a more social perspective. At the same time, we aim to assess the value of incorporating this new social trend in the context of the Spanish degree programme. How students perceive their the social dimension of listening is measure to assess the value of the implementation and the approach.

Literature review

L2 Listening Teaching

L2 Listening has received increasing attention in recent times (Vandergrift, 2007; White, 2008; Rost 2011; Vandergrift & Goh, 2012). Evidence of this notion is found in the review of the different methods and approaches to L2 listening made by Flowerdew and Miller (2005). The literature on listening has mainly been concerned, on one hand, with defining listening from different angles: neurological, linguistic, semantic, pragmatic and automatic processing (Rost, 2011); and also understanding the listening process from cognitive as well as social perspectives (Vandergrift, 2007).

The affective dimension of listening

Listening is a skill that cannot be observed, which is a difficulty faced by teachers and researchers. Thus, most teaching and research practices have focused primarily on the product of listening. However, this product approach makes it difficult to understand the process of listening, in other words, how a listener arrives at a comprehension stage (Vandergrift, 2007). The same product approach has an affective impact on learners, which usually results in anxiety (Elkhafaifi, 2005a).

Underwood (1989) explains that the main difficulty learners experience is having no control over what they hear, having no control over the speed of the speaker, and thus when they miss a word, they get lost and stop paying attention. Ur (1999, 43) similarly lists six difficulties: i) catching the sounds of the FL, ii) the common belief that it is necessary to understand every word, iii) the need for a slow pace of speech as opposed to a natural native speed, iv) need of constant repetition, v) difficulty in “keeping up” with big chunks of information and to predict what is coming, and vi) difficulty in concentrating for long periods of time.

Learners' cognitive approaches to listening tasks

The measures that need to be adopted to minimise learners' difficulties and lessen their anxiety should take account of the kinds of cognitive strategies they use. Bottom-up and top-down are two common cognitive strategies used by learners, (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990). Bottom-up strategies are text based, that is, listeners base their understanding on the information presented in the text, they tend to focus on words and expressions to build the meaning of the new information carried in the text. Top-down strategies require a more sophisticated approach as listeners use their previous knowledge and experience and link it with the new information being presented to understand it.

The literature highlights the importance of adopting several strategies to enhance the teaching of L2 listening. The activation of prior (Long, 1990) or relevant knowledge (Sperber & Wilson, 1995) are key elements as they allow learners to adopt top-down and compensatory strategies. Relevance as a construct establishes that learners should be engaged with material that has relevant information to them as this triggers true motivation for learning (Rost, 2011).

The social dimension of listening

The brief review above pointed out some of the major areas of concern that have occupied teachers and researchers. To a great extent research on listening has held a cognitive view in terms of conceptualising listening. This cognitive view has been the norm in most research in second language learning. Early research on areas such as 'the good language learner' (Rubin, 1975) learning strategies (Oxford, 1999) or motivation (Gardner, 1985) began to be investigated from a cognitive point of view and looked at the language learner as a sort of abstract entity with a mind capable of process information. However, there is evidence in the

literature that more social dimensions are emerging in an effort to understand listening as a social phenomenon.

Vandergrift (2007, 199) proposes an instructional design that takes account of both strategy use and social interaction. His instructional design is an effort to raise awareness of metacognitive strategies in listening classroom settings. The seven-step sequence includes: 1) planning/predicting stage; 2) first verification stage, students verify their initial hypothesis; 3) students compare their answers with peers, modify and decide on important details that need attention; 4) second verification stage, students selectively attend to points of disagreement, make corrections and write additional details; 5) class discussion in which all members of the class contribute to the reconstruction of the text, main points and details; students reflect on how they were able to arrive at the meaning of words or parts of the text; 6) final verification stage; students listen for the information revealed in the class discussion and compare it with the information they were unable to decipher earlier; this time they also have a transcription of the text; 7) reflection stage, based on the earlier discussion of the strategies used to compensate, students write goals for the next listening activity.

It is worth noting how Vandergrift incorporates two verification stages and class discussions that allow students to interact, negotiate meanings and reconstruct the content of the listening excerpt. Furthermore, there is a collective reflection stage that encourages students to assess listening as a process that does not happen in a vacuum. These social aspects are pivotal to the present study. This will be further explained in the methodology section.

Similarly, Rost (2011) provides a comprehensive overview of different types of listening practice, task types and activities for each type of listening (see chapter 9 Rost, 2011, 183). The social dimension of listening is clearly described in interactive listening, in which the aim is that students become active listening continuously attempting to clarify meanings. The activities that are representative of interactive listening include collaborative tasks in which learners interact verbally with others to discover information and/or negotiate solutions. Responsive listening is also another good example of the social dimension of this skill. The focus of responsive listening tasks is the learner's response to input. The learner is usually seeking opportunities to express her/his own opinions based on aural input.

Sociocultural Theory (SCT)

The social 'turn' (Block, 2003) has shifted how L2 researchers investigate this phenomenon in the last decade (Ortega, 2011). This social turn has allowed the emergence of more social constructivist perspectives on L2 learning. Thus SCT in L2 learning serves as a broad language learning theory to support our enterprise to approach listening in its social dimension.

SCT posits that L2 learning is a mediated process. Lantolf and Thorne (2007, p. 201) argue that "developmental processes take place through participation in cultural linguistic, and historically formed settings such as family life and peer group interaction, and in institutional contexts like schooling". Mediation is a fundamental concept in SCT. Through mediation with cultural artifacts or more experienced others, individuals can develop higher mental processes such as problem-solving, planning, meaning making and so on. If linked with L2 listening, it comes as no surprise that mediation plays a key role in helping L2 listeners develop this skill.

There are some other key concepts in SCT, they include the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), scaffolding, and affordances. ZPD is a mediational interaction with more experienced peers, teachers or adults who can offer support to an individual learner in the form of scaffolding so that the learner can achieve a higher level of development. Scaffolding is a kind of support provided to the learner, which is systematically removed as

the learner advances in her/his learning. Affordances are directly related to the context. As learning takes place in social and cultural contexts, these contexts offer affordances, or possibilities of action, and individuals act according to what they perceive the context affords them. Opposite to affordances are constraints.

From a SCT perspective L2 classrooms are indeed social environments full of affordances and where there are high levels of mediation and different types of interaction. SLA offers different constructs tied to interaction. "The interaction approach accounts for learning through input (exposure to language), production of language (output), and feedback that comes as a result of interaction (...). Interaction involves a number of components including negotiation, recasts, and feedback" (Gass & Selinker, 2008, p. 317). Gass and Selinker describe the L2 listening environment that we intended to implement in the context of the study.

There have been some studies that have drawn from the principles of SCT and peer-to-peer interaction as means of mediation. Ableeva (2008) examined the effects of dynamic assessment on L2 listening. The pedagogical approach was based on SCT and the role of the teacher was that of a mediator who engaged students in ZDP. During the mediation stage, participants listened to the same audio text as many times as they needed and were encouraged to ask questions whenever problems arose. The teacher-mediator asked questions to assess if students noticed/heard certain information. Students received linguistic and cultural explanations to enhance the comprehension of the text. The use of this pedagogical approach allowed the teacher to identify the source of listening problems experienced by learners and provide the necessary support.

Along the same ZDP lines with the teacher as a mediator Cross (2009) conducted a quasi-experimental classroom-based study compared two different groups in strategy use. The experimental group received explicit strategy instruction, while the comparison group did not. The experimental group made more significant progress than its counterpart. It was also suggested that peer interaction and collaboration may have been a factor that positively influenced participants' collective awareness of strategies to enhance understanding. It was also noted that interaction and collaboration in the comparison group was low. This is an example that peer-peer interaction is another key affordance found in L2 listening comprehension classrooms.

Methodology

Research paradigm

As it has been reiterated throughout the paper, research in the area of second language learning and listening has been of cognitive nature and the most widely used methodology has been quantitative. Typically interventions in the area of listening implement pre and post test to determine whether or not students listening 'improved', or there are control groups. As discussed above the problem with these kinds of research practices is that they only tackle the product of listening, but they cannot offer information into the process of listening.

Vandergrift (2007) advocates the use of more qualitative approaches to research in listening. This study follows that recommendation. Ontologically, we believe that if we are studying the social dimension of listening there should be a more dialogical process to get insights into the practices and experiences from the lenses of the students. How they perceive that the negotiation of meaning they engaged in with their classmates contributed to their understanding of listening materials is the epitome of the study.

Phases of the study and data collection strategies

This study had three phases. The first phase was an action research implementation in 2009 with students of the second year of the degree programme. Let us remember that action

research is done by teachers for teachers who gather information to gain insight and develop reflective practice, as well as to effect positive changes in the teaching and learning environment (Mills, 2007).

During this first phase data were collected in the form of open-ended questionnaires (N=60) and copious field notes produced by the main teacher-researcher and some teaching assistants. The second phase of the study took place a year later, in 2010, when six students consented to be interviewed to provide their retrospective accounts on the listening implementation.

Followed the implementation and as a result of it, the Spanish programme at UWI, St. Augustine decided to join the skill of listening with conversation to incorporate a more integrative approach to language teaching and learning. The aim was introduce an 'interaction approach' (Gass & Selinker, 2008) to engage students in meaningful conversations and negotiation of meaning based on the input audiovisual materials.

Five years later, we thought it was pertinent to revisit students' perceptions and to reassess the value of an approach to listening that is becoming more relevant in the literature. This time we conducted an informal survey on Facebook with students of second and third year of the degree programme. We chose them as our sample population given that they have more experience in the programme than first year students. We received (N=40) responses.

Implementation: Listening from a social perspective - Action Research

In the context of the study, before 2009 listening was taught as a separate skill on its own right across all levels of the Spanish programme. It followed a product-oriented approach. Students' only responsibility was to be able to get the right answers to different listening passages. The classes resembled an exam situation with a lot of individual drilling. The materials used at the time were CDs donated by the Embassy of Spain with highly intellectual and interesting topics. Students' feedback usually suggested that the classes were mundane and monotonous. As such, a re-evaluation of the mode of delivery was necessary.

At that time the web 2.0 emerged and interactive tools such as YouTube grew significantly. There was also a lot more content available in Spanish. Seeking to remove the mundane perception attached to the listening class we turned to YouTube to search for more engaging content. However, we faced the difficulty that streaming from the language laboratory would not always be possible because of the Internet speed. That is when we decided to change the traditional paradigm of the teacher having full control of the listening materials. Students received the responsibility to take control of the listening materials (Benson, 2011) from their homes and practice self-regulatory listening.

In class students were expected to have familiarised themselves with the material prior to the session. The listening exercises in class adapted Vandergrift's (2007) seven-step social and metacognitive model explained above. High priority was assigned to the verification stages, which are social in nature.

The research questions that this paper seeks to answer are:

- a. What happens when a process-approach to listening and a focus of negotiation of meaning and interaction are introduced in the context of the study?
- b. What are the perceived affordances (or constraints) in a listening implementation that relies on social interaction and negotiation of meaning?
- c. Is there any difference in how the implementation was perceived a few years ago with how it is perceived now?

Emerging themes

All qualitative data were analysed and triangulated using colour-coding. The following are the most relevant emerging themes:

Students become active listeners and listening acquires a social meaning

An emerging in the original study in 2009 was the comparison between the two approaches to listening, that is, a product-approach versus a process-approach. That is a theme worth noting:

1. 'Session B is better because it does not have so much rigidity as in session A. In the latter session, it is set in an exam mode which creates a bit of tension and the listening becomes a hard task or a duty one must do'
(Anonymous answer, questionnaire 2009)

In illustrative quotation 1. session B refers to the audiovisual interactive session and session A refers to an audio-only 'product-approach' class. The student's comment illustrates what the listening class was like before the implementation of the action research. It is clear that the 'exam-mode which creates a bit of tension' takes us back to the individual approach to teaching and researching listening, which brings to the table anxiety-related (Elkhafaifi, 2005a) issues.

2. 'I liked that we were able to look at the videos provided and give responses in the class so no one was left behind.'
(Anonymous answer, questionnaire 2009)
3. 'Yes, we do speak about the videos assigned in class, and I think that it helps a great deal to clarify phrases or ideas we have misinterpreted and encourages us to talk, rather than put pressure on students to come up with talking points in another language that they may not be entirely confident with.
For this reason I'd say that it does help to improve listening skills as talking about/using the videos as focal points to converse about certain issues definitely challenges us to be more active listeners so that instead of just trying to grasp particular ideas, we make more of an effort to be engaged; it also helps to build our vocabulary which ultimately betters us as language students.'
(Third year student, 2015)

Quotes 2. and 3. describe learners as active listeners and social participants of a learning situation in which they engage in higher levels of negotiation that go beyond simply getting the right answer. L2 listening acquires a new meaning. These also reinforce the importance of Vandergrift's (2007) verification stages as powerful social and metacognitive strategies in L2 listening instruction.

Peer-to-peer mediation/collaboration as a measure of self-monitoring and self-assessment

In a traditional L2 listening setting the teacher assesses whether learners got the right answer or not. However, in cases where verification stages are implemented and learners are encouraged to compare their answers and collectively reconstruct the content of the listening text, students' engage in processes of self-monitoring, self-assessment and co-assessment.

4. 'Yes I do talk about the videos that we have watched in conversation class, with my classmates. I think this practice is great because it helps us to share what we have heard since not everyone can pick up the same bits and pieces of information. It improves my listening skills because I go back to the videos to see if I can pick up/hear the things that my friends have heard that I haven't.'
(Second year student, 2015)

Quote 4. illustrates how in advanced learning situations, students can learn from each other and not only from the ideal native speaker, who functions as the ultimate more experienced other. The data suggest that collaboration and negotiation of meaning in L2 listening settings work as mediational tools. The quote also illustrates that this particular student captured the affordances that collaboration offers to improve her listening. This themes contrasts with Ableeva's (2008) study that suggest a teacher-centred approach. The present study gave a lot more importance to students as collaborators and a relationship of positive interdependence. Cross (2009) comparison between two groups suggests that collaboration may have been a factor in participants' understanding. The present study reinforces that notion.

Warning! More capable others might monopolise the discussion

One of the principles of collaboration is that weaker students benefit from stronger students. However, one of the dangers of this practice is that more capable students can monopolise the class discussion:

5. 'I think the group discussions in class do help. Because it ensures that everyone is on the same page with what the video means. However most times the group discussions are steered only by a few students. But I generally like the idea of discussing it as a class before answering the questions. It's as if everyone adds a piece to the puzzle.'
(Third year student, 2015)

Quote 5. illustrates a constraint that can arise in a setting that promotes negotiation of meaning and collaboration. In a case like this all actors, both teachers and students, should act as mediators to allow a healthy balance in turn-taking. Undoubtedly weaker students benefit from the perspective of stronger students, but stronger students who appear as 'more capable others' can also be intimidating to students who are shy to let their voices be heard.

Formal assessment: an 'individual' enterprise

In the study conducted in 2009, part of the formal assessment was collaborative. At the time some students displayed some resistance to this practice:

6. 'I remember I didn't really like group work. I think we had either one or two tests. I remember not liking them. I didn't like having to do an exam with somebody else, in terms of my mark having to depend on them or their mark having to depend on mine.'
(Interview, 2010)

Such practice no longer takes place but has been replaced with online tests, in which students can complete listening tests at their leisure from their homes. One of the assumptions was that students would use tools such as Skype to get together to complete the tests. Students in the study partly rejected that assumption stating that they complete their online tests individually:

7. 'I do it [the online test] home by myself and usually take breaks every now and again. If there is a really hard question I may consult a friend, who is most likely having a hard time with that question too, but that is usually it.'
(Second year student, 2015)
8. 'I complete my online listening tests individually. However, if I am unsure about certain phrases or words due to how the speaker articulates himself, then I would collaborate with one or two other members to find out what exactly they heard during their listening process, as to give me a sense if we are on the same track or not.'
(Second year student, 2015)
9. 'I complete my online listening tests by myself. However, I consulted my classmate once for her interpretation of the question so I could ensure that I listen out for the right response. I never consulted classmates for the answers.'
(Third year student, 2015)

Yet, they did indicate that they seek guidance whenever they find a difficulty. Although this practice could be looked at as cheating, a process-oriented approach to listening does not reject it completely since the outcome is not the product of listening but the process of it. By admitting that they consult their friends in cases when certain fragments or questions are difficult, students are actually implementing a social strategy that has been used in class. Nevertheless, there is general consensus that formal assessment is an individual undertake and students try, to the best of their ability, to complete online tests individually even if there is no one monitoring them as in a traditional L2 assessment settings.

Closing remarks

This paper sought to answer three questions to assess the value of a social dimension of L2 listening. The first question deals with what happens when a 'process-approach' that fosters social interaction is implemented. In this study students became active listeners and reconceptualised their view of the L2 listening skill. The data suggest that listening became a social enterprise that led to interaction and active negotiation of meaning (Gass & Selinker, 2008) among students. The second question deals with the perceived affordances or constraints of the implementation. The data suggested that mediation and collaboration afforded (Lantolf & Thorne, 2007) opportunities for students' self-monitoring and self-assessment of their listening based on the interactions with their peers. Furthermore, in advanced settings, the role of 'more experienced other' is not exclusive of the teacher, peers also become more experienced others who mediate learning. However, this could potentially pose a difficulty. More experienced language learners can take full control of the class and monopolise the class discussion, teachers and learners should assume the role of moderators to encourage everyone to participate. The third question deals with the differences that arouse between students' perceptions of the first implementation in 2009 compared with current students' perceptions. The data suggest that students still hold positive perceptions of the more social dimension of listening, while listening assessment continues to be perceived as an individual undertake. Yet, students in the study admitted that they sought guidance from their peers when they found difficult questions or difficult fragments. The main difference is that in the 2009 study, assessment took place in pairs and in class, whereas this time assessment was conducted individually and online. Therefore, students did not perceive that their mark depended on anyone else as a constraint.

Current theories on second language learning such as Sociocultural Theory (Lantolf and Thorne, 2007); interaction approach (Gass & Selinker, 2008) and social and metacognitive approaches to L2 listening (Vandergrift, 2007; Vandergrift & Goh, 2012)

provided a solid ground for an implementation that sought to give more prominence to the social aspect of L2 listening. Engaging students in active collaboration and negotiation of meaning in the L2 listening class made students more active listeners. The implementation of a social dimension of listening provided students with social mediational tools to self-monitor and self-assess their understanding of listening texts based on verification and reconstruction of listening texts. Students understood that their classmates are also mediational tools that can served as 'more experienced others'. Collaboration and assessment continues to be an area in need of further exploration.

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