

**Accents of English as a Lingua Franca: A Study of Finnish Textbooks**

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Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli selvittää, mitä englannin vierasperäisiä aksentteja (non-native accents) kaksi lukion englannin oppikirjasarjaa, *Culture Café* 1-5 ja *In Touch* 1-5, sisältävät. Tavoitteena oli laskea vierasperäisten aksenttien määrä kirjasarjoissa. Tutkimuksen täydentävänä osana haastateltiin yhtä kirjoittajaa kummastakin kirjasarjasta. Tämä tehtiin, jotta saataisiin mahdollisimman todenmukainen käsitys siitä, mitä käytännön rajoitteita kirjasarjojen tekijöillä on vierasperäisen englannin suhteen oppikirjojen nauhoja tehtäessä.

Tutkimus sijoittuu verrattain uudelle tutkimusalalle, jossa kiinnostuksen kohteena on ns. kansainvälinen englantia (English as a Lingua Franca) ja jonka edustajien mukaan suurin osa englanninkielisestä kommunikaatiosta tapahtuu nykyään ihmisten kesken, jotka eivät puhu englantia äidinkielenään. Koska myös suomalaiset kommunikoivat englanniksi pääasiassa muiden kuin natiivien kanssa, olisi suomalaiselle koululaiselle hyödyllistä tulla opetuksi kansainvälisen englannin tavoitteiden mukaisesti. Kansainvälinen englantia lähtee ajatuksesta, jossa ei tavoitella natiivipuhujan kompetenssia, vaan keskitytään onnistuneeseen kommunikaatioon eri kieliryhmien välillä. Tärkeimpiin periaatteisiin kuuluu myös, että oppilaiden tulisi kuulla runsaasti eri maiden kansalaisten puhumaa englantia.

Tutkimus osoitti, että vierasperäinen englantia oppikirjojen nauhoilla on hyvin vähäistä. *Culture Café* sisältää 3 prosenttia ja *In Touch* vain 1 prosentin vierasperäisiä aksentteja. Tämä tarkoittaa käytännössä n. 15 minuuttia edellisessä ja 3 minuuttia jälkimmäisessä. Vierasperäistä englantia esiintyy hyvin lyhyinä pätkinä, usein n. 5-20 sekuntia kerrallaan, lähinnä kuullunymmärtämisharjoituksissa tai osana pidempää tekstiä. Suurin osa vierasperäisistä aksenteista on näyttelijöiden imitoimia.

Haastatteluissa kirjantekijät myönsivät, että olisi suotavaa käyttää aitoja puhujia nauhoituksissa näyttelijöiden sijaan. Yleisesti voidaan todeta, että vaikka kirjantekijät periaatteessa myönsivät englannin kielen aseman maailmankielenä, he olivat melko kriittisiä sen määrän suhteen oppimateriaaleissa. He halusivat, että oppikirja sisältää mahdollisimman paljon natiivien puhumaa englantia, koska katsoivat sen soveltuvan parhaiten malliksi oppilaille. Toiseksi syyksi vähäiseen vierasperäisen englannin määrään he mainitsivat sen, että eivät halua tehdä mitään kansanryhmää naurettavaksi.

On ilmeistä, että vierasperäinen englantia nauhoilla on aivan liian vähäistä kansainvälisen englannin näkökulmasta katsottuna. Muutoksen tulisi kuitenkin lähteä opetussuunnitelmista, joissa alettaisiin korostaa vierasperäisiä puhujia. Täten ylioppilaskirjoituksiin otettaisiin mukaan vierasperäisiä aksentteja, mikä luonnollisesti johtaisi tarpeeseen lisätä näiden aksenttien määrää myös oppikirjojen nauhoilla.

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## 1. Introduction

Now, try to come up with situations where you and your near and dear use English, and with whom. Yes, that is right: on multinational web pages, when travelling, at international job meetings, when telling an exchange student the way to the swimming hall. It is likely that you and I both use English mainly with non-native speakers. The status of English in Finland has changed, and it is today a lingua franca of international communication. This is true also around the world today: hundreds of millions of people today speak English as a second or foreign language. Consequently, the number of non-native speakers of English is already higher than the number of native speakers. It has been claimed (e.g. Widdowson 1994) that English is no longer the property of native speakers, but it belongs to everyone who speaks it. It is no wonder then that several researchers think that the new status of English should also be seen in the English language classroom.

The traditional norm in English language teaching in Europe has overwhelmingly been British English combined with Received Pronunciation (Modiano 2000, 28). In Finland too, the listening comprehensions in the matriculation exam have traditionally only included native speech, and only once has there been a non-native speaker on the taped used in the exam<sup>1</sup>. Researchers of English as Lingua Franca (ELF), however, claim that it is no longer relevant for foreign language learners to aim at native-like competence, because they are most likely to use English with other non-native speakers. Therefore, it would also be beneficial for English learners in Finland to receive instruction which takes the principles of ELF into account. Importantly, ELF entails the idea that students should be exposed to a range of non-native varieties.

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<sup>1</sup> This was in spring 1994 (Sirpa Jaakkola personal communication 2005).

Because the course book is the primary source of learning in the classroom, it should offer also other varieties than the native ones for learners. A study made in Japan revealed that English textbooks are still oriented to native varieties; thus the representation of English consists of American and British varieties (Matsuda 2003: 719). In Finland, however, the area of non-native accents in teaching materials remains basically unstudied. The aim of this study is, therefore, to look at two Finnish textbook series used in upper secondary school, *Culture Café* by Otava (courses 1-5) and *In Touch* by WSOY (courses 1-5), and see whether they offer other than native accents of English. This is done by looking at the tapes included in both series. Hence, the research questions will be the following:

- Do the textbook series *Culture Café* and *In Touch* manifest the ideals of ELF? More specifically, do they offer non-native accents for students?
- Which non-native accents do the textbooks offer and how much?
- Are there any differences between the series?
- What are the typical contexts for non-native accents?

It has to be noted, though, that one factor has a clear effect on the results of the present analysis: using actors in the recording studios. As the actors are British persons mimicking different non-native accents, their pronunciations are often something between the target accent and British English. Thus some of the material, which was meant to represent particular non-native accents, is not classified as those accents in the analysis. This aspect of the material is further discussed in section 5.2, where the principles of analysing the data are introduced.

However, there is also the other side of the coin when studying taped material: the production of teaching materials. The tapescripts for the majority of the courses included in the tapes analysis (*Culture Café* 1-5 and *In Touch* 3-5) were studied in order

to see whether the recording studios had fulfilled the authors' requests concerning non-native accents. Second, one author of both book series was interviewed. The interviews were relatively short and their aim was to view the inclusion of non-native accents from the writers' angle. In other words, the aim was to gain a practical perspective on the inclusion of native and non-native accents. The additional research questions were as follows:

- Were the requests stated in the tapescripts fulfilled by the recording studios?
- What is the rationale for choosing native and non-native accents for textbooks?
- Why are actors used for recordings?
- What are the limitations concerning the inclusion of non-native accents when textbooks are being made?

In what follows, I will present a short literature review, which outlines the relevant background in terms of the present study (chapters 2-4). The method used for the classification of non-native accents in the data is introduced in chapter 5. Chapter 6, based on these descriptions, reveals the amount of different non-native accents in the data. Chapter 7, then, dives into the world of textbook production. Here are presented the ideas of the two textbook authors concerning non-native accents in textbooks. Discussions follow each part, the tapes analysis and interview analysis, separately. Let us now turn to look at the background literature relevant for the thesis.

## 2. World English

### 2.1. World Language

English, Chinese and Hindi are among the languages which have the most mother tongue speakers in the world (Graddol 1997: 8), but when a language is said to be a *world language* or a *global language*, it does not have much to do with the number of native speakers (Crystal 1997: 5). More importantly, being a world language concerns the fact that the language is used as a tool for communication between different communities. Crystal (1997: 2) clarifies that a world language means having “a special role that is recognized in every country”. According to Brutt-Griffler (2002: 110), there are four features which are typical of a world language:

- (1) The language has both an economic and a cultural role in the world community.
- (2) It is not only a language of the elite.
- (3) It establishes itself alongside other languages in multilingual contexts.
- (4) It does not spread by speaker migration but by macroacquisition in countries where it is spoken as a foreign or second language.

Historically, there have been several world languages, Latin and French, for instance (Bailey and Görlach 1982: 2). Today, English is said to have the status of a world language. According to Crystal’s estimate, a third of the population on earth in 75 different countries (2,214 million people) were constantly exposed to English in 2001 (Crystal 2003: 106-108). On top of that, Jenkins (2003a: 4) claims that there are foreign language speakers of English who probably number around one billion. Whatever the actual number of English speakers is, McKay contends that most of the features defined by Brutt-Griffler (discussed above) are exemplified by English (McKay 2002: 13).

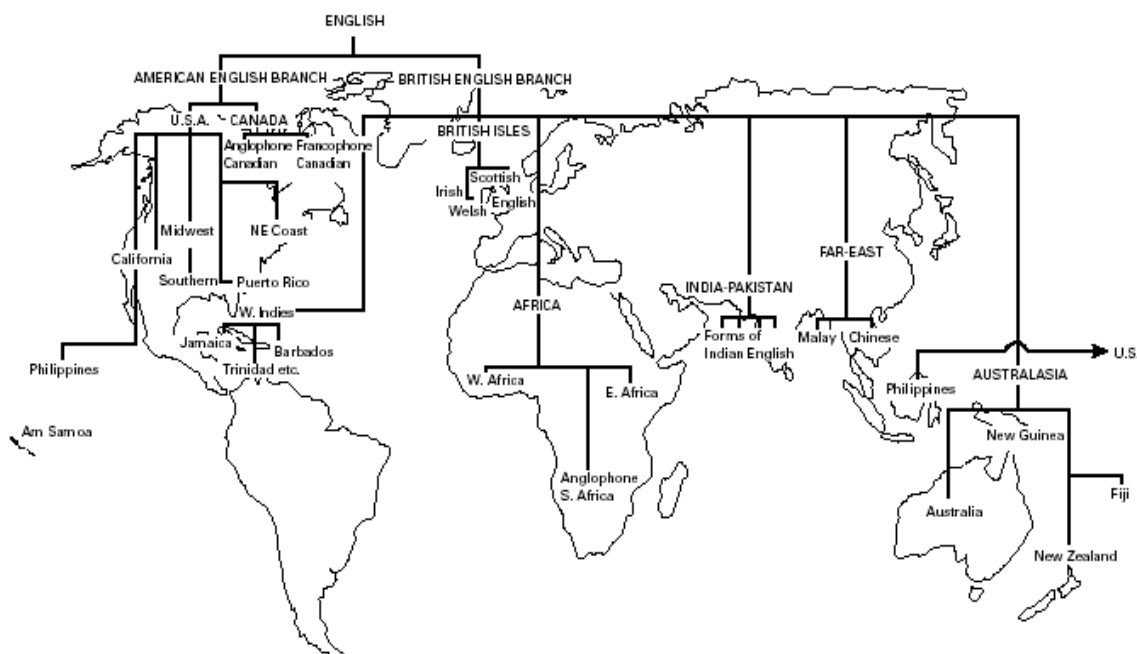
English certainly dominates in economic and cultural fields; a large number of multinational companies, such as Coca-Cola and Nestlé, for instance, function solely in English (McKay 2002: 13). Second, English establishes itself alongside other languages as most of its speakers are second or foreign language speakers. Hence, English is acquired in foreign and second language speaking countries, which has led to large-scale bilingualism. Brutt-Griffler (2002: 120) herself claims that English fulfils all her criteria for a world language, whereas according to McKay (2002: 14), one of the criteria remains unfulfilled: English does belong to the elite. The elitist aspect of English will be discussed further in 2.3 below.

It has been claimed by Crystal (1997: 24) that there are basically two reasons for English having the status it has today: the first one is geographical-historical and the second one is socio-cultural. As regards the first reason, the preliminary stage in English colonial expansion was the establishment of English colonies in North America in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Leith 1996: 194). Trade trips to South Asia were started shortly afterwards (Crystal 1997: 41). Expansion trips continued with the colonial developments of the nineteenth century in Africa and the South Pacific. By the 1950's English had an official or semi-official status in a number of countries (Crystal 1997: 24).

The latter reason refers to the status of the USA as the leading economic power; English is now the language of political life, business, media, music and international organisations all over the world (Crystal 1997: 8, 25). 84 percent of Internet servers, for instance, are English (Graddol 1997: 51), which is only one of the examples of how English dominates the world today. As regards this study, it is important to realise the status of English as a world language and understand its historical background. Let us now turn to see how the spread of English has been described.

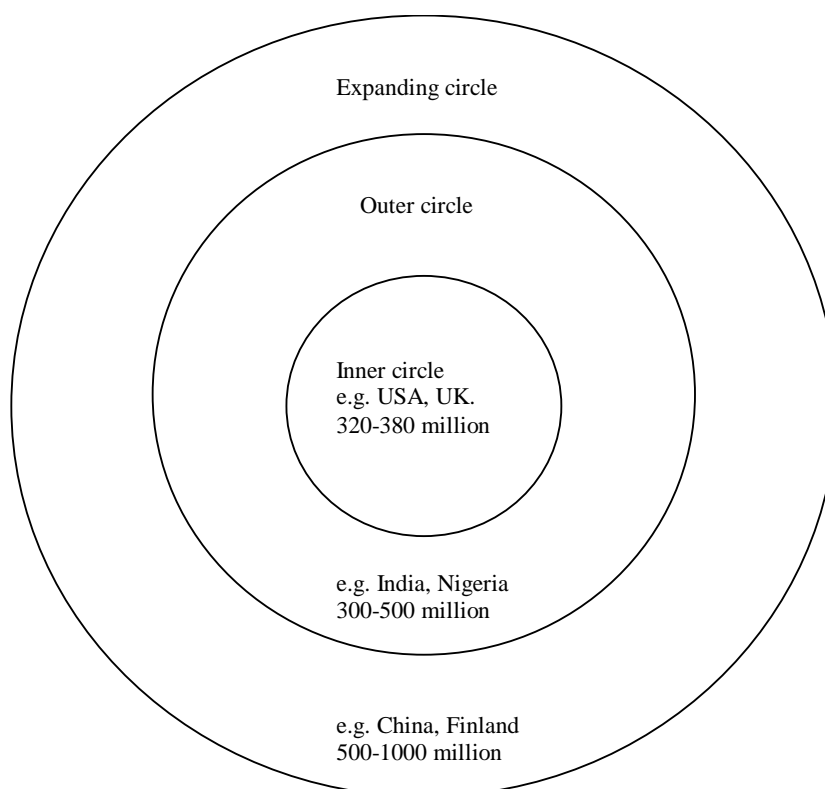
## 2.2. Spread of English

There have been a number of attempts to describe the spread of English, and among others, *Stevens (1980)* has developed a relevant model (see *Figure 1*). This is the oldest model on the spread of English.



**Figure 1. Stevens's world map of English (Stevens 1980, 86).**

In *Stevens's* figure, we can see a family tree of English, which has two main branches, American and British, along which the other varieties have developed. Foreign language speakers cannot be seen in this figure, but in terms of the present study, it demonstrates nicely how English speakers are located around the world. Another influential model of the spread of English (see *Figure 2*) has been developed by *Braj Kachru (1985: 12)*, and his terms, introduced below, will be used in the present study.



**Figure 2. Kachru's three circles of English.**

The model consists of three circles, *the inner circle*, *the outer circle* and *the expanding circle*, which all include English speakers.<sup>2</sup> The inner circle refers to native speakers of English. It includes countries like the USA, UK, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand. The outer circle (or extended circle) refers to countries where English has gained the status of an official language in the colonialist period. There English has a long history in institutionalised functions, and it has an important role in education (Kachru and Nelson 2001: 13). The outer circle includes countries like India and Nigeria (Kachru 1985), and the relevant varieties of English are often referred to as “the New Englishes” (Melchers and Shaw 2003: 7). Finally, the expanding circle comprises of nations where English is spoken as a foreign language and which do not have a history of colonization by the speakers of the inner circle. This circle includes countries like China, Greece and

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<sup>2</sup> This is Kachru's most cited version of the model (see e.g. Crystal 2003). He has, however, developed a newer version of the model, where the circles are presented vertically (Kachru 1992).

Israel (Kachru 1985: 13). According to Crystal's estimate from 2003, the inner circle has 320-380 million speakers, and the outer circle 300-500 million speakers, whereas the total number of speakers in the expanding circle is now 500-1000 million and is increasing constantly (2003: 107). Note that the term *non-native accent* is used to refer to outer and expanding circle accents in the thesis, even if there are some native speakers in the outer circle countries as well.

Kachru's model is the most influential one to describe speakers of English (Jenkins 2003a: 15). There are, however, some problems in it. Kachru himself points out that it is sometimes unclear whether a country has English as second or foreign language, because the language policies of such countries change constantly (Kachru 1985: 14). Today, approximately twenty countries (for example Denmark) are in transition from English as a foreign language (EFL) to English as a second language (ESL) status (Graddol 1997: 11). On the other hand, some English speakers in the outer circle, e.g. in Singapore, actually use English as their first and only language (Jenkins 2003a:17). One further weakness in the model is that the term "inner circle" implies that the native countries are central and superior. The model also fails to tell us the truth about speakers' actual language proficiency; native speakers may have limited language skills, while non-native speakers may be very competent in English (Jenkins 2003a).

Whatever system we use to classify the speakers and the spread of English, all scholars agree that there are speakers with different accents and dialects. From the point of view of the present study, it is important to notice the difference between the terms *accent* and *dialect*. The former refers to aspects of pronunciation, which convey information about a person's geographical origin. The latter, on the other hand, refers to differences in grammar and vocabulary related to a person's geographical origin (Crystal 2003: 298). A speaker with a regional dialect tends to speak with a regional

accent, but the reverse does not necessarily hold true. According to Crystal (2003), there might be speakers who have a distinctive accent, but do not speak a dialect. I will concentrate on accent differences in the present study, as the main interest is in pronunciation.

## **2.3. Negative Effects Caused by the Spread of English**

### **2.3.1. Linguistic Imperialism**

As a consequence of the present status of English, several critics think that English is dominating other languages and cultures, and thus promotes inequalities. Other languages are dying out because of the spread of English (Jenkins 2003a). We have seen in history that a number of cultures have lost their distinctive identities for the same reason; e.g. the Celtic languages have been reduced by the spread of English across Scotland and Ireland (Modiano 2001: 343). It has been argued by Galtung (1980: 114-16) that the world can be divided into a dominant centre (the powerful western countries) and the dominated peripheries (the developing countries). This state of affairs has been named *linguistic imperialism*, and it has been defined by Phillipson (1997: 47) as follows: “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstruction of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages”. These inequalities have been maintained by the UK and the USA with the British Council in the leading role (ibid.: 137, 152). This means that they keep dominating post-colonial countries like India but also neo-colonial countries, such as countries in Europe, by spreading the English language with its ideology. The idea of teaching English according to inner circle norms is “an imperialist structure of

exploitation of one society or collectivity by another” (ibid.: 55). What is more, UK publishers are present in all corners of the world; this way they are able to disseminate their ideology and culture to the “periphery” (Littlejohn 1998: 190). Similarly, McKay (2002: 23) points out that the superiority of native speakers and their culture is constantly represented in the teaching materials.

Meanwhile, there are those who think that the entire question of linguistic imperialism is irrelevant. Brutt-Griffler (2002: 30) points out that the term *linguistic imperialism* implies that the imperial language replaces the mother tongue, which was not the case in the British colonies. She further argues that Africans and Asians could oppose the aims of the empire through learning the language of the colonizer (p. 65). Rajagopalan (2004: 113) also criticises Phillipson by saying that it is impossible to have a speech community without any power politics. Further, it has been argued that the view of linguistic imperialism in itself is naive, because without participating in communication in a world language, a nation would become “an isolated, ghettoized culture” (Brumfit 1982: 2). Be that as it may, there are still critics who believe that linguistic imperialism with its consequences is a serious threat to other languages. In terms of the present study, it is important to notice the possible threat of linguistic imperialism in teaching materials. In other words, if accents of the periphery are not allowed space on the tapes, this clearly indicates that the culture and ideology of the inner circle is valued higher. Even if the textbook producers are Finnish, they might still emphasise that the target culture is British or American and thus disseminate imperialist ideas.

Let us now look at another negative effect of the spread of English that is relevant for the study: linguistic purism.

### 2.3.2. Linguistic Purism

It has been argued by some scholars that institutionalised varieties, such as Indian English, should be accepted as standard varieties with their own norms (e.g. Kachru 1982). Others, on the contrary, are of the opinion that people speak local varieties of English, such as Indian English or Nigerian English, only because they have failed to acquire “real English” (Quirk 1990: 8). The latter view has been called *linguistic purism*. Historically, linguistic purism was mainly concerned with loanwords from Latin and French, which were invading English (Görlach 1997: 148), whereas today the concern seems to be that all aspects of language are being affected by non-native speakers (Bartsch 1987). It has been argued that linguistic purism is caused by nationalism, which is based on the idea that the national culture and language are “unique and irreplaceable”, and should be differentiated from others (Thomas 1991: 43). One of the most radical defenders of Standard English is John Honey (1997: 259), who claims that the “disadvantaged” can only be led forward if they master the English language. He further implies the hegemony of English by stating that “some languages are shown to be [...] more serviceable than others for certain functions” (1997: 20). His argument is interesting in relation to the present-day belief that all languages are equal.

The assumed superiority also has implications for teaching. One of the things Quirk emphasises in relation to teaching is that non-native teachers need native teacher support and they should be “in constant touch with the native language” (1990: 7) to guarantee the quality of English. There are others who share his views; John Honey (1997: 252) states that “fortunately the most advanced modern technology is beginning to make access to native-speaker guidance and support a practical possibility even in remote parts“. In other words, in the opinion of linguistic purists, outer and expanding

circle accents are less acceptable, whereas the native inner circle speaker is the ideal speaker and teacher of English.

As can be seen from Quirk's and Honey's opinions above, the status of non-native accents in native speaking countries can be very low, as the pronunciation deviates from the standard accent. Interestingly enough, language learners themselves may also have very negative attitudes towards non-native accents, and they often consider non-native speech as "unsophisticated, ugly or irritating" (Pihko 1997: 51). Jenkins (2000: 14) points out that non-native English is regarded negatively even by most of EFL teachers. In that sense, teachers could be seen as being at least partly responsible for the negative attitudes. However, familiarity with non-native accents affects the amount of irritation (this will be discussed more closely in 3.3 below). In all, the idea of linguistic purism is very interesting in terms of this study; if non-native accents are in the minority on the tapes, one of the reasons for this is certainly to keep the English language "pure" from foreign influences.

### **2.3.3. Economic Imbalance**

Kachru (1986: 1) contends that "knowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp, which permits one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates of international business, technology, science and travel. In short, English provides linguistic power". As pointed out by McKay (2002: 24), the problem is that only those with economic wealth have access to the English language. In the 1950's, English was only taught to a small and elite minority in Africa (Brumfit 2001: 115). This is still the case today: in South Africa, for example, there is a growing split between the people who know English and thus have access to economic resources and those who do not. In

many countries only those people are able to learn English who can afford the instruction (McKay 2002). However, as suggested by McKay, it is not the English language itself which is the culprit, but global communication, the western-dominated mass media and those who put forward negative images of local varieties (2002: 22-23). As regards this study, it is relevant to see if economic imbalance can be seen on the tapes as well. Of course the situation in Finland is different from many other countries as here everybody is given the possibility to learn English at comprehensive school. However, there are other things which might imply economic imbalance too; it is possible that accents from poor countries are excluded, because they are seen as unnecessary and less valuable. It is the book producers who have money and power, and that is why they are able to decide which accents are important. To conclude, it is clear that economic imbalance goes hand in hand with linguistic imperialism and purism; they all lead to the assumed superiority of one group of speakers.

Modiano (2001: 344), who strongly opposes the dominant status of English, points out that English actually Anglo-Americanizes non-native speakers. This seems very much true in Finland as well; if the books are filled with texts about the British and American culture, it clearly has an impact on the learner. I guess that is why people say that Finland "is even more American than America itself" with hamburgers, jeans etc. Modiano states that one of the few options at hand is to teach a geographically, politically and culturally neutral form of English, which is not seen as a possession of native speakers. This English should neutralize the impact of English on the learner's cultural integrity (ibid.: 344). What Modiano is talking about is international English, which can be seen as a reply to linguistic imperialism and linguistic purism. In the next section, I will introduce the idea of international English as it seems to offer a fresh starting point by treating all the accents of the world on equal terms.

### 3. English as a Lingua Franca

As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, English is regarded as an international language not only because of the great number of users, but also because of its function in communication between different nations around the globe. The terms *international English*, *world English* or *global English* have traditionally included both first language (L1) and second language (L2) speakers. In other words, the notion of English as an International Language (EIL) has been used to refer to inner and outer circle speakers. As pointed out by Jenkins (2003a: 4), these estimates have excluded one important group: the expanding circle. A recent term for English that also includes expanding circle speakers is *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF). This form of English is used as a vehicular language, and it is “a new variety that emerges in situations where interlocutors do not share an L1” (Mauranen 2003: 514). Researchers in the area prefer the term *English as a Lingua Franca*, as the term *international* has been used in relation to “western” in the past (Jenkins 2004). The terms introduced here, however, will be used interchangeably in the present study, meaning that the expanding circle is included in terms like international English.

It has been claimed by Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003) that the position of English in Finland today is that of a lingua franca of international communication as English is the major language of research and business in Finland. Similarly, the mass media and education promote the importance of English (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 5-6). This is why it could be beneficial for learners in Finland to be taught according to the principles of ELF rather than solely relying on native norms. Of course, teachers play a major role in deciding what kind of English is learnt at schools. It is then surprising that there has been very little research on how teachers see the importance of

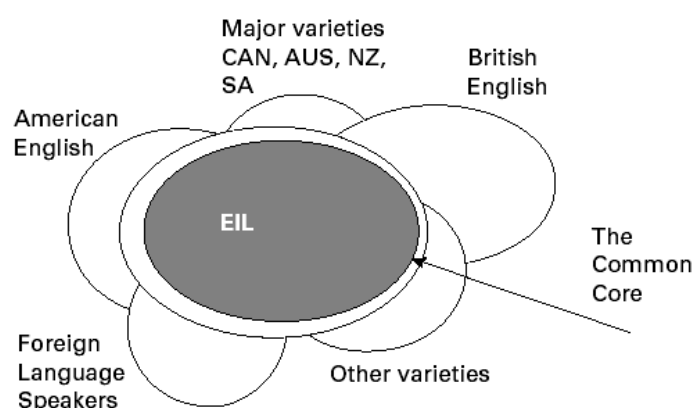
ELF. Interestingly, however, Ranta's study suggests that many young Finnish teachers today are ready to accept new norms of ELF, even if the older teachers still want to stick to native norms (Ranta 2004). Whatever the teachers' opinions are, however, the changed status of English in Finland is the reason for conducting the present study, while some decades ago a starting point like this would not have been relevant.

### **3.1. *Native or Non-Native?***

Today, non-native speakers (NNSs) outnumber native speakers (NSs) of English (Crystal 2003; Graddol 1997). As noted above, it has been claimed that English is no longer the property of native speakers but belongs to everyone who speaks it (Widdowson 1994). Graddol states that "native speakers may feel that the language belongs to them, but it will be those who speak English as a second or foreign language who will determine its world future" (Graddol 1997: 10). Precisely this, the question of the native speaker, is central to the idea of international English. In the past, it was often taken for granted that native speakers were the only appropriate models for language learners (Cook 1999). Even in the more liberal approaches, the native speaker was seen as "the ultimate goal" and his/her "God-like infallibility" as something desirable (Rajagopalan 2004: 114). Jenkins, however, claims that the EIL target community is not the British or American community but an international one; it is thus irrelevant for the learners to reach native competence (Jenkins 2002: 85). Suggestions have been made that the focus should be on L2 speakers, and that they should be viewed as multicompetent language users instead of seeing them as deficient native speakers (Cook 1999: 185). Further, speakers of EIL should have an accent which is intelligible and acceptable to a community which mainly consists of non-native speakers instead of

aiming at a native accent (Jenkins 2002: 85). In other words, L1 varieties should no longer provide the norms of “correctness” (Jenkins 2000). It is a fact that most learners will never become near-native speakers, and it is not even relevant for them (Cook 1999: 204).

Modiano (1999) provides a useful model (see Figure 3) of English as an international language.



**Figure 3. Modiano's model of English speakers.**

Here EIL is in the centre, which comprises of core features that are comprehensible to the majority of native and non-native speakers. The second circle refers to features which might become part the core or fall into obscurity. The five outer petals illustrate the peculiar features typical of each group which cannot be understood by most speakers of other groups (Modiano 1999: 10).

Jenkins, however, criticises this model because native speakers are equated with competent non-natives, which implies that all NSs are competent users of English. It is also difficult to distinguish between core and non-core varieties. Further, it can be

questioned whether it is right to call the major varieties “major” and outer circle varieties (e.g. Indian English) “local” (Jenkins 2003a: 21).

Nevertheless, from the point of view of this study, it is important to understand Modiano’s starting point. He is trying to move the focus from Kachru’s inner circle to an international inner circle. That is also what this study is trying to figure out: to see if the textbooks have moved the focus towards the non-native speaker. However, as one of the main goals of ELF is also to learn to understand different varieties of English, Kachru’s model will be the most useful for my purposes. First, it distinguishes L2 and EFL speakers from native speakers, which is relevant for the present study. Second, the purpose of the thesis is not to study the core items of EIL, but the accents occurring on the textbook tapes.

### **3.2. *ELF and Pronunciation***

As English is spoken with different accents all over the world, there are critics who claim that English is in danger of falling into several mutually incomprehensible languages (e.g. Quirk 1985, Trudgill 1998 and Bartsch 1987). It has been suggested by Bartsch (1987: xi) that lexicon, syntax, pronunciation and orthography should be kept close to each other between the different varieties. Others, like Bamgbose, prefer a pluricentric view of English, where there are separate national norms, because closeness cannot be imposed or ensured (Bamgbose 1998: 11). He further suggests that “if an international standard does emerge, it will not be identical with any national variety, native or non-native, because all varieties would, in varying degrees, have contributed to it” (Bamgbose 1998: 12).

This is basically what Jenkins also offers; she provides a solution to the problem of intelligibility concerning phonology. Jenkins (2000) argues that there are some features of phonology which are essential for successful communication; this is called the Lingua Franca Core (LFC). Jenkins introduces a whole new idea of teaching pronunciation, according to which learners should only learn the “core” items of English phonology, those which are important for international intelligibility. For instance, /ð/ and /θ/ are sounds which can be excluded from teaching, because even if a person pronounces them as /t/ and /d/, he or she will be understood (Jenkins 2000: 137). The core is based on her study on miscommunication, where she concludes that as many as 27 out of 40 breakdowns in communication were the result of phonological L1 transfer (2000: 87-88). This means that the mother tongue sometimes led to pronunciations of English which were not understood by speakers with other accents. Therefore, general rules concerning pronunciation would guarantee successful communication. Referring to her LFC, Jenkins points out that ELF researchers are not against diversity, and they do not want to set rules for one single English for the world. On the contrary, except for a small number of rules (LFC), which safeguard phonetic intelligibility, ELF speakers can preserve their regional accents (Jenkins 2004: 65). In terms of my study, the idea of LFC is encouraging; it implies that different accents in textbooks are acceptable, as long as the core elements are watched and intelligibility is ensured.

### ***3.3. ELF and Exposure to Different Accents***

Let us now turn to the aspect of international English which is most relevant for the present study: different regional accents. ELF also entails the idea of understanding

different accents of English because the most important thing for a learner is to be able to communicate in international situations: “Needless to say, exposure to a wide range of varieties of English [...] is likely to facilitate the acquisition of [...] communicative abilities” (Seidlhofer 2004: 227). Jenkins (2000: 183) talks about accommodation in interlanguage talk, where one condition for successful communication is that the listener has had prior exposure to a range of non-native accents. This is needed in order to develop “a tolerance of difference”. In all, the point is not to have all the different accents as a model; they are just presented in order to teach students to listen flexibly.

A study conducted by Chiba et al. (1995: 84) reveals that Japanese students showed more positive attitudes towards Received Pronunciation (RP) and General American (GA) than towards non-native accents of English. The study suggests that if students were more familiar with non-native varieties, they would also view them more positively. Similarly, a study made by Pihko (1997: 235) showed that it was easiest for Finnish students to understand familiar standard accents. Several other studies also show that familiarity is important for understanding (see e.g. Gass and Varonis 1984; Smith and Bisazza 1982). However, the local variety is often viewed negatively even if it is familiar (Pihko 1997; Dalton-Puffer et al. 1997).

What follows from the importance of familiarity is that non-native speakers will not necessarily be able to understand other non-native speakers even if they understand native speakers; both native and non-native varieties are needed for fluent understanding and communication (Smith and Bisazza 1982). Jenkins goes on to say that exposure to non-native accents is even more important than exposure to native accents, because learners are more likely to encounter NNSs than NSs (Jenkins 2003b). Further, it has been argued that students should be given a basis for understanding both native and non-native varieties, and they can then fine-tune those varieties which are

relevant for them (Widdowson quoted in Seidlhofer 2004: 227). To conclude, despite these slightly different points of view, scholars seem to agree that learners need to get acquainted with different accents.

Jenkins (2000: 184) claims that the best guarantee of familiarity is “repeated pedagogic exposure”, where a learner’s attention is drawn to particularly difficult areas, mainly those which are lingua franca core items. The familiarity with different accents discussed above is a key issue in the present study; the aim is to find out how much exposure to different accents is offered to students.

### **3.4. ELF and Teaching Materials**

Even if the perspective of ELF has gained acceptance, it is surprising that it has had little or no impact on language teaching or teaching materials (Jenkins 2002: 83). The present view in ELF seems to be that the textbook is responsible for introducing non-native accents to students: “a coursebook is only truly offering International English if it uses the varieties which are prevalent in today’s English-speaking communities” (Gibb 2000). The reality is far from this ideal, however. According to Brown (1995), for instance, ESL and EFL instruction materials focus primarily on inner circle norms, even if some series already introduce a variety of speakers of inner, outer and expanding circles. Moreover, a study made in Japan revealed that local English textbooks are still oriented to the inner circle varieties, and the representation of English consists of American and British varieties (Matsuda 2003: 719). As noted above, this field remains unstudied in Finland, which is the reason for conducting the present study.

Jenkins goes on to claim that ELT publishers can be seen as gatekeepers who do not consider ELF important; the majority of them marginalise ELF accents in their

teaching materials, even if such accents would be the most beneficial for learners (Jenkins 2004: 66). As for tape material, Jenkins (2000: 190) argues that there are few recordings of speakers with different non-native accents available in published materials. Interestingly, however, besides the focus on Anglo-American culture, there are sometimes “exotic optional extras”, such as New Englishes, in the textbooks (Seidlhofer 2003: 13). These ideas have a clear relevance to the present study, because one would expect Finnish textbooks to follow the same tendency: very little international variation, but maybe some “exotic extras”. The idea of “gatekeepers” is interesting for the study as well; if non-native accents are in the minority on the tapes, it is presumably because of the influence of Finnish publishers.

Let us now turn to see what aspects need to be taken into account when teaching materials are being made.

## **4. Teaching materials**

According to Littlejohn (1998), journals and conferences play a part in spreading new ideas in language teaching, but the published coursebook is definitely the most powerful device. Today's materials offer complete packages for learning and teaching, which means that materials also structure the classroom activities more effectively than before (Littlejohn 1998: 190). On the other hand, it has been claimed by O'Neill (1982) that learners at all levels need to learn the same basic framework in order to use the language for specific purposes afterwards. This is what textbooks can offer; they can give a common core which can be used under different conditions (O'Neill 1982: 106). In terms of the present study, it is necessary to understand how textbooks with the tapes do play a major role in the classroom. Presumably most teachers mostly rely on the published material and it is the basic framework for teaching.

### ***4.1. Language Teaching Materials and Needs***

There are several aspects which need to be taken into account when teaching materials are being made. In the last 20 years needs analysis has been prominent in the literature on language teaching. Table 1 outlines Masuhara's approach to different kinds of needs (Masuhara 1997). The needs presented here are defined in terms of whose needs they are (ownership), what kinds of needs are identified (kind) and what the sources for the needs are (source).

Table 1. List of needs identified in the needs analysis literature (Masuhara 1997: 240-41).

Ownership	Kind	Source
LEARNERS' NEEDS	personal needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• age; sex;</li> <li>• cultural background;</li> <li>• interests;</li> <li>• educational background</li> </ul>
	learning needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• learning styles;</li> <li>• previous language learning experiences;</li> <li>• gap between the target level and the present level in terms of knowledge (e.g. target language and its culture);</li> <li>• gap between the target level and the present level of proficiency in various competence areas (e.g. skills, strategies);</li> <li>• learning goals and expectations for a course</li> </ul>
	future professional needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• requirements for the future undertakings in terms of: knowledge of language knowledge of language use L2 competence</li> </ul>
TEACHERS' NEEDS	personal needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• age; sex;</li> <li>• cultural background;</li> <li>• interests;</li> <li>• educational background;</li> <li>• teachers' language proficiency</li> </ul>
	professional needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• preferred teaching styles;</li> <li>• teacher training experience;</li> <li>• teaching experience</li> </ul>
ADMINISTRATORS' NEEDS	institutional needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• socio-political needs;</li> <li>• market forces;</li> <li>• educational policy;</li> <li>• constraints (e.g. time, budget, resources)</li> </ul>

Masuhara highlights that it is obvious that the different categories also influence each other. In particular, teachers are very much influenced by administrative as well as learners' needs (Masuhara 1997: 241). Presumably administrators' needs are crucial when a textbook is being produced, because authors and publishers have to follow the guidelines set by administrators. As Seidlhofer points out, the most radical changes in English teaching will happen once new ideas have found their way into new curricula (Seidlhofer 2004: 226). Therefore, in what follows I will look more closely at the administrative needs mentioned in the table above.

## 4.2. Language Planning and Guidelines

As can be expected, both *Culture Café* and *In Touch* state on their web pages that their teaching materials are based on the Common European Framework and the newest National Curriculum (2003). In the light of the present study, it is obvious that textbook authors try to follow the curricula; therefore it is vital to see what the curricula suggest. The main interest is to see whether they provide any references to the status of English as a lingua franca or the importance of exposure to different accents of English.

### 4.2.1. Common European Framework

One of the guidelines which the textbook series follow is the Common European Framework (CEF). The CEF offers a common basis for language syllabi, curriculum guidelines and textbooks etc. across Europe. It also provides the common reference levels (European Language Portfolio=ELP) for different language skills (Council of Europe 2001: 1). Plurilingualism is emphasized in the goals of language education:

It is no longer seen as simply to achieve ‘mastery’ of one or two, or even three languages, each taken in isolation, with the ‘ideal native speaker’ as the ultimate model. Instead, the aim is to develop a linguistic repertoire, in which all linguistic abilities have a place (Council of Europe 2001: 5).

Referring to the CEF, Seidlhofer (2003: 23) states that this goal is likely to be realised only if the elusive goal of native-speaker competence is got rid of.

As to the common reference levels of the ELP, the ability to communicate with the native speaker is highlighted. For instance, a speaker on the B2 level should identify himself/herself with the following: “Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity which makes regular interaction with *native speakers* quite possible without

strain for either party“ (p. 24, my italics). Seidlhofer points out that even if there has been a general shift in curricula guidelines from “correctness” to “intelligibility”, intelligibility is even today seen in relation to native speakers, and this is clearly the case with the proficiency levels of the ELP (Seidlhofer 2003: 12-13). To conclude, even if the aim of the CEF is not to reach native speaker competence, it is to be able to communicate with natives, not non-natives. In the light of this study, this is not very promising; authors and publishers are likely to follow the old-fashioned idea of setting native speaker communication as a goal.

#### **4.2.2. Finland’s National Curriculum**

The other guideline to be followed by textbook writers is Finland’s National Curriculum. From the 1990’s onwards the Curriculum of English has been included in the block of foreign languages. English is thus not given a particular status as a lingua franca even if its status is different from other foreign languages. The goal is that “a learner is able to communicate in a way that is typical of the target language and its culture” (*Opetussuunnitelman perusteet* 2003: 100, my translation). The only thing that can be seen to have a link to the idea of lingua franca is that the importance of intercultural communication is emphasised: “The teaching of foreign languages develops students’ intercultural skills of communication [...] European multilingualism and multiculturalism are taken into account” (ibid.: 100). There is also a mention of cultural sensitivity: “to develop cultural sensitivity students should be guided to become aware that their own actions and appreciations are culture specific” (ibid.: 101). However, it is peculiar that there is no mention of the importance of different accents, as I think that cultural sensitivity cannot be reached without having been exposed to

different ways of pronouncing English. From a student's point of view, it would be easier to accept other cultures if they at the same time learned to accept different accents. The situation is, of course, different with other foreign languages, for example German, as there is one target culture, and the language is not used for any wider lingua franca function.

#### 4.2.3. The Response to Curricula in *Culture Café* and *In Touch*

Both *Culture Café* and *In Touch* state on their web pages<sup>3</sup> that they have taken Finland's National Curriculum and CEF into account. Both series claim that a learner should reach level B2.1 (Independent user) of the ELP, which means that a student is an independent and active language user, who manages regular interaction with a *native speaker* (see 4.2.1 above). Further, *In Touch* states that the books are in accordance with Finland's Curriculum and that one aim is that "a student is able to communicate in a way which is typical of the *target language and its culture*" (my translation and italics). It is further said on the *In Touch* web page that "strategies typical of intercultural communication are practised" (my translation). Interestingly, nothing is directly said about communication with non-native speakers on either of the web pages; intercultural communication is just mentioned in general on the *In Touch* page. This is surprising in relation to the fact that the CEF mentions the importance of European multilingualism. As expected, the role of English as a lingua franca is not emphasised on either web page.

As we see, it seems as if the textbook producers' goals are mostly in accordance with the goals in the CEF and National Curriculum. Consequently, the grounds are not

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<sup>3</sup> [http://www.otava.fi/content\\_files/CultureCafeops2005.pdf](http://www.otava.fi/content_files/CultureCafeops2005.pdf)  
[http://www.wsoy.fi/oppi/pdf/ops\\_in\\_touch.pdf](http://www.wsoy.fi/oppi/pdf/ops_in_touch.pdf)

very favourable for teaching ELF, as the curricula see English as only one among many foreign languages with no special function as a lingua franca. Next we will look at the reality and see whether various outer and expanding circle accents are presented in the textbooks, even if they are not mentioned in the curricula.

## 5. Materials and Method

### 5.1. Material

The data consists of two book series used in upper secondary schools in Finland: the first five courses of both *Culture Café* (OTAVA) and *In Touch* (WSOY). Ten course tapes from *Culture Café* and ten from *In Touch* will be studied (there are two CDs for each course). Further, I will include the listening comprehension CDs for courses 1-3 for both series. In other words, all the taped material which belongs to courses 1-5 is to be studied. The reason for excluding the remaining courses (6-8) is that *Culture Café* had only published five courses at the time of beginning the analysis. Second, the first five courses certainly give us an idea about the relative amount of non-native accents on the tapes.

All the taped material, including key texts, listening comprehensions etc. will be studied. However, songs and pauses in listening comprehensions are excluded from the analysis. Further, the intro track on each IT CD is not analysed, as that is not part of the learning material, but rather a commercial for WSOY. Normal pauses in speech, in contrast, have not been excluded.

The tracks are referred to in the following way: IT 2,1:8 means *In Touch* 2, CD 1, track 8. Similarly, the initials CC stand for *Culture Café*. ITL refers to the listening comprehension CD “Kuuntelukokeet 1-3” by *In Touch* and CCL to the corresponding CD by *Culture Café*. As for the markings of durations, they are written in the following way: 01:30:36 means 1 hour 30 minutes and 36 seconds.

## 5.2. Method

In what follows, I will introduce descriptions of the accents according to which the data is analysed. However, only the accents which occur in the data are described. The primary source for information on inner and outer circle accents will be Trudgill and Hannah's *International English* (2002). At some points, Wells's *Accents of English* (1982) and Crystal's *Encyclopedia of the English Language* (2003) will be used as well. For expanding circle accents, the main source is *Learner English* edited by Swan and Smith (2001). An exception to this is the Finnish accent, which is not included in Swan and Smith's book. The Finnish accent has been described with the help of two sources: *Pronunciation and Phonemic Transcription* by Lintunen (2004) and *Finnish-English Phonetics and Phonology* (2001) by Sajavaara and Dufva. All the accents will be classified according to Kachru (1985), as his model is the most appropriate for the purposes of the study (see 3.1).

In the following sections (5.2.1-5.2.3), each variety is first described, after which one example from the data is introduced. The example extracts described in there can be found on the CD in Appendix 1; in other words, there is an extract of each accent on the CD. Received Pronunciation (RP) will be introduced first, and it will be the reference accent for the non-native accents, because it is the most comprehensively described accent of English (Wells 1982: 279), and non-native accents tend to be described in relation to it in literature (Melchers and Shaw 2003: 47). After that General American (GA), the other traditional school accent, is introduced.

As the study concentrates on non-native variation (outer and expanding circle), I will classify other inner circle accents than RP and GA as "other variation" in the analysis. Here are included all the intranational accents within the UK and the US but

also other inner circle accents such as Australian English and Irish; thus all regional and socio-linguistic accents within the inner circle. Further, the data includes some stretches of speech by fairy tale figures, for example “goblin speech”. Stretches of this kind will also be classified into the category “other variation”, as they usually represent an altered inner circle variety. It is important to note that “other variation” does occur in both book series, even if it is not discussed here to any further extent. Finally, all the non-native accents are presented in relation to RP.

It should be noted that not all the features in the reference material have been outlined here; the descriptions of accents are rather summaries of features which are useful for the analysis. This is because extensive descriptions would take too much space in the scale of the thesis. The information introduced in 5.2.1-5.2.3 is then used throughout the analysis; in other words, when a particular text or exercise is claimed to be spoken with the Jamaican accent, it contains many of the features mentioned below.

The rule of thumb when classifying a passage as representing a particular accent is that several features described in 5.2.1-5.2.3 occur on the tape. The relative proportion of features is more important than the number of features in each extract. In other words, if an extract is long and only a couple of features in a few words occur, the track is not classified as representing a particular accent. Extracts of this kind will be put into the category “other variation” (discussed above), because they are closer to native varieties than any non-native accent. In contrast, if a track is very short but the few words on the tape have features typical of a non-native accent, the track is classified as representing that particular accent. One further thing to notice is that the typical features of different accents do not always affect all sounds, but only some of them, depending on the L1 of the speaker. This means that RP /eɪ/, for instance, is usually

affected by African speakers because of the native language, whereas Spanish has a similar diphthong, which is carried over into English too.

If most of the core features occur in an extract, then it is referred to as a strong accent. On the other hand, if only some of the features are present, the track is described as a mild accent. However, the examples of non-native accents analysed below in 5.2.2-5.2.3 (i.e. those on the CD) are all strong accents (where available); exceptions are the extracts of Polish and Portuguese accents, of which only mild versions occur in the data. It should be noted that almost all the non-native accents in the data are realised by actors, which probably has an effect on pronunciation. This is discussed further in 7.3. Consequently, many of the accents classified as mild might have to do with the fact that the mother tongue of the actors is English, which leads to RP-like pronunciations. Let us now turn to examine descriptions and example analyses of different accents.

### **5.2.1. Inner Circle**

#### ***Received Pronunciation (RP)***

RP speakers are not restricted to any specific region in the UK. In contrast, RP is a social accent, which is associated with the upper-middle and upper classes. RP is a prestigious accent in the whole of the British Isles, but it is mostly associated with England. However, only 3-5 percent of the population speak it (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 2-9).

The RP sound system is represented in Table 2, and the symbols given will be used throughout the analysis. However, some symbols are missing from the table which occur in this study (because it is a description of RP). For the symbols not found in the table, the reader is asked to turn to The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), which

represents all the symbols used in the study (see Appendix 2). It should be noted that there are some differences in the use of the symbols between Trudgill and Hannah (2002), Wells (1982) and Roach (1991), but Roach's symbols will be used in the study, as they are closest to IPA (IPA being the official phonetic alphabet used all over the world).

*Table 2. The RP sound system according to Peter Roach (Roach 1991: vi).*

ɪ	as in 'pit' pɪt	i:	as in 'key' ki:
e	as in 'pet' pet	ɑ:	as in 'car' kɑ:
æ	as in 'pat' pæt	ɔ:	as in 'core' kɔ:
ʌ	as in 'putt' pʌt	u:	as in 'coo' ku:
ɒ	as in 'pot' pɒt	ɜ:	as in 'cur' kɜ:
ʊ	as in 'put' pʊt		
ə	as in 'about' əbaʊt		
ɛɪ	as in 'bay' beɪ	əʊ	as in 'go' gəʊ
aɪ	as in 'buy' baɪ	aʊ	as in 'cow' kaʊ
ɔɪ	as in 'boy' bɔɪ		
ɪə	as in 'peer' pɪə		
eə	as in 'pear' peə		
ʊə	as in 'poor' pʊə		
p	as in 'pea' pi:	b	as in 'bee' bi:
t	as in 'toe' təʊ	d	as in 'doe' dəʊ
k	as in 'cap' kæp	g	as in 'gap' gæp
f	as in 'fat' fæt	v	as in 'vat' væt
θ	as in 'thing' θɪŋ	ð	as in 'this' ðɪs
s	as in 'sip' sɪp	z	as in 'zip' zɪp
ʃ	as in 'ship' ʃɪp	ʒ	as in 'measure' meʒə
h	as in 'hat' hæt	l	as in 'led' led
m	as in 'map' mæp	r	as in 'red' red
n	as in 'nap' næp	j	as in 'yet' jet
ŋ	as in 'hang' hæŋ	W	as in 'wet' wet
tʃ	as in 'chin' tʃɪn	dʒ	as in 'gin' dʒɪn

Only those features in the above table will be considered here which distinguish RP from GA (GA is the other traditional school accent). As can be seen from the table, the

word *pot* has a rounded /ɒ/. Typical of RP is also /ɑ:/ in words like *dance*, /i:/ in words like *bee*, and /u:/ in words like *boot*, in contrast to General American. Further, RP includes the diphthongs /ɪə/, /eə/ and /ʊə/ as in the words *peer*, *pair* and *poor* (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 10).

As for consonants, one feature typical of RP is that the consonant /l/ has two allophones. This means that syllable-initial /l/ as in *lot* is “clear” (the tongue is raised towards the hard palate), whereas syllable-final /l/ as in *bottle* is “dark” (the tongue is raised towards the soft palate). Further, intervocalic /t/ is preserved in RP, which is not the case in GA, for example (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 39). Finally, RP is a non-rhotic accent. This means that orthographic *r* is not pronounced in words like *far* /fa:/ or *farm* /fa:m/. However, RP has “linking /r/”, in other words, final /r/ is pronounced if the following word begins with a vowel, e.g. in *far away*. Sometimes an “intrusive /r/” (an /r/ which is inserted before a following vowel, even if it does not occur in the spelling) occurs, e.g. *draw up* /drɔ:ɹʌp/ (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 14).

*In Touch 2* includes a text “Fast Forward” (IT 2,1:7), which has a typical RP pronunciation. First, [ɒ] can be noticed e.g. in the words *long* and *top*. Second, there are words which have [ɑ:] in *chances* and *fastest*, for instance. The words *steam* and *wheels* are pronounced with [i:], and *soon* and *balloon* with [u:], which is typical of RP. The diphthongs /ɪə/, /eə/ and /ʊə/ occur in the words *years* [jɪəs], *air* [eə] and *tourism* [tʊəɪzəm]. As for consonants, clear /l/ occurs in *larping* and *look*, whereas dark /l/ occurs in *travel* and *physical*, for instance. The words *air*, *traveller*, *door* and *tour* have no /r/ when pronounced. However, as is typical of RP, linking /r/ appears e.g. in

*disappear under* [disəpiərʌndə], and the same is the case with *where are*. Finally, intervocalic /t/ is maintained e.g. in the words *getting* and *exotic*.

### **General American (GA)**

General American is spoken “from Ohio through the Middle West and on to the Pacific Coast” (Prator and Robinett quoted in Wells 1982: 118). I have chosen to look at General American as one homogenous accent here (according to Wells 1982: 120-127), because the data does not manifest much variation. The majority of the North American tracks on the tapes do not include features of the Western, Northern, Midland and Central Eastern varieties discussed by Trudgill and Hannah (2002: 42-45).

The GA vowel system differs somewhat from RP. Almost all words which have /i:/ in RP, have [i] in GA, e.g. *key* or *creep*. Similarly, *goose* has [u] instead of RP /u:/ and *thought* [ɔ] instead of RP /ɔ:/. There are some vowels which do not have one-to-one correspondence. RP has /ɒ/ in *stop* and *dodge*, whereas GA has [ɑ]; in other words, the vowel is unrounded in GA. In the words *cough* and *gone*, on the other hand, RP again has /ɒ/, but GA has [ɔ]. Sometimes GA [ɑ] corresponds to RP /ɑ:/ as in *father* and *psalm*. RP /ɑ:/ is realised with [æ] in GA for example in *bath*. As for diphthongs, RP /əʊ/ is [o] in GA (*goat*, for example). RP /ɪə/ before /r/ becomes [ɪr] in GA, e.g. in the words *near*, *beer*, *fear*. The same is the case with /eə/ (in *square*, for instance), which is [ɛr] in GA. (Wells 1982: 122-123.)

Let us now have a look at GA consonants. To start with, /l/ is usually darker in GA than in RP, particularly in intervocalic positions, for instance *jelly* is [dʒɛɫ] in GA. /t/ in intervocalic positions is usually realised as a voiced tap [ɾ], e.g. in the words *letter* and *putting*. In contrast to RP, GA has /r/ when a consonant follows, for example *sharp*

/ʃɑrp/ and *form* /fɔrm/. Similarly, GA has word-final /r/ even if the next word does not begin with a vowel, e.g. *car* /kar/. (Wells 1982: 125.)

*In Touch 4* includes a text called “Rough justice” (IT 4,2:18), where one can notice a GA accent. *See* is realised with [i] instead of /i:/. Similarly, *two* is realised with a short [u]. The word *stopped* has an unrounded [a] instead of RP /ɒ/, and there is [a] instead of RP /ɑ:/, for example in *farmer* [fɑrmər]. RP /ɑ:/ is realised with [æ], in words such as *laugh*, *half* and *answer*. As for diphthongs, RP /əʊ/ is realised as [o], e.g. in the words *old* and *road*. Dark l [ɫ] can be noticed in the words *color* and *police*, for instance. Intervocalic /t/ is realised typically for GA; a voiced tap [ɾ] can be noticed for example in *getting* and *city*. In contrast to RP, /r/ followed by a consonant is pronounced in words such as *farmer*<sup>4</sup> and *fingers*. Finally, word-final /r/ appears in words such as *over*, *farmer*, and *never*.

Having established the method for classifying the inner circle accents RP and GA, let us now turn to the main interest of the study: non-native accents.

### 5.2.2. Outer Circle

In what follows, the descriptions of outer circle accents which occur in the data are introduced. Sometimes the classification of accents into the three circles is somewhat problematic. It has been pointed out by Kachru that for example Jamaica is hard to place within the three circles, because there are native speakers of English too (1985: 14). However, both Jamaican and Indian accents are placed here within the outer circle, as there are also a considerable number of L2 speakers (see Graddol 1997: 11).

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<sup>4</sup> The sound being discussed is underlined if there is a possibility of confusion.

The accents to be described are African, Indian and Jamaican, and they are introduced in alphabetical order.

### *African Accent*

English has been inherited as a second language in those parts of Africa which belonged to the British Empire. Wells (1982) and a number of other scholars deal with African English as one large variety even if there are a number of different native languages on the continent, which affect the English spoken there. The reference passage described below is situated in Botswana (Southern Africa), but I have had to rely on Wells's (1982) and Bobda's (2000) descriptions of African English in general, because the material on the English spoken in Botswana is restricted (for the English spoken in South Africa, East Africa and Western Africa, see Trudgill and Hannah 2002). The other extract with an "African accent" in the data can also be placed under this relatively broad category.

When Africans speak English, one distinctive feature is the vowel system; they namely usually have only eight contrastive vowels /i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u, ə/ (Bobda 2000: 254). This leads to the fact that there are few speakers who make a distinction between /i:/ and /ɪ/ in their English (Wells 1982: 637). The same is the case with /ʊ/ and /u:/; *look* and *Luke* are both pronounced [luk]. Interestingly, there is usually no RP /ɜ:/ vowel in African Englishes (as in the word *nurse*), but the vowels [e], [a] and [o] are used instead (Wells 1982: 637). It is also common to use other vowels than /ə/ in weak syllables (Bobda 2000: 254, 263). Further, monophthongs are often used instead of diphthongs; e.g. in the words *face* and *goat* [e] and [o] tend to be used instead of RP /eɪ, əʊ/ (Wells 1982: 637). As for consonants, alveolar plosives are frequently used instead

of the dental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ (Wells 1982: 640). One further characteristic feature of African Englishes is that they are syllable-timed (Wells 1982: 644). This means that each syllable occurs at regular intervals rather than each stressed syllable occurring at regular intervals (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 113).

*Culture Café 4* includes a story “The no.1 Ladies’ detective agency” (CC 4,2:12-14) which is situated in Botswana, Africa. The narrator clearly speaks in RP, but the direct quotes are spoken with an accent which has features typical of African Englishes. To start with, the vowel /æ/ does not appear in the speech, but instead, it is often replaced with [e], for example in the words *back, fact, have, happened*. No distinction is made between RP /i:/ and /ɪ/, thus *police, me, need* and *reveal* are realised as [pɒlɪs], [mi], [niɪd] and [ri:vɪl]. RP /ɜ:/ is replaced by [e], e.g. in *church* and *furniture*. Further, monophthongs are used instead of RP diphthongs; e.g. [ɔ] is used instead of /əʊ/ for example in *told, won’t, no, don’t, only*, and *safe* is realised as [sef]. However, RP /ð/ and /θ/ are pronounced, even if this is said to be one feature which is not present in the African Englishes. Interestingly, Wells points out that speakers who have been trained can usually produce these phonemes (Wells 1982: 640). Here the dental fricatives are probably pronounced because the speakers are actors, not natives of Botswana. Finally, it can be mentioned that the speech in the extract is syllable-timed; thus weak forms are stressed.

### ***Indian Accent***

The term “Indian English” refers also to the English spoken in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka (Wells 1982: 624). There are some native speakers of English in India, but those who speak it as their second language are in the majority. However, native and non-native varieties are looked at here as one group as they share the same features

(Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 130). Indian English has a reduced vowel system in relation to RP; RP /ɑ:/ and /ɔ:/ both often correspond to [ɑ:] in Indian English (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 130). /ɜ:/ tends to be pronounced [ə] or [ʌ] by Indian speakers (Wells 1982: 626). The RP diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are usually monophthongal [e:] and [o:] in Indian English. As far as consonants are concerned, there is usually no aspiration in the consonants /p, t, k/. It is common that /v/ and /w/ are not distinguished, and /r/ is frequently a flap [ɾ] (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 130). Further, /t/, /d/ and /s/ are often replaced by the retroflex consonants [ɖ], [ɗ] and [ʂ]. As in African Englishes, Indian speakers also use syllable-timed pronunciation.

There is a chapter called “From riches to rags” in *Culture Café 4*, where some utterances are spoken with the Indian accent (CC 4,1:7). Some Indian features are present there even if the extract is very short. First, /ɜ:/ is realised as [ə] in the word *Churchills*. Second, RP /əʊ/ is realised as [ɔ:] in the word *nose*. As for consonants, there is no aspiration in the word *pudding*. /w/ is realised as [v]; thus the word *would* is [vud]. Further, /r/ is realised with a flap [ɾ] in the words *drippings* and *carriage*. Syllable-timing can be noticed in the speech as well.

### ***Jamaican Accent***

The Jamaican accent is the best described of the Caribbean accents (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 109). However, most of the Jamaican features are represented across the whole Caribbean region (Crystal 2002: 245). To start with vowels, RP /æ/ is frequently pronounced [a] in Jamaican English (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 113). Unstressed /ə/ is far less common in Jamaican English than it is in RP; for instance *daughter* is pronounced with a final [a]. It should be noted, though, that Jamaican English is not

syllable-timed to the extent to which for example African Englishes are (Wells 1982: 572). RP /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are frequently pronounced [e:] and [o:] (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 113). Semivowels might occur in words like *cat* [kʲat] or *boy* [bʲwaj] at the lower end of the social scale (Wells 1982: 575). RP /ð/ and /θ/ are usually replaced by [t] and [d] so that *thing*, for example, is [tɪŋ]. Final consonant clusters are frequently simplified, e.g. *child*, *tact* and *wind* are realised as [tʃaɪl, tak, wɪn] (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 113).

*Culture Café 1* has an exercise where one character, “Clara”, is said to speak Caribbean English (CC 1,1:8). A number of Jamaican characteristics are included in the extract. Unstressed /ə/ does not appear in the words *happen* and *never*, in contrast to RP. *Playing* is pronounced with [e:], *go* and *older* with [o:]. As for consonants, RP /ð/ and /θ/ are realised as [t] or [d]; e.g. the words *they*, *think*, *the* and *there* are pronounced [deɪ], [tɪŋk], [dɪ] and [deə]. Final consonant clusters are simplified in the words *old*, *want* and *mouth*: [oɪ], [vʌŋ] and [maʊt].

### 5.2.3. Expanding Circle

The following descriptions of expanding circle accents are mainly based on Swan and Smith (2001), in which the basic assumption is that the speaker’s mother tongue affects the pronunciation of English. Jenkins (2000: 94) supports this view and argues that “English is always – and often to some considerable degree – characterized by phonological transfer from its speakers’ first languages”. For other aspects of interlanguage phonology, see for example Tarone 1987. The descriptions below include

Chinese, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Polish, Portuguese and Spanish accents, and they are presented in alphabetical order.

### *Chinese Speakers*

The English accent described here is typical of speakers in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, for instance (Chang 2001: 310). When a Chinese person speaks English, there is usually no contrast between RP /ɪ/ and /i:/ or /ʊ/ and /u:/. RP /æ/, on the other hand, is usually nasalised or realised as [ɑ:] or [ʌ]. As for diphthongs, Chinese diphthongs are frequently realised with smaller and quicker tongue and lip movements than English diphthongs; therefore Chinese speakers tend to make them shorter. As for consonants, /θ/ and /ð/ do not usually occur, but for example [t] and [d] are used instead. Many Chinese do not make a distinction between /l/ and /r/; especially /l/ in final position may be replaced by [r] or [ə], or it can be dropped altogether. Final consonant clusters tend to get simplified; e.g. *dogs* is pronounced without the final /s/ (Chang 2001: 312).

There is an exercise in *Culture Café 2* where an exchange student from Singapore speaks English (CC 2,1: 9). The same vowel length can be noticed e.g. in the words *speak* and *Finland*. Another typical Chinese feature is that /æ/ is realised as [ʌ] in *math*, for example. The diphthongs are relatively quick, e.g. in the words *year* and *nice*. As for consonants, the words *think* and *the* are realised with [t]. Finally, the Chinese influence can be heard in the word *beautiful*, for instance, where the final /l/ is dropped.

### ***Dutch Speakers***

There are L1 Dutch speakers in The Netherlands and Belgium (Tops et al. 2001: 1).

These speakers often pronounce /ɪ/ differently from RP, and e.g. *sit* and *set* may not be distinguished. Dutch has no vowel corresponding to /æ/, and this vowel is often pronounced somewhere between RP /e/ and /æ/ by Dutch speakers. As for RP diphthongs, /əʊ/ and /ɔ:/ tend not to be distinguished. As is typical of many of the non-native accents, /p,t,k/ are usually not aspirated at the beginning of words. Further, the voiced consonants (e.g. /b/ and /d/) are often realised as their unvoiced counterparts at the end of words, e.g. *Bob* [bop]. Finally, /θ/ is often pronounced as [s] or [t] and /ð/ as [z] or [d] (Tops et al. 2001: 3).

The reference track is from *Culture Café 3* (CC 3,2:4). There [e] instead of /ɪ/ can be noticed for instance in the words *this* and *is*. RP /æ/ is pronounced towards [e] e.g. in *have*. /əʊ/ and /ɔ:/ are not distinguished; for example, *don't* is realised as [dɔ:nt]. The word final voiced consonants are realised as unvoiced, for example in the word *husband*. Unaspirated /p/ and /t/ can be heard in the words *please* and *together*, for instance. Interestingly, /θ/ is realised as [t] in *with*, but in the word *there* it is realised as [ð], as in RP. Again, this probably has to do with the fact that the speakers are actors.

### ***Finnish Speakers***

Finnish is spoken in Finland and as a minority language in Sweden. Sajavaara and Dufva have pointed out that the English vowel sounds are normally realised as in RP by Finns (2001: 249). However, RP /ə/ is frequently not used by Finns but often [ø] is produced instead (Lintunen 2004: 71). As for diphthongs, Finns often produce the latter

element as long and tense (Lintunen 2004: 72). When it comes to consonants, /b/ and /g/ (voiced in RP) are often pronounced unvoiced (Sajavaara and Dufva 2001: 249). The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are often replaced by [t] or [d], and Finns may use [s] instead of /z, ʃ, ʒ/. Further, the affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ are often replaced by [ts] (Lintunen 2004).

There is a listening comprehension task in *Culture Café 2* where a Finnish TV translator is interviewed (CC 2,2:5). A number of features typical of Finnish pronunciation can be heard. [ø] occurs instead of /ə/ e.g. in the word *letter*. Diphthongs are realised with relatively long second elements e.g. in the words *title* and *hear*. The unvoiced pronunciation of RP/b/, on the other hand, can be heard in *subtitle* and *abridged*, for instance. The dental fricatives are replaced with [t] for instance in *that* and *think*. *Finnish* and *easy* are produced with [s] instead of /ʃ/ and /z/ respectively. Finally, the word *question* is realised as [kwestsən] instead of /kwestʃən/.

### ***French Speakers***

French is spoken for example in France, Belgium and Canada (Walter 2001: 52). L1 French speakers of English sometimes pronounce RP /ʌ/ almost like [ə]. /əʊ/ and /ɔ:/ can both be realised as [o]; thus *naught* and *note* are often pronounced in the same way. Further, /æ/ can be realised as [ʌ], for instance. In general, if diphthongs are realised with the two elements, there is equal force and length on both elements. As for consonants, /h/ is often dropped as in French; thus *I have* [aɪ ʌv]. /r/, on the other hand, is pronounced with the back of the tongue in French, and that is why it is often realised that way in English too. Dark /l/, as in the word *will*, is usually realised with clear /l/ by French speakers (Walter 2001: 54).

The reference passage is from *Culture Café 2* (CC 2,1: 10). *Multiple* and *stuck* are realised with [ə] instead of /ʌ/, whereas some words, e.g. *us* and *just*, have [ʌ]. As is typical of French speakers, the words *go* and *most* are pronounced with [o], not with /əʊ/. [ʌ] is used instead of /æ/ for example in *has* but elsewhere as in RP. Finally, the French pronunciation of /r/ can be noticed in the words *for* and *normal*, and clear /l/ can be noticed in the words *multiple* and *themselves*.

### ***German Speakers***

German is spoken for example in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Luxembourg (Swan 2001: 37). When German L1 speakers pronounce English, RP /æ/ and /e/ are not always distinguished. /ɔ:/ and /əʊ/ tend to be realised as a close pure vowel [o:]. Similarly, /eɪ/ can be pronounced as [e:]. As for consonants, word final voiced sounds (/b,d,g/ etc.) are often replaced by their unvoiced equivalents; thus *pub* [pʌp], for instance. Further, [v] is often used instead of RP /w/, for example *wine* [vaɪn]. Finally, /r/ may be pronounced either as in French (see French speakers), or as a flap [ɾ] (Swan 2001: 39).

The exercise “Kiss and tell” has a passage spoken by a German person (CC 2,1:10). The extract is 13 seconds long but includes various features typical of German speech. There [e] can be noticed instead of /æ/ in the words *family* and *handshake*, for instance. The monophthong [e:] can be heard in the word *handshake* instead of /eɪ/. The words *we* and *with* are realised with [v] instead of /w/. Finally, the French type pronunciation of /r/ can be heard in *ritual*. Elsewhere, /r/ is pronounced as in RP.

### ***Italian Speakers***

According to Duguid (2001: 74), Italian L1 speakers usually realise RP /ɪ/ as [i:], thus *live* is pronounced in the same way as *leave*. Diphthongs are not always pronounced but for example /əʊ/ and /ɒ/ are both realised as [o], similarly /e/ and /eɪ/ both as [e]. Sometimes diphthongs are pronounced so that both elements are given equal weight rather than stressing the first element. Strong pronunciation is frequently given to weak vowels. As far as consonants are concerned, /θ/ and /ð/ are commonly pronounced as /t/ and /d/; thus *thin* [ti:n], for instance. In Italian, there is no equivalent for /h/, and Italians often either leave it out or over-compensate. Further, final consonants are rare in Italian, and that is why final consonants in English are often pronounced with the vowel [ə] after them as in *school* [sku:lə] (Duguid 2001: 176).

*In Touch 2* contains a text “Streetwise in London” (IT 2,1:4), where an Italian, “Luigi”, speaks one passage of the text. Even if the extract is relatively short, 16 seconds, it contains many of the features typical of Italian speakers. /ɪ/ is realised as [i:] for example in the word *having*. The words *tomatoes* and *toast* are realised with [o] instead of the diphthong /əʊ/. Further, /ð/ is realised as [t] in the word *the*. On two occasions, [ə] is added after a final consonant: thus *fried* [fraɪdə] and *first* [fɜ:rstə].

### ***Polish Speakers***

Polish is mainly spoken in Poland, but also in Polish communities for instance in the USA and Germany (Spiewak and Golebiowska 2001: 163). Polish speakers often give full value to vowels in unstressed syllables; a full vowel is pronounced instead of /ə/ in the word *banana*, for instance. None of the 22 English vowels has an exact equivalent in Polish. For example, /æ/ and /e/ are typically pronounced as [ɛ]. The second element

of the closing diphthongs (e.g. eɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ, əʊ) is typically [j] or [w] when realised by Polish speakers. As for consonants, initial plosives are often unaspirated. /θ/ and /ð/ are usually replaced by one of the following: [f, v, s, z, t, d]. One of the distinct pronunciation features is the rolled quality of /r/, even in words which do not have /r/ in RP; e.g. *there* (Spiewak and Golebiowska 2001: 165).

One passage in a chapter called “Bradford voices” is spoken with a Polish accent (IT 4,1:7). A full vowel instead of /ə/ can be heard e.g. in *Christmas*. There is a lack of aspiration in the words *Poles* and *pub*. As for consonants, /θ/ is realised as [t] for example in the word *there*. Finally, a rolled /r/ occurs in a number of words, for instance in *already* and *improve*. It should be noticed here that the extract can be considered to represent a mild Polish accent, as the relative amount of Polish features is quite low.

### ***Portuguese Speakers***

Portuguese is spoken for instance in Portugal, Brazil and Angola (Shepherd 2001: 113). RP /i:/ often has a shorter duration, [ɪ], when pronounced by L1 Portuguese speakers. [u:], on the other hand, can be used instead of RP /ʊ/; thus the word *full* can be pronounced the same way as *fool* [fu:l]. Full value is often given to unstressed vowels; thus *an* [æn], for example. As for consonants, /p,t,k/ are frequently unaspirated. Initial and medial /t/ and /d/, on the other hand, both have a forceful pronunciation; for example *dale* and *tale* may not be distinguished. One further typical feature is that vowels before word final nasals tend to be nasalised. Finally, RP /θ/ and /ð/ are realised as [s] and [z] or [t] and [d] (Shepherd 2001: 115).

There is one short passage spoken with a Portuguese accent in *Culture Café 2* (exercise “Kiss and tell” CC 2,1:10). Short vowel duration can be heard in the word

*cheek*, thus [tʃɪk]. There is [u:] instead of /ʊ/ for example in the words *usually* and *Portugal*. Unaspirated consonants can be heard in the words *person* and *kisses*, for instance, and the medial /t/ in *Portugal* is forceful and near RP /d/. Finally, the vowel before the word final nasal is nasalised in the word *person*.

### ***Spanish Speakers***

The Spanish way of pronouncing English is typical of speakers from Spain, South America and Central America, for example (Coe 2001: 90). /i:/ and /ɪ/ are normally pronounced as [i]. RP /ɑ:/, /æ/ and /ʌ/ all correspond to [a]; thus *cart*, *cat* and *cut* are all pronounced in the same way. As for consonants, the initial voiceless plosives /p,t,k/ are not aspirated as in RP. /r/ is usually pronounced as a flap [r]. Finally, consonant clusters are often simplified; *breakfast* becomes [brefas], for example (Coe 2001: 94).

The example passage is from *In Touch 2* (IT 2,1:4). Even if the passage is very short, a number of Spanish features can be noticed. /i:/ in *sleeping* is realised as [i], and [a] occurs in the word *bag* instead of /æ/. As for consonants, initial /p/ tends to be unaspirated, e.g. in *polite*. Finally, a flap [r] is heard e.g. in *remember* and *spare*.

Having established the way different accents are classified, let us now turn to see how much non-native variation occurs on the tapes.

## 6. Tapes Analysis

In what follows, the results of the tapes analysis are introduced. A graph is presented for each accent to show how different tracks form the total amount of it in the two series.

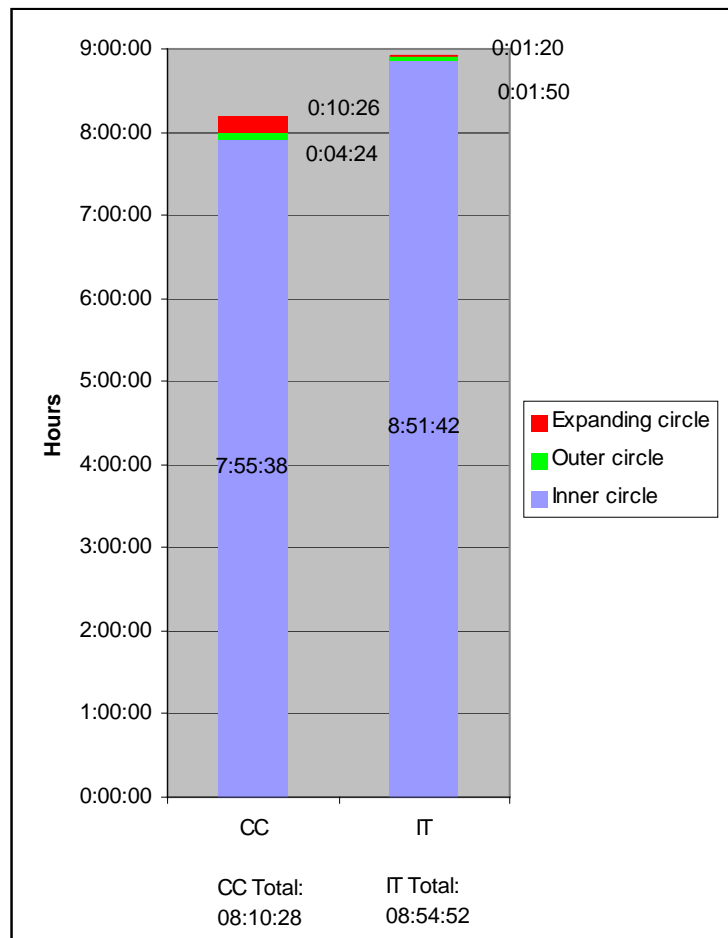
However, there is no separate graph for accents which are only represented by one extract in the data (Polish, Portuguese and Spanish). However, these accents are included in Figures 16 and 17, which present several accents together.

The scale in the graphs is relative in outer and expanding circle accents, in other words, the maximum value of 3 minutes is used in most graphs. An exception is the Finnish accent, where the maximum value is 7 minutes. Note that there are different maximum values in Figures 4, 5, 9, 16 and 17 too as they represent a larger number of accents.

The sources for outer and expanding circle tracks can be found in the legend. In contrast, the sources are not listed for inner circle accents, as they are not the focus of attention in the study. After having established the amounts of a particular accent, it will be discussed whether the tracks in question have strong or mild accents (see 5.2 for clarification). Finally, some qualitative characteristics of the contexts where non-native accents occur will be presented.

### 6.1. Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles: Overview

One of the most important findings in the study is the amount of outer and expanding circle accents in relation to inner circle accents. Figure 4 shows the proportions for the inner, outer and expanding circle accents in the data. The total length of the data is 08:10:28 in *Culture Café* and 08:54:52 in *In Touch*.



**Figure 4. Inner, outer and expanding circle accents in CC and IT.**

The results are somewhat striking; the inner circle accents dominate heavily, whereas the amount of outer and expanding circle accents in the data is very small. The total amount of non-native accents (outer and expanding circle) is 14 minutes 50 seconds in CC and 3 minutes 10 seconds in IT; thus only 3 percent in CC and 1 percent in IT. Let us now turn to look at each of the circles separately and find out which accents occur in the data. Note that because the total lengths of the taped material are so near each other, it seems unnecessary to count percentages later in the analysis; minutes and seconds are given in order to see the actual amounts of accents.

## 6.2. Inner circle: Received Pronunciation, General American and Other Variation

The traditional school accents - RP and GA - form the majority of the inner circle accents, as expected. As mentioned above, “other variation” consists of all other inner circle varieties (see 5.2 for further clarification). Figure 5 represents the relative amounts of RP, GA and other variation in the textbooks:

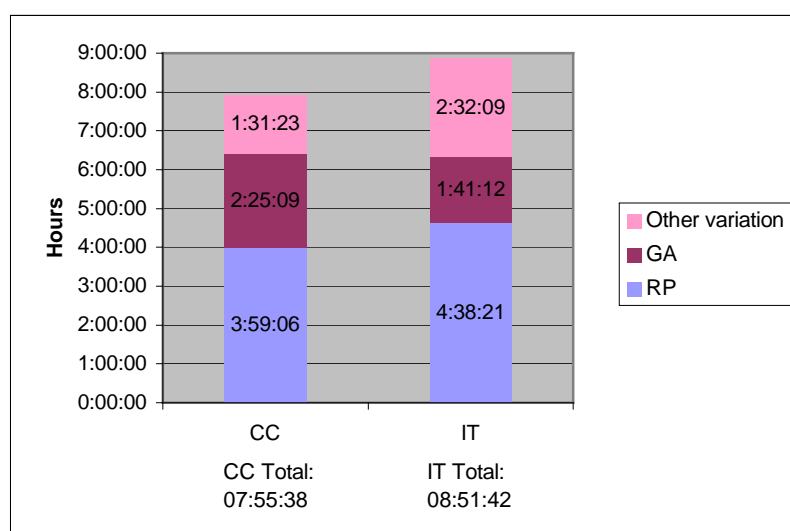


Figure 5. Inner circle variation in CC and IT.

As expected, both book series have more texts in RP than in GA: ~3 hours 59 minutes versus ~2 hours 25 minutes in CC and ~4 hours 38 minutes versus ~1 hour 41 minutes in IT. The distribution between the two major accents is considerably more even in CC than in IT. In general, it can be said that RP and GA on the tapes are stereotypical, and they correspond to the accents described in 5.2.1.

There is more other variation in IT than in CC, ~ 2 hours 32 minutes versus ~ 1 hour 31 minutes. In particular, IT seems to favour internal variation within Britain: northern accents and Estuary English (a mixture of Cockney and RP, see Rosewarne

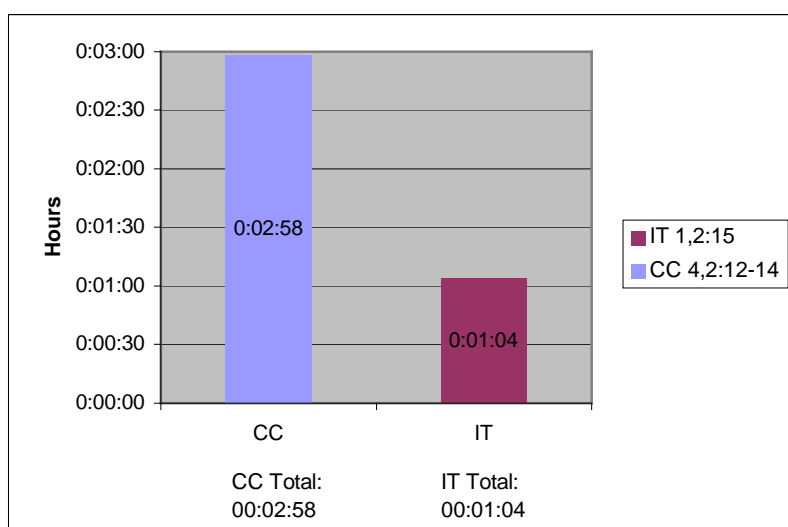
2000). CC, on the other hand, includes texts spoken with African American accents and Southern accents of North America, for instance. The Scottish and Australian accents occur on the tapes of both series. However, as the present study concentrates on non-native accents, these varieties will not be considered here further.

### 6.3. Outer Circle

Let us now turn to the non-native variation on the tapes, in other words the red and green proportions in Figure 4. Here all the sources and durations for particular accents are presented in the legend.

#### *African Accent*

Because the information on English in Africa is relatively restricted, I had to classify the two extracts as belonging to one big group: the African accent (see 5.2.2 for clarification). CC has 2 minutes 58 seconds and IT has 1 minute 4 seconds speech spoken with an accent which has features typical of African Englishes (see Figure 6).

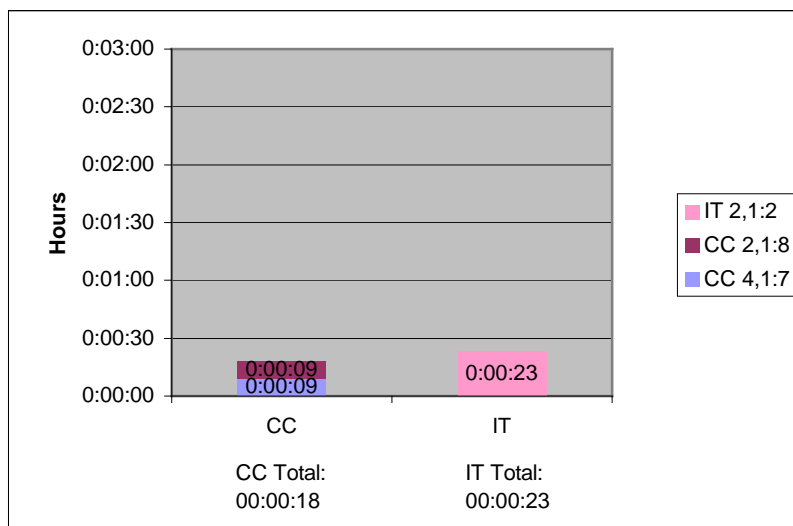


**Figure 6. African accent in CC and IT.**

The text in CC is much longer than in IT, and it is one of the longest extracts in the data spoken with a non-native accent. There is a narrator who speaks in RP while the direct quotes are spoken with an African accent. The IT track is spoken slowly, and it repeats a number of words; thus there are not many different words to analyse. However, one can notice that almost all the diphthongs are monophthongised, e.g. /ou/ and /eə/ are realised as [ɔ:] and [e:]. On the other hand, the speaker does not produce fewer pure vowels than there is in RP: /æ/ appears, for instance. To summarise, the IT extract has fewer typical African features and is closer to RP than the CC extract.

### *Indian Accent*

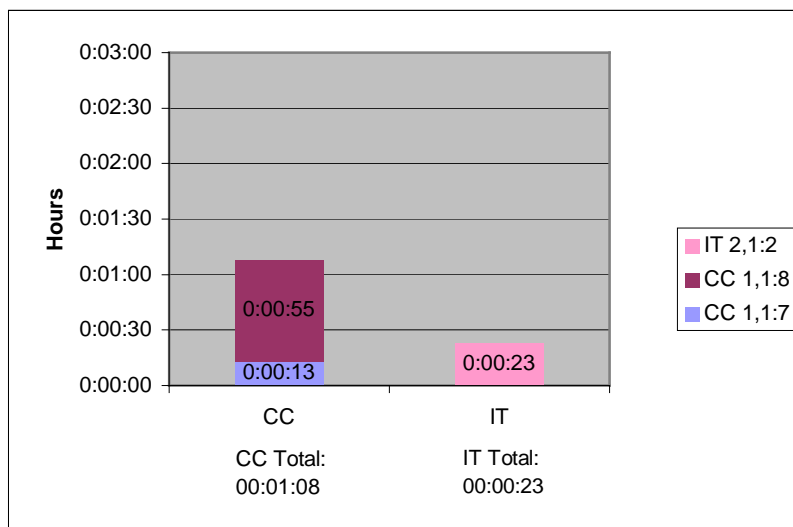
The Indian accent appears in both book series, but the amounts are very small: 18 seconds in CC and 23 seconds in IT (see Figure 7). All the voices with the Indian accent are relatively prototypical, in other words close to those described in chapter 5.2.2.



**Figure 7. Indian accent in CC and IT.**

### *Jamaican Accent*

The Jamaican accent is introduced in both book series. There is 1 minute 8 seconds speech with the accent in CC and 23 seconds in IT (see Figure 8).



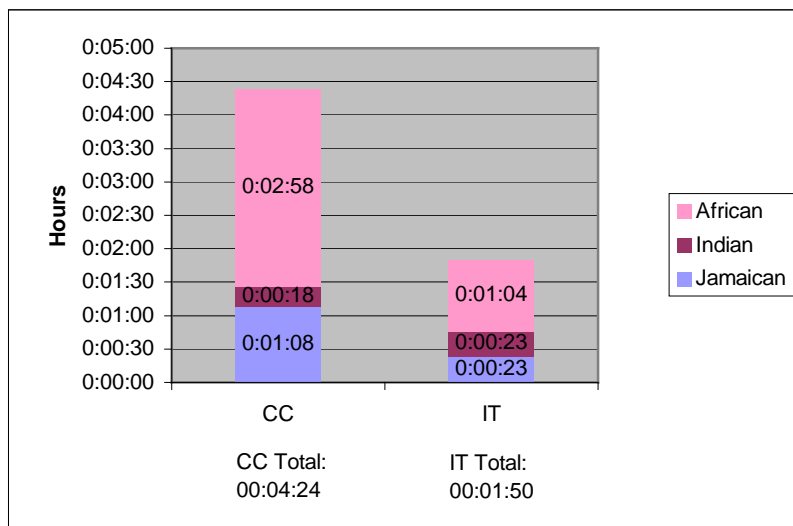
**Figure 8. Jamaican accent in CC and IT.**

Some of the utterances with the Jamaican accent in CC 1,1:7 are actually the same as in CC 1,1:8, but they are spoken by different voices. They are therefore counted here separately. In the former track, the male narrator mimics the speech of “Clara”, who utters the same sentences in the latter track. The speakers have a strong Jamaican accent; the speech includes nearly all the Jamaican features mentioned in 5.2.2. The IT passage has a somewhat milder Jamaican accent, but still includes many of the characteristics.

### *Outer Circle - Overview*

The outer circle proportion out of the whole data was shown in Figure 4 above.

In the following figure, we can see the total and proportional amount of outer circle accents in CC and IT.



**Figure 9. Outer circle accents in CC and IT.**

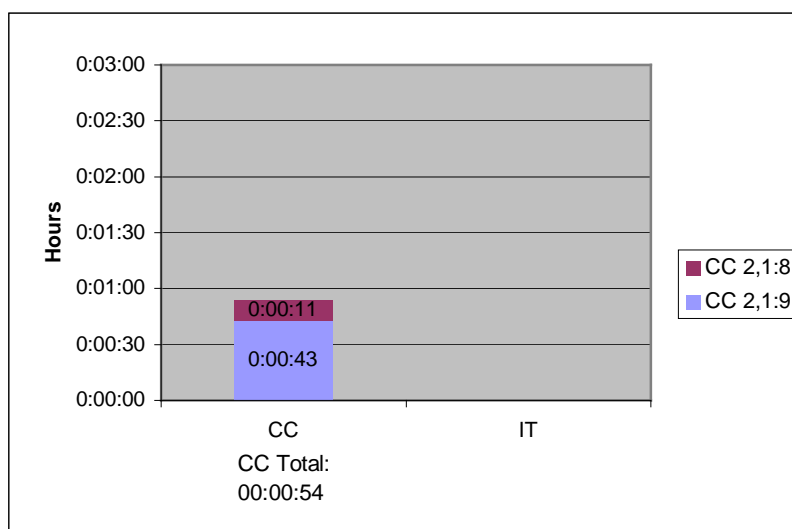
Figure 9 shows us that the total amount of outer circle accents is bigger in CC than in IT: 4 minutes 24 seconds versus 1 minutes 50 seconds. However, even if the proportions are different, the same three outer circle accents occur in both book series. As can be seen, the African accent in CC has the longest duration of the outer circle extracts.

## 6.4. Expanding Circle

Let us now turn to look at which expanding circle accents occur in the data.

### *Chinese Speakers*

The following figure represents the amount of the Chinese accent in the data:

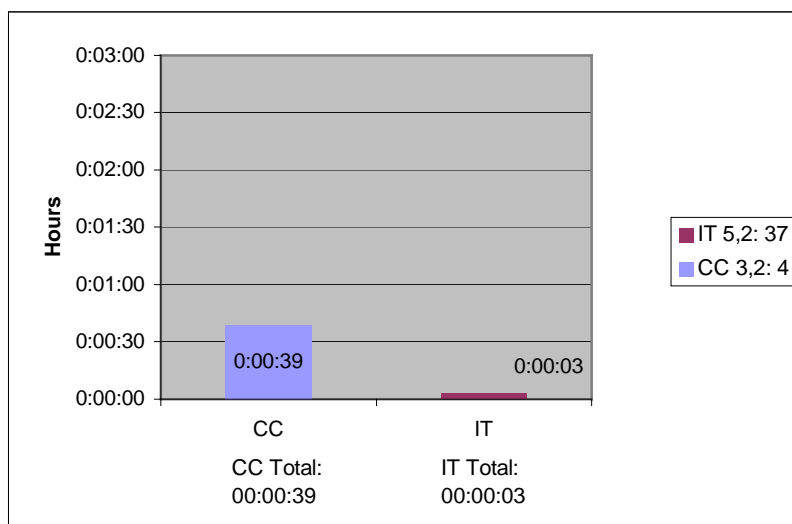


**Figure 10. Chinese accent in CC and IT.**

The Chinese accent is introduced only in CC. As can be seen from the figure, there is altogether 54 seconds speech with the Chinese accent. The two tracks have a strong Chinese accent; thus most features mentioned in 5.2.3 are present.

### *Dutch Speakers*

There are two extracts with the Dutch accent in the textbooks; one in each series:



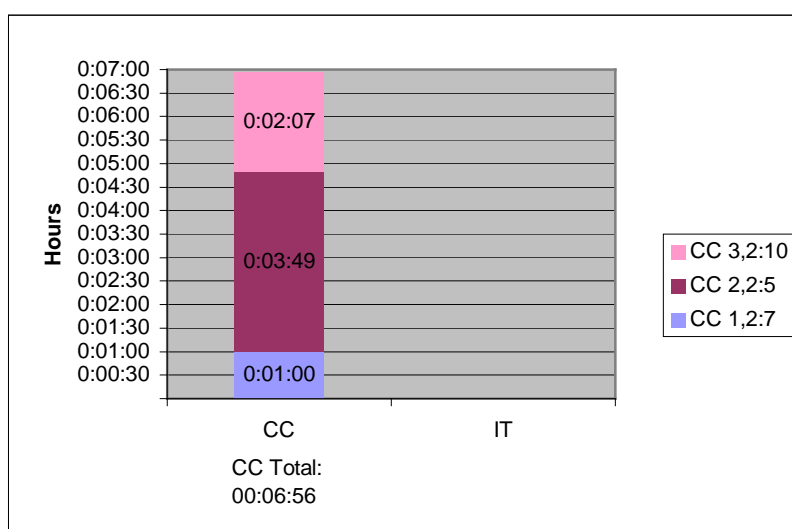
**Figure 11. Dutch accent in CC and IT.**

The extract in CC is much longer than the extract in IT; 39 seconds versus 3 seconds.

As the latter one is so short, there are, of course, only a few words to analyse. However, these words contain some elements discussed in 5.2.3, e.g. *painting* is realised as [æɪ].

In contrast, the CC passage is longer and clearly has a strong Dutch accent.

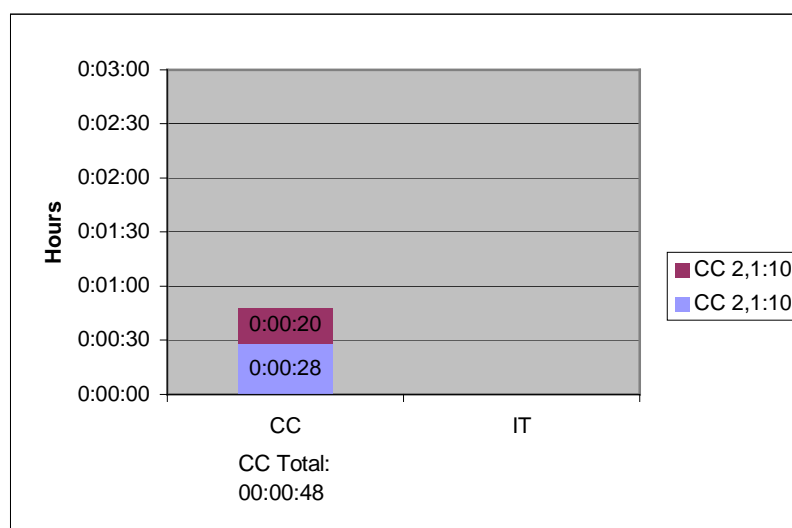
### *Finnish Speakers*



**Figure 12. Finnish accent in CC and IT (note that the max. value here is 7 minutes).**

CC has three extracts spoken with the Finnish accent. The total amount of the Finnish accent is very high in relation to other non-native accents: 6 minutes 56 seconds. In two of the extracts (CC 2,2:5 and CC 3,2:10), the speaker has a strong Finnish accent. In CC 1,2:7, in contrast, the accent is considerably milder but some of the typical features occur, however, e.g. *thing* and *with* are produced with [t] (instead of /θ/ and /ð/) and *please* with [s] (instead of /z/). It should be noted that the extracts claimed to represent strong Finnish accents have been realised by actual native speakers instead of actors, which is an exception in the data.

### *French Speakers*

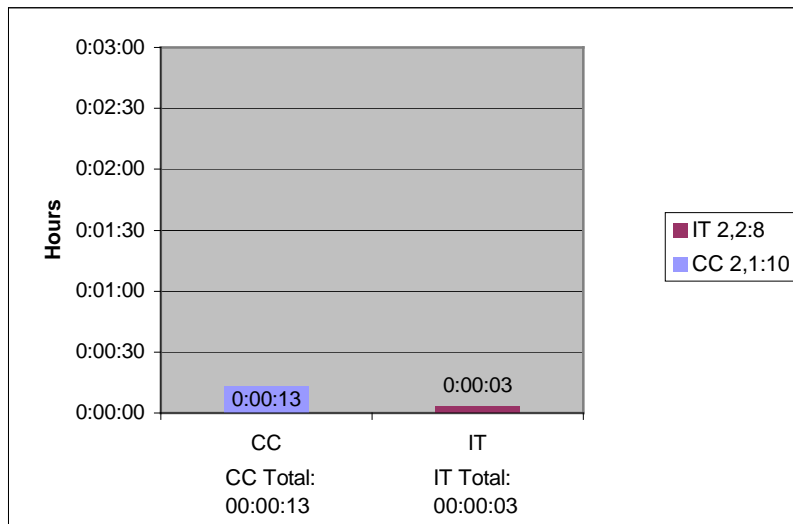


**Figure 13. French accent in CC and IT.**

Only CC includes speech with the French accent. There are two extracts with this accent on the tapes, and they both occur in the same exercise. The total length of the two passages is 48 seconds. The French accent in both passages is relatively strong, even if some of the features cannot be found; e.g. /h/ is pronounced as in RP.

### *German Speakers*

There are two extracts with German speakers in the data:

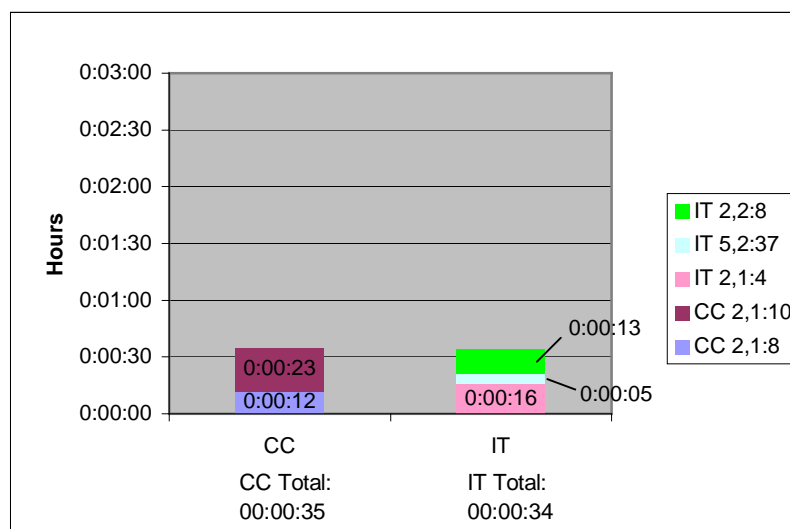


**Figure 14. German accent in CC and IT.**

The CC extract is 13 seconds long, while the IT quote only lasts 3 seconds. The CC passage is stereotypical German speech and includes a number of the features mentioned in section 5.2.3. Because the IT extract is so short, it does not include many words which could manifest the German features. However, there is an unvoiced final [t] in the word *Finland*, for example, which is one of the typical features.

### *Italian Speakers*

There is approximately the same amount of English spoken with the Italian accent in both book series: 35 seconds in CC and 34 seconds in IT.



**Figure 15. Italian accent in CC and IT.**

Five of the six extracts have a stereotypical, strong Italian accent, whereas one extract is relatively mild (IT 5,2:37). In this extract, one can notice [ə] after a word-final consonant, but some other typical features do not occur. However, the extract is very short, only 5 seconds, so the proportional amount of Italian features in the extract is still quite big.

### *Polish Speakers*

There is only one extract spoken with the Polish accent in the data (IT 4,1:7), and that is in IT. The passage is 32 seconds long; thus longer than many of the extracts so far. However, the accent is relatively mild. Not all the typical features occur, and sometimes

the same feature is realised as typical of a Polish speaker, sometimes as typical of an RP speaker; e.g. the /r/ is rolled in *already* while the word *hear* is pronounced without /r/.

### ***Portuguese Speakers***

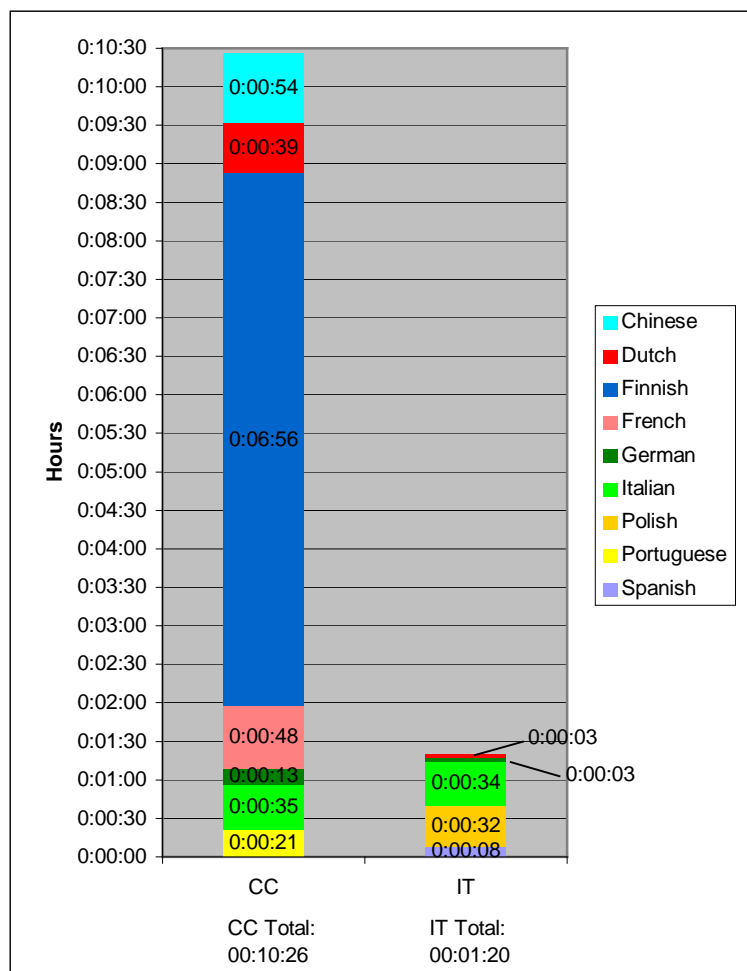
There is one passage with the Portuguese accent in the data (CC 2,1:10), which lasts for 21 seconds. The accent is not very strong; not all the features typical of the Portuguese accent can be found in the speech, but some elements seem to be towards RP. For example /θ/ and /ð/ are like those in RP, and full value is not given to unstressed vowels.

### ***Spanish Speakers***

IT includes the only passage spoken with the Spanish accent in the data (IT 2,1:4). It is only 8 seconds long, but it includes most of the features mentioned in the description of the Spanish accent; it is thus a strong Spanish accent.

### *Expanding Circle – Overview*

Figure 5 represents the total amount and proportional amount of the expanding circle accents in the data.



**Figure 16. Expanding circle accents in CC and IT.**

As can be seen, the total amount of the expanding circle accents is 10 minutes 26 seconds in CC and 1 minutes 20 seconds in IT; thus CC has nearly 10 times more speech with these accents. Interestingly, however, the Finnish accent dominates in CC as it forms over half of the expanding circle speech. In all, CC introduces seven and IT five expanding circle accents to students. To compare the total amounts of outer and expanding circle accents, see Figure 4.

## 6.5. Non-Native Accents: Summary

To conclude, the amount of non-native accents in the two textbook series is very small in relation to the length of the whole data (see Figure 4). CC includes much more non-native speech than IT; 14 minutes 50 seconds versus 3 minutes 10 seconds (the relative amounts of the non-native accents in the two textbook series can be seen in Figures 4, 9 and 16). The following figure summarises which non-native accents occur in the data; here are thus included both outer circle and expanding circle accents.

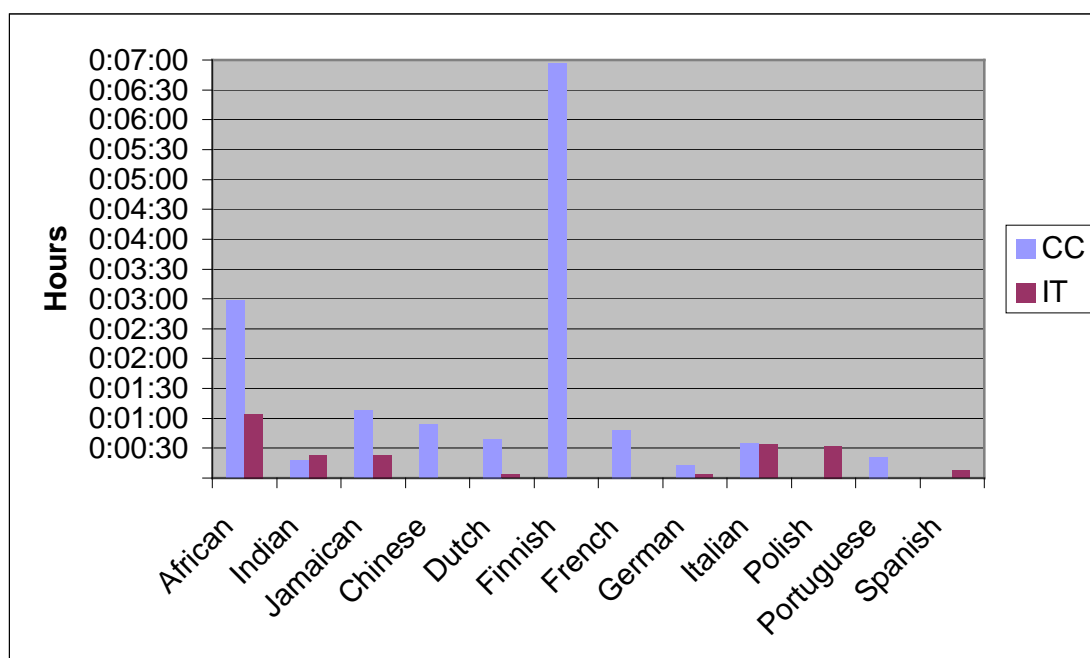


Figure 17. Non-native accents in CC and IT.

As the figure reveals, CC introduces altogether ten and IT eight non-native accents to students. The accents included in CC are African, Indian, Jamaican, Chinese, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian and Portuguese. Meanwhile, IT introduces the following accents: African, Indian, Jamaican, Dutch, German, Italian, Polish and Spanish. After having established the amounts of the non-native accents in the data, let us now look at the kinds of contexts in which non-native accents tend to occur.

## **6.6. Context of Non-Native Accents**

A short description seems vital to provide an overall idea of what kind situations the non-native accents tend to occur in. However, the description below is not comprehensive, but rather a generalisation of the contexts for non-native speech in CC and IT.

In both series, nearly all the introductory speech stretches on the tapes are spoken in RP; thus numbers, titles and instructions tend to be in RP. Similarly, straightforward pronunciation practice is mostly spoken in RP, sometimes in GA. In general, the contexts for non-native accents are quite similar in both book series. First, there are contexts where students not only hear the speech but they are also offered a written version of it. Thus a non-native speech stretch is usually a short passage in a text; e.g. the text “Streetwise in London” (IT 2,1:4) is very typical as two of the passages in a longer chapter are spoken with a Spanish and an Italian accent. Sometimes only a few lines in the middle of a chapter are pronounced with a non-native accent; e.g. a son of an Indian immigrant imitates his father in a couple of utterances (CC 4,1:7). Another type of exposure where students are able to see the text is conversations where one or more non-native speakers are involved. For example, CC contains the exercise “Reading between the lines” (CC 2,1:8), where students are able to see the turns of the dialogues.

Second, sometimes non-native accents occur in listening comprehensions, where students are not offered any written version of the speech. For instance, the exercise “Kiss and Tell” (CC 2,1:10) introduces kissing habits in different EFL countries. Here, several non-native accents occur in the same exercise. Sometimes only a part of a listening comprehension is spoken with a non-native accent; e.g. a Polish girl speaks one passage in “Bradford voices” (IT 4,1:2-10). Interestingly, the majority of the speech

spoken with the Finnish accent occurs in listening comprehensions. One further type of a listening comprehension task is an exercise, where students are to fill in some words missing from sentences pronounced by non-native speakers (IT 2,2:8).

CC sometimes introduces non-native accents in contexts which encourage students to consider issues concerning cultural sensitivity (discussed in 4.2.2). The exercises “Kiss and tell” (CC 2,1:10) and “Reading between the lines”, mentioned above, both underline the importance of cultural differences. In the former exercise, students are introduced to different kissing habits within Europe, and representatives of different countries tell about their cultural habits, all with their own accents. In the latter one, misunderstandings take place due to cultural differences. Students are asked to consider what goes wrong in each of the dialogues where different non-native accents are included.

Often the names of the non-native speakers contain a hint about the accent: we have the Italian, Luigi, speaking a passage in a chapter where different people give tips on how to survive in London (IT 2,1:4); there is African Mma Ramotse speaking in a chapter located in Botswana (CC 4,2:12-14); and Sophia Mokovsky speaking with a Polish accent in a listening comprehension (IT 4,1:7). Sometimes the turns are attributed to known people; for example, IT includes a quote by the Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh (IT 5,2:37). Sometimes, however, names are missing altogether, and students are only told that there are foreigners speaking in the exercise (e.g. IT 2,2:8).

Finally, two out of three outer circle accents in IT are presented on a double page in IT 2 (p. 8-9, IT 2,1:2). The page is titled “The wide world of English”, and it presents several varieties of English spoken in different parts of the world. This chapter manifests the idea of international English; a map of the world is included and places where English is spoken as L1 or L2 are coloured red. It is also pointed out in the text

that 1000 million people speak English as a foreign language. In addition, the tape includes eight short extracts of English varieties (including two which fit to my category of non-native accents: Jamaican and Indian). Students are then asked to identify each sample on the map.

## **6.7. Discussion**

In the following, I will discuss the results and methodological issues which are interesting in terms of the analysis above.

### **6.7.1. Inner Circle versus Outer and Expanding Circle**

Even if an attempt has been made to include non-native speech on the tapes, one cannot say that ELF has found its way to the textbooks. As shown in Figure 4, the great majority of the texts are spoken with native accents, even if most communication in English today takes place among non-native speakers. Second, RP is still the most common inner circle accent in the textbooks. This is quite surprising in relation to the fact that only 3-5 per cent of the population in the UK speak RP (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 9). Thus even if students travel to the UK, they are not likely to encounter many RP speakers there.

Some outer and expanding circle accents are introduced to students, but the extracts tend to be very short. The shortest extracts in the data only last for three seconds, and it can be questioned whether such short bursts can be seen of any help to students. It is clear that students cannot get familiar with an accent if the extract only lasts for some seconds. Naturally, it is a difficult question how much exposure to a particular accent would be enough for students. Perhaps there are no right answers here,

but if the producers followed Jenkins's ideas (see e.g. Jenkins 2000), there would be more outer and expanding circle than inner circle accents. In any case, the amount included on the tapes should definitely be more than it is now. In a way, one could claim that the present non-native accents have only been included for marketing purposes; the producers are able to say that their books include international variation even if the amounts are very small.

Eight out of twelve non-native accents introduced in the books are accents within Europe. This starting point is very Europe-centred as people today travel all over the world, and Europe is only one of the continents. Therefore, I think the accents in the books could at least somehow relate to the number of speakers. As Chinese, Hindi and Spanish, for instance, are among the major languages in the world (Graddol 1997), those accents should be heard on the tapes as well. On the other hand, if we consider students in Finland, one could claim that they are most likely to travel within Europe and meet speakers with these accents. In that sense, the Europe-centeredness is appropriate. But then again, the media are full of different accents spoken outside Europe (e.g. BBC World), and it would be beneficial for a learner to have been exposed to as wide a range of accents as possible.

One striking thing in the inclusion of accents is that the accents within Europe are very much western. It seems, in a way, as if Eastern Europe has largely been ignored; there are no speakers with Hungarian, Estonian and Russian accents, for instance (see the interviewees' comments on this, 7.3.4). Neither is Turkey represented on the tapes. The only accent from the former Eastern block countries is the Polish accent (IT 4,1:7). In my opinion, this might have to do with economic imbalance, discussed in 2.3.3. As the habitants of Eastern European countries are poor, they are seen as less valuable and important than for example speakers with the French accent.

Again, if one considers developing a “tolerance of difference” (discussed in 3.3), it would presumably be beneficial for them also to hear other accents than the accents of rich countries. Many of the visitors in Finland nowadays are from Russia or Estonia; it is thus justifiable to claim that those accents should be heard on the tapes too.

As regards the total amount of non-native accents on the tapes, textbook producers are not the only ones to blame. As we saw earlier, the curricula are very much in favour of the native speaker. If the National Curriculum and matriculation examination continue to emphasise native competence, the teaching materials will also reflect this. The change should begin there: the National Curriculum should emphasise the role of English in international communication. In my view, English should not be placed in the block of other foreign languages in the curriculum, but its goals should be set separately, as English does not have one target community. If this was the case, the matriculation examination would of course reflect it and include listening comprehensions spoken with non-native accents, which would lead to the need of more non-native accents in teaching materials.

One interesting thing in CC is that the Finnish accent is so prominent (~7 minutes) in relation to other expanding circle accents. It seems somewhat irrelevant to include so much English with the Finnish accent because that is the accent they are exposed to by peers and often by the teacher too. On the other hand, a number of expanding circle accents have been ignored, which could have been included in these seven minutes. Of course, one reason might be to encourage students not to aim at native speaker competence, which is one of the goals of ELF. However, that aim could be highlighted to students more explicitly, even without having Finnish speakers on the tapes.

### 6.7.2. Actors - Disadvantages and Advantages

As noted above, the recordings for the tapes were made in recording studios in London, where actors imitate different accents.<sup>5</sup> This leads inevitably to exaggerations, which do not always sound very real. What is relevant from the point of view of the study is that sometimes imitations are something between the target accent and RP. Sometimes a feature is pronounced in a way which is typical of the target accent, whereas it can be pronounced as in RP elsewhere. Further, the voices described as milder accents might have to do with the fact that the speakers are actors.

Nevertheless, the most important thing for a student is to be exposed to accent variation. It presumably does not really matter, from a student's point of view, whether the speakers are authentic speakers of a particular language, or just actors mimicking a non-native accent. Further, one might argue that it is even less beneficial for students to listen to someone who has lived for example in London for many years, and who would possibly have dropped many of the features typical of his/her L1. If a speaker is "too advanced" in English, the point of offering students accent variation suffers. However, as stated above, most speakers do have traces of L1 in their speech. In my view, it is clear that actual native speakers on tapes are more beneficial for students than actors, because only authentic speakers guarantee that the accents heard at school match with the accents they hear in real life.

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<sup>5</sup> This information was received from the textbook editors Katja Merontausta (WSOY) and Selja Saarialho (OTAVA) in 2004.

### 6.7.3. Methodological Considerations

As mentioned above, the accents were classified according to the descriptions introduced in 5.2.1-5.2.3. Of course, some tracks do not sound very real because of actors. Therefore, there are people who could criticise that a track classified as Jamaican, for instance, does not sound Jamaican to their ear. However, the method used here was based on phonetic features, not on my earlier experiences on how the accents sound like.

Second, it was not always easy to place the tracks under the categories, because some tracks sometimes only included a couple of typical features of a particular accent, while the majority of the words were pronounced as in RP or GA. As noted at the beginning of the analysis, these tracks were classified as “other variation”. However, pronunciations of this kind presumably have to do with the fact that the majority of the non-native accents was realised by actors (see discussion on actors above).

Third, one problem in the study was that the extracts were sometimes very short and might include only a couple of words to analyse. Therefore, it would have been ideal to have longer stretches of speech to be able to do the classification more comprehensively. Of course, one could ask why such short bursts have been counted in the study at all. However, it seems impossible say how long an extract should be to guarantee the exposure to a particular accent. So, in that sense it would be difficult to define how long an extract should be to justify its inclusion in the analysis. Further, as there is so little non-native speech in the data, it seemed reasonable to count everything that could be found, even the short extracts.

A further methodological problem already discussed above was that the literature on southern African accents was inadequate. A description of the southern

African accent would have been needed for the analysis of the chapter situated in Botswana (see 6.4). It was unfortunate to have to look at African English as one accent, as there are a range of different accents in Africa. However, I had to content myself with the descriptions available. On the other hand, as the speakers were actors, they probably would not have been able to realise different African accents, but rather those features that are typical of most African speakers. The other extract in the data (IT 1,2:15) supports this assumption, because it only showed one feature (several diphthongs were monophthongised), which is fairly typical of all African accents (see e.g. Bobda 2000: 254). In that sense, the chapter located in Botswana probably would not have manifested features typical of southern Africa but rather the general features of all African Englishes.

#### **6.7.4. Further Areas of Study**

Finally, I would like to suggest areas which remain to be researched in a larger study. As was pointed out earlier, this study has mainly concentrated on performing a quantitative analysis of the presence of non-native accents in textbooks. A more in-depth qualitative analysis on the contexts of non-native accents could certainly be done. Second, some tracks were placed in the “other variation”, because they were often poor imitations and only included some features of non-native accents in a long track. It might be worth studying how well actors actually do the mimicry. Third, this study mainly concentrates on vowel and consonant qualities. However, even rhythm, stress and intonation could be taken into account in a larger scale study. Fourth, the remaining three books of both series (after CC 6-8 has come to the market) could be analysed to get a more complete picture of the two series. Finally, it is important to note here that

the analysis only covered one aspect of variation – outer and expanding circle accents. As we can see from Figure 5, especially IT seems to have much internal variation within the UK. However, the category “other variation” could not have been analysed here in any further detail, as the length of the thesis is limited. It might be of interest in a larger scale study, in any case, to look at the inner circle variation on the tapes too.

## 7. Textbook production

As we have seen above, textbooks only present a very limited range of non-native accents. To find out reasons for this, it seems relevant to look at what happens in practice when textbooks are being produced. Therefore, a brief introduction to the writing process is given first, after which the tapescripts for CC and IT are studied: the point is to study how well the studios have fulfilled the requests for non-native accents. Finally, and most importantly, two interviews with Finnish textbook authors will be discussed.

### 7.1. Writing Process

Even if the present study concentrates on recorded tape material, it is worth looking at textbook production as a whole to see the place of recordings in the process. Thus we notice that the recordings are only a small part of the production process. Finnish textbook writing has been described by Kangaspunta (2004: 77-80), who has written several textbook series for WSOY, *English Update 1-6*, *English Update Highlights 1-6* and *Key English*, for instance. According to Kangaspunta, the planning stage is the most time consuming period; the group goes through the teaching materials in use, reads the National Curriculum carefully and looks for new teaching methods. Later, the work may be divided between the members, but often everybody does everything. The work done at home is discussed at meetings. The finalizing stage means close collaboration between the writers and the series editor. At this stage, tapescripts are sent to the studio, usually a month before the recording. In all, it usually takes two to three years to finish the first book (Kangaspunta 2004: 78). Let us now briefly look at how the requests for

non-native accents stated in the tapescripts were fulfilled for the courses studied in this thesis.

## **7.2. Tapescripts**

It seems necessary to have a look at the tapescripts here, because sometimes the studio might be the one to blame for excluding some non-native accents, which the authors had wished for. For IT, it was unfortunately only possible to get the tapescripts for courses 3-5. For CC, on the other hand, the tapescripts for all five courses were available. The tapescripts of both series were sent to the recording studios in advance, as was claimed above to be typical. The series had their recordings realised in two recording studios in London. It should be noted that one author from OTAVA was always present in the recording studio (see 7.3).

In both CC and IT, the requests were often of the type “French accent”. In CC, there were sometimes longer specifications, such as “Chinese accent if possible”. As regards the African accent, it was mentioned that “the characters should not be made fun of”. In a sense, one could perhaps claim that the CC team had put more time and effort to the recording process than the IT team, because they had longer specifications in tapescripts and they always had one author at the studio, who could comment on the recordings. Let us now see how the requests for the book series were fulfilled.

For CC, the requests for non-native accents were mostly fulfilled. There were a couple of exceptions, though. First, there was one relatively long track where there was a request for the Chinese accent. Here the Chinese features were so few in relation to the length of the extract, that it cannot be said to represent the Chinese accent.

Similarly, there was one request for the Dutch accent, which was not fulfilled (CC

2,1:10). These two tracks (Chinese and Dutch) were realised as RP. Third, there was one request for the Spanish accent, but this was not fulfilled either (CC 4,1:11). The only feature typical of the Spanish accent is a simplification of consonant clusters; otherwise it was realised as GA. At one point (CC 2,1:10), a request for “Belgian accent” was realised as French, because of course no Belgian accent exists, as there are three official languages in Belgium (German, Dutch and French).

As it was not possible to get the tapescripts for IT 1 and 2, only the tapescripts of the remaining three courses were studied. The deviations from the tapescripts there had to do with the Indian accent, and these were often realised as RP. There were three extracts in IT where an Indian accent was requested according to the tapescripts, but these requests were realised as RP. IT includes a chapter where a youth worker in Bradford talks about ethnic minorities (IT 4, 2: 10). Here an Indian accent was requested but it does not occur on the tape. At another point where an Indian accent was requested is IT 4,1:26, where three old school friends are eating at an Indian restaurant (p. 45-46). Here, the Indian waiter says following lines in RP: “Are you ready to order?”. Further, there was one more point where an Indian accent was requested: in IT 4,2:2. Here, however, the Indian accent would not have fitted the context. It is said in the text that “Sabeen’s” parents had moved from India forty years ago. In other words, Sabeen was born and grew up in Britain. Presumably she would not speak with an Indian accent.

It is clear that to be spoken with a non-native accent, the text and the setting have to be appropriate for a particular accent. So we cannot have “Bob” and “Mary” talking with a heavy Italian accent. However, there were some cases in the data where the setting would have allowed a non-native accent, but it was not even requested. For example, CC has a listening comprehension about “Karim”, who has Indian parents but

who grew up in London (CC 4,1: 8). We thus assume that he does not speak with an Indian accent. However, the exercise is about Karim as an actor, who is told to speak with an Indian accent, and he feels uncomfortable. Because the listening comprehension is about the Indian accent, it is curious that there is no Indian accent (or a request for it) there, not even as a spice. Similarly, there is a story about a Western man who goes to Kenya in IT 4,2:7. Here the main character talks to a Masai, whose lines are also in English. There was no request for an East African accent (only for GA), even if this would have been possible here. Moreover, the voice on the tape is not stereotypical GA either but very slow GA, making the Masai sound even somewhat retarded.

To conclude, the requests of both companies were mostly fulfilled, but sometimes some of the requests remained unfulfilled and in those cases the voices on the tapes were often RP. Consequently, if all the requests for non-native accents had been realised, this would of course have manifested in the results of the tapes analysis as well. Second, it seems that sometimes the accents requests were not as carefully planned as they could have been. Both series ignored many large language groups and sometimes had peculiar requests. It is unfortunate that even if some topics would have allowed non-native accents, they were not even requested.

Let us now turn to the main interest of textbook production: the interviews of the textbook authors.

### ***7.3. The Interviews***

In order to get a practical perspective on the accent choices in the textbooks, one author of each textbook series was interviewed. The authors were asked how they see the importance of non-native accents in textbooks and what restrictions there are when

recordings are being made. In all, there are six authors in *Culture Café* and seven in *In Touch*. The interviewees for the present study were Riitta Silk from *Culture Café* and Mikael Davies from *In Touch*. Riitta Silk (hereafter RS) is the member in the CC team who was present at the recording studio when the recordings were made. In contrast, the IT team shared the responsibility of the recording requests, and Mikael Davies (hereafter MD) promised to grant me an interview.

The interviews were *semi-structured*, which means that the informants were basically asked the same questions. This kind of interview allows one to make valid comparisons between the interviewees (Richards 2003: 64), which was important in the present study. The interviews were conducted separately, and the discussions were recorded and transcribed. The length of both interviews was approximately 45 minutes. RS was interviewed in Finnish, and I translated her answers into English afterwards. Both interviewees were told about the results of the tapes analysis and the angle of my thesis at the beginning of the interview. This might have had an effect on some of the answers.

In what follows, I will briefly introduce the two authors' opinions on working with the studio and on native and non-native accents in textbooks. The interview talk has been analysed for the following broad themes: studio work, inner circle accents, outer and expanding circle accents and limitations. The deviations from the tapescripts that I detected (see above) were discussed with the interviewees too, but the interviews gave no further insights to that aspect.

### 7.3.1. Studio Work

Both companies sent a tapescript to the studio in advance, where they defined which speakers and accents they wished for each text. There was a difference between the companies concerning the recording policies; Otava always had one of the authors at the studio at the time of the recordings, whereas WSOY did not:

MD: It didn't really occur to me to march down to the studio and lay down the law. They seemed quite professional. Mostly I was rather impressed.

As was mentioned above, the studios used actors in the recordings. The authors seemed to agree that it is acceptable that speakers were actors, not authentic native speakers:

MD: The acting quality is good enough, I can't tell if they are genuine or if they acted. I want someone who is able to communicate clearly, that's my high priority.

RS: We had very ambitious plans at the beginning of this series. We got hold of authentic speech from all over the world, but we realised that we couldn't use it. The speech of a normal person is so incoherent that it won't promote students' language skills.

Both authors also pointed out that authenticity suffers when actual native speakers are taken to the studio:

RS: When a layman is given a text, at least ten takes are needed to get the speech to the tape. And after this, many of the typical features are often filtered away.

MD: It's quite frustrating if you have to coach somebody sentence by sentence, and the more you coach the less original that person is.

They, however, admitted that it is largely a question of time and money to find good, authentic speakers:

RS: It's all about making compromises. This is not an ideal situation, definitely, but it's the best we can do with these resources. The recordings have to be done in one take. This is the second best alternative.

MD: That garbled unclear speech is a turn off for students. But if you've got a choice between a good speaker with the original ethnic accent, and then a good speaker who's an actor, one of course would choose the good speaker with the accent.

In other words, one can see that the authors are not completely satisfied with using actors. Let us now turn to look at their opinions on the accents on the tapes.

### **7.3.2. Inner Circle Accents**

Both interviewees claimed that the standard varieties, RP and GA, should dominate on the tapes. Surprisingly, they argued that this is what the students themselves want; they want to hear English spoken by native speakers. However, there were other arguments as well:

RS: For a young person, it's most beneficial to learn one, the most useful accent, the accent that the media are using.

MD: You should aim at a language that both strong and weak students can understand. We are trying to carry all the students with us.

RS: English has developed from a certain culture, and we cannot separate it from those who use it as a first language.

It was also pointed out that the reputation of the book series should be considered:

RS: The reputation of a textbook is important; teachers won't buy a book that has a lot of "bad English".

Both authors argued that there is plenty of variation within Britain too, which students should be exposed to. Davies claimed that a number of company videos, for example, use the Northern accent, because many industrial companies are located in Northern England. That is why students should get used to that accent as well. Further, it is a question of being on the safe side:

MD: We tried to focus on the people that use English as their mother tongue, because then nobody can complain that it's wrong. If we moved to China, there's also a danger that teachers may turn to us and say "what on earth are you doing".

Let us now move on to non-native accents and see how the authors responded to the inclusion and exclusion of non-native accents.

### **7.3.3. Outer and Expanding Circle Accents**

Even if the domination of native accents were the main policy in textbook production, both authors agreed that English is a lingua franca today, and textbooks should also expose students to non-native accents. They admitted that students are likely to encounter for example exchange students with different accents. They agreed on the function of the presentation of non-native accents too, which they said is to wake up students to realise the possibility of different accents:

RS: Everyone has a right to his/her accent. They [students] should be prepared that a speaker might not speak in a way they have heard in movies.

MD: There is strong case for making students aware that there are many ways that a word may be pronounced.

The amount of non-native accents was taken into account differently in the author teams:

MD: It never was an issue. We were more worried about keeping a male female balance, and we wanted a balance of age.

RS: Attention is being paid to it all the time.

As mentioned above, the authors were aware of the results of my study; thus they knew how much non-native variation occurred on the tapes. Surprisingly, the authors thought quite differently when it comes to the amount of non-native accents in their series:

MD: It would be wonderful to have some more, if we got good speakers. It would only be a richness.

RS: I think the amount in the books is enough, I wouldn't add any more non-native speech.

It should be noted here, though, that the amount of non-native speech was much higher in CC than IT (in the five first books studied), which might explain the different views. However, Silk pointed out the role of the teacher in introducing non-native accents to students:

RS: You hear an awful lot of non-native speech on TV. I assume that teachers also record current news material and use it in the classroom.

The authors were also asked what the reasons for including certain non-native accents were. MD stated that there really was no particular policy, but gave some reasons, however. Both authors mentioned the importance of the topics of the texts:

MD: We wanted accents that suited the subjects, not the other way round.

RS: Sometimes the texts, for example kissing habits in the EU-countries, were the basis for including the accents.

Interestingly, the authors gave somewhat different further reasons for including certain non-native accents:

MD: I guess we thought about the accents the students are likely to hear when they are meeting their exchange students, and most of them come from Europe. And we tended to look about the countries the students are more likely to visit.

RS: We tried to include accents so that the whole world would be covered. It is impossible to guess which accents the students are likely to encounter in their lives, so that was not a criterion.

According to the idea of ELF, non-native accents should dominate on the tapes.

But as was pointed out above, non-native extracts in the textbooks were often very short. Meanwhile, both teachers emphasised the practical reasons for keeping the extracts short:

MD: There is only certain amount the students can cope with. We have got a lot of negative feedback from teachers about overlong activities. In the matriculation examination they have these short bursts, and we've tried to have similar kinds of activity.

RS: Students easily get irritated and uneasy when they are listening to non-native accents. There's a danger that we lose the learning opportunity if students only concentrate on *how* something is said. That's why we want to offer it in driblets, as spices.

The authors further defended the brevity of the extracts. Davies claimed that non-native stretches of speech can be short because of the new technology:

MD: Every book comes equipped with a CD ROM, so students are able to play the extracts again and again and again.

Silk, on the other hand, simply argued that the short passages are enough for students:

RS: The input is strong even if it is so short, so it does the job.

However, both interviewees did admit that students are not able to familiarise themselves with non-native accents in such a short time:

MD: A longer period would certainly help to familiarize students with it.

RS: One cannot reach permanent results with such short exposure.

In what follows, I will summarise the limitations concerning the inclusion of non-native accents. From the point of view of this study, it is important to realise that authors might sometimes have to exclude non-native speech even if that would be against their wishes.

#### **7.3.4. Limitations**

The interviewees outlined a number of reasons for limiting the amount of non-native accents in the books. As mentioned above, Davies pointed out that one problem is to find good, fluent speakers. He also claimed that there is a danger of confusion if students are moving from accent to accent all the time. Perhaps one of the most important reasons seemed to be the question of an appropriate model:

MD: Listening in some ways does offer a model. If you are offering a model that is consistently wrong, there may be a problem there.

RS: The majority of the material should be the kind of English that can serve as a model.

Both authors argued that this is the way the majority of teachers sees the situation. And as pointed out before, the interviewees argued that this is what the students themselves want: native speaker models. One of the authors claimed that students do not like non-native accents, and he referred to a series which included a range of non-native accents:

MD: They [students] said why, I have enough mistakes when I as a Finn speak English, why do I want to add then all the German mistakes and all the French mistakes and all the Italian mistakes.

Both authors emphasised that there is a danger of parody with non-native accents, which limits their usefulness:

RS: Unfortunately, young people today have very negative attitudes towards certain language groups, and we don't want to make any people look ridiculous. Besides, we don't want to make immigrant students upset, they have it hard enough already.

MD: There is not a tendency to ridicule when you are face to face, but when you hear them through a tape recorder. There is a racism that creeps in the classrooms easily, like "look at these poor foreigners struggle", and I don't like that.

A final limitation concerning the exclusion of non-native accents in textbooks is the matriculation examination. The tapes of the textbook series, of course, should help students in the matriculation exam:

RS: We have to take that [matriculation exam] into account; this is what our customers want too.

MD: We know there's going to be a relatively standard English and a relatively standard American accent. And I guess if we are honest, no teacher is going to buy a book that doesn't prepare students for that exam.

Interestingly, Silk mentions the experiment of once having an Indian speaker in the matriculation exam. She said this was the first and only time there have been non-native accents in the exam:

RS: There was once an Indian speaker in the exam, which all the teachers in Finland opposed. We didn't like it at all.

I asked the authors whether the textbooks would follow suit, if the National Curriculum and matriculation exam were to accept the position of English as a lingua franca and the

exam were to reflect that. They presented relatively different views on how they would like the future exams to be:

RS: Yes, of course. But I don't think they would have a longer text or interview with a strong accent. I hope that The Matriculation Examination Board will keep the amount of non-native accents at a minimum. It would be unfair to assume that students should be able to understand every speaker immediately.

MD: Then there clearly would be a rationale for change. I would welcome them [non-native accents] in the matriculation examination. I think it's very healthy for students to listen flexibly.

### 7.3.5. Discussion

As was pointed out above, the interviews were relatively short and only offered some background for understanding the reality of producing textbooks. However, a number of important issues came up concerning the inclusion of non-native accents in textbooks.

When it comes to actors, it seems that at the end of the day it is all about money; with more resources the companies would use authentic speakers. But because time and money are limited, the second best alternative has to be accepted. Interestingly, the authors claimed that clarity is important, which definitely holds true concerning weak students. In contrast, if we consider the issue from the point of view of a strong student, I think that authentic speech could be motivating, because speech of that kind reflects the conditions of real life. However, as long as the amount of non-native speech are so small, it seems reasonable to use actors; it would not be very economical to bring a native Indian English speaker, for instance, to the studio to pronounce a few words.

For the time being, it seems that the textbooks only offer "exotic optional extras", as discussed by Seidlhofer (2003: 13), and non-native accents are not offered a larger foothold in the materials. It was interesting that the authors reacted differently when asked about the amount of non-native accents. Davies was ready to accept more if

they got good speakers, but pointed out that there is a danger of confusing the students. Silk, on the other hand, said that while English is clearly used as a lingua franca, the current amount of it in CC is enough. Such opinions clearly tell us how controversial the issue of non-native accents is. On one hand, the interviewees did admit the importance of non-native accents, but on the other hand they wanted to limit them. In any case, the opinions of textbook authors are absolutely vital, if we consider the future of ELF in teaching materials.

The authors pointed out a number of things which limit the inclusion of non-native accents on the tapes. The main limitation seems to be the matriculation exam, which does not demand understanding of non-native accents. One function of a textbook is clearly to prepare students for the exam. However, the book should also prepare students for life, where they are likely to meet speakers with different accents. In that sense, it seems as if the matriculation exam has left everything else in its shadow. As was mentioned above, Silk said that all the English teachers in Finland had very negative attitudes towards having an Indian speaker in the matriculation exam. This is interesting in relation to Ranta's study (2004: 69), which suggests that especially young Finnish teachers are slowly starting to accept new standards for English.

As for the irritation which students may feel when confronted with non-native speech, presumably such students are lacking a "tolerance of difference", as discussed by Jenkins (2000:183). If students were constantly exposed to different varieties, they would get used to the fact that people with different mother tongues speak differently. The same could apply to the problem of ridiculing speakers with other accents; if students were constantly in touch with different accents, the "fun" of it would certainly disappear at some point. However, this all comes back to whether non-native speech confuses students. More studies would be needed to see how students would react if

they were confronted with different non-native accents on a daily basis. But if one believes Jenkins's ideas, the main point is to develop a tolerance of difference (Jenkins 2000:183), which probably decreases students' confusion.

The authors pointed out that students themselves want native English. I would argue, however, that students' opinions are highly dependent on the views around them; teachers and parents are probably the ones who largely guide the students' opinions. On the other hand, it is quite understandable that the authors are worried about the model they are offering to their students. However, the point of ELF is to be able to listen to different accents, and at the same time, students may have one pronunciation model as a goal in their own pronunciation. Interestingly, the interviewees were afraid that students acquire the "mistakes" of speakers with other language backgrounds if there is more non-native speech on the tapes. However, Jenkins (2000: 185) claims that it is highly unlikely that students with different language backgrounds would acquire each other's mistakes. She further suggests that deviating pronunciations should not be regarded as mistakes, if the majority of English speakers understands what is being said.

It seems to be the safe option to stick to the native varieties, whereas the inclusion of non-native accents can be risky on the competitive market. Some teachers are very conservative, and therefore it is no more than practical to think about the reality of selling the series too. To conclude, one could argue that the idea of English as a lingua franca has not really reached the classroom, even if the authors admit that English is mostly used with non-natives. The major limitations are the National Curriculum and the matriculation exam. It is clear that textbook authors will not start producing books which are not in accordance with those needs. On the other hand, even if the curricula changed, teachers are conservative customers who may not easily accept accents which deviate from the standard.

## 8. Conclusion

The status of English in the world has changed in the past few decades, as the non-native speakers outnumber the native speakers and most English communication today takes place between non-native speakers. Consequently, Finnish students too are likely to use English mostly with other non-native speakers. According to the idea of English as a lingua franca, students should be exposed to a range of non-native accents, because that is more beneficial for them than exposure to native accents. The aim of the thesis was hence to find out how much speech with non-native accents there is in the textbook series *Culture Café 1-5* and *In Touch 1-5*.

As expected, the majority of the taped material consists of native accents while only 3 percent in CC and 1 percent in IT are non-native accents. This means in practice ~15 minutes non-native speech in CC, and ~3 minutes non-native speech in IT. The accents introduced in CC are African, Indian, Jamaican, Chinese, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian and Portuguese. IT, on the other hand, includes African, Indian, Jamaican, Dutch, German, Italian, Polish and Spanish accents. Thus CC introduces ten and IT eight non-native accents for students. The non-native extracts tend to be very short in both series, only approximately 5-20 seconds long. One interesting thing in CC is that the amount of the Finnish accent is ~7 minutes, which is nearly half of the total amount of non-native accents.

The second part of the thesis concentrated on the recordings as a part of the textbook production process. First, tapescripts for CC 1-5 and IT 3-5 were studied in order to see whether the accent requests stated in the tapescripts were fulfilled. Mostly the studios had realised the accents as requested, but there were a couple of points where the accents were too “mild” or they were realised as RP. Second, in order to get a practical perspective on the inclusion of non-native accents in textbooks, one author

from each series was interviewed. The aim was to find out the policy for choosing the accents for textbooks and to inquire why actors are being used for recordings. The interviews were enlightening and offered interesting insights into the production of textbooks. Both authors accepted the use of actors in the recording studio, even if they admitted that this is only the second best alternative; they would prefer actual native speakers if they only had resources for it. Further, the authors admitted that English is a lingua franca today, and students should be exposed to non-native accents. Reasons for including certain non-native accents varied from the idea of covering the whole world to thinking about the accents which students are likely to encounter. On the other hand, the interviewees told me why non-native accents played a minor role in textbooks. Mostly the authors were concerned about the model they are offering to students. Another reason they mentioned was to avoid making people sound ridiculous, which they say often happens in the classroom with non-native speech. Further, they argued that students and teachers themselves are very conservative and want to learn native English. Finally, the authors stated that they have to follow the National Curriculum and prepare the students for the matriculation exam, which does not usually include non-native accents.

Obviously, the current amount of non-native accents on textbook tapes is insufficient. However, it seems reasonable that authors do not want to produce books which are not in accordance with the National Curriculum. The change should begin there; the status of English as a lingua franca should be admitted, and the aims of English teaching should be defined accordingly. However, the opinions of teachers and textbook authors are also in a key position. If they feel that the goals of English language teaching should be moulded according to the new status of English, then non-native accents will certainly be given more space on tapes as well.

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## Appendix 1

The CD includes the extracts analysed in sections 5.2.1-5.2.3. Note that the tracks are not included as a whole but they have been clipped. Sometimes, however, there can be RP speech too on a track which is claimed to be an example of the Finnish accent, for instance. This is the case with tracks where the stretches of the target accent occur interwoven with RP speech, for instance in interviews and dialogues. The sources for the extracts can be found below<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> 1. RP (IT 2,1:7) 2. GA (IT 4,2:18) 3. African (CC 4,2:12-14) 4. Indian (CC 4,1:7) 5. Jamaican (CC 1,1:8) 6. Chinese (CC 2,1:9) 7. Dutch (CC 3,2:4) 8. Finnish (CC 2,2:5) 9. French (CC 2,1:10) 10. German (CC 2,1:10) 11. Italian (IT 2,1:4) 12. Polish (IT 4,1:7) 13. Portuguese (CC 2,1:10) 14. Spanish (IT 2,1:4)



