Accents and their Explicitness in Finnish ELT:
A Textbook Analysis of *Smart Moves*

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Tämä pro gradu –tutkielma käsittelee englannin aksenttien opetusta yläkoulun englannin oppikirjasarjassa *Smart Moves*. Koska englantia puhutaan nykymaailmassa monissa eri maissa sekä äidinkielenä, toisena kielenä että vieraana kielenä, englanninopetuksessa täytyy tehdä valintoja: mitä englannin eri varieteetteja otetaan mukaan opetukseen ja millä tavalla? Nämä kysymykset nousevat esiin etenkin aksenttien kohdalla, sillä eri varieteetit eroavat toisistaan eniten nimenomaan ääntämisessä.

Tutkielman teoriaosassa tarkastellaan englanninkielisen maailman moninaisuutta ja sitä, kuinka aksenttien paljous on otettu englanninopetuksessa huomioon. Lisäksi pohditaan, mikä merkitys tietoisuuden lisäämisellä on tässä monisäikeisessä tilanteessa, ja mikä on oppikirjojen rooli kieltenopetuksessa. Tutkielman empiirisessä osassa pyritään oppikirja-analyysin keinoin vastaamaan seuraaviin kysymyksiin: 1) Mikä on *Smart Moves* –sarjan tavoiteaksentti, eli se aksentti, jonka mukaisesti oppilaiden halutaan itse oppivan ääntämään? 2) Mitä aksentteja kuullaan sarjan äänitteillä? 3) Antaako sarja oppilaille tietoa siitä, mikä tämä tavoiteaksentti on, ja mitä aksentteja he kuulevat äänitteillä?

Tutkimuksesta kävi ilmi, että *Smart Moves* –sarjan tavoiteaksentti on englanninenglannin standardiaksentti (Received Pronunciation), ja että tätä tietoa ei kerrota oppilaille eikä opettajalle missään kohdassa oppimateriaaleja. Sarjan äänitteillä kuulluista puhujista 23 prosentin kerrotaan olevan kotoisin jostakin tietystä maasta tai puhuvan jotakin tiettyä englannin varieteettia, jolloin oppilaat saavat tietoa näiden puhujien aksenteista. Näiden tietojen perusteella puhujat voidaan yhdistää 23 eri maahan, joissa englantia puhutaan joko äidinkielenä, toisena kielenä tai vieraana kielenä; suurimmat puhujaryhmät ovat englantilaiset, amerikkalaiset ja britit. Kaikkien 23 maan pääaksenttia ei kuitenkaan todellisuudessa kuulla äänitteillä: äänitteillä kuullaan seitsemän eri natiiviaksenttia selkeästi tunnistettavina versioina, 11 toisena ja vieraana kielenä englantia puhuvien aksenttia kuullaan heikompina versioina, ja loput viisi aksenttia eivät ole lainkaan tunnistettavia. Lisäksi sarjassa annetaan yleistä tietoa englannin levinneisyydestä ympäri maailman, englanninkielisistä maista sekä joistakin englannin päävarieteeteista.

Tuloksista voidaan päätellä, että *Smart Moves* yrittää ottaa huomioon englanninpuhujien moninaisuuden sekä antamalla asiasta tietoa että sisällyttämällä eri aksentteja äänitteillensä. Todellisuudessa kovinkaan monia aksentteja, varsinkaan muita kuin natiiviaksentteja, ei kuitenkaan äänitteillä kuulla, eikä puhujien aksentteja suurimmaksi osaksi kerrota. Lisäksi oppilaille ei kerrota, minkä aksentin mukaisesti heidän halutaan itse ääntävän. Kun oppilaat kuulevat monia eri ääntämismalleja sekä oppitunneilla että koulun ulkopuolella, mutta eivät tiedä minkä mallin mukaisesti heidän itsensä pitäisi ääntää, tämä voi aiheuttaa sekavuutta ja epävarmuutta. Niinpä olisikin hyvä, että oppilaat tehtäisiin tietoisiksi opetuksessa käytetyistä aksenteista.

Avainsanat: englannin kielen opetus, oppikirja-analyysi, aksentit, ääntäminen, tietoisuus

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1   Introduction

The situation of English is unique in today's world. No other language has such a variety of people all over the globe speaking it either as their mother tongue (ca. 350-375 million people), as a second language needed in education or work, for example (ca. 350-375 million people), or as a foreign language needed when communicating with both native speakers of the language as well as other foreigners with whom no other language is shared (ca. 750-1 000 million people) (Jenkins 2003, 14-15; Graddol 1997, 10). The variety of both native and non-native English speakers obviously makes the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL) a challenge: whose English should be taught and how to take into account the diversity of Englishes?

This study aims to contribute to finding out how English language teaching (ELT) in Finland is responding to this challenge. The study focuses on the teaching of varieties of English from the viewpoint of pronunciation, i.e. on the teaching of accents, a topic which is not yet widely researched in Finland. As textbooks form the basis of formal language teaching (McGrath 2006, 171), the study is conducted by analyzing one Finnish ELT textbook series called *Smart Moves*. Since students cannot be taught to master all the different accents of English, the writers of textbooks have to make decisions: some accents are ignored completely, some are introduced to teach receptive skills and one or more are taught to be used by the learner. To find out what kind of decisions the writers of *Smart Moves* have made concerning the model accent for the students' own pronunciation, i.e. the *target accent*, and which accents are only included to enhance the students' receptive skills, as *exposure accents*, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1) Which accent or accents of English are the target accent(s) in the *Smart Moves* series?
2) Which accents are heard on the CDs of the *Smart Moves* series?

When many different varieties of the language are included in teaching, there is a risk of confusion. Students hear and see many different models that might mix into an obscure jumble if no explicit information about them is given. This is why the study also aims to find out if the textbook series is

attempting to make the students aware of the accents that are present in the series. The further research questions are:

3) Is the choice of target accent or accents in *Smart Moves* explicit to students using the series?
4) Is it explicit to students which accents they hear on the CDs of *Smart Moves*?

The following section comprises the theoretical background of the study. In section 3, I will introduce my research material in more detail and explain the methods used in the analysis. Section 4 is devoted to analysis, attempting to answer the four research questions. Section 5 discusses the results and limitations of the study, and finally, section 6 provides the concluding remarks.

2   Accents and ELT

In this section, I will take a closer look at the variety of English accents and how they are taken into consideration in Finnish ELT. I will also introduce the relevant teaching guidelines and look into the role that awareness has in clarifying the complex situation created by the diversity of Englishes. Finally, since this study only focuses on teaching materials, I will briefly consider why it is important to study textbooks.

2.1   Accents of English

The spread of English all over the world has resulted in a wide range of variation in the form of this language: depending on whether you are in Canada or Hong Kong, you will see and hear different realizations of spelling, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation, for instance (Melchers and Shaw 2003, 13). By far the most significant variation, however, will be encountered in the pronunciation, i.e. phonology of different varieties (ibid., 14). The pronunciation of a variety is called an *accent* (ibid., 12). Wells (1982, 1) describes an accent as "the use of particular vowel or consonant sounds and particular rhythmic, intonational, and other prosodic features . . . ." He adds that an accent can depend on the speaker's regional origin and social class, as well as their age, sex and educational level. When discussing the accents relevant in ELT, the emphasis is usually on regional accents,

and further in the study the varieties discussed are always regional if not stated otherwise. Now, let's explore the geographical diversity of English speakers more closely.

The complex situation of English in today's world has yielded a number of models to describe and explain its spread across the globe (see e.g. Strevens 1980, McArthur 1998, Modiano 1999). The most influential of these models, cited as "the standard framework in the early twenty-first century" (Jenkins 2003, 17), is Kachru's model of the three concentric circles (Kachru 1985). This model divides the varieties of English into the *inner circle*, the *outer circle* and the *expanding circle*, which represent "the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages" (Kachru 1985, 12). These circles can also be thought to roughly represent three kinds of English speakers: in the inner circle, English is mostly spoken as a native language (ENL); in the outer circle, English is most often the speakers' second language (ESL); and in the expanding circle, English is usually spoken as a foreign language (EFL) (Jenkins 2003, 14). This three-way categorization is, however, a simplified model of a much more complicated reality (ibid.); nevertheless, it serves as a helpful overview of the state of English in the world today.

The inner circle consists of the countries where ENL speakers migrated during the first diaspora of the English language and where English is today the primary language (McKay 2002, 10; Kachru 1985, 12). Kachru (ibid.) lists these countries as being the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, but some researchers have used the term "inner circle" to refer to any varieties of English that are native varieties: for instance, Melchers and Shaw (2003, 42) see the term comprising "mother-tongue Englishes throughout the world, from Standard English English to Jamaican creoles." The number of English speakers in the inner circle depends on the definition of the speakers included in it, but the estimates of ENL speakers in the world range from 350 million (Jenkins 2003, 14) to 375 million (Graddol 1997, 10) speakers.

The outer circle contains the countries where English was brought during the second diaspora, mainly through colonization of inner circle countries (McKay 2002, 10). According to

Kachru (1985, 12-13), English has an important, often official status in these countries, but it is only one of many languages spoken by the population; it is, however, used in many different contexts in the society, such as in the educational, administrative and literary domains. McKay (2002, 10) sees the outer circle consisting of two kinds of countries. In countries where English was introduced through colonization, such as India and Nigeria, only a minority, i.e. the elite of the society, became ESL speakers. In other countries where slave trade influenced the development of the varieties of English, for instance Jamaica and Barbados, English-based pidgins and creoles began evolving. The status and position of pidgins and creoles in the three-way categorization is, however, greatly debated, and they are not always included in the estimates of English users in any of the three circles (McKay 2002, 11). The estimated numbers of ESL speakers are similar to those of ENL speakers, ranging from 350 million (Jenkins 2003, 14) to 375 million (Graddol 1997, 10) speakers.

The expanding circle consists of countries that have usually not been colonized by inner circle countries but where English is extensively studied as a foreign language (Kachru 1985, 13; McKay 2002, 9). In these countries, English is not used for intranational purposes but it is studied to be used in international communication both with native speakers of English as well as with other non-native speakers (Jenkins 2003, 14-15). Since the language does not have an official status in these countries, there are no local standards or norms of use, either (McKay 2002, 10). This circle includes heavily populated countries such as China and Indonesia, and also a large number of other countries on every continent, for instance Greece, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia and Zimbabwe (Kachru 1985, 13). The number of EFL speakers is the most difficult to asses out of the three groups of English speakers, and the issue is further complicated by the level of competence required for a person to be defined as an EFL speaker (Jenkins 2003, 15). If the level required is "reasonable competence," the estimate is approximately one billion speakers (ibid.) while the estimate by Graddol (1997, 10) is a much more modest 750 million speakers.

2.2   Accents in Finnish ELT

The diversity of different Englishes forces ELT professionals to make choices – this is especially true in the case of accents, since varieties differ from each other the most in pronunciation. As Lintunen (2004, 49) puts it, "[a]s the differences in pronunciation are numerous, a conscious decision has to be made: which and whose pronunciation standard EFL learners should aim at." It is not only a question of which varieties of English to include in the teaching, but also a question of how the different varieties are included. Melchers and Shaw (2003, 191) see the issue entailing three questions: which varieties should be presented for learners simply to read or listen to, as *exposure*; which varieties should be used by the teachers and included in the teaching materials for the learners to imitate, as *models*; and which varieties should we teach the learners to produce themselves, as the *target*. This categorization is somewhat problematic, however, since one could argue that the language used by the teacher and presented in the teaching materials is also "exposure," and that the "model" varieties learners are supposed to imitate, i.e. produce themselves, are actually the "target" varieties. Nevertheless, choices have to be made at least in regard to which varieties the learners are exposed to (*exposure*) and which varieties they are taught to produce themselves (the *target*).

The choices regarding exposure and target varieties are especially relevant in the expanding circle, where the aims of ELT might not be as well-known as in the outer circle where learners mainly use the language in national contexts. Melchers and Shaw (2003, 192) suggest that, in the expanding circle, the aims of ELT might be to develop the learners' knowledge of different cultures and to teach them a different means of expression, or to provide learners with the skills they need when communicating with people from anywhere in the world, be the interlocutor a native or non-native speaker of English. Kachru (2005, 163) points out that, in the majority of contexts, English is used in the outer and expanding circles without any relevance to people in the inner circle. This point of view of English as a lingua franca is increasingly emphasized today (see e.g. Jenkins 2000, 2007; McKay 2002).

In spite of the current view of English also being a lingua franca, only a very limited amount of *standard accents* has traditionally been present in ELT. Standard accents are accents that are considered to be the model accent in a given language community as their use is encouraged in schools and expected from people in high positions (Wells 1982, 34). According to Nevalainen (quoted in Lintunen 2004, 50), teachers think that two standard varieties of English exist in today's world – British English (BrE) and American English (AmE) – possibly due to the fact that they are thoroughly codified in grammars, dictionaries and teaching materials. Both of these varieties have their own pronunciation norms with Received Pronunciation (RP) as the standard accent in England and General American (GenAm) (also referred to as the pronunciation of Standard American English) in the United States (Wells 1982, 34). These are accents that are codified in pronunciation dictionaries and heard on national and international news on TV and radio (Lintunen 2004, 50). Even if standard accents are considered the model to be preferred, they are not necessarily spoken by a large number of people: McArthur (1992, 852) comments that attaching BrE to RP may be misleading since the majority of British do not speak RP – in fact, RP is only spoken by 3-4% of the British population.

2.2.1   The target accent in Finnish ELT

RP is, according to Lintunen (2004, 49), the standard accent most often used as the *target* accent in ELT. There are many reasons for this and many researchers have given reasons they consider essential. Morris-Wilson (1992, 24) lists the following reasons why he has chosen RP as the target accent:

>   a.   RP is a non-regional social accent.
>   b.   RP is easily understood by all native speakers of English in Great Britain.
>   c.   English people usually react positively to an RP accent, thinking the speaker intelligent, educated, authoritative, self-confident, worthy of respect and so on.
>   d.   RP is the accent most widely used in Europe for the teaching of English to foreigners and is indeed the most completely described accent of British English.

Even if Morris-Wilson states that the attitude towards RP is usually positive, strong negative associations are also attached to it, especially by native speakers, since it can be seen as a mark of

privilege and social domination (Lintunen 2004, 54). However, Lehtonen, Sajavaara and May (1977, 30-31) claim that native speakers are likely to notice that English is not the EFL speaker's mother tongue and thus the accent will not carry those negative connotations. They also present some more reasons for the firm position of RP particularly in Finnish ELT: the UK is the country closest to Finland with English as an official language, both geographically and culturally (Lehtonen, Sajavaara & May 1977, 29). Lintunen (2004, 56) adds that the tradition with RP is long and there are not, at least yet, significant grounds for abandoning this model.

There are, however, views that challenge the position of RP as the target. For instance, the domination of American culture might have its effects on ELT, as well, which can already be seen in that young Finnish EFL learners prefer AmE as the model (Lintunen 2004, 59-60). Also, the idea of native-speaker standards has been questioned altogether, for instance by Jenkins (2000, 136-156), who has attempted to establish the common core of English pronunciation for the purposes of English as an international language (EIL). This common core represents the features that are essential for mutual intelligibility in non-native-speaker communication, and mastering these features could be considered the goal in teaching pronunciation for EFL learners. Lehtonen, Sajavaara and May (1977, 31) have also suggested a somewhat similar target for pronunciation, "the accent of a good non-native speaker," which has some recognizable features of the speaker's mother tongue; the accent sounds foreign but does not irritate the native speaker. They argue that the overwhelming majority of Finns will not attain the level of a native speaker in any case, so time could be saved by focusing on the features of pronunciation that are essential for intelligibility instead of trying to teach a native-like pronunciation. Despite differences of opinion concerning which target accent to choose, most researchers seem to agree that it is best to only have one target. For instance, Lintunen (2004, 51) argues that while it is useful to be able to understand a variety of accents, it is not important to be able to produce different accents.

2.2.2   Exposure accents in Finnish ELT

When the varieties of English chosen to serve as *exposure* are considered, the choices made by ELT professionals are less uniform than in the case of the target accent. The issue has been discussed, however, for many decades. For instance, Lehtonen, Sajavaara and May (1977, 31-32) stated that since it is not possible to teach EFL learners to understand all the different Englishes, the varieties which the learner will most probably face should be included in teaching. They go on to argue that, in most cases, these varieties are interference varieties, i.e. varieties spoken by non-native speakers of English, and, at least in the 1970's, the ones especially important for Finns were the Finnish, German and Swedish interference varieties. Thus they recommend that the listening comprehension material in comprehensive school should include non-native speakers, as well. As for the native varieties of English, they consider the British varieties to be the most significant for Finns, for the same reasons they consider RP to be the best target accent, and outside the British Isles they see American English as the most important national variety; they claim that "[t]he English variants spoken in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere are of minor importance for a Finn" (1977, 34-35). However, globalization has taken major steps since the 1970's, and today the physical closeness of the British Isles or the remoteness of Australasia, for example, might not play such a significant part in the contexts where Finns encounter and use English.

Today, most researchers seem to agree that the most important thing is to provide students with a wide range of exposure. Melchers and Shaw (2003, 192) state that, if English is learned to be used in international communication with both native and non-native speakers of English, learners should be taught to understand as many accents as possible. Lintunen (2004, 51) argues that this can only be achieved by exposing students to different accents at all levels of teaching. A study by Smith shows that the more learners are exposed to different varieties, the better they learn how to cope with the differences between them (cited in Kachru 2005, 164). Jenkins (2007, 244) goes further to emphasize the importance of exposure to non-native varieties of English so that students

will learn how to accommodate to new and different ways of using the language that they will inevitably encounter in international communication.

Pihko (1997) has studied how well Finnish upper secondary school EFL learners are able to understand different native and non-native English speech varieties. The results were that out of the nine speech varieties presented in the study, the easiest varieties to understand were Slow Pedagogical English and German English, while the most difficult varieties to understand were Gambian English and Midwest American English (Pihko 1997, 232). Thus the nativeness of the varieties did not determine their intelligibility, but instead the varieties which were spoken clearly and which the learners were already familiar with were the easiest to understand (ibid., 232-233). Since familiarity of many different varieties has a key role in successful listening comprehension, Pihko (ibid., 240), too, recommends that EFL learners should be exposed to other speech varieties in addition to the British and American standard varieties. Like Lehtonen, Sajavaara and May (1977), she thinks that the most useful varieties to learn to understand are the ones that learners are most likely to encounter outside school, be the varieties native or non-native. She does, quite interestingly, still consider that ELT should focus on the native standard varieties (Pihko 1997, 240):

> In the school course, diversified listening instruction is best included in the more advanced stages of EFL study, when learners already have a firm command of the standard native varieties. Of course, diversification means that the standard native varieties continue to function as the core of listening instruction, but other varieties are included to reflect real-life conditions.

When Pihko (1997, 240-241) talks about diversified listening instruction, she sees it requiring a larger change in ELT than merely exposing learners to many different accents: it includes informative, proficiency-oriented and attitudinal aims. The informative approach means that learners should be made aware of the variation that exists in English, and a large amount of different speech samples should be included in teaching. The proficiency-oriented approach entails that learners are thoroughly taught to understand a few other varieties besides the standard native varieties by analyzing their characteristics and differences in regard to the standard varieties. She

suggests that these varieties might contain some European varieties as well as one second-language variety and one exotic foreign-language variety. This kind of thorough listening instruction should not only develop the learners' ability to understand these varieties in particular, but also increase the learners' perceptional flexibility so that they are better prepared to encounter new speech varieties in general. The third and most important aim, in her opinion, is attitudinal: since her study shows that non-native speech varieties are generally viewed quite negatively, the informative and proficiency-oriented approaches would help learners to increase their linguistic tolerance, which, in turn, would increase tolerance towards people from new cultures in general.

It has not been widely researched which accents are, in fact, currently favored as exposure accents in Finnish ELT. When the whole world is considered, Jenkins (2007, 244) claims that ELT tests and materials, including recordings, continue to focus, sometimes almost exclusively, on native speaker English at the expense of non-native speaker models. This seems to be true in Finland, as well, at least in the light of a study by Kivistö (2005). She has examined the amount of non-native accents in the taped material of two upper secondary school English textbook series, *Culture Café* 1-5 (Benmergui et al. 2002-2004) and *In Touch* 1-5 (Davies et al. 2001-2004). The result of the study was that the majority of accents heard on the tapes are native accents, while 3% of the accents in *Culture Café*, ca. 15 minutes of speech, and 1% in *In Touch*, ca. 3 minutes of speech, are non-native accents (Kivistö 2005, 86). Despite the modest amount of non-native speech in total, many different non-native accents are included: in *Culture Café*, there are ten non-native accents, for example Indian, Chinese and Finnish; and in *In Touch*, there are eight non-native accents, including African, Jamaican and German (ibid.). Kivistö did not study which native accents are heard in the two series. She concludes that the amount of non-native accents in the two series is insufficient and that the situation is unlikely to change without changes in the official teaching guidelines, and in the attitudes of teachers and textbook authors (ibid., 87).

2.3   Teaching guidelines and awareness

The varieties of English present in Finnish ELT are not imposed by the official teaching guidelines but they can be freely chosen, even if the reasons stated above have led to one particular accent dominating teaching materials (see 2.2.1). The national curriculum for basic education (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, 141) does not mention the varieties of English in any other respect but by emphasizing awareness of them: "The pupils will . . . learn to be aware of some of the key differences between variants of English." The requirements of the curriculum are based on the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe 2001, 121), which also underlines the importance of awareness: "Sociolinguistic competence also includes the ability to recognise the linguistic markers of, for example:

- social class
- regional provenance
- national origin
- ethnicity
- occupational group."

These linguistic markers are said to include phonology, among others. It is also mentioned that learners should be aware of the social connotations of different dialects before adopting their characteristics. Thus the key issue in Finnish ELT in regard to varieties of English should be expanding the students' awareness of these varieties.

The emphasis on awareness is not only found in the official teaching guidelines. For instance Kachru (2005, 166) is of the opinion that learning and teaching all the different regional varieties is not possible or even useful, but instead learners in all three circles, including the inner circle, should be made aware of the richness of Englishes all over the world and given tools to effectively communicate across varieties. He goes on to stress that "[t]he applied linguistics and ELT professions have a responsibility to equip learners of English to meet the challenge of globalization" (2005, 167). Melchers and Shaw (2003, 192) agree with this opinion as they consider the most important thing in ELT to be making learners aware that they might encounter unexpected

usage of English on all levels of the language, and they should be taught to cope with this using different strategies.

Also, awareness plays an important part in the teaching of pronunciation in general, even though pronunciation has not always been taught as explicitly as many other areas of language, such as grammar; it is often assumed that pronunciation skills develop as a by-product when the language is used (Lintunen 2005, 345). Lintunen (2005, 347), however, argues that explicit teaching of pronunciation is very beneficial since awareness of the target language's phonology enhances learners' pronunciation. His statement is based on two studies. The first one examines how practicing phonemic transcription affects the English pronunciation of Finnish first year university students of English philology, and the results show that the students who succeeded the best in transcription, also made the most progress in regard to pronunciation (Lintunen 2004). In another Finnish study (Dufva, quoted in Lintunen 2005, 347), students in the fourth grade of elementary school were taught the phonetic symbols of English and the relationship between phonemes and graphemes. As a result, both the reading and writing of English of the students improved more than in the control groups. Thus the explicit teaching of the target language's phonological system proved useful for both beginners' and advanced level students of English.

2.4   The role of textbooks in teaching

The central position of textbooks in formal education is widely recognized (McGrath 2006, 178). According to McGrath (2006, 171), textbooks "tend to dictate what is taught, in what order and, to some extent, how as well as what learners learn." Littlejohn (1998, 190) argues that even though journals and conferences have a role in distributing new educational ideas and in shaping teaching practices, it is the published coursebook that has the most powerful influence on the reality of language teaching. The reasons behind the significance of the textbook are that today, published materials are used more than ever before, and that current "textbooks" are much more than mere books with some texts to read; they are often complete packages containing instructions for the

teacher on how to realize the lessons. Thus the textbook effectively structures what happens in the classroom.

Maley (1998, 279) has stated that as the content, the order of the content, and even the instructions for using the content are predetermined when using published materials, the freedom of teachers to make important decisions in their teaching is constrained: the textbook can contradict "the individual teacher's sense of what may be appropriate at a given pedagogical moment" (ibid., 280). Maley (1998, 279-280) continues that there is always a complex relationship between the three major elements of the classroom, the textbook, the teacher and the learners, and these elements will never meet in a perfect way. O'Neill (1982, 105-106) argues that textbooks are, nevertheless, needed for many reasons. Firstly, textbooks provide well-presented materials that could not be replaced by individual teachers without large amounts of time and money. Secondly, textbooks allow learners to keep track of the course as a whole by looking back at what has already been done and by looking ahead at what will be done next. Most importantly, textbooks can offer the common core which all learners need to learn, despite the fact that all learners and groups of learners have their own, specific needs.

Given the great importance of textbooks, Littlejohn (1998, 190-191) finds it necessary to study the appropriateness of the methodology and content of these materials for particular language teaching contexts. He compares teaching materials to the Trojan Horse "as the use of materials, like the Trojan Horse, may imply more than is immediately apparent" (Littlejohn 1998, 191). He does, however, emphasize that analyzing teaching materials "as they are" will never reveal how they are actually used in the classroom or what kind of results their use gives as these issues depend on various other factors (ibid.).

3   Material and methods

The study was conducted by analyzing one Finnish EFL textbook series, *Smart Moves*. In the following two sections I will present the material in more detail and describe the different parts of the analyzing process.

3.1   Material

Smart Moves (hereafter SM) is written by Tarja Folland et al. and published by Otava in the years 2005-2009. As a new textbook series, used in at least one teacher training school at the moment, Tampere Teacher Training School, it can be presumed to represent up-to-date didactics. SM is aimed at basic education grades seven, eight and nine (intermediate level). It includes a textbook, an exercise book and a CD for each of the three grades, as well as material for the teacher: Exercises KEY, Teacher's File and Tests. There are also exercises for students online. In this study, I will analyze the three textbooks, exercise books and teacher's guides as well as the teacher's CDs. The CDs include all the taped material related to the chapters and exercises in the SM textbooks and exercise books. This set of materials was chosen since it forms the core of teaching; tests do not have a significant role in the teaching of target and exposure accents or awareness of them, and the online exercises are not necessarily used in teaching as widely as the books and CDs. The books studied are listed in Table 1 with their abbreviations that are used hereafter in the study.

Table 1. The books analyzed in the study with their abbreviations.

Grade	Book	Abbreviation in the study
7th	*Smart Moves 1 Texts* (Folland et al. 2005)	SM1T
	Smart Moves 1 Exercises (Folland et al. 2009)	SM1E
	Smart Moves 1 Teacher's File (Folland et al. 2006)	SM1TF
8th	*Smart Moves 2 Texts* (Folland et al. 2007)	SM2T
	Smart Moves 2 Exercises (Folland et al. 2007)	SM2E
	Smart Moves 2 Teacher's File (Folland et al. 2007)	SM2TF
9th	*Smart Moves 3 Texts* (Folland et al. 2008)	SM3T
	Smart Moves 3 Exercises (Folland et al. 2008)	SM3E
	Smart Moves 3 Teacher's File (Folland et al. 2008)	SM3TF

The textbooks include general vocabularies at the end of each book, offering phonetic transcriptions of each word. Other material for teaching pronunciation can be found in the "Help Pages" at the end of the textbooks in the section "Äännekirjoitus" ("The phonetic alphabet"). The exercise books have chapter-specific vocabularies for each chapter along with additional vocabularies for some exercises, and phonetic transcription is always provided beside the words. Also, pronunciation is taught explicitly in the form of various different exercises, which often focus on the pronunciation of specific sounds and involve repeating words after a model heard on tape.

The teacher's guides instruct the teacher to make students read the chapter-specific vocabularies before listening to the text and the teacher can pre-read the vocabularies to provide a model; however, the aim is that the students learn to read the phonetic transcriptions on their own (SM1TF, 12). Also, when the chapter has been listened to, students should read the text in groups and check the pronunciation from the vocabulary (ibid.). In addition, the exercise books give instructions to the students between exercises where the role of phonetic transcription in the learning of pronunciation is emphasized: when doing a listening exercise (SM1E, 10; SM2E, 19) or when studying the chapters (SM1E, 11), the related vocabulary should be read aloud and the

pronunciation should be verified from the phonetic transcription; and the phonetic alphabet should be well studied and practiced with a partner since it helps to pronounce words correctly (SM1E, 21).

3.2   Methods

In the following three sections I will introduce the methods used in the analysis: how to determine which accent is the target of pronunciation, how to determine if the choice of target and other accents is explicit to students and how to form an overview of the accents heard in the textbook series.

3.2.1   The target accent in SM

To determine the accent chosen as the target of pronunciation in SM, I am making a hypothesis: as the target accent most often taught to EFL students is RP (Lintunen 2004, 49), it is assumed that the target accent in SM is RP, as well.

To test the hypothesis, the phonetic transcriptions and instructions on pronunciation in SM are compared with a description of the vowels and consonants of RP in Upton (2004). Upton (2004, 219) uses the term "RP" for the current form of RP, "an accent that will not be the object of comment as regards elevated upbringing or social pretension", nor is it a regional variety of RP. In this study, this variety will be called "cur-RP" (from "current RP"). However, Upton does not only settle for describing this variety of RP but also compares it with what he calls "trad-RP" (from "traditional RP"): this is a more traditional variety of RP which the British might perceive as "posh" – the two varieties of RP are easily distinguished by native British English speakers. Upton (2004, 219) states that it is important for EFL speakers to know the difference between these varieties since the use of trad-RP might lead the native listener to consider the speaker old-fashioned or otherwise affected.

The analysis of vowels in SM is carried out with the help of standard lexical sets, which Upton (2004) also uses to describe the vowels of cur-RP and trad-RP. In this system, developed by Wells, certain keywords represent a large group of words which usually have the same vowel, for instance "the BATH words" refer to "staff, ask, dance…" and "the BATH vowel" refers to the vowel in these words (/ɑː/ in RP) (Wells 1982, xviii). In this study, the keywords are searched from the general vocabularies in the SM textbooks and, if the keywords are not found, another word from the same lexical set (according to Wells 1982, 127-168) is used.

To test the correspondence between the consonants used in SM and in the description of cur-RP (and trad-RP) by Upton (2004), each characteristic consonant-related feature of RP is searched from the SM textbooks either from the general instructions for pronunciation (the section "The phonetic alphabet") or from the general vocabulary through illustrative words.

The assumption is that all three SM textbooks use the same variety in their general vocabularies as well as in the general instructions for pronunciation. However, since the chapters and exercises might include speakers of other accents than RP, it is tested whether the chapter and exercise specific vocabularies in the exercise books are in line with the accent in the general vocabularies of the textbooks. This is done by taking random samples from all transcriptions found in the exercise books and seeing whether the most characteristic features of RP are present in the same way as they are in the textbooks. The most characteristic features are taken to be the ones that the description of RP by Upton (2004, 217-230) and the main characteristics of RP by Wells (1982, 212-242) have in common, namely the BATH, GOAT, THOUGHT, NORTH and FORCE vowels, /r/ dropping, linking and intrusive /r/, and the pronunciation of *wh*-words. The description of RP by Wells (1982) is closer to the description of trad-RP than cur-RP by Upton (2004), probably due to the 22 years between the publications of the books during which the accent has had time to evolve.

3.2.2   Explicitness of the accents in SM

To find out how explicit the target accent chosen and other accents heard in SM are for the students, all explicit material related to accents is searched from SM. Firstly, all instances where one or more varieties of English are discussed in the teacher's guides, textbooks and exercise books, are listed and described. Secondly, it is tested how often information is given about the accent used by a speaker on the SM tapes.

The latter issue is examined in the following manner. All the CD's accompanying the SM textbooks and exercise books are listened through and every individual voice per one track is counted as one speaker. The voices are easy to distinguish from one another since the lines of characters are written down in textbooks or teacher's manuals, and in other spoken material the voices of a woman and a man usually take turns. The speakers are divided into two groups: "characters" and "others". "Characters" are speakers who speak in the first person, and the category "others" includes narrators and speakers in exercises which concentrate on form and not content, even if these speakers also read aloud detached sentences that are in first person. In addition, the readers of poems are counted in the category "others" even if the poem is written in first person.

In the case of each speaker, the books and tapes are examined to find out whether or not information is given about the accent used by the speaker. This information can be either the name of the town, region or country where the speaker lives or comes from originally, or the accent or variety of English used by the speaker can be mentioned.

Despite the fact that the chapters in the textbooks are usually divided into many individual tracks on the CDs, the same speakers in one chapter are counted as many times as they appear on different tracks. If the speakers were counted only once when they appear on different tracks, it would not give a realistic view on how often the students are aware of which accent they are hearing, since, for example, one character could be speaking in many different chapters and exercises, but the observation on whether or not information about the accent is given would only get one mentioning. When speakers are counted per track, there are limits in regard to the length of

each speaker's portion as the length of tracks varies from around 0:15 minutes to 10 minutes, the average track containing at least two speakers and lasting for 1 to 5 minutes. Even if information about the speaker's accent is given only in the first track where they appear, it is counted that the same information is known in the case of following appearances, as well.

Sometimes there is no explicit information about the regional origin or the variety of English used by the speaker, but there are nonetheless cultural or geographical hints about the region which might help some students guess the accent of the speaker. I have not systematically listed these clues since it would be difficult to determine what is a clue and to whom, but I will mention some examples.

3.2.3   Exposure accents in SM

To find out which the accents heard on the CDs of the SM series are, a broad overview of the matter is made with the help of the same listing used to examine the explicitness of the accents. In the vast majority of cases the information concerning speakers' accents is information on the regional origin or place of habitation of the speaker. Therefore the listing of accents has a regional viewpoint: when information about a speaker's accent is given, this information is recorded and the equivalent country is given one mentioning.

Thus the study only covers those accents on which explicit information is given; the listing is based on extralinguistic facts, not on linguistic analysis. Due to the limited length of this study, a detailed linguistic examination of all the accents heard in SM would have been impossible, the diversity of accents in SM being impressive. Instead, I have limited the study to the main accents of English associated with each of the countries explicitly mentioned. In the case of inner and outer circle countries this means the standard or other dominant accent in that country, and when dealing with expanding circle countries, I am examining the learner accent of speakers whose mother tongue is the most widely spoken language in that country. The categorization into inner, outer and expanding circle countries is based on the classification by Kachru (1985). In the case of English-

based creoles, I am following McKay's (2002, 10) view by placing them in the outer circle. The internal regional variation within each country is not dealt with, nor any other type of variation than regional, even though examples of social and more narrow regional variation could be heard on the tapes. In this study, a "country" does not necessarily mean a sovereign state but a region associated with a certain people, such as Scotland or Wales, as these regions are separately introduced and systematically mentioned in SM, as well.

I will introduce all the accents associated with the countries mentioned and give an example of each accent from the SM tapes based on a linguistic analysis of the speaker's pronunciation. The descriptions of RP and Standard American English (StAmE) are based on the common features of the descriptions in *A Handbook of Varieties of English* edited by Bernd Kortmann et al. (2004) and the main characteristics listed by Wells (1982). Other inner and outer circle accents are mostly defined by focusing on what the descriptions in *A Handbook of Varieties of English* and *World Englishes* by Gunnel Melchers and Philip Shaw (2003) have in common. For the descriptions of expanding circle accents the main source is *Learner Englishes* edited by Michael Swan and Bernard Smith (2001). The Finnish accent is described with the help of *Pronunciation and Phonemic Transcription: A study of advanced Finnish learners of English* by Pekka Lintunen (2004) and "Finnish-English Phonetics and Phonology" by Kari Sajavaara and Hannele Dufva (2001).

It is assumed that the speakers said to have a certain regional background speak with the main accent used in that region, but if no instances of a given accent can be found, this will be reported. A given accent might not be present on the tapes if, for instance, the texts are read by actors and they are not able to speak with all the accents they are supposed to, or if the speaker has some other regional or social accent used in the region than the one studied. If there are several speakers who are said to come from the same country, the speaker whose accent is closest to the accent under discussion is always presented; this way it is possible to verify whether the accent actually has any representatives on the tapes and thus to identify all the accents that are certainly heard in SM, even if the accents are only spoken by one speaker.

4 Analysis

The analysis consists of three parts: in the first part, the transcriptions and instructions in SM are analyzed to determine which accent the students are taught to speak with; in the second part, SM is examined to find out how explicit the choice of target accent and exposure accents is for the students; and, in the third part, the exposure accents in SM are listed and introduced.

4.1 The target accent in SM

The analysis to determine the target accent in SM is divided into the study of vowels and consonants. In the first part, the vowels of cur-RP and trad-RP are compared with the vowels used in the SM transcriptions and the second part consists of the comparison between the consonant-related features of RP and SM.

In the course of the analysis it became evident that no alternative ways of pronunciation are given anywhere in the SM books in the transcriptions or instructions for pronunciation – evidently the pronunciation of only one variety is taught to be produced by the students.

4.1.1 Vowels

The comparison between the vowels of cur-RP and trad-RP by Upton (2004, 221) and the vowels used in SM textbooks and exercise books gives results in favor of my hypothesis: the vowels in SM transcriptions are the vowels of RP. Next, the results are presented in more detail.

First, it should be noted that the phonetic alphabet used by SM and the IPA phonemes used by Upton (2004) are not identical. "The phonetic alphabet" section in SM lists all the vowels used in their phonetic transcriptions and the following vowels used by Upton are not in the listing: /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ɒ/ and /ʊ/. Thus two IPA vowels are indicated by each of the following SM vowels: the SM /i/ stands for the IPA /i/ and /ɪ/, /e/ stands for /e/ and /ɛ/, /ɔ/ stands for /ɔ/ and /ɒ/, and /u/ stands for /u/ and /ʊ/.

As can be seen in Table 2, the comparison between the vowels of cur-RP, trad-RP and SM transcriptions shows that the KIT, LOT, STRUT, FOOT, BATH, CLOTH, FLEECE, FACE, PALM, THOUGHT, GOAT, GOOSE, CHOICE, MOUTH, NEAR, START, NORTH, FORCE and CURE vowels are the same in cur-RP, trad-RP and SM. The TRAP, PRICE and SQUARE vowels are the same in trad-RP and SM but not in cur-RP. The DRESS and NURSE vowels are ambiguous: SM might have either cur-RP or trad-RP as its model. It can be concluded that the vast majority of vowels used in SM is in line with both varieties of RP, and where cur-RP and trad-RP differ, SM prefers the vowel of trad-RP.

The same vowels used in the general vocabularies of the SM textbooks are indeed found in the phonetic transcriptions of the exercise books, as well, when the most characteristic vowels of RP (BATH, GOAT, THOUGHT, NORTH and FORCE) are examined. No counterexamples occurred. The numerous examples of the same representation of the BATH vowel, /ɑː/, appear, for instance, in the transcriptions of *last* (SM1E, 5), *basket* (SM1E, 197), *mask* (SM2E, 47), *laughter* (SM2E, 59) and *staff* (SM3E, 168). The GOAT vowel is represented by /əu/ in the exercise books, as it is in the textbooks, in such words as *grow* (SM1E, 74), *know* (SM1E, 180), *shoulder* (SM2E, 246), *coal* (SM3E, 40) and *bowl* (SM3E, 92). The examples for the THOUGHT words having the same vowel, /ɔː/, in the exercise books include *thought* (SM1E, 180), *caught* (SM2E, 88) and *saw* (SM3E, 129); for NORTH some examples are *for* (SM1E, 62), *short* (SM2E, 47) and *ordinary* (SM3E, 9); and, finally, *afford* (SM1E, 198), *store* (SM2E, 217) and *adore* (SM3E, 202) are some of the various examples for FORCE.

Table 2. Vowels of cur-RP and trad-RP by Upton (2004) compared with the vowels used in SM textbooks. The words in brackets indicate the words used instead of keywords when the keyword could not be found in SM.

Vowel	cur-RP	trad-RP	SM	The target in SM
KIT	ɪ	ɪ	i	both
DRESS	ɛ	e	e	ambiguous
TRAP (back)	a	æ	æ	trad-RP
LOT	ɒ	ɒ	ɔ	both
STRUT (cut)	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	both
FOOT	ʊ	ʊ	u	both
BATH (last)	ɑː/a	ɑː	ɑː	both
CLOTH (cough)	ɒ	ɒ/ɔː	ɔ	both
NURSE	əː	ɜː	əː	ambiguous
FLEECE (meet)	ɪː	ɪː	iː	both
FACE	eɪ	eɪ	ei	both
PALM	ɑː	ɑː	ɑː	both
THOUGHT	ɔː	ɔː	ɔː	both
GOAT (soap)	əʊ	əʊ	əu	both
GOOSE (shoot)	uː	uː	uː	both
PRICE	ʌɪ	aɪ	ai	trad-RP
CHOICE	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔi	both
MOUTH	aʊ	aʊ	au	both
NEAR	ɪə	ɪə	iə	both
SQUARE	ɛː	ɛə	eə	trad-RP
START	ɑː	ɑː	ɑː	both
NORTH (form)	ɔː	ɔː	ɔː	both
FORCE	ɔː	ɔː	ɔː	both
CURE	ʊə/ɔː	ʊə	uə	both
happY	i	i	i	both
lettER	ə	ə	ə	both
commA (drama)	ə	ə	ə	both

4.1.2 Consonants

Next, the consonant-related features are examined. Upton (2004, 228-229) does not list all the consonants of cur-RP and trad-RP but he focuses on certain characteristic features. Again, the examination of SM in regard to these features gives support to my hypothesis: the majority of the consonant-related features of RP are present in the SM transcriptions and instructions. The most characteristic features, /r/ dropping, linking /r/, intrusive /r/ and the pronunciation of *wh*-words, are discussed first.

Perhaps one of the most easily observable consonant-related features of RP is non-rhoticity, i.e. the absence of final position /r/ when followed by a consonant, as in *ordinary* [ɔːdɪnərɪ]. Upton confirms this feature rapidly by stating that "in final position no [r] is pronounced", except for linking /r/ in the case of a vowel following the /r/ (2004, 226). He does not mention any differences between cur-RP and trad-RP regarding the final position /r/. SM is clearly in line with RP concerning the absence of final position /r/ before a consonant and the presence of it before a vowel: the general instructions for pronunciation at the end of each textbook (e.g. SM3T, 131) advice the students that when the /r/ is in brackets at the end of a word, it is only pronounced if the following word begins with a vowel. The following examples are given after the instructions:

Mr	[mistə(r)]
Mr Brown	[mistə ʻbraun]
Mr and Mrs Brown	[mistər ænd misis ʻbraun]

To test whether these instructions apply to all of the transcriptions in the textbooks and exercise books, i.e. whether the final position /r/ is always placed inside brackets, random samples were taken from each of the six books. The finding is that the final position /r/ appears, indeed, systematically inside brackets, as for example in the transcriptions of the following words: *chair* (SM1T, 151), *super* (SM1T, 165), *here* (SM1E, 65), *hamster* (SM1E, 168), *year* (SM2T, 229), *actor* (SM2T, 200), *container* (SM2E, 112), *welder* (SM2E, 239), *tear* (SM3T, 232), *daughter* (SM3T, 206), *diaper* (SM3E p. 16), and *inventor* (SM3E, 208). The rule given in the instructions also applies to transcriptions containing several words so that the /r/ is not pronounced before a

consonant, as in *per square kilometre* [pə skweə ˈkiləmiːtə(r)] (SM1E, 146), and is pronounced before a vowel, as in *state your opinion* [steit jɔːr əˈpiniən] (SM3E, 219).

Another feature concerning /r/ is what Upton calls "intrusive /r/" (2004, 228). In RP, the insertion of an intrusive, supplementary /r/ is the norm between a word that ends with /ə/, /ɑː/ or /ɔː/ and a word that begins with a vowel: *law and order* [lɔːr ənd ˈɔːdə]. It is also the norm word-internally between these vowels, as in *drawing* [ˈdrɔːrɪn]. Upton does not make any distinctions between cur-RP and trad-RP in the use of intrusive /r/. The insertion of an intrusive /r/ in the specific environment is not mentioned in the general instructions for pronunciation in the SM textbooks (e.g. SM3T, 130-131). In addition, the word *drawing* does not have the intrusive /r/ in the general vocabulary of the textbooks but it is transcribed as [drɔːiŋ] (e.g. SM3T, 208). Nor can this kind of /r/ insertion be found in the exercise books, as these examples show: *to each other* [tə iːtʃ ˈʌðə(r)] (SM1E, 136), *law enforcement* [lɔː inˈfɔːsmənt] (SM2E, 246) and *law-abiding* [lɔːəbaidin] (SM3E, 111).

The last consonant-related feature that both Upton and Wells mention is what Upton titles simply as "<wh>" (2004, 229) and Wells calls "glide cluster reduction" (1982, 228). According to Wells (1982, 228-229), the most common RP pronunciation of words such as *which* and *wheel*, beginning with the spelling <wh>, is /w/. However, some RP speakers find /hw/ a beautiful and correct way of pronouncing these words, as in *whine* /hwaɪn/ and *what* /hwɒt/. Upton states (2004, 229) that in cur-RP the spelling <wh> is invariably pronounced as [w] but adds that [w] is variable with [hw] in trad-RP. The SM textbooks and exercise books are evidently in line with cur-RP and with the majority of trad-RP speakers as the only pronunciation for the <wh> spelling is /w/, as is the case with the following examples from the textbooks and exercise books: *while* (SM1T, 168), *what* (SM1E, 100), *whale* (SM2T, 228), *which* (SM2E, 69), *wheel* (SM3T, 236) and *why* (SM3E, 110).

Upton also describes two related phenomena characteristic of RP called "yod coalescence" and "yod deletion" (2004, 229). Yod coalescence means the replacement of /tj/, /dj/, /sj/ and /zj/

with /dʃ/, /dʒ/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in such words as *attitude, residue, tissue* and *usual.* Upton does not separate cur-RP and trad-RP in regard yod coalescence. Yod deletion refers to the dropping of /j/ word-initially, in, for instance, *super* and *suit*; in cur-RP this is the norm, while trad-RP conserves the older form containing the yod as an alternative to yod deletion. SM follows both of these novelties: yod coalescence can be seen in, for instance, *usual* [juːʒuəl] (SM3T, 235) and yod deletion in words such as *suit* [suːt] (SM1T, 165) and *super* [suːpə(r)] (SM2T, 224). Thus SM is in line with cur-RP and the pronunciation of some speakers of trad-RP.

"Glottalisation" is one of the features of RP that cannot be found in SM. According to Upton (2004, 228), glottalisation means the use of the glottal plosive, [ʔ], mostly as an allophone of /t/, in different environments: in cur-RP, it is used in syllable-final positions preceding a non-syllabic consonant, as in *postbox* or *Rottweiler*; it can also be used at an intervocalic syllable boundary, for instance *re-entrant* [rɪˈʔɛntrənt]; trad-RP has this allophone even in the place of intrusive /r/ in such words as *drawing*, or in between words as in *law and order.* The glottal plosive is not used in any of the SM textbooks or exercise books since it does not appear in the list where all the consonants used in the SM transcriptions are presented (e.g. SM3T, 131). The absence of this allophone might be a pedagogical choice since the vowels and consonants used in SM seem to be only phonemes despite the fact that all of the transcriptions of the phonetic alphabet are placed inside square brackets instead of slashes.

Another feature of RP not present in SM is what Upton titles "syllabic consonants" (Upton 2004, 229). Upton states that retaining the syllabic consonant when followed by a morpheme with a vowel in initial position, as in *buttoning* [ˈbʌtn̩ɪŋ], is the norm in RP. He does, nonetheless, acknowledge the fact that the syllabic consonant is not often heard before an unstressed vowel or in rapid speech, so that the word *lightening* might be pronounced as [ˈlʌɪtnɪŋ], the same way as *lightning*. As syllabic consonants are indicated by diacritics, and diacritics are not used in SM according to the section "The phonetic alphabet" (e.g. SM2T, 137-138), syllabic consonants are not

separately exhibited in SM. This might also relate to the possible choice in SM only to use phonemes in the transcriptions.

When doing the analysis for each of the features, no counterexamples were found either in the SM textbooks or exercise books. The results of the overall analysis are gathered in Table 3. It seems that, for the most part, SM is in line with RP concerning consonants but it does not take into account all the details characteristic of RP. As opposed to vowels, where the choice can be made, SM prefers the consonant features of cur-RP or of the pronunciation of those trad-RP speakers who share the view of cur-RP.

Table 3. The target accent in SM in regard to consonant-related features of RP by Upton (2004).

Consonant-related feature	The target accent in SM
/r/ dropping	RP
linking /r/	RP
intrusive /r/	not RP
wh-words	cur-RP (and partly trad-RP)
yod coalescence	RP
yod deletion	cur-RP (and partly trad-RP)
glottalisation	not RP
syllabic consonants	not RP

4.2   Explicitness of the accents in SM

In this section, it is examined whether it is explicit to students using SM which accents they hear throughout the series and which is the accent chosen as the target of pronunciation. SM has different kinds of material related to accents: there is information on different varieties of English, there are exercises that teach the differences in certain accents, and sometimes the speakers on the tapes are indicated as living in or coming from different, mostly English-speaking, countries.

The first important observation is that the choice of target accent (or the target variety for any kind of production) is not explicitly stated anywhere, neither in the students' materials nor in the teacher's guides. All three teacher's guides explain how the series is in line with the aims of the national curriculum for basic education: to develop the students' linguistic skills, SM has different accents of English on its tapes for the students to hear, and to enhance cultural skills, SM exhibits the diversity of the English language and the English-speaking world (SM1TF, 6).

In SM1T (6-7), there is an introductory chapter in which some explicit information on the spread of English is given: it is told that English is spoken in different countries and some examples, such as Hong Kong, South Africa and Australia, are mentioned. The chapter also includes a listening exercise that introduces speakers of English from these countries (SM1T, 6-7; SM1E, 5). This exercise does not focus on the pronunciation of the speakers but on the countries introduced, but the teacher's guide mentions that it allows students to familiarize themselves with accents of English around the world (SM1TF, 18). The chapter also has extra material in the teacher's guide in the form of a map of countries where English is an official language and in the form of info pages concerning the position of English in the world (ibid.). These info pages give the percentages of English speakers by nationalities (for the four largest groups of speakers), list some countries where English is spoken as a native language, and tell how many people speak English in the world as a native, second and foreign language (SM1TF, 21).

In addition, the textbooks have sections called "Bits 'n' Pieces" where different English-speaking countries are introduced by giving general information on their culture and geography, for example. The sociolinguistic situation of English in the region is usually also mentioned. The countries introduced are Canada (SM1T, 14-15), Wales (SM1T, 60-62), Australia (SM2T, 13-15), New Zealand (SM2T, 36-37), Scotland (SM2T, 54-56), Ireland (SM2T, 90-92), the USA (SM2T, 110), South Africa (SM3T, 30-31), India (SM3T, 96-98) and England (SM3T, 114-115).

Other explicit information on the varieties of English is found in the vocabularies when certain words are marked as representing a specific variety. At the beginning of the general

vocabularies in SM1T (149) and SM3T (198) two abbreviations are given: the words marked with (Am) represent AmE (or English used in North America (SM1T)) and (Br) is short for BrE. These abbreviations are also given in the general vocabulary of SM2T (200) along with the abbreviation (Austr) for Australian English. In addition, these abbreviations are used in the vocabularies in the exercise books, for instance *grouse* is marked with (Austr.) (SM2E, 20), *crisps* with (Br) (SM2E, 138) and *candy* with (Am) (SM3E, 52). Two other regional varieties are mentioned in the vocabularies, as well, with the full name of the region: *aye* (SM1E, 198) and *laddie* (SM2E, 100) are said to be used in Scotland and *township* has the meaning of "a city inhabited by black population" (SM1E, 5) or "a slum city" (SM3E, 72) in South Africa. As noted in the analysis of the model accent, all the words in the vocabularies, whether they are marked as representing a specific variety or not, are transcribed according to RP. Thus, for instance, the word *diaper* (SM3E, 16), marked with (Am), is transcribed as [daiəpə(r)] while the AmE pronunciation is /daɪpər/ (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*).

The only explicit material on the pronunciation of a certain accent is in the form of two exercises. One teaches students to pronounce the BATH vowel with the phoneme /a:/ of BrE and /æ:/ of AmE by giving an example of the transcription of *dancing* with both phonemes and by making the students repeat sentences they hear on tape which have words with the BATH vowel in them (SM2E, 201). The other exercise teaches the difference in pronunciation in regard to the /r/ sound of BrE and AmE (SM2E, 223): an example word *flower* is transcribed in the AmE way, the students have to recognize which accent they hear when example words are pronounced on tape, and finally the students should pronounce these words with both accents.

In addition to the information on regional varieties and the teaching of differences in BrE and AmE pronunciation, the chapters and listening exercises that students hear on tape sometimes have information on the region of origin or habitation of the speakers or, in some cases, on the variety of English used by the speakers – i.e. information making students aware of the speaker's accent. However, in most cases, such explicit information is not given: of the 1 016 individual

speakers on all SM tapes only 238 speakers, that is 23%, are told to come from a certain region or to speak a certain variety. The most frequently information is given in the eighth grade (SM2), in 30% of the cases; in the seventh grade (SM1) information is given in 24% of the cases; and the least often information is given in the ninth grade (SM3), in 15% of the cases. This can be partly explained by the fact that, in the ninth grade, 67% of the speakers are other types of speakers (i.e. narrators and speakers in exercises that focus on form) than "characters," while in the seventh and eighth grade approximately half of the speakers are "characters," whose regional background is explained vastly more often.

Of the 238 speakers whose accent is known, 232 are "characters;" only 6 speakers in the category "others" are indicated as speaking with a certain accent, and all of these 6 speakers speak in the two exercises that teach the differences in BrE and AmE pronunciation. In the case of 195 "characters" no information on the accent is given, nor in the case of nearly any speakers from the category "others," 583 speakers. Thus in the case of 54% of the "characters" and 1% of other speakers explicit information is given. The results can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4. Speakers and explicit information on their accent in SM.

Grade	Characters/ information given	Characters/ information not given	Other speakers/ information given	Other speakers/ information not given	Total
7th (SM1)	75	79	0	161	315
8th (SM2)	109	61	6	214	390
9th (SM3)	48	55	0	208	311
Total	232	195	6	583	1 016

In addition to the explicit information given about the speaker's accent, there is also other kind of information that some students might see as clues on the matter. For example, if the text deals with

wildlife in the United States, the narrator might be speaking with an AmE accent (SM2T, 127-128). The clues are even clearer if many different countries are dealt with in one chapter and the accent of the narrators changes with the country under discussion (SM2T, 22-23; SM3T, 26; SM3T, 92-95). Sometimes the hometown or country of the characters is not told but there are nonetheless hints about the region; for instance, prices indicated in pounds (SM1T, 73) or dollars (SM2T, 106), a separate info box on Australian food culture (SM2T, 32), or a mentioning of a town or state near enough for the characters to travel to by bus, for instance (SM1T, 35; SM2T, 106; SM3T, 36).

It can be concluded that SM has information on the diversity of the English-speaking world and on many different varieties of English. The only explicit material on regional variation focusing on pronunciation consists of two exercises where the differences between two sounds of BrE and AmE are compared. Otherwise the students are not told which accent they are learning to speak with. They are, however, sometimes told which accents they are hearing on the tapes: information on the accent of the speakers is given in 23% of the cases, and nearly all of these speakers are characters.

4.3   Exposure accents in SM

In this section, the exposure accents in SM are listed and introduced. First, based on an extralinguistic analysis of the SM materials, the countries where the speakers are explicitly said to come from are listed. Then, based on a linguistic analysis of the speakers' pronunciation, I will tell which regional accents are, in actual fact, heard on the CDs.

All in all, there are 23 different countries and one nationality that are explicitly associated with the speakers in SM. The nationality that could not be put together with any of the countries is British since the different countries inside the UK, England, Scotland and Wales, are dealt on their own in the listing as they are most often separated in SM, as well. The listing can be seen in Table 5.

**Table 5.** The number of speakers associated with each of the countries or nationalities mentioned in SM.

Country/Nationality	SM1	SM2	SM3	All
England	35	10	11	56
the USA	6	30	6	42
British	0	24	1	25
Finland	0	10	10	20
Canada	18	0	2	20
New Zealand	0	17	3	20
Scotland	2	7	3	12
Australia	0	10	0	10
Wales	5	0	1	6
Ireland	0	1	2	3
France	3	0	0	3
Belarus	0	0	3	3
India	2	0	1	3
Mexico	0	3	0	3
Barbados	2	0	0	2
China	1	1	0	2
Norway	0	1	0	1
South Africa	1	0	0	1
Kenya	0	0	1	1
Germany	0	0	1	1
Denmark	0	1	0	1
Italy	0	0	1	1
Greece	0	0	1	1
Poland	0	0	1	1
Total	75	115	48	238

The largest group of speakers, 24%, is associated with England. The English are followed by American speakers, 18% of all, and the third place, 11%, belongs to British speakers. The forth place, 8%, is shared by Finnish, Canadian and New Zealand speakers. The last places in top ten belong to inner circle countries: Scotland, Australia, Wales, and Ireland. Some outer circle countries, India, Barbados, South Africa and Kenya, have one to three representatives, as well as many expanding circle countries: France, Mexico, Belarus, China, Norway, Germany, Denmark, Italy, Greece and Poland. The proportions of the largest groups can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The largest groups of speakers in the whole SM series.
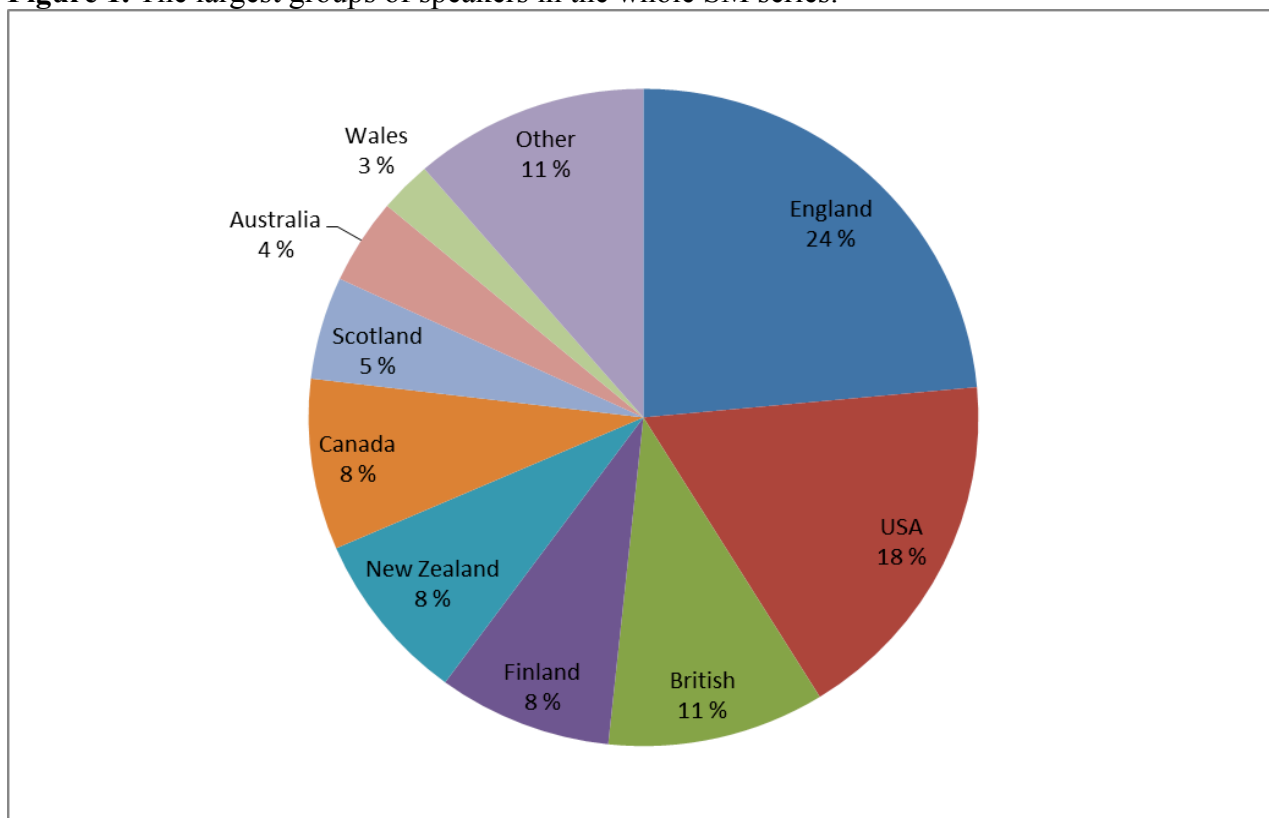
There are some differences between the seventh (SM1), eighth (SM2) and ninth (SM3) grades. In the seventh grade the vast majority, 47% of the speakers, is from England; in the eighth grade the biggest group of speakers, 26%, is American but the English combined with the British have actually a majority of 30%; and in the ninth grade the English are once again in the lead but this time only with 23%. Also, SM2 has a lot of speakers, 27, from New Zealand and Australia, whereas SM1 has none and SM3 only three New Zealanders; and SM1 has 18 Canadians while SM2 has none and SM3 only two. This reflects the fact that sets of chapters have different countries as their themes and thus the countries judged to be less important are not extensively present in all three parts of the series. England, the USA and Scotland are the only countries that have representatives in all three parts. In addition, only 12% of the speakers in the seventh grade and 14% in the eighth grade are from outer and expanding circle countries while this is the case in 40% of the speakers in the ninth grade; probably the authors of the series have wanted to give students native speaker models before non-native models. The proportions of the largest groups in each grade can be seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2. The largest groups of speakers in SM1, SM2 and SM3.

Figure 2. The largest groups of speakers in SM1, SM2 and SM3.
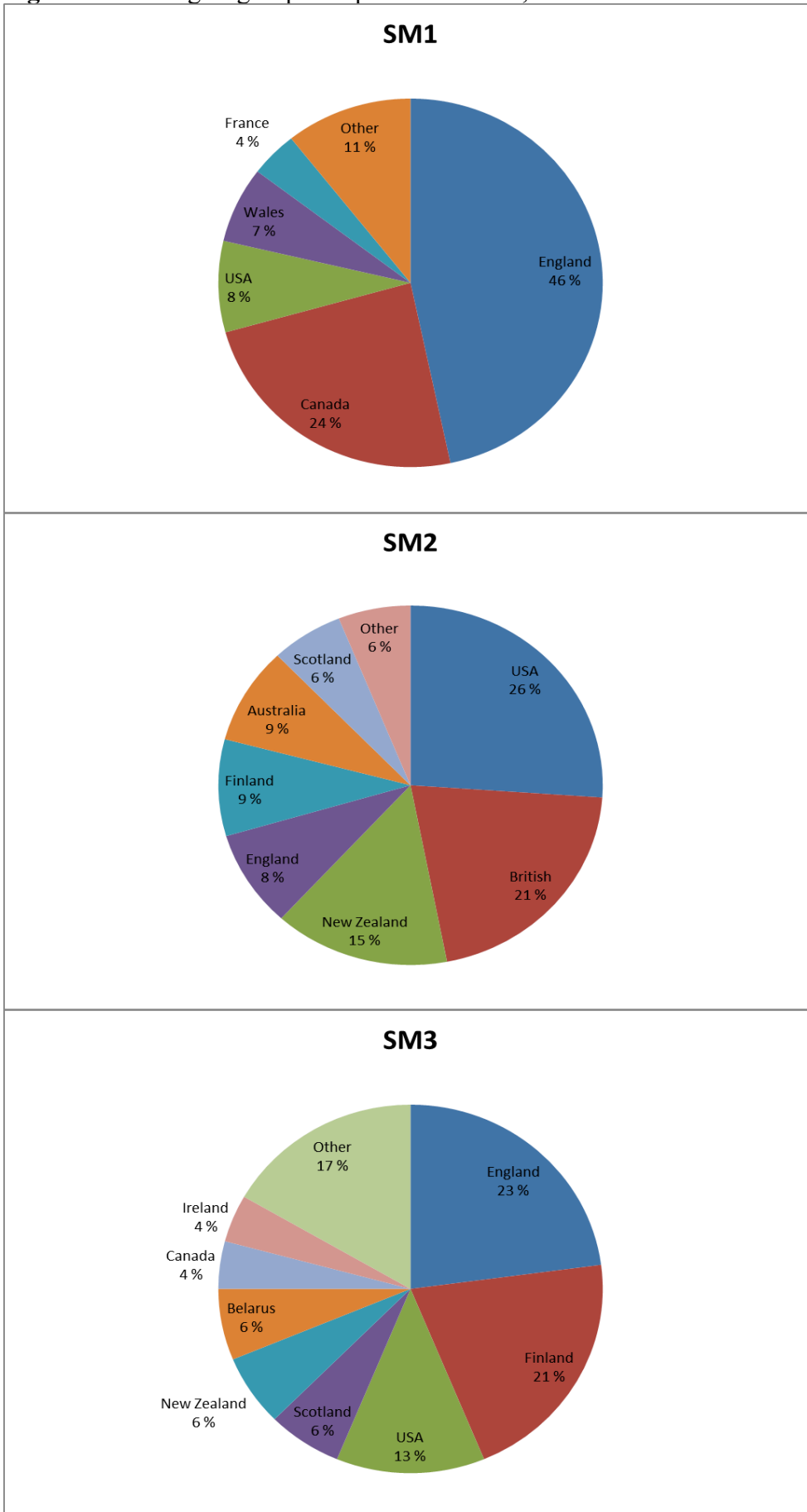
In the following three sections, I will give descriptions of all the main accents associated with the countries listed above, starting with the inner circle accents and finishing with the expanding circle accents. For each accent, there is an example analysis of the pronunciation of a speaker who is said to come from the country in question.

The analysis shows that only seven of the 23 accents are actually heard on the CDs in a clearly identifiable form, and all of these are inner circle accents: they are Received Pronunciation and the pronunciation of Standard American English, New Zealand English, Scottish Standard English, General Australian English, Welsh English and Irish English. The only inner circle accent that is not spoken by any of the claimed speakers is the Canadian accent. There are 11 accents of which a significantly less identifiable version is heard on the CDs; sometimes only one word is pronounced in accordance with the accent in question. These are the outer circle accents of Indian English, Bajan (for Barbados) and Black South African English, and the Finnish, French, Belarusian, Mexican, Chinese, Italian, Greek and Polish accents from the expanding circle. The five accents that are not heard on the CDs at all, even in a less identifiable form, are the Canadian accent, as already mentioned, the outer circle accent of East African English (for Kenya), and the Norwegian, German and Danish accents from the expanding circle. The results are gathered in Table 6.

It can be concluded that SM claims to have speakers from 23 different countries while only seven dominant accents spoken in these countries are actually clearly heard on the CDs, and all of these accents are native accents. 11 accents are heard in a less identifiable form, and these are either ESL or EFL accents. The five accents that are not heard at all are from all three circles.

Table 6. The accents heard on the CDs of SM.

Clearly identifiable accents	Less identifiable accents	Unidentifiable accents
Received Pronunciation	Indian English	Canadian English
Standard American English	Bajan (Barbados)	East African English (Kenya)
New Zealand English	Black South African English	Norwegian accent
Scottish Standard English	Finnish accent	German accent
General Australian English	French accent	Danish accent
Welsh English	Belarusian accent	
Irish English	Mexican accent	
	Chinese accent	
	Italian accent	
	Greek accent	
	Polish accent	

4.3.1   Inner circle accents

I will now introduce all the standard or other dominant accents of the inner circle countries

mentioned in SM, i.e. England, the USA, Canada, New Zealand, Scotland, Australia, Wales and

Ireland.

Received Pronunciation

RP is the standard accent in England and, quite misleadingly, it is the accent often associated with

BrE in general even though it is only spoken by 3-4% of the British population (McArthur 1992,

852). It is the accent of the educated, of the upper and upper middle class (Wells 1982, 117). As

seen earlier in 3.2.1, RP is not a simple, static accent but it can be divided into different

subcategories. Upton (2004, 219) distinguishes two different varieties of RP, trad-RP and RP (or

cur-RP as it is called in this paper), while Wells (1982) divides RP into five varieties, "U-RP," an

upper-class accent, and "mainstream RP," a less marked variety, being the most important ones. In

the following description, I will focus on what I consider to be the core of RP, i.e. the characteristics of RP that both Upton and Wells mention (see 3.2.1).

One of the most recognizable vowels of RP is the vowel /ɑ:/ in BATH words such as *staff, after, past* and *dance* (Wells 1982, 232-233). Another easily identifiable vowel is the GOAT vowel /əʊ/ heard in words such as *soap, clothe, own* and *soldier* (Upton 2004, 225; Wells 1982, 147). The THOUGHT, NORTH and FORCE vowels are all represented by /ɔ:/, which can be heard for instance in *caught, short* and *floor* (Wells 1982, 235). As for consonants, the pronunciation of /r/ is the key issue. Final position <r> is only pronounced in the case of linking /r/, that is before a vowel (Upton 2004, 226-227), but an intrusive /r/ can also be placed after /ə/, /ɑ:/ or /ɔ:/ and before a vowel, either between words as in *law and order* [lɔ:r ənd ˈɔ:də], or word-internally as in *drawing* [ˈdrɔ:rɪn] (Upton 2004, 228). In addition, Upton (2004, 229) and Wells (1982, 228-230) both talk about the characteristic RP pronunciation of *wh*-words, using [hw] instead of [w] in words such as *what, which* and *whether*, but come to the conclusion that in present-day RP [w] is the unmarked variant and [hw] can sometimes be heard in trad-RP when the speaker makes a conscious effort.

In SM1 CD 2 track 18, there is a stereotypical speaker of RP, a character who is a mother of an English family. Almost all of the most salient characteristics of RP can be heard in her accent with the exception of intrusive /r/, but this is explained by the fact that there are no environments present where intrusive /r/ typically occurs; also, no FORCE words are included in her lines. The BATH words *answer* and *chance* she pronounces with /ɑ:/, and the GOAT words *know, only* and *so* with /əʊ/. She has the vowel /ɔ:/ in the THOUGHT word *brought* and in the NORTH word *for*. She systematically deletes the final position /r/ when followed by a consonant, for instance in *girl, perfect* and *Normandy*, and preserves it prevocalically, for example in *here it* and *for a*. The *wh*-word *what* she pronounces with [w] as do practically all speakers of cur-RP.

Standard American English pronunciation

Standard American English (StAmE) is the standard variety in the United States. The accent associated with this variety (sometimes called "General American") "is composed of features that most highly educated speakers would not recognize as regionally or socially identifiable" (Kretzschmar 2004, 263). According to Prator and Robinett (1972), it is an accent that is present in some form from Ohio to the west coast of US (quoted in Wells 1982, 118); only the east and the south of US have clearly localizable accents, distinct from StAmE pronunciation (Wells 1982, 118).

Wells (1982, 245) and Kretzschmar (2004, 263) agree that in StAmE, the LOT vowel is unrounded unlike in RP, for instance, resulting in the vowel /ɑ/. Also, the BATH, CLOTH and THOUGHT vowels have lost their distinctive length resulting in /æ/, /ɔ/ and /ɔ/ respectively (Wells 1982, 247). The most characteristic consonant-related feature in StAmE is probably the realization of intervocalic /t/ as a tap, [ɾ], a consonant reminding many non-Americans of /d/ which makes the words *latter* and *ladder* both sound like [lærɚ] (Wells 1982, 248; Kretzschmar 2004, 267). /t/ can also be voiced before a vowel in consonant clusters such as –kt– or –rt–, e.g. *party* [pɑɹɾi], and it is often removed from intervocalic –nt– clusters, e.g. *winter* [wɪnɚ] (Kretzschmar 2004, 267). The last characteristic of StAmE that both Wells and Kretzschmar mention is the absence of yod, /j/, from historical /ju/, in nearly all other environments except after labials (*beauty, music*) and velars (*cute, cure*) (Wells 1982, 247).

A typical StAmE speaker can be heard in SM2 CD 6 track 24, a character presenting herself as a girl from Gowrie, Iowa. She pronounces the LOT vowel as /ɑ/ in the word *holiday*. The short versions of the BATH, CLOTH and THOUGHT vowels, namely /æ/, /ɔ/ and /ɔ/, can be heard in the words *last, horror* and *all* respectively. A tap is heard as a realization of the intervocalic /t/ in *celebrate it* and *treating*; the tap is also present in the consonant cluster –rt– in the words *thirty* and *party* but missing in the word *fourteen*. The consonant cluster –nt– is, however, pronounced with [t] in the words *elementary* and *contest* even though the <t> could be left unpronounced. According to

the StAmE rule concerning yod, it is absent in the pronunciation of *new* but present in the pronunciation of *music*.

Canadian English pronunciation

In Canada, English coexists with French as the country's official language and is spoken as a mother tongue by 63 per cent of the population (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 89, 91). Canadian English (CanE) has been strongly influenced by both British and American English, which can be seen in all levels of the language; however, it is AmE that clearly dominates in CanE phonology (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 94).

The features that clearly distinguish CanE pronunciation from that of StAmE are vocalic. The most notable characteristic is the Canadian raising, concerning the PRICE and MOUTH vowels. The PRICE vowel /aɪ/ has two allophones, "raised to lower-mid position before voiceless consonants and low-central or low-back elsewhere"; and the MOUTH vowel /aʊ/ has three allophones, "raised before voiceless consonants, fronted to [aʊ] or [æʊ] before nasals, and low-central elsewhere" (Boberg 2004, 360). Another distinctive feature of CanE is the THOUGHT-LOT merger: both vowels are realized as /ɑ/, making word pairs such as *cot-caught* and *stock-stalk* homophones (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 96). The consonant systems of CanE and StAmE have virtually no differences (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 96).

There are 13 separate characters with 20 extracts in SM told to be Canadian but the features unique to CanE, the Canadian raising and the THOUGHT-LOT merger, are not present in any of these extracts.

New Zealand English pronunciation

English is the first language of 95 per cent of the population in New Zealand (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 107). New Zealand English (NZE) has been influenced by Standard English English, Australian English and Maori (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 109; Bauer & Warren 2004, 581); even

now, NZE shares most of the phonemes of RP, even though the phonetic realization is very different (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 111).

The merging of the vowels NEAR and SQUARE in NZE is the only difference to the phonemic set of RP: the vowels can sound identical varying from [iə] to [eə], making words such as *beer* and *bear* homophones (Bauer & Warren 2004, 582; Melchers & Shaw 2003, 110). The vowel which distinguishes NZE most clearly from Australian English is the KIT vowel: in NZE, this vowel is very centralized, [ə] rather than [ɪ] (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 110). The NURSE vowel is rounded and fronted in NZE, resulting in [ɵ] or [ø], and the vowel in BATH, PALM and START is the fronted [a:] (Bauer & Warren 2004, 582; Melchers & Shaw 2003, 110). NZE is mostly non-rhotic but in the Scottish Southland-Otago region non-prevocalic /r/ can be heard more often, especially after the NURSE vowel, as for instance in *bird* or *girl* (Bauer & Warren 2004, 594). Another possibly Scottish-influenced feature is the pronunciation of *wh*-words as [hw] instead of [w], even though Bauer and Warren (2004, 585) consider it to be used only by "some conservative speakers." Finally, the NZE /l/ can be dark or vocalized in coda position, and the vocalized /l/ may influence the preceding vowel: for instance *help* can be realized as [hæʉp] (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 113).

A recognizable speaker of NZE can be heard in SM2 CD 1 track 9, a female character from New Zealand. The feature which clearly distinguishes the speaker from an Australian speaker is the centralized KIT vowel: she pronounces the words *live, think* and *bridge* with [ə]; only in *things* a vowel closer to [ɪ] can be heard. The NEAR-SQUARE merger is not completely present in her speech since no SQUARE words are heard, but the NEAR word *here* is pronounced with [iə]. The NURSE vowel is fronted and rounded in the words *world* and *first*; no /r/ is heard in these words, as would be typical of the Southland-Otago region. No BATH, PALM or START words are present in the extract. The /l/ in *call* and *cool* is dark but not vocalized. The *wh*-word *what* she pronounces with [w], which is, according to Bauer and Warren (2004, 585), in line with the speech of younger New Zealanders.

Scottish Standard English pronunciation

The simple notion "Scottish English" does not describe the many-sided variety of English in Scotland; rather, Scottish English can be seen as a continuum, where the most prestigious variety is Scottish Standard English (ScStE) and the least prestigious is broad Scots (Stuart-Smith 2004, 47). ScStE is typically spoken by the educated middle class, but it can be used by all speakers in more formal situations (Stuart-Smith 2004, 47). It is often regarded as "Standard English pronounced with a Scottish accent", with some innovations in vocabulary and grammar (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 63).

One peculiarity of Scottish pronunciation is the voiceless velar fricative /x/ in words that contain <gh> or <ch> such as the scotticisms *loch* and *dreigh* 'dull' (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 64). Another easily identifiable feature of ScStE is the firm rhoticity, where the phonetic realization of /r/ varies from approximants to alveolar taps; trilled r's are rarely heard, despite the stereotype (Stuart-Smith 2004, 63). /l/ is usually dark in all positions in ScStE (Stuart-Smith 2004, 63). As for vowels, one of the most distinctive features of ScStE is the unique vowel length system. Monophthongs, or according to recent studies, only /i/ and /ʉ/, become long; and diphthongs, or possibly only /ai/, change their quality in the following environments: before /r/ (e.g. *beer*), before voiced fricatives (e.g. *breathe, prize*), and before any kind of boundary, such as morpheme boundary (e.g. *bee, agreed*) (Stuart-Smith 2004, 57). Another noteworthy characteristic of ScStE vowels is the lack of centralized diphthongs due to rhoticity, resulting in /ir/ for NEAR, /er/ for SQUARE, and /ur/ for CURE (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 65-66).

In SM2 CD 3 track 13, we have a Scottish character, a woman from Inverness. She has many features of ScStE in her speech, even though no NEAR, SQUARE or CURE words or words with <gh> or <ch> are present. Her accent is completely rhotic, and the /r/ is realized as an alveolar tap between vowels, as in *very* and *serious*, and as an approximant before a consonant, as in *start, words* and *girls*. The /l/ is pronounced dark in words such as *well, bullying, school* and *tell*. The vowel length system does not apply to all of her vowels, and not even strictly to all of her /i/, /ʉ/ and

/ai/ sounds. However, in the words *please* and *Steve* the vowel is the long [i:], the words *you, do* and *too* are pronounced with the long [ʉ:], and the word *I* is pronounced as [ae] while *right* and *write* have [ai] in them, in accordance with the ScStE system.

General Australian English pronunciation

Australia has around 20 million inhabitants of which a little less than 18 million speak English as their first language (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 100). Australian English (AusE) is on its way of becoming the third reference variety alongside RP and StAmE, as it is codified in important dictionaries and used in EFL teaching in Asia (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 101). AusE is usually divided into three main varieties: Broad AusE, the most marked variety with the least prestige; Cultivated AusE, the closest to RP with the most prestige; and General AusE, the most neutral variety spoken by the majority of Australians (Horvath 2004, 625). In the following description I will focus on the features of General AusE since it is the variety of the majority and clearly distinct from RP.

AusE has many distinctive features in common with NZE. One of these is the fronted [a:] in BATH, PALM and START words, even though the TRAP vowel [æ] is often heard in many BATH words such as *dance* and *plant* (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 105). Another shared feature is the tendency to make the diphthongs FACE, PRICE, GOAT and MOUTH wider than in RP; in General AusE, the representations of these diphthongs are [æe], [ɑe], [əʉ] and [æɔ] respectively (Horvath 2004, 630). Similar to StAmE, AusE has the tendency to use the tap, [ɾ], when /t/ is in intervocalic positions (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 106). Also, the deletion of /h/ in initial position in words that are not stressed, e.g. *his* and *her*, is commonplace in AusE (Horvath 2004, 636).

In SM2 CD 1 track 17, there is a fairly typical speaker of General AusE, a female character from Brisbane. She pronounces PRICE words such as *right, guy* and *like* with [ɑe], GOAT words such as *go, no* and *closed* with [əʉ], and MOUTH words such as *around* and *now* with [æɔ]. The fourth diphthong FACE is also wider than in RP but not exactly [æe]; rather, something around [æɪ]

is heard in numerous words including *mate, tape, way* and *play*. No BATH, PALM or START words are present in the extract. Intervocalic /t/ can be heard as a tap in *brutal* and *whatever*. The only feature that is not in line with typical AusE is the pronunciation of /h/: it is pronounced in all unstressed words in initial position, such as *his*.

Welsh English pronunciation

English has a fully established position in Wales even though Welsh is the original language of the Welsh people and still spoken by one-sixth of the three million population (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 54). The influence of Welsh can be clearly seen in the most salient features of Welsh English (WelshE) phonology (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 57).

One vowel in which the Welsh influence is visible is the STRUT vowel: it is realized as schwa which is very similar to a common Welsh vowel (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 57). The situation with FACE and GOAT vowels is complex, but it is common to have [e:] instead of [ei] in FACE words and [o:] instead of [ou] in GOAT words (Penhallurick 2004, 104-105). Also, the diphthongs PRICE and MOUTH are distinct in WelshE in that the first part of the diphthongs is centralized, resulting in [əi] and [əu] respectively (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 57). WelshE is non-rhotic unlike Welsh, but there are other consonant features that are influenced by Welsh. Firstly, nearly all consonants are lengthened in word-medial position. (Penhallurick 2004, 111). Secondly, when the spelling <ll> occurs in Welsh based words such as place names, it is pronounced as a voiceless /l/ (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 57).

A recognizable speaker of WelshE can be heard in SM1 CD 3 track 4, a character who is a boy from Cardiff. On most occasions, he pronounces FACE words with [e:], e.g. *Wales, say, same* and *Davis*, and GOAT words with [o:], e.g. *home* and *Jones*. The first part of the diphthong in PRICE is certainly closer than in /aɪ/ but not as central as /ə/, which can be heard in the words *nine* and *I*. No MOUTH or STRUT words are present in the extract. His accent is non-rhotic, as he does

not pronounce the r's in *Cardiff* and *fourteen*, for instance. One occurrence of a long medial consonant is heard in the word *Scottish*. There are no Welsh words with <ll> in the extract.

Irish English pronunciation

English is an official language in Ireland alongside Irish Gaelic, usually simply called Irish (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 72). Irish has the status of the national language and major efforts have been made to revive and maintain the language among the Irish people, but the number of native Irish speakers can nevertheless be measured in thousands; English, on the other hand, is spoken by the whole population (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 73). Irish has most probably had an impact on many of the key features of Irish English (IrE) phonology (Hickey 2004, 81).

IrE tends to replace fricatives by the dental stops /t/ and /d/, making such words as *tin* and *thin* homophones (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 76). Post- and intervocalic /t/ is often lenited, i.e. weakened, resulting in sounds like [ts] or [tʃ] (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 74). *Wh*-words are pronounced with [hw] and /l/ is clear, i.e. alveolar in all positions (Hickey 2004, 81). Speakers of IrE also use schwa epenthesis, meaning that they add /ə/ to heavy consonant clusters as in *film* [fɪləm] (ibid.). Finally, the IrE accent is rhotic (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 76).

In SM3 CD 5 track 14 we can hear a male character told to be Irish, whose accent is mostly in line with IrE. He doesn't replace fricatives by pure dental stops but something like [th] can be heard in the word *think*, while *the* and *this* are pronounced with /ð/. The lenition of /t/ is heard in the words *about* and *it*, again resulting in a sound close to [th]. He pronounces /l/ as alveolar in all instances, *album, still* and *I'll,* and his accent is completely rhotic, which is heard in various words including *born, personally* and *better*. He doesn't use [hw] in wh-words, as *when, why* and *what* are pronounced with [w]. The extract does not include words where schwa epenthesis would be possible.

4.3.2   Outer circle accents

In this section, the dominant accents of the four outer circle countries, India, Barbados, South

Africa and Kenya, are introduced.

Indian English pronunciation

In 2003, there were 935,7 million inhabitants in India and 37 million of them had a functional

command of English (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 136). As there are hundreds of indigenous languages

in the country and people of different educational backgrounds use English for different purposes,

there cannot be said to exist a single Indian variety of English, but rather the term Indian English

(IndE) covers all the different varieties of English that are spoken as a second language in India

(Melchers & Shaw 2003, 136-138; Gargesh 2004, 992). The following description focuses on the

features common to most IndE varieties.

The most distinctive features of IndE have to do with consonants, and out of these the most

stereotypical characteristic must be the retroflex realization of /t/ and /d/, making them /ʈ/ and /ɖ/

instead (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 139). Also, the voiceless stops /t/, /p/ and /k/ are not aspirated at

the beginning of a syllable (Gargesh 2004, 997). The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ do not exist but are

replaced by either dental stops, [t̪] and [d̪] respectively, or /θ/ can also be realized as [t] or as an

aspirated [tʰ] (Melchers & Shaw 2003, 139; Gargesh 2004, 998). The IndE vowel system varies

significantly according to the native language of the speaker, but at least the diphthongs FACE and

GOAT tend to be made into monophthongs by the majority of speakers, creating /e:/ and /o:/,

respectively (Trudgill & Hannah 1982, 106). Also, the realizations of the vowels LOT, THOUGHT

and PALM may overlap, so that some THOUGHT words might be pronounced with /ɑ:/, for

example (Trudgill & Hannah 1982, 106; Gargesh 2004, 997).

There are three Indian speakers in SM, all male characters, one of them only speaking for

one second in SM1 CD 1 track 33, another one speaking for 24 seconds in SM1 CD 1 track 2, and

the third one having a longer passage in SM3 CD 3 track 7. The shortest extract is too short for a

significant analysis. Both of the longer extracts only exhibit one IndE feature, the retroflex stops /ʈ/ and /ɖ/, but it is enough to make the whole accent sound distinct since these consonants occur very frequently in the extracts. The retroflex quality of these sounds is not strong, though, and it is not present everywhere, like in the words *winter*, *had* and *types* in the third extract. Otherwise the third Indian speaker is not in line with IndE. His voiceless stops are aspirated syllable-initially, for instance in *taken*, *could* and *pulla*. /θ/ is used in all words including *thing, thought* and *nothing*, as is /ð/, for example in *though, another* and *that*. He pronounces FACE words, such as *great, maybe* and *safe*, with /eɪ/, and GOAT words, including *so, home* and *noticed*, with /oʊ/; there is one GOAT word, however, *don't*, which is realized as /o:/. There is no confusion between LOT, THOUGHT and PALM words: all LOT words like *honest* and *dropped* are pronounced with /ɒ/, and all THOUGHT words such as *walking* and *thought* are pronounced with /ɔ:/. No PALM words are present in the extract.

Bajan pronunciation

Barbados is a small Caribbean island with approximately 250 000 inhabitants (Blake 2004, 501). The official language of the country is English but an English-related Creole, Bajan, is also widely spoken (ibid.). It has been questioned, however, whether Bajan is really a Creole or whether it is a dialect of English; whatever its status, Bajan is closer to Standard English than any other Anglophone Creole in the Caribbean due to the extensive contact between English and Bajan (Blake 2004, 502-503).

There are three phonological features of Bajan that are clearly distinct from the other Caribbean English Creoles (CEC): rhoticity, use of glottal stops, and the PRICE/PRIZE vowel (Blake 2004, 503). Glottal stops are used in the place of the voiceless obstruents [p, t, k] at the end of a syllable, as in departments [dɪˈpaːɹʔmənʔs]. In other CECs, the first element of the PRICE/PRIZE vowel is [a] but in Bajan, the diphthong is [ʌɪ]. Other features, that are characteristic of both Bajan and other CECs, include the monophthong vowels in FACE and GOAT: they are

realized as [e:] and [o:], respectively (Blake 2004, 504). Also, Bajan usually has unreduced vowels in unstressed syllables instead of the reduced ones (ibid.).

There are two speakers from Barbados in SM, a female and a male character, both in SM1 CD 1 track 33. The female character has some traces of a Bajan accent in her pronunciation but for the most part, her accent does not manifest the features of Bajan. The extract has only two words where the rhotic /r/ could appear, and the first one, *our*, is pronounced with /r/, while the other one, *later*, is not pronounced with /r/. The consonants /p, t, k/ are never replaced by a glottal stop in syllable-final position, as in the words *meet*, *thank* and *country*. The PRICE word *nice* is pronounced with [aɪ] instead of the Bajan [ʌɪ]. There is variation in the realizations of the FACE and GOAT vowels: the words *day* and *later* are pronounced with a diphthong whereas *name* and another occurrence of *day* have a vowel closer to a monophthong in them; similarly, the words *hello* and *so* have a clearer diphthong in them while the vowel in *home* is closer to a monophthong. Schwa is used in all unstressed syllables instead of the unreduced vowels, for instance in the words *again*, *to* and *later*.

Black South African English pronunciation

In South Africa, two main varieties of English exist: "White South African English" which is an L1 variety (Bowerman 2004, 931), and "Black South African English" (BlSAfE) which is an African L2 variety (Van Rooy 2004, 943). Thus South Africa might be placed in both the inner and outer circle depending on the group of speakers in question. There is only one South African speaker in SM, and she is told to live in a township of Cape Town. According to the SM vocabulary of the chapter where the particular speaker is heard, a township is a city inhabited by black population (SM1E, 5). Therefore the assumption is that the speaker speaks BlSAfE and this L2 variety is dealt with here.

BlSAfE does not generally make the distinction between long and short vowels that many native varieties of English do: usually, KIT and FLEECE are both realized as /i/, FOOT and

GOOSE are pronounced /u/, and LOT and THOUGHT have /ɔ/ in them (Van Rooy 2004, 945, 947). Also, the centring diphthongs SQUARE, NEAR and CURE are reduced to the monophthongs /ɛ/, /e/ and /o/ respectively (Van Rooy 2004, 946, 948). There is a lot of variation in the case of dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ and palatal fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. The voiceless fricatives are more likely to be pronounced as such, but the voiced /ð/ and /ʒ/ are more often replaced by other sounds: /ð/ is usually [d] and /ʒ/ can turn into [s] or [z] (Van Rooy 2004, 949-950). Moreover, the voiceless affricate /tʃ/ can be realized as /ʃ/, and the voiced /dʒ/ as /ʃ/ or /ʒ/ (ibid.). /r/ is most often realized as a trilled [r] in BlSAfE (Van Rooy 2004, 950).

The only South African speaker is heard in SM1 CD 1 track 2, a female character from Cape Town, as previously mentioned. Since the extract is only 26 seconds long, a little more than half of the features examined here are not present in the extract: there are no SQUARE, NEAR or CURE words, or the consonants /ʒ/, /tʃ/ or /dʒ/. In regard to the features that are present, the speaker's accent is not completely in line with BlSAfE. There is no significant difference between KIT and FLEECE vowels, as the words *live, Finland, means* and *meet* all have /i/ in them; however, /i:/ is heard in the word *we*. Similarly, the LOT word *clock* and the THOUGHT word *called* both have /ɔ/ in them. Conversely, the GOOSE word *too* has /u:/ in it, while *you* is heard in the unstressed form /jʊ/. The fricative /ð/ is not replaced by [d] in the words *the* and *that*. Finally, the /r/ sound is trilled whenever it is pronounced: these words are *from, Africa* and *are*.

East African English pronunciation

Kenya is an East African country where English is mostly used as a second language (Schmied 2004, 921-923) while there are 40 indigenous languages and also a widely spoken local lingua franca, Kiswahili (Bobda 2000, 252). The varieties of English spoken in Kenya and in the neighboring countries Uganda and Tanzania can be said to form a "coherent descriptive entity", East African English (EAfE) (Schmied 2004, 918), and the following description focuses on the features of this broader variety.

The vowels of EAfE are very similar to the vowels of African Englishes in general, but one distinctive feature is /a/ in NURSE words, leading to pronunciations such as /tam/ for *term* and /tati/ for *thirty* (Bobda 2000, 256). Also, the diphthongs FACE and MOUTH are reduced to near monophthongs as the second element is hardly pronounced (Schmied 2004, 927). Probably the most characteristic consonant-related feature of EAfE is the merger of /r/ and /l/: the RP pronunciation [lori] can deviate either in the direction of [loli] or [rori] (Schmied 2004, 926). The fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are usually problematic and replaced by /t/, /s/ or /f/ and /d/, /z/ or /v/ respectively (ibid.). Many native languages in East Africa have CV-CV syllable structure and this affects EAfE in that final vowels, usually [ɪ] or [ʊ], tend to be added to closed syllables, creating pronunciations such as [spɪrɪnɪ] for *spring* and [bʊkʊ] for *book* (Schmied 2004, 929). In addition, /ɔ/ is typically placed in final syllables of words that end in /l/, as in /lɔkɔl/ *local* and /fɔmɔl/ *formal* (Bobda 2000, 256).

The only Kenyan speaker in SM is a male character heard in SM3 CD 3 track 7, but his accent does not exhibit any of the EAfE features examined in this paper. He pronounces the NURSE word *earth* with /ɜ:/ and *were* with /ɛ:/. The diphthongs FACE and MOUTH are realized fully as /eɪ / and /aʊ/ in all words including *always, came* and *they*, and *about, how* and *counter*, respectively. /r/ and /l/ maintain their distinctive quality in words such as *really* and *voluntarily*. /θ/ and /ð/ are pronounced as such in, for example, *earth, think, the* and *weather*. No final vowels are added to any closed syllables. The only word ending with an /l/, *people*, is pronounced /pipəl/, not /pipɔl/.

4.3.3 Expanding circle accents

Finally, I will introduce the learner accents of the various expanding circle countries, Finland, France, Belarus, Mexico, China, Norway, Germany, Denmark, Italy, Greece and Poland.

Finnish pronunciation

Finnish is a Fenno-Ugric language whereas English belongs to the Indo-European language family, and thus learning English may be very challenging for Finns (Meriläinen 2010, 1). However, this genetic difference is compensated by the fact that English is the most common foreign language in Finnish schools and omnipresent in the media (Lintunen 2004, 1). Some of the main difficulties in English pronunciation for Finns stem from the different grapheme-phoneme correspondence systems and the fact that English has a large number of phonemes that do not exist in Finnish (ibid., 65, 67, 73).

Finnish has a near one-to-one grapheme-phoneme correspondence while the English system is vastly more complicated. One result of this difference is that Finns tend to replace schwa with the sound implied by the orthography or with the closest Finnish equivalent, /ø/ (ibid., 71). Otherwise Finns do not have major problems with English vowels; the consonants are much more challenging (Sajavaara & Dufva 2001, 249). The English fortis-lenis opposition in consonants does not exist in Finnish, and one of the consequences is that Finns tend not to aspirate the fortis plosives /t/, /p/ and /k/ in word-initial position (ibid., 250). There are 11 English consonant phonemes that are new to Finns and out of these particularly the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, the sibilants /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, and the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ cause problems. /θ/ and /ð/ may be replaced by /t/ and /d/ or, more rarely, /f/ and /v/ respectively (Lintunen 2004, 79). All three sibilants, /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, might be pronounced as the only Finnish sibilant, /s/ (ibid., 80). The closest counterpart for both /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ in Finnish is /ts/ but sometimes the latter is also realized as /dz/, or the two phonemes might be confused with one another (ibid., 81).

The Finnish speaker in SM2 CD 2 track 13, a character who is a girl from Finland, has some traces of a Finnish accent in her pronunciation. Mostly she uses schwa appropriately in unstressed positions, but some deviations do occur: for instance, the word *Switzerland* is pronounced /switsørlænd/ and *nature* /neɪtʃør/. Similarly, the majority of her fortis stops are aspirated at the beginning of a word but some problems are heard in the case of /k/ and /p/: there is no aspiration of

/k/ in *cottages* and /p/ in *problem* and *pretty*. The fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are realized as such in all words including *thank, thought* and *south,* and *the*, *another* and *these*, respectively. There is nearly no confusion with the sibilants /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ as they are pronounced as such in most words but the word *sure* has a consonant closer to /s/ in it. The affricate /tʃ/ is always realized as such but /dʒ/ only sometimes since the words *enjoy* and *cottages* have /tʃ/ in them instead.

French pronunciation

French is a Romance language spoken in various countries all over the world besides France. English has been greatly influenced by French and its ancestor, Latin, but this influence is mostly seen in syntax and vocabulary while there are some major differences in phonology, especially in regard to vowels. (Walter 2001, 52.)

Among the many English vowels that do not have an equivalent in French are /ʌ/, /ɒ/, /ɔː/ and /əʊ/. The French pronunciation of /ʌ/ often comes close to /ə/, making *much* sound like "mirch". /ɒ/ may be replaced by the unrounded /ɑ/, creating confusion between *not* and *nut*. Both /ɔː/ and /əʊ/ tend to be pronounced with /o/ which makes *naught* and *note* homophones. There are only a few consonants that are not shared by English and French. The fricative /θ/ is usually replaced by /s/, /f/ or /t/ and /ð/ by /z/, /v/ or /d/, so that *think* might sound like *sink*, for example. The stop sounds in the beginning of the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are often left out creating /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ respectively. There is no /h/ in French and this sound is typically simply dropped by French speakers. Finally, as final written consonants are often not pronounced in French, for example the *-s* marking plural, this tendency might be transferred to English, as well. (Walter 2001, 53-56.)

One of the three speakers in SM told to be French is heard in SM1 CD 2 track 28, a female character from France. Her accent has some very distinctive French features in it but yet the accent only exhibits a minority of the features typical of French speakers examined in this paper. Nearly none of the vocalic features are present in her accent: *come* is pronounced with /ʌ/, *along* and *on* have /ɒ/ in them, and /əʊ/ is not replaced by /o/ but /oʊ/ is heard instead in *go, road* and *hope*, for

example. Only the vowel /ɔː/ is replaced by /o/ in the word *alright*, although it remains as such in *you're*. The French influence is mainly present in regard to one sound, /ð/, which is realized as something between /z/ and /f/ in all the words *this, the, then* and *there*. No words with /θ/, /tʃ/ or /dʒ/ are present in the extract. /h/ is dropped in the word *help* but pronounced in the word *hope*. None of the final written consonants are dropped, not even the –*s* in *kilometres*.

Belarusian pronunciation

Belarusian is an East Slavonic language, and as such very closely related to Russian, spoken mainly in Belarus and some other countries of the former Soviet Union (Mayo 1993, 887-890). I could not get hold of a description of a Belarusian accent of English but instead I am comparing a description of a Russian accent of English (Monk & Burak 2001, 145-161) with Belarusian phonology (Mayo 1993, 887-946) and using those characteristics of the Russian accent that stem from features that are present in Belarusian, as well.

Neither Russian nor Belarusian has the English vowels /ɜː/, /ɑː/ and /ɔː/. /ɜː/ tends to be replaced by its closest counterpart /ɛ/ or /o/, probably due to the influence of orthography in words such as *work* and *worm*. The closest vowel to /ɑː/ in Russian and Belarusian is the more frontal /a/ and this is usually used instead. /ɔː/ can either be realized as /o/ or /oʊ/, leading to confusion between words such as *not, nought* and *note*. The fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are not present in Russian or Belarusian and are typically replaced by /s/ and /z/ respectively, making *youthful* sound like *useful* and *then* sound like *zen*. The nasal /ŋ/ is either pronounced as /n/ or /g/, so that for instance the word *wing* could sound like *win* or *wig*. Finally, the absence of /h/ in Russian and Belarusian may lead to a sound close to the velar fricative /x/ (heard in the Scottish word *loch*, for example) being produced instead. (Monk & Burak 2001, 146-147; Mayo 1993, 891.)

The only Belarusian character in SM is heard in three different extracts, in tracks 7, 8 and 10 in SM3 CD 2, a woman from Belarus. However, her accent is in accordance with the features of Belarusian accent presented here only in the case of one word, *heard*, which is pronounced /hɜrd/

instead of /hɜ:d/. The vowel /ɑ:/ is not replaced by /a/ anywhere but it is realized differently in different words: *car* is pronounced /kɑ:r/, *plant* /plænt/, and *mask* /mɑ:sk/). Similarly, /ɔ:/ is never replaced by /o/ or /oʊ/, including the words *talking*, *all* and *saw*. /θ/ and /ð/ are always pronounced as such, for example in the words *anything, thought* and *throat*, and *there, other* and *with*, respectively. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is heard in all words instead of /n/ or /g/, including *everything, things* and *crying*, and the glottal fricative /h/ is used everywhere instead of /x/, for example in *heard, houses* and *he*.

Mexican pronunciation

The main language of Mexico is Spanish, a Romance language spoken widely in South and Central Americas as well as Spain. Even though English and Spanish are both Indo-European languages and English has been influenced by Latin, there are major differences in phonology, particularly in the vowel systems. (Coe 2001, 90.)

There are fewer vowels in Spanish than in English, so for example the English /ɑ:/, /æ/ and /ʌ/ are usually all realized as /a/, causing confusion between words such as *cart, cat* and *cut*. Likewise, there is no /ɜ:/ or /ə/ in Spanish: /ɜ:/ can become /ir/ in *bird* and /er/ in *Bert*; /ə/ is typically replaced by the stressed version of the written vowel, for instance /abaut/ for about. The only English diphthong that does not exist in Spanish is /əʊ/, and it is often pronounced as /ɔ:/, making *coat* sound like *caught*, for example. The voiceless plosives /t/, /k/ and /p/ are not aspirated in syllable-initial position by Spanish speakers. There is no /z/ in Spanish and thus /s/ is heard instead, making words such as *lacy* and *lazy* homophones. Finally, confusion may arise from the fact that Spanish only has one consonant in the area of /b/ and /v/: *bowels* and *vowels* might have the same pronunciation. (Coe 2001, 91-93.)

One of the three Mexican speakers in SM is found in SM2 CD 6 track 12, a female character who has come to the USA as an illegal immigrant from Mexico. Only a minority of the features typical of Spanish L1 speakers examined here is heard in her accent, and often the Spanish

characteristics are present in proper names. The only word where /æ/ has been replaced by /a/ is *California*; the words *after, family* and *swam*, for example, have /æ/ in them. Similarly, *money, month* and *some* are pronounced with /ʌ/, and *harvested* and *start* with the rhotic equivalent of /ɑ:/, /ɑr/. The rhotic version of /ɜ:/, /ɜr/, is also heard in the words *work, were* and *first*. /ə/ is used appropriately in all unstressed positions, for instance in *across, succeeded* and *for*. The diphthong /əʊ/ is not replaced by /ɔ:/ anywhere but mostly the StAmE variant /oʊ/ is heard, for example in *no, almost* and *goes*; the word *Mexico*, however, has /o/ in it. The only sign of Spanish influence that can be observed in the speaker's consonants is that some of the voiceless plosives are not aspirated, such as the /k/ sound in *came* and *California* and the /p/ sound in *pay*. Conversely, all the initial /t/ sounds, in words such as *time* and *took*, are slightly aspirated, as are the initial sounds in *could* and *patrol*, as well. None of the voiced /z/ sounds are replaced by the voiceless /s/, including the words *wasn't, grapes* and *is*, and there is no confusion between /v/ and /b/ in words such as *everyone, have, border* and *back*.

Chinese pronunciation

Chinese is the native language of around one fifth of the world's population, spoken mainly in China, Taiwan and Singapore. It is thus understandable that it is not a uniform language but it consists of eight different dialect groups (or languages), the most widely spoken variety being Northern i.e. Mandarin Chinese. English and Chinese, in all its different varieties, have very little in common due to belonging to different language families, and Chinese speakers tend to find speaking English challenging. (Chang 2001, 310-311.)

Since many English vowels are more similar to each other than the Chinese vowels are, the English vowel contrasts cause problems for Chinese speakers: it can be difficult to make a distinction between /i:/ and /ɪ/ and /u:/ and /ʊ/, which leads to confusion between pairs like *eat* and *it* and *fool* and *full*. Also, there is no /æ/ in Chinese and it can be replaced by the nasalized /æ̃/ or /ɑ:/, /ʌ/ or /e/, making the word *cap*, for instance, sound like /kæ̃p/, *carp, cup* or *"kep"*. As for

consonants, the voiced stops /b/, /d/ and /g/ are voiceless in Chinese and this is carried over to English, as well, but they remain unaspirated which can help to distinguish them from /p/, /t/ and /k/. There is no /v/ in most Chinese dialects and it might be replaced by /w/ or /f/, creating pronunciations like *"inwite"* for *invite*. The closest counterpart for the English /h/ in Chinese is a heavily aspirated velar fricative, /x/, and this is usually used instead of /h/. Finally, Chinese only has a few final consonants and thus Chinese speakers tend to either add a vowel after the final consonant or to replace it by a minor glottal or unreleased stop, resulting in such pronunciations as /dʌkə/ or /dʌʔ/ for *duck*. (Chang 2001, 311-312.)

There are two Chinese characters in SM, one is a girl from Hong Kong in SM1 CD 1 track 2, and the other one a Chinese boy in SM2 CD 6 track 27. The girl's extract is only 20 seconds long and does not exhibit any of the features typical of Chinese speakers examined here. The boy's extract is longer but only one word is pronounced in accordance with the Chinese accent, the word *house* which has the velar fricative /x/ instead of the English glottal fricative. The words *happy*, *have* and *hair*, however, are pronounced with /h/. There is no confusion between /i:/ and /ɪ/ in the numerous words with these phonemes such as *believe*, *big*, *still* and *between*; the same applies to /u:/ and /ʊ/, for example in the passage *to you too*. He pronounces /æ/ always as such, including in the words *happy, can't* and *have*. The plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/ remain voiced in *big, different* and *great*, for example, and /v/ is realized as such in all words including *Eve, have* and *festival*. Also, final consonants do not seem to cause any problems as he does not add any extra vowels or replace the consonants with glottal or unreleased stops.

Norwegian pronunciation

Norwegian is a Scandinavian language belonging, together with English, to the Germanic branch of the Indo-European family. In addition to the common roots of these languages, they have been in contact with each other later on, as well, and thus Norwegians do not find English pronunciation particularly difficult to learn. (Davidsen-Nielsen & Harder 2001, 21.)

Pronunciation and spelling have a closer connection in Norwegian than in English, and this may influence the Norwegian pronunciation: in Norwegian, only <e> is pronounced with a schwa, so when some other letter should be realized as the unstressed /ə/, the stressed form of the vowel is typically used, for instance /ɒ/ in *commercial*. Other vowels that can cause difficulties are /æ/, /eɪ/, /əʊ/ and /aʊ/. Even though /e/ exists in Norwegian and /æ/ does not, /e/ can be replaced by /æ/, making *bed* sound like *bad*. The diphthong /eɪ/ is often pronounced as the more open /æɪ/. The distinction between /əʊ/ and /aʊ/ tends to be challenging, and /əʊ/ is usually realized as /au/ or /ɒu/. The fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ do not exist in Norwegian and are typically replaced by /t/ and /d/ respectively. Also, there are no /ʒ/, /tʃ/ or /dʒ/ sounds in Norwegian: the voiced /ʒ/ tends to become the voiceless /ʃ/ and the sibilants in the affricates are usually replaced by /j/, turning /tʃ/ into /tj/ and /dʒ/ into /dj/. (Davidsen-Nielsen & Harder 2001, 22-24.)

The only Norwegian speaker is a male character heard in SM2 CD 1 track 3, but his accent is not at all in line with Norwegian pronunciation in regard to the features examined in this paper. He uses schwa appropriately in all unstressed syllables even if the written vowel is something else than <e>, as in *and, some* and *about*. Similarly, /e/ is not replaced by /æ/ in the words *well* and *event*, and /eɪ/ is heard in all words including *afraid, crazy* and *they*. The diphthong /əʊ/ is not heard but it is replaced by the StAmE variant /oʊ/ instead of the Norwegian variants, for instance in the words *noticed, so* and *follow*. /ð/ is pronounced as such everywhere, for example in *the, they* and *without*, and /tʃ/ is heard in the words *cockroach* and *coach* instead of /tj/. No words with /θ/, /ʒ/ or /dʒ/ are present in the extract.

German pronunciation

German is an Indo-European language closely related to English, spoken in many European countries besides Germany. English phonology is so close to German that German speakers generally find English pronunciation fairly easy. (Swan 2001, 37.)

Among the English vowels that do not exist in German and are often problematic are /æ/, /ɔ:/, /əʊ/ and /eɪ/. /æ/ is often replaced by /e/, making *sat* sound like *set*. /ɔ:/ and /əʊ/ might both be realized as /o:/, causing confusion with pairs such as *caught* and *coat*. The diphthong /eɪ/ is sometimes reduced to the monophthong /e:/. The voiced consonants /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ are present but rare in German and they tend to be replaced by their voiceless equivalents, /ʃ/ and /tʃ/, so that *Jane* sounds like *chain*, for example. The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ do not exist in German and they are typically realized as /s/ and /z/ respectively, leading to *youthful* sounding like *useful* and *withered* like *wizard*. Also, the distinction between /v/ and /w/ may be difficult to make since German only has one phoneme in this area: *wine* may be pronounced as *vine*, and sometimes reversely, as well. (Swan 2001, 38-39.)

The only German speaker is a female character heard in SM3 CD 3 track 7, but her accent does not exhibit any of the features of a German accent examined here. All the features are, in fact, in line with RP. The vowel /æ/ is heard in all words including *language, hats* and *hanging*. There is no confusion between /ɔ:/ and /əʊ/ as words such as *talking* and *thought* have /ɔ:/ in them, and *know* and *owners* have /əʊ/. The diphthong /eɪ/ maintains its quality everywhere, for example in the words *great, amazing* and *makes*. The voiced affricate /dʒ/ is not replaced by its voiceless counterpart in any of the words present, *language, Germany* and *sausages*; no words with /ʒ/ are found in the extract. /θ/ and /ð/ are realized as such in all words such as *think* and *things* and *that* and *there*, respectively. There is a clear distinction between /v/ and /w/ as for instance the words *living* and *gloves* are pronounced with /v/ and *world* and *always* with /w/.

Danish pronunciation

Like Norwegian, Danish is a Germanic language and thus closely related to English. Given the close relationship between the languages both in the past and at present, it is understandable that English pronunciation does not pose serious problems to Danes. (Davidsen-Nielsen & Harder 2001, 21.)

The English monophthongs that do not occur in Danish and might therefore cause difficulties to Danish speakers include /ʌ/ and /ɪ/. /ʌ/ is usually realized as something between /ʌ/ and /ɒ/, creating confusion between pairs like *hut* and *hot*, especially as the Danish variant of /ɒ/ is slightly unrounded. /ɪ/ is typically pronounced as the more close /iː/, so that *sit* sounds like *seat*. Danes tend to replace the schwa by /ɒ/ in the centring diphthongs /ɪə/ (here), /eə/ (there) and /ʊə/ (tour), creating /ɪɒ/, /eɒ/ and /uɒ/ respectively. Among the consonants that are not present in Danish are the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ which is usually realized as /s/, making *thank* and *sank* homophones, and the approximant /w/ which can turn into /v/ instead: thus *vine* for *wine*. When the lenis plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/ are in a word-final position, they are typically pronounced as their fortis counterparts, /p/, /t/ and /k/, so that *said* may sound like *set*, for instance. Finally, Danes tend to maintain their own /r/ sound when pronouncing English, the same uvular [ʁ] as in languages such as French. (Davidsen-Nielsen & Harder 2001, 22-24.)

The only Danish speaker in SM is a female character in SM2 CD 1 track 7, but none of the characteristics of a Danish accent introduced here are present in her pronunciation; in fact, all the features are in line with RP. The vowel /ʌ/ is clearly heard in all words including *yummy, love* and *much*, and /ɪ/ is not replaced by /iː/ anywhere, for instance in s*wim, dinner* and *grill*. The diphthongs /ɪə/ and /eə/ are pronounced as such in *idea* and *there*, respectively, while no words with /ʊə/ are present. The fricative /θ/ can be heard in *anything* and /w/, for instance, in *what* and *swim*. The word-final /d/ is maintained in *good, food* and *sound* while there are no words ending with /b/ or /g/. The /r/ sound is never uvular but always the alveolar approximant [ɹ], in words such as *fresh* and *really*.

Italian pronunciation

Italian is a Romance language spoken in many countries in addition to Italy, and as such has a lot of elements in common with English given the Latin origin of much of the English vocabulary and syntax (Duguid 2001, 73). One of the main difficulties for italophone speakers in English

pronunciation has to do with the fact that spelling and pronunciation have a closer connection in Italian than in English (Duguid 2001, 74).

The influence of spelling on the Italian accent can be seen, for example, in the consistent pronunciation of the letter *r* whenever it is written, and in the pronunciation of double consonants as such, as in the word *summer*. Some of the phonemes that are not present in Italian and thus may cause problems when pronouncing English are /ɪ/, /æ/, /θ/, /ð/ and /h/. /ɪ/ is often realized as /i:/, causing confusion between pairs like *leave* and *live*. /æ/ can be pronounced as /e/, making *met* and *mat* homophones. /θ/ and /ð/ are usually replaced by /t/ and /d/ respectively, creating homophones such as *tin* and *thin*. Finally, /h/ is typically not pronounced at all. (Duguid 2001, 74-76.)

The only representative of an Italian accent can be found in SM3 CD 3 track 9, a male character from Sardinia, even though his accent is not vastly Italian in regard to the phonological features examined here. His accent is firmly rhotic, which is heard in various words including *years, careful* and *performing*. However, the double consonants in *getting* and *attention* are not pronounced lengthened but as short consonants. The vowel /ɪ/ is replaced with /i:/ in the word *Italy* but the words *Finland* and *big* have /ɪ/ in them. Similarly, /æ/ is not replaced by /e/ in the words *language* and *back*. The words *think* and *anything* are not pronounced with /t/ but the consonants are perhaps more interdental than the RP /θ/. There are no instances where the consonant /ð/ would be realized as /d/, but the word *the* is often pronounced with /t/ instead. No words with the phoneme /h/ are present in the extract.

Greek pronunciation

Greek is an Indo-European language spoken in Greece and Cyprus. Regardless of belonging to the same language family, Greek and English differ vastly in phonology, syntax and vocabulary. A major source of problems for Greek speakers is the fact that there are far more vowels in English than in Greek. (Papaefthymiou-Lytra 2001, 129.)

Among the English vowels that do not exist in Greek are /ɜ:/ and /ə/, and they are often replaced by /e/, making words such as *bird* sound like /berd/. The long vowels /ɑ:/, /ɔ:/ and /u:/ are typically shortened to /a/, /o/ and /u/ respectively. Also, the vowels /ɒ/ and /əʊ/ are usually produced as /o/, causing confusion between pairs like *hop* and *hope*. The few English consonants that do not exist in Greek include the sibilants /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ which are often replaced by /s/ and /z/ respectively, and /ŋ/ which is usually pronounced as /ŋg/. The Greek accent is also rhotic. (Papaefthymiou-Lytra 2001, 130-131.)

The only speaker told to be Greek is a female character heard in SM3 CD 3 track 9. However, her accent does not include the vast majority of features taken into account in the description of a Greek accent in this paper, and none of the features are present consistently. The vowel /ɜ:/ is not replaced by /e/ in any of the words in the extract, *learned, works* and *turn*. Only one instance of /e/ instead of /ə/ can be heard in the word *darker*. The long vowels /ɑ:/, /ɔ:/ and /u:/ are not shortened in any instances except for the word *for* but this is affected by the rhoticity of the word. Similarly, /ɒ/ and /əʊ/ occur as such in words like *lot* and *okay* respectively. As for consonants, no words with /ʒ/ are present in the extract, and the consonants /ʃ/ and /ŋ/ are pronounced as such in all words, including *special* and *talking*. The accent of the speaker is not consistently rhotic as there are far more words pronounced as non-rhotic than words pronounced as rhotic – the word *darker* is even pronounced half rhotic and half non-rhotic, followed by the word *hair*: /dɑrke heə/.

Polish pronunciation

Polish is a West Slavonic language spoken mainly in Poland. Since English and Polish are both Indo-European languages and English has a very significant role in Polish mass culture, especially young Poles consider English to be a fairly easy language (Śpiewak & Gołębiowska 2001, 162). One of the main sources of difficulties for Polish speakers in English pronunciation is the fact that Polish only has eight vowels whereas English has 22 (Śpiewak 2001, 164).

The many English vowels that are not present in Polish include /ɔ:/ and /ɜ:/: /ɔ:/ is often replaced by /ow/, making pairs like *law* and *low* near homophones, and /ɜ:/ may be produced as /o/ when the word has <o> in it, as in *work* and *world*. Another considerable feature of the Polish accent stems from the fact that there are no weak vowels in Polish – thus full vowels are typically used instead of /ə/ and /ɪ/. The polish accent is rhotic with a clearly rolled /r/. The fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ often cause severe problems resulting in one of the following sounds: /f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, /t/, /d/, /ts/ or /dz/. In Polish, the letter <h> is pronounced as a fricative similar to /x/ in *loch*, for example, and this pronunciation is usually carried over to English, as well. Finally, <ng> is often pronounced /ŋg/ before a vowel and /ŋk/ in final position, as in singing /sɪŋgɪŋk/. (Śpiewak 2001, 164-165.)

The only representative of a Polish accent is a character in SM3 CD 3 track 9, a man from Poland, even though his accent does not include nearly any of the features typical of Polish speakers handled in this paper. None of the words with /ɔ:/, e.g. *thought, always* and *all*, are pronounced with /ow/. The weak vowels /ə/ and /ɪ/ are systematically and appropriately used, the only exception being the article *the* which is mostly pronounced in its stressed form /ði:/. The fricatives /θ/, /ð/ and /h/ are all pronounced as such: /θ/ can be heard in *thought, earth* and *with*; /ð/ in, for example, *the, there* and *that*; and /h/ is heard in words such as *hi*, *here* and *Helsinki*. The speaker's accent is completely rhotic but only about half of the /r/ sounds are rolled, i.e. alveolar trills – the alveolar approximant [ɹ] is used increasingly towards the end of the extract, giving an impression of a North American accent. No words with /ŋ/ or /ɜ:/ in words written with <o> are present in the extract.

5   Discussion

In this section, I will first summarize and discuss the results of the study, giving some suggestions for improving the teaching of accents. Then, I will consider what has and has not been possible to examine in this thesis by describing the limitations of the study.

5.1   Discussion of results

The *Smart Moves* series evidently teaches students to speak with one, particular accent with the help of general instructions for pronunciation and transcriptions of words provided in vocabularies. Having only one model for the learners' own production seems to be the default option favored by researchers, as well (see 2.2.1). According to this study, the target accent in SM is RP, the accent most often chosen as the target in ELT (Lintunen 2004, 49). More precisely, the vowels of this target accent are inclined towards trad-RP whereas the consonants represent rather cur-RP than trad-RP, though not all consonant-related features characteristic of RP are present. It can be questioned whether the vowels of cur-RP should be preferred over the vowels of trad-RP for the negative connotations related to trad-RP (Upton 2004, 219).

The choice of RP as the target accent is not explicitly stated to students. Instead, students are given general information on the spread of English in the world, different English-speaking regions are introduced, and some vocabulary is marked as being distinctive of certain major varieties of English. Thus, the series raises general awareness of the status and varieties of English and is, in this respect, in line with the opinions of researchers such as Kachru (2005, 166) on the importance of making learners aware of the richness of Englishes. Also, the requirement of the national curriculum to make students aware of the essential differences between varieties of English (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, 141) is met in regard to vocabulary. In regard to accents, however, this requirement is not completely fulfilled, since the only explicit material concerning regional variation from the viewpoint of pronunciation consists of no more than two exercises that compare two sounds in BrE and AmE. If Pihko's (1997, 240-241) model of diversified listening instruction were followed, some accents from all circles could be examined more closely, even if they were not taught to be produced by the learner.

As for the explicitness of exposure accents, 23% of the 1 016 individual speakers on all SM tapes are told to come from a certain region or to speak a certain variety. Out of all characters, 54% are told to have a certain regional background; out of other speakers, such as narrators, only 1% is

told to speak with a certain accent. Thus the students are often informed of the accents spoken by characters, but the accents of the majority of speakers remain unknown. Sometimes there are also clues, such as the topic of the chapter being American wildlife (SM2T, 127-128), that might help guess the accent of the speakers. These kinds of clues can be helpful for many students, as well, and it would perhaps be difficult and even unnecessary to always give explicit information. It would not be natural for the characters to introduce their regional origin in all cases, and it would be even more unnatural for the narrators. Instead, the series could have of a systematic way of giving the information as meta-text: for example, there could be a label in the corner of each chapter telling readers where the events of the chapter take place. And if all of the characters were not native to that place, something about their regional origin could be mentioned as it is often mentioned now in cases like these (e.g. exchange students or immigrants).

The speakers, on whose accent explicit information is given, are told to come from or to speak the variety of English of 23 different countries: there are eight inner circle countries, four outer circle countries and 11 expanding circle countries. The largest groups of speakers are English, American and British speakers; the ten largest groups all consist of inner circle speakers except for the group of Finnish speakers. However, these speakers do not all speak with the main regional accent of their country: only seven accents are actually heard on the CDs in a clearly identifiable form, while five accents are not heard at all. All the clearly identifiable accents are native accents of English. Thus, in reality, students do not necessarily hear 23 different regional accents but only seven identifiable ENL accents, and 11 less identifiable ESL and EFL accents.

As stated in 3.2.3, the fact that the speakers do not have the main regional accent of their country does not mean that they do not have any accent used in that region. In the case of inner (and outer) circle speakers, the speaker might have some other social or regional accent than the standard accent of the country; as for expanding (and outer) circle speakers, the influence of the mother tongue on the speaker's English accent varies according to the level of their English studies, for instance. It is thus natural that not all speakers in SM have a "pure" version of the accent examined

in this study. However, when the speaker's accent does not manifest any of the features typical of the country's main accent, especially when there are many speakers from the same country and this applies to all of them, it can be questioned whether this is what the textbook authors have wanted. Is it not the idea that students hear the typical accents spoken in these countries?

Nevertheless, SM does offer other exposure accents for the students than the two standard varieties RP and StAmE, as is recommended by most researchers (see 2.2.2). The accents are mainly native accents, given that 19% of the speakers are from outer and expanding circle countries, and only 11/15 of the main accents of these countries are actually heard on tape in a somewhat identifiable form; thus, in reality, 17% of the speakers have ESL and EFL accents. However, since this study has only taken into account the speakers on whose accent explicit information is given, it is not known which accents are spoken by almost half of the characters and by 99% of other speakers. An assumption can be made, nonetheless, based on my intuition having used SM in teaching, that especially most of the other speakers than characters are unlikely to be ESL and EFL speakers, and thus the total percentage of non-native speakers on the SM CDs is likely to be lower than 17%.

The amount of non-native accents in SM is similar to that of the two upper secondary school textbook series studied by Kivistö (2005). In SM, 11 non-native accents are heard whereas there are 10 non-native accents in *Culture Café* and eight in *In Touch*; also, the minority of speakers in SM are non-native speakers while there is 3% of non-native speech in *Culture Café* and 1% in *In Touch*. The proportions of native and non-native speakers in SM do not reflect the reality of EFL speakers, as they are likely to use English more often with other non-native speakers than native speakers (Kachru 2005, 163).

On the other hand, when the real-life conditions of today's English-speaking world are taken into account in ELT by exposing students to many different varieties, other problems arise. While the speakers in SM often speak with other accents than RP, the vocabularies of the chapters and exercises are always transcribed according to RP, and students are encouraged to verify the

pronunciation from the transcriptions. Thus there are often situations where students hear the words pronounced differently than they see them transcribed. As we have seen, sometimes students should know which accent they are hearing, but they probably do not know which accent they are seeing in the transcriptions as this information is not told in the books. If they hear and see a different version of a given word but do not know the reason for it, they might think that they have misheard the pronunciation, or perhaps they do not even think about the contradiction consciously and the memory of the word will be left vague and unclear. However, awareness of the target language's phonology has been proven beneficial in the learning of pronunciation (Lintunen 2005, 347). Therefore it would be useful for the students to know that all the transcriptions have the same accent in them, and they should be informed if the speaker in question has some other accent; or it might be enough if students were told in general that the speakers in the series have different accents and hence the transcriptions do not always match the pronunciation of the speakers.

5.2   Limitations of the study

As a textbook analysis, this study has only focused on the teaching materials themselves. Thus, it has been possible to examine which target and exposure accents are present in the textbook series, but it has not been possible to study how the series is actually used in the classroom, as this depends on a range of additional factors (Littlejohn 1998, 191). Do the students read the transcriptions and other instructions for pronunciation, and how much of the taped material is listened to during the lessons? Also, this study did not examine what the role of the textbook is in the learning of a target accent or in the development of receptive skills concerning exposure accents. Does the teacher bring other speech recordings to the classroom than what the textbook has to offer, and how much are the students exposed to different accents outside the school setting? Are there perhaps other models of pronunciation that have a stronger influence on the students' own accents, such as the teacher's accent or the accents heard in the media? In addition, this study has only examined whether the textbook series is attempting to make the students aware of the accents present in the

series, i.e. whether the series explicitly informs its users about the target and exposure accents; it has not, however, been possible to study if the students are actually aware of these accents. Once again, the role of the teacher is left unstudied: the teacher might tell the students what the target and exposure accents are, even if the series does not provide this information. Also, some students might be able to recognize the accents by themselves without any explicit information on them.

When analyzing the explicitness of the exposure accents in this study, their explicitness is mostly based on whether or not information about the speaker's place of origin or habitation is given, since other type of information concerning the speakers' accent is rarely present in SM. However, the knowledge of where the speaker comes from is not necessarily helpful to all students since the names of countries are not always told, but quite often only the name of the town (and sometimes state) is given. It is thus not evident that all students know which country is in question if, for instance, the hometown is told to be simply Toronto (SM1T, 13), Reading (SM1T, 30), Devon (SM2T, 67) or Wheaton, Illinois (SM3T, 37). It can also be questioned whether the knowledge of the country helps students understand why the speaker speaks in a certain way, especially if the concept "accent" has never been discussed in class.

In the analysis of the target and exposure accents, I have focused on the segmental features of these accents, and prosodic features such as intonation or stress patterns have largely been left out. This is primarily because the sources available focused on segmental features, as well: information on the accents' vowel and consonant characteristics was available for all accents, whereas information on the intonation or stress patterns was available only for some accents, and even then it was often insufficient to be used in detailed analysis. Nevertheless, the current segmental analysis does not provide a comprehensive representation of the accents.

Also, the analysis of the Belarusian accent was done with the help of a description of a Russian accent of English compared with the phonology of Belarusian since no description of a Belarusian accent of English was available. The assumption behind this method is that it is the mother tongue of the speaker that, through negative transfer, influences how a second language is

pronounced (Meriläinen 2010, 7). Thus, as Russian and Belarusian are closely related languages, it was assumed that if Belarusian has some of the same phonemes that are told to have an impact on the Russian accent of English, the Belarusian accent would manifest these particular features, as well, that are present in the Russian accent. However, I cannot be certain whether my assumption is correct and whether these features are actually found in the Belarusian accent. Also, even if these features are present in the Belarusian accent, there might be some other features in the accent that are more distinctive than the ones that I have used.

6   Conclusion

In this study, it has been examined how the diversity of the English-speaking world is taken into account in a Finnish ELT textbook series, *Smart Moves*. The written materials as well as the audio recordings were analyzed in order to answer the following research questions: what the target accent in the series is, what the exposure accents heard on the CDs are, and whether the series provides students with explicit information concerning these accents.

The study has shown that the target accent in *Smart Moves* is RP, the standard accent of English English and the most common target accent in ELT (Lintunen 2004, 49). It is the only accent present in the transcriptions and general instructions for pronunciation; however, this is not explicitly stated anywhere in the teaching materials. On the other hand, students are given general information on the spread of English all over the world, on the different English-speaking countries and on some differences between a few main varieties of English.

As for the exposure accents, students are sometimes told which accents they hear on the taped materials: 23% of the speakers on the CDs are said to come from a certain country or to speak a certain variety. These speakers can be associated with 23 different inner, outer and expanding circle countries, and the largest groups of speakers are said to be the English, American and British speakers. In spite of this apparent diversity of exposure accents, all the main accents of these countries are not, in actual fact, heard on the CDs. Only seven native accents are heard in a clearly

identifiable form; 11 ESL and EFL accents are heard in a less identifiable form; and five ENL, ESL and EFL accents are not heard on the tapes at all.

It can be concluded that *Smart Moves* attempts to take the diversity of the English-speaking world into account by giving information on it and by having different accents on the CDs. However, the range of identifiable accents is not wide, at least in the case of non-native speaker accents, and, for the most part, explicit information on the speakers' accents is not given. Most importantly, students are not told which accent they are taught to produce themselves. It can be confusing for students to hear many different accents and become aware of the variety of English speakers, but not to know according to which model they are pronouncing themselves. Awareness of the target accent and of the differences between the accent they produce and the accents they hear might help those students who are overwhelmed by the different models.

Now that this study has examined whether the textbook series is attempting to make the students aware of the accents used in teaching, it would be interesting in future research to study whether the students actually are aware of the accents. Also, it could be studied how the textbook series is used in the classroom, and what the role of the teacher is in raising awareness and also in serving as a model for pronunciation. In addition, it would be interesting to know how these issues are handled in other recent textbook series, especially in lower levels than upper secondary school; surely the decisions made in *Smart Moves* are not the only decisions possible.

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