

**“I’M AS DRY AS A POMMIE’S BATH MAT”:  
VOCABULARY OF DIFFERENT VARIETIES OF ENGLISH  
IN FINNISH UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL EFL  
TEXTBOOKS**

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Tiivistelmä - Abstract Eri englannin kielen varianttien sanastollisten erojen esiintymistä englannin oppikirjoissa vaikuttaisi olevan tutkittu verrattain vähän, minkä seurauksena aihe herätti mielenkiintoni. Rajasin aihetta vielä tarkemmin käsittelemään ainoastaan lukio-opetukseen tarkoitettuja oppikirjoja. Aiemmissä vastaavanlaisissa tutkimuksissa on huomattu (ks. esim. Heininen 2021; Savolainen 2020), että brittienglanti vallitsee oppikirjoissa usein paitsi ääntämyksellisesti niin myös sanastollisesti. Lisäksi amerikanenglannin osuus on merkittävästi suurempi kuin muiden varianttien, vaikkakin useimmiten brittienglantia vähäisempi. Tutkimuksessa oli kaksi tutkimuskysymystä. Ensinnäkin tarkoitukseni oli selvittää, millä tavoin ja kuinka laajasti eri englannin variantteja esiintyy lukio-opetukseen tarkoitetuissa oppikirjoissa. Toinen tutkimuskysymys taas toi historiallisen näkökulman: halusin selvittää, onko eri englannin varianttien esiintymisessä tapahtunut muutoksia viime vuosisadan lopusta nykyhetkeen. Tätä varten tutkimukseni sisälsi paitsi edelleen lukio-opetuksessa käytettyjä englannin oppikirjoja niin myös kaksi vanhempaa oppikirjaa, jotka eivät tämä tutkimuksen teon hetkellä olleet enää opetuskäytössä. Vastatakseni näihin kahteen tutkimuskysymykseen luin kannesta kanteen läpi kaikki tutkimuksessa käytetyt oppikirjat. Listasin kirjoista jokaisen sellaisen sanan, jonka pystyi selvästi liittämään johonkin tai joihinkin tiettyihin englannin variantteihin ja jota ei ollut aiemmin esiintynyt samassa oppikirjassa. Analyysivaiheessa hyödynsin laadullista sisällönanalyysia, jonka koin hyödyllisimmäksi analyysimetodiksi tätä tutkimusta varten, kun otetaan huomioon, että tutkimuskysymykseni olivat luonteeltaan deskriptiivisiä. Tulokset osoittivat, että brittienglanti hallitsee edelleen sanastollisesti lukio-opetukseen tarkoitettuja oppikirjoja, vaikkakin amerikanenglannin sanoja on edustettuna lähestulkoon yhtä paljon. Muiden englannin kielten varianttien sanoja esiintyi huomattavasti harvemmin. Merkittävimäksi muuksi variantiksi nousi australianenglanti, jonka sanoja esiintyi kaikista uusimmassa oppikirjassa enemmän kuin brittienglannin sanoja. Voidaankin todeta, että eri varianttien sanoja (pois lukien brittienglannin ja amerikanenglannin sanoja) ei siis oikeastaan esiinny, ellei oppikirja tarkoituksellisesti käsittele osioissaan jotakin kyseistä varianttia. Tutkimusta voitaisiin jatkaa ottamalla tarkasteluun kokonaisia oppikirjasarjoja satunnaisten oppikirjojen tarkastelun sijaan, jolloin saataisiin huomattavasti kattavampi selvitys siitä, miten oppikirjoissa huomioidaan englannin eri variantit.	
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# 1 INTRODUCTION

English is a global language. It is used as a first language, second language, and foreign language all over the world. The spread of the English language has contributed to the fact that we can name many different types of Englishes, such as British English, American English, and Australian English. Surely, to many people, it is the pronunciation that may disclose the homeland of a speaker of English. Pronunciation has been studied rather extensively in theses (see e.g. Hamm 2020; Hietanen 2012; Mäkinen 2021), but another variable that contributes to differentiating one speaker of English from another seems to have been left slightly behind: vocabulary.

As a future teacher, it is not just any English vocabulary that arouses my interest here but rather the kind of vocabulary that is being taught to students. This is why the focus in the present study is being placed on textbooks, which play a major role in language classrooms in Finland (Luukka et al. 2008: 64). Further, I chose to narrow down the study to only concern EFL textbooks primarily used in upper secondary schools by students generally between ages 15 and 19. Since upper secondary school students can be expected to be at a relatively proficient level in their English language skills, the selected textbooks hopefully confirm this by introducing various different ways of expressing ideas using vocabulary of different varieties of English.

With this being said, there are two research questions in the present study: Firstly, the aim is to discover in what ways and to what extent the vocabulary of

different varieties of English is presented in Finnish upper secondary school EFL textbooks. Secondly, since the textbooks selected for the present study were of a variety of time periods, this thesis also attempts to show how the presentation of the vocabulary of different varieties of English has changed in Finnish upper secondary school EFL textbooks over time. In order to answer these questions, I collected the data from the following five upper secondary school EFL textbooks: *On Track 1* (Daffue-Karsten et al. 2014), *On Track 6* (Daffue-Karsten et al. 2016), *New Insights: modules 1–2* (Karapalo et al. 2021), *Wings: what's the world coming to?* (Wilson et al. 1982), and *Guys 'n Gals: course 5* (Lang et al. 1993). The textbooks were read through page by page, and whenever a word that could be thought of as belonging to a certain variety of English was discovered, it was noted down on a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet.

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 concerns different varieties of English and their mutual relationships. I will introduce Kachru's (1985) classification of world Englishes, which acts as the main means of classifying different varieties of English in the present study. Chapter 3 discusses how vocabulary is considered in the present study with the main issue being what a word is. Chapter 4 discusses textbooks more thoroughly with the intention to provide information on their role, contents, and how a textbook is defined in the present study. I will also introduce previous research done on vocabulary in EFL textbooks in Finland. Chapter 5 states the precise aims and research questions for this thesis as well as introduces the main methods of data collection and analysis. Chapter 6 is where the findings will be disclosed. I will process the findings book by book and finish the chapter with a comparison of the findings. Finally, in chapter 7, I will discuss how the findings succeeded in answering the research questions. I will also ponder the limitations of the present study as well as propose topics for possible future research.

## **2 VARIETIES OF ENGLISH**

In this chapter, I will discuss different varieties of the English language. It would be problematic in the limits of this thesis to discuss all possible varieties of English because the variations within the UK and the USA alone are countless in numbers. However, in order to delimit the thesis, the main regional varieties (such as Standard American English) are emphasised. In section 2.1, I begin by introducing means on how to classify the language. As we will see in what follows, the most influential of these classifications to the present study is the model of the three concentric circles by Kachru (1985). In sections 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4, I will briefly introduce each of these circles as well as present the varieties belonging to the inner circle more thoroughly. Based on previous research on the kinds of Englishes used in EFL textbooks in Finland (see e.g. Heininen 2021; Savolainen 2020), I expect to mainly find examples of vocabulary of the so-called inner-circle Englishes, which is why emphasis is being placed on those varieties.

### **2.1 Classifying Englishes**

In the present study, the varieties of English will be classified in the following three categories: inner circle, outer circle, and expanding circle. These can refer to both the countries that are located in the corresponding circles (as can be seen in Figure 1, p. 8) and the kind of English – or rather, the kinds of Englishes – spoken in the

countries. The names of the three categories come from Kachru's (1985) classification of world Englishes. These names have since then been used and the model adapted by other linguists as well (see e.g. Melchers et al. 2019).

One remarkable issue with Kachru's (1985) classification is that the circle on which a certain country is located is debatable. This is particularly the case with countries located on the outer circle and the expanding circle, since the line between these two circles can be perceived as indistinct and constantly in motion (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 2). On the other hand, Kirkpatrick (2007: 28) discusses that an important advantage of the circle model is that since it is based on the mindset that the spread of English has led to the development of a variety of Englishes, the model does not consider any variety as more dominant than the others, at least linguistically.

Another widely used classification, as mentioned by Kirkpatrick (2007: 27), is to distinguish Englishes between English as a native language, English as a second language, and English as a foreign language (commonly abbreviated as ENL, ESL, and EFL, respectively). While this kind of classification may have its uses in numerous contexts, I do not think it fits the needs of the present study. One disadvantage of the classification is that it implies the superior status of ENL and suggests that all the native speakers use the same variety of English (ibid. 28). Further, since the notion of EFL is already closely linked to textbooks in the present study, I had better avoid using this classification so as not to confuse the reader.



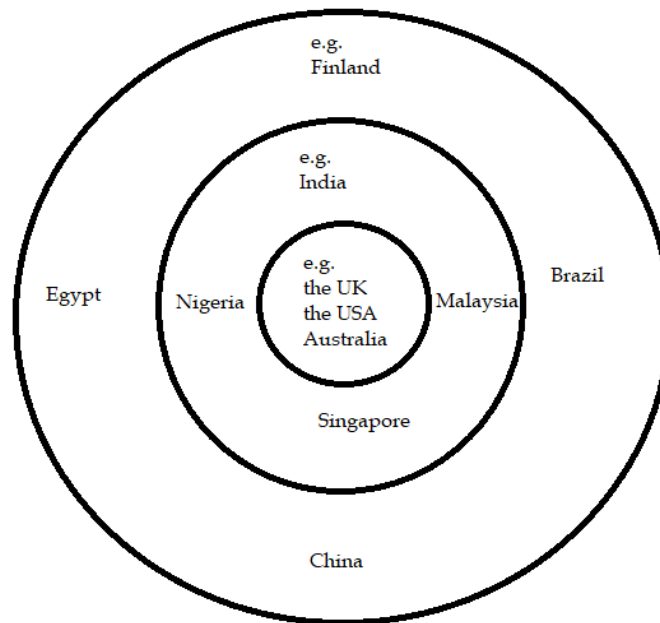


FIGURE 1 An example of the location of different countries in the circle model, based on Kachru 1985.

## 2.2 Inner circle

The inner circle, as Kachru (1985: 12) suggests, consists of Englishes spoken in the traditional regions of the language, namely the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In these countries, while not necessarily official at a certain level, as is the case with the USA, English can be considered the primary language for all formal and informal interaction. While utilising the circles model, Melchers et al. (2019: 8) add a few more countries to the list, justifying that in the inner-circle countries either most people speak English as their first language or English is an official language and the variety has been codified in dictionaries. Besides dividing the UK into England, Wales, and Scotland, Melchers et al. (2019) consider Ireland, South Africa, Liberia, and the Caribbean as additions to the list of inner-circle countries (or regions as is the case with the Caribbean which consists of several countries with English as their official language).

It is not a straightforward task to try to justify why some countries can be viewed as being an inner-circle country rather than an outer-circle one. Kachru

(1985: 14) notes that the complexity of placing countries such as South Africa and Jamaica within the circles led him to exclude these countries from the list altogether. Siemund et al. (2012) label South African English as belonging to the outer circle, whereas Melchers et al. (2019: 8) justify the inclusion of South Africa (among others) within the inner circle with the fact that the country's primary regional variety of English has been codified in dictionaries. As supplementary justifications, on many Caribbean islands (such as Jamaica), there are no other surviving native languages besides a variety of English (ibid. 41), and in Liberia, English is the only official language and the main variety is clearly related to African-American Vernacular English (from now on abbreviated as AAVE) (ibid. 111).

In the following subsections, I will briefly discuss some features of the inner-circle Englishes in terms of the vocabulary of their most standardised forms. The aim is not to provide an exhaustive list of the vocabulary items of each variety, but rather to introduce some key elements. The section proceeds geographically, starting with the varieties in Europe and moving onto the varieties in North America, Oceania, and Africa, respectively. The order I have chosen does not reflect any personal preference for some varieties over others. Rather, the order reflects my hypothesis: considering the traditional focus on British English and the ever-increasing exposure to American English, I do not expect to find an abundance of examples of varieties such as New Zealand or South African English in Finnish EFL textbooks.

### **2.2.1 European varieties**

The present study considers the European inner-circle varieties consisting of British and Irish Englishes. British English is the variety that has been traditionally taught in schools in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2009: 74). For that reason a hypothesis is made that the textbooks analysed for the present study are written in British English (although, as is obvious, most of the English vocabulary cannot be pinpointed to one single variety). Rather than devoting space and time to discussing the features of British English, the features of the other inner-circle varieties will be largely compared to British English, thanks to its traditional status in education in Finland.

Irish English – which is also sometimes called Hiberno-English (see e.g. Siemund et al. 2012: 35) – is the only other European inner-circle variety besides British English. It is rather difficult to compare the differences between these two European varieties as they happen to be very similar, especially in terms of lexicon. Further, as Kallen (1997: 1) notes, Irish English has been studied relatively little, which makes it difficult to find useful and accessible sources to meet the needs of the present study. As mentioned in chapter 2.2, Ireland was not originally considered as an inner-circle country by Kachru but was added to the list in more recent variations of the model. Since relatively little scientific research is found on Irish English, it might be that Kachru considered Irish English to be a variety within another variety (i.e. British English), rather than an independent variety.

Despite the lack of studies on Irish English, there have been some efforts in trying to distinguish some features of the variety. Van Ryckeghem (1997: 172) suggests that several words that can be considered as characteristic to Irish English are considered obsolete in British English. This list contains words such as *clock*, *afeared*, and *to learn* (in British English *beetle*, *afraid*, and *to teach*, respectively) (ibid. 174). Corrigan (2010: 79), in turn, offers the conversational opening phrase *What's the craic?* and the use of *like* as an alternative to the sentence ending *you know* as some of the best known examples of Irish English vocabulary used in both Ireland and Northern Ireland.

### **2.2.2 North American varieties**

The present study considers the North American inner-circle varieties consisting of American, Canadian, and Caribbean Englishes. With the term American English I refer to English used exclusively in the USA although it could also be considered by some as an umbrella term that covers all three North American varieties. Regarding the status of American English (as it is generally viewed as the other most significant variety along with British English), Davies (2013: 47) argues that it is the most influential of all the English varieties globally today.

If we compare American English with British English (i.e. the other more influential variety of the English language), one of the most distinct differences in their vocabulary can be found in the spelling of certain kinds of words (see e.g. Melchers et al. 2019: 14 who refer to this issue as the British–American diversity). Perhaps the two best-known spelling differences are the omission of the letter *u* in words such as *color* and *honor* (spelled as *colour* and *honour* in British English), and the switched positions of the letters *r* and *e* in words such as *center* and *theater* (spelled as *centre* and *theatre* in British English). While both Canada and the Caribbean are geographically closer to the USA than to the UK, the preferred spelling forms there (similarly to the other inner circle countries apart from the USA) generally follow those of British English, as can be observed in Canadian English and Caribbean English dictionaries in which the American English spellings are often referred to as alternatives (see e.g. Allsopp & Allsopp 2003; Barber 2004).

### 2.2.3 Oceanian varieties

The present study considers the Oceanian inner-circle varieties consisting of Australian and New Zealand Englishes. The varieties are most closely related to each other, and their vocabularies (as well as other linguistic norms) are highly influenced by British English (see e.g. Hay et al. 2008: 67; Newbrook 2001: 114). A common, although informal, feature of both varieties, as Hay et al. (2008: 78) remark, is the use of *-y*, *-ie*, and *-o* at the end of certain words (e.g. *hottie*, *nappy*, and *smoko*). Vocabulary items (such as *dinkum* and *skite*) that do not appear in any other varieties except for the two Oceanian varieties are commonly known as *Australasianisms* (ibid. 67).

Besides British English (and more recently American English), the languages of the indigenous people living in Australia and New Zealand (i.e. the Māori and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people) have also had an impact on the vocabularies of the Oceanian varieties (see e.g. Butler 2001: 151–152; Hay et al. 2008: 67–72). Rather well known examples of loan words from the indigenous languages include words such as *kangaroo*, *kiwi*, and *wombat*, all of which refer to the local

fauna. Although many loan words from the indigenous languages have an English language equivalent as well, there are a number of words that have no English equivalent. As Hay et al. (2008: 71) note, such words are often culturally specific to a great extent.

#### 2.2.4 African varieties

The present study considers the African inner-circle varieties consisting of Liberian and South African Englishes. Even though the two varieties are spoken in the same continent, namely Africa, their different origins make them not too much alike. Standard Liberian English, which is also known as Liberian Settler English, has its roots in the mid-19th century when 16,000 African Americans immigrated from the USA to Liberia, which is why the variety most closely resembles AAVE (Singler 2008: 395). AAVE can be considered as a sub-variety of American English as it is mainly spoken by Americans with African heritage. In terms of vocabulary, some distinct features of AAVE is that it contains words of African origin (e.g. *juke*) as well as words of English origin with new meanings (e.g. *uptight* for *anxious*) (Davies 2013: 69). Due to the European colonisation of South Africa, South African English, in turn, usually follows the norms of British English (Bowerman 2008: 483).

South African English can be further divided into White South African English, Black South African English, and Indian South African English (Mesthrie 2008). However, since the differences between these sub-varieties are primarily related to grammar and pronunciation, the present study (with its focus on vocabulary) labels them all under an umbrella term South African English. As Bowerman (2008: 483) mentions, few vocabulary items can be considered as uniquely South African English (e.g. *robot*, *township*, and *bioscope* which in British English translate into *traffic light*, *town* or *suburb*, and *cinema*, respectively). Many of the words that can be considered as being characteristic to South African English are mainly borrowings from the other languages spoken in South Africa, especially Afrikaans, Xhosa, and Zulu (ibid. 483–485). A rather famous example of such borrowings is the Afrikaans originated *braai*.

## 2.3 Outer circle

The outer circle – sometimes called the extended circle (Kachru 1985: 12) – is even more difficult to define than the inner circle, the definition of which also has its complexities, as we recently observed. Perhaps one of the most important similarities between the outer-circle countries, as both Kachru (1985: 12) and Melchers et al. (2019: 8) note, is that the users of the inner-circle Englishes have colonised these regions for an extended time period. Kachru (1985) further adds two features that are significant to this circle:

. . . (a) English is only one of two or more codes in the linguistic repertoire of such bilinguals or multilinguals, and (b) English has acquired an important status in the language policies of most of such multilingual nations (12-13).

Melchers et al. (2019: 8) discuss that in most outer-circle countries today, the role of English is particularly important in such fields as business, government, and education. They also note that English is often one of the official languages and used primarily as a second language, unlike in the inner-circle countries, where English is mostly used as a first language by the majority.

Equally challenging to defining the outer circle is to give an exhaustive list of countries belonging within its radius. Siemund et al. (2012) present India, Nigeria, and South Africa as some examples of the outer-circle countries. This is slightly contradictory to the proposal by Melchers et al. (2019: 107) who suggest that South Africa should be an inner-circle country, rather than an outer-circle one. Instead, they imply that the outer circle consists of such countries as India, Malaysia, Botswana, and Singapore (ibid. 125-127). Moreover, a brief list of examples of the outer-circle countries by Kachru (1985: 13) includes Nigeria, Zambia, Singapore, and India. As we can see here, the lists vary depending on who creates them. One thing common to the countries proposed as belonging to the outer circle, however, is that they have all been colonised by an inner-circle country (namely the UK) at a certain time in history.

## 2.4 Expanding circle

The final circle to be introduced here is the expanding circle. As Kachru (1985: 13) states, the language users of this circle can be held responsible for the status of English as a global language because they have – more or less willingly – chosen to adopt English as a means of communication in international situations. Essentially, this circle consists of all the countries that do not belong to the two previous circles. Since the present study is written from a Finnish viewpoint, it is important to note that Finland is one of the many countries that find themselves in the expanding circle.

Although it would seem easy to indicate the countries that belong to the expanding circle, it is not necessarily the case. Kachru (1985: 14) remarks that the status of English in a certain country may change over time, and that “what is an ESL region at one time may become an EFL region at another time or vice versa”. Melchers et al. (2019: 36) observe that whether a country belongs to the outer circle or the expanding circle holds no indications of its inhabitants’ extent of knowledge or proficiency of English. Although India is an outer-circle country, very few Indians speak English proficiently, whereas in the Nordic countries (which all belong to the expanding circle) well over half of the entire population are comparably proficient (ibid.). Based on what was previously discussed, we can easily deduce that even though many Nordics use English proficiently, the lack of colonial history and English not having an official status of any sort exclude the Nordic countries from the outer circle.

### 3 ENGLISH VOCABULARY

In this chapter, since the emphasis is being put here particularly on the vocabulary of different varieties of English, I will first discuss different ideas of what words are and what is considered as vocabulary in the present study before shifting to a more thorough discussion of the role and contents of textbooks in chapter 4. When we consider the term *vocabulary*, it is almost inevitable that we begin to think about words. This, then, leads us to a daunting issue in the field of linguistics: what is a word?

The term *word* is not easy to define although one can surely discover numerous attempts to define it. Since the present study is interested in written language, we have to consider words primarily in their written forms. Undoubtedly, most speakers of English probably envision a written word as a piece of text with a space on both sides (I used the notion of *speakers of English* instead of *speakers of any language* or simply *people* deliberately because not all languages share the feature of having words separated with spaces). This way of considering words as being separated from each other with spaces is also how pupils and students generally count words in their English essays in Finland if the teacher has instructed that a certain number of words should be written. However, such a simplistic way of thinking about words is not unproblematic.

For example, deducing from what was just discussed, *bus* is a word as its written form is separated from adjacent words with a space on both sides. What about the compound word *bus stop* then? We can see that there are two words, one



being *bus* and the other one *stop*. However, if we consider the idea of *bus stop* (i.e. how *bus stop* is realised in the real world), it is a single entity, a certain predefined location to which people go to wait for the bus to take them aboard. In this sense, based on meaning rather than orthography, should we consider *bus stop* as one word? In addition, words such as *bus*, *stop* and *bus stop* (i.e. nouns) often appear with a definite or indefinite article in front of them which makes the matter slightly more complicated.

Although the written forms of words are given the primary attention in the present study, it may be a good idea to see whether the spoken forms can be of help in creating a feasible definition. Plag (2003: 6) offers a way to consider words through thinking where the main stress lies when the word is spoken. This is because a word can only have one main stress. If we say the aforementioned *bus stop* aloud, we can hear that the main stress is on *bus*, whereas *stop* is unstressed, meaning that, in this sense, *bus stop* is one word. Similarly, Plag (2003: 6) presents the word *apartment building* and remarks that while the word is rather long and comprises two orthographic words, there is only one main stress which, in this case, lies on the second syllable. There are problems with this approach as well because not all words carry stress. Such words are sometimes called function words and include words such as articles and prepositions (Halliday 2007: 4). To only depend on this approach would mean that some words can perhaps not be considered words at all.

In English, as in many other languages, words can appear in different forms. It may sound a little odd to claim that *stop* and *stops* are simultaneously one word because they represent one idea and two different words because they look and sound slightly different. Bauer (1998: 8) states that instead of speaking of words, it may be useful to speak of lexemes that can be represented by different word-forms. In our case, *stop* and *stops* are word-forms that represent the lexeme STOP (lexemes generally appear capitalised in texts). However, as Bauer (1998: 8) notes, what seems to be one lexeme can actually be multiple lexemes, which is why we should not observe the written form alone but also consider what kinds of meanings the lexeme

represents. A lexeme carrying multiple meanings is an instance of polysemy (see e.g. Lipka 1992: 75–77). To clarify what polysemy means, let us use the lexeme STOP as an example again. The lexeme STOP can represent both a noun and a verb. In the case of this lexeme, some word-forms (such as *stopped*) can only be used to represent either a noun or a verb but not both of them. Then again, some lexemes (such as MANY) have only one word-form.

A key notion to the present study is vocabulary which consists of words (or lexemes as tends to be the case with dictionaries, for instance). However, as has just been discussed, while the definition of the term *word* may seem easy to construct, it is hardly the whole truth. It would seem convenient to think that a word is a string of text with a space on both sides. Unfortunately, that would omit compound words altogether, some of which may be written with a blank space in between the words, such as the aforementioned example *bus stop*. Another important thing to note here is that even longer idioms, such as *beat around the bush*, can be counted as one word (see e.g. Lipka 1992: 74). The sequence of words in an idiom may not make much sense when the words are considered individually but together they create something very specific, which is why the present study considers an idiom as a word in a vocabulary. In the present study, then, individual words, compound words, and idioms are counted as words in a vocabulary. What matters here is the meaning: if a word (whether it is an individual word, a compound word, or an idiom) is used to symbolise something specific, such as in the example of *bus stop*, it is counted as one word.

## **4 EFL TEXTBOOKS**

In this chapter, starting with section 4.1, I will discuss the role of textbooks in language learning, with the emphasis being primarily placed on their role in Finland. Besides their role, in section 4.2, I will explain what kinds of contents one might expect to find in a textbook. Section 4.3, in turn, concerns what has been studied on the vocabulary found in EFL textbooks in Finland. Finally, in section 4.4, after a thorough discussion of the role and contents, I will define what is considered as an EFL (English as a foreign language) textbook in the present study. When necessary, some consideration must also be given to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2020) as well as to the Finnish National Core Curriculum for General Upper Secondary Education (2019) (from now on abbreviated as CEFR and NCC, respectively) because of their importance in giving guidelines – although rather broad such – for language classes.

### **4.1 The role of textbooks in language learning**

If we were to ask someone in an unspecified location to define a textbook, the answer would probably vary to some extent depending on what kind of education system the location has. Tomlinson (2010: 2) notes that when it comes to teaching materials in language learning in general, most people would automatically begin to think about a physical textbook because it is arguably the most commonly utilised

aid in formal education. While there are no mentions of the use of textbooks in either NCC (2019) or CEFR (2020), the traditional mindset is that textbooks play a major role in language classrooms in Finland (Luukka et al. 2008: 64). The role of the textbooks in Finland has been deemed prominent to such an extent that their contents are sometimes viewed as a kind of hidden curriculum (ibid.). Of course, it is rarely the case that textbooks are the only sources of learning in language classrooms, but their significance is nevertheless undisputed.

Besides being used as a tool to help teach language and culture to various kinds of learners, another more or less implicit role of language textbooks is to mediate attitudes. The mediation of attitudes happens both voluntarily and involuntarily and is unavoidable (Lähdesmäki 2004: 272). The attitudes that can be observed within the contents of textbooks reflect the norms of the dominant culture or cultures (ibid.). With the inclusion of some less dominant English varieties in EFL textbooks, language learners have the opportunity to discover that the English language is more diverse than being just British English or American English. If only dominant varieties are introduced in textbooks, language learners may begin to perceive some varieties as more impeccable than other varieties.

## **4.2 What is in a textbook?**

The idea of what a language learning textbook consists of probably does not differ substantially from one person to another. This is because the textbooks tend to be somewhat similar in terms of content. As Lähdesmäki (2004: 271) notes, textbooks often contain the same main features that act as kinds of guidelines for language classes while also providing the users with a few additional treats. Further, as mentioned earlier, textbooks mediate attitudes that reflect the norms of the dominant culture or cultures. When it comes to the mediation of attitudes, whether implicit or explicit, a great amount of power lies in the hands of textbook publishers.

Textbook publishing is a business, and in order to sell, publishers are pressured to develop materials that are not too alienating to the public (Dervin et al. 2015: 2).

Amrani (2010: 270–271) discusses that while publishers do evaluate the materials and devote a great amount of thought in creating them, an evident hindrance in the process is that they do not know the target audience (i.e. the students in the classroom) as the teachers using the materials do. Amrani's discussion, however, does not apply too well to the Finnish context because in Finland the people creating textbooks are commonly teachers themselves. Yet, publishers must consider what kinds of issues to include in the textbooks while keeping their relatively vast target audience in mind. Not only is this target audience numerically vast but also linguistically: classrooms in Finland are becoming increasingly multilingual due to globalisation. This vastness of audience may lead to the avoidance of more unusual topics with the outcome then being that textbooks written and published by different people still happen to be surprisingly similar in terms of content. Of course, one significant reason for the similarity of textbooks is that the broader topics are largely dictated by NCC.

### **4.3 Vocabulary in textbooks**

Relatively few studies can be found on what kind of vocabulary EFL textbooks contain. Perhaps the most closely related to the present study is the Master's thesis by Savolainen (2020), which concerns the presentation of different English-speaking cultures in an EFL textbook series. She studied the lower secondary school (ages 12–15) EFL textbook series *On the Go* (published by Sanoma Pro in 2017 and 2018, depending on the textbook), which consisted of three textbooks and three workbooks. While the cultural aspects were being emphasised, the study also contained a section dedicated to the vocabulary of different varieties of English. She found that more attention was given to British English and American English than some other varieties. The other varieties consisted of Scottish, Irish, Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, South African, and Indian varieties, of which Australian English was most prominently present in the textbooks.

Another Master's thesis that concerns English-speaking cultures in textbooks, and thus provides implications on what kind of varieties might be introduced, is that of Heininen's (2021). Similarly to Savolainen (2020), Heininen (2021) studied the EFL textbook series *On the Go*, but she also studied the primary school (ages 6–12) EFL textbook series *Go for it!* (published by Sanoma Pro in 2015, 2017, and 2018, depending on the textbook). Unlike Savolainen (2020), Heininen (2021) excluded workbooks from her study, meaning that her study consisted of a total of seven textbooks (three books from *On the Go* and four books from *Go for it!*). While her findings regarding *On the Go* were similar to those of Savolainen's (2020), she found that British English vocabulary dominated the *Go for it!* series even when the texts explored another English-speaking culture. The findings from the two Master's theses discussed here further strengthen the hypothesis that British English and, to an extent, American English dominate the textbooks analysed in the present study.

#### **4.4 EFL textbook in the present study**

In the present study, an EFL textbook refers to a published physical book that has been developed for the purpose of being used as the primary (but rarely the sole) learning material during a certain EFL course in upper secondary education in Finland. Besides skill level, there is at least one other key difference between the textbooks used in basic education and the textbooks used in upper secondary education: The EFL textbook series used in basic education are often divided into a textbook and a workbook – with the former containing different kinds of reading texts and the latter containing exercises that are usually intertwined with the reading texts (see e.g. *Go for it! 4* (Kanervo et al. 2016); *Top 7* (Blom et al. 2011)). The EFL textbook series used in upper secondary education, however, commonly consist of only one book, containing both reading texts and exercises, for each course (as is the case with the textbooks used in the present study).

As I mentioned, only physical books are considered as textbooks in the present study. There are two main reasons for the exclusion of digital textbooks. To begin

with, digital textbooks hardly differ from their physical versions in terms of content. Digital books may contain a few additional exercises and games to practise the language, but other than that the digital and physical versions should be identical. The other reason has to do with accessibility: physical textbooks can be accessed much more easily since some copies are usually stored in public libraries, whereas digital textbooks should be bought from publishers.

## **5 PRESENT STUDY**

In this chapter, I will explain how the present study is constructed. In section 5.1, the aims of the present study and the research questions will be introduced. Section 5.2 is devoted to the process of data collection: I will introduce both the materials from which the data was collected and how the data was collected. Section 5.3, in turn, concerns the method used in analysing the collected data.

### **5.1 Aims and research questions**

There are two aims in the present study: One aim is to discover how different English varieties are presented in Finnish upper secondary school EFL textbooks. The other aim is to discover how the presentation of different English varieties has changed over time. As previously stated, British English is the variety that has been traditionally taught in Finland, which is likely reflected in the kind of vocabulary used in EFL textbooks in Finland. However, considering the ever-increasing status of American English variety in the lives of Finnish adolescents, it is interesting to see whether this trend shows in contemporary teaching materials, in particular. In summary, I will try to find answers to the following two research questions:

1. In what ways and to what extent is the vocabulary of different varieties of English presented in Finnish upper secondary school EFL textbooks?



2. How has the presentation of the vocabulary of different varieties of English changed in Finnish upper secondary school EFL textbooks over time?

## 5.2 Data collection

The data was collected from five upper secondary school EFL textbooks: *On Track 1* (Daffue-Karsten et al. 2014), *On Track 6* (Daffue-Karsten et al. 2016), *New Insights: modules 1–2* (Karapalo et al. 2021), *Wings: what's the world coming to?* (Wilson et al. 1982), and *Guys 'n Gals: course 5* (Lang et al. 1993). Textbooks such as the ones studied here are most commonly used by upper secondary school students between ages 15 and 19 (in Finland, students generally start upper secondary school in the year they turn 16 and graduate in the year they turn 19). All the textbooks were published by either of the two arguably biggest textbook publishers in Finland today: *On Track* series was published by Sanoma Pro, while all the other series were published by Otava. An important thing to note here is that while *New Insights: modules 1–2* is a single physical book, it actually consists of two books. That is why I chose to collect and analyse the data from *module 1* and *module 2* separately.

The idea behind the selection of the textbooks was to choose books from different periods of time: the earliest textbook and the most recent textbook have an age difference of 39 years. The textbooks follow three NCCs: *Guys 'n Gals: course 5* (1993) follows NCC 1985, *On Track 1* and *On Track 6* follow NCC 2015, and *New Insights: modules 1–2* follows NCC 2019. However, *Wings: what's the world coming to?* (1982) was published before the first NCC, and its contents are therefore based on Curriculum for Modern Languages (*Nykykielten opetussuunnitelma* in Finnish), which was published in 1970. Additionally, I tried to choose textbooks of different subject matters in order to avoid too narrow a scale in terms of content. What I mean by this is that if only textbooks emphasising internationality and the global status of the English language were chosen, it would potentially misrepresent the extent to which different varieties of English are presented in the textbooks. Further, accessibility played a decisive role, particularly with the two older textbooks, which were the

only books in the present study that were no longer used in schools at the time of writing.

The textbooks were read through page by page, starting from the cover page and ending with the back cover. Whenever a word that could be thought of as belonging to one or more but not all varieties of English was discovered, it was noted down on a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Information on where the word was found, what type of word it was (e.g. spelling or term difference), to which variety the word could be seen as belonging to, and additional notes (e.g. word class) were written next to the word on the spreadsheet. Each word was only noted down once per textbook, meaning that if the word occurred multiple times within a single textbook, only the first occurrence was noted down. However, suitable words with similar spellings but different meanings (e.g. *favour* noun vs. *favour* verb) were not counted as just one instance but two separate instances. As was discussed in chapter 3, when we think of the term *word*, we cannot only look at the spelling but have to consider the meaning as well, which means that compound words and idioms were also considered as words in the present study.

### **5.3 Method of analysis**

The present study is qualitative in nature, and qualitative content analysis is used as the method of data analysis. Since the two research questions in the present study are descriptive, qualitative content analysis fit my needs better than other methods (see e.g. Schreier 2012: 42). As Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 91) remark, most methods of analysis that are used for qualitative research are at least partially based on qualitative content analysis. In qualitative content analysis, the focus is not on the entire material but rather some selected units (e.g. certain words, as is the case in the present study), which is a feature that distinguishes the method from other qualitative methods (Schreier 2012: 4). Although numbers and frequencies are more commonly associated with quantitative research, Schreier (2012: 231) notes that it is rare for a study utilising qualitative content analysis not to contain at least some

form of numerical data. The present study is no different as will be more specifically seen in chapter 6.

As listed by Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 92–93) there are at least four distinctive steps one should take when conducting a research that utilises qualitative content analysis: Firstly, one should decide what it is that awakens interest in the material. Secondly, one should browse the material and make notes of only such things that are somehow relevant to the point of interest. Thirdly, one should categorise the notes (i.e. the data), and finally, write an overview of what was found. I took these precise four steps during the analysis: First I chose what I wanted to research, namely the presentation of the vocabulary of different varieties of English in Finnish upper secondary school EFL textbooks. The selection of the topic included confining the topic in order for it to fit the limits of a Master's Thesis. After I had chosen the topic, I browsed the material and made notes of the aspects that were relevant to the present study. The categorisation occurred simultaneously with the gathering of data (see section 5.2 for a more thorough discussion of steps two and three). Finally, I organised the data to a form of continuous text, essentially creating chapter 6 in this paper.

## 6 FINDINGS

In this chapter, I will present my analysis as transparently as possible in order to find answers to the two previously stated research questions. The analysis will be presented book by book in the following order: *On Track 1*, *On Track 6*, *New Insights: module 1*, *New Insights: module 2*, *Wings: what's the world coming to*, and *Guys 'n Gals: course 5*. The four textbooks still in use at the time of writing will be analysed first in sections 6.1–6.4 because the primary interest in the present study lies in how different varieties are presented in today's English classes. The two older textbooks will be analysed later in sections 6.5 and 6.6 because their main purpose is to act as a gateway for comparison on how different varieties have been presented in the past. Section 6.7 will be devoted to briefly discussing loan words found in the analysed textbooks. While many loan words are generally shared by all English varieties and thus can be seen as not providing relevant information to answer the research questions, the fact that loan words were highlighted by some of the books is interesting enough to such an extent that leaving them completely out of discussion is not an option. Finally, in section 6.8, the findings will be compared in order to disclose how the presentation of different varieties of English has changed over time.

Unique words that can be seen as clearly belonging to one or more (but not all) varieties of English will be called *instances* in the following sections. Instances are divided into minor spelling differences, in which there is usually a one-letter difference that should not affect pronunciation (e.g. *colour/color*), and term differences, in which the words differ completely between different varieties (e.g.

*flat/apartment*). While words ending in *-ize* can be accounted as following both British English spelling and American English spelling, I have decided to count the *-ize* instances as American English only, because some dictionaries (see e.g. Cambridge Dictionary, Merriam-Webster) consider *-ise* endings more usual in British English use.

Each of the following sections will begin by introducing the instances first in the form of quantitative data. The quantitative data will be introduced first because it allows one to quickly form an overall picture of the extent to which different varieties were presented in the textbook in question. The analysis will then continue in the form of a more qualitative discussion.

## 6.1 Varieties in *On Track 1*

There were a total of 30 instances in *On Track 1* (2014). Of the total 30 instances 21 (70%) were minor spelling differences and 9 (30%) were term differences. All the 21 minor spelling differences followed British English spelling. Of the 9 term differences 6 (67%) were British English, 2 (22%) were American English, and 1 (11%) was Australian English.

By looking at the quantitative data, it seems quite definite that *On Track 1* follows the traditional tendency to use British English in Finnish EFL textbooks. *On Track 1* was actually the only one among the analysed textbooks not to contain any minor spelling differences that would follow American English spelling conventions. All the words that can end in either *-ise* or *-ize* (or their derivatives) ended in *-ise* (e.g. *realise, organisation, characterised*). The words *travelling* and *travelled* were written with two letter *l*'s instead of just one *l*. Words that can be written with either *-ou-* or *-o-* were always written with *-ou-* (e.g. *behaviour, neighbour*). Further, all the words that can end in either *-re* or *-er* ended in *-re* (e.g. *centre, metre, theatre*). There was also one minor spelling difference that could not be categorised as belonging to any of the previously mentioned spelling difference groups: the word *grey* was written with the

letter *e* instead of the letter *a* that more commonly appears in the American English spelling of the word.

Interestingly, there were only a few term differences in *On Track 1*. Two of these instances were deliberately introduced by the textbook as belonging to different varieties of English: *diary* and *journal*. According to the textbook, *diary* is the preferred term in British English, whereas American English users prefer *journal*. Frankly, if the textbook had not stated this distinction, neither word would have been introduced in the present study. Moreover, online dictionaries, such as Cambridge Dictionary and Merriam-Webster, have no mentions of either word being preferred by speakers of a certain variety in any cases.

Nearly all the other term differences were some of the most typical ones to appear in EFL textbooks. *Biscuit*, *flat*, *film*, and *cinema* were instances of terms generally associated with British English. These terms should be understood by speakers of American English but they would most likely prefer to use other terms themselves (*cookie*, *apartment*, *movie*, and *movie theater*, respectively). Besides the aforementioned *journal*, the only other American English term found in *On Track 1* was *cell* (phone) which occurred alongside its British English counterpart *mobile* (phone).

Quite probably the least common of all the term differences in *On Track 1* was an instance of Australian English vocabulary. A reading text about life in Australia introduced the term *sheep station*, which is a large farm specifically intended for sheep husbandry. While the term may not be frequently used in most other varieties, Cambridge Dictionary mentions not only Australia but also New Zealand as countries where *station* is used to signify a large farm. The term *sheep station* can thus be seen as belonging to both Australian English and New Zealand English varieties despite the textbook only mentioning the former.

As we have seen here, *On Track 1* seems to lean heavily towards British English. Further, all the instances found were examples of inner-circle varieties, however, the total number of instances was surprisingly low altogether. In fact, as we will later discover, *On Track 1* contained the least number of instances among the analysed

textbooks. The strange thing here is that *On Track 1*, as the name suggests, is intended to be used during the first compulsory upper secondary school English course called *English language and my world*, in which, as stated by NCC (2015: 110), some of the aims are discussing linguistic diversity and the status of English as a global language. Considering the undeniably dominant role of British English in *On Track 1*, the extent to which the textbook succeeds in creating such linguistic discussion, based on the vocabulary used in it, can be perceived as disputable.

## 6.2 Varieties in *On Track 6*

The analysis will then continue with *On Track 6* (2016), which is slightly more recent than the previously covered textbook from the same series, *On track 1* (2014). There were a total of 102 instances in *On Track 6*. Of the total 102 instances 48 (47%) were minor spelling differences and 54 (53%) were term differences. Of the 48 minor spelling differences 31 (65%) followed British English spelling and 17 (35%) followed American English spelling. Of the 54 term differences 28 (52%) were British English, 25 (46%) were American English, and 1 (2%) was Irish English.

Much like the other *On Track* textbook analysed in the present study, *On Track 6* seemed to favour British English over other varieties. This time, however, the dominance of British English was not too overwhelming as can be seen from the quantitative data. The minor spelling differences found in *On Track 6* could be sorted into four distinct categories: words ending in either *-ise* or *-ize* (e.g. *recognize*, *summarise*), words written with either one or two letter *l*'s (e.g. *counselling*, *traveller*), words written with either *-ou-* or *-o-* (e.g. *favor*, *humour*), and miscellaneous spelling differences (e.g. *practise*, *mum*). Both British English and American English spelling conventions could be found in all these four categories. Only one of these categories was noticeably dominant with British English: all the words that can be written with either one or two letter *l*'s followed British English except for the word *enroll at* (its British counterpart *enrol at* also appeared in the textbook).

The choice of whether British English or American English spelling conventions were used appeared to be random. Only the aforementioned *enroll at* and *enrol at* were clearly intentionally set to show students that the former is used in American English and the latter in British English. The choice of which variety was preferred possibly depended on who had written the text. Many of the texts in the *On Track 6* (and in textbooks overall) were authentic texts from such sources as newspapers and magazines. Undoubtedly, the origin of the source dictates which spelling convention is used, especially if there are no mentions in the textbook that the authentic texts have been edited.

*On Track 6* contained far more term differences overall than *On Track 1* of the same series. A significant reason for this was the introduction of differences in educational terminology, which came as no surprise because, as stated in NCC (2015: 111), the sixth compulsory upper secondary school English course is called *Studying, working and livelihood*. Most term differences in *On Track 6* demonstrated how the vocabularies of British and American school systems differ from one another. Some of such term differences were misleading in the sense that they were alike in spelling but different in meaning, depending on where in the world the words are used (e.g. *public school, college*). Other education related term differences between British English and American English included words such as *break/recess, marks/grades*, and *play truant/cut classes (BrE/AmE)*. Neither of the two school systems introduced was favoured over the other, providing British English and American English varieties an equally prominent presence within educational context. Unfortunately, their dominance meant that there were fewer opportunities for other varieties of English to occur.

Not all term differences came from the field of education. For example, in a reading text about money, *On Track 6* contained the American English slang words *long green* and *greenback*, which can be used to refer to money. Examples of British English words not related to education were *estate agent* and *torch bulb*. The sole instance not associated with either British English or American English was the Irish English word *craic*, which means “enjoyable time spent with other people, especially



when the conversation is entertaining and funny” (Cambridge Dictionary). As one might expect, *craic* appears in a reading text about Ireland.

As we have seen here, compared to *On Track 1* (the other analysed textbook from the same series) *On Track 6* presented British English and American English more equally. Perhaps the most prominent similarity between the textbooks in terms of varieties of English was the clear lack of other varieties besides British English and American English. In both textbooks, only one instance of some other variety was present and, additionally, all the instances found were examples of inner-circle varieties.

### 6.3 Varieties in *New Insights: module 1*

*New Insights* (2021), which contains two modules (known as courses in previous NCCs) that are discussed here separately, was the most recent textbook analysed in the present study. In *New Insights: module 1*, there were a total of 64 instances. Of the total 64 instances 33 (52%) were minor spelling differences and 31 (48%) were term differences. Of the 33 minor spelling differences 19 (58%) followed British English spelling and 14 (42%) followed American English spelling. Of the 31 term differences 16 (52%) were British English and 15 (48%) were American English.

In terms of spelling, *New Insights: module 1* uses nearly as much American English spelling as it uses British English spelling. The spelling differences could be sorted into five distinct categories: words ending in either *-ise* or *-ize* (e.g. *revitalizing*, *empathise*), words written with either one or two letter *l*'s (e.g. *school counselor*, *shovelling*), words written with either *-ou-* or *-o-* (e.g. *behavior*, *rumour*), words ending in either *-re* or *-er* (e.g. *centre*, *theatres*), and miscellaneous spelling differences (e.g. *practice*, *defence*). Most of the instances in these categories followed British English spelling, with the exception of the *-ise/-ize* category, in which most instances were overwhelmingly written with *-ize*, which is considered as American spelling in the present study. However, since *-ize* is rather common in British English although *-ise* seems to be the preferred form today (see e.g. Cambridge Dictionary, Merriam-

Webster), the language used in *New Insights: module 1* could still be viewed as dominantly British English in terms of spelling.

As disclosed by the quantitative data, *New Insights: module 1* contained only British English and American English terms. The textbook, as we will discover later in the paper, was one of the two analysed textbooks that contained not even a single term difference from any other variety. Quite a few term differences concerned housing-related vocabulary. Examples of American English included *apartment*, *condo(minium)*, and *townhouse*. In turn, *loo*, *reception room*, and *laundrette* were examples of British English housing-related vocabulary.

Another more prevalent term difference category found in the textbook was education-related vocabulary, much as was the case with *On Track 6*. Interestingly, American English dominated this area with such instances as *college*, *dormitory*, and *grades*, whereas only one such British English instance could be found in the form of *summer term*. Since, as noted in NCC (2019: 181), one of the central contents in the first upper secondary school English module is the exchange of everyday information with other people, it comes as no surprise that housing and education are well represented in *New Insights: module 1*.

Additionally, a few differences on how certain questions are asked in British English and in American English were intentionally introduced in *New Insights: module 1*. It was told that past tense is preferred in American English when asking questions such as *Did you eat yet?* and *Did you finish already?*, whereas in British English, present perfect is preferred in asking similar questions, thus making the previously provided examples become *Have you eaten yet?* and *Have you finished already?*. What was left unsaid, however, was how other English varieties besides British English and American English prefer their verb forms in similar occasions.

As was already mentioned, *New Insights: module 1* contained several examples of differences between British English and American English both in terms of minor spelling differences and term differences. Surprisingly though, considering that the textbook was released in 2021 during the era of globalisation, out of all the different varieties of English only British English and American English were represented.

Then again, the number of instances altogether was the second lowest of the analysed textbooks, possibly for the simple reason that *New Insights: module 1* was the shortest of all the textbooks in the present study.

#### 6.4 Varieties in *New Insights: module 2*

The second module of *New Insights* (2021) was longer in the number of pages and, probably as a result, contained more instances. There were a total of 99 instances in *New Insights: module 2*. Of the total 99 instances 34 (34%) were minor spelling differences and 65 (66%) were term differences. Of the 34 minor spelling differences 18 (53%) followed British English spelling and 16 (47%) followed American English spelling. Of the 65 term differences 19 (29%) were British English, 23 (35%) were American English, 21 (32%) were Australian English, 1 (2%) was Indian English, and 1 (2%) was Nigerian English.

Similarly to the first module, minor spelling differences in *New Insights: module 2* were almost equally divided between British English and American English. Even the same five categories could be identified: words ending in either *-ise* or *-ize* (e.g. *apologized, internationalisation*), words written with either one or two letter *l*'s (e.g. *study counsellor, traveller*), words written with either *-ou-* or *-o-* (e.g. *honoring, colour-blind*), words ending in either *-re* or *-er* (e.g. *centre, city centre*), and miscellaneous spelling differences (e.g. *cozy, programme*). Two of these categories contained only British English spelling (which can be deduced from the examples provided): there were not any words following American English spelling among words written with either one or two letter *l*'s or among words ending in either *-re* or *-er*. Then again, similarly to *New Insights: module 1*, there were significantly more instances of the American English spelling *-ize* in the *-ise/-ize* category, which explains why the number of minor spelling differences was rather equal between the varieties despite the lack of American English instances in two categories.

Nearly a third of all instances comprised term differences, and there were more term differences in *New Insights: module 2* than in any other of the analysed

textbooks. The large number of term differences implied that other varieties besides British English and American English could be represented more prominently. Interestingly, this was the only textbook in the present study in which the number of British English term differences was lower than the number of term differences of not only one but two other varieties, namely American English and Australian English. The reason for the prominence of Australian English here resulted from a section devoted to it. The section introduced many Australian English terms which will be covered shortly.

While many British English and American English term differences concerned education (e.g. *elementary school*, *head teacher*), much like in the previously covered textbooks, another remarkable source of term differences was travelling-related vocabulary. *New Insights: module 2* introduced such American English terms as *baggage*, *public transit*, and *round-trip ticket* as well as their British English versions *luggage*, *public transport*, and *return ticket*. As stated in NCC (2019: 181), the central contents in the second upper secondary school English module comprises such issues as the global status of English language and internationality in everyday life, which makes it reasonable to emphasise travelling-related vocabulary in the textbook.

As mentioned earlier, Australian English term differences were featured surprisingly prominently in *New Insights: module 2*, making Australian English the second most frequent variety – only a few instances behind American English – in regard to term differences. Five of the term differences were actually idioms: *I'm as dry as a pommie's bath mat*, *I'm as dry as a bull's bum going up a hill backwards*, *she's gone walkabout*, *pull your head in*, and *chucked a mental* were introduced as examples of some peculiar idioms used in Australian English. Other Australian English terms found in the textbook included such words as *arvo*, *barbie*, *bonzer*, *fair dinkum*, *cot case*, and *drongo*. Aside from three of the previously mentioned five idioms, all Australian term differences were found on the section dedicated to Australia. While Australian English term differences were high in quantity, they could only be found on a very limited number of pages, meaning that it was more likely for one to encounter

British English term differences while browsing the textbook, even though the number of unique British English term differences was lower.

*New Insights: module 2* was the only textbook in the present study to contain examples of Indian English and Nigerian English with one instance from each. Both of the instances were deliberately stated by the textbook as belonging to these varieties. The Indian English term found in the textbook was *cooling glasses* (meaning the same as *sunglasses*) and the Nigerian English term (or idiom) was *my leg is paining me* (meaning the same as *I feel pain in my leg*). Interestingly, Indian English and Nigerian English were the only varieties in the present study from the outer circle as all the other instances were associated with inner-circle varieties.

Considering what has been disclosed in this section, *New Insights: module 2* was the most diverse of the analysed textbooks regarding vocabulary of different varieties of English. Having been released in 2021, *New Insights: module 2* – along with its *module 1* counterpart – was the most recent of the textbooks in the present study, which suggests that the newer the textbook, the more varieties of English would be represented in it. However, in order to make such claims more confidently, it is important to observe a few books from the previous century, which will be done in the following two sections.

## 6.5 Varieties in *Wings: what's the world coming to?*

*Wings: what's the world coming to?* (1982) – from now on shortened as *Wings* – was published nearly forty years prior to the two modules of *New Insights* (2021), and was the earliest textbook in the present study. There were a total of 79 instances in *Wings*. Of the total 79 instances 58 (73%) were minor spelling differences and 21 (27%) were term differences. Of the 58 minor spelling differences 33 (57%) followed British English spelling and 25 (43%) followed American English spelling. Of the 21 term differences 18 (86%) were British English and 3 (14%) were American English.

Based on the traditional status of British English in English language classrooms in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2009: 74), one could imagine that British

English would dominate a textbook from the 1980s. While the quantitative data shows this to be true in the case of term differences, the minor spelling differences found in the book were more equally divided between British English and American English. One reason for this is that there were substantially more *-ize* endings (*pasteurize, criticize*) – which were counted as American English spellings – than *-ise* endings (*civilised, itemised*). Four other categories could also be identified in terms of minor spelling differences: words written with either one or two letter *l*'s (e.g. *counselling, marvellous*), words written with either *-ou-* or *-o-* (e.g. *favor, flavouring*), words ending in either *-re* or *-er* (e.g. *metres, theatre-ticket agencies*), and miscellaneous spelling differences (e.g. *whiz, carburettor*). These other four categories contained either predominantly or solely British English spellings, confirming the traditional status of British English, rather than American English, in Finland.

As disclosed by the quantitative data, the term differences found in *Wings* were all British English besides three term differences which were American English. The American English term differences were *flashlight, janitor, and elevator*, meaning that the term differences could not be associated with any specific field but were seemingly random. The British English versions of these term differences (i.e. *torch, caretaker, and lift*) did not appear in the textbook. Rather, many British English term differences concerned vehicle-related vocabulary, such as *petrol, petrol-driven, car park, and motor car*, which is hardly surprising considering the science and technology theme around which the textbook was created.

The findings revealed in this section imply that *Wings* – the earliest textbook in the present study – leaned rather heavily towards British English. It could be argued that this was expected based on the traditional status of British English in English classrooms in Finland. Even though plenty of examples of American English were found around minor spelling differences, the examples were predominantly instances of *-ize* endings in certain words. As has been noted several times in this paper, *-ize* endings are found in British English as well although *-ise* endings are preferred.

## 6.6 Varieties in *Guys 'n Gals: course 5*

*Guys 'n gals: course 5* (1993) was the other analysed textbook from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, making it the second oldest textbook in the present study. There were a total of 100 instances in *Guys 'n gals: course 5*. Of the total 100 instances 71 (71%) were minor spelling differences and 29 (29%) were term differences. Of the 71 minor spelling differences 31 (44%) followed British English spelling and 39 (55%) followed American English spelling. In addition, 1 (1%) instance of a minor spelling difference could be thought of as a mix of both spelling conventions (this will be explained later in the paper). Of the 29 term differences 13 (45%) were British English, 15 (52%) were American English, and 1 (3%) was Australian English.

In terms of minor spelling differences, an interesting fact arises from the quantitative data: *Guys 'n gals: course 5* was the only analysed textbook to contain more American English spellings than British English spellings. Once again, five distinct categories could be identified: words ending in either *-ise* or *-ize* (e.g. *rhapsodizing, dramatisation*), words written with either one or two letter *l*'s (e.g. *canceled, skilful*), words written with either *-ou-* or *-o-* (e.g. *disfavor, vigour*), words ending in either *-re* or *-er* (e.g. *kilometer, health centre*), and miscellaneous spelling differences (e.g. *analyze, cheque*). The *-ise/-ize* category contained predominantly more American English spelling, whereas the other categories were more equally divided between the two varieties.

As mentioned earlier, there was one instance of a minor spelling difference that appeared to be a mix of both British English and American English spellings. The word in question was *vapourize*. As can be seen, based on the general spelling conventions, the word *vapourize* contains *-ou-*, which is typical to British English but also *-ize*, which is typical to American English. Interestingly, online dictionaries, such as Cambridge Dictionary and Merriam-Webster, do not recognise the word *vapourize* but rather propose either *vaporize* or *vaporise* (American English and British English form of the same word, respectively). Based on how difficult it was to find reliable sources that would provide explanation for the form *vapourize*, the possibility that

the instance was simply a spelling error that was accidentally left in the textbook should not be dismissed.

Most of the term differences in *Guys 'n gals: course 5* were also associated with American English – unlike in *Wings*, the other 20<sup>th</sup> century textbook in the present study. However, similarly to *Wings*, many term differences were vehicle related, such as the American English words *windshield*, *station wagon*, and *sedan*, and the British English words *petrol* and *railway-station*. Further, there was one vehicle-related term difference that could be associated with Australian English, namely *driver's licence* (see e.g. Cambridge Dictionary). The word could be perceived as a minor spelling difference because the American English version of the word is *driver's license*, meaning that there is only a one-letter difference. However, when compared to the word generally used in British English, namely *driving licence*, it seems justified to consider the Australian English word *driver's licence* as a term difference. It is likely that the inclusion of the Australian English word was not intentional (but rather considered by the textbook as a British English word) since there is nothing Australia related on the page the word was located.

While *Wings* – the other analysed textbook from the 20<sup>th</sup> century – leaned heavily towards British English, *Guys 'n gals: course 5* seemed to be more equally divided between British English and American English. In fact, more instances were American English than British English, although the quantitative differences were not striking. However, a significant number of American English minor spelling differences were related to words ending with *-ize*, and, as has been discussed earlier, *-ize* is a feasible ending in British English although *-ise* is preferred.

## 6.7 Loan words

While not directly connected to the present study, the number of loan words found in all of the analysed textbooks made loan words an interesting bonus feature to be introduced in the paper. Loan words provide us information about languages that influence or have influenced the English language. The connection that can be made



between this influence and different varieties of English is that many term differences found in varieties of English are loans from other languages spoken in the region: for instance, many words found in the Oceanian varieties of English originate from the languages of the Māori and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (see e.g. Butler 2001: 151–152; Hay et al. 2008: 67–72). Before covering the different loan words found in the analysed textbooks, it is important to note that only words that were stated by the textbooks as being loan words or words that were strikingly distinctive were selected. This is because a huge number of words in English are actually loan words (such as the word *age* which is a loan from Old French), and it would have been too exhausting to check the etymology of each word found in the textbooks.

*On Track 1* contained 11 loan words from a variety of languages. Most of these were deliberately presented in a section about loan words in the English language. Examples of loan words include *iceberg* from Dutch, *sauna* from Finnish, *avalanche* from French, and *shampoo* from Hindi. *On Track 6*, which contained 17 loan words, also had a section devoted to loan words, except this time specifically loans from French. The students were introduced such loan words from French as *à la carte*, *déjà vu*, *en route*, and *en suite*.

*New Insights: module 1*, the shortest of the analysed textbooks, contained only two loan words: *kangaroo*, a loan word from an Aboriginal language, and *salsa*, a loan word from Spanish. *New Insights: module 2*, in turn, contained the most loan words among any of the analysed textbooks with 31 loan words. Most loan words were introduced in a section devoted to them. This section included such loan words as *coffee* from Arabic, *tea* from Chinese, *entourage* from French, *bandanna* from Hindi, and *tycoon* from Japanese. While there were not any examples of Canadian English in the instances found in the analysed textbooks, *New Insights: module 2* introduced one loan word from Canadian French, namely *poutine*. Interestingly, quite a few loan words were food related: besides the aforementioned *coffee*, *tea*, and *poutine*, the textbook introduced such food-related loan words as *ketchup* from Chinese, *noodle* from German, *sushi* from Japanese, and *lingonberry* from Swedish.

Loan words were barely found in the earliest two textbooks, *Wings* and *Guys 'n gals: course 5*. Only one loan word could be found in *Wings*, namely *soirée* from French. *Guys 'n gals: course 5* introduced not much more with just two loan words: *sauna* from Finnish and *kamikaze* from Japanese. This information suggests that loan words are used more today. It is true that several new loan words have entered the English language as a result of technological developments and the ease of accessing different cultural environments via internet and travelling. In addition to the fact that language awareness has spread with the development of technology, it could also be that 20<sup>th</sup> century textbooks tried to promote more pure English, thus avoiding including many loan words in the textbooks, but such a claim cannot be confidently made within the limits of this thesis. The presentation of loan words in EFL textbooks in Finland could, however, be a feasible topic for future research.

## 6.8 Comparison of the findings

This following section is dedicated to comparing the findings, and as I have done throughout the analysis, I will continue discussing minor spelling differences and term differences separately. Before reading the comparison, it might be a good idea to glance at Figure 2 (p. 41), which provides a quick overview on how the minor spelling differences were divided between British English spelling and American English spelling in the analysed textbooks. Similarly, Table 3 (p. 42) demonstrates the prevalence of different varieties of English regarding the term differences found in the textbooks.

Beginning with the minor spelling differences, all but one textbook seemed to prefer British English spelling over American English spelling with *On Track 1* containing solely British English spelling. Only *Guys 'n gals: course 5* contained more minor spelling differences following American English spelling. However, this was largely due to the fact that words ending in *-ize* (rather than *-ise*) were considered as American English in the present study, which may appear slightly misleading since using *-ize* is perfectly feasible in British English as well. American English spellings

are also rather prevalent in *New Insights: module 2*, the most recent of the studied textbooks, which could imply that the role of American English in EFL textbooks in Finland may be on the rise. Of course, this cannot be said certainly at the time of writing this thesis, but the status of American English in EFL textbooks in Finland could be a topic for future research.

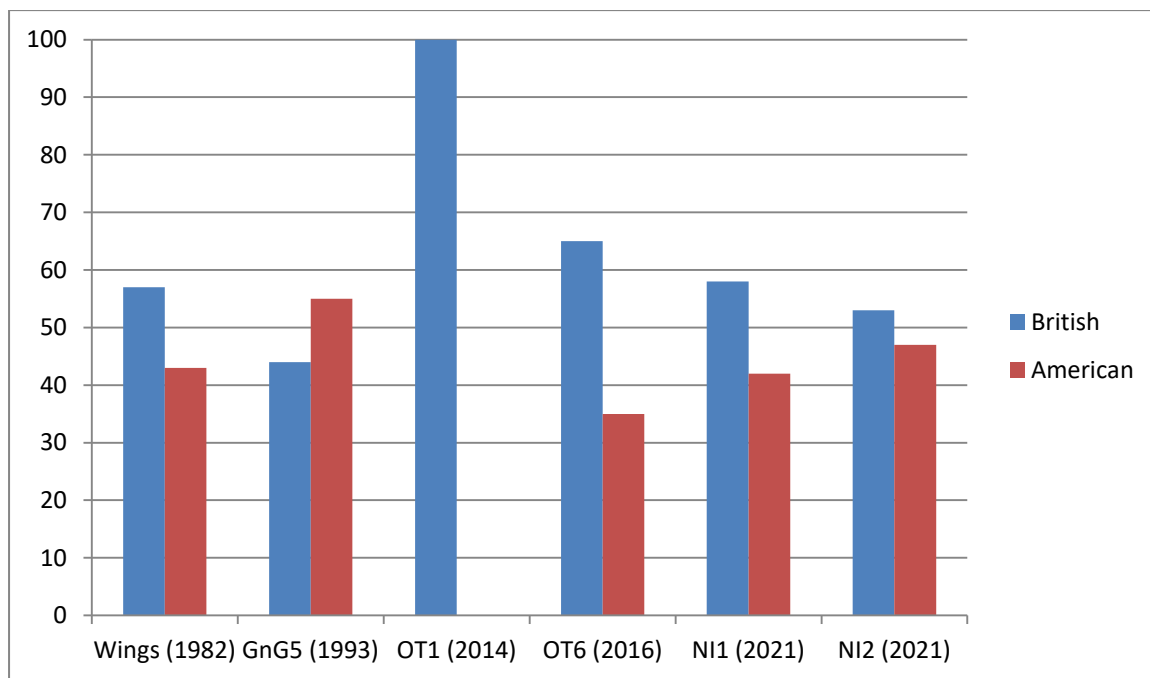


FIGURE 2 A graph showing how many per cent of the minor spelling differences found in the textbooks followed British English spelling or American English spelling.

As was disclosed in the analysis, British English and American English were much more equally portrayed regarding term differences. By stating this, I offer an underlying implication that other varieties were less prominently portrayed, which, to a certain extent, is true. Only *Wings* and *On Track 1* contained significantly more British English term differences than term differences from any other variety. Surprisingly, more Australian English term differences were found in *New Insights: module 2* than British English term differences, making it the only textbook in which British English came third in the number of term differences. With term differences from five varieties of English, *New Insights: module 2* also contained term differences from more varieties of English than any of the other textbooks in the present study. Further, since it was the most recent of the studied textbooks, this could suggest that different varieties of English besides British English and American English are

starting to become more common in contemporary EFL textbooks in Finland. However, due to the limited number of textbooks studied, it is difficult to make such claims confidently. The age of the textbook is not, of course, the only variable that contributes to the number of varieties in a textbook. The overall topics found within the textbooks also play a significant role.

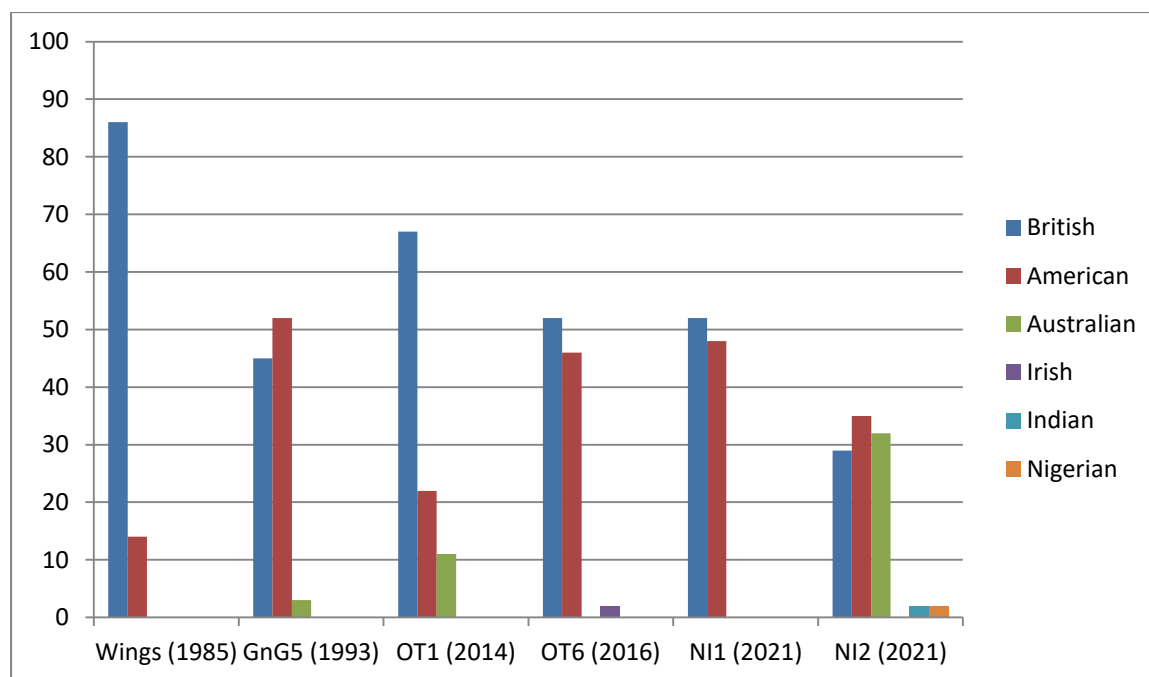


FIGURE 3 A graph showing how many per cent of the term differences found in the textbooks belonged to which variety of English.

## 7 DISCUSSION

To begin with, I would like to present the two research questions to which the analysis conducted in the previous chapter attempted to answer:

1. In what ways and to what extent is the vocabulary of different varieties of English presented in Finnish upper secondary school EFL textbooks?
2. How has the presentation of the vocabulary of different varieties of English changed in Finnish upper secondary school EFL textbooks over time?

Regarding the first research question, the findings indicate that British English is still dominating contemporary Finnish upper secondary school EFL textbooks, as has traditionally been the case. However, the role of American English should not be belittled as most of the analysed textbooks included a significant number of representations of the variety. It is difficult to say certainly whether American English is becoming more prominent in EFL textbooks in Finland, even though the most recent textbook, *New Insights* with its two modules, had remarkable percentages of American English instances. Only *Guys 'n Gals: course 5*, published in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, contained both more minor spelling differences and more term differences in American English than in British English. Then again, *On Track 1*, which was considered as one of the four contemporary textbooks, contained no minor spelling differences in American English and had a much fewer number of term differences in American English than in British English. Considering the

reputed status of American English as the most influential variety of English globally (Davies 2013: 47), it may well be that Finnish EFL textbooks will experience an increase in the use of American English vocabulary.

While British English and American English were featured in all of the analysed textbooks, the same cannot be said of other varieties of English. Australian English was the third most common variety – similarly to Savolainen’s (2020) findings – appearing in half of the textbooks. Irish English, Indian English, and Nigerian English all appeared only in one textbook and were not represented to a remarkable extent. Once again, it is difficult to draw any clear conclusions about whether more recent textbooks contain more different varieties of English than earlier textbooks. This is due to the fact that both *Wings*, the earliest textbook in the present study, and *New Insights: module 1*, the other part of the most recent textbook in the present study, were the only textbooks not to contain any other varieties apart from British English and American English. However, *New Insights: module 2* contained more varieties of English than any other textbook with five varieties, which could well be the direction that future textbooks may be taking.

Thanks to the inclusion of Indian English and Nigerian English in *New Insights: module 2*, it seems that not only are varieties from the inner circle considered but also varieties from the outer circle. Interestingly, all the inner-circle varieties were not represented in the analysed textbooks, as there were not any instances of Canadian English, New Zealand English, South African English, Liberian English, or Caribbean English. Considering that the textbooks in the present study were aimed at Finnish upper secondary school students, the absence of these inner-circle varieties is not surprising geographically because all the areas where such Englishes are used are rather far from Finland. While the USA and Australia are also far from Finland, they are probably more familiar to Finnish youth (e.g. due to their more prevalent presence in media) and are thus commonly represented in Finnish EFL textbooks.

Some answers to the second research question could already be found among the discussion concerning the first research question, but I will present a few

additional observations here. Although the traditional dominance of British English in Finnish EFL textbooks was visible in *Wings*, the earliest textbook in the present study, that was not the case with *Guys 'n Gals: course 5*, the second earliest textbook in the present study, in which American English vocabulary was more dominant. Moreover, British English was the preferred variety in all but one of the four contemporary textbooks, meaning that American English (or any other variety) has hardly displaced British English in Finnish EFL textbooks. While British English still dominates Finnish EFL textbooks – a fact that has not changed over time – it would appear that contemporary textbooks contain more different varieties than textbooks from the previous century. The four contemporary textbooks contained examples of a total of six different varieties of English (British, American, Australian, Irish, Indian, and Nigerian), whereas the two earlier textbooks contained examples of only a total of three different varieties of English (British, American, and Australian). However, as will be discussed in the following paragraph, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions with such a small number of analysed textbooks.

More reliable interpretations of the findings could have been made with a wider sample of analysed textbooks. Six textbooks is not much, but they had to be enough for the thesis, mostly because of the self-appointed goal for the time limit and the fact that I conducted this study alone, which would have made browsing through several textbook series an exhausting effort. The inclusion of more textbooks would have also made it possible to compare whether textbooks of similar contents and topics contained similar number of instances from different varieties of English. Further, one may wonder whether I was really able to find all the possible instances or whether there should have been a second opinion (i.e. another person that would have browsed through the textbooks with whom I could have compared the instances that we found). However, I am confident of my findings because I had rather precise criteria for what could be considered as a valid instance in the present study.

Discussing the limitations of the present study almost automatically offers suggestion for future research. Instead of just selecting random textbooks from a

variety of EFL textbook series, one could attempt to study the presentation of the vocabulary of different varieties of English in several complete textbook series. However, for a Master's Thesis it may be too laborious to do alone. I have also previously mentioned two possibilities for future research: One of these possibilities could be to study loan words in EFL textbooks in Finland, a topic the surface of which I barely scratched in the present study. The other possibility could be to study how a single variety of English has been presented in EFL textbooks in Finland over time.



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