

CONTENT EDULCORATION AS IDEOLOGY VISUALIZATION IN AN ENGLISH LANGUAGE COURSEBOOK

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Based on post-structural definitions of discourse(s), the article is aimed at criticizing the reductionist essence of canonical definitions of Teacher Language Awareness (TLA)], perceived as a formula for the regurgitation of western discourse practices in the English Language Teaching classroom. Based on a multimodal perspective and an ideological conceptual square, the research reports a case study illustrating how Euro-American imperial history is visualized in its entextualization in the non-language material of an English language textbook. The results of the case study reveal that in the process of re-entextualization the authors have de-emphasized the negative image of the Self by negating not only the Euro-American colonial atrocities but also their post-colonial repetition such as fascism in Spain. This concealment or content sanitation is part of the untarnished image the West projects through ELT as part of its role in the process of globalization and its connection to the neo-liberal empire, a fact that openly challenges the validity of TLA as a construct. The work also introduces the concept 'content edulcoration' (education + dulce (in Spanish) + decoration) understood as the means of syntactic and lexical language manipulation as well as its realization in the voice of transcript readers and images, all of which make non-language material suitable for educational purposes. From a practical viewpoint, each of the instances in the case study offers the counter-discourse necessary for resistance to the neo-colonization of the mind. The article suggests a reconceptualization of teacher formation and development in the era of globalization as well as the feasibility of researching similar issues in other major European language teaching textbooks.

Keywords: EFL, discourse(s), ideology, teacher language awareness, content sanitation, content edulcoration, Euro-American colonial history, colonization of mind, multimodality.

ПОНЯТИЕ EDULCORATION КАК ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКАЯ ВИЗУАЛИЗАЦИЯ В УЧЕБНИКАХ АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

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Основываясь на постструктуралистских определениях дискурса, данное исследование посвящено критике редукционистской сущности канонических определений понятия языковой осведомленности учителя (Teacher Language Awareness – TLA), осознаваемых как формула для регургитации западных дискурсивных практик в преподавании английского языка. Опираясь на принципы мультимодальности и понятие идеологического концептуального квадрата, в статье проводится тематическое исследование, демонстрирующее способы визуализации евро-американской имперской истории в энтекстуализации в неязыковом материале учебников английского языка, где авторы в процессе реэнтекстуализации избегают акцентировать внимание на негативном образе, отрицая не только прошлые колониальные злодеяния, но и их постколониальное повторение, такое как, например, фашизм в Испании. Эта маскировка, или санация, является частью незапятнанного образа Западного проекта, который проецируется в том числе через обучение английскому языку как важный элемент процесса глобализации и его связи с неолиберальными имперскими установками. И этот факт открыто бросает вызов обоснованности концепта языковой осведомленности учителя (TLA) как конструкта. В работе также вводится концепт «edulcoration» (education (образование) + dulce (in Spanish – сладость) + decoration (декорация)), понимаемый как средство синтаксического и лексического манипулирования языком, реализованное также в образах и аудиозаписях, которые делают пригодным для образовательных целей неязыковой материал. С практической точки зрения каждый из примеров, приведенных в исследовании, выражает контрдискурс, необходимый для практик противодействия неокolonизации ума. В работе

предлагается переосмысление способов формирования и развития компетенций учителя в эпоху глобализации, а также возможность исследования аналогичных вопросов в других европейских языковых учебниках.

Ключевые слова: английский как иностранный язык, дискурс, идеология, языковая осведомленность учителя, санация, *edulcoration*, евро-американская колониальная история, колонизация ума, мультимодальность.

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Introduction

Probably, for many, political knowledge is not as evident in Mathematics or Chemistry as it is in Biology, History, Literature, or as in English Language Teaching (ELT¹), especially in the age of neoliberal globalization. Issues in the politics and ideology accompanying the role of the English language in the world today such as the perception about its varieties, users, and its teaching-learning have been the object of research in the past twenty years [Pennycook 1994, 1998, 2000, 2001; Phillipson 1992, 2008; Kachru 1990; Brutt-Griffer 2002; Holliday 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007; Gray 2010; Gray & Block 2014]. Pennycook [Pennycook 1998, 19] traces back many of today's contending ELT issues to a historical past arguing that:

The history of the ties between ELT and colonialism has produced images of the Self and Other, understandings of English and of other languages and cultures that still play a major role in how English language teaching is constructed and practiced: from the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy to the images constructed around English as a global language and the assumptions about learners' cultures, much of ELT **echoes with the cultural constructions of colonialism** (emphasis added).

However, ELT canonical categories such as teacher language awareness (TLA) [Thornbury 1997; Andrews 2007] and forty-year-old language-centered structural definitions of discourse, discourse analysis and competence, and communicative competence (see Brown 1980; Richards et al. 1985; Brown & Yule 1983; Hymes 1972; Canale & Swain 1980) reduce the teacher to parrot the narratives of native-speaker textbook writers' discourse.

¹ The term ELT encompasses all the situations entailing the process of teaching-learning English a lingua franca, as an international, or global language regardless of their differences in conceptualization.

Today, however, “the native-speaker episteme,” Kumaravadivelu [Kumaravadilevu 2012, 15] unequivocally argues, “has not loosened its grip over theoretical principles, classroom practices, the publication industry, or the job market.” Based on post-structural definitions of discourse and a multimodal approach to language teaching, this article is aimed at sanitizing ELT through a critical analysis of how the above-mentioned categories help visualize an ‘edulcorated’ Euro-American colonial past image in the non-language content in an ELT coursebook. This epistemic break allowed us to explore ELT as a vehicle for ideological agendas. First, the article argues who is interested in entextualizing ideology in ELT textbook discourse as well as why; second, and a result of the first, the case study illustrates why ELT practitioners must know more than language: they are entitled to know the cultural history of the Other. The case study exemplifies how colonialism as an ideological practice is portrayed in textbooks, illustrating that English teachers need, in addition to language, to be able to foster the learners’ ideological awareness as empowerment to resist and avoid neo-colonization of the mind.

Literature Review

Canonical TLA definitions prescribe that the ELT teacher as an agent of the process in the periphery only needs to know the language, its teaching methodology, and general pedagogical knowledge [see Thornbury 1997; Andrews 2007]. Therefore, they not only limit the role of educators but also that of the learners by severely restricting their opportunities to voice their concerns and resist cultural subjugation in the ELT classroom. However, because ELT textbooks attractively favor western views of learning, the urge to adopt a critical teaching approach “to avoid being cast in the role of unwitting purveyors of both cultural and linguistic imperialism” [Birch & Liyanage 2004, 93] that exports English as a commodity [Gray 2010, Gray & Block 2014], make the need “to be critically conscious of the way language is manipulated by the forces of power and domination” [Kumaravadilevu 2008, 24] a must.

Dominant ideologies are disguised in ELT coursebooks as educational genres. These are “specific genres of ideological discourse, and ultimately the specific philosophical concept of discourse itself—since they are ideologically saturated, as a world view, even as a concrete opinion, ensuring a *maximum* of mutual understanding in all spheres of ideological life” [Bakhtin 1981, 270–271]. The ELT genre is culturally

defined, varies with timely-connected ideological movements within societies, and reproduces ideology.

This article views ELT discourse “not (as) something that language DOES . . . not a mere function of language . . . (but) the condition by which language as a structure of a system exists” [Luke, McHoul, & Mey 1990, 40]. This conviction sees *discourse* (abstract noun) as “the mediating mechanism in the social construction of (the learner’s) identity,” because “the way in which people take on particular identities is by **producing** and **receiving** culturally recognized, ideologically shaped representations of reality.” (ELT) *discourses* (concrete noun) refer to “culturally recognized ways of representing a particular aspect of reality from a particular ideological perspective” [Ivanic 1998, 17, emphasis added] responding to the needs of larger social structures.

Furthermore, because “discourses map out what can be said or thought about what they define as their respective domains” [Pennycook 1994, 128], it is possible to assume that to say some things in the EFL textbooks as a genre, it is necessary to conceal others or deviate attention from reality. “On the microlevel is the text (the language in use model for the learner), determined by discourse (the must of an English as a foreign language education to triumph in the future) and the (the First-Circle made English coursebook as a) genre, in turn determined by ideology (the superiority of western culture); on the macro level is the larger social structure [Kress 1985, 31] representing (European and Anglo-American) sociopolitical and economic interests. It is within this Euro-Anglo-American relationship that ELT genre discourse and ideology are of particular interest in this article.

Grounded on van Dijk [van Dijk 2001, 12], ideologies are approached as systems of ideas shaping a special form of social cognition shared by social groups, thus forming the basis of the social representations and practices of group members, including their discourse that, at the same time, usually serves as the means of its production and reproduction. “Ideologies characterize the ‘mental’ dimension of **society**, groups or **institutions**” [van Dijk 1998, 6, emphasis added]. Individuals, because of their participation in different social groups, exhibit a mixture of ideological mental dimensions, linking beliefs with ideologies. “Discourse not only **exhibits** indirectly . . . but also explicitly **formulates** ideological beliefs directly” [van Dijk 1998, 193, emphasis added] which allows their acquisition, change, and reproduction in social practices.

Ideological content is most usually found in the semantics of words and sentences as well as **topics**, that is, the field talked or written about: what van Dijk (*ibid.*) calls the discourse gist; and **themes** (broad cate-

gories expressed by single words, e.g., communication) that define “classes of texts with many different specific topics” which in addition to images–video, paintings, photographs, and the like–contain pragmatic meaning [Avanesov 2014] together with sound (voice, speed of delivery, intonation, pitch, stress) also communicate the speaker’s attitude and beliefs towards the topic. Therefore, it is within the **topics and how they are realized** in the non-language material in ELT textbooks and language-focused exercises where publishers’ and writers’ “inaccuracies, distortions and biases are embedded (all of which) may pass unrecognized and unchallenged” [Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford 1997, 70].

The origin of inaccuracies, distortions, and biases are in the publishers’ and writers’ mental models understood as what they know or believe about the theme which allows for the development of a topic. In other words, the ELT textbook choice of a theme (education, communication, health, the internet, travel) depends on the writers’ perceptions of the potential learners’ interests. The topic, what is being written about the theme, depends on how much information the writers share or want to share with the recipient (the potential learner). It is on this degree of detail shared about a globally coherent theme of interest to the learner that local coherence (the recipients’ intuition rendering the discourse as true or not) comes into play. The learners are very likely to accept as true topic’s inaccuracies, distortions, and biases if the dialog or written passage coherently presents a sequence of propositions. Furthermore, the learners’ own learning experience facilitates this process: they will always expect a textbook to tell the truth.

Ideologies never exist in a vacuum. They owe their coevolutionary existence to specific sociocultural contexts in whose discourse they are engineered and embedded with the aim to manage “debate and division relevant to that specific context” [Sibley and Osborne 2016, 3]. As such ideologies help political–but also mainly economic–elites in shaping, maintaining, and changing societies over time, while showing their capacity to adapt to dynamic (social) environments.

Contemporary western discourse has its origins in the colonial past and is reflected in its culture and thought. For Pennycook [Pennycook 1998, 16] “colonialism produced European (and American) culture . . . (this fact) calls for a major rethinking of pre-given categories and histories, a major calling-into-question of assumed givens and fixed structures . . . (which still) echo in the present [Pennycook 1998, 17]. . . and open up a wide range of questions concerning the development of current aspects of European and North American thought and culture”

[Pennycook 1998, 18–19], among them their proclaimed human nature and values who have their origins in the Enlightenment's philosophy of humanism and the deeply tainted violent spread of colonial activity [Fanon 1965, Césaire 1972, Young 1990], a “profound hypocrisy” [Marx 1978, 663] as well as “the destruction of all culture, and, as in ancient Rome, depopulation, desolation, degeneration, a vast cemetery” [Luxemburg 1915, 269].

These “respectable forms” have, since colonial times, been the arguments for Europe and North America to expand their zones of influence and resulting dominance; they were first used to historically justify colonization that provided the means for European economic growth and a solution to its exploding population levels, and internal problems. Today, by all available means: military, economic, and diplomatic among many others such as the export of culture in the form of films, music, education and the like, these “honorable” ideas are used again to recolonize the periphery as open spaces for their markets as well as sources of, for example, raw materials, cheap labor, and brains to sustain an aging culture.

In the area of education, contrary to Cold War ELT textbooks that portrayed an image favorable to the Anglo-American world and its native speakers, the 21st-century ones are entirely different in their aim. Block [Block 2014, 115] identifies English as “the beachhead of globalization” and because of “its mutually advantageous dangerous liaison” and connection with the power of the neoliberal empire and the project of globalization [Kumaravadivelu 2006, 13], the design of ELT textbooks projects a globalized cultural, sociological, and technological image derived of the Euro-American epicenter. It would, therefore, be reasonable to hypothesize that in ELT textbooks the treatment of content related to the colonial past such as slavery or other dark historical periods such as fascism undergoes special re-entextualization procedures whose aim is to project a fresh image of the Self.

This fresh image must echo Preiswerk [Preiswerk 1980] as cited in Phillipson [Phillipson 1992, 38] who underscores it means the “1) self-exaltation on the part of the dominant group which creates an idealistic image of itself; 2) the devaluation of the dominated group, and the suppression and stagnation of its culture, institutions, lifestyles and ideas; and 3) [Both 1 & 2 guarantee a] systematic rationalization of the relationships between both groups, always favorable to the dominant group.”

During the process of recontextualization of one genre into another (e.g., a piece of news into a non-language material in a textbook), a text

undergoes a first process, what Gray [Gray 2010] calls ‘content sanitation’; that is, due to the need of maximizing sales in the greatest number of markets, publishers’ regulations avoid the use of certain uncomfortable thematic contents. Content sanitation is followed by a second process, ‘content edulcoration’ that is understood as anything the coursebook writer does to assuage the non-language content; that is, non-language content is presented in such a way that the treatment of a topic, though bad for the Other’s historical memory, is perceived as better avoiding the arousal of unpleasant feeling.

Content edulcoration is making the non-language propositional content palatable and acceptable for educational purposes. This process requires language manipulation at the lexico-grammatical level and the phonetic-phonological system in its realization in speech (voice, intonation, pitch), as will be illustrated later. That is, edulcoration is present in the use of euphemisms such as ‘arrived’ instead of ‘conquered’ and ‘economic difficulties’ instead of ‘economic crisis’ in which case a calamity is transferred to the Other rather than to the Self’s social system or particular country, and vice versa progress or a particular feat is ascribable to the Self as a country or system or a particular outstanding individual; content edulcoration may also be achieved by the use of adverbials such as ‘then’ and ‘later’ which allow the compression of time distorting historic reality. Content edulcoration encourages “simple ‘thinking about’ a domain of idea-elements [that] serves both to weld a broader range of such elements into a functioning belief system and to eliminate strictly logical inconsistencies defined from an objective point of view” [Converse 1964, 241].

Content edulcoration in English language textbooks is also present in visual representations that have the specific role to illustrate written passages and dialogues that serve as support for pre-/post-listening/reading activities. Like linguistic structures, semioticians Kress and van Leeuwen [Kress and van Leeuwen 2006] assert, visual structures have their own grammar. This visual grammar makes uses of the same theoretical notions of systemic functional grammar (SFG) [Halliday 2004] and comprises three metafunctions: *ideational*, *interpersonal*, and *textual*.

The first metafunction, *ideational*, symbolizes the world as experience and is realized in language by verbs while in the visual grammar by *vectors*. The second, *interpersonal*, covers the relationships between the producer-receiver/reproducer and the object; in SFG terms, this relationship is seen by the categories sender/receiver, while in visual grammar, the metafunction makes use of the categories *represented*

participants and *interactive participants*. The third metafunction, textual that in SFG is seen through the categories oral, written, internal organization, interactivity, among others is represented in visual grammar as the capacity to create visual complexes that “internally cohere with each other and externally with the context in and for which they were produced” as meaningful wholes [Halliday 2004, 43]. These complexes are described through the categories *compositional arrangement* in relation to the text, *layout*, *color*, *color saturation*, and *background* among others.

In English language textbooks, text and image work together in a meaning-making integrated, multimodal whole where each semiotic mode has a role to play and an objective to achieve. The case study below acknowledges a priori that text and image fulfill a complementary role and objective in the assimilation of language content material; at the same time, the role and objective they have are different in terms of ideological message visualized not only in the realization either in speech or writing but also in the ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions of the imagery accompanying them.

This section has explored the research conceptual foundations of discourse, ideology and their relationship with ELT and the ELT textbook as a Westernized vehicle of culture. Based on the above, the following case study intends to demonstrate how the cultural constructions of colonialism are biasedly entextualized in an ELT textbook.

Case Study

The textbook chosen for the study was Krantz and Roberts’ *Navigate Upper-Intermediate*, sold under the appealing slogan “**Your** direct route to English success” (emphasis added). The product claims it is a course “tailored exclusively to adults” taking into account academic research. It covers a variety of topics derived from themes in most cases also interesting to younger learners; the presentation of many, however, presents a vision clearly carrying a cultural message.

From a multimodal perspective [Kress 1993; Kress & van Leeuwen 2006], the method used for the analysis was the search of ideologically-loaded content in non-language material. The criterion used for their identification was the ideological conceptual square [van Dijk 1998, 44]. Only a few out of the twelve units in the textbook are reported. Each case is presented with a summary of the text followed by quotes entextualizing ideological constructions, a commentary with critiques that are not definite but can help in resistance-focused activities.

The first unit with the theme “Communication” covers several topics: the rules of conversation, digital vs handwritten communications, communication problems, and language death and revival, a topic retaken again in the video accompanying the unit. In Section 1.3, the vocabulary and skills lesson is contextualized through a text about the decline in use of *Silbo Gomero*, an ancient whistling language indigenous to La Gomera, an island in the Canary Archipelago, an overseas Spanish possession in the Atlantic, just 100 km from the African coast. The text, an adaptation of a piece of BBC news [Pitt 2013], describes the origins of this language as a result of the island’s inhospitable volcanic geography: steep hills difficult to cross and deep ravines that make communication in whistles easier than in words.

In the third paragraph, the text reads, “When the first European settlers arrived at La Gomera in the 15th century, the islanders—of North African origin—were communicating with whistles. When the Spanish arrived, the locals adapted the whistling language to Spanish” (p. 10).

This part of the text is deceiving in two ways. First, the Spanish did not come as settlers and just **arrived**. This is a euphemistic way to conceal they came as conquerors with all the violence the term implies. The islanders were able to repel all acts of conquest first from European feudal lords but were later overwhelmed by the Spanish arms superiority against which the islanders only had stones, knowledge of the terrain, and strong fighting spirit [Varela, Borrego, & Piralá 1889]. Second, it is, therefore, quite unlikely that they happily adapted *Silbo* to Spanish. Most probably, as a matter of survival and mixture, the indigenous population, especially the *Guanches* that survived the conquest and took refuge in the mountains had to learn the language of the colonizers brought by the thousands after 1446. That is, the whistling language adapted to the new conditions and passed from generation to generation, as local tourism promoters claim.

The reasons for the decline in the use of this ancient language in paragraph five read: “In the 1950s, economic difficulties forced many whistlers to emigrate from La Gomera. This, the growing road network and, later, the development of mobile phones all contributed to the decline of *Silbo*” (p. 11).

According to locals, the original piece of news clearly reports of the widespread use of the language during the 1940s and 1950s, while the textbook writers relate its decline to an economic crisis during the 1950s. This is an obvious contradiction. That the textbook writers might not have realized they were contradicting the original is very unlikely since it is supposed they must have been very careful when preparing the text.

Therefore, they are manipulating the original to conceal the widespread use of *Silbo* to communicate and hide from the *Guardia Civil* (Franco's police) who did not whistle and were there to control the islanders during Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975).

From a position of neutrality, the Spanish economy had benefited from World War I with increases in agriculture, coal production, and textiles but had to face, after 1917, international competition in disadvantageous industrial conditions, a strong but divided working-class movement, decreased birth rates, and emigration to former colonies [Martorell & Juliá 2012]. All together contributed to the precarious economic situation in the 1920s, later metastasizing, during the Great Depression, into more crisis, division, and social unrest leading to the 1936–1939 Civil War and Franco's fascist dictatorship (1939–1975). Therefore, the 1950s crisis does not seem to be an isolated episode in Spanish history forcing emigration but the continuation of the wheel of history.

In their semiotic relationship, the text anchors a photoshopped image (compare with the original on the right at website²).



Fig. 1. A man whistling in the direction of the camera

The vector portrays a man whistling in the direction of the camera. The very discernible foreground allows seeing the detailed hand positions to produce the language. In the background, a village with well-built houses in a deep ravine with differently saturated shades of green reinforces the idea of remoteness (fig. 1). The textbook image ideational metafunction seems to convey the idea of a dying intangible world heritage in a beautiful countryside where progress and well-being have

² https://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/travel_news/article-2883973

already arrived. The whistling man, the only participant in the photograph, because of his age, may well be the son of one of those who had to hide from Franco's police, which explains why he learnt the whistling language. His sunburnt skin and especially his hands show he probably is an illiterate farmer used to working hard for long hours in a tropical and desert climate; he is just one of the thousands who strives to make living in a place where tourism is the source of income. At the textual level, the photoshopped image visualizes the idea of advancement for all, even in a remote countryside. In other words, it just edulcorates the real situation of the farmers who face lack of utilizable lands and water as well as salinization in an archipelago that depends mostly on tourism.

Unit Eight, "Old and New", covers several topics such as the internet of things to introduce relative clauses, and generations to introduce participles clauses. Section 8.3 (pp. 80–81) focuses on vocabulary related to food, recognition of stressed words, and adjectives plus dependent prepositions. From a didactic point of view, oral skills and vocabulary development are well combined. However, in a cheerful sweet voice, a supposed food historian talks about the origins of New- and Old-World food. The topic is introduced by means of colorful pictures of agricultural products such as corn, avocados, and papaya. The seemingly disconnected images but inextricably related to food brought to Europe and the rest of the world after the colonization of the Americas; their textual metafunction is to anchor the idea that the Colombian exchange was only about food.

This final assertion is confirmed by the following proposition: "The Columbian Exchange, named after Christopher Columbus, was the exchange of food and **other things** between the New and Old Worlds" (audio script p. 167, emphasis added).

The phrase **other things**, as content sanitation in the quote, conceals the Spanish and other European former empires' colonial past. While it is true that there was a huge exchange of plants and animals, "**other things**" is a camouflage for other cruel realities brought by colonization: cultural genocide [Coates 2004] and diseases previously unknown to the Americas such as smallpox, influenza, and measles causing devastation far exceeding that of even the Black Death in fourteenth-century Europe [Nunn & Qian 2010, 164] and the resulting enslavement and ensuing wars of resistance to colonization resulted in "the death of perhaps 80 million people—close to one-fifth of humankind—in the first century and a half after contact with Europeans represents the greatest loss of life in human history" [Foner 2011, 27]. Furthermore, the substitute for the decimated population was found in the inhumane movement of over

twelve million slaves and devastating cultural, socio-economic, and political consequences for the Black continent [Williams 2014]. Therefore, quite the contrary to what the colorful high-resolution photos and the cheerful voice of the script-reader and impersonating food expert suggest, there is nothing celebratory about the Columbian Exchange. In addition, Latin-Americans consider the phrase “New and Old Worlds” a European colonially-coined phrase and a repetition of colonial discourse; instead, they argued that what happened in 1492 was the meeting of two civilizations or cultures.

Once again, the course writers turned again to content sanitation through omission of important historical facts that go hand in hand with the topic presented to the student. Seen from a multimodal perspective, content edulcoration is present in the light-hearted celebratory voice of the ‘food-expert,’ the evocation of images such as “it’s hard to imagine Italian food without tomatoes, Greek food without aubergines, or Thai or Indonesian food without peanut sauce” as well as the lack of European enthusiasm for tomatoes and potatoes, or that the introduction of cows led to the enjoyment of steaks and dairy products by the Americans. These statements just add length without substance to the text; they just edulcorate it.

The reason behind the concealment of the European colonial past in this textbook confirms van Dijk’s [van Dijk 1998, 44] assertion that the Self never says negative things about the Self. The above and several other passages in the text support this statement. For instance, in Unit 2, “Escape”, the text helping to generalize the use of past events, praises Mary Kingsley as a fearless explorer who seemingly alone without any other support—the passage allows for this inference—“decided to travel to West Africa” [Kingsley 2002, 16], explored and wrote about it during Victorian times. Her tour comprised two missions: first, “to meet the natives . . . learn about their customs and religions and write a book about the subject”; second, “to collect tropical fish and reptiles for the British Museum”.

However, her book *Travels in West Africa* exposes that Ms. Kingsley was just another British helping build the empire for which she needed the appropriate mindset, that of the Self, as the very preface to the 1897 edition reveals:

In reading this section you must make allowances for my love of this sort of country, with its great forests and rivers and its animistic-minded inhabitants, and for my ability to be more comfortable there than in England. Your superior culture-instincts may militate against your enjoying West Africa, but if you go there you will find things as I have said.

This book betrays the explorer image as a result of her comparisons of British colonies but also between British and other European possessions: “The regions of richest soil are not in our possessions, but in those of Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal, namely, the Cameroons and its volcanic island series, Fernando Po, Principe, and San Thomé” [Kingsley 2000, 186]. Her writing reflects the civilizing mission of colonial powers: “Sierra Leone . . . has had unequalled opportunities of becoming Christianised [sic] for more than one hundred years, and now has more than one hundred and thirty places of Christian worship in it” [Kingsley 2000, 154]. In other words, Ms. Kingsley’s book reveals the colonial complicity of the church by encouraging submission to a non-African God. It also highlights British colonial superiority over other European colonial powers and subjects: “I may say all of them in the whole of the British possessions on the West Coast—are educated Negroes” [Kingsley 2000, 200]

The text about Mary Kingsley is cleansed of its historical context and edulcorated with a short description of her adventures described as “**touring** the country . . . the first **white** person to paddle up the Ogowe River and cross the jungle to the Remboue [Kingsley 2000, 16–17, our emphases]. This and a follow-up grammar exercise obscures Kingsley’s true mission: exploring as a London representative during the scramble of Africa in the 19th century. From an ideological perspective, this short passage also highlights and promotes the culture of individualism so essential in liberal ideologies.



Fig. 2. The image of Ms. Kingsley

The above photograph accompanying the written text and placed in the middle of its second part, anchors her personality. The photo meets all the criteria that reinforce her identity as a daring, tough, and adventurous woman. The image, an enhancement of one of the many found in google images, depicts a close-up of Ms. Kinsley's face, where only seeing her neck allows to guess she is dressed in full Victorian England attire (fig. 2).

The image is symbolic of her attributes and meaning as a human being. For instance, the relationship between dress codes and exploration in Africa portrays a woman who preserved her Englishness even in the inhospitable African environment, while the flowers on her hat represent that despite her adventurous character, she is still a lady in the full sense of the word. In addition, though difficult to read, the expression of her eyes, her thin smile, and forward chin may be understood as high self-esteem shown in confidence in her own individual abilities to travel alone, an idea stated in the text, as well as sense of superiority. In other words, the image visualizes the ideas in the text and book. From an interactive perspective with the viewer, the image without a background bolsters the ideology of individuality, the superiority of the Self who alone without any support, and regardless of gender, can perform extraordinary feats. Individualism, as stated above, is a characteristic value of Western cultures that has profound moral, political, philosophical, and ideological roots.

A fourth theme closely connected to the negation of the Self's historical past is slavery in the US as presented in Section 2.2 in Unit Two, just after the Mary Kingsley text. This passage combines audio and two sketches. Content sanitation is achieved by not providing a time framework which allows portraying slavery not as a legacy of British colonialism [Morgan 2007], and thus favoring the belief of a capitalist-based economy in the North and a slave-based one in the South.

However, all the thirteen colonies in British America, since 1620, depended in one way or another on slaves or indentured servants, a form of slavery with a different name. According to the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture (2019), "With plentiful land and slave labor available to grow a lucrative crop, southern planters prospered, and family-based tobacco plantations became the economic and social norm" barely a few years after the first settlements.

Content edulcoration is also achieved through the choice of the topic: the right to self-determination, a Western discourse trope to impose first imperial and today's global objectives. In the text, the right to

self-determination is epitomized by Henry 'Box' Brown's successful escape from slavery in Virginia to Philadelphia. His escape is linked with Henry's former owner, depicted as a kind man who paid and allowed Brown to have a family, raise his children, that is, slavery with a human face, the praise for Henry's extraordinary courage and determination—again the role of the individual in history—and the box in which he had escaped as a symbol of the injustice of slavery. In fact, Brown's decision to escape was prompted by the sale of his family to another slave owner in North Carolina. Henry's case, however, is just one instance out of the "nearly 4 million slaves with a market value estimated to be between \$3.1 and \$3.6 billion—in that time money value—and who lived in the U.S. just before the Civil War" [Bourne 2008], in fact, **more than 60 percent of the western hemisphere slave population.**

Furthermore, it is a blatant lie that Fox got married to his wife, as the listening script asserts [Williams 2014, 161]. Though Henry and his wife could have lived together and have children, marriage as a social institution cannot have been possible because they were property and, as such, could not enter into legal contracts, which explains why the owner of Henry's wife was able to sell her and his children. It was convenient for slaves to form a family, slave owners had reasoned, for they were less likely to entertain ideas of escape or rebellion; in addition, their children who would in all cases belong to the mother's owner were also a form to increase their property [Williams 2014].

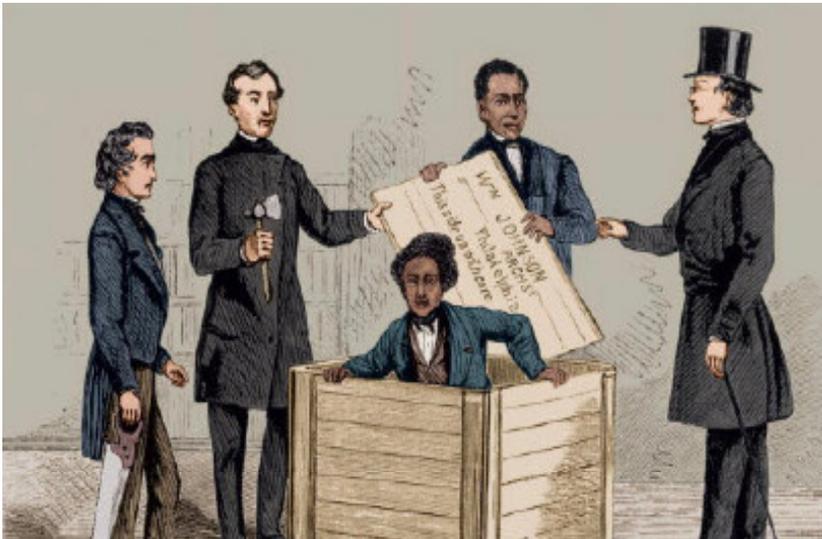


Fig. 3. Henry Brown going out of the box in which he mailed himself from Virginia to Philadelphia



Fig. 4. Slaves picking cotton

The non-language material in the textbook section is accompanied by the two images above. The sketch on the left anchors the passage, and the one on the right the dialog following the set of questions after the passage.

Though it is just one of the many versions of the event, the image on the left (fig. 3) depicts Henry Brown going out of the box in which he mailed himself from Virginia to Philadelphia. It can be interpreted in the form of an event in the passive voice where the box is seen as Goal in SFG terms: The box in which Brown was coming was anxiously awaited by the abolitionists; or as active: The box with Brown inside finally arrived. In any of the cases, the box plays an extraordinary role for it—that of Carrier—and cannot be seen out of the context because it is the means which allowed him to escape.

In other words, the box, though inanimate and sketched in much more detail than its content, acquires animate properties in the picture, becomes a participant in the picture, and a symbol of the difficult conditions of the journey. The other participants, the abolitionists, are engaged in a conversation because all the vectors coincide on the man on the right as if they are listening to his instructions, not on Brown who is supposedly the reason of their presence in the place. One of these men is also black, a fact that reflects the consensus among Pennsylvanians on the slavery issue. As a semiotic resource, the use of color in an originally black and white image, imprints life and unity for the cause through use

of black and different shades of gray and blue against an opaque background. This color combination realizes the powerful textual metafunction of the image which comes to reinforce the idea expressed in the dialog script: “. . . the box became a symbol of the injustice of slavery.”

Interestingly, the second sketch (fig. 4) illustrating the injustice of slavery by depicting slaves picking cotton is in black and white. This as well as the difference in details when compared with the first seems to convey the message that Brown lived a great life and that racism and slavery are things of the past.

The case study has conclusively demonstrated that ELT practitioners are entitled to know more than the English language and teaching methodology as prescribed by TLA. This conclusion envisions an approach to teacher formation transcending language as a structure for communication. It envisions an ELT classroom centered around multimodality, seen as a means to build informed-identity in the age of globalization and post-truth.

Conclusions

In sum, only by silencing the colonial past can Europe and the US boast of human dignity and human rights, the value of cultural diversity, democracy, justice, fairness, equality, and the rule of law. These conceptions form the basis of edu-businesses and global cultural products such as *Navigate Upper-Intermediate*, advertised as the solution to the periphery's problems as if competence in this language were the way out of socioeconomic underdevelopment.

The study identified a clearly defined strategy to introduce ideological messages: de-emphasizing the negative image of the Self by negating the European colonial and post-colonial past either done through overt omission or the manipulation of language and images as content edulcoration. In other words, the ELT textbook studied makes use of multimodal methods to convey ideological messages. At the same time, it suggests a new conception in language teacher formation going beyond and above TLA.

The results obtained in the study, hopefully, provide a background for research of not only other coursebooks and even whole series for the teaching of EFL in the market today, but also their equivalents in other major European imperial languages such as French, Spanish, German, Portuguese, Italian, and Dutch.

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