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ASPECTS OF CULTURAL RELATIVITY IN EFL HANDBOOKS

"Language [...], is not self – dependent without reference to the culture of which it is a part and the social relation which it mediates"

[Nostrand 1966: 2]

1. INTRODUCTION

The above motto is the main idea of this paper, the purpose of which is the examination of selected English teaching textbooks, used in Poland and other countries at various levels of education. We will examine them in respect of the quantity of cultural elements characteristic of English speaking countries, and the native ones for potential users of textbook.

1.1. Variuos attitudes towards the cultural load in textbooks

In languages teaching theory, as in all branches of science there are different schools of thought, and no general consensus. Some applied linguists or textbook writers (e.g. L. G. Alexander) are of the opinion that English teaching textbooks should be free from any cultural elements, and contain only international language not favouring any cultures. Others, who are aware of the unity of language and culture, purposely insert cultural elements into textbooks or other teaching materials.

is not to give its rough equivalent, sufficient for practical purposes, but to state exactly whether a native word corresponds to an idea at last partially existing for English speakers, or whether it covers an entirely foreign conception. That such foreign conceptions do exist for native languages and in great number, is clear. All words which describe the native social order, all expressions referring to native beliefs, to specific customs, ceremonies, magical rites — all such words are obviously absent from English as from any European language. Such words can only be translated into English, not by giving their imaginary equivalent, — a real one obviously cannot be found — but by explaining the meaning of each of them through an exact Ethnographic account of the sociology, culture and tradition of that native community" [Malinowski 1923: 300].

Malinowski gives an example of a translation from the language of natives in the Trobriand Islands, N.E. New Guinea. The given sentence translated into English word for word, looks like a meaningless sequence of words, even for people acquainted with the language but not the culture of the natives. An understanding of the sentence is not possible without placing the utterance in its proper setting of native culture.

Malinowski's [1923: 305] essay includes an analysis of primitive linguistic texts which are to prove "[...] that language is essentially rooted in the reality of the culture, the tribal life and customs of a people, and that it cannot be explained without constant reference to these broader contexts of verbal utterance".

2.2.2. The influence of language on thought in: Ogden and Richards 1923

The above presented options of Malinowski are closely connected to the conclusions drawn by Ogden and Richards in 1923. In his option the examples given in his essay are only "an illustration on a concrete example of the general principles so brilliantly set forth by Ogden and Richards [...]".

Although with no strict references to culture their work remains significant for the aims being discussed in this paper, as it discusses the influence of language upon human thought. Ogden and Richards report here their opinions on the essence of meaning, that is the connection between the signifying and the signified. This connection should be, in their option, discussed from three points of view: the linguistic, the psychological and the logical. The first point aims at the research of the semantic systems of human languages, their structures and transformations. The second one is to define what goes on in the human mind during the process of speech,

the third one deals with the relation of language and signs, the functions

of symbols and the influence of language on human thought.

Ogden and Richards stress the role of mental consciousness. "That every living word is rooted in facts of our mental consciousness and history it would be impossible to gainsay: but it is a very different matter to determine what facts may be" [Ogden and Richards 1923: 2]. Besides the authors claim that philosophers and philologists failed to explain properly the influence of language upon thought. In their opinion there is, however a group of researchers, the ethnologists, who are interested in this subject. Specialists in dealing with primitive peoples quickly jumped to the conclusion that. "An adequate account of primitive peoples is impossible without an insight into the essentials of their languages, which cannot be gained through a mere transfer of current Indo-European grammatical distinctions [...]" (Ibid.: 6). According to Ogden and Richards the aspect of the environment is quite often neglected by researchers, who concentrate only on the "ideas" regarded as "expressed".

2.2.3. The theory of Linguistic Relativity - Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf

The most eminent linguists who conducted research on the connections of language and thinking in the 20th century were the Americans, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, the authors of the theory of Linguistic Relativity, often referred to as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

2.2.3.1. The way to the hypothesis, the role of Edward Sapir

Whorf entered linguistics as an amateur. Being a chemist, an M.I.T. graduate he had a job as an insurance inspector, dealing mainly with claims in fire accidents. Numerous trips on business quite often around the territories inhabited by American Indians, and the results of fires caused by lack of care while dealing with "empty gasoline drums" directed his interests to linguistics and thinking processes.

While conducting the Maya studies Whorf met Edward Sapir, at that time an authority on linguistics, especially on American languages. From that time on, Sapir became Whorf's intellectual and scientific master, stimulating and supervising his intellectual development. Sapir himself did not deal with the philosophy of language as such, but in his papers it was

do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organised by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organise it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organise it in this way – an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, BUT ITS TERMS ARE ABSOLUTELY OBLIGATORY; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organisation and classification of data which the agreement decrees' [Whorf 1956: 212–214].

2.2.3.5. The interpretative consequences of Whorf's version of the theory of Linguistic Relativity

The new version of the hypothesis assumes that no one is able to describe reality impartially, because we are restricted by our linguistic systems. Consequently, no two persons can perceive the world in the same way unless their linguistic systems are similar or at least comparable. Furthermore, in agreement with his theory Whorf tried to prove with the results of his Hopi studies that the SAE languages and world views of their native speakers are not only different but also opposite to Hopi ones.

2.2.3.6. The comparison of linguistic systems and world views of Hopi and SAE languages – the practical foundations of Whorf's theory

Whorf claims that people always think in a certain language, which is a system of stereotypes controlling thinking in a subconscious way. He researched the stereotypes of both SAE Hopi languages and found serious differences between them. SAE linguistic system perceives the world as a set of objects, human products mainly, like furniture, buildings etc., which are artificially isolated from the outside world. By way of contrast, Hopi language perceives the world as a set of events and happenings.

Whorf also compared the syntax systems of SAE and Hopi and their connections with thinking. He claims that the sentence structure of both linguistic systems are entirely different. One cannot find in Hopi the typical

European subject-object structure. In Nootka for example "... the sentence without subject or predicate is the only type. The term 'predication' is used, but it means 'sentence'. Nootka has no parts of speech; the simplest utterance is a sentence, treating of some event or event — complex. Long sentences are sentences of sentences ('complex sentences'), not just sentences of words'' [Whorf 1956: 242]. In Navaho, on the other hand, all the inanimate objects are divided into two kinds: oval and longitudonal ones, which is completely contrary to SAE system.

Other important factors for Whorf's theory are the categories of time and space. The categories of space being similar in both SAE and Hopi, Whorf devoted most attention to the category of time. In particular, Hopi has no general notion or intuition of TIME as a smooth flowing continuum in which everything in the universe proceeds at an equal rate, out of a future, through a present, into a past: or, in which, to reverse the picture, the observer is being carried in the stream of duration continuously away from a past and into a future "(Ibid.: 57)". Hence, the Hopi language contains no reference to 'time', either explicit or implicit. At the same time, the Hopi language is capable of accounting for and describing correctly, in a pragmatic or operational sense, all observable phenomena of the universe (Ibid.: 58).

Briefly speaking, Whorf claims that Hopi substitute the metaphysics of three – dimensional space and one – dimensional time for what is subjective and objective. The future tense is substituted for what is subjective. The verb system does not function according to the linear three – dimensional system, but on the basis on the "earlier – later" gradation. Thus, there is a significant difference between the SAE category of "time" and Hopi category of "duration", which can be called one of the foundations of Whorf's theory of Linguistic Relativity.

2.2.3.7. Whorf's theory of Linguistic Relativity - conclusive remarks

Whorf's theory implies two main conclusions:

1. the outside world is "a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions", in terms of the linguistic system of people who use it for thinking and communicating,

2. languages, for example Indian and SAE, categorize the world in a different way on the basis of their grammar and logic, and thus people perceive the world differently, depending on their native language.

Let me bring to a conclusion this presentation of the theory of Linguistic Relativity with Whorf's own words: "We are thus introduced to a new principle of relativity, which holds that all observers are not led by the

same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated" [Whorf 1956: 214].

2.3. The unity of language and culture an seen by modern linguists and language teachers

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis was not accepted in its radical version since its assumptions are too ambiguous and full of generalisations. However, its weak version based on weak empirical assumptions presupposing the influence of language on cognition seems to be more convincing. Nevertheless, now, half a century after the publication of the Whorf and Sapir hypothesis, the unity of language and culture still interests linguists and teachers of English. The most important thing is that those who teach students who come from entirely different cultures stress the importance of this unity most often. Let me present therefore several selected examples of papers written by researchers or language teachers which tackle the problem in connection with language pedagogy.

2.3.1. The cultural background of teaching English to adults

In the study of Woytowicz-Neyman [1970] devoted to teaching adults, we can find a chapter discussing the cultural background of language. According to it, cultural values help in understanding both the target language and its characteristic cultural aspects. Language is not an abstraction existing in vacuum, but a precisely described verbal reaction in a given cultural framework, the purpose of which is to communicate with another human being. Therefore, a knowledge of the customs, traditions and culture of the country whose language we intend to study helps in recognizing and acquiring elements different from our culture and behaviour, but which are typical for the other nation. Woytowicz-Neyman presents several examples of cultural misunderstandings. The first one describes an Englishman who having translated the English phrase come in literally responded to the knock at the hotel room door with the Polish phrase właż or wejdź. She also mentions a Pole who, when asked How do you do?, responded with a detailed description of his health. Another Pole while handing over an object to some other person kept saying please instead of here you are. And finally we learn about a Pole who misunderstood the

question asked by an English clergyman: Did you enjoy my sermon? translating it into Polish: Czy ubawileś się na moim kazaniu?

2.3.2. The role of culture in language teaching

Similar views are presented by C. Criper and H. G. Widdowson [1975] in the Edinburgh Course of Applied Linguistics. In their opinion teaching a foreign language is not teaching an ability to match the linguistic forms to one another in order to create correct sentences, but it is a study of their usage to create various communicative acts. A human being who studies a foreign language must acquire, at least to a certain degree, some convictions, attitudes and beliefs characteristic to the target language native speakers. This process may become complicated when the new set of cultural relations is in conflict with the native language and culture of the learner. The conscious process of enriching the target language with the elements of culture is beneficial for the process of learning. In an extreme case this approach might lead to the learner's isolation from his own cultural environment. This problem is not so acute when the learner's culture is not different from the culture of the target language.

2.3.3. Use of folklore in language teaching

Another opinion, for the culture – language connection, is expressed by Wendy Frankel [1978], in her article devoted to the use of folklore in language learning process. She claims that "students need awarness not only of the language itself but also of the people and the complex cultural background from which the language comes" [Frankel 1978: 28].

2.3.4. How to use mail - order catalogues as educational aids

Timothy M. Skanlan [1979] in his article stresses the role of culture in language learning and tries to persuade foreign language teachers to use mail – order catalogues as materials giving the possibility of linguistic and cultural enrichment. As far as culture is concerned the author claims that catalogues are useful for conveying some notions of culture to advanced learners. "Mail – order catalogues in particular provide fascinating documents

through which to study a country's culture and its language" [Scanlan 1979: 69]. Scanlan compares catalogues to an encyclopedia of everyday life free from "cultural clichés" that should not be fixed in the learner's mind. He even suggests using pages devoted to the sale of undergarments which expose a country's tastes and standards in both flesh and cloth. Learners should answer the question "What makes these people look foreign" to the learner of English, finding differences and expressing their own opinions. The main task of such organised classes should be the learner's "realisation of his own system and attitudes toward other sets of values abroad, and his ability to talk and write coherently about these topics" [Scanlan 1979: 71].

2.3.5. Teaching English and its literature – a means carrying cultural values – Jafarpur (1980)

In 1980 a group of Iranian specialists dealing with the preparation of materials in for Special Purposes for Iranian students of science, mathematics and medicine, published a report on their work in English Teaching Forum. The article beginning with a discussion of Nostrand's [1966] opinions on language and culture, concentrates on teaching English literature as a means of carrying the values of its culture. In their opinion the learner of English should be able to interpret both the language and culture of the people he is going to talk to. However, the presentation of the cultural values of literature is beyond the scope of this study, but the paper of the Iranian teachers of English remains a piece of evidence for the culturally oriented teaching of English.

2.3.6. Culturally – bound teaching materials versus the culturally neutral foreign language teacher – Rauf (1988)

A paper of the Pakistani teacher, Syed Muhammad Abdur R a u f [1988] firmly supports the idea of teaching a foreign language in connection with its cultural background. In his opinion, "the meaning of a word is not absolute in any language. It is conditioned by social conventions" [R a u f 1988: 44]. Thus it is extremely difficult to find the exact equivalence between words in two languages, especially if words similar in denotation differ in connotation. Rauf also stresses the importance of second language programmes which motivate students to understand the culture of the target

language. Non-culture bound reading materials in foreign language teaching have been criticized by many linguists, as destroying the unity of language and separating it from its social context. Materials based on texts reflecting a student's own culture destroy the unity of the target language. This theory was proved by the already mentioned Iranian specialists [J a f a r p u r 1980], at Pahlavi University, where students who studied the target language culture did better than those who used their reading materials based on their own culture. "Textbooks that are «culturally neutral» will blunt the curiosity of the SLL, and thus the task of language learning will be defeated". Later on, Rauf suggests teachers should explain some cultural aspects peculiar to native speakers of English, in contrast to the native culture of the students. On the other hand, a foreign language teacher, according to Rauf, should maintain complete cultural neutrality, without giving his students the impression "that he is selling a foreign culture to them" [R a u f 1988: 45].

2.3.6.1. The conclusions on teaching language and culture, made by R a u f (1988)

Rauf [1988: 46] reaches the following conclusions in his discussion:

1. "One of the reasons for poor comprehension is the lack of insight into the culture of the TL".

2. "The greater their (student 's) cultural knowledge, the more confidently

will they be able to approach the textual material".

3. "This is not to say that students should be immersed in the foreign culture at the cost of their own cultural identity. The story of a foreign culture does not necessarily mean shaping one's life according to it. It should be rather confined to an academic interest".

2.3.7. Cultural knowledge and the teaching of reading [M c K a y 1989]

Sandra McKay [1989] discusses this matter, stressing the fact that the role of explaining cultural backgrounds has often been neglected in the reading process. She also presents the opinions of several authors who claim that the lack of necessary cultural background knowledge is a very important factor affecting the reading comprehension of second – language learners. She refers to Johnson [1981], who concentrated on the effect of the cultural origin of a prose passage on the reading comprehension of Iranian students, who read both an Iranian and an American folk tale. In

Johnson's opinion the cultural origin of the story had more effect on the reading comprehension of students that did the level of syntactic difficulty. Consequently cultural background has a very important effect on reading comprehension and in Johnson's opinion much attention should be paid to cultural knowledge in the language teaching process.

2.3.7.1. Cultural background and proper understanding of texts - practical example

McK a y presents a reading passage, the proper understanding of which is only possible for a reader who has background knowledge about American culture. Although the text is quite easy on the syntactic and lexical level students coming from a different culture, having different sets of values and beliefs may develop problems in its proper understanding. It may be strange for Asians or Africans that, for instance, in America men help women cook meals and the learners may go to extremes treating this "picture" as typical for all Americans, which is not always the case. Hence we could come to the conclusion that a teacher always ought to choose reading materials after having taken into consideration its cultural load. This gives an advantage to non-native teachers sharing the culture with the learners but native speakers are better in deciding whether a passage describes a typical fraction of reality or not. In the final part of her paper McKay states that it is almost impossible to find completely culture — free reading materials. Even superficially simple texts, such as the following one are not free from cultural elements:

'It is 7:55. The Smiths are coming to dinner at 8:00. Gina and Frank are not ready for the Smiths. They want everything to be perfect when the Smiths arrive. Mr Smith is Frank's boss.

"Hurry, Frank, the Smiths are coming soon. We have to set the table. Bring in the dishes, please. I already have the bowls for salad and the cups for the coffee. I don't have the knives, forks, and spoons. Bring those with the dishes. I have to put the tablecloth on the table and find the good napkins. Hurry, Frank, there's so much to do!"

"I'm coming", says Frank. Frank is carrying the dishes, the knives, the forks and the spoons. He and Gina begin to set the table. Everything is ready. It is 8:00. At 8:01, the Smiths knock on the door. Gina and Frank answer the door together. They are ready for their perfect evening' [Defilippo and Skidmore 1984: 113 after McKay 1989].

On the other hand, intentional usage of texts including a cultural load improves reading comprehension, and gives a better understanding of the target language culture.

2.3.8. The cultural aspects of an artificial language - Esperanto

S. Duczmal's [1990] paper refers to the cultural aspects of Esperanto, but his conclusions are also interesting for language teaching. Esperanto is an artificial language, so it is easy to conclude that it has nothing to do with culture. In the light of Duczmal's paper however, this is not the case, because it is spoken by people who are native speakers of natural languages. Thus they reveal certain cultural attitudes acquired together with the native language, which are automatically transferred to Esperanto. For example if we take the English sentence "I am happy about it", it has two Polish equivalents, "Jestem szczęśliwy z tego powodu" and "To mnie bardzo cieszy". Let us assume it is a part of a dialogue, "Mary has left the hospital. She is well again". "I'm happy about it". A Pole would translate it as: "Jestem szczęśliwy z tego powodu". It may happen however that the Pole is a speaker of Esperanto and wants to translate that dialogue into this language. He would probably translate the English phrase "I am happy about it" from the dialogue according to this Polish way of understanding "Tio gojigas mim". If the same phrase was translated into Esperanto by an Englishman it would probably sound: "Mi estas felica pro tio", which is the equivalent of Polish: "Jestem szczęśliwy z tego powodu". Thus the same phrase would be translated into different Esperanto structures with the nationality of speakers being the reason for the difference. Why? Because they perceive reality by means of their native languages [Duczmal 1990: 193].

2.3.9. Cultural knowledge in English for Science and Technology

Baumgardner and Kennedy [1991], teachers of the Asia Foundation, working with Pakistani students discuss cultural background in EST (English for Science and Technology). The traditional assumption, which according to them is not true, is that scientific and technical English is completely devoid of aspects of culture, with science and technology being international. According to Baumgardner and Kennedy there are aspects of science which convey culture. They refer to Strevens [1971], who claims that science also has classical and popularised literature, legends and myths and that moral and aesthetic values vary from culture to culture. They criticise the so-called western way of presenting scientific and technical points of view, without considering the cultural background of readers, which Strevens [1980] calls a new colonisation. Baumgardner

and Kennedy assume that the majority of problems typical for language learners originate not from purely linguistic reasons but reflect the troubles caused by cultural adjustment. Localization of scientific context is one of the remedies for such problems. In the West, any description of a machine begins from left to right; which is the exact opposite of for example, Pakistan. An earlier adjustment of an English technical text for the reception of Pakistanis multiplies the possibilities of proper understanding and interest.

2.3.10. More attention needs to be given to the role of culture

Wu Song-chu and Harold A. Stephens [1991] who teach (TEFL) in China stress the problem of a "lack of emphasis on the role that the culture of English – speaking people plays in the learning of their language" [Song-chu, Stephens 1991: 29]. It is taken for granted in China, that the proficiency in English must be supported by the knowledge of cultural differences. Ignorance in that field may lead to various misunderstandings, as in the situations below.

"Culture - based communication problems

The following examples are representative of many such situations that might occur.

Example 1. Two people meet in the street.

Chinese student: Hello! Where are you going?

American Teacher: Oh, to the market.

CS: (cheerfully) What for?

AT: (a bit defensively) To do some shopping.

CS: (smiling) What do you plan to buy?

AT: (somewhat sullenly) Er...

Example 2. In a classroom.

AT: Any questions? Have I made everything clear?

CS: (silence)...

Example 3. The American teacher arrives at the classroom to begin class.

AT: Good morning!

CS: Good morning, sir. Gee, you're so pale. Are you sick?

AT: (taken aback) Well... yes. I have had a cold for several days...,

CS: (interrupting) Well, you should go to the clinic and see the doctor as soon as possible!

AT: (somewhat undecided) Well, if I look that bad, perhaps I should see the doctor. Then I'll be back late. Will you please inform those who are not present yet? (The American teacher hesitantly leaves for the clinic, feeling worse all the time.)

Example 4. Two persons have just been introduced and are exchanging "small talk."

AT: You speak quite good English.

CS: Oh, no. My English is very poor.

AT: (at a loss for words) Er...

Example 5. During a break between classes.

AT: I've just learned about the talent show to be held next week. I love your singing voice. Are you planning to participate?

CS: (embarrassed) Oh, no! My singing is really quite poor. I would disappoint every one present.

AT: (disappointed) Well...

Example 6. The American teacher is a guest for dinner in a Chinese home.

CS: More wine?

AT: No, thank you. I've had plenty. You're a very gracious host.

CS: (persistently) Well, if you really think so, you'll have one more !

AT: All right, in that case...

Example 7. A guest is intending to leave his host's house.

CS: I'm going now. You must be tired. I'm sorry to have wasted your time.

AT: (completely puzzled) Er..." [Song-chu, Stephens 1991: 29-30].

"Human beings are culturally labelled and bound from birth". (Ibid.: 30) This means that without an awareness of cultural differences, communication is not full, utterances are ambiguous and people perceive one another as "odd", "queer", or "weird". The main message of the article is as follows: it is necessary "to be bicultural to be bilingual!" (Ibid.: 31).

2.3.11. English teaching in Japan - the importance of cultural information

Sophia Shang [1991] a Japanese college teacher, writes that Japan is trying to "internationalize its people by emphasising the study of language, especially English, but it is important to study culture as well [Shang 1991: 39]. Consequently Shang found the Culturgram series published by Brigham Young University a useful tool for providing short and conscise

cultural information. In Shang's opinion EFL teachers "should not only teach language but also incorporate culture and global awareness, so that students can put the information they learn from teachers and other sources into perspective and enhance their comprehesion and communication skills". (Ibid.: 40). In her opinion studying both language and culture leads to becoming an "international person".

2.4. How can we define cultural elements in language pedagogy?

It is necessary to close this section with one general conclusion. A language is deeply rooted in its culture, and it is impossible to think about successful language teaching without paying attention to its cultural background. The above presentation of various opinions shows how important elements of culture are in the development of linguistic skills, from reading comprehension to the teaching of scientific and technical English. Elements of culture in language pedagogy are not only reading passages about red London double-deckers, the Queen and the stereotypical cold and reserved Englishmen. Those who think so are mistaken because the term elements of culture comprises everything which in a language is characteristic of its native speakers, such as: ways of thinking and expressing thoughts, characteristic beliefs, values and sentiments, idioms, language responses, the contents of typical conversations and of course the most typical ones: history and literature. Language courses should be organized in such a way as to allow learners a knowledge of cultural background, graded according to the level of advancement. This is the only way to teach a real and live natural language and protect learners from "the culture shock", "the shock that comes of encountering a distinctly different way of life and set of assumptions" [Nostrand 1966: 4].

3. TEXTBOOK REVIEW

"On the surface, most textbooks look pretty much alike. Publishers see to it that their books look attractive and that the titles sound enticing. That is part of their business. If a teacher is professionally trained, however, he will be able to look beyond attractive illustrations and binding. He should be able to see whether the book presents the language and culture patterns* that form the system to be studied, and does not merely disparate items from here and there. [...] Textbooks should be

graded as to grammatical structure, pronunciation, vocabulary, and cultural content" Lado [1957: 2-3].

(* italics mine)

3.1. Textbook division according to the cultural contents

This paper concentrates on the presentation of selected textbooks published between the years 1938–1992, which can be divided into the following kinds:

- 1) textbooks published in the 1930s, 40s, and 50s in Germany, the Soviet Union and Poland. In these books the cultural load is so strong that they reflect the political reality of the countries in which they were published. To this group one should also add the East German textbooks published in the 1980s;
- 2) target language culturally oriented textbooks, published in Poland in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, where authors purposely use the cultural backgrounds of the target language countries;
- 3) the so-called "culture free" textbooks whose authors claim they do not favour any cultures. The textbook set presented in the paper was published in the 1960s;
- 4) internationally oriented textbooks which concentrate not only on the target language culture but also on multiculturally based reading passages, because they treat English as an international system of communication. To this kind belong the newest textbooks published in Britain in the 1980s and 90s.

3.2. Politically saturated textbooks

To start this textbook review, let me concentrate on the kind of textbooks which are so strongly culturally saturated that they reflect the political preferences of the countries they were published in. They are not arranged in the same way as modern textbooks. They lack the dialogue and practice sections, including only longish reading texts written by non-native authors or carefully selected excerpts from English or American literature.

3.2.1. German textbooks full of explicit political NAZI propaganda

Englishes Unterrichtswerk für Höhere Schulen [Fisher 1938] includes texts completely devoted to various walks of life in England at that time, and passage on German Youth in a Changing World. The passage explains in English to learners, specific goals set for young men serving the German nation, "In the Hitler Jugend, in the Reich Labour Service, and in the Army, the German youth does not care for class and position, profession and education, birth and money. It is thus that the unified National Socialist nation is being constructed. For it is for Germany that they are filled with the truth of the National Socialist maxim 'Work ennobles' [Fisher 1938: 51].

English als 1. Fremdshprache [Ederman 1939] presents a lot of material on the history, literature, customs and traditions of English speaking countries like Britain, the U.S.A. and Canada. The chapters are long texts saturated with cultural material. One of them is connected with international relations between Britain and Germany in 1939. It is entitled The Anglo-Saxon World and Germany and it comprises several articles by American and British authors who deal with the similarities between their countries and Germany. Discussing Germans in America, E.A. Ross gives the figures dexribing how many Germans emigrated to the U.S.A. "Counting Germans from Russia, Austria, Bohemia and eastern Switzerland, we have, no doubt received more than 7,000,000 whose mother tongue was the speech of Luther and Goethe. It is probable that German blood has come to be at least a fourth part of the current in their veins of the white people of this country. No other foreign element is so generally distributed over the United States as the Germans". "In the meantime, Germany's extraordinary rise as a manufacturing country, her successes in foreign trade and her wonderful system of protection and insurance for her labour population, had made her sons and daughters loath to migrate oversee. The immigration from Germany in the United States is virtually a closed chapter" [Ederman 1939: 124]. A few lines further on, M. Booth discusses political instability in Europe and its causes, rejecting the accusation of Japan or Italy of "lust of conquest" or "aggressive militarism" (Ibid.: 126).

Another chapter, full of politics, idealises the German political system, the party and its "beloved Führer". For T. P. Conwell-Evans "The Party Congress at Nürnberg leaves a lasting impression on visitors from other lands", and "one of the most impressive sights is the assembly of boys and girls representative of the Hitler Youth Organisations". Besides the author "was privileged to be in the car immediately behind the Führer as he proceeded to the Burg for luncheon" and in his opinion "the Germans are essentially a peace – loving people" [Ederman 1939: 127–129].

In the same textbook, you can find a very interesting article from *The Times* entitled *An English Picture of Germany*, glorifying the country and its political system. The chapter is illustrated with photographs, the one presenting marching soldiers in front of their Führer being outstanding.

3.2.1.1. Implicit political clues in German textbooks

The third German textbook The New Guide Junior Book 1 [Duve, Kreter 1943] includes no political comments, but a reading passage with Lesson 21 seems fairly strange, and I think its origins can be explained on the basis of cultural background. It is entitled Grandfather's Death and it describes the death of Sylvia's grandfather. "Next morning Sylvia's grandfather did not open his eyes, his face was quite white, his hands were cold and stiff. He had gone to sleep for ever, he had passed away" [Duve, Kreter 1943: 56]. Such a passage is not typical text--book piece. The description of a corpse in a textbook for youth seems to be out of place. But a closer look at the book prompts a reasonable explanation. It was published in 1943, when luck abandoned the Germans in the war and a large number of them were dying every day. Thus, even foreign language textbooks took a part in the education of brave young men who were not supposed to be afraid of death, for whom it was natural. Indeed, if necessary each of these young men should die for their mother country.

3.2.2. Russian textbooks including Stalinist propaganda

Germany was not the only country where politics entered the sphere of English teaching. A similar situation can be observed in the Soviet Union and Poland in the 1940s and 50s during the Stalin era, and in the German Democratic Republic even in the 1980s.

Let us start the discussion with the Russian textbook of English [Belova, Todd 1950]. Even at first sight, you can notice that the book is far from being target language oriented. At the same time, it is clear that Russian culture and politics dominate the contents.

Lesson One (Ibid.: 7) begins with a longish passage entitled *The Leader's Birthplace* devoted to Stalin, the next page contains a poem by A. Surkov, *Stalin*. Both sections are the sign of a personality cult glorifying the politician into almost divine dimensions.

"STALIN's name,

like a friendship's beginning,

in all tongues

sounded warm and winning".

"STALIN -

stands for no more war!

STALIN -

is freedom and humanism!

STALIN -

is building Socialism!" (Ibid.: 10-11).

In another passage the personality cult of Stalin is expressed by the words of a young Russian soldier Lazarev: "I shall be killed too, I know", he thought, "but what does that matter? I shall die for Stalin and my country..." (Ibid.: 10).

Other reading or exercise sections are also connected with the political situation, and as in the German books, they are designed to help produce a good citizen – here, a good communist. For example, an exercise on page 10 asks the learners to write down in alphabetical order all the "international words" he is likely to meet in his studies. Another passage expresses the State's care for children's literature, there is also a reading text about the Russian national hero Ivan Susanin, who saved his country from "bands of Polish horsemen" [...] "which rode from village to village robbing and killing the population" after they had been driven out of Moscow in 1613. (Ibid.: 19) Poles are presented here as dedicated enemies of the Russians, which is not in agreement with the State's official claim of internationalism.

The textbook is full of passages the actions and topics of which are connected with the learner's country, the Soviet Union. Thus, there are texts like: Soviet Railways, The Volga, Soviet Waterways together with passages on Ivan Michurin and Luther Burbank who is called by the Russians, an American Michurin and one of the best Darwinists in the capitalist countries.

Another Russian textbook published in 1955 [Nelidova, Todd 1955] is quite similar in its flavour to the one discussed above. This time, the opening lesson begins with an excerpt from Lenin, The Tasks of the Youth Leagues, the second one, being The Speech delivered at a reception in the Kremlin to higher educational workers by J. V. Stalin. Altogether the book contains fewer passages explicitly praising Russian culture concentrating on a larger number of original English texts.

3.2.2.1. The picture of Western countries in Russian textbooks

Beside passages which promote Russian culture and politics Belova, Todd [1950] contains reading sections based on excerpts by native authors like Mark Twain, Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Charles Dickens, Emily Brontë or Jerome K. Jerome. There are also opinions openly criticising the West, for example comics published in America are called "poison for the minds of American children." (Ibid.: 16). To conclude, if in this textbook there are references to foreign culture they are usually neutral excerpts from non — contemporary novelists e. g. Jerome K. Jerome, Brontë, Dickens or from those who criticise the political system and the way of life in Western countries.

Although a later Russian textbook, [Nelidova, Todd 1955] includes texts by such authors as Dickens, Hardy, Jerome, Wells, O'Henry, Dreiser, Galsworthy, Shaw, Abrahams or Fast it does not mean that the situation had changed so much or that any English or American author was allowed to be cited that time. It still was a rule that no contemporary authors describing everyday life in western countries were allowed, with the exception of those who criticised the western situation and tackled the pressing social problems. Thus T. Hardy describing social inequality, Dickens who criticised children's labour, G. B. Shaw who was known as a socialist. T. Dreiser a member of the American Communist Party, were published in the Soviet Union and textbook authors could take excerpts from their novels. Beside the internationally known authors, you can find reading passages by two less known authors. Peter Abrahams, whose novel The Path of Thunder "gives a true picture of life in the Union of South Africa" [Nelidova, Todd 1955: 98] and Gideon Jackson a Negro "progressive writer in America" (Ibid.: 106).

3.2.3. Polish, textbooks promoting politics in the 1950s

English textbooks published in Poland in the 1950s present similar approach to Anglo-Saxon culture as the Russian ones. The favourable climate which existed in the 1940s for English textbook writes, when censorship did not limit the picture of the Anglo-Saxon world, [e.g. Jastroch 1947] ceased very quickly.

3.2.3.1. The official attitude towards the Anglo-Saxon world [Helsztynski 1951]

The first Polish textbook to be discussed in this paper is Helsztynski's Antologia tekstów do nauki języka angielskiego designed for the 11th class [Helsztynski 1951], and this book can be boldly compared to the above discussed Russian ones. The political situation and censorship forced the author to present only those aspects of life in Anglo-Saxon world which were connected with communism or criticised from the communist standpoint.

Even the general arrangement of the book betrays the official attitude towards communism and British or American cultures. The table of contents carries the following chapter headings Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism, The U.S.A., the Camp of the reactionary Forces [Helsztynski 1951: 273-275].

Chapter I presents a few reading passages on the Utopian socialism of Owen, the Chartists, then it switches to so called scientific socialism, there follow sections on The Life and Work of Frederick Engels, Engels's The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844, The Life and Work of Karol Marx, The Manifesto of the communist Party, 1848, Karl Marx's Hard Work and Daily Habits, Walks with Marx to Hampstead Heath, London, The Friendship of Engels and Marx, Frederick Engels, Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx and The First London May Day, 1890.

Chapter II, Specimens of Victorian Prose and Poetry brings a certain number of original literary texts, which were, however selected according to political criteria, and they all tackle social problems. Thus Dickens's Oliver Twist and David Copperfield were suitable, Elizabeth Barret-Browning's poem The Cry of the Children, about the abused children forced to work in factories, Thackeray's social criticism and a few critical essays on British bourgeois culture and imperialism also satisfied the criteria.

Chapter III, The Guilded Age beyond the Ocean, presents numerous excerpts from English and American literature which were also selected according to the pattern: nothing favourable about England or America, and social topics above all. Here are some of the titles of the passages: Karl Marx to Abraham Lincoln, Mark Twain and the American Imperialism.

Chapter IV, Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism, presents mainly tendentious passages, Lenin in London, Lenin on Imperialism, Wells visits Soviet Russia, Well's Second Visit to Russia, The Character of the English Empire Builders by G. B. Shaw and other texts by less known writers who usually depict the hard life of poor people in England or America.

The fifth and final chapter contains passages by writers criticising the bourgeois system (e.g. Steinbeck, Caldwell), which are meant to create

a nasty picture of America. The chapter also contains two passages by Soviet writers, Reply to a Questionaire Received from an American Magazine by Maxim Gorki and A Peace Appeal Anno 1950 by Ilya Ehrenburg. Both passages express great criticism of the American political system.

3.2.3.2. Teaching English against the background of Polish everyday life and politics [Bastgen et al 1957]

Bastgen, Rogóyska, Smólska's textbook Jezyk angielski for the 8th class had been in use since 1957 [Bastgen et al. 1957]. This is however not an anthology full of literary excerpts but a more modern textbook with pattern sections, reading texts and exercise sections. The most interesting case is the fact that it describes the reality of Polish life with few references to England. Pictures present faces of Polish cars, a calendar in Polish, a Polish classroom and street (architecture). A few passages present an English family, the Browns where the father is a plumber and the mother a saleswoman in a department store, a working class family according to the idea of communism. The family consists of the parents, a grandmother, and five children who live in two comfortable rooms in England, a situation which was typical of Poland in the 1950s rather than of England. Other passages, however, are universal; they describe everyday routine in Poland. "We buy food at a co-operative store", "Working men and women often take their meals in canteens" [Bastgen et al. 1957: 801.

The passage about city traffic describes the traffic in Warsaw, Life in the country passage introduces Mr Socha a Polish peasant who lives in a village near Kłodzko and is a member of a producers co-operative, where all of the members work collectively. At the Repair Shop, a reading passage which introduces a skilled mechanic, Mr Zych. Frank, who comes to the repair shop, greets Mr Zych with the words: "Good morning, Mr Zych. How are you today?" (Ibid.: 108), the second phrase being more typical of a British environment than a Polish one.

You can also find a passage devoted to a Polish holiday, The Day of the Liberation of Warsaw. At the school ceremony, children recite the following poem: "They clapped their hands when he recited with deep feeling the following lines:

'Comrade' is the word that makes you welcome, To whatever race you do belong, Black or white or yellow – you are welcome, If your heart is full of our song" (Ibid.: 122).

The official line of the Polish state at that time is present everywhere in the book. The report on May-Day in Warsaw, the May-Day procession, the city full of flags and banners, slogans: "Long life Socialism!, Let us all join in the fight for peace! Peace!" these elements represent Polish culture of that period through the English language. No wonder these passages sound non - English as they describe a foreign environment. The Some Good News passage describes the joy of Mr Brown, a shockworker, when he receives some extra money as a bonus, a typical socialist routine. Another passage presents Polish graduates "in a village on the Vistula" after the final school examinations, then Tom goes to Mielno for his holidays and also visits Szczecin and its harbour. "The Rescue" passage describes a flood in a small Polish town with the comment "we must regulate all our rivers", which was propagated by the socialist state at that time. Tom receives a special prize, a free ticket to Cracow, and the reading passage describes Warsaw and the country's achievements in rebuilding the capital city. Tom is impressed by the Palace of Culture, the W-Z Road and other new districts, in Cracow by Nowa Huta, the largest foundry in Poland, which was built by youth brigades.

3.2.3.3. Nauka angielskiego – a textbook with greater emphasis on English culture

The last of the Polish textbooks published in the 1950s, which is to be discussed in this paper is *Nauka angielskiego* by Prejbisz, Siwicka, Smólska and Helsztynski [Prejbisz et al. 1958]. It had been in use since 1952, but the revised edition of 1958 includes more explicit cultural elements.

The main characters of the textbook do live in England, but on the other hand, there are a lot of connections with Poland. Thus, you can learn that schools in the People's Republic of Poland are open to all children, a picture presenting a country house is an image of a typically Polish country house. Ann's father is a shockworker working in a mine, Ann's mother works in a co-operative store. The picture on page 40 presents the family at home, but the father is not sitting by a fireplace like in England, but in front of a window. A short passage on page 43 describes the daily routine of a family. They have breakfast in the morning, dinner in the afternoon and supper in the evening — a typical arrangement of meals in Poland rather than in England.

3.2.4. The "socialist" character of East German textbooks in the 1980s

In spite of the political changes since the 1950s, textbooks published in the G.D.R. preserve their "socialist" character, even in the 1980s. Modern English 1 for teacher students [Graustein 1983] and Modern English for teacher students 4 [Behrend 1983] present both Anglo-Saxon culture and cultural knowledge of East Germany. German learners get acquainted with the English speaking world from the viewpoint of the socialist state. All links between the working class and communist ideas are emphasised. Learners might get the impression that Britain or the U.S.A. are countries where the idea of communism is as popular as in their country.

Reading sections present excerpts from The Morning Star, a communist newspaper in England, and passages devoted to social criticism of Britain or America. While discussing the school system in Britain and the U.S.A. a comparison is made to the East German school system, with criticism of the former. 'It is not, in other words, the quality of their education which gets public schoolboys into Oxford and Cambridge and helps them to become important people in government, business and the professions; it is more the fact that they come from socio-economic élite and the "oldschool tie" makes it easy for them to find a place in top circles' [Graustein 1983: 113]. Both textbooks include a large number of cultural elements referring to Britain or America (e.g. customs, the description of an English house, teenage marriage problems, shopping and travelling in Britain, excerpts from native English novelists) but the pictures of the western world shown by both textbooks are like those seen in a distorting mirror. It is a typical example of fact manipulation for political purposes. The textbooks do not say anything untrue, but they throw light only on the disadvantages of life in England, the U.S.A. or South Africa, stressing only one sphere of life there; social inequality, poverty racial discrimination and the troubles of everyday life.

3.2.5. Why was politics connected with teaching English?

There are at least two reasons for mixing two entirely different spheres of life like teaching a foreign language and politics. The first one is identified as the author's interest in raising young people to be good citizens, who should subordinate their lives to the benefit of their homeland. The other reason is more pragmatic. In the textbook market, a book which reflects the politics of the day and pleases the censors, may be favoured

and thus published in a larger edition and made more popular than others. For the books published under the Stalinist regime, however, those "special" themes were the only possible ones which would obtain permission for the teaching of the language of "the enemies".

3.2.6. The linguistic evaluation of the above discussed textbooks

From the point of view of discourse analysis the above mentioned books lack examples of typical, everyday conversational register of English, being dominated by stiff, bookish and formal language which is quite often embedded in the culture of a non-native author. The authors did not present material which enabled students to practise the linguistic skill of speaking and it is very hard to trace on an implicit level, any culturally typical English speech acts or other discourse patterns.

3.3. The cultural content of target language based textbooks

This kind of textbooks is represented in this paper by Smólska and Zawadzka's set of textbooks which have been in use in Poland for at least thirty years. Two editions of these books will be compared, the first one being published in the early 1970s and the second being the revised version of the 1980s.

3.3.1. General characteristics of Smólska-Zawadzka's set of textbooks

Both sets of textbooks favour British English, by using the British standard variety of English in spelling, syntax, vocabulary, idioms, and suggested pronunciation. They are also the first kind of textbooks discussed here which include examples of culture specific discourse tracable on an implicit level. The explicit content of reading passages, especially conversations and pattern sections in the first form textbook hovers over the British world in the second edition [Zawadzka 1980] and both British and American life in the first edition [Smólska, Zawadzka 1972].

3.3.2. Family life and everyday routine in the target language oriented textbooks (the explicit level)

In a direct way learners become acquainted with a typical English family, the Wilsons, where the father is a doctor, the mother a housewife, the children are pupils or students. Learners read about a typical English detached house with a flower garden at the front of the house and a vegetable plot at the back. The Wilsons have got a British car, an Austin and like the majority of British people, they keep pets, a dog and a cat. Dr Wilson works in his private surgery in his house, which may have been surprising for Polish learners of that period, when all people should have worked for the state.

The average day of the English family differs from a typical Polish everyday routine. Susan and Peter go to school later than Polish children, they have a lunch break and come back from school later than in Poland. The Wilsons do not read the time using the twenty-four-hour clock as in Poland; they prefer the twelve-hour one.

Peter Wilson attends Green Grammar School for boys, Susan attends a Grammar School for girls. The Wilsons spend their holidays as typical English people do at the seaside, in Scotland or abroad. Children go to a camp or on a walking tour with the school teacher and spend some time at a relatives house in the country [S m óls ka, Zawadzka 1972].

The revised version [Zawadzka 1980] of the same textbook introduces, besides the above mentioned cultural elements, some new ones connected with the source (Polish) and target (English) languages. Each unit includes a Read It Yourself section presenting a short note taken from everyday life. There are such entries as: House for Sale. No parking. No Dogs Allowed. Keep off the grass. You can also find parts of advertisements or press cuttings: Kellogg's Cornflakes. Uncle Ben's rice. An Invitation to a party. A school report and a Foyles receipt, besides the B.B.C. TV programme excerpt.

Reading passages of the 1980 edition tend to enlarge the learner's knowledge of British everyday life, by inserting a few more subjects such as: the issue of English commuters travelling to work in large cities, British and American food, the Intercity train system, popular films and TV series, such as A Bridge Too Far, Starsky and Hutch and The Pink Panther. There are also new texts about pop-groups or singers like: ABBA, The Beatles, Sailor, Elton John. And finally one reading passage is devoted to the typical British custom of keeping pets.

The second year textbook [Smólska, Zawadzka 1973] also provides learners with a good deal of cultural information on an explicit level. It

mostly concerns British culture, and an average learner can learn much about English railway stations and even the function of porters who carry people's luggage, which was still popular in the 1960s and early 1970s; about travelling on a bus in London and the food that the British prefer: roast beef with vegetables, cheese, biscuits and black coffee to drink. The pictures in the book show English tea bags, envelopes and stamps.

Reading passages give much knowledge about: London, Guy Fawkes Day, children's newspaper rounds, the emergency number 999, the University of Cambridge, the West End shops and department stores, London traffic, family doctors, youth clubs in Britain, school exams, London museums and galleries, the Flying Scotsman express train, Edinburgh and Scotland, booksops in Britain and the attitude of the British towards sports.

The revised version of textbook for the second class [Zawadzka 1983] introduces even more explicit cultural elements. It contains a note on the new British Monetary system, with illustrations of the new coins, new reading passages about Cornwall, making tea, buying stamps, Wales, Henry VIII, pop music, pop groups and singers, sales and jumble sales, the British school system, films and theatre productions.

The third year textbook [Smólska 1977] includes reading texts which describe both Britain and America. There are passages about tennis matches at Wimbledon, Coventry, New York, Hampton Court, the famous Engliches painters, Holbein and Van Dyke, Duke Ellington, Edgar Allan Poe, Lincoln, the Titanic and Sir Francis Chichester. Other sections of the book make references to Sir Thomas More, King Charles I, U.S. presidents Lincoln and Kennedy. There are two excerpts from Three Men on the Bummel by Jerome K. Jerome, and George Mikes's How to Unite nations.

The fourth class textbook begins with passages discussing the typically British phenomenon of teenagers leaving home and going their own way. By stressing that fact so strongly, the authors betray that such problems do not occur in Poland, being typical for Western European and American youth.

Further on, learners are taught how to write a letter of application and are acquainted with some specimens of English literature. These include: the famous novel by H. G. Welles The War of the Worlds and its radio production by Orson Welles, Dangerous Corner by J. B. Priestley, with an excerpt from the play being included in the Supplementary Reading Section together with excerpts from Dickens' — David Copperfield, Lewis Carrol's — Alice in Wonderland, G. B. Shaw's — The Devil's Disciple. There are also some other problems concerning Britain, like immigration and the development of children's literature since the time of Queen Victoria.

In the later version of the textbook [Smólska 1978] references are made to: Prince Philip, Ann Boleyn and the Brontë sisters. The reading

sections include excerpts from Romeo and Juliet, The Hollow by Agatha Christie, Pygmalion by G. B. Shaw, David Copperfield by Dickens.

Other non-literary passages provide information concerning Britain or America. Gambling for Fun discusses the problem of gambling in Britain, Women's Lib informs learners about women's struggle for the recognition of their rights in Britain and America. The Story of Concord tells about a joint Anglo-French venture, a supersonic airliner, and The Bermuda Triangle Mystery discusses the world – known phenomenon of vanishing planes and ships in the Bermuda area. Besides, you can find a model of an English letter of application and a transcript of the first conversation on the Moon and press cuttings from the Daily Telegraph and the Times of India.

3.3.3. Information about America

Most information about the U.S.A. is included in the third and fourth class textbooks. One of the main characters, Philip, goes to the U.S.A. on a family visit and sends letters to his girl – friend describing American life [S m ó l s k a, Z a w a d z k a 1973b]. The journey to America and further remarks about the U.S.A. are presented through three reading passages. The first to Washington D. C., the other one to New York City, further postcards and letters from other parts of America, Washington D. C., California, San Francisco, Texas, Chicago, Niagara Falls, Pennsylvania and other regions.

3.3.4. References to Poland

In the 1980 edition of the first class textbook [Zawadzka 1980] the author made references to Polish life. Especially in the exercise section learners are supposed to recognize in the pictures some people from Polish public life: M. Skłodowska-Curie, M. Hermaszewski, K. Penderecki, W. Rutkiewicz, S. Zasada, W. Ochman, Cz. Lang, M. Rodowicz, W. Kozakiewicz and two foreigners who were well known in Poland in the 1980s: B. Borg and N. Lauda. There are illustrations presenting Polish, Russian and French books or newspapers.

The third year textbooks [Smólska, Zawadzka 1973b; Smólska 1977] include more references to Poland in comparison to the above mentioned ones. The *Pattern Practice* section contains sentences in the

Passive Voice discussing what is produced in Poland. One of the main characters of the book, Christine, is a Polish girl. By making her the young Wilsons' friend the author easily introduces the possibility of making references to Poland. Thus Robert, Joan, Dora and Paul have the opportunity of going to a concert at the Polish Cultural Institute, and getting a lot of information about Poland. Poland is mentioned in the textbook every time Christine comes to the Wilsons and finally when Dora thinks about going to Poland to teach English at a UNESCO Camp. The authors accurately showed the attitude of young British people towards Poland at that time: curiosity and very limited knowledge about the country and its culture. Consequently, by showing the clash of two cultures the authors [S m ó l s k a, Z a w a d z k a 1973b] enlarge the Poles' knowledge of the British.

The new edition [S m óls ka 1977] also includes some passages based on Polish life. The Asking the Way section is based on the street map of Warsaw, a reading text about road accidents refers to experiments conducted by the Polish weekly magazine Motor. There are two sections devoted to the Polish Cultural Institute in London, informing Poles about the cultural representation in England.

If we try to find some references to Poland and other countries in Smólska, Zawadzka [1973b] we can find a poster inviting tourists to Poland within the picture of an English travel agency, an English translation of a passage from a Polish daily Życie Warszawy about Russian cosmonauts who had conquered space, and an English version of an advertisement for Poland.

3.3.5. Multicultural elements

The fourth class textbooks include some multicultural sections, which promote not one but several cultures: English, American, Polish, French, Russian and others. The earlier version of Smólska, Zawadzka [1973c] includes two letters from American and a passage about apartheid in South Africa. References are made to well known scientists: Rutheford and Skłodowska-Curie. Besides, there are photographs of pictures painted by famous English and American painters; W. Turner, J. Constable, A. Weyth and T. Gainsborough.

The later version [S m ólska 1978] refers to M. Curie, E. Hemingway, T. Edison, Prince Philip, the Wright brothers, Joan of Arc, V. Tereshkova, Gutenberg, Dostoievski, Zimmerman. Besides Britain and America other countries are mentioned: Haiti, Tahiti and Cyprus. The Dialogue Practice

and Oral Drill sections seem universal, with no special references to any cultures or countries. The events discussed there could take place anywhere in the world.

3.3.6. Linguistic cultural elements in target language oriented textbooks

Besides all the cultural references above, classified as explicit ones, you can also find a certain number of grammatical structures and lexical items characteristic of Anglo-Saxon culture, which may be treated as explicit cultural elements. Their classification as the explicit ones in my opinion is based on the authors attitude towards presenting and explaining them in their textbooks. All of them are awave of the fact that certain grammatical constructions or words are typical only of the English culture and explicitly explain their meaning, usage and give typical examples.

Using the article system, expressing various time related actions by means of English tenses, contracted forms in colloquial speech, making questions by inversion, or tag questions are a few examples or characteristic cultural hints included in Smolska-Zawadzka's sets of textbooks. Here are other instances of linguistically — cultural phenomena: the usage of I'm sure... with no English equivalent for the Polish że, phrases there is, there are, which are fairly difficult for Polish learners, the comparison of word order in Polish and English, the single negation system in English, suggestions made by means of questions, the sequence of tenses, conditionals and idioms to name a few examples of that kind. All these linguistic elements betray the way of perceiving reality by native speakers of English and help foreigners better understand their culture.

3.3.7. Discourse patterns promoting implicitly English speech habits

Both versions of Smólska and Zawadzka's textbooks include a certain amount of discourse patterns which implicitly promote English speech habits. This means that one can distinguish a number of utterances which reveal the English way of formulating thoughts, rather than Polish. Below let me discuss the following examples.

3.3.7.1. Exclamations and greetings

"That's their daughter. Rather pretty, isn't she? Oh, yes. Very pretty".

[Smólska, Zawadzka 1972: 16]

"Oh, how do you do, Mr Smith".

(Ibid.: 17)

The oh exclamations at the beginning of an utterance typical for the native speakers of English, remain untypical for non – native speakers. For example Polish learners most often unconsciously miss the exclamations and respond just e.g. Yes, very pretty or How do you do Mr Smith.

Then greeting patterns: "Are you our new neighbour, sir?

Yes I am. My name is Smith.

Oh, how do you do, Mr Smith". (Ibid.: 17)

"Dr. Wilson: Good morning, Mr Smith. How are you today?

Mr Smith: Good morning, Dr. Wilson. I'm very well, thank you, and you?

Dr. Wilson: I'm fine, thanks".

[Zawadzka 1982: 103]

The above presented although used by millions of native and non-native speakers have their origin in English culture, and are usually learnt by heart by the non-native ones, according to the sociolinguisite rules.

3.3.7.2. Addressing people in English

"Teacher: Peter Wilson.

Peter: Yes, sir?"

[Smólska, Zawadzka 1972: 30]

"How many patients are there in the waiting-room, Miss Green? Five, Dr. Wilson."

(Ibid.: 86)

"Excuse me, is this the platform for the 2.30 for Glasgow? Yes, madam, it is?"

[Smólska, Zawadzka 1973a: 12]

"Prof. Duda: By the way, are my slides ready?

Madge: I'm not sure, but Christine will know. I'll tell her to ring you as soon as she comes.

Prof. Duda: Thank you. Goodbye. Madge: Goodbye, Professor Duda".

(Ibid.: 15)

It is the typical way of addressing people by means of adding sir or madam, new for Polish learners. Although we can find comparable structures in Polish: tak proszę pana/pani, they are not used as often as the English ones. Furthermore, the English manner of speaking requires addressing by surname like e.g. Goodbye, Professor Duda. Polish way of addressing people by one's surname may be treated as impolite. As far as addressing people is concerned the authors acquaint Polish learners with abbreviations Mr, Mrs, Miss. They are noticeable in numerous discourse patterns remaining untypical for Poles.

3.3.7.3. Hesitation like speech manner

Another English speech manner requires the use of such expressions as: *I'm afraid, I suppose, I think*, which create the effect of hesitation. "Their garden is very pleasant, too.

But rather small, I suppose? Well, it certainly isn't big".

[Smólska, Zawadzka 1972: 17 or Zawadzka 1982: 19]

"What about your roses, Mrs Smith? Are they doing well? Not too well, I'm afraid".

[Smólska, Zawadzka 1972: 179]

"I think I'll go and see Mrs Smith tonight".

(Ibid.: 82)

"Will you go to Dora's party next Saturday Alice? I'm afraid I won't".

(Ibid,: 93)

This sort of expressions seems a little artificial, for Polish learners. Thus, Polish speakers of English quite often forget about this speech manner which does not exist in their native language.

3.3.7.4. Other discourse patterns which need some additional teacher's explanations on the cultural basis

"Dad.

Yes, Peter".

[Smólska, Zawadzka 1972: 59]

English speakers use this word for response in the place of Polish slucham "But, look here: what are you holding behind your back? Show me. Here you are, Mum".

(Ibid.: 122)

"Mrs Adams: Milk and sugar George.

George: Yes, please. Two spoonfuls of sugar". [Zawadzka 1983: 48]

"Mrs Adams: Have some more roast beef George.

George: No, thank you. I really couldn't".

(Ibid.: 125)

"Mr Adams: Can I speak to Mr Jones, please?

Voice on the phone: Speaking.

Mr Adams: This is Edward Adams speaking. Good morning, Mr Jones".

[Zawadzka 1983: 112]

[Zawauzka 1905. 112]

"It's Robert's birthday next week, Susan. We must buy him a present".

[Zawadzka 1982: 173]

"Dr. Wilson: Here's our bus, Peter. Bus Conductor: Hurry on, please. Peter: Let's go on top, Dad!

Dr. W: Good.

Bus Conductor: Fares, please.

Dr. W.: Two sixes..."

[Smólska, Zawadzka 1973a: 27 or Zawadzka 1983: 22]

"Policeman: Can I have your driving licence, please?

Man: Good lord. What have I done now?"

[Smólska 1977: 234]

The above presented discourse patterns need comments on the cultural basis. Phrases: Here you are, No, thank you, Yes, please, are all connected with offers, acceptance or refusals. They are typical for the English cultural tradition of politeness and are usually accepted by nonnative speakers from different countries, as just ready linguistic patterns. Another dialogue presents patterns typical for phone conversations: Can I speak to..., Speaking which are to be taken over by learners. The discourse pattern which mentions birthday presents needs explanations referring to the traditions of birthday celebrations in England in contrast to namedays in the Slavic countries. Going on top of the bus may seem misleading and strange for Poles as there are no double decked buses. Good lord, beside My God or Oh, God functions as an exclamation expressing surprise.

The authors, Smólska and Zawadzka were aware of the necessity of commenting on the background of certain discourse patterns. Therefore they included explanations of certain phrases: "If you do not want any sugar, you can say: 'Milk please, No, sugar'. If you do not want any milk, you can say: 'No milk'" [Zawadzka 1983: 48].

3.3.7.5. Culturally rooted patterns of written discourse

These patterns can be found mostly in the letter writing sections. "Dear Betty,

I have just this moment received your letter and am writing at once to tell you that..."

"Dear Mr Robinson,

Thank you so much for answering my letter so quickly..."

"I look forward to hearing from you (or seeing you) soon.

Yours sincerely,

Marek"

"Please give my regards to your father (or: my best wishes to John, or: my love to Betty)

Yours, Robert"

[Zawadzka 1983: 139]

The above propagated style of letters originated within the English culture and is being taken up by learners of other cultures, as a must if they want to correspond in English.

3.4. Are culture – free textbooks really devoid of cultural elements? (New Concept English)

The New Concept English by L. G. Alexander [Alexander 1967a, b, c, d,] belongs to the kind of textbooks designed as not to favour any cultures. The author favours culture – free textbooks for learning foreign languages, and if a culture is needed, the best solution is a separate culture course. Nevertheless, in my opinion a close look at the contents of his four textbooks reveals the inclusion of a certain amount of cultural elements.

3.4.1. Explicit elements of British culture in New Concept English

First Things First [Alexander 1967a] comprises a lot of situational patterns which can be placed anywhere, but certain hints show that the English culture is promoted by the author. The textbook (as well as three others) uses English variety of language as far as spelling, vocabulary and pronunciation on accompanying cassettes. The illustrations to the first introductory dialogues contain a picture of a teacher, a British teacher wearing a typical hat, a car - a British Mini - Austin and a house, a typical example of British architecture. A few pages further there are pictures of cars, all west European models. There is also a picture of a policeman and it is a British bobby. The picture of a bus presents a London double-decker, there are illustrations presenting The Times, the typical English fireplace and even a British registration number on a car LFZ 312 G. The names and pictures of the shops also favour English culture, as their names are typical for Britain: Stationer's, Greengrocer's, Barber's, Baker's, Tobacconist's. On the letter envelope you can see an address: "Mr Hall, 83 Bridge Street", a typical way of addressing letters in English. Besides there are English names. "Tim, Peggy, Mrs Brown, Jackson, White, Richards, Smith, Wood" and even a picture of an English sign "Anyone who leaves litter in these woods will be prosecuted".

The second part of the New Concept English also presents lots of cultural elements. One of the first units teaches correct English word order, another letter — writing in English. There are also explicit pointers which give the book an English flavour. A letter received by a person in one of the passages is a letter from Australia to Britain, a Mr Scot has a garage in Silbury, when money is discussed it is pounds, a retired person bought a house in England. Foreigners visit London, the river in the park is called Wayle, the swimming championships are held in the English Channel, the

police in the picture are represented by a British policeman, a famous clock described in one of the passages is Big Ben which can be heard all over the world through the B.B.C. World Service. There are passages about an English schoolboy who played truant, a group of actors camping in the woods and a strict sheriff, and Great Exhibition of 1851 in England.

The third part of New Concept English [Alexander 1967c] can as well hardly be classified as a no-culture promoting textbook either. Lots of reading passages promote English culture explicitly, No. 1 — about a puma at large, its action is set in England, No. 4 — Alf Bloggs, a dustman, is British, No. 6 describes a shop burglary in the centre of London. No. 10 describe the tragedy of the British liner The Titanic, No. 14 introduces a historical figure, Sir John Hawkwood, and the origins of taking protection money. No. 20 describes the first flights across the English Channel (even the geographical name promotes British culture, on the Continent it is called La Manche), No. 21 gives the historical background of boxing, a sport which originated in Britain. No. 25 is devoted to the Cutty Sark, one of the most famous English ships of the 19th century, and No. 30 is a ghost story the action of which takes place in England.

3.4.2. Explicit multicultural elements in New Concept English

Alexander sometimes sets the action of his reading passages in non – English speaking countries. In *Practice and Progress* [Alexander 1967b] he writes about a young man from Teheran, a Polish volcano specialist with the unfortunate non-Polish sounding name Huron Tazzif (changed by the Polish publisher into Henryk Tomanek), the historical background of the Brazilian capital city Brasilia, France's noble gift for America, the Statue of Liberty, and some Japanese traditions. To make his textbook more lively the uses a special trick, by introducing the fictitious country of Escalopia and a non-existent Radical Progressive Party.

In the third part of New Concept English [Alexander 1967c] there are also some passages connected with foreign (non-British) cultures. No. 7 presents a civil defence in Canada, the next one a famous monastery of St. Bernard Pass in Switzerland. No. 12 describes the conditions of life on a Caribbean Island, No. 17 explains to the readers the origins of the Verrazano Bridge in New York, No. 23 discusses food preferences of various nations and No. 29 the sense of humour. The action in passage 33 is set in a suburb of Sidney but No. 36 refers to Germany. In passage 42 the author writes about caves in France and in No. 45 about an American family from South Dakota.

3.4.3. Linguistic cultural elements in New Concept English

It is really impossible to present in this paper all the cultural elements on the syntactic or lexical level, as Alexander saturated almost every sentence of his reading sections and exercises with structures characteristic of British English. The list of examples taken from all *New Concept English* coursebooks might reach far beyond the scope of this paper.

3.4.4. New Concept English as a British culture oriented course

In my opinion the course is a British culture oriented one, while discussing even universal matters almost every passage is connected with England, with a few exceptional references to foreign cultures. Below are a few examples from Fluency in English [Alexander 1967d] to support this thesis. While discussing history, a passage is illustrated with a picture taken in a British museum, a passage on spiders mentions a scientific census of spiders in an English grass field. Disturbances during a football match are illustrated with a picture taken in England with a British policeman in it. One of the remaining passages mentions the English king Alfred the Great, another Oxford and its industrial problems, and others HMS Challenger and Victorian habits. You cannot fail to notice that there are some photographs presenting others countries; Russia, Arab countries the U.S.A. Sweden or Malawi.

3.4.5. Discourse patterns reflecting the English speed habits in New Concept English

The New Concept English presents beside a large number of explicit cultural elements, discourse patterns characteristic of English culture. These structures need additional explanations for teachers in order to enable learns to use the language in a way closer to that used by native speakers.

3.4.5.1. Greetings

"Mr Blake: Alice, this is Hans. He is German.

Hans: How do you do?

Mr Blake: And this is Britt. She is Swedish.

Britt: How do you do?"

[Alexander 1967a: 5]

"Mr Ford: Good afternoon, Mrs Davies. Mrs Davis: Good afternoon, Mr Ford.

Mr Ford: How are you today?

Mrs Davis: I'm very well, thank you. And you?

Mr Ford: I'm fine, thanks. Mr Ford: How is Mr Davis? Mrs Davis: He's fine thanks.

How is Mrs Ford?

Mr Ford; She's very well, too, Mrs Davis.
Mr Ford: Goodbye, Mr Davis. Nice to see you.

Mrs Davis: Nice to see you too, Mr Ford. Goodbye". (Ibid.: 9)

The above presented examples of greeting people are deeply rooted in the English culture. The Polish way of greeting being different, Polish learners tend to mix up the two superficially similar phrases: How do you do? and How are you? Thus, it is necessary for a teacher to explain to learners that greeting and responding to greetings in English needs the acquisition of ready discourse patterns, with slight individual variations. The English while saying How are you? do not mean to initiate a conversation of one's failures and successes but expect a polite typical answer, Fine, thanks or at least Not too bad. It is also customary for English native speakers to round off the greeting exchange with a phrase like Nice too see you.

3.4.5.2. Addressing people

"Teacher: Tim! Tim: Yes, sir?

Teacher: Is this your shirt?

Tim: Yes, sir".

[Alexander 1967a: 11]

"Mr Jackson: Come and meet our employees, Mr Richards.

Mr Richards: Thank you, Mr Jackson".

(Ibid.: 17)

As was mentioned in the discussion of target language oriented textbooks, all these addressing forms remain typical for the English speaking countries culture and cannot be expected to be acquired by foreign speakers without teachers explanations on the cultural basis.

3.4.5.3. Acceptances and refusals

"Do you want a pad? Yes, please. [...]"
"Do you want one? No, thank you".
[Alexander 1967a: 59]

Yes, please and No, thank you phrases are the typical discourse patterns reflecting the English polite way of accepting and refusing. The way of refusing in English is different from the Polish one where Poles usually do not uses no before the thank you – dziękuję phrase. In English however using thank you, when not preceded by no, might signify acceptance.

3.4.5.4. Hesitation phrases

"Can you get a pair [of shoes] for me please? I'm afraid that I can't".

[Alexander 1967a: 77]

"Ted: I'm sorry, Pat. I'm afraid that I can't get up.

Pat; I think that the doctor had better see you. I'll telephone Dr Carter".

(Ibid.: 101)

"Harry: How was the examination, Dick?

Dick: Not too bad. I think I passed in English and Mathematics.

Harry: [...] I hope I haven't failed.

Harry: Perhaps we didn't do too badly".

(Ibid.: 105)

"I suppose he must be ill". "Suppose he's not at home".

[Alexander 1967: 25]

Frequent use of such phrases as: I hope, I'm afraid, I think, perhaps, reflect another culturally rooted manner of speech particular to the English language. A good deal of these examples were presented and discussed among the discourse patterns used by the authors of the target language based textbooks.

3.5. Multiculturally based textbooks

Another kind of textbook uses multiculturally oriented passages or dialogues helping to teach so called "international English". To examplify this kind of book, I will discuss two textbook sets, *Blueprint* [Abbs and Freebairn 1990, 1991, 1989] used by secondary schools in Poland and *Making Waves* [Huxley 1992; Loader, Wilkinson 1992; Broadhead, Light 1992] used at the level of academic education in some higher education institutes.

3.5.1. The Blueprint series - textbooks favouring British English

The Blueprint series published by Longman favours British English, although its subject – matter is not strictly connected with Britain. In Blueprint One [Abbs, Freebairn 1990] there are numerous explicit elements of English culture: typical English greetings, letter writing, levels of ability; very well, quite well not very well, a little, not at all, English food, weather and famous people, John Cleese an actor and Princess Diana. There are sections devoted to eating out, smoking and commuting to work in Britain. One reading section is connected with history: it describes the situation of some British children who had to leave Britain in September 1939.

Blueprint Two [Abbs, Freebairn 1991] provides learners with universal cultural information on an explicit level. Certain passages promote British culture, e.g. Leisure Habits in Britain, a chapter on Oxford where the old university town is seen through the eyes of English people (both black and white) and a Brazilian girl, Isabel Santos, there is separate chapter on Scotland and the Edinburgh Festival, and a section First Impressions, where Britain is described by an American woman and a Japanese man.

A slightly different attitude is represented by the third textbook in the series, Blueprint Intermediate [Abbs, Freebairn 1989]. It is "the least

internationally" based in comparison with the two earlier volumes. You can hardly find any cultural hints which do not refer to Britain or the U.S.A. The textbook begins with a chapter on private education, and presents Eton schoolboys and their problems, there are passages about the pop-singer Captain Sensible, an excerpt from a modern classic by Laurie Lee, passages on the development of London's Docklands, Stratford-upon-Avon and a passage full of irony, How to be an alien, describing the behaviour of English people. Further passages discuss the development of crafts in Britain, phone cards in payphones, and the Marlborough International Food Festival. There are special sections developed to literature, a brief summary of Shakespeare's Hamlet, biographies of Agatha Christie and two American writers Maya Angelou and Carson McCullers. There is also a short passage from Angelou's novel: Gather Together in My Name.

3.5.1.1. Explicit multicultural elements

Other explicit cultural elements refer to various countries of the world. There are non-British names e.g. Jorge, pictures of famous people like M. Tyson, M. Gorbatchev, Mother Teresa, C. Acquino, S. Graf, P. Hogan and T. Cruise. The textbook teaches the vocabulary of nationality for many countries from Europe to North and South America and Asia. References are made to the Eiffel Tower, the Prado Museum, the Great Wall, the Empire States building, the Taj Mahal and the Kremlin. In the Jobs and Lifestyles chapter, the book presents people who come from America, Spain, Brazil, France, Ireland, Portugal and England. In the letter writing section you can find the letter of a Japanese girl to her Polish pen-pal. There is a reading passage presenting two places of interest, York in England and San Diego in the U.S.A. The book provides information about a Russian ballerina of the Bolshoi Ballet, and presents Barbados and Florida as the ideal places for spending holidays. There are photographs of people representing American culture, Whitney Houston, Gloria Estefan, Rob Lowe, Michael Fox. Other places of interest mentioned or described are Rio, Rome, Australia, China, Bangkok, India, Japan and Hong Kong. Finally, the book users can find passages explaining to them how the Americans, British and French shop.

Lots of cultural information refers to other, non-Anglo-Saxon countries. One of the main characters is Josh Kumar, a young man from India who gets a job as tour guide in Europe, the learners meet an Australian girl,

Lisa Webb, and a Brazilian one, Larissa Severo. There are also some foreign characters such as Takashi Takashimi from Japan, Hans from Germany, Billy Kwan from Hong Kong, Louisa Ferrnandes from Portugal and Inga Johansen from Norway. Needles to say, the authors use the presence of such characters to provide information on the countries they come from. Presentation of foreign (non-English) cultures takes up much space in the textbook and is not limited to foreign names. There is an excerpt from a short story by Anttii Jalava about the problems of a Finish boy who emigrated from Finland to Sweden.

Another chapter is geographically centred in a French village. There is a large picture of a village street, and the press cutting below describe forest fires in France. Book user can also find a reading passage about Ranjit, an Indian girl who talks about her youth in England and her cultural alienation in British society.

Further on book users can find some sections on Holland and the famous Dutch painter Van Gogh, pictures of foreign language books, the Russian daily *Pravda* and English-German phrasebook. The book also presents Australia, the Aborigines, Africa and Bolivia. There is also a press cutting, which suggests that Chinese will be the world language by the middle of the next century. These references to non-British cultures create the impression that the textbook does not favour only British culture but all other ones equally. Foreign pupils whe use the textbook enjoy studying not only about the English speaking world but also about their native countries.

American culture is promoted in Abbs, Freebairn [1989] in tree sections. The first one introduces an American student who visits Britain. Among the pictures there is a photo of an American passport. Another long passage describes New York and other aspects of American life. The third one is the afore – mentioned text about Maya Angelou and Carson McCullers.

There are only two sections of the book which explicitly promote foreign culture. The first one discusses Swedish table manners in comparison to British ones. The other one is a cutting describing an accident on board of a plane. The plane is on a flight to Warsaw. One of the passengers of Polish origin, Mr Ivan Kowalski, becomes seriously ill, he has attack of asthma, but gets help from a Canadian doctor. It is obviously a very encouraging element for Polish learners, to find a passage about Polish citizen in a textbook written by non-Polish authors. And I think they will forgive the authors for having given Mr Kowalski the first name Ivan, which is of Slavic origin, but not Polish.

3.5.1.2. Elements reflecting English cultural background on the level of discourse analysis

The *Blueprint* series presents a lot of cultural pointers which can be found on the discourse analysis level. They can be arranged according to the functions they perform in the discourse. However, they perform similar functions to the ones present in already discussed textbooks, thus they do not need separate comment.

3.5.1.2.1. Greetings and ways of addressing people

"Good morning, everyone", "Good afternoon, sir. Can I help you?", "Good evening ladies and gentlemen", "Good night, Sam. Night Dad", "Goodbye! Bye! See you on Monday", "Have a nice evening! Thanks and the same to you. See you tomorrow", "Hello, Jan. How are you? Fine, thanks. And you?"

[Abbs, Freebairn 1991: 5]

"You're Laura Martinelli, aren't you? Oh, it's Professor Morgan".

(Ibid.: 98)

"CLARE: Ah! How do you do, Mr Kumar? I'm Clare Taylor. Nice to meet you.

JOSH: How do you do?"

(Ibid.: 3)

3.5.1.2.2. Polite questions and answers, offering, accepting, refusing

"A: Can you speak French?

B: No, not at all./Yes, a little./Yes, but not very well.

What about you?

A: Yes, quite well. | Yes, very well".

[Abbs, Freebairn 1990: 19]

"Excuse me, is there a post office near here? Yes, there's one on the corner".

(Ibid.: 50)

"A: Would you like something to drink?

B: Yes, please.

A: What would you like?

B: I'd like/I think I'll have coffee, please.

A: With milk and sugar?

B: No, thanks. Black, please, and no sugar".

(Ibid.: 100)

"How do you feel now?

A bit dizzy, but not too bad".

(Ibid.: 98)

3.5.1.2.3. Exclamation and hesitation words

"Is this yours? *Heavens*, yes! Thanks". [Abbs, Freebairn 1990: 67]

"CLARE: O.K., So is everything all right for Monday?

JOSH: Yes, fine. Oh, just one thing. How much do I have to know about the city? [...]

JOSH: Ah, that's good. Do things ever go wrong on these trips?

CLARE: Oh, yes, often. You have to be quite resourceful!

[Abbs, Freebairn 1991: 21]

BOB: Aah, it's nice to be back! [...]

BOB: Well, in my opinion, there are too many programmes on famine and not enough action.

BOB: Look, the situation has been the same for years now.

[Abbs, Freebairn 1991: 51]

I think I might give her a ring next week [...]
Goodness! When is she going back to Australia?
[Abbs, Freebairn 1991: 66]

"Jane: Good heavens! Look at this! [...]"
[Abbs, Freebairn 1991: 86]

LISA: Hi! I'm Lisa, Clare's niece. I'm from Australia.

JOSH: Yes, I can hear.

LISA: Come on! My accent's not that strong".

[Abbs, Freebairn 1991: 87]

3.5.1.2.4. Shopping discourse patterns

"- Asking for things: Have you got the latest Simply Red album? Have you got any records by Simply Red?

- Saying if things are not available: I'm afraid we've sold out.
I'm afraid it's not in stock.

- Deciding to buy: Thanks, I'll have it (them). Yes, I'll take this one (these), please.

- Deciding not to buy:

I think I'll leave it, thank you".

[Abbs, Freebairn 1989: 12]

3.5.1.2.5. Making complaints, apologies

"I'm sorry.
I'm terribly sorry.
I'm awfully sorry.

[Abbs, Freebairn 1989: 20]

3.5.1.2.6. Phone conversations and closing strategies

"Hello, Laura speaking.

It's Adam here. Would you like to go to the theatre on Friday?

Yes, I'd love to".

[Abbs, Freebarin 1990: 81]

"Ending conversations: Well, I suppose I ought to get on.

Listen, I really have to? ought to be going now".

"Giving a reason for ending the conversation:

I must get back to work.

I've got some work to do".

"Making arrangements to make contact again:

(Look), we must get together some time.

(Listen), why don't we meet for lunch?

"Leave taking phrases:

See you (soon/next...)
Good luck with/on...
Give my regards to...

[Abbs, Freebairn 1989: 100]

3.5.1.2.7. Patterns of written discourse

The Blueprint series does not lack sections developed to writing, mostly to letter writing. Thus the coursebooks contain several letter patterns including typical vocabulary, style, and layout based on English culture. Cf. [Abbs, Freebairn 1990: 26, 109; Abbs, Freebairn 1989: 37, 57]. Besides, the coursebooks present explanations and instructions on how to write biographies e.g. [Abbs, Freebairn 1989: 91], reports e.g. (Ibid: 99), invitations e.g. [Abbs, Freebairn 1990: 113] etc.

3.5.2. The Making Waves series

Making Waves [Huxley 1991; Loader, Wilkinson 1991; Broadhead, Light 1992] is another series of coursebooks which in my opinion represent the international approach to English. There are sections promoting explicitly or implicitly British or American culture and also passages which refer to other countries of the world but fewer than in Abbs and Freebairn [1990] and [1991].

3.5.2.1. British everyday life in the Waves – the explicit level

The First Wave [Huxley 1991] begins with a dialogue between two girls and a delivery man who brings flowers. Even this very short dialogue tells Polish learners about the institution of the delivery man in Britain, a service not well known in Poland. A few pages further on there are advertisements promoting an opera or play productions and all refer to

London theatres. The picture illustrating a passage from a radio play about a murder presents a policeman wearing a British Police iniform. A dialogue between a Housing Officer and a student from Kenya informs learners about a phenomenon of British culture, students living with British families. A map and Asking for Directions section presents a street map with English street names. Later on there are advertisements for London theatres and operas, and signs displaying when a bank, swimming pool, supermarket and restaurant are open. They include the opening hours typical for Britain. The Unusual People, Unusual Jobs section introduces a person living in Oxford, England. She is a grandmother but goes to University, the fact informing us about educational possibilities in Britain. The Sports section includes a press — cutting telling the readers about the London Marathon. Further on you can find a recipe for a banana and walnut cake, food known better in England that Poland.

A Grammar Guide a section, to introduce modifying adjectives with very and fairly, is illustrated with a room thermometre with the Fahrenheit scale, used in England. Another section teaches letter writing in English

and introduces typical English lay out.

To conclude the presentation of British culture elements, I would like to add the last three explicit cultural references in the book: a page devoted to the Queen (connected with discussing age), the menu list from a British restaurant and an almost full page press — cutting from the Daily Times,

a ficticious British newspaper.

In the Second Wave we can find a passage on the British love story writer Barbara Cartland, while others discuss diferences between the British and Americans or present Harrods department store in London. There is a reading section about a boy from Devon who found an old cannon in the sea. Foreign learners are acquainted with the procedure in such cases (all the things found belong to the government, which put them up for a sale and gives some of the money to the person who had found them). One of the writing sections presents a Western Bank PLC Service application form, and a large reading section introduces some famous Victorians.

3.5.2.2. Foreign culture in Making Waves

A lot of explicit elements favour foreign cultures. While talking about traveling abroad, various countries and airlines are mentioned, the Patterson family lives in Australia, Kevin Palmer lives in Dubai, two of the unusual people with unusual jobs line in California and Borneo. There is an all page advertisement section presenting hotels in Hong Kong, and there are

dates of birth of a few famous people from various countries. A few pages later you can find a biographical note on the American scientist Albert Einstein, a passage about a shark at an Italian holiday resort. Then you can find a reading passage about Brunei, and excerpts from American TV programmes. A ficticious interview with an American specialist on space programmes informs us about the first manned flight to Mars with four couples, one from the U.S., one from the Soviet Union and others from Europe and Asia.

The Second Wave [Loader, Wilkinson 1991] seems to be more international than the first one, as far as the explicit elements are concerned. Although there are several references to Britain, the rest refers to other countries or describes situations which can happen anywhere in the world. Come to the U.S.A. is a short passage presenting America, another one discusses politeness all over the world (including Britain) and finally the one introducing Heinrich Schliemann, the German archeologist who discovered Troy. In addition, learners can find photos of famous places in the world, the names of European painters and several pictures presenting famous people.

The same "more international" than English approach represents the authors of the Third Wave [Broadhead, Ginni 192]. On the surface the book does not favour British culture at all. There are some passages and names referring to Britain or the U.S.A., like excerpts from Conan-Doyle's The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes and dialogues full of English or American names or surnames. Besides, there are a few pictures and photos connected with Britain, but on the other hand, there are a lot of universal passages the action of which is connected or set in non-Anglo-Saxon countries; Brazil, Singapore, Thailand, Ethiopia, the Soviet Union, Guatemala, France or Sweden. There is also a political map of Europe and a picture of a pop concert with the name of the Polish trade union Solidarność in the background. People appearing in the book are of various nationalities and races; English, Chinese, Canadian, American, and from other European or Asiatic Countries (pictures).

3.5.2.3. Implicit cultural connections with British culture - the discourse level

In the Making Waves series as in all the coursebooks discussed so far, one can notice a lot of implicit cultural references to British culture on the discourse level. Above all there are lots of "situation patterns" which are examples of sociolinguistic rules (mainly sequential and alternating ones). They comprise Introduction Dialogues, phone dialogues, greetings, addressing people, saying when one does not know or is not sure of

something. There are also sections teaching people to offer something, accept or refuse an offer, say what he or she wants, and refuse an invitation.

3.5.2.3.1. Introducing, greeting and addressing people

"Marie: Hello, Tony. How are you? Tony: I'm fine, thank you. And you?

Marie: Fine, Thanks."

[Huxley 1991: 2]

"Woman: Mr Chen, this is Miss Banks.

Chen: How do you do? Katy: How do you do?"

(Ibid.: 14)

"Peter: This is Mr and Mrs Walker.

Katy: Pleased to meet you".

(Ibid.: 16)

3.5.2.3.2. Offering, accepting, refusing

"Offering to do something:
Can I get you a drink?
Shall I pay for this?
Accepting an offer:
Yes, please.
Thank you very much.
Refusing an offer:
No, thank you.
That's all right, thanks."

3.5.2.3.3. Exclamation words and expressions of hesitation

"'How did you know?'
'Oh, we know most things. [...]'"
[Loader, Wilkinson 1991: 59]

[Huxley 1991: 99]

"'A cannot? In your garden? Well done! But I'm afraid you must inform this government official. I'll give you his number".

"'What will you do with the money you get?' a friend asked.

'Well, I'd like to buy a boat'. [...]"

[Loader, Wilkinson 1991: 59]

3.5.2.3.4. Requests, asking for permission, asking people to do thing and agreeing

"Asking Permission and Accepting

Could I use your' phone, please? Certainly.

May I use your' phone, please? Of course.

Asking Permission Informally

Is it all right if I use your' phone? Sure.

Is it O.K. if I use your' phone? Go ahead.

Refusing

Well, actually, I'd rather you didn't + Reason.

Sorry + Reason".

[Loader, Wilkinson 1991: 68]

"Requests and Offers
Requests
Close the door, please.
Will you tidy your room, please? [...]

Acceptances
Certainly.
(Yes), of course I will. [...]

Refusals
I'm sorry but I'm afraid
I can't at the moment. [...]

Offers
Shall I close the door?
I'll do the dishes. [...]

Acceptances
Thank you very much.
(Oh,) thanks.

Refusals
It's O.K. thanks.
It's all right thank you."
(Ibid.: 48)

3.5.2.3.5. Making complaints, apologies

- "1. I'm sorry. I didn't mean to do it.
- 2. I'm sorry it happend but [...]."
- "1. I did it by mistake.
- 2. I didn't do it on purpose.
- 3. I do beg your pardon. [...]"
- "1. Well, be more careful next time.
- 2. That's all right. Don't worry.
- 3. Don't mention it. [...]"
 [Broadhead, Light 1922: 45]

3.5.2.3.6. Inviting and introducing a problem

"Inviting
Would you like to + verb
Do you fancy [...]

Yes, that would be a pleasure. Yes, please. I'd love to. [...]

Refusing

Well, I'm afraid I'm busy.

Well, I'm afraid I can't + verb + then [...]"

[Loader, Wilkinson 1991: 24]

"I am sorry to trouble you but...

I hesitate to say this but...

I hope you don't mind my saying this but... [...]"

[Broadhead, Light 1992: 95]

"Inviting
Would you like to come to a party?
Accepting an Invitation
Yes, please. [...] Thank you very much

Refusing an Invitation

Thank you, but I can't.

I'd love to, but... (Say why can't accept)"

[Huxley 1991: 100]

3.5.2.3.7. Asking for and making suggestions

"Asking for a Suggestion
Shall we + infinitive
What shall we get?
Making a Suggestion
Let's + infinitive
Let's get a book. [...]
How about
What about a handbag?
Accepting a Suggestion
O.K.
Yes, all right [...]

Refusing a Suggestion

No, I don't think that's a good idea".

[Huxley 1991: 103]

3.5.2.3.8. Interruptions, disagreeing, persuading

"Interrupting
But...
I'm sorry to interrupt you, but...
Excuse me, could I say something here?
Preventing interruptions
I'm afraid I haven't quite finished.
I haven't quite finished."
[Loader, Wilkinson 1991: 97]

- "1. Well, you may have a point there but...
- 2. I'm not sure I agree with you there,... [...]"
- "1. I see what you mean but...
- 2. Perhaps, but you don't think that... [...]"
 [Broadhead, Light 1992: 32]

"Formal

- 1. I'd rather not discuss that if you don't mind.
- 2. I'd rather not say if you don't mind. [...]
- 6. I'll get back to you on that, if that's O.K.
- 7. I'm afraid that's personal.

Rude

8. Mind your own business".

[Broadhead, Light 1992: 36]

3.5.2.4. Making Waves - final remarks

The Making Waves course is being used in Britain for teaching English to foreigners and outside Britain, for example in some Polish higher schools. Although it deals with fewer cultures than Blueprint (e.g. very few references to Africa or Eastern Europe, almost nothing about Poland or other post-communist countries) it is a course which should satisfy people of various cultural backgrounds. It does not tell too much about British or American culture either, but favours the Anglo-Saxon culture on the implicit (discourse) level. As the above discourse analysis section shows, the authors teach ready discourse patterns to be acquired by learners. Thus foreigners utter phrases, products of Anglo-Saxon Culture, and do not generate them on the basis of the vocabulary and syntax.

4. CONCLUSIONS

4.1. Conclusions drawn on the basis of above textbook survey

The above textbook survey leads to several conclusions, which for the clarity of the paper are presented in a separate section.

They are as follows:

- 1. Each textbook contains both explicit and implicit cultural elements.
- 2. There exists a unity of language and culture, and each artificial attempt to separate them is not possible.

- 3. There are no completely "culture-free" textbooks.
- 4. Elements of English culture should be taught together with the language, because it helps to achieve proficient command of the foreign language. Elements of Polish or non-English culture fulfil an auxiliary role in English teaching.
- 5. English can serve as an international system of communication as long as it is not deprived of its cultural basis.

4.2. Explicit and implicit cultural elements are present in all kinds of textbooks

Most of the textbook users or reviewers pay attention to the explicit cultural elements at the same time ignoring the implicit ones, possible to be traced on the discourse analysis level. However a more careful examination of all the above discussed textbooks proves that no above presented textbook is completely free from cultural elements.

4.2.1. Explicit cultural elements

These elements of culture are easily noticed in language teaching materials as they are simply overt references to cultures, foreign or native. All the discussed textbooks contain various quantities of these elements e.g. descriptions of everyday routine, different aspects of life, elements of history and literature. Such a set of information referring to English culture is necessary for all the learners who want to gain the proper command of the language.

4.2.2. Implicit cultural elements

In my opinion the implicit cultural elements play a very important but often neglected role in teaching. The importance of mastering basic grammatical structures goes without saying, but the problem of wording for example has often passed unnoticed in the process of textbook syllabus writing. S. Duczmal [1990] claims that "a number of set phrases the use of which is characteristic for the given language [...] constitutes its character". "This is very often referred as the spirit of language". "Consequently; it is very often the case that a sentence in a foreign language

is grammatically correct and contains no syntactic mistakes but in a given context however, sounds awkward, funny, unnatural and strikes one as alien or simply a calque of the native syntax" [Duczmal 1990: 193]. In the light of this approach the better a textbook is the more typical structures in linguistic context it introduces. In my opinion the Blueprint series, the Making Waves, and New Concept English present the largest number of implicit linguistic elements on the discourse analysis level.

4.2.3. The distribution of contents

Comparing the cultural contents of textbooks used from the 1930s to the 1990s it is possible to observe certain trends in the distribution of cultural elements. Textbooks of the 1930s, 40s and 50s included a large number of non-English cultural elements. Those books were ousted by the target language culture oriented ones or culture free textbooks which dominated in the 1960s and 70s. And again the 1980s and 1900s brought multicultural elements into numerous textbooks.

4.3. The unity of culture and language

One of the main goals of the paper was to show the unity of language and culture. It is indeed impossible in my opinion to split these two for the sake of textbook writing. I also think that all the above discussed textbooks of English are not devoid of cultural load.

4.3.1. The implicit cultural elements traceable on the discourse analysis level as the best proof of unity

The implicit cultural elements occurring in discourse analysis level are the best examples of language-culture unity. It is possible however to minimize the amount of explicit cultural explanations in textbooks making them look "international" but it is not possible to divorce the language as such, from its cultural background. The formulation of thoughts, typical linguistic responses in various situations betray a cultural approach to life, and displays an individual's habits, and his way of perceiving the world. Thus, I would like to agree with one of the aspects of Whorf's hypothesis,

a language betrays the way of perceiving the reality of its native speakers, and when it is used by foreigners it in a way imposes that viewpoint on them.

4.4. Textbooks generally treated as culture free do contain cultural elements

The New Concept English series [Alexander 1967a, b, c, d] claims to be a culture free course not promoting any cultures. In my opinion the author did not succeed in this goal. The coursebooks do contain cultural elements, although the author put much effort into isolating his characters and action from cultural links. Consequently one can notice a lot of explicit and implicit elements of culture in his textbooks. The action of most of the passages or characters are connected with Britain mainly, even in the most "international" third part of the course.

The same conclusion refers to the implicit level. The New Concept English is one of the richest sources of English idioms, or typically English lexical phrases (e.g. phrasal verbs) and discourse patterns. It is not possible however to deprive a natural language of its cultural roots and any attempt of that kind cannot be fully successful.

4.4.1. The role of culture-free textbooks in stimulating the learner's motivation

As was said above Alexander's set of coursebooks cannot be treated as typically culture-free textbooks, and it is extremely difficult or almost impossible to find such books. We can assume however that the *New Concept English* oscilates between culture-free and culture orientated textbooks. In my opinion artificial backgrounds or nationality deprived characters are not stimulating learners. Each human-being is connected with his or her cultural heritage and he or she tends to identify with similar book characters. The lack of cultural details causes learners to perceive the characters as alienated and not easy to identify with.

4.5. Why teach culture to Polish learners?

It is worth asking a question about the goals of culture orientated textbooks. What to their writers want to achieve? Do they want to change

Polish pupils, their customs, traditions and other spiritual values into English ones? Are they suggesting that English culture is better and that the Polish one is inferior to it? For me the only reasonable answer is as follows: the authors included such a cultural load in their textbooks because:

a) it is impossible to teach a natural language as an artificial system

of communication without its cultural roots,

- b) information about the English culture helps to give an understanding of "the spirit of language" i.e. "a number of set phrases the use of which is characteristic for the given language" [Duczmal 1990: 193], and explains how to use it in certain situation, in harmony with the sociolinguistic rules,
- c) the native language of the learners (Polish) is not inferior, but learning about foreign cultures broadens the horizons of the mind, and helps in mutual understanding between two foreign nations; the goal propagated as necessary for education for democracy,

d) foreign culture presented side by side with the native ones create the impression that both cultures are on the same level (not inferior and not superior to each other).

4.5.1. The role of Polish cultural elements

As was mentioned above the target language orientated textbooks written by Polish authors include certain cultural references to Polish culture. They present and stress elements of both cultures sometimes diametrically opposed to each other, thus in an implicit role showing the culture clash. This concerns for example school routine birthday celebrations, or other English traditions.

4.5.2. The role of international cultural elements

The use of this kind of elements creates an impression that the language being studied by the students is to be used for communication all over the world. Such impressions are created by the introduction of characters who represent various nations and races. Pupils become convinced about the popularity of English as it is in use not only in Britain, America but also as a foreign language in Asia, South America or Africa. Pictures included in the textbooks present people of all races, white, black and yellow. We cannot fail to notice that this kind of textbooks was written for foreign

learners from all over the world, and by means of presenting such a multicultural diversity of characters and settings they stimulate the learners to study a language which also "belongs" to them. To sum up, textbooks containing multicultural elements create a favourable approach in learner towards the language learning process and bring the language and its culture closer to learners by means of the superimposition of a cultural background.

4.5.2.1. The evolution of functions which cultural elements fulfilled in textbooks in the past and nowadays

There is a significant difference in the aims for which a decision was made to include the cultural elements in the textbooks discussed in this paper. In the past non-English elements were used as a tool for the political propaganda of totalitarian regimes (Germany, the Soviet Union). In the 1990s multicultural elements fulfill quite a different task, creating English as an international language and attracting large numbers of learners all over the world. The way cultural knowledge was introduced in the past and how it is introduced nowadays is also different. Once it was presented in an arrogant and impudent way, now it is presented in a natural way and is well adjusted and indispensable in order to attract potential textbook buyers and encourage them to study English.

4.6. Can English serve as an international system of communication without its cultural basis?

At first sight the above question night seem provocative, as a lot of people still claim that the language used for that purpose must be absolutely deprived of its cultural connections. These people however seem to forget that a natural language, unlike an artificial one is much more than a mere system of communication. But on the other hand there are also people who treat a natural language in a different way, like the editors of the World of English magazine who perceive a natural language in the following way:

Language, any language, goes far beyond knowing what this or that word means. Language is a feeling, a frame of mind, a whole system of symbols, signs and gestures common to a given linguistic community. It is also a treasury of facts, notions and common

knowledge acquired and repeatedly reinforced from the moment a small child first begins to discover the world around it.

Jokes are told, songs are songs, phrases are coined and statements are uttered, all striking a respondent chord in listeners who share common cultural experiences. This night include anything from the bedtime stories your grandmother told and the poems you had to read in school to your nation's heroes and villians, popular slogans, well known historical events and many many more" [The World of English 1994: 24].

A natural language deprived of its cultural basis and used by various nations may soon suffer the same problems as another international system of communication, Esperanto, already discussed in part 1. English used by speakers of various nationalities may lose its "spirit of language" [Duczmal 1990], and its development may drift into several separate directions. Thus in the course of the coming future the "Englishes" spoken all over the world may become separate languages instead of remaining one international communicative system. In my opinion the best panacea against such an undesired turn of events is conscious teaching of English together with its cultural background. This way English may be preserved in spite of its variation and dialects as one language, as an international system of communication.

4.7. Final remarks

1. Quite apart from the latest opinion on the use of culture in preserving the status of English as an international language, the role of basic knowledge of the English speaking countries also seems important. More and more people, Poles among them, visit Britain every year, on business, attending summer courses of English or just as tourists. A lack of minimum knowledge on life in Britain may lead to funny events like the one described in a pun presented by a Russian teacher Alexander Bessmertnyi [1994], another supporter of culture-language unity in language teaching.

"On a British street a policeman stops a car. In the car there is a visitor from another country.

Policeman: (holding up his hand) Stop! Visitor: (in car) What's the matter?

Policeman: Why are you driving on the right size of the road?

Visitor: Do you want me to drive on the wrong side?

Policeman: You are driving on the wrong side.

Visitor: But you said. I was driving on the right side.

Policeman: That's right. You're on the right, and that's wrong.

Visitor: A strange country! If right is wrong. I'm right when I'm on the

wrong side. So why did you stop me?

Policeman: My dear sir, you must keep to the left. The right side is the left. Visitor: It's like a looking-glass! I'll try to remember. Well. I want to go

to Bellwood. Will you kindly tell me the way?

Policeman: Certainly. At the end of this road turn left.

Visitor: Now let me thing. Turn left! In England left is right, and right

is wrong. Am I right?

Policeman: You'll be right if you turn left. But if you turn right, you you'll

be wrong.

Visitor: Thank you. It's as clear as daylight" [Bessmertnyi 1994: 26].

2. I would like to conclude this paper with a final remark on the textbooks. I discussed in part 2. I have not at any time attempted to evaluate

them as good or bad.

- a) As far as the old ones [published in the 1930s, 40s and 50s] are concerned it is even not possible to judge them from the perspective of the 1990s. It would be too easy to say that such books are worthless since they present bookish, artificial language not reflecting its communicative character. On the other hand they were quite often the only available educational aids for English teaching at that time. Maybe the authors were not able to write different books as the state authorities demanded textbooks which had to meet certain criteria. If the authors wanted to have their books published they had to include political elements. We cannot exclude however, another explanation, the textbook authors were simply good citizens of the state and followed its political line. Nevertheless the books did fulfill their tasks, they aided the learning of English in hard times when the political climate was not supportive.
- b) The textbooks of the 1960s [Smólska and Zawadzka, Alexander] at that time were also very useful ones. In this paper I have analysed their contents without any attempt to criticize or praise them. Many people in Poland, the author of this paper included, used them in their studies of English, and they appeared very stimulating and helpful, being written according to the language teaching principles of the day.

c) It is too early to evaluate the textbooks used nowadays in the 1990s, they seem to lack very little in the light of today's language pedagogy theories. However time flies and one day, the advance of science in this field may force us to look at these textbooks in a different way.

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Dariusz Maciej Koniewicz

ASPEKTY RELATYWIZMU KULTUROWEGO W PODRĘCZNIKACH DO NAUKI JĘZYKA ANGIELSKIEGO

Głównym celem autora jest analiza elementów kulturowych zawartych w podręcznikach do nauki języka angielskiego, autorów polskich i zagranicznych publikowanych na przestrzeni ostatnich pięćdziesięciu lat. Analiza obejmuje zarówno elementy kulturowe umieszczone w podręcznikach świadomie, jako materiały informacyjne, widoczne nawet przy pobieżnym przeglądzie książek, jak i te trudno dostrzegalne związane bezpośrednio z językiem i sposobem postrzegania rzeczywistości przez jego mówców.

Autor akcentuje także nierozerwalność kultury i języka oraz niezwykle ważną rolę elementów kulturowych w procesie glottodydaktycznym.

Praca składa się z trzech części poprzedzonych wstępem. We wstępie sprecyzowane są cele pracy oraz tezy, które autor starał się udowodnić poprzez analizę podręczników.

Część 1 jest częścią głównie teoretyczną przedstawiającą chronologicznie ewolucję poglądów na temat jedności języka i kultury od początku XX wieku do chwili obecnej. Najbardziej obszerna część 2 zawiera zilustrowaną cytatami analizę podręczników pod względem zawartości kulturowej. W części 3 zawarto końcowe wnioski i stwierdzenia związane z rolą kultury w procesie glottodydaktycznym.

