

## **IMMIGRANT LEARNERS' CULTURAL IDENTITIES IN THE VOCABULARY INPUT OF EFL TEXTBOOKS THROUGH PROTOTYPICAL ASSOCIATIONS**

## **IDENTIDADES CULTURALES DE ESTUDIANTES INMIGRANTES EN EL VOCABULARIO DE LIBROS DE TEXTO DE INGLÉS A TRAVÉS DE ASOCIACIONES PROTOTÍPICAS**

*María Daniela Cifone Ponte*

*University of La Rioja, Spain*

[m-daniela.cifone@unirioja.es](mailto:m-daniela.cifone@unirioja.es)

*Jaqueline Mora Guarín*

*University of La Rioja, Spain*

[jaqueline.mora@alum.unirioja.es](mailto:jaqueline.mora@alum.unirioja.es)

### **Abstract**

In recent decades, scholars' attention has been focused on how the target and source cultures can be integrated to EFL materials. Despite significant progress in this respect, the source culture is still considered as the predominant culture in a classroom, even in countries where immigration is reaching unprecedented numbers (Suárez Orozco, 2001; McKay, 2003). This poses some challenges for selecting the vocabulary input for EFL materials and promoting cultural diversity in the classroom. For this reason, since semantic prototypes are anchored in the categorisation of mental lexicon (Taylor, 1989; Aitchison, 2003), they may shed light on what cultural words are being and should be integrated to EFL textbooks to foster

the integration and balance of predominant and non-predominant cultures. This study aims to examine whether immigrant learners' cultures are evidenced in the vocabulary input of two EFL textbooks used in La Rioja, Spain; and to analyse if these cultural identities are represented through prototypical associations by means of two semantic categories: *free-time activities* and *festivities*. The results suggest that (i) the target culture is pervasive while immigrant students' cultures are scarcely included in EFL materials; (ii) there are similarities and differences regarding the cultural aspects drawn through prototypical associations in the two EFL textbooks selected; and (iii) the cultural identity aspects are scarce because most of the vocabulary input of EFL textbooks is focused on the use of words from the target language. The present study has implications for textbooks publishers and multilingual learners as it provides insights into the unbalanced cultural picture that EFL textbooks draw through word associations.

**Keywords:** cultural vocabulary, Immigrant EFL learners, EFL textbooks, Prototypical associations, Multilingualism.

### **Resumen**

En las últimas décadas, la integración de las culturas meta y origen en los libros de texto de inglés como lengua extranjera (ILE) ha recibido enorme atención académica. Sin embargo, a pesar de que se han conseguido muchos avances en este respecto, la cultura origen del alumno sigue siendo aquella que es más predominante en el aula, incluso en aquellos países donde la inmigración ha alcanzado cifras sin precedentes (Suarez Orozco, 2001; McKay, 2003). Esto plantea algunos desafíos a la hora de seleccionar el vocabulario de los libros de texto y promover la diversidad en el

aula. Por esta razón, dado que los prototipos semánticos están centrados en la categorización del léxico mental (Taylor, 1989; Aitchison, 2003), pueden arrojar luz sobre qué palabras culturales se están incluyendo y cuáles deberían de ser integradas en sus contenidos para promover la integración y el equilibrio cultural. Este estudio tiene como objetivo examinar si las culturas de los estudiantes inmigrantes se evidencian en la enseñanza de vocabulario de dos libros de texto de ILE utilizados en La Rioja, España, y analizar si estas identidades culturales se representan a través de asociaciones prototípicas mediante dos categorías semánticas: *actividades de tiempo libre* y *festividades*. Los resultados sugieren que: (i) la cultura meta es dominante, mientras que las culturas de los estudiantes inmigrantes apenas se incluyen en los materiales; (ii) hay similitudes y diferencias con respecto a los aspectos culturales extraídos a través de asociaciones prototípicas en los dos libros de texto seleccionados; y (iii) los aspectos de identidad cultural son escasos debido a que la mayor parte del vocabulario de los libros de texto de ILE se centra en la cultura meta. Este trabajo tiene implicaciones para las editoriales y los estudiantes multilingües, ya que proporciona información sobre el desequilibrio cultural que se evidencia en los libros de ILE a través de asociaciones de palabras prototípicas.

*Palabras clave:* vocabulario cultural, aprendices inmigrantes, libros de texto de ILE, asociaciones prototípicas, multilingüismo.

## 1. Introduction

Beyond the concept of culture as a set of attitudes and behaviours, culture and language are intertwined, one cannot exist without the other (Cifone Ponte, 2019). That is, learning a non-native language

along with its culture may raise awareness of students' own culture while promoting a sense of belonging (Nizegorodcew, 2011). In the context of English as a foreign language (EFL), culture is gaining ground in European policies since intercultural competence is currently at the core of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (henceforth, CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001). This is creating the need of integrating culture not only in language instruction but also in language teaching materials. For this reason, scholars' attention has been focused on how the target and source culture can be included in EFL textbooks to facilitate intercultural and multicultural communication (Xiang & Yenika-Agbaw, 2019). Traditionally, English instruction has been addressed from a monocultural perspective (Alptekin, 1993; Halverson, 1985). This assumption created an ethnocentric conception of English which soon became unreal and limited as globalization spread. Nowadays, the predominant status of the target culture, especially those cultures belonging to the inner circle, is still undeniable. However, in contrast to this traditional approach, a large body of literature is defining and prioritizing the role of the students' own language and the source culture in foreign language learning (McKay, 2003; Duñabeitia, 2017). Amidst these changes, the source culture is still considered to be the predominant culture in the classroom, even in countries where different cultures coexist in the classroom (Suárez Orozco, 2001).

The question of what culture to include and how it should be addressed is challenging the selection of the vocabulary input in EFL materials globally. Since vocabulary conveys cultural meanings and subtleties (Wierzbicka, 1992), cultural words should be selected carefully to foster diversity and multiculturalism in the classroom. Research on the words associated in response to semantic categories

is essential for not only understanding how bilingual and monolingual EFL learners categorise vocabulary (Pavlenko, 2009), but also analysing how culture may affect the categorisation of mental lexicon. Culture and prototypes have been studied separately and have received scant scholarly attention. Although cultural psychologists argue that the influence of culture on micro-level cognitive processes such as categorisation (Ji, Nisbett & Zhang, 2004), nothing has been published in linguistic circles regarding culture and prototypes in EFL.

This study seeks to examine the convergence of culture and semantic prototypes to determine whether the cultural identity of immigrant learners is evidenced in the vocabulary input of EFL textbooks. A selection of words from two semantic categories – *festivities* and *free-time activities* – will be examined employing a content analysis of two of the EFL textbooks most frequently used in the sixth year of primary education in the Autonomous Community of La Rioja, in northern Spain. This study thus broadens new perspectives concerning EFL teaching and learning in two ways: (i) it seeks to define whether EFL materials for young learners acknowledge the existence of diverse source cultures in one classroom by integrating immigrant cultures in their vocabulary input; and (ii) it analyses prototypical associations in cultural semantic categories to ascertain whether cultural identities are evidenced.

The study is organised into four sections. The first section briefly reviews intercultural competence, semantic prototypes, and conceptualizations of culture as well as the related studies on this matter. The second section describes the sample and the data management of our study. Subsequently, in the third section, we will

present the results obtained from the analysis of cultural words observed in the materials and the discussion of the data with the main literature. In the fourth section, we will unveil our conclusions and its implications for further studies on vocabulary acquisition in EFL.

## **2. Review of literature**

### **2.1. Globalization, cultures, and language teaching**

The notion of culture has a remarkable role in the process of communication in multicultural contexts (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). According to Liddicoat and Scarino (2013), globalization along with an increased mobility may have reshaped the way we live and communicate and is increasing the need of developing and integrating intercultural skills in foreign language teaching and learning. Within this context, it is vital to bear in mind that the process of becoming proficient in a foreign language is complex and that it will always imply exposure to cultural aspects and new word associations. These new associations “reflect a multifaceted reality, implied meanings and symbols” which are key in the process of understanding and communicating (Nizegorodcew, 2011, p. 9). In other words, being culturally aware implies accepting different assumptions and practices from other cultures, an attitude that facilitates communication. Therefore, culturally aware students may dominate more linguistic and cultural subtleties in speech than students lacking in that awareness (Halverson, 1985).

In recent decades, Europe has witnessed massive migratory movements within its borders (Hoskins & Sallah, 2011). Hoskins and Sallah (2011) argue that the importance and the effect of this cultural diversity on the host countries depends on the acceptance of these groups by the dominant majority. Within this acceptance lies the

concepts of “culture, the colour of the skin, perception of wealth of the individual and perception of threat to local employment” (Hoskins & Sallah, 2011, p. 114). Hence, European policies concerning education and culture include the intercultural competence as necessary to fostering intercultural dialogue (Culture Council, 2008; Hoskins & Sallah, 2011). Moreover, being an interculturally competent person implies having a deeper knowledge of one’s own culture. In fact, in their model of intercultural competence, King and Baxter Magolda (2005) describe intercultural competent learners as speakers who have a great sense of identity; explore their own cultures and values; are immersed in their own culture; and are proud of it.

For these reasons, culture has gained a relevant status within the context of foreign language teaching and learning in recent years (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Notwithstanding the complexity of the concept within the EFL field, the most recurrent definition describes culture as the specific features of a national group that can be limited by geographic borders (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Nevertheless, such a view reduces culture to a set of describable and fixed national attributes which may contribute to the creation of stereotypes and exclude ethnic minorities and different social classes (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). This view has been predominant in foreign language instruction and teaching materials in which culture – *more specifically, the target culture* – is described as a defined and strict set of values, attitudes and costumes through cultural notes and images of popular cultural attributes (Holliday, 2010).

However, in his model of intercultural competence, Byram (1997) argues that knowledge (*savoirs*) about cultures, society and the individuals are vital in this process, yet he adds to this knowledge a

set of skills and attitudes which promote an attitude of curiosity and openness. Furthermore, Liddicoat and Scarino (2013) clarify that culture should not be treated as a body of knowledge but as a whole framework where “people live their lives, communicate, and interpret shared meanings” (2013, p. 22). In this vein, Norton (2000) acknowledges culture as a changing concept which may be affected and modified by factors such as time, place, age, gender, among others. Within this paradigm, some scholars notice that the concept of culture, as dynamic as it is, posits some problems for EFL (Hoskins & Sallah, 2011).

It seems essential, then, to distinguish between cultural and intercultural perspectives. Liddicoat and Scarino (2013) defined a cultural perspective as that approach focused on one culture which is normally external and foreign for the learner, whereas an intercultural perspective seeks the integration of learners' own culture during the process of learning a language. This last approach should be followed by textbooks, since integrating cultures into these materials fosters intercultural competence in the classroom.

Another basic distinction germane to our study is the classification of cultures attending to the source and the target languages (Risager, 1991; Byram, 1997). On the one hand, “target culture” refers to the culture or cultures involved in the study of a language; in the case of EFL, the cultures of those countries where English is the official language. According to Kachru's model of World Englishes as reference, these countries would be the ones from the inner circle (e.g., USA, UK, Canada) (Kachru, 1985). On the other hand, “source culture” refers to the students' native culture. In the late 90s, this dichotomy was interrupted by the term “international culture”. Within the field of EFL, this type of culture differs from the



students' and the target culture (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999). For instance, in the case of EFL teaching in Spain, Asian cultures could be considered international cultures.

## **2.2. The role of culture in EFL materials**

Teaching materials or to be more accurate, textbooks are one of the main sources of cultural information in the classroom (Clavel-Arroitia & Fuster-Márquez, 2014; Bahrami 2015). Accordingly, educators rely on them to introduce cultural aspects in a controlled and non-stereotyped way (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). In the European Union, EFL materials used in formal education are designed to meet the specifications of the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001). This official document includes intercultural competence as an essential part of any language curricula. Moreover, in Spain, language programs' syllabi must adhere to not only the CEFR's requirements, but also current education law and the different Autonomous Communities' decrees which establish the curricula of formal education.

Recent research on the inclusion of cultures in EFL teaching materials has led scholars to delve into which culture should predominate in foreign language instruction. Globalization has affected EFL textbooks' cultural scope to the extent of 'denationalizing' their content (McKay, 2003). To be more precise, a large body of literature supports this idea and points out to the extended predominance of the target culture in these materials and in teaching practices (Sercu, Méndez García & Castro Prieto, 2004; Wu, 2010; Yuen, 2011; Gómez Rodríguez, 2015; Cifone Ponte, 2019; Ayu, 2020). Regarding teaching, investigations on the common practices in the EFL classroom point out that topics concerning the target culture's daily life, routines and festivities are the most

addressed topics in the EFL classrooms (Harvey, Roskvist, Corder & Stacey, 2011; Sercu, Méndez García & Castro Prieto, 2004). In the same vein, EFL materials tend to focus primarily on British and American cultures (Lee, 2009; Abdollahzadeh & Baniasad, 2010; Canga Alonso & Cifone Ponte, 2015). Nevertheless, the studies cited above were conducted with a sample of textbooks used in secondary education or addressed to adult learners. Although little has been published on cultural perspectives in Primary Education EFL textbooks, some studies reported a change of trend. For instance, Joo, Chik and Djonoy (2019) focused on the images of five EFL textbooks used in primary school in Korea. Interestingly, their main findings showed that most of the materials have been adapted to the Korean curriculum requirement of representing English as a global language by including characters from a wide range of cultures. However, there is need for further research as these findings may not be extrapolated to other EFL contexts.

In contrast, Méndez García (2005) believes in the necessity of the inclusion of the target culture as it is crucial for the students to be exposed to some characteristics and behaviours of the target society. What is more, she claims that glimpses from the target culture in EFL textbooks may develop students' ability of reflection and respect (Méndez García, 2005). Nevertheless, other scholars claim that the source culture should be the most relevant in EFL materials. For example, McKay (2004) proposes designing local textbooks that emphasise the view of local authors and local cultures. This proposal is supported by evidence which accords great benefits to the inclusion of the source culture in the instruction of a foreign language (Nault, 2006; Duñabeitia, 2017). Despite this sustaining evidence, numerous studies emphasise the lack of attention of the students' culture in EFL

materials (Böcü & Razi, 2016; Chao, 2011; Canga Alonso & Cifone Ponte, 2015).

In this regard, the CEFR determines that learners should be capable of relating the target and source culture as a tool to cope with interculturality, and that EFL teachers and textbooks should foster a learning environment where students can develop strategies to communicate with people from other cultures without misunderstandings and judgements (Council of Europe, 2001). However, the inclusion of the source culture is not fully linked to the country where the textbook is going to be used, as immigrants or first-generation immigrants may not consider the predominant culture as theirs. This poses some problems when it comes to deciding which culture should receive more attention in EFL instruction. Some scholars stress the need of a balance in the representation of not only the source and the target cultures but also international cultures (Cifone Ponte, 2019; Mendez García, 2005). This practice may be a way of integrating the target culture, which will be essential for communication, and the diverse source cultures that may coexist in the EFL classroom.

### **2.3. The theory of prototype and its evolution**

The interpretation of the Aristotelian classical theory of categorisation changes considerably in Rosch's (1975) prototype conception. This scholar suggests that a prototype is the best, central, and most representative exemplar in a category. Besides, these categorical members are arranged in order of "goodness," that is, similar things to the prototype are classified as very typical or good members and dissimilar things as being less typical or less good members (Murphy, 2002). In some of Rosch's studies (1975; Rosch et

al. 1976; Rosch & Lloyd, 1978), for instance, the central case in the category *fruit* is *apple*, whereas the least representative member is *olive*. In our view, this theory implies that the prototype is the exemplary best recognized by the human being in a category. Dubois (1981, 1983) revealed that the prototype is the best exemplar when it is the most frequently used item instead of being the central case of the category solely.

The evolution of the concept of prototype broadens its significance and implication in categorisation under different models (cf. Wittgenstein, 1953; Fillmore, 1975; Rosch & Mervis, 1975; Tversky, 1976; Coleman & Kay, 1981; Cordier & Dubois, 1981; Jackendoff, 1983; Schwarze, 1985; Lakoff, 1986, 1987; Geeraerts, 1987; Langacker, 1987; Rosch, 1976, 1978; Wierzbicka, 1992; Kleiber, 1995). This development of the definition of “prototype” and its theory is explored in two different versions: The *standard* version and the *extended* version. In both versions, the prototype becomes the central case in the category. The *standard* version proposes that the prototype not only is the central member of a category but also it is organised through different levels of categorisation (Superordinate, Basic and Subordinate). In this hierarchy, the basic level is the most salient, learned first by children and easily identified (Kleiber, 1995). However, as conceptualized in Lakoff's (1987) *extended* version, not all the categorisation cases can be prototypical. The prototype becomes the element in which the category is organised regarding membership gradience. This membership refers to multiple cognitive tasks, which from a monosemic conception becomes a polysemic relationship, as the family resemblance theory suggests (Wittgenstein, 1953). In other words, the members of a category might be linked without the existence of a common feature among

all members. Both *standard* and *extended* versions have contributed to understanding the role of prototypes in studies on linguistic and semantic categories.

## 2.4. Semantic prototypes and cultural conceptualizations

Recent work on prototypes to analyse semantic categories have been used in terms of cultural conceptualizations such as event schema, which refers to the description of the semantic category and the words associated with it (Sharifian, 2003). Furthermore, van Vliet's (2019) prototype approach describes how cultural festivities are seen as natural categories. For instance, *festivals* can be described based on certain characteristics, but they cannot be defined within a single set of necessary and sufficient characteristics. Therefore, a celebration like Christmas might share similar characteristics worldwide (e.g., family dinner, exchange of presents). However, what makes Christmas unique in terms of culture varies according to one's traditions, costumes, and religion. Likewise, Lakoff's (1997) theory on radial cultural categories as *free-time activities* will describe how the prototype is evidenced by means of the family resemblance theory. This theory emphasises the idea of membership in a category despite having non- shared features (see Wittgenstein, 1953).

As for studies regarding cultural identity in the vocabulary input of EFL textbooks through prototypical associations, little research has been produced. However, concerning prototypes, a growing body of literature has examined L1 and L2 studies. These revisions have focused on the most typical characteristics of a category, namely lexical availability, word associations, word order, family resemblance, prototypical levels, fuzzy sets, cross-cultural

prototypes, prototypes identity, and linguistic components such as grammar, morphology, syntax, phonology and vocabulary.

Concerning vocabulary research in EFL settings, there have been analysis of adjectives in the prototypicality of word senses (Yuan, 1990; Lukusa, 1996); the frequency of input of words through prototype networks has been explored (Vermeer, 2001); English prepositions and the prototypical sense provided in the acquisition of an L2 (Cho, 2010); the basic-level salience through the recognition of prototype levels of categorisation (Xia & Georg-Wolf, 2010); vocabulary acquisition and teaching by means of using learning and teaching prototype models (Duan & Da, 2015); and vocabulary acquisition seen from the perspectives of culture and psycholinguistic aspects such as lexical availability (Carcedo, 1998; Šifrar Kalan, 2017) and word associations (Mora Guarín & Jiménez Catalán, 2019) to recognize either universality of language or divergences or convergences in the field of semantic prototypes through the use of two semantic categories. Nevertheless, studies on cultural identities in the vocabulary input of EFL textbooks employing prototypical associations have not been published. In our research, we only found one study conducted by Yuen (2000) about the pedagogical implications of prototype theory in the writing of English grammar textbooks. Following Yuen, we strongly agree with two ideas: (i) textbooks are significant learning tools; and (ii) as suggested by Lakoff, (1987, cited in Yuen, 2000), our cognitive system depends on our physical and cultural experience. To the best of our knowledge, ours is the first attempt to investigate how the immigrant learners' cultural vocabulary of two semantic categories in two different EFL textbooks used in primary school will be evidenced through semantic prototypes. The research questions are as follows:

1. Are cultural words concerned with the semantic categories of *festivities* and *free-time activities* included in the vocabulary input of 6<sup>th</sup> year of primary education EFL textbooks?
2. What are the prototypical associations that emerge from this vocabulary? Are immigrant learners' cultures (i.e., Romanian, Chinese, Moroccan, Colombian, Bolivian and Ecuadorian) represented or, the vocabulary input is mostly dominated by references to the target culture?

### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1. Sample**

As mentioned in the introduction, this study will focus on the vocabulary input in two EFL textbooks commonly used in La Rioja, an Autonomous Community in the north of Spain. More specifically, the sample comprises two of the most frequently used textbooks for Sixth grade in the Autonomous Community of La Rioja: *Big Surprise* and *Mission Accomplished*.

In this region, 12,8% of students between 6 and 11 are immigrants (Ayuntamiento de Logroño, 2018). In order to define whether immigrant learners' cultures are evidenced in the vocabulary content, the four main immigrant students' nationalities in La Rioja were considered: Rumanian, Chinese, Moroccan, Colombian, Bolivian and Ecuadorian (Ayuntamiento de Logroño, 2018).

#### **3.2. Data analysis and management**

The data presented in this paper were analysed by applying a content analysis. This allowed our qualitative data to be examined systematically and reliably so that generalizations could be made from them in relation to the categories of our interest. In our case, the

analysis of the two textbooks was conceptual. The object of analysis were words (e.g., crackers), and lexical units of meaning (e.g., eggs rolling competition) from all the written content of the materials (i.e., grammar and vocabulary exercises, cultural sections, reading activities and texts). This method allowed us to identify present important aspects of the vocabulary content of the two textbooks regarding valuable cultural insights of immigrant L1 learners through prototypical associations.

Both – the curriculum of La Rioja (Decree 24/2014) and the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001) – were used to define two cultural categories which are representative in materials at this educational level. The curriculum of La Rioja (Decree 24/2014) establishes that young learners at this stage should be aware of customs and traditions from the target culture as well as celebrations such as “Halloween, Valentine’s Day, Christmas, Saint Patrick, Pancake Day, Easter” among others (Decree 24/2014, p. 1382). What is more, students should be instructed in vocabulary related to free-time activities and hobbies (Decree 24/2014). Both topics are also described within the list of cultural topics offered by the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001). Customs and traditions are descriptors found in the categories of *Ritual behaviours* and *Values, beliefs and attitudes* (Council of Europe, 2001, pp. 102-103). Likewise, free-time activities and hobbies are included as descriptors of the cultural category *Everyday living* (Council of Europe, 2001, pp. 102-103).

Regarding the prototypes analysis, we have adopted the following methodological decisions. In order to define the type of category, we relied on Lakoff’s representation of radial categories (1987), Sharifian’s cultural conceptualizations and van Vliet’s prototype approach (2019). As explained in the literature review, the



category of *free-time activities* has been previously defined as radial (Lakoff, 1987 cited in Hernandez Muñoz, 2006).

With reference to *festivities*, we considered cultural celebrations as a natural and specific category, which cannot be described within a single set of necessary and sufficient characteristics (van Vliet, 2019). Apart from that, this semantic category was also examined using Sharifian's (2003) event schema. According to this author, schemas describe people's experience of certain events which are shared and experienced similarly by people from the same cultural background. Each culture has schemas for important events and festivities (e.g., weddings or funerals) and each schema encompasses sub-schemas about the events (e.g., church ceremony). In our study, words referring to festivities were extracted and were treated as schemas (e.g., Christmas), while those words describing the event were treated as categories associated with the schema (e.g., crackers).

Data management and analysis were performed using Microsoft Excel. Since we classified cultural words by textbook and category, we obtained four lists. The prototypes extracted from the cultural words were classified regarding the three types of culture (i.e., target, source and international) paying special attention to those predominant immigrant's culture in La Rioja (Rumanian, Chinese, Moroccan, Colombian, Bolivian and Ecuadorian). Any reference to these cultures and the Spanish culture, which is the predominant culture in the Autonomous Community, will be considered as the source culture.

#### **4. Results and Discussion**

The first research question aimed to determine whether cultural words related to the categories of *festivities* and *free-time activities*

were included in the vocabulary input of the textbooks. Our data revealed that both categories were present in the content of the materials. However, in terms of quantity, the two textbooks reported a higher presence of terms related to celebrations (see table 1 and 2). As expected, this finding shows EFL textbooks used in sixth year of primary education in La Rioja foster cultural aspects related to both festivities and everyday life activities as established in the curriculum of this Autonomous Community (Decree 24/2014) and the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001). Our data also corroborate the findings of previous studies which pointed to festivities and folklore and daily routines as a pillar of culture teaching in the EFL classroom (Harvey, Roskvist, Corder & Stacey, 2011). Unlike Secondary Education EFL materials where there is greater inclusion of everyday cultural aspects such as hobbies (Dehbozorgi, Amalsaleh & Kafipour, 2014; Cifone Ponte, 2019), our data seems to point to a tendency to introduce culture through festivities in textbooks designed for primary education. These findings agreed with Kirkgöz and Agcam's (2011) whose study revealed festivities were among the most represented cultural topics in young learners' textbooks.

Textbook	Cultural words	Prototypes
Big Surprise	<b>Bonfire night</b> , making a guy, putting guys on the bonfire, fireworks, firework display, sparklers, rockets, toffee apples;	Bonfire night (target culture, British)
	<b>Christmas</b> , Christmas stockings, crackers, paper hats, figgy pudding, Christmas pudding, advent calendar, mince pies, Christmas tree, Christmas cake,	Christmas (target culture, British)

	Christmas cards, buying and wrapping presents, Christmas decorations, New Year, Christmas eve; <b>Christmas dinner</b> sprouts, turkey, roast potatoes;	
	<b>St Valentine's Day:</b> Giving flowers, Valentine cards, Valentine presents, Valentine poems;	St. Valentine's Day (target culture)
	<b>Easter,</b> Giving Easter eggs, Easter eggs, going egg rolling, going to church, hunting eggs, making Easter bonnets, hot cross buns, good Friday, Easter Saturday, Easter Sunday, Easter Monday, Easter cards, chocolate eggs, decorating eggs, Easter parade, Eggs rolling competition, rolling decorated eggs, buying Easter eggs, parade, Easter holidays, Easter celebrations;	Easter (target culture, British)
Mission Accomplished	<b>Columbus Day,</b> Columbus, native Americans, Latin American, New World;	Columbus Day (source and target, Latin American and American and Canadian)
	<b>Thanksgiving,</b> Black Friday, Christmas shopping;	Christmas shopping (Target culture, American and Canadian)

	<b>Martin Luther King's Day</b> , donating free time, helping the poor, volunteering, holiday;	Martin Luther King's Day (target culture, American and Canadian)
	<b>Day of Reconciliation</b> , South Africa, public holiday.	Day of Reconciliation (international culture, South African)

Although the category of *festivities* was present in both textbooks, the approach adopted was different in each. As shown in table 1, in *Big Surprise*, *festivities* was dominated by celebrations or event-schemas which, per se, are part of international cultures (e.g., Christmas, Easter). As mentioned above, Sharifian (2003) refers to these schemas as events experienced similarly by people from the same cultural background. However, our data indicate a high number of sub-schemas describing the main cultural event. For example, the event-schema *Christmas* is described in detail by sub-schemas such as *crackers*, *paper hats* and *figgy pudding*. These descriptors allowed us to claim that event-schemas in *Big Surprise* are dominated by the target culture, to be more thorough, by the British culture. On the contrary, *Mission Accomplished* reported fewer sub-schemas but celebrations commonly celebrated in specific countries such as *Martin Luther King's Day* in the United States and Canada. Furthermore, this book contained schemas and sub-schemas which refer to international cultures or the students' cultures (e.g., Columbus Day). In this regard, cultural words describing a particular celebration were more predominant in *Big Surprise* than in *Mission Accomplished*. Since both textbooks are addressed to young learners who may be at the first level of intercultural maturity (King & Baxter

Magolda, 2005), their cultural understanding is still rigid and stark cultural differences (as may be the case of brand-new celebrations) may cause resistance and a judgmental attitude. In our view, sub-schemas may be of greater importance at this stage as they enhance comprehension of cultural events which, on the surface, may be recognized as similar by learners from other cultures (Sharifian, 2003). Moreover, these descriptors provide the student with a broader view of these celebrations along with an extensive vocabulary to encode new conceptualizations (e.g., traditional food, decorations, practices) (Sharifian, 2003).

Textbook	Cultural words	Prototypes
Big Surprise	Manga	Manga (international, Japanese)
	Teatime	Teatime (target culture, British)
	Riding a camel	Riding a camel (international/source, Arab culture)
	<b>Visiting Ireland</b> (holidays), listening to traditional bagpipes, listening to Irish songs, watching Irish dancing, staying in a B&B	Bagpipes (target, Irish)
	<b>Going to the beach</b> , donkey ride, funfair ride	Going to the beach (target, British)
	Playing in the school orchestra	Playing in the school orchestra (international/target)
Mission Accomplished	Rugby	Rugby (target, American/British)

	Playing hockey, ice-hockey	Hockey (target, Canadian)
	Going to an American shopping centre	American shopping centre (target, American)

Table 2 shows the cultural words concerning free-time activities. Most words encountered were not culture-specific, so they were not included in the analysis. Nevertheless, we did find some free-time activities which were cultural per se (e.g., riding a camel) or whose descriptors were clearly pointing at a specific culture. This was the case, for example, of *going to the beach* (table 2), which may be an activity shared by different cultures yet, it was surrounded in the text by other activities such as: *donkey rides* and *funfair rides* which evokes the target culture (Bournemouth).

Regarding international cultures, we observed some glimpses of Asian cultures in *Big Surprise* (e.g., *Manga*). Nevertheless, in both textbooks, this category reported a stronger presence of the target culture. To be more specific, we notice a shift from British culture in *Big Surprise* to a more Americanized perspective in *Mission Accomplished*. In the same vein, Lappainen (2011) and Su (2014) argued that textbooks are infused with an Americanized view of the target culture. In her analysis of twelve EFL textbooks used at Secondary Education, Cifone Ponte (2019) found a tendency to include American hobbies (e.g., Cheerleading). Nevertheless, this statement cannot be fully extrapolated to our study as our sample reported different results concerning the target culture. We believe this difference can be attributed to the authors' views and own

cultures mirrored by the textbooks' content or even to the type of textbook (i.e., locally, or internationally produced) (Ilieva, 2000).

Surprisingly, with respect to the source and international cultures, both textbooks and categories reported a monocultural perspective. Our data showed that both textbooks overlook international and source cultures regarding the two semantic categories addressed. Our results are consistent with previous research where the presence of the target culture was described as predominant over the rest of cultures (Sercu, Méndez García & Castro Prieto, 2004; Wu, 2010; Yuen, 2011; Gómez Rodríguez, 2015; Cifone Ponte, 2019; Ayu, 2020). However, our analysis reported the target culture to be ubiquitous in the cultural content of EFL textbooks used in 6<sup>th</sup> year of primary education. These results might be interpreted on the grounds of the exclusion of the source and international cultures as part of the cultural component of EFL in the curriculum of La Rioja (Decree 24/2014). Textbook designers follow educational policies and curricula to plan the content of their materials and the curriculum of 6<sup>th</sup> year of primary education in La Rioja does not mention any other culture other than the target.

We now move on to our second research question which seeks to describe the prototypical associations that emerge from the cultural vocabulary input of the EFL materials. Our data confirmed the inclusion of prototypical associations in the cultural vocabulary of the textbooks. Although we expected to find prototypical words regarding the representation of cultural identities, we only found words belonging to the target culture in both categories, as shown in table 1 and 2. Most of these prototypes referred to inner circle countries. However, in terms of prototypes, a distinction could be

made between both textbooks. British culture prevails in *Big Surprise* whereas American culture does in *Mission Accomplished*.

Owing to the nature of representativeness of the two categories selected (i.e., *free-time activities* and *festivities*) in the EFL textbooks used in the curriculum of La Rioja, convergences were foreseen. However, the influence of the target language was evidenced in the information collected showing divergences in the expected results. The reason for this premise may lay in the materials' emphasis on the cultural words elicited by the inner circle countries (Chapelle, 2009; Toprak & Aksoyalp, 2015; Cifone Ponte, 2019). As predicted, prototypical associations were related to cultural words from American, British and Canadian cultures. The prototype theory states that learning vocabulary is easier and faster through the use of the basic level of categorisation (Kleiber, 1995). In our study, the evidence of basic words representing the immigrant learners' cultures was not as significant as those referring to the target culture. Despite basic words being of paramount importance as our cognitive system depends on our cultural experience (Lakoff, 1986), this finding may reveal that the inclusion of those basic words belonging to other cultures was done unintentionally and without considering the cultural diversity in the classroom. On the other hand, evidence on the subordinate level was drawn in *Big Surprise*. This textbook illustrates how a fruitful vocabulary concerning sub-schemas or the subordinate level of categorisation empowers the richness of the meaning of a word in a category (Rosch & Lloyd, 1978).

When examining possible cultural aspects in the vocabulary input of the EFL materials selected through prototypical associations, little was concluded. From the four main immigrant students' nationalities in La Rioja (Rumanian, Chinese, Moroccan, Colombian,



Bolivian and Ecuadorian), only Moroccan and some glimpses to Latin American cultures were observed. Each one of the nationalities was represented in one of the categories suggesting that the pervasiveness of the vocabulary input owes to the target culture.

## **5. Conclusions and Implications**

Our main aim was to address the almost total lack of evidence on what it means to highlight the cultural aspects of the immigrant learners represented in the vocabulary input of EFL textbooks through prototypical associations. We have accomplished this goal by directly analysing the content of two selected textbooks used in La Rioja, with special attention to the words enunciated in two different semantic categories (*festivities* and *free-time activities*) framed in the curriculum as cultural topics in the learners' textbooks.

Our results showcase a monocultural approach in EFL textbooks for young learners when it comes to their vocabulary input. Immigrant cultures are still not integrated to these materials by means of cultural words. Furthermore, despite the increase of multicultural classrooms due to immigration, multicultural perspectives are not approached in EFL materials. Although considering the cultures coexisting in a classroom and personalizing the content of EFL textbooks is virtually impossible, we advocate a wider representation of international cultures in their vocabulary input. The empowerment provided to British and American cultures through prototypical associations only reveals a lack of effort in integrating a multicultural perspective to EFL materials and, subsequently, in EFL instruction. In this respect, our data justifies a major change in the curriculum of La Rioja, where intercultural

competence seems to be largely limited to celebrations and traditions from the target culture.

Regarding the inclusion of cultural conceptualizations such as sub-schemas or prototypical levels of categorisation as *basic* and *subordinate*, we believe they should be considered of great importance in EFL materials designed for young learners. EFL textbook publishers for young learners need to bear in mind their audience and their level of cultural maturity. Including striking different cultural aspects may emphasise differences (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005), which, in turn, may create lack of acceptance, disbelief or even rejection towards the new culture (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). Moreover, prototypical associations of words based on sub-schemas or subordinate levels are a potential tool to integrate culture within a certain semantic category.

The first major practical contribution of the present research is that it provides an analysis regarding the influence of the target culture in the textbooks selected. In other words, the lack of evidence of the cultural identity of the immigrant learners in the school materials warrants further research. Specifically, further research might consider a wider sample of textbooks since the two analysed materials only correspond to the most frequently used in the region object of study. Broadening the source of school textbooks may result in emphasising the identification of cultural identities, rather than diminishing the outcomes obtained concerning cultural aspects from two textbooks. Furthermore, delving into specific skills such as writing, reading, listening, and exploring different cultural categories could possibly elicit more evidence of cultural features.

## Acknowledgements

This research has been generously supported by FEDER/ Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades, and Agencia Estatal de Investigación under Grant PGC2018-095260-B-100.

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*First version received: April, 2021*

*Final version accepted: October, 2021*