

LTO - Lingua e testi di oggi

Linguistica, didattica dell'italiano e traduzione



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**UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI
DELL'INSUBRIA**



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“Ecological food” discourse at school: the linguistic continuum through vagueness and technical language

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Sintesi: Il cibo sta acquisendo sempre più importanza nel discorso ecologico, come strategia per proteggere l'ambiente dai cambiamenti climatici. Di conseguenza, ci si aspetta una forte riflessione su questo tema anche nelle scuole. Da un punto di vista linguistico, le scuole bilingui in Europa sono molto importanti per capire come questo tema sia entrato nel contesto educativo e che tipo di influenza abbia su di esso.

Per analizzare questo argomento, ho condotto una ricerca per capire come il cibo *green* viene presentato linguisticamente nei libri di testo utilizzati in queste scuole. Ho selezionato un corpus di 10 libri di testo delle classi 4^a, 5^a e 6^a della Herman-Nohl-Schule, una scuola bilingue del sistema SESB (*Staatliche Europa Schule Berlin*) con la combinazione linguistica italiano/tedesco, in particolare in riferimento a materie scolastiche come Geografia, Scienze e Studi sociali. Questo articolo descrive lo studio condotto su questi libri di testo. Mostra come, soprattutto nei libri di testo in italiano, il tema dell'alimentazione sia legato all'agricoltura, ma in modo stereotipato, dato che lo stesso sistema agricolo è visto come qualcosa di “vicino alla natura” e non come un'attività umana legata al processo produttivo. Allo stesso tempo, il tema dell'alimentazione *green* risente del binomio agricoltura/natura,

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con un'enfasi tale che si omettono le informazioni troppo tecniche (destinate soprattutto all'agricoltura di tipo industriale), a favore di strategie di vaghezza (per il cibo biologico) enfatizzate sia dalla dimensione lessicale che dalle immagini.

Parole chiave: Cibo *green*, Scuole bilingui, Libri di testo scolastici, Pragmatica, Analisi del discorso.

Abstract: The significance of food is increasingly recognised within the ecological discourse as a means of strategically safeguarding the ecosystem against the impacts of climate change. Consequently, it is expected that reflections on how food systems affect the environment will become part of the school curriculum. From a linguistic point of view, bilingual schools in Europe hold significant importance, as they provide valuable insights into the integration of the topic of “ecological food” within educational contexts and its subsequent impact.

This article presents a comprehensive analysis of the language portrayal of ecological food in textbooks in a bilingual school setting. To investigate this, I selected a corpus consisting of ten textbooks used in the 4th, 5th, and 6th grades at Herman-Nohl-Schule Berlin, a school under the bilingual system SESB (*Staatliche Europa Schule Berlin*) that offers education in both German and Italian. The selected textbooks mostly focus on disciplines such as Geography, Science, and Social studies.

The findings indicate that primarily in Italian-language textbooks, the subject of food is intricately connected to agriculture. Still, the same agricultural system is seen as something stereotypically “close to nature” instead of recognising its fundamental association with human involvement in the production process.

Simultaneously, in German-language textbooks, the topic of ecological/biological food is affected by the

agriculture/nature binomial, with an additional emphasis that omits overly technical information (mainly intended for industrial agriculture) in favour of vagueness strategies (for biological food) emphasised by both the lexical dimension and images.

Keywords: Ecological food, Bilingual schools, Textbooks, Pragmatic, Discourse analysis.

1. Introduction

The importance of food within the realm of linguistic education has become well-recognised. Food is a medium through which habits, traditions, and emerging trends are communicated, and it frequently serves as the central topic in entire teaching units found in Italian Second Language textbooks (Diadori, Negretto 2017).

On the other hand, the concept of ecological food as a means to restore a potentially disrupted balance between humanity and the natural environment is increasingly prevalent in ecological debate (Komarek *et al.* 2021; Poore, Nemecek 2018; Sexton, Garnett, Lorimer 2022). This is further evidenced by the implementation of extensive campaigns, such as the Plant Based Treaty (which draws inspiration from the Fossil Fuel Treaty), the ProVeg International movement and many successive UN Assemblies over more than twenty years, from the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (the parent treaty of the 1997 Kyoto Protocol) to the COP27 in Sharm El-Sheikh in November 2022.

The primary objective of these initiatives is to reduce the negative impact on ecosystems resulting from the activities of industrial agriculture while concurrently advocating for a shift towards an ethical and sustainable production system. Although the issue of biohazards is not new from the perspective of the anthropology of food (Rozin 1976; Fischler 1988; Douglas 1996; Scholliers 2011), the plant-based campaigns almost seem to follow Fischler's path of thinking when he suggests taking into account both the biological and the social man for the socio-anthropological analysis of food (Fischler 1988: 277).

Food plays a dual role, serving not only as sustenance for the physical body but also as a means of expressing individual and collective identity (Scholliers 2001). The role of the “social” factor in shaping identity is of greatest significance and is closely intertwined with the cultural dimension (Vygotsky 1990; Byram 2011; Zembylas 2003).

Based on these assumptions, this study moves away from the conventional learning contexts for Italian as a Second Language in Germany, which primarily encompass universities and gymnasiums. Instead, I chose to focus on a younger educational setting, namely the public bilingual school system SESB (*Staatliche Europa Schule Berlin*), with specific emphasis on the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades of primary school (*Grundschule*). Concerning nutrition, ecological discourse, culture, and identity, I found the age groups of 9, 10, and 11 years to be decisive in relation to personality identity formation (Erikson 1968), and the public school context to be the most significant for observing how far the green discourse had penetrated into school society (Risager 2018).

This study aims to explore various research perspectives related to the meta-reflection on Foreign Language textbooks, drawing inspiration from the insights of Weiniger and Kiss. These scholars argue that it is crucial to move beyond the existing discussions on the definition of culture in the field of (foreign) language education (Weiniger, Kiss 2010: 63). As such, I investigated the textbooks according to their guidelines, which suggest considering these tools as both cultural and pedagogical artefacts (2015: 18). Further, I followed the thinking of Gray, who emphasises that the interpretation of “curricular artefacts” must pass through their essence as “cultural artefacts” (2010: 714).

Although I initially assumed that I would find the dimensions of food and ecological foods associated with specific values and assumptions in Italian and German cultures, at the same time I questioned the existence of implications that would challenge traditional models of culture transmission (Schein 1985: 1-22).

As noted by Diadori (2022), there has been a significant transformation in the concept of culture in recent years, with its scope expanding to encompass global and supranational contexts. According to this perspective, culture is no longer confined to a specific worldview or geographic location. Instead, it encompasses

transnational ideals and pertains specifically to communities that are established on the foundation of shared values, lifestyles, viewpoints, and activities. Norton and Toohey (2011: 422) discuss the teaching of English as a Second Language in the context of contemporary societal dynamics. They highlight the prevalence of direct interactions between individuals belonging to diverse communities, such as work, school, the internet, neighbours, and religion. Individuals, however, are not solely confined to these specific groups but rather are primarily connected to the concept of the “imagined community”, as posited by Anderson in relation to the creation of national identity. The scholar suggests that individuals, even within the confines of the smallest nation, are unlikely to have personal knowledge or encounters with the majority of their fellow countrymen. Despite this, there exists a pervasive sense of collective belonging within the minds of all individuals (Anderson 1983: 6). The concept of an “imagined community” can significantly influence individuals, leading them to perceive it as more tangible and substantial than the actual community they engage with on a daily basis.

When considering bilingual language learning, this framework has the potential to be highly valuable in assessing the presence or absence, within textbooks, of models that go beyond conventional perspectives rooted in a particular national or cultural context, and instead incorporate a transnational viewpoint. Central to this approach is the text’s capacity to delve into essential elements, offer several perspectives on the subject matter, and explore the topic from an intercultural or transcultural standpoint (Byram 2011: 11-19).

This paper employs a semiotic and multimodal method to examine the presence of ecological food in the textbooks used in a bilingual school in Berlin. Drawing upon the pragmatic aspect of language, specifically the examination of implicit meaning, and the visual communication aspect associated with images, I undertake an analysis of the subject matter of ecological food by posing two research questions: (1) What types of pragmatic processes can be discerned in school textbooks related to food? (2) In these texts, what space does the discourse of green foods occupy, and how is it communicated?

2. The context: the SESB bilingual school in Berlin

The learning environment should provide a unique setting for students to articulate their thoughts and engage with their “position in the world” (Norton, Toohey 2011: 421). The discursive practices that manifest within the classroom encompass a collection of visual representations, metaphoric expressions, narratives, and abstract ideas. It is young learners themselves who will inevitably perceive their own identities and the societal context surrounding them through the lens of these assumptions (Harré, Davies 1990).

The *Staatliche Europa Schule Berlin* (SESB), a public educational system founded in 1992 in Berlin, presents itself as an educational organisation that consciously does not identify as an exclusive school. Instead, it is firmly rooted in the values of bilingualism and linguistic inclusiveness. It opens its doors to all children who have either German or one of the partner languages as a language learned in early childhood, regardless of socio-economic status. This approach aligns with the *CEFR Companion* (Council of Europe), which underscores the advancement of interculturality and the appreciation of linguistic and cultural multiplicity. This perspective underscores the notion that individuals who learn and use language are “plurilingual and pluricultural agents”, thereby reaffirming the role of education (and, by extension, the school) as a catalyst for transforming one’s ability to comprehend the world, identities, practices, and communities (Fisher *et al.* 450).

The SESB school implements a bilingual teaching approach, starting at the primary school level and persists until the tenth grade, culminating in the attainment of the *MSA-Mittleren Schulabschluss* title, which signifies the completion of the first cycle of education. Following this, students have the opportunity to pursue the *Abitur* title. This state examination is typically achieved after completing the twelfth grade, denoting the conclusion of the second cycle of education. The SESB concept incorporates the German language with one of nine available language combinations, encompassing Italian, French, Turkish, Polish, Greek, Spanish, Russian, English, and Portuguese. In the Berlin SESB, the acquisition of a new language is not classified as a secondary language, but rather as a “*Partnersprache*” (partner language), which is intro-

duced alongside the “*Muttersprache*” (mother tongue) throughout the initial seven years of basic education. This separation ceases to exist in the 9th grade, at which point the languages *Partnersprache* and *Muttersprache*, such as in the case of the Italian/German language combination, persist in subsequent years with an effectively equal status of *Muttersprache* for both Italian and German. According to Stahr (2022), three decades since its establishment, there are already 34 SESB educational institutions in Berlin accommodating over 7000 pupils.

This research refers to one of the two schools within the SESB program that offers the Italian-German language combination in Berlin, the Herman-Nohl-Schule located in the district of Britz (Neukölln).

2.1. Bilingual Education: Textbook and Message Production

The research *corpus* encompasses a total of ten textbooks that are currently used in the selected classes. The selection process was conducted with the teachers, who provided information on the main books utilised within their classroom activities.

Within the bilingual SESB setting of the Herman-Nohl-Schule in Berlin, the responsibility of acquiring comprehensive shipments of Italian textbooks from Italy to Germany falls upon the Italian teachers within the school’s board.

Food is typically dealt with in Geography, Science, History and Civic education in these texts. In German textbooks, these subjects typically appear under the subjects of *Gesellwissenschaft* (including History, Geography and Social studies) and *Naturwissenschaft* (encompassing Science). The German language teachers choose them each year.

The entities responsible for producing the messages in the textbooks are the prominent publishing companies that engage in the authorship, publication, and dissemination of educational textbooks across Italy and Germany. Specifically, Mondadori is a notable publisher in Italy, while Westermann and Klett have significance in Germany. The supposed recipients of these textbooks encompass both the young learners and the educators who will engage with the material. The latter option entails the potential for

teachers to either present the texts to students as they are or adapt them to suit their own instructional requirements. Naturally, both students and teachers exist within their respective environments and are exposed to a diverse array of encyclopedic knowledge from various sources such as television, newspapers, the Internet, family discussions, and peer interactions. These sources contribute to the formation of values and assumptions, as described by Schein (1984). The consideration of an individual's cognitive environment, including their knowledge or potential knowledge about a certain subject, as well as the interpretation of prior statements within a text and the perception of the context in which the text is delivered, is of utmost importance (Bianchi 2003: 109). This study centres on the content of the textbooks as external resources available to teachers in the classroom, without taking into account their actual pedagogical utilisation.

3. Design and methodology

According to Gricie, communication is not the duplication of thoughts from the sender to the receiver, nor a process of modifying thoughts from one to the other (1975: 57-58). Rather, communication is an activity of coordination between the receiver and sender, in which the latter must strive to intentionally modify the context of the receiver (Bianchi 2003: 110). To draw lines of interpretation on how food is represented in school textbooks, I considered texts not only as linguistic or semantic processes but also as pragmatic processes of interference. The success of communication lies not so much in the receiver's recognition of the conventional meaning of the message but in the identification of the communicative intentions of those who produce the message (Bianchi 2003: 106). According to this perspective, every linguistic utterance is a complex clue to the meaning of the person who produced it (Sperber, Wilson 1986), and in order to uncover this meaning, implications hold a fundamental role (Lombardi Vallauri 2016).

In accordance with this thinking, I examined the potential meaning that could be implied behind an image or caption and I considered "the act of meaning" (Weiniger, Kiss: 700). This potential meaning is to be understood as an ideological impact of the

cultural representation and can be generated by the interaction between text, image and didactic delivery.

In Second Language textbooks these implicit messages are mainly built on a unitary idea of reality, generated in some way by the construction of a mainly static national culture that “minimizes the existence of hybrid, subcultural or global cultural representations” (Weiniger, Kiss: 699). This perspective may be incorporated not only in Second Language textbooks but also in First Language textbooks used in bilingual educational institutions, which are the primary texts under consideration in this research. However, while discussing the green discourse, it is challenging to overlook the anthropological and sociolinguistic aspects related to discourses on purity and risk, as well as their inherent politicisation.

As Douglas states: “[...] physical dangers, dangers to children, and dangers to nature can be used as so many weapons in the struggle for ideological domination”. Although dangers to nature have predominantly entered all kinds of societies since the beginning of time, and a society immune to such discourses would be impossible to conceive, it is not difficult to discern in today’s ecological food a certain rhetoric that Foucault in the 1970s had already called “bio-power”. The very nature of the free market inevitably leads to overproduction and, unable to resolve this, the responsibility of greenness is often transferred to the self-discipline of the citizen, over and above the regulations of states that increasingly raise the thresholds of environmental pollution (Antelmi 2018: 98). Furthermore, Parasecoli (2022: 15) highlights the concept of “gastronautivism”, which involves the strategic utilisation of food to delineate community membership. In this particular setting, strategically keeping the vagueness surrounding some aspects, such as potential food-related dangers or the underlying economic structure, can be employed as a politically effective strategy to align the discourse with a particular perspective.

Based on these underlying assumptions, I considered textbooks as a set of rhetorical constructions oriented towards persuasion, relying first of all on the analysis of implicit strategies, both with regard to linguistic and non-linguistic communication (images). In the first part of a previous research project, I adopted a ‘content analysis’ approach, counting the number of pages in each textbook in which the topic of food appeared and comparing the

results between Italian and German textbooks in relation to the production process, the presence or absence of organic production and the teaching approach used (Borgi 2023). In this second part of the research, however, I conducted a more qualitative analysis of this *corpus*, applying a semiotic and multimodal approach to school textbooks (Weiniger, Kiss 2015; Gray 2010). This type of Second Language text analysis approach differs from the content analysis approach (Ndura 2004; Otlowski 2003) and critical discourse analysis (Gulliver 2010; Camase 2009) primarily by investigating how the combination of image and text leads the recipient to create the potential meaning of the message. Further, it is not only important to consider images and texts individually, but the very activity created by the combination of these elements. As Kiss reminds us: “The texts, images and tasks that form an activity should be treated together, because it is their interaction that facilitates learning and creates opportunities for cultural messages to emerge in the lesson” (Weiniger, Kiss 2015).

Consequently, it is important to consider the integration of texts, images, and tasks within an activity, as their interaction plays a crucial role in promoting learning and fostering the emergence of cultural messages in the lesson (Weiniger, Kiss 2015). In order to identify linguistic categories, I considered the pragmatic dimension, particularly reflecting on implicit content, which allows for the analysis of constructs where only part of the content is explicitly expressed, while the rest remains in the background, leaving the receiver to deduce the “unsaid” (Lombardi Vallauri 2014; Palermo 2016: 220). In order to categorise the themes, I identified macro-areas that are ideally found within the recipient’s context. These macro-areas include the agricultural and industrial livestock chain, the dimension of organic food, and the issue of food waste. These categories draw inspiration from the research and investigative work conducted by Michael Pollan in 2006. The aim was to identify representations that are particularly susceptible to being associated with a static notion of culture and an ethnic and nationalistic affiliation (Weiniger, Kiss 2015). In the analysis of the argumentation pertaining to the discussed topics, I endeavoured to incorporate the perspectives of Fairclough (2003), Pavlenko (2007), and Bakhtian (1981). These scholars posit that for every type of text, there exists an extensive array of other texts and discourses

that can be examined to discern a specific worldview in relation to a given phenomenon (Pavlenko 2007). Additionally, I took the anthropological and sociolinguistic dimensions of food into account, drawing upon the works of Douglas (1996), Fischler (1988), Scholliers (2011), Schein (1985), and the linguistic component related to the ecological discourse as explored by Antelmi (2018). The examination of the text encompassed several key elements, including the type, function, position and discursive construction.

4. Results: Vagueness, Presuppositions, Technical language, Omissions

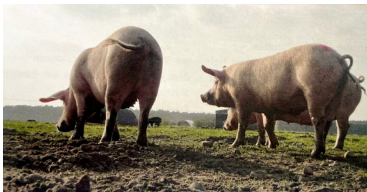
4.1. Vagueness

Concerning the macro-area of organic food, I analysed the discursive formations and discovered that many refer to linguistic strategies associated with the implicitness of content and the implicitness of responsibility (Lombardi Vallauri, 2016). Vagueness is a strategy in rhetoric that refers to the implicit nature of information, often occurring when content is implied or intentionally explained in an ambiguous manner to maintain ambiguity. As exemplified by Vallauri (2016: 1106), the advertisement of a specific seaside resort, such as “El mendano Resort: you will enjoy your stay in Tenerife”, might be considered vague primarily due to the semantic ambiguity of the verb employed. The term “enjoy” holds the capacity to evoke diverse perceptions within the recipient regarding the specific resort in question. These perceptions may encompass notions such as the delicious nature of the cuisine or the exceptional quality of the beaches, depending on the individual’s taste and subjective viewpoint.

Similarly, comparable factors were identified in the textbooks that were examined, encompassing both German and Italian language materials. The German-language textbook *Heimat und Welt 5/6* (2016), published by Westermann, includes a comprehensive module dedicated to food, encompassing approximately 50 pages. This unit explores the subject of food from many perspectives, initially using a chronological framework to examine the dietary habits of early humans in the region that is now Germany, and sub-

sequently analysing the transformations that have occurred due to advances in technology. The unit proceeds to examine the contemporary food production practices in Germany, with particular emphasis on the distinction between industrial and organic production methods. On pages 66-69, food production practices are covered in relation to both livestock and agriculture. The discourse surrounding ecological food exhibits a substantial utilisation of implicit discursive methods, with visuals playing a prominent role. For example, following the paragraph that outlines the attributes of industrial farming on page 69, there is a passage that introduces organic farming as a viable option. The passage describes a specific pig breed raised in partially wild conditions. While explaining the advantageous aspects of this raising approach, such as the distinct texture of the meat and enhanced product quality, it also acknowledges the presence of some ambiguous elements, like “*Mehr Freiheit für die Schweine, mehr Arbeit, mehr Zeitaufwand*” (more freedom for pigs, more work, more time). The phrase is associated with the image of two pigs grazing in an open field, with one of them looking poetically up over the surrounding countryside.

Evidently, the depicted image presents a strong juxtaposition to the visuals showcased on the preceding page, when pigs are seen confined within crowded industrial structures.



So hält Bauer Bernd Schulz seine Schweine.

Fig. 1 - *Heimat und Welt* 5/6, page 69



M2 Massentierhaltung – so kann der Landwirt viele Schweine auf wenig Fläche mästen.

Fig. 2 - *Heimat und Welt* 5/6, page 66

The use of asyndeton in advertising communication is a frequently employed technique, aiming to create a deliberately ambiguous message, allowing the recipient to interpret it according to their own preferences. Regarding the linguistic expression in this example, the syntactic structure is established by the utilisation of the indefinite qualifying adjective *mehr* (more), which in-

troduces distinct content on each occasion (freedom, labour, time). The inclusion of the accompanying image also serves to enhance the scope of persuasive dynamics (Lombardi Vallauri 2016: 1115). This is achieved through the observer's visual focus being directed towards the pig, which exhibits a poetic inclination to gaze over the countryside.

This visual composition implies that the realm of organic entities possesses inherent beauty. However, upon careful consideration of the semantic content sent by the written term and accompanying visuals, is it possible to explain the true nature of the better freedom experienced by pigs? Additionally, it is worth considering the extent to which their liberty differs from that of animals produced in industrial settings. The freedom in question is not explored in textbooks, thus keeping the content somewhat ambiguous.

One example of a precise representation by Michael Pollan is his portrayal of how organic farms strive to optimise the economic viability of animal welfare practices through efficient time management strategies. According to specific standards established by the United States federal government, animals on organic farms are required to have access to the outdoors for a minimum of one-third of their lifespan. In order to maximise distance from the aforementioned directives, which are inherently restrictive, the expansive organic farms solely grant animals access to outdoor areas during the final weeks of their lives. For instance, chickens, with an average lifespan of seven weeks from birth to slaughter, are permitted to utilise outdoor space for approximately two and a half weeks, constituting roughly one-third of their total lifespan. Given these practices described by Pollan, it is to be expected that the hens develop set behavioural patterns within the confines of the sheds, making it arduous for them to readily embrace other behaviours. Pollan (2006) discusses the doors that could allow the animal to access the outside but are consistently kept locked for the initial two-thirds of the hens' lives. He argues that it is difficult to understand why a hen would willingly explore the unfamiliar and intimidating external environment after having been kept in these conditions. Contrarily, it is notable that the emergence of a particularly audacious chicken from the shed could pose a

significant risk to the majority of animals raised in large-scale organic farming. This occurrence is a source of great concern for the farm, as the defenceless and genetically identical animals, raised in densely populated environments, are exceptionally susceptible to infections (Pollan 2006: 189).

In comparison to this concrete example, it becomes evident that the SESB textbooks fail to explicitly delineate the specific category of organic animal production under discussion. While it is conceivable that small-scale breeders or farmers play a realistic role, it is also plausible to consider the necessity of large companies acting as intermediaries in a market that is projected to reach 54.5 billion euros in Europe alone (and 125 billion worldwide in 2021, with the United States, Germany, and France leading the way). This reliance on the supermarket distribution system necessitates the involvement of these large companies, as indicated by data from FiBL and IFOAM in 2021. As Pollan reminds us: “If in your business you have to keep the frozen food and fruit and vegetable departments in a large retail chain stocked, you need such a large amount of organic products in stock that you have no choice but to buy materials from suppliers operating on the same scale as you” (Pollan 2006: 177).

Another example of vagueness may be observed in the SESB textbook, where the expression “*Naturnabe Landwirtschaft*” (natural agriculture) is featured inside the section dedicated to organic products titled “*Bio – was bedeutet Das?*” (Organic – what does it mean?). The term “natural agriculture” is frequently mentioned in the food chapter. The adjective “*Naturnabe*” is primarily responsible for the perception of vagueness. It is formed by combining the feminine noun “*Natur*” (referring to the natural world) with the suffix “*nabe*” (indicating proximity) which conveys the idea of being closely aligned with nature or having a nature-centric orientation. The term “*Naturnabe*”, specifically referred to as “*Naturgemäße*” (meaning in accordance with nature, according to nature), was initially introduced alongside “*Waldwirtschaft*” (forestry) and originated from the methodology developed and conceptualised by the scientist Alfred Möller during the 19th century. During the period spanning from the mid-19th to the early 20th century, Möller developed the concept of the permanent forest, a forest management approach centred around nature conserva-

tion. This approach continues to be employed in contemporary Germany, as seen by the guidelines and suggestions provided by the various German *Länder* (DWDS) for the management of the timber industry. It is worth noting that the discussion in the SESB text lacks any reference to the scope of industrial organic farming. Instead, there seems to be a tendency to perpetuate the conventional perception of agriculture being closely tied to nature. This perspective is quite distant from contemporary agricultural practices focused on food production (Pollan 2006). The aforementioned example relates to the tactic of employing vagueness, which closely aligns with another tactic known as presupposition. Presupposition involves assuming that the recipient already knows and shares particular information, as will be further explored in the subsequent section.

4.2. Presuppositions

The presentation of the issue of food differs in Italian language textbooks compared to German language materials. However, it is notable that many implicit tactics remain constant as will be demonstrated.

The theme of food is present in the text “*Password Testi semplificati e studio assistito, Storia Geografia 4*”, which was published by Mondadori in 2020. It is explored in the didactic unit that focuses on the orographic conformation of the Italian territory, discussing the various geographical features such as mountains, plains, hills, and coasts, and their respective food production methods. Additionally, the theme of food is also addressed in the unit that relates to the economy. Within this unit, the theme of food is intricately intertwined with that of agriculture and animal husbandry, hence highlighting the various agricultural systems that are introduced. On page 110, two contrasting agricultural practices are depicted: industrial agriculture on the left, including a vast monoculture field, and ‘traditional’ agriculture on the right, showcasing a farmstead with a small forest and a medium-sized ploughed field in the front. With respect to the latter, the description situated immediately below the title and above the image asserts that tiny farms engage in the cultivation of relatively smaller areas, typically em-

ploying small machinery or human labour. The implication in this context is the use of the adjective ‘little’, which is employed to describe three distinct entities (farms, land, machinery) inside the same sentence. Regarding the depicted image, it is interesting to observe the remarkable similarity between the featured farmstead and the architectural typology commonly associated with traditional Tuscan farmhouses. This resemblance seems to emphasise the idyllic and picturesque aspect often associated with the rural landscape in relation to agricultural activities, as perceived through the lens of tourism.



Fig. 3 - *Password, Storia e Geografia 4*, page 110

In this instance, the sentence structure and the treatment of the image appear to reflect the notion of a “topic”, which is characterised by deliberate ambiguity and lack of definition (Lombardi Vallauri 2016). In contrast, a “focus” refers to discourse that is structured to convey specific information. Psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics have conducted numerous studies demonstrating the influential role of syntactic structure in language comprehension systems. These studies indicate that speakers possess considerable flexibility in manipulating syntactic structure, allowing them to render potentially controversial speech acceptable (Bredart, Modolo 1988; Birch, Rayner 1997; Burkhardt, Roehm 2007; Benatar, Clifton 2014). Lombardi Vallauri considers a piece of knowledge provided as a “topic” to be a dimension of “presuppositions”. In contrast to “assertions,” which involve the speaker conveying information to the addressee in a comprehensive manner,

and “implicatures”, which allow the receiver to infer information from specific utterances, “presuppositions” serve as an additional advancement in implicit discourse techniques.

Presuppositions, also referred to as implicit assumptions, involve the underlying expectation that the recipient possesses prior knowledge and tacitly acknowledges these assumptions (Lombardi Vallauri 2016). In the analysed case, the conjunction of image and text appears to be crucial in establishing a presupposition. This is evident in the structure, where the repeated use of the adjective ‘small’ in close proximity to the Tuscan farmhouse photograph strengthens a concept without explicitly stating it. Based on the assumption that the recipient is already aware of the association between Tuscan farmhouses and authenticity, local agriculture, and a lifestyle connected to nature, the speaker undertakes a dual course of action. The recipient does not feel the need to validate information that is already known to them or others. According to Lombardi Vallauri (2016: 1108), the utilisation of this phenomenon not only relieves the recipient of the burden of explaining a notion but also guides them towards a certain and highly standardised interpretation.

The notion of nature, specifically pertaining to the unaltered physical environment, is once again evident in another instance that is connected to presuppositions. In the textbook “*Password Geografia 4*”, specifically in the didactic unit focusing on economics, the paragraph titled “*L’edilizia*” (Construction) highlights the drawbacks associated with large-scale building, primarily due to its substantial soil use.

On page 66, the statement “*Consumare il suolo significa togliere spazio all’agricoltura, ai boschi e ad altri paesaggi naturali*” (To consume the soil is to diminish the availability of land for agricultural purposes, forests, and other natural landscapes) appears. At the syntactic level, there appears to be an equivalence between the three themes denoted by the term “complement” and the preposition ‘a’ (in its simple or articulated form), suggesting a similar value and potential interchangeability.

This is quite significant, as it essentially places agriculture on the same level as forests and natural landscapes. Furthermore, these three elements appear in the statement as a mere list of names

and vague concepts, without providing further explanation. From a pragmatic standpoint, these elements can be identified as a “topic” (Lombardi Vallauri 2016), as they enable the recipient to allocate less cognitive effort towards the material, implying familiarity with the subject matter. Cognitive research indicates that the processing of information presented as a “topic” occurs swiftly through an automatic and rapid cognitive process, which tends to be relatively shallow. Conversely, when information is presented as a “focus,” it is perceived as new or unfamiliar by the recipient and consequently subjected to more comprehensive analysis (Schneider, Schiffrin 1984). Corresponding to the above statement is a visual representation in the form of a photograph depicting a construction site where various machinery is engaged in the process of erecting a concrete building. Simultaneously, placed directly above this textual content, three distinct photographs are presented, showcasing human-engineered urban interventions, namely bridges, tunnels, and dams. In this case, the images are the antithesis of the three concepts listed above. It almost seems as if agriculture, forests and natural landscapes have nothing to do with human intervention in the environment. Cement and industry are often perceived as something negative and ‘dirty’, especially in discourses on landscape (Douglas 1996).



Fig. 4 - *Password Geografia 4*, page 66

In reality, the agricultural landscape to which the text seems to refer has a lot to do with the actions of man on the land. There is, however, a sense of reassurance in seeing a landscape that retains some element of naturalness, even if heavily modified by man. Conversely, when the presence of these elements is absent, this reassurance disappears. For example, as Pierre Grimal recalls: “Landscape is the fruit of an interaction between man and nature, in which man appreciates the natural component, reassured by reading in it the signs of his own action” (Norci 2017). In this text, therefore, it is taken for granted that the receiver has this kind of idea about nature and landscape in their notion-cultural background, although, since we are dealing with 9- to 10-year-old children, this may not be the case.

One notable figure in the field of entomology is Gilles Clément, a renowned French scholar. Throughout his career, Clément has sought to challenge conventional notions surrounding the relationship between nature and humanity. In his work, the ‘Manifesto of the Third Landscape’, Clément introduces a landscape that is often overlooked in ideological discourse, yet ever-present in the lives of individuals: the residue. This particular form of topography is encountered whenever an individual ceases to perceive the land only as a subject of human engagement. The residue, in fact, arises as a consequence of the abandonment of land that was previously used, resulting in its temporary state of being devoid of any human intervention. The residue is commonly observed in various locations such as roadside verges, areas that have been abandoned due to construction or agriculture and land that is subject to restrictions. These environments facilitate the proliferation of diverse species due to their unrestricted and accessible nature, enabling extensive global intermingling. This stands in contrast to forests, characterised by species stability and gradual changes, as well as human-managed spaces, which exhibit far lower levels of biodiversity. To contemplate the residue as landscape entails challenging the commonly misconstrued notion of the agricultural landscape being synonymous with “nature”. According to the entomologist, the reclamation of land by nature is often perceived as a form of deterioration, although it is, in fact, the contrary.

As Clément says: “One interprets the reconquest of the land by nature as a degradation, when in fact it is exactly the opposite. It

is a remnant of stereotypical ideas, such as the idea that man must never give up the land he has conquered” (Clement 2007: 21). It is precisely through the stereotyped idea of nature as equally exchangeable with agriculture that the intention of the text producer to focus the attention of the addressee on certain factors and not on others is revealed (Sabatini 1999).

Moreover, it is useful to remember that opting for a particular textual form, or openly expressing the issuer’s point of view (Beaugrade, Dressler 1984: 237-243), or even a certain representation of a territory (Clement 2007: 57), are always to be traced back to choices relating to a certain culture. Furthermore, in the educational sphere, it is common to not instruct ‘novices’ on the deep mechanisms that led culture to be constituted over time, but rather to communicate more standard, shallow aspects (Schein 1985), as happens in the educational texts examined. There are exceptions, however, in terms of text types, as will be seen in the next section.

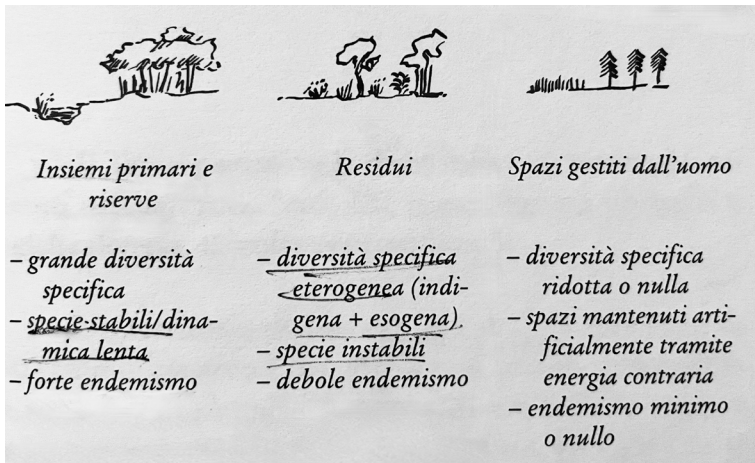


Fig. 5 - Gilles Clement, Manifesto of the Third Landscape, 2005

4.3. Technical language

It is well acknowledged in scholarly literature that texts have “an omnipresent illocution” (Sabatini 1999: 143) and that it is con-

sistently feasible to discern the underlying intention behind each text. As previously said, didactic texts are characterised by the dissemination of established knowledge and, as such, differ from literary texts that provide alternative worlds and profound insights or scientific texts that expand our understanding of the universe. When examining German-language textbooks, one can detect a linguistic continuum that spans from a state of significant vagueness, as demonstrated before, to a state of notable rigidity.

The association of rigidity should not be primarily attributed to typology or composition but rather to the many illocutionary functions that are determined by an interpretative restriction of the text (Sabatini 1999). There are scientific texts, which are based on cognitive functions; normative texts on prescriptive functions; and technical-operative texts, which are based on the recipient's spontaneous adherence to the instructions provided by the issuer (instrumental-regulatory function). These three types of texts (scientific, normative and technical-operative) represent the group of highly constrained texts. At the level of moderately constrained texts, it is possible to find expository texts (explanatory argumentative function, such as treatises or study manuals) and informational texts (informative function of newspapers) (Sabatini 1999: 150).

The German-language textbooks regarding industrial animal husbandry exhibit notable instances of specificity that exceed usual didactic texts. This is primarily due to their utilisation of highly specialised technical and operational terminology, particularly tailored to the specific age group they are intended for. An instance of this can be found in the textbook *“Heimat und Welt 5/6”*, on pages 66-67. There is a paragraph discussing industrial animal husbandry in the chapter titled *“Ernährung - Wie werden Menschen satt?”* (Nutrition - How do people get enough to eat?). These two sections effectively employ specialised terminology derived from the domains of industrial agriculture and animal husbandry. Notably, terms such as *“Mastschwein”* (referring to a pig that has been fattened), *“Schweinemastbetrieb”* (denoting a facility dedicated to pig fattening), and *“Ferkelzuchtbetrieb”* (indicating a farm specifically engaged in piglet breeding) are prominently utilised. The terms in question are considered specialised terminology and have

been documented in the *corpus Korpusbelege ZDL-Regionalkorpus*. These terms have appeared 1383 times since 1993, indicating their relatively recent emergence, which aligns with advancements in the field of animal husbandry.

Furthermore, the graphical representation presents a detailed depiction of the distinct phases involved in this particular form of animal husbandry. Poetic depictions of pigs raised in outside environments are absent, while the text meticulously explains the several phases of the rearing process. The M5 chart (Fig. 6) displays interconnected photos of several pig farms, including breeding farms and fattening farms. These images are accompanied by explanatory arrows that establish a sequential relationship between each phase. Certain idioms pose challenges when translating into Italian, one of which is *Verkaufsgewicht*. This term originates from a specialised breeding language and pertains to the weight of pigs at the moment of sale. The specialised phrases in this graph are presented in a regular typeface, which exhibits clarity and formality. However, it is interesting that the term “*Metzgerei*” (slaughterhouse) is the only instance in the entire chart where a somewhat less formal font is utilised.

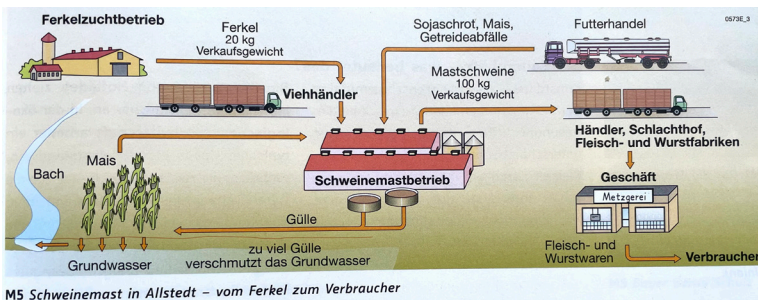


Fig. 6 - M5 chart -Heimat und Welt 5/6, page 67

In this particular case, the phrase in question diverges from the others by not being positioned alongside the arrows, but rather integrated inside the architectural depiction, resembling a comic strip and likely accentuating its more whimsical element. If the

assertion holds true that linguistic packaging has the capacity to alter the profound comprehension of information, it follows that textual characters and visuals can assume a pivotal function in facilitating this phenomenon.

In this particular scenario, the utilisation of specialised terminology can potentially divert attention, similar to the aforementioned presupposition strategies. Additionally, the selection of fonts and deliberate configuration of words within the image can accentuate the effectiveness of the industrial farming system, thereby partially minimising the matter of pig mortality (or giving it a somewhat playful connotation). It is important to acknowledge that in the graph, the term 'pig' (*Schweine*) is consistently used, except in the vicinity of the slaughterhouse where the term 'meat' (*Fleisch*) appears without additional clarification.

At the pragmatic level of discourse, it is important to recognise that the utilisation of excessively specialised language, in conjunction with the graphic element, has the potential to divert the recipient's attention and detract from other factors, such as the environmental impact of industrial livestock farming.

4.4. Omissions

Foreign language textbooks, as well as first language textbooks, have the potential to serve as a valuable resource for cultural education. However, it is frequently observed that the content leads learners to a partial view of the subject matter in question. Learners engaging with these texts are exposed to a guided interpretation of information, wherein their attention is directed towards specific details of the materials while restricting the tendency for limitless associations that typically define the meaning-making outside of the educational setting (Weiniger, Kiss 2015).

The use of strategies such as vagueness and presumption is common; however, it is important to recognise that there are other aspects of the discourse that require examination. As an example, the publishing companies that have been examined thus far, such as Klett and Mondadori, demonstrate a wide coverage of both the Italian and German regions. Similar to advertising campaigns which generate messages that reach a national audience,

the textbooks examined in this study are also distributed widely. The language of advertising is typically based on the use of highly persuasive discourse, and the fact that the message is usually addressed to a large audience increases its credibility (Lombardi Vallauri 2016: 1106).

In public communication, a message containing presuppositions or omissions is presented as already accepted by many people and is much more difficult to challenge. Lombardi Vallauri states, “[...] there is a kind of shared silence that does not remain without effect, especially when one considers that the message reaches millions of people” (1106).

In the textbook “*Heimat und Welt 5/6*”, within the chapter titled “*Intensive Landwirtschaft*” (Intensive Agriculture), there is a section on industrial livestock farming titled “*Tiere in Massen*” (animals in masses, kept in large quantities). In this particular scenario, the title completely omits the phrase “breeding” (*Mas-sentierhaltung*), assuming that referring to animals in large groups means referring to production animals.

In addition to this omission, if we look at the images on the page, it is possible to see that there are numerous diagrams related to industrial animal husbandry, banners and didactic deliveries that provide guidance on techniques for reorganising vocabulary associated with the subject matter. Everything around this omission, including the specialised language we analysed in the previous paragraph, supports the suggestion that it is common knowledge that industrial livestock farming involves animals being confined *en masse*. In contrast, the subsequent page introduces the topic of organic livestock farming with a paragraph titled “Organic – what does it mean?” This assumes that the reader is already familiar with the former type of industry (intense), while the latter (organic) is presumed to be unfamiliar.

Another form of omission pertains to a particular topic identified in both the Italian and German texts. All cases examined involve expository texts that serve an explanatory argumentative purpose. The placement inside the unit is likewise comparable both in the Italian and German texts, as this subject consistently emerges in the concluding captions of the paragraph.

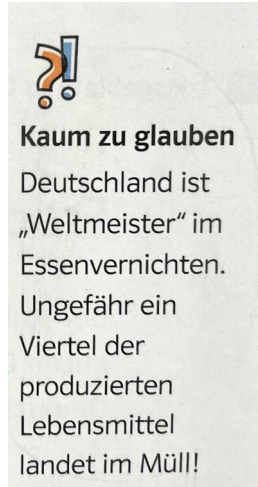


Fig. 7 - Terra Geographie 5, page 107

The theme is food waste relegated to the responsibility of the individual, with no mention of the type of production system in which the person is embedded. In Klett's "Terra Geographie 5" textbooks at page 107 read "(?! Kaum zu glauben. Deutschland ist „Weltmeister“ im Essenvernichten. Ungefähr ein viertel der produzierten Lebensmittel landet im Müll!) (?! Hard to believe. Germany is the "world champion" of food waste. About a quarter of the food produced ends up in the trash!). The effect of this sentence is rendered through the use of a special interrogative, where the question mark and exclamation point are given in drawn form and placed before the interjection and not after it. The utilisation of both the question mark and exclamation point in conjunction is evocative of the stylistic conventions found in comic books.

Upon thoroughly examining the visual content and textual guidelines presented on the page, it is evident that there is a notable absence of illustrative visuals that substantiate the stated thesis. Furthermore, no other forms of data are provided in relation to the significant matter of food waste. The placement within the page, as already anticipated, concerns a caption at the edge of the paragraph "Herkunft unserer Nahrungsmittel" (The Origin of Our Food), within a chapter that deals with the topic of land from the

perspective of climate and food. It does not specify what kind of food waste is perpetrated annually in Germany (by the individual, wholesale companies, retailers?). This lack of clarity creates uncertainty and underscores the prevailing unconscious awareness of responsibility among all parties involved.

5 Ländliche Räume in Bayern und Deutschland

Essen in Deutschland 1900-2014

damals (1900)	Pro-Kopf-Verbrauch in Deutschland in kg	heute (2014)
255,4	Milch, Butter	405,0
47,0	Eier	88,5
139,2	Brot	85,0
61,5	Gemüse, Salat*	95,8
43,4	Obst	103,9
271,1	Kartoffeln	58,1
1,9	Zitrusfrüchte	35,0
3,2	Öl, Fett	19,4
6,2	Fleisch	14,6
90 Stück	Wein	231 Stück

Quelle: BMELV 2015, 2014

Wandel in der Ernährung

In der Schulmensa

Blick über den Tellerrand

Lernaufgabe

Für viele von uns ist es heute selbstverständlich, dass wir mehrmals am Tag essen und alles zu jeder Zeit verfügbar ist. Doch wie hat man sich früher ernährt, und was essen wir heute? Woher kommen eigentlich unsere Nahrungsmittel?

1) Vergleiche die Ernährungsgewohnheiten von 1900 und 2014 in Grafik 1.

a) Beschreibe die wichtigsten Veränderungen.

b) Nenne mögliche Gründe für diese Veränderungen.

c) Beschreibe die Probleme, die sich aus den veränderten Essgewohnheiten ergeben.

2) Mein Speiseplan:

a) Überprüfe dein eigenes Essverhalten. Erstelle dazu einen Speiseplan.

Mein Speiseplan

Tagesszeit	Speise/Getränk
Frühstück	...
...	...

b) Vergleiche deine Essgewohnheiten mit den Aussagen der Grafik 1.

3) Produkte aus der eigenen Region werden oft teurer verkauft als Produkte, die einen langen Transportweg hinter sich haben. Erkläre diesen scheinbaren Widerspruch.

4) Du möchtest ein Menü für die Schulmensa zusammenstellen. Erstelle einen Speiseplan für einen Tag, in dem nur regionales Obst und Gemüse der derzeitigen Jahreszeit verarbeitet wird.

5) Nicht alle unserer Nahrungsmittel stammen aus Deutschland. Doch wo kommen sie her?

a) Recherchiere die Herkunftsländer oder -regionen deiner Nahrungsmittel. Erstelle eine Tabelle mit den Herkunftsländern der Produkte und den passenden Atlassignaturen. Nimm deinen Atlas zu Hilfe.

Nahrungsmittel	Herkunft	Atlas-sig-natur
Kakao
Bananen
Äpfel

b) Gestalte eine Kartenskizze (Weltkarte) der Herkunftsländer. Nutze die vorgegebenen Atlassignaturen der Produkte. Formuliere eine Überschrift für deine Weltkarte.

c) Beurteile die Aussage: „Unser Essen hat heute einen weiten Weg hinter sich.“

Fig. 8 - Terra Geographie 5, page 106

Another illustrative instance can be provided with regard to omissions. On the previous page, the text named “*Blick über den Tellerrand*” (Thinking outside the box) presents the dietary habits of individuals in Germany during the 1900s compared to the present day. The aim is to guide the recipient to complete various activities, typically composing argumentative written texts. The first and second items refer on the same page to a visual representation in the form of a histogram, illustrating the percentages of food consumption throughout the specific period, the source of the

data (AMI) and the specific year (2016). However, point three pertains to a theme for which no clear data is available on the page. It reads, in fact, “Local products are often sold at a higher price than products transported long distances. Explain this apparent contradiction.” On the next page in the paragraph “*Herkunft unserer Nahrungsmittel*” (The origin of our food), the answer to this question is found, but then dismissed, with a simple “Because of the relatively high cost of labour in Germany, these products are often more expensive than those that are transported from far away”. It is noticeable at this point that the sender’s attention is focused on the labour in Germany being considered “expensive” while not investigating from other points, such as the issue of workers from other countries likely being underpaid. Once more, as in our highlighted case on food waste relegated to the individual, a complex issue such as labour cost inequality is deferred to the addressee’s interpretation without providing a table or other data, as done for a simpler issue such as food yesterday and today. As previously proposed, comparable characteristics appear in Italian textbooks. The textbook titled “*Password Educazione Civica*” from the year 2021, on page 47, contains a unit titled “Sviluppo sostenibile” (Sustainable Development), which includes the words “*Con cura e rispetto*” (With care and respect). Food waste is commonly attributed to the actions of individuals as well as establishments such as restaurants, retailers, and supermarkets. After this brief introduction with no supporting data or tables, the task is then given: “Look for information about food waste and the solutions that have been proposed to prevent it”. Again, as in the German-language textbooks analysed earlier, all the responsibility for searching is left to the recipient, who will have to navigate a very complex field of information without any guidance provided by the text. The image, in shape and size, but also content, refers to a household trash can, accentuating the idea that the causes of waste are most likely due to the actions of the individual. Finally, the direct interrogative phrase “What about you, at home and at school, do you waste food?” to once again bring attention to individual responsibility.

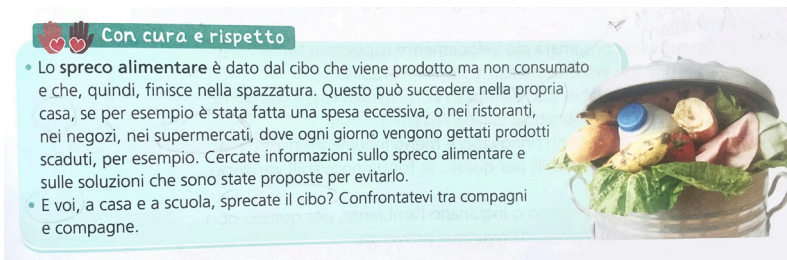


Fig. 9 - *Password Educazione Civica*, page 47

Another illustrative instance that bolsters the aforementioned argument can be found within a German-language literary work, wherein the themes of family dynamics and the role of supermarkets are once again emphasised. In the publication “*Heimat und Welt 5/6*”, on page 83, next to the section titled “*Tricks der Supermärkte*” (The tricks of supermarkets), there is a statement that reads as follows: “*Ein Einkaufszettel hilft bei Einkaufen. Damit fällt man nicht so leicht auf die Tricks der Supermärkte rein*” (A shopping list helps with grocery shopping. With it, one does not easily fall for supermarket tricks). In the box near the text, the strategies used by supermarkets to increase sales are presented (the cheapest products on the lowest or highest shelves, scents that neutralise bad smells near the vegetable department, and background music). Here again, therefore, the argument is reinforced that the “faults” of the individual at most are extended to households and retailers. The image depicted on the page portrays a family engaged in the act of shopping, whereby their cart is abundantly filled with various things. This visual representation symbolises a multitude of actions that are deemed inappropriate or ill-advised within the context of a supermarket setting. Once again, this further strengthens the idea that the failings of individuals can, at most, be attributed to households and shops.

Fig. 10 - *Heimat und Welt* 5/6, page 83

As noticed before, Pollan examines the intersection between food systems and economics, with a special focus on the United States. He delves into the issue of surplus production within the system, addressing not only the concept of waste but also the correlation with obesity. When considering the matter from a wider standpoint, it can be observed that an increase in the endorsement of agricultural overproduction policies leads to a corresponding decrease in the price of food commodities. This approach simultaneously addresses the issue of hunger prevention and mitigates the influence of political factors on food pricing. However, it also leads to the emergence of substantial food surpluses, particularly in relation to corn, which are subsequently introduced into the market. The surplus of corn may be readily transformed into high fructose corn syrup (HFCS), also known as glucose-fructose syrup in Europe (GFS), and thereafter incorporated as concealed components in a wide array of heavily processed commodities.

Says Pollan: “Many specialists trace the rise in obesity rates to the 1970s, years when the U.S. espoused an agricultural policy aimed at lowering prices and increasing production [...] From the

Nixon presidency to the present, American farmers have managed to produce five hundred more calories per person per day” (Pollan 2006: 116).

As examined in this section, it is evident that both textbooks, written in Italian and German, exhibit similar linguistic techniques of omission while discussing the subject of food waste. Although drawing attention to the waste of the individual is important, especially in education, it is peculiar that the focus is solely on the individual, families, or, at most, retailers. As Pollan states, “Before considering changes in lifestyle, or the cleverness of retailers, comes a mountain of cheap corn” (116).

5. Conclusions

With regard to the type of pragmatic processes related to food contained in textbooks, this study essentially supports what previous research has shown.

Menard-Warick’s research (2013) reveals that the teaching materials employed in educational settings frequently clash with the process of identity development encountered by language learners. In the textbooks examined, which specifically deal with First Language learning, I did not find any particular implications capable of making one reflect on the traditional models of culture transmitted. For instance, I encountered an absence of books that exhibit diverse perspectives or that effectively highlight intercultural or transcultural topics. The transmission of food primarily occurs through the narrative of agricultural production within a given territory, whether it is Italian, German, or regional. When it is necessary in some way to include a theme that is a direct consequence of an economic system that also concerns other countries (as in the case of local products that are sometimes more expensive than those produced outside Germany), the theme is not dealt with, leaving the recipient of the text (the 9- to 10-year-old students) free to investigate a very complex field on their own.

Within the framework of SESB bilingual schools, where students acquire knowledge of two languages and cultures concurrently and at the same time bring other languages and idioms into the classroom (even if they are still little considered by the SESB

system itself), this predominant static perspective of the world depicted in the textbooks utilised in schools exhibits significant constraints in fostering critical thinking among students and limiting the development of their emerging bilingual culture.

Regarding the ecological food discourse and the way it is communicated, specific techniques of omission, vagueness and presupposition contribute to perpetuating the stereotype of agriculture as essentially natural. Moreover, the technical terminology employed in the context of agriculture and animal husbandry predominantly relates to food products derived from industrial production rather than those originating from ecological sources. Lastly, these research findings have provided insights into the issue of food waste, highlighting that the primary responsibility for current societal-level environmental challenges is attributed to individuals, homes, and possibly the retail trade. Insufficient data is available regarding waste management practices at the source and within the production chain. The great absence in all the texts analysed is the economic system in which we are all embedded. As Clément recalls, “The current practices of exploitation of the planet obey to a large extent the logic of an economy developed according to the liberal model, with objectives of immediate profit” (2005: 31).

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