Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) – Just Another Off-Shoot of Communicative Language Teaching or a Post-method Foreign-Language Pedagogy on Its Own Terms?

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As the CLIL approach is regularly represented in recently published primary-school English coursebooks used in Slovenia, this paper examines the emerging issues of teaching content in the foreign language classroom. It addresses the question of the extent to which the traditional fragmentation of teaching content has been replaced by integration or fusion between language and content across school subjects. It aims to provide analytical data on whether, and to what extent, the CLIL content has really synthesized past methodologies into a crossover educational paradigm on its own term, and thus replaced fragmentation, or whether it has remained on the level of CLIL 'pigeonholes', i.e. occasional CLIL content/activities added haphazardly for the sake of variety. In the analysis, the focus is first on the various definitions of CLIL, which then shifts to the acronym breakdown, offering a unique insight into the CLIL components. In closing, the article encourages the use of the CLIL approach in a systematic and continuous manner, promoting it as a way of incorporating the concept of fusion into the English language classroom, critically recognizing the assumptions and values underpinning CLIL and its methodology as relatable and manageable aspects of effective foreign language instruction.

Ključne besede:
CLIL,
primary school,
Slovenian context,
English as a foreign language (EFL),
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CELOSTNO VSEBINSKO-JEZIKOVNO UČENJE (CLIL) – SAMO ŠE EN POGANJEK KOMUNIKACIJSKEGA POUČEVANJA TUJIH JEZIKOV ALI SAMOSTOJNA POST-METODNA TUJEJEZIKOVNA PEDAGOGIKA?

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V kontekstu uporabe pristopa celostnega vsebinsko-jezikovnega učenja (angl. CLIL-a), ki se je v slovenskem osnovnošolskem okolju že razmeroma dobro uveljavil, se avtorja pričujočega članka lotevata težke naloge jasnega definiranja tega pristopa k poučevanju oziroma učenju tujih jezikov. Pristop CLIL v svoji zasnovi teži k združevanju učenja vsebine in jezika ter se tako predstavlja kot uspešna alternativa za tradicionalno bolj fragmentirane pristope. Ta spojitev vsebine z jezikom se izrisuje kot relevantna možnost za medpredmetno povezovanje, ki je nepogrešljiv del vsakega sodobnega kurikula. Avtorja se zato v članku lotevata podrobnega pregleda pojava in razvoja pristopa CLIL, njegovih številnih pojavnih oblik in možnih interpretacij v okviru terminološko pestrega nabora sorodnih učnih pristopov. Pod drobnogled vzameta tudi posamezne sestavine samega akronima in jih v ločenih poglavjih članka analizirata v njihovih pripadajočih teoretičnih kontekstih. Obsežni analizi teoretičnega ozadja CLIL-a in njemu sorodnih pristopov ter raznolikih uporab le-teh sledi sinteza, v izteku katere avtorja naslovita specifično slovenski osnovnošolski kontekst in položaj, ki ga ta sodobni pristop v njem zaseda. V zaključnem delu avtorja svoje ugotovitve skleneta s poudarkom na številnih prednostih uporabe CLIL-a, ki se izkazuje kot učinkovit pristop k poučevanju vsebin v tujem jeziku kot tudi jezika samega.

1 Introduction

In this paper, we tackle the elusive definition of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), the practice of which has been traced far back in human history, to around 5,000 years B.C., subsequently reemerging in academic and educational contexts of language education under a colourful string of branded appellations. Its function and use have thus frequently been attributed to the goal of achieving what Coyle et al. (2010, p. 5) refer to as "authenticity of purpose", to provide a better vehicle for authentic language exposure and production in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts. This increased authenticity is hypothesised to lead to an increase in engagement and motivation in the learning process. The paper begins with an overview of the manyfold definitions of CLIL and explains the related sociocultural background of the methodology presented within each of these. Then, after briefly looking at the suitability of CLIL for use in a variety of educational contexts, we move onto a discussion of motivation and authenticity whilst examining the interplay between them both in relation to content and classroom interaction. We inevitably address some of the criticisms against CLIL and the use of authentic materials in EFL vs ESL (English as a Second Language) classrooms. Finally, we advocate a CLIL approach as a means of increasing exposure to authentic content, thus potentially increasing motivation to learn (Pinner, 2013, p. 49).

2 Clarifying terminology: What is CLIL?

Since its 'official' European launch in 1994 (Marsh, 2012, p. i), CLIL has been, without a doubt, a growing international trend (or innovation) in language teaching and learning. Its uptake has occurred gradually and on a global scale (Banegas, 2012, 2016, 2017; Deller & Price, 2007, p. 5; McDougald, 2016, p. 256; Pinner, 2013, p. 139). Although CLIL approaches began to spread in Europe around the turn of the century, they might be still considered 'current' or 'contemporary' as their implementation varies considerably depending on specific language teaching contexts.[1] Since its launch three decades ago, interest in CLIL has grown steadily

[1] The integration of content and language has, of course, a much longer history. Education in a language which is not the first language of the learner is probably as old as education itself. According to Mehisto et al. (2008, p. 9), the earliest CLIL-like programme dates about 5,000 years into the past – after the Akkadians conquered the Sumerians, they expressed the desire to learn their language and Sumerian was used as the language of instruction in several subjects. This was true of Ancient Rome as well, where families educated their children in Greek.

and has become the established norm in many places (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 2). It has been referred to as a buzzword (McDougald, 2016, p. 256), a 'cult movement' (Maley, 2007, p. 3), and as having the 'characteristics of a brand name' (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2010b, as quoted in Cenoz et al., 2014, p. 246).

Many, if not most, contemporary trends lack precise or generally agreed definitions. CLIL is no exception. It is often referred to as an umbrella term for a variety of approaches, most of which "offer a two-for-the-price-of-one deal: subject matter learning and proficiency in another language" (Kerr, 2022, p. 13). The reason for CLIL being so poorly, loosely or broadly defined lies in its 'pedigree', i.e. its sociocultural background. The European launch of CLIL in the early 1990s "was both political and educational" (Marsh, 2012, p. i). The political driver was based on a vision that mobility across the European Union required higher levels of language competence in designated languages than was found to be the case at that point in time (ibid.). The idea of forging relationships across disciplines, specifically linguistic and non-linguistic, and changing the language of instruction in educational systems, evolved as a response to considerable societal changes and subsequent demands for change in the respective educational systems. The educational driver, however, was "to design and otherwise adapt existing language teaching approaches so as to provide a wide range of students with higher levels of competence" (ibid.).

In attempting to develop an educational approach by which children, young people and adults would learn non-language subjects through a modern foreign language, CLIL has been mainly inspired by immersion and bilingual education from a broad range of contexts and educational practices, most of all by bilingual immersion programs in Canada. This may have been one of the reasons behind the plethora of inter-linked terms being adopted, introduced and fielded during the 1980s and early 1990s, such as *Bilingual education/instruction*, *Content-Based Instruction* (CBI), *Developmental bilingual education*, *Dual-focused language education*, *Extended Language Instruction*, *Immersion*, *Languages across the curriculum*, *Language-based content teaching*, *Language bath*, *Language-enhanced content teaching*, *Language-enriched education*, *Language-enriched content instruction*, *Language shower*, *Learning through an additional language*, *Modern Languages Across the Curriculum*, *Multilingual education*, *Plurilingual education*, *Sheltered language learning*, *Teaching through a foreign language*, *Teaching non-language subjects through a*

foreign language, etc. (Marsh, 2012, pp. 129–130).[2] Eventually, the European Commission opted to adopt the term *Content and Language Integrated Learning* (CLIL) "as a generic umbrella term which would encompass any activity in which a foreign language is used as a tool in the learning of a non-language subject in which both language and the subject have a joint curricular role" (ibid., p. 132). A core reason why the term CLIL was increasingly adopted through the 1990s was that it placed both language and non-language content on a form of continuum, without implying preference for one or the other. Each is interwoven, even if the emphasis is greater on one or the other at a given time. It was thus inclusive in explaining how a variety of methods could be used to give language and non-language subject matter a joint curricular role in the domain of mainstream education, pre-schooling and adult lifelong education (ibid.). Thus, we can place content-based and language-based approaches along a continuum, ranging from those which emphasise content learning through the medium of a target language (second and/or foreign), to those in which content is used as a vehicle for promoting language learning (see Figure 1). Accordingly, total immersion would be placed on the content-driven end of the continuum, while on the language-driven end we would place language classes that often include content for linguistic practice.

Thus, as Met (2004, pp. 137–138) puts it, *content-driven* approaches give primary emphasis to the learning of content. Language learning is important, but it is often viewed as an incidental by-product of content instruction. Similarly, subject matter courses taught through the medium of a second/foreign language are content-driven, in that learning content is a primary course outcome. These courses are commonly taught by content specialists, not language teachers. At the centre of the continuum lie approaches with equal emphasis on both content and language. In these approaches, students frequently learn the second/foreign language as a subject, often in a specific class or course. In addition, content is taught through the medium of the second/foreign language. Students are expected to demonstrate achievement of course outcomes in both language and content and may be instructed by both content and language specialists. At the other end of the continuum are *language-*

[2] Some of these are clearly variations of each other and may have originated without either foreign or heritage languages as a focal point. One example is *Language Across the Curriculum* that originally related to improving skills of English as a mother tongue or second language to British school children. Some were imported from abroad, particularly the USA, where they had been exclusively used for contexts in which minority language students acquire proficiency in a dominant target language (Marsh, 2012, p. 131).

driven approaches. In these, language learning is the primary course objective. Content is used by language instructors to make language learning more motivating, and to provide meaningful, authentic topics about which to communicate. Language-driven approaches may or may not use content drawn from the school curriculum. Content may be a specific topic or theme related to the school curriculum, be it multidisciplinary, or drawn solely from learners' expressed interests.

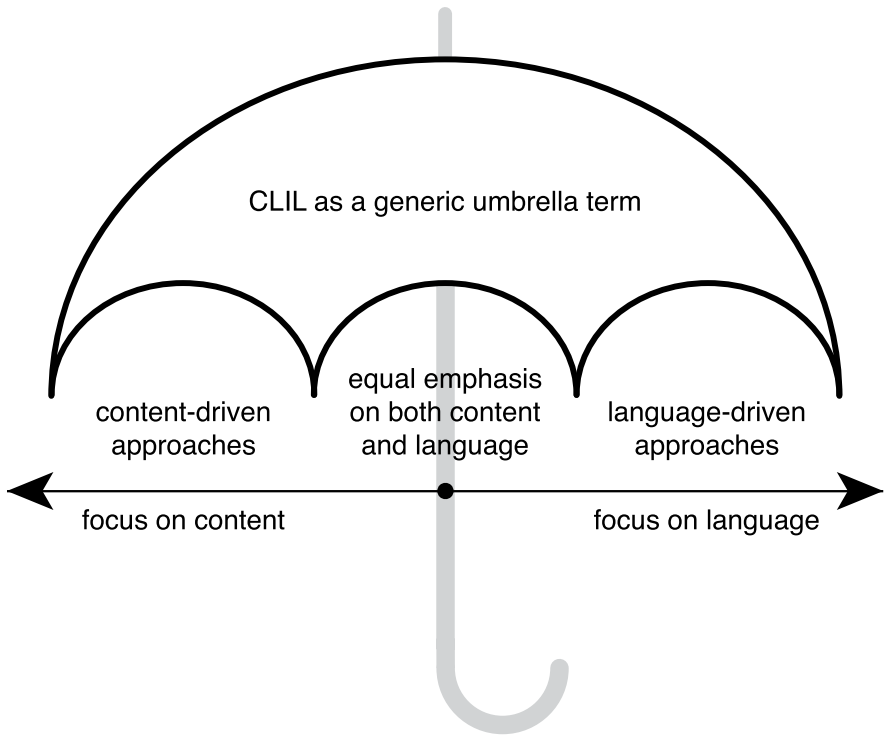

Figure 1: CLIL as a generic umbrella term for both content-based and language-based approaches

Visualizing CLIL between the two ends of a continuum clearly reflects the wide range of applications of CLIL in a range of practice settings. Consequently, we can think of many different situations in which CLIL may be employed (Harmer, 2012, p. 227; Kerr, 2022, p. 13): (a) subject teachers and language teachers working in tandem, using different languages so that language lessons back up the subject lesson

language; (b) one teacher switching between languages; (c) some classes taught in one language, some in others; (d) additional language classes provided for some learners; (e) EFL teachers importing non-language subject matter of different school subjects (i. e. the so-called cross-curricular content) into language lessons; (f) students studying the content first in their L1 and then again with a language teacher who can focus on the CLIL language; (g) some CLIL courses are taught by a subject teacher (a geography teacher, for example) who speaks English well enough to do this, or by an English teacher who can manage the CLIL content; (h) schools and teachers offering short (say, 15-hour) CLIL courses; (i) delivering whole areas of the curriculum in a second language, etc.

Since CLIL can be implemented at whatever educational level and can have different roles in the curriculum, the contexts of schools using CLIL vary enormously. With so many varieties of CLIL, and with no unifying approach or theory, it is very hard to say what CLIL actually encompasses. If CLIL can be defined in such broad terms, it is obvious that "the social situation in each country in general and decisions in educational policy in particular always have an effect, so there is no single blueprint of content and language integration that could be applied in the same way in different countries – no model is for export" (Baetens Beardsmore, 1993, in Marsh, 2012, p. iii).

If CLIL "is used as a generic term to describe all types of provision in which a second language (a foreign, regional or minority language and/or another official state language) is used to teach certain subjects in the curriculum other than language lessons themselves" (Eurydice, 2006, p. 8), then the question of languages and related contextual factors arises. Following this definition, CLIL can be taught using different foreign languages, second languages, additional languages, or a mixture of languages. In reality, however, the language of instruction in CLIL-type programs is in the vast majority of cases English (Eurydice, 2008; Ur, 2012, p. 220). What is problematic about this definition is that it causes terminological confusion as "the foreign language is put on a par with local languages when these languages are used for teaching curricular content. In this way, it is given to understand not only that CLIL and immersion are equivalent terms but also that CLIL embraces immersion programmes" (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010, p. 368). So, the terms CLIL and immersion (or bilingual teaching) "are often used indiscriminately, although in reality

there are more differences than similarities between the two" (ibid., p. 367). The language used in CLIL is not a language spoken locally: unlike immersion programs, which are carried out in languages present in the students' context (be it home, society at large, or both home and society), the languages of instruction for CLIL programs are foreign languages and many of the students only have contact with them in formal instruction contexts (ibid., p. 370).

This terminological confusion is not trivial since it is not clear what the letter 'L' in the English acronym CLIL stands for – 'a language' (i.e. any language) or 'a foreign language' (represented fundamentally by the English language)? Whether the language concerned is a local or a foreign language has direct effects on both language objectives and language outcomes, which is why a clear-cut distinction is needed. Therefore, the objectives of immersion and CLIL in the same country cannot be the same. There is a long tradition of immersion programs in many different parts of the world (Australia, Canada, Finland, Spain, and the United States, to name a few), whereas CLIL programs are in their infancy in many educational systems worldwide (Lasagabaster & Sierra 2010, p. 369). In short, it does change things if, for example, French and German are used in immersion programs implemented in bilingual regions, or if CLIL programs in English are put into practice in monolingual parts of Slovenia. There are thus important differences to bear in mind; otherwise, as Lasagabaster and Sierra point out, "the general objectives set out in CLIL programmes may be unrealistic, CLIL teachers may be put under too much pressure, and students may be required to meet language objectives beyond their reach" (ibid.).

It could be argued that the wide range of approaches under the CLIL umbrella contain the core characteristic of CLIL because they offer "opportunities to learn language through content"; however, there are no easily identifiable features that are common to all of them and would therefore "make them all equally and uniquely part of CLIL" (Cenoz et al., 2014, p. 246). It seems, then, that including immersion and bilingual education under the CLIL umbrella causes more confusion than consensus. This is so because the integration of content and language is an inherent part of any immersion/bilingual education anyway, whereas the contextual characteristics of immersion/bilingual education, i.e. the students being exposed to the target language in their learning environment or in society at large, cannot be

easily recreated in a CLIL-type program in formal instruction and foreign-language contexts. In other words, immersion/bilingual education always involves CLIL, whereas CLIL doesn't (necessarily) involve immersion/bilingual education. Therefore, placing CLIL on the middle of the continuum, as suggested by Dale and Tanner (2012, p. 4), would perhaps cause less uncertainty. They go on to further divide it into CLIL that is focused more on language (it is taught by language teachers in language lessons) or more on the content (it is taught by subject teachers in subject lessons) (ibid.).

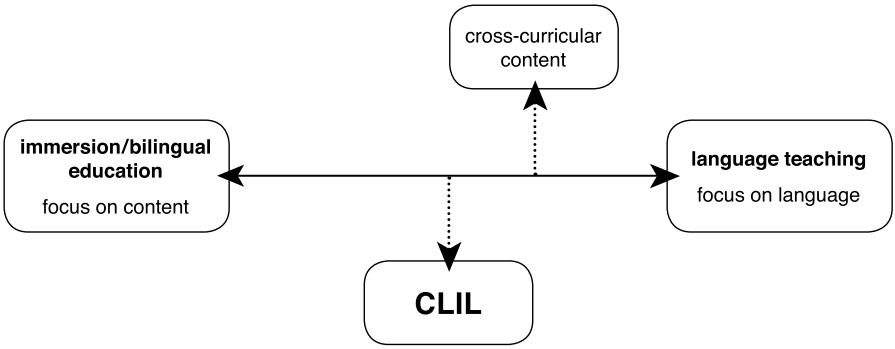

Figure 2: Placing CLIL between content-driven and language-driven approaches

To obtain a better understanding of the place of CLIL, it is helpful to compare different types of foreign language teaching (Deller & Price 2007, pp. 5–7):

– *Foreign language teaching for general purposes*

This is language-led and applies the language to different situations and topics in order to illustrate the language points. It uses language teaching methodology, and the assessment is based on language level.

– *Foreign language teaching for work purposes (ESP)*

This is also language-led, but the content is determined and influenced by the work purpose. It uses language teaching methodology and the assessment is based on language level.

– *Cross-curricular foreign language teaching*

This is language teaching using content from across the curriculum. It is taught by language teachers who use cross-curricular content and is assessed on language level.

– *CLIL – subject teaching through a foreign language*

This is entirely subject-led and the subject dictates what language support is needed. The language is one part of the process, rather than an end in itself. It is assessed on subject knowledge. It may be taught by a subject teacher, or a foreign language teacher, or, in some cases, by both teachers. As the last option is 'resource-heavy', it is less common. The main problem faced by foreign language teachers who need to teach another subject through a foreign language is usually the content – the subject matter. On the other hand, subject teachers who need to teach their subject through a foreign language may lack experience and confidence in their command of the language, and they may not have "the armoury of interactive activities" that language teachers possess.

Although bilingual or immersion education programs can be set up in an otherwise foreign-language context as well (e.g. *Ecole Française international de Ljubljana*), they are certainly more common or natural in bilingual contexts. In foreign-language contexts, however, language-led models, which import parts of subjects and highlight language development, are much more common as they are less demanding.

2.1 CLIL instruction in Slovenia

According to Eurydice (2023, p. 66), CLIL programmes are in place in virtually all European countries, including Slovenia. The most widespread type of CLIL programme consists of teaching some subjects in the language of schooling (the state language) and other subjects in a foreign language. In addition to foreign languages, regional or minority languages are often used to deliver CLIL. In this arrangement, which constitutes the second most widespread type of CLIL programme, some subjects are taught in the state language and other subjects in a regional or minority language (ibid., p. 67). This is also the case in Slovenia, where there are two regional

and/or minority languages with official status – Italian and Hungarian (ibid., p. 31). Another type of CLIL programme is found in countries with several state languages, which often have in place programmes delivering different subjects in two state languages (for example in Belgium and Switzerland) (ibid., p. 67). A limited number of countries provide CLIL programmes that do not fall into the above categories. For example, in Estonia and Montenegro, some schools offer programmes delivering some subjects in a minority language (Russian in Estonia and Albanian in Montenegro) and others in a foreign language (English in both countries) (ibid., p. 67).

Apart from bilingual or immersion primary education in the nationally mixed area of Prekmurje, which was introduced in 1959 (Hus & Jančič, 2018), CLIL instruction in Slovenia, if understood as bilingual teaching, has not yet taken root in mainstream schools, although a few private (nursery) schools and experimental schools in both large urban centers and small rural places have been increasingly using it.[3] Such schools are a minority and highly selective. Some examples of 'CLIL schools' in Slovenia include: the Danila Kumar International School – IB World School runs two programs: the *Primary Years Program* (PYP) for kindergarten students and students from Grade 1 to 5 (3–11 years), and the *Middle Years Program* (12–14 years); Gimnazija Bežigrad (Bežigrad Grammar School) in Ljubljana, Gimnazija Novo mesto (Novo mesto Grammar School), Gimnazija Kranj (Kranj Grammar School) and II. gimnazija in Maribor are authorized to run the *International Baccalaureate Diploma Program* (16–19); the British International School of Ljubljana (students aged from 3 to 18); the QSI International School of Ljubljana (for children from 3 to 17 years of age); The Montessori Institute Ljubljana (kindergarten and primary school), Ecole Française international de Ljubljana (located at Livada Primary School in Ljubljana), etc. Last but not least, another CLIL-type provision *par excellence* should be added. In Slovenia, in all university foreign language departments, it is customary to impart linguistics, literature, culture, history and other subjects within the degree programs in the target language; the pursued goal being, of course, to improve the linguistic level of the students. We could argue that, in broad terms, including students from migrant backgrounds in Slovenian monolingual schools could also be taken as a form of CLIL.

[3] An additional 'obstacle' to introducing bilingual education in Slovenian schools is the state legislation designating Slovenian as the official language of instruction in Slovenian schools.

It should be noted that the children at the above-mentioned schools are often already bilingual when they enter the school. The school operates a selection policy and parents of the CLIL children tend to have a higher socio-economic status than parents of the mainstream, i.e. non-CLIL, cohort. Although demographic differences like this have been observed in many CLIL contexts (Kerr, 2022, p. 14), they still constitute a potential for inequality in access to CLIL programs, as these are often implemented in schools with a higher socio-economic status or an urban location , which can lead to inequality in access to this type of education (Medved Udovič, 2017). On a different note, however, a number of benefits of CLIL in Slovenia have been recorded, such as allowing students to learn a subject in a more engaging way, promoting multilingualism, improving overall language proficiency, as well as providing a more meaningful learning experience as students are able to see the connections between the subject and the language they are learning (Medved Udovič, 2017). Studies conducted in Slovenia have shown that students who participate in CLIL programs perform better in both the target language and the subject being studied. For example, a study by Juvan and Kontler-Salamon (2018) found that students who participated in a CLIL program had better writing skills in English and a better understanding of geography than students who did not participate in the program.

It should be emphasised that all the above-mentioned CLIL-type provisions take place in a (predominantly) monolingual and foreign-language environment. The target language becomes the medium of instruction for the teaching of other subjects, a tool by means of which non-linguistic subject matter is taught through a target language. Hence, CLIL-type methods attempt to reproduce the way in which first or native languages are learned as there is a clear correlation between the amount of exposure to a language and the competence achieved by learners (Ojeda Alba, 2009, p. 131).

In terms of classroom practices, the contexts of the private and experimental CLIL schools mentioned above and those of mainstream schools are as different as night and day. However, this article deals with the implementation and scope of CLIL in *foreign-language* classes in *mainstream* (i.e. non-CLIL) primary-schools. This means that EFL, rather than non-language, teachers are predominantly involved in CLIL implementation in primary (and secondary) education in Slovenia. Thus, in the

remainder of the chapter, the component parts of the acronym CLIL – Content, Language, and (integrated) Learning – will be analysed and their applicability correlated to foreign-language contexts.

3 The Letter 'L' in CLIL: Language

As shown earlier, CLIL contexts can vary enormously, ranging from immersion/bilingual education at one end of the continuum (i.e. *hard* CLIL) to language-driven approaches at the other (i.e. *soft* CLIL). All this will have a direct impact on both language teaching and learning. The contextual factors of language learning, i.e. the distinction between second-language and foreign-language contexts, have always decisively influenced language instruction.

For much of its history, language teaching has been almost obsessed with the search for the 'right' method. Within the relatively brief era from the late nineteenth century to the 1990s, language teaching theory advanced mainly by conceptualizing teaching in terms of teaching *methods* (Stern, 1983). The search for the 'best method' has resulted in a range of approaches such as Grammar-Translation, Direct Method, Audio-lingual, Situational and Communicative (see Figure 3). The traditional view of the development of methods over time is that "it has been cumulative, progressive, and relatively linear" (Hall, 2011, p. 79), developing from 'traditional' to 'modern'. The common feature that encompasses all these teaching methods seems to be that in all of them the target language is perceived as the single, or the most important, object of the learning process, the subject matter to be taught (Ojeda Alba, 2009, p. 130). And even in the case of conceptual content – topics, themes, stories – all of which can be used to contextualise language, are nothing but 'shop windows' for language as they are subordinated to the underlying linguistic objectives.

Alternatively, when referring to bilingual teaching or CLIL instruction, we understand an approach to foreign language teaching in which language instruction is organised around non-linguistic topics, themes and/or various subject matter rather than around linguistic or 'disposable' content. As a consequence, the focus in the approach to language teaching shifts away from direct language instruction

towards authentic language use and the learner's ability to use the language appropriately in a genuine context.

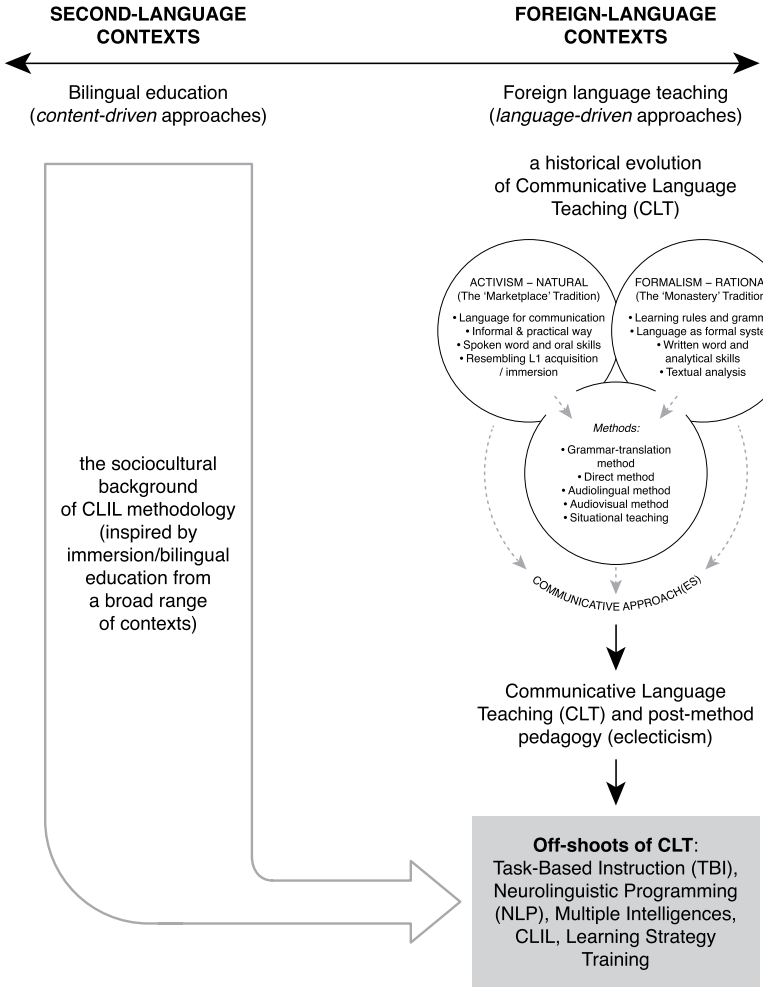

Figure 3: CLIL in second-language or bilingual contexts and CLIL subsumed under the Communicative Approach

Clearly, the Communicative Approach was not born in a void. It has developed 'logically' out of the previous history of ELT, and as such it should not be viewed as a revolution but rather a logical evolution – as "a set of additions and modifications,

whose origins are deeply rooted in history" (Douthwaite, 1991, p. 7). It may be seen as an attempt to merge and apply two diametrically opposing views of language teaching, termed *Natural* (i.e. unconscious learning, spontaneity, language as communication) and *Rational* (i.e. reason, conscious learning), which overlaps with the 'activism-formalism' distinction (Douthwaite, 1991), or the 'marketplace' approach vs. the 'monastery' approach (McArthur, 1983).

Since the 1990s, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) has continued to evolve by drawing from various educational paradigms and diverse sources with the result that there is still "no single or agreed upon set of practices that characterise current communicative language teaching" (Richards, 2006, p. 22). CLT has triggered a number of crossover educational trends that share the same basic set of principles, for instance: Task-Based Instruction, Neurolinguistic Programming (NLP), Multiple Intelligences, CLIL, Learning Strategy Training, etc. The best of these approaches have linked the student's 'voyage of exploration' into the foreign language with the rest of the 'language education' offered by the curriculum (Hawkins, 1988, p. 5). With the inclusion of CLIL into the Communicative Approach, foreign language teachers started to find ways to integrate language learning with genuine content learning and purpose more deeply.

As mentioned earlier, immersion and bilingual education programs in Canada are considered to be the historical precursors of CLIL. Here, English-speaking children receive content instruction in French, "with no detriment to their English nor to their subject knowledge, and impressive gains in French" (Thornbury, 2006, p. 51). In such contexts, language is often viewed as an incidental by-product of content instruction. These courses are commonly taught by content specialists, not language teachers. In terms of classroom practices, a million miles separate this *second-language* context from *foreign-language* schools, where language learning is the primary course objective, and so vividly described by Hawkins (1987, pp. 97–98), who compares the foreign language teacher's daily task to gardening in a gale:

> The class arrives for its lesson. […] The teacher encloses the pupils within the 'cultural island' of the language classroom, and for 40 minutes strives like a keen gardener to implant in the recalcitrant soil a few frail seedlings of speech patterns in the foreign language. Just as the seedlings are taking root and standing up for themselves, the bell goes and the class is dismissed into the mother tongue environment. For the next 24 hours the pupils are swept along by a gale of their mother tongue. […]

> Next morning the foreign language teacher finds yesterday's tender seedlings of French, English, German or Spanish lying blighted and flattened by the gale of the mother tongue. S/he gently revives and waters them but, just as they reach the condition they were in yesterday, the bell rings again and the gale of the mother tongue sweeps in to destroy all, or nearly all, the patient gardener's handiwork. […] It is no wonder that after years of this wasteful method only few students reach the modest goal of GCE (General Certificate of Education) or its equivalent. (Hawkins, 1987, pp. 97–98)

3.1 Language of instruction: CLIL and the English Language

CLIL can be taught using a second language, an additional language (in other words a third, fourth, fifth language, etc.), or a mixture of languages – for example, the CLIL language together with the students' first language. This is sometimes called *translanguage* CLIL (Harmer, 2012, p. 226). However, the language of instruction in CLIL-type programs is, in the vast majority of cases, English.

With the emergence of global English, marked by its omnipresent status and worldwide dominance, the traditional distinction between English as a *foreign* language (EFL) and English as a *second* language (ESL) has blurred and become difficult to sustain. Consequently, it is often difficult to tell whether it is a foreign or a second language. If both EFL and ESL have looked for language norms based on native speaker English, then this, with the emergence of a new acronym – ELF (*English as a Lingua Franca*, i.e., between people who do not share the same language and for whom English is not their mother tongue), is no longer the case. The language norms to be aimed at, together with the belief in native-speaker ownership, have come under scrutiny (see Figure 4). In consequence, all over the English-speaking world, new hybrid models of ELT methodology are emerging, which, in their various guises, combine features of both EFL and ESL schools of thought and practice.

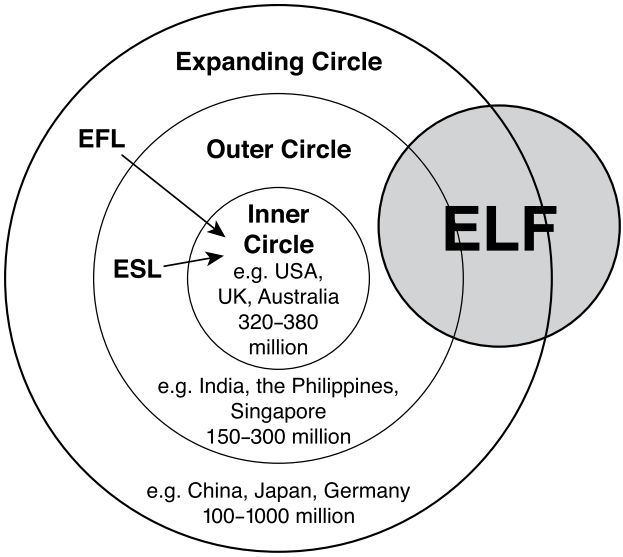

Figure 4: The sociolinguistic reality and pedagogical perspectives of English: English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

Although the traditional distinction between EFL and ESL has blurred in many contexts, it still carries important pedagogical implications in many others. By definition, ESL teachers operate in environments where their students can expect to meet English, or any other language, outside the classroom and thus 'formal' (classroom) learning and 'informal' learning are combined. EFL teachers, on the other hand, operate in classrooms which are 'cultural islands', meaning that outside their classrooms English is not normally met and thus little 'informal' learning takes place. In other words, in ESL contexts, there is an instant 'language laboratory' available to students 24 hours a day, which is, of course, a tremendous advantage as the target language is, to a large extent, 'picked up' subconsciously. In foreign-language contexts, however, language use is often confined to the language classroom and to 2 or 4 timetabled lessons a week, which means that more formal instruction and work on students' intrinsic motivation are needed to compensate for the lack of environmental support (see Figure 5). So, mastering a foreign language under school conditions or 'picking it up' in a second-language context are two very different things.

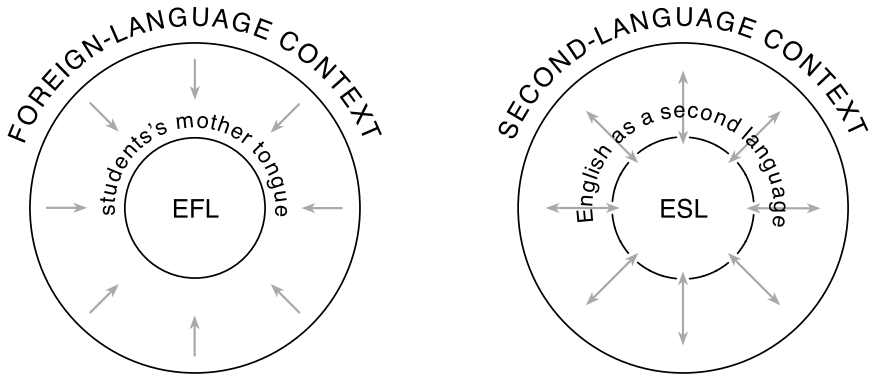

Figure 5: Contextual factors in language teaching: the traditional distinction between EFL and ESL

4 The Letter 'L' in CLIL: Learning

This brings us to one of the most influential dichotomies in foreign/second language pedagogy, that of learning vs. acquisition. Nowadays, experts generally agree that we do not learn a foreign language best through learning grammar and translating (the grammar-translation method). Nor do we learn by constantly practising until we form habits (the behaviourist or structuralist approach) or just by communicating (the communicative approach). Research has identified three main ways in which we learn a foreign language: acquisition, interaction, and focus on form (Spratt et al., 2005, pp. 41–43). Firstly, *acquiring* language means the same as picking it up. In short, to really learn a foreign language we need exposure to lots of examples of it, thus learning from the language in our surroundings. We need to hear and read lots of language which is rich in variety, interesting to us and just difficult enough for us, i.e. just beyond our level, but not too difficult. Acquisition takes place over a period of time, i.e. not instantly, and we listen to and read items of language for a long time before we begin to use them (the silent period). Secondly, to learn language we need to use it in *interaction* with other people. We need to use language to express ourselves and make our meanings clear to other people, and to understand them. Thirdly, research shows that foreign language learners also need to *focus on form*. This means that they need to pay attention to language, e.g. by identifying, working with and practising the language they need to communicate.

According to Hawkins (1988, p. 3), mastering a foreign language under school conditions involves learning activities at two 'levels' – 'medium orientated' activities, directed towards the 'form' (grammatical structure, accuracy of pronunciation, spelling, etc.), and 'message orientated' activities, where the learner concentrates on using the foreign language to transact meanings that matter to him/her. There is agreement among the theorists that the most effective language learning involves a constant interaction between these two kinds of activity. Each is necessary, neither is sufficient by itself (ibid.).

There is less agreement, however, when it comes to defining the two kinds of learning. Krashen (1981) distinguishes two cognitive levels: subconscious 'acquisition' which is the most effective and central means of internalising language, and conscious 'learning' which involves deliberate use of the 'monitor' to focus on form and check for correctness (Hawkins, 1988, p. 3). Krashen sees consciously learnt rules being stored in the learner's 'monitor', available for such checking but not for 'generating' the foreign language. Stevick (1982, cited in Hawkins, 1988, p. 3) insists that the terms 'learning' and 'acquisition' should not be seen as two discrete levels of learning. The process of mastering the foreign language is more complex. These are only "the two ends of a continuum which rests on a single process" (Hawkins, 1988, p. 3). In short, foreign language learning in school involves the interplay of different levels of cognition, and teachers should explore different ways of engaging their students in learning at both levels, i.e. 'medium orientated' activities (i.e. focus on form), and 'message orientated' activities (i.e. interaction), where the speaker's attention is directed away from the language, on to the meaning.

The distinction between the two levels of learning, termed by Hawkins (1988, p. 4) Level 1 (or *learning*) and Level 2 (or *acquisition*), is not new. In foreign-language contexts, according to Hawkins (1988, p. 4), Level 1 (or *learning*) has always had its place. It formed the main constituent of traditional language teaching, whereas Level 2 (or *acquisition*) has traditionally been fully experienced only by those who have studied abroad. Interestingly, the distinction between the two levels of learning was clearly recognised when Latin was the *lingua franca* of all educated men in Europe and beyond. There was the daily 'grammar' class in which the structure of the language was expounded but this was supplemented by 'Level 2' activity (Hawkins, 1988, p. 4). Students were expected to use Latin for all purposes once the rudiments

had been learned. It was recognised that, though the daily 'grammar grind' might be necessary, students could not be expected to learn to use Latin without constant practice, motivated by engaging in activities that interested them (Hawkins, 1988, p. 4). When Latin ceased to be the *lingua franca* of educated people, 'Level 2' activity of this kind was no longer possible. Only the 'grammar grind' was left – necessary but not sufficient. When, in the 19th century, modern languages began to challenge for a place in the curriculum, they adopted a methodology which had forgotten the 'Level 2' strategy of an earlier age, a strategy deemed practicable only so long as Latin was commonly in use by the community outside school (Hawkins, 1988, p. 5). This is fundamental if we are to understand how language teaching lost its way after the seventeenth century. It wasn't until the gradual introduction of *communicative language teaching* (*CLT*) in the late 1970s that 'Level 2' modern language learning was "at last awakening from its century long sleep" (Hawkins, 1988, p. 5).

Because of the constraints within which they work (the traditional timetable – three or four short lessons a week, large classes, 'gardening in the gale of the mother tongue, etc.), foreign language teachers have always found it easier to engage students in 'learning' (concentrating on structure, accuracy of written form, etc.) than in 'acquisition'. The question we need to ask is whether 'level 2' or 'message-orientated' activities are also possible in the conventional foreign language classroom.

Even though the *learning–acquisition* distinction seems pedagogically useful, it is often indistinguishable in practice. Acquisition is essentially a subconscious by-product of language use, contrasting with deliberate 'learning' which focuses on form, accuracy, etc. This distinction breaks down when we try to apply it in practice. The cut-off point where 'learning' stops and acquisition begins, at least in acquiring vocabulary, pronunciation, reading and listening skills, seems far from clear.[4]

[4] Harold Palmer, more than a 100 years ago, reminded us of how much of the foreign language we acquire subconsciously from reading/listening: "Of the vocabulary possessed by any person proficient in the use of a foreign language, a very small proportion has been acquired by conscious study, probably less than 5%; the bulk of his vocabulary has been acquired by subconscious assimilation" (Palmer 1917/1968, p. 131).

It seems, then, that combining formal and informal instruction is the only, and probably the best, option available to foreign language teachers in order to recreate at least some of the features of second-language contexts and thus developing one framework which will account for both learning and acquisition. Johnson (2001, pp. 109–110) argues that the concepts of *declarative* and *procedural* knowledge can be used to talk about both learning and acquisition (see Figure 6). He states that declarative knowledge without procedural knowledge is insufficient, but procedural knowledge without declarative knowledge is also inadequate. So, there are two pathways – learning and acquisition – and two processes associated with them, *proceduralization* and *declarativization* (Johnson, 2001, p. 111). Johnson (ibid.) goes on to argue that both pathways lead to the same place but follow different routes. If both declarative (*learning*) and procedural (*acquisition*) knowledge really are important for students, then this suggests that successful approaches will pay due attention to both.

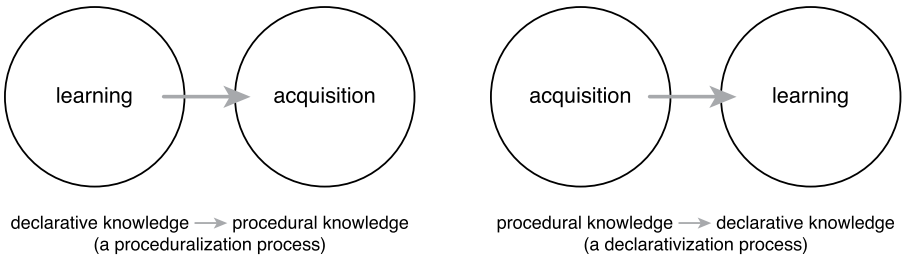

Figure 6: Learning and acquisition: two pathways (based on Johnson, 2001, p. 111)

There is in fact some (indirect) research evidence suggesting that there is some benefit in adding a degree of acquisition to learning, and vice versa, adding learning to acquisition (see Figure 7). In other words, it is beneficial if some procedurally oriented practice is added to teaching that is basically focused on the declarative; and that language-teaching programs that concentrate on the development of procedural knowledge can benefit if a declarative element is added (Johnson, 2001, pp. 112–114).

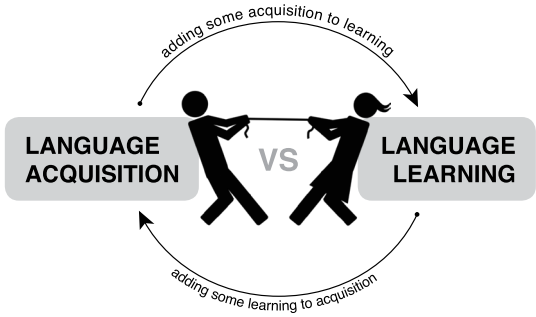

Figure 7: Adding some *acquisition* to *learning* and adding some *learning* to *acquisition*

Davies and Pearse (2000, pp. 10–11) propose a simplified and idealised model of (English) teaching (see Figure 8). With communication as the beginning and end of teaching and learning a language, either a series of 'PPP loops' (i.e. initial or early focus on language), or 'later-focus-on-language loops' (as in the Task-Based Learning) can be added to the 'communication highway'. However, the 'communication highway' can also be seen as the 'string' on which 'CLIL beads' can be put so as to represent a proportional shift from language to content, or from content to language. This sort of 'CLIL beading' is probably the most common way of incorporating CLIL into EFL primary-school classes in Slovenia. It is *cross-curricular foreign language teaching*, i.e. language teaching using content from across the curriculum. It is taught by language teachers who use cross-curricular content and is assessed on language level.

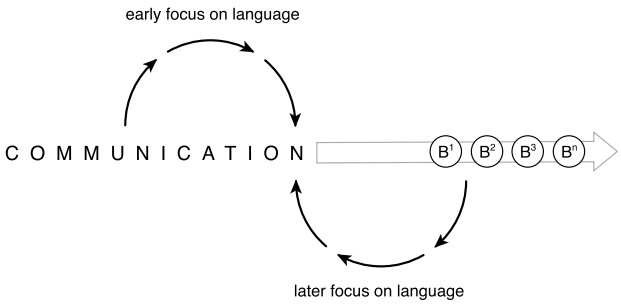

Figure 8: 'CLIL beading' added to the 'communication highway' (based on Davies & Pearse, 2000, pp. 10–11)

4.1 Promoting acquisition in a foreign language class

In terms of the ESL/EFL distinction, we distinguish between: (a) the language lesson which is accompanied by use of the target language outside the classroom for everyday activities; and (b) the language lesson which takes place in an otherwise foreign-language context and is the student's only experience of the target language ('gardening in a gale').

If acquisition, or, in Johnson's terms, procedurally oriented practice, is the transaction of meanings that matter to the learner, how can the teacher promote it in the foreign language classroom? Hawkins (1988, p. 8) suggests that

> [t]he first step is to build a 'wind-break' against the 'gale of the mother tongue' that howls at the door of the foreign language classroom. This means organising sessions in such a way that the tender seedlings of new speech patterns in the foreign language have time to establish themselves before being flattened and blighted by the 'gale of the mother tongue' that will blow as soon as the classroom door opens at the end of the lesson. Stilling the 'gale of the mother tongue', however, though a necessary preliminary, is not enough. The teacher still has to find ways of motivating the learner to use the FL for purposes that matter to him/her. (Hawkins, 1988, p. 8)

Another definition, borrowed from writings on EFL/ESL, is that procedurally oriented practice (i.e. acquisition) is 'communicative' practice (Hawkins, 1988, p. 6). However, this does not capture the essence of acquisition, which lies in the *motivation* to use the language to transact the learner's own meanings (not the teacher's or the textbook's). As in the first language acquisition process, it is the use of language to satisfy immediately felt needs that seems to be the drive behind the baby's apparently effortless and amazingly rapid grasp of the grammar/language. The presence or absence, then, of a driving 'will to mean' seems to be the determining factor in language acquisition. We should note that 'meanings that matter' are received as well as expressed. Getting meaning (e.g. reading a text, or following a speaker whose message matters) is no less a 'Level 2' activity than expressing the learner's own meanings (ibid., p. 7). It seems well established that the more the meaning seems to matter to the learner, the more effectively will the new language 'stick' (Hawkins, 1988, p. 8).

Foreign-language teachers, 'gardening in a gale', have had to learn how to encourage their students "to go to meet the foreign language, in reading and in dialogue with native speakers, and to 'quarry' their own working capital of the language, on which to work inductively" (Hawkins, 1987, p. 214). One significant step forward has been the spectacular improvement in coursebooks for our 'quarrying', helped by priceless educational technology and other new learning resources, such as computers and the internet. Another big step can be seen in the underlying 'philosophy' of CLIL which can be seen as 'integration replacing fragmentation' (Mehisto et al., 2008, p. 7) and vividly described as follows:

> *Cirque du Soleil* has emerged as a new fusion far removed from the traditional concept of a circus. It has synthesised circus styles from around the world, integrating acrobatics, dance and theatre, as well as new technologies, into one single scripted theme. Fusion has become a fact of life. The fusion in CLIL has emerged to help young people build integrated knowledge and skills for this increasingly integrated world. (Mehisto et al., 2008, p. 7)

With these considerations in mind, we have reached the point where we need to look at some of the changes triggered by the emergence of global English. One consequence has been, as already mentioned, that the traditional distinction between EFL and ESL has become difficult to sustain (Mitchell, 2009, p. 92). Another area in which the perceived pre-eminences and desirability of English has impacted language teaching and teacher education is language policymaking (ibid.). According to Mitchell (2009), two important policy changes are: (a) the general tendency to lower the starting age for foreign language learning; and (b) the intensification of teaching through the adoption of the target language as a medium of instruction, such as CLIL, bilingual education, and immersion programs. All in all, it seems, then, that the changes taking place in the ELT world are not prompted so much by research evidence but by the important aspects of social context – notably globalization and the pre-eminence of English (Skela, 2019, p. 22). If it is the international social context of the English language that determines its teaching approaches, a word of warning is required here. As "the greater part of the language-teaching literature has concerned the teaching of English" (Hall & Cook, 2012, p. 272), teachers and teacher educators might act on the assumption that the ways in which English is acquired/learned bear equal relevance to the teaching/learning of any language. Yet, it is of utmost importance to differentiate between the

psycholinguistic aspects of language learning, which may indeed have some universal features, and the sociolinguistic factors, which may vary considerably (ibid.).

5 The Letter 'C' in CLIL: Content

CLIL is based on the assumption that "foreign languages are best learnt by focusing in the classroom not so much on language but on the content which is transmitted through language" (Wolff, 2007, in Wiesemes, 2009, p. 55). In CLIL lessons, then, students should be learning a language by doing something with it, rather than learning about it. Following this line of reasoning, CLIL (supposedly) provides a clear and authentic communicative purpose to language use, something that is often difficult to achieve in a language-focused class. The underlying idea is that meaningful and authentic topics and content would in turn make language learning more motivating.

Language learning is, as we know, an odd (school) subject. You could say it is not a subject at all, in the sense that 'content' subjects like chemistry, history and physics are. Like music, language is *a skill*, a 'how'. The problem has always been to fill the *how* with a *what*.

What is meant by *content* can differ from author to author, from syllabus to syllabus, and from coursebook to coursebook – some differentiate between the *linguistic* content (e.g. grammar, functions, skills, lexis, phonology, etc.), and the *topic* content (i.e. topics that texts are about, or that tasks relate to), others regard *content* as a mixture of both topics and linguistic features to be studied.

It should be noted that choosing course content is not the relatively simple process it once was. Decades ago, language teaching was still heavily influenced by a structural view of language, and there was not much question about content: It was grammatical structures and vocabulary. Of course, much has changed in approaches to language teaching since those times. Graves (1996, pp. 19–25) provides an interesting overview of how content has been cumulatively, and in a step-by-step fashion, conceptualised over time – from the traditional syllabus grid that included only grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation, to a 'completed' one that includes

functions, notions and topics, communicative situations, the four skills, culture, tasks and activities, learning strategies, and (topic) content.

The topic content (topics the language talks about, as distinct from the language content itself) may be of various types (Ur, 1996, pp. 197–98; 2012, pp. 216–17): zero or trivial content; the learners themselves; the local environment; moral, educational, political or social problems; cultural issues; another subject of study (CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning); culture associated with the target language; home/source culture; world or general knowledge; literature; the language (aspects of the target language treated as topics of study in themselves: its history, etymology, and other interesting linguistic phenomena). Why different courses tend to stress some types of content and not others depends very much, of course, on the objectives of the course (e.g. an ESP course or a course for young learners). The advent of 'global' ELT coursebooks conceived in the 1990s, attempting to be internationally appealing, has unfortunately resulted in many coursebooks containing very bland, safe, 'sanitised', superficially interesting and neutral 'zero-content' topics. Or, as Medgyes (1999) ironically remarks, ELT coursebooks provide an endless source of knowledge and fun but teach you nothing worthwhile. Ideally, topics for use in ELT should have the same interest-value as they would if exploited in the students' own native language, as intrinsically worthy of consideration (Crewe, 2011, p. 20).

The question to ask at this point is whether students in a foreign-language class are expected to demonstrate achievement of course outcomes in both language and content. In other words, is CLIL just one of the 'pigeonholes' of the *topic* content used to contextualise the *linguistic* content? Does it suffer the same fate as literature and culture that are, too, mostly used as 'shop windows for language'?

According to Mitchell:

> [t]he main 21st century drivers which determine basic factors in foreign language education policy […], are instrumental goals which prioritise the development of practical language skills. Goals of intercultural understanding and metalinguistic awareness are seen by many commentators as insufficient of themselves to justify sustained investment and commitment to foreign language education in the curriculum. (Mitchell, 2009, p. 89)

It seems that this instrumentalist focus on the achievement of defined skills and proficiency levels shuts out the practical implementation of CLIL in a foreign-language class, alongside culture (or intercultural communicative competence), literature, and language awareness. However, it is interesting to observe how these 'progressivist' features are often translated into foreign language curricula in the form of general goals and recommendations. In this view, "foreign language education is seen as a vehicle for the promotion of a range of positive social values including citizenship, tolerance, and antiracism, as well as the capacity to communicate effectively across cultural and linguistic boundaries" (Mitchell, 2009, p. 89). That's all well and good in theory, but how does it work in practice? Until these topic content ingredients become an integral part of curriculum goals and rationales, and as such are assessed, they will run the risk of remaining on the level of occasional 'pigeonholes', added haphazardly for the sake of variety. It is only when the students have to demonstrate achievement of course outcomes in both *language* and *content* that the CLIL content will be on an equal footing with the *linguistic* content.

It is clear, however, that simply exposing students to CLIL materials, no matter how 'authentic', 'non-pedagogical' or 'non-prefabricated" these might be, will not miraculously improve the students' communicative competences, or automatically have favourable effects on their language learning. What is needed is the underlying methodology, i.e. the accompanying tasks. In other words, even if 'authentic' texts are used, and the subject matter is highly relevant to the lives of the learners, very little will change if the predominant reasons for these texts being in the lesson remains language learning (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 11). Besides, additional exposure does not automatically equal increased learning (Collins et al., 1999; Rifkin, 2005; Heining-Boynton & Haitema, 2007).

6 The Letter 'I' in CLIL: Integrated (learning) – CLIL methodology

As previously mentioned, the CLIL approach is very flexible and appears in various contexts. As Coyle et al. (2010, p. 48) put it, "there is neither one preferred CLIL model, nor one CLIL methodology". Many features of CLIL methodology are not CLIL-specific, "but are part of basic best practice in education" (Mehisto et al., 2008, p. 25).

According to Ur (2012, pp. 220–221), CLIL is based on the following assumptions and values: language acquisition, authenticity, integration of English into the curriculum, motivation, further education (preparing students for future study and the workplace), diversification of learning, increase of exposure to English (without requiring extra time in the curriculum), different cultural and educational perspectives, multicultural attitudes, increase in vocabulary and other language gains, and improvement of oral skills.

There are a number of claims made for the advantages of CLIL, although it is difficult to substantiate them (Deller & Price, 2007, p. 7). According to Kerr (2022, p. 13), CLIL may have a positive impact on learner motivation, attitudes towards learning the language, and enhanced confidence. It also makes good sense as it is likely that the students are more motivated when they are learning through English something that is part of their school learning and thinking, rather than just learning the language, which may or may not seem to them to have any obvious purpose. Besides, CLIL "provides a better vehicle for authentic language exposure and production in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts" (Pinner, 2013, p. 49). This increased authenticity is hypothesised to lead to an increase in engagement and motivation in the learning. In short, a CLIL approach is mostly advocated as a means of increasing exposure to authentic content, thus potentially increasing motivation to learn.

Authenticity is frequently referred to as a defining aspect of CLIL. Many experts assert that "authenticity is not just an important feature of CLIL methodology and practice, but actually a defining aspect of the entire approach and one of its greatest strengths over other foreign language instruction pedagogies such as CLT or TBL" (Pinner, 2013, p. 53). The term 'authentic' however, is problematic because it is marred by a conceptual looseness which at times seems to make it difficult to define. Dalton-Puffer (2007) explains that one of the main advantages of CLIL is that content subjects give rise to 'real communication' by tapping into a great reservoir of ideas, concepts and meanings, allowing for natural use of the target language (TL). He goes on to say that

> [I]n this sense, CLIL is the ultimate dream of Communicative Language Teaching [CLT]… and Task Based Learning [TBL]… rolled into one: there is no need to design individual tasks in order to foster goal-directed linguistic activity with a focus on meaning above form, since CLIL itself is one huge task which ensures the use of the foreign language for 'authentic communication'. (Dalton-Puffer, 2007, p. 3)

One of the advantages of CLIL is that it also fosters 'diversification of learning' through creative and critical thinking. In that regard, lower-order and higher-order thinking skills (i.e. LOTS and HOTS), and Gardner's multiple intelligences can be relevant here. When we are teaching CLIL or cross-curricular content, it is likely that we will draw on more of the intelligences. The linguistic intelligence which is prevalent in language teaching can be supported by the intelligences required for particular subjects so that, for example, the musical, kinaesthetic, and logical/mathematical intelligences are on a more equal footing (Deller & Price 2007, p. 7).

Although both language and content are important in CLIL, we organize lessons on the basis of content. However, CLIL is successful when the content and the language are closely connected. For example, if the students are learning about the life-cycle of a butterfly, they will focus on the language we use to describe a process, such as the present simple, time adverbials (*first, after that*, etc.) and the specific vocabulary they need (*leaf, egg, larvae, caterpillar, pupa*, etc.). The language in CLIL may not be the usual list of grammar items that we expect to see in coursebooks. Instead, we only teach what the students need for the content of the lesson (Harmer, 2012, p. 226).

Anchoring into previous learning is also an important part of CLIL, since "it is our existing knowledge base and our current level of understanding that provide the underpinning for new learning" (Mehisto et al., 2008, p. 141). Coyle et al. (2010, p. 96) state that familiar language can be used to scaffold new content, or familiar content can be used to scaffold new language. However, CLIL is not about using a foreign language to re-teach what students already know. Familiar language and/or content can therefore be used as a way of reminding students what they already know, but then the teacher has to move on to new language and/or content (ibid.). They illustrate this graphically with the following figure:

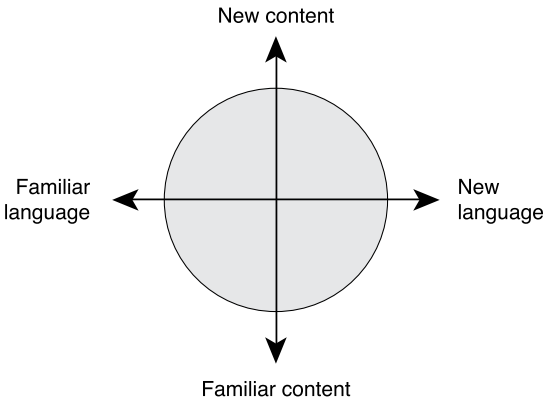

Figure 9: Content and language familiarity and novelty continuum (based on Coyle et al., 2010, p. 95)

Coyle et al. (2010, p. 43) argue that it is likely that the students' cognitive and language levels will be mismatched. In order for the learning to be effective, learners need to be sufficiently cognitively challenged while also receiving an appropriate amount of linguistic support. It should be noted that once students reach a relatively high proficiency level in the target language, they need something more than "a re-hash of what they have already learnt" (Maley, 2007, p. 3). We need to give them at least short bursts of comprehensible input.

In conventional foreign language teaching, the key features are usually controlled input and practice of language points. In subject teaching, however, the methodology is different, although, according to Harmer (2012, p. 226), there isn't a lot of difference between good general language teaching and the teaching techniques which are necessary for successful CLIL lessons. Some of the features that lie at the core of CLIL methodology are as follows (Harmer, 2012, pp. 226–227):

- encouraging social interaction in the classroom;
- peer co-operative work (students working in pairs and groups);
- a safe and enriching learning environment;
- a focus on student interests;
- authenticity;

- teachers supporting students by scaffolding their learning;[5]
- encouraging students to use metacognitive skills (i.e. to think about how they learn);
- active learning;
- fostering creative and critical thinking (lower-order and higher-order thinking skills; i.e. LOTS and HOTS)

As the CLIL content dictates the language demands, we have to analyse the language demands of a given lesson and give the learners the language support that they need. At the lower grades, the emphasis is likely to be more on receptive than productive skills (Deller & Price, 2007, p. 9). It is clear that in CLIL we have to include more strategies to support understanding and learning by using visuals such as pictures, charts and diagrams. And last but not least, there is no reason to abandon the use of the mother tongue where it can be used as a support and learning tool. In reality, much code-switching will take place and that is perfectly natural, particularly in the lower grades.

The distinction between CLIL methodologies and those of more traditional EFL instruction, such as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and Task-Based Learning (TBL), is that CLIL is about teaching something else through the target language as a medium of instruction (Pinner, 2013, p. 51). So, what CLIL does is very similar to Task-Based Learning (TBL), a communication-to-language approach, where students '*use a language to learn it*', assuming that out of fluency develops accuracy. This is in stark contrast to the *Presentation-Practice-Production* (PPP) approach, which moves *from language to communication* and where students '*learn a language to use it*'.

[5] Mehisto et al. (2008, p. 139) describe scaffolding as "a sheltered learning technique that helps students feel emotionally secure, motivates them and provides the building blocks – such as language or background knowledge – needed to do complex work". Banegas (2012, p. 113) points out that "scaffolding can take the form of asking questions, activating prior knowledge, creating a motivating context, encouraging participation, offering hints, and feedback". Deller and Price (2007, p. 9) suggest that students can be provided with support in the form of visuals (e.g. pictures, diagrams, charts). Dale and Tanner (2012, p. 31) stress that scaffolding should be provided for both language and content learning. Scaffolding is especially important when it comes to learning new academic language that the students require in order to discuss topics related to a particular subject (Gondová, 2015, p. 155).

It is obvious, however, that the language gains in CLIL lessons may not be entirely or automatically attributable to the content itself, but more to the teaching methodology. This refers both to CLIL and non-CLIL lessons. A tightly teacher-led class, mostly in explanatory or corrective mode, with all communication conducted through the teacher, is likely to lead to fewer language gains than a task-driven approach with learners working in groups (Kerr, 2022, p. 15).

The discussion of the theory behind the CLIL methodology therefore leads in the direction of implementing a fresh approach to integrating content and language teaching, moving away from the traditional EFL instruction and the PPP model towards a more TBL-focused model of using language to learn it. However, theory does not always directly translate into practice. According to Skela and Burazer (2021), the lag between theory and practice coincides with the difference between two broad approaches to teaching a language – the 'strong' and 'weak' versions of CLT. The former moves *from communication to language*, and the latter *from language to communication* (Edge & Garton, 2009, pp. 17–19). An analysis of the CLIL materials included in a selected number of coursebooks currently used in Slovenian primary schools (cf. Mojškrc, 2022) exemplifies this very dichotomy between theory and practice. According to the cited research, a close look at the content of CLIL pages reveals that, even though some authors (cf. Benegas, 2012, in Mojškrc 2022, p. 54) claim that "the content in CLIL should be connected to the rest of the school curriculum […]", it turns out that "[o]ut of the 35 analysed lessons, 8 are not mentioned in a syllabus for a Slovenian primary school subject". Furthermore, the materials typically associate the CLIL lesson with only one school subject, despite the fact that a more detailed analysis shows that most CLIL topics are usually subject to mentions in multiple syllabi, which presupposes the possibility of students' familiarity with the topic of the CLIL lesson. This overlap, in turn, might diminish their level of interest and engagement. The analysis shows this to be the case in 11 out of the 35 [analysed] CLIL lessons (Mojškrc, 2022, p. 55).

Another important finding refers to the language aspect of CLIL materials and the related internal organisation of the lesson, where an imbalance in representation of the four skills has been noted. With the exception of one coursebook (*Sprint 4*, Moore & Lewis, 2017), the main stress in CLIL materials is on developing reading skills, while listening skills are least represented or even simply left out (e.g. *Think 4*,

Puchta et al., 2022; and *Wider World 4*, Gaynor et al., 2017). The research also reveals that "none of the analyzed materials focus on higher-order thinking skills more than on lower-order thinking skills and some materials do not involve higher-order thinking skills at all." (ibid., p. 57), suggesting that the analyzed coursebooks can be placed more towards the language-led end of the continuum.

In the context of the above cited evidence, we can conclude that the CLIL section in primary school coursebooks occupies a 'segregated section', a slot that within the structure of a coursebook unit represents a sort of "add-on" (cf. the visualisation in Figure 10).

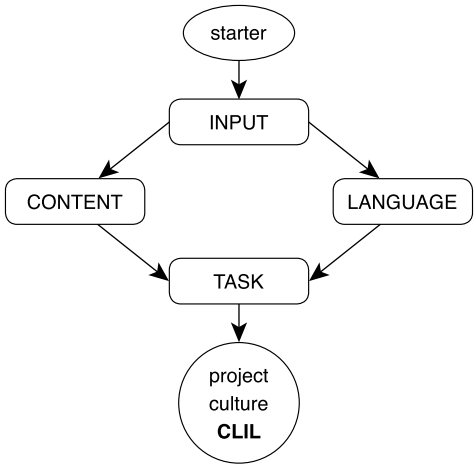

Figure 10: A coursebook unit structure model (based on Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, p. 118)

In practice, as it turns out, the structure of CLIL units is not in fact based on purely CLIL principles, but rather on a simple PPP model (which has been the case in most coursebooks since the 1970s; cf. Skela & Burazer, 2021) that prepares students for additional tasks in the form of a project, a culture-related assignment or CLIL. Despite existing for four long decades, CLT still hasn't conquered its challenges, thus justifying the coursebook authors' effort "for the 'best case' 'surface methodologies' with the widest potential appeal" (Crewe, 2011, p. 49). Even with the emergence of more open-ended and flexible approaches to developing language-learning materials, such as a text-driven approach, a task-based approach; a multi-

dimensional approach (e.g. use of sensory imaging); discovery approaches; and similar (cf. Tomlinson & Masuhara, 2018, p. 35), a successful move away from discrete teaching points and towards a focus on language in use has yet to be achieved. The process of incorporating these 'alternative' approaches into ELT coursebooks seems to be hindered by market appeal, clearly overriding their pedagogical or theoretical worth. As Littlejohn (2012) puts it, "we are witnessing the 'colonising' impact of *McDonaldization* on the design of language teaching materials". The trends that currently dominate the ELT world no longer seem to be "prompted so much by research evidence but by the important aspects of social context – notably globalization and the global pre-eminence of English" (Skela 2019, in Skela & Burazer 2021, p. 401).

In the particular context of CLIL, "the relevance of materials and textbooks has been repeatedly advocated in literature as a factor for successful CLIL implementation" (Martín del Pozo & Rascón Estébanez, 2015, p. 127). However, truly content-driven CLIL coursebooks remain a niche market, and many European teachers lament the scarcity of suitable CLIL materials and report this as one of the main difficulties in implementation (ibid.).

There are some coursebooks, however, that have been designed in a way that foregrounds content, and backgrounds language. In other words, these are materials that are acquisition-focused rather than learning-focused. Some of these materials focus primarily on the content curriculum, with language curriculum being disregarded or very diluted; some, on the other hand, have a good balance of both as it is believed that the CLIL approach could be improved by the explicit teaching of language (Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Clegg, 2007). Some fairly early CLIL-like coursebooks, typically aimed at young learners, are as follows: *Zig Zag* (Byrne & Waugh, 1981); The *Snap!* series (Barbisan et al., 1983, 1984); *Time for English* (Vincent et al., 1984); The *Stepping Stones* series (Ashworth & Clark, 1989, 1990); The *Buzz* series (Revell & Seligson, 1993, 1995; Revell, 1996); The *Cambridge English for schools* series (Littlejohn & Hicks, 1996, 1997); The *Macmillan English Language* series (Bowen et al., 2006, 2007), etc.[6]

[6] Some of these coursebooks have been authorized for use in Slovenian mainstream primary-schools (e.g. The *Cambridge English for schools* series, Littlejohn & Hicks, 1996, 1997).

7 Conclusion: Final thoughts

The article's implicit worth and its unequivocal authenticity lies primarily in its unprecedented approach to the analysis of the acronym CLIL. As rife as its use may be, the acronym's quintessential meaning has often been overlooked or glossed over by near synonyms, featuring as its equivalent counterparts. In the present article, this issue has been highlighted in several sections throughout the analysis and finally crowned by the focused and detailed consideration of the components of the CLIL approach, which are individually showcased, with a detailed presentation of their respective paradigms and contextualisation within the proposed framework.

The analytical angle on the ELT coursebooks used in Slovenian primary schools unveils a somewhat unusual discovery that the *Presentation-Practice-Production* (PPP) approach is still at the foreground of coursebook structure, leading to the conclusion that these materials are learning-focused rather than acquisition-focused. On closer inspection, the analysis of the CLIL sections reveals that these are typically added at the end of each unit or even in a special section at the back of the coursebook, indicating that the included CLIL content is merely an add-on, an extra to be dealt with if time permits. Within the outlined context, and based on the premise that teaching decisions are based largely on the coursebooks, it comes as no surprise that the latter may create a 'dependency culture' in which coursebooks can, in a manner of speaking, absolve teachers of responsibility. As such, coursebooks may be perceived as integral in indicating what methods should be used, they may be the primary source of teaching ideas, they can train teachers, and, finally, they can serve as a powerful resource for methodological development of teachers. If this is so, then it follows that the way current ELT coursebooks are used in Slovenian primary schools does not 'train' teachers to successfully step up to CLIL implementation. Even though coursebooks are not, design-wise, acquisition-focused, the segregated CLIL sections may still have positive effects: the coursebook-embedded CLIL content may still promote acquisition if CLIL lessons are carried out by using the teaching techniques which are necessary for successful CLIL lessons; CLIL content can still be used as a vehicle for authentic language exposure and production, which can, in turn, lead to an increase in engagement and motivation in learning.

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