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Summary in English

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is an innovative method of second or foreign language teaching developed for responding to the needs of our globalized world that demands for improved second language and communication skills. In this approach a second or foreign language is used for the teaching and learning of both content as well as language. This thesis deals with the language aspect of CLIL, to be more precise, it looks at the four language skills, namely speaking, writing, listening, and reading, in CLIL. The aim of this paper is to investigate Austrian CLIL classrooms and to find out how much time is allocated to each language skill and how these four skills get promoted in CLIL lessons.

In a theoretical part, the thesis examines the broad concept of CLIL as well as the four language skills in order to prepare a framework for the empirical study. The first half of this theory part discusses CLIL by considering its origins and basic principles and describes different variants of CLIL. Further, it deals with six theories of second language acquisition in CLIL and offers a literature review on CLIL research. The second half is dedicated to the language skills and provides a compact overview of each of the four skills, which are speaking, writing, listening, and reading.

The empirical part of this paper provides insights into CLIL practice by presenting a classroom based research. Seventeen lessons were observed in three Viennese schools in order to find out how the four language skills are distributed in an average Austrian CLIL classroom. A structured observation schedule with thirty-three categories was used for conducting the classroom observation and gathering the data.

Based on these observations, it is argued in this thesis that Austrian CLIL lessons obviously take place in an Austrian educational context and thus CLIL lessons share many characteristics with mainstream content lessons. The observed CLIL classrooms are characterised by a teacher-led whole class discussion which implies only limited student talking time but increased opportunities for listening. This shortage of active student involvement clearly clashes with the theoretical intentions of CLIL. Moreover, the skills of reading and writing are employed only randomly during the seventeen CLIL lessons. However, the observed CLIL classrooms show a high number of native teachers and therefore these CLIL lessons offer students rich contact with native speech in the target language.

Summary in German – Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch

CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) ist eine innovative Methode für das Lehren von Fremdsprachen, welche entwickelt wurde, um den Ansprüchen unserer globalisierten Welt, die stets nach verbesserten Fremdsprachenkenntnissen und Kommunikationsfähigkeiten verlangt, gerecht zu werden. Bei diesem Ansatz geht es um das Lernen in einer Fremdsprache, bei dem Fachinhalte und Sprache zugleich erworben werden sollen. Diese Diplomarbeit beschäftigt sich insbesondere mit dem Sprachaspekt von CLIL oder konkret mit den vier Kompetenzen Sprechen, Schreiben, Hören und Lesen. Dafür wurde CLIL-Unterricht an Wiener Schulen beobachtet und dabei versucht zu erheben, wie viel Zeit jeder einzelnen Kompetenz im Unterricht zugesprochen wird und wie diese Kompetenzen angewendet werden.

In einem theoretischen Teil werden zunächst die Methode „CLIL“ und die vier zentralen Kompetenzen vorgestellt, um damit einen Rahmen für die folgende empirische Studie zu schaffen. Die erste Hälfte dieses theoretischen Teils diskutiert CLIL in Ursprung und Prinzip sowie in seinen unterschiedlichen Formen. Die zweite Hälfte widmet sich den vier Kompetenzen, um einen Überblick darüber zu bieten.

Der empirische Teil gewährt dann konkrete Einblicke in die CLIL-Praxis durch die Vorstellung der von mir durchgeführten Studie zum CLIL-Unterricht. Dafür wurden 17 Unterrichtseinheiten an drei unterschiedlichen Wiener Schulen beobachtet und versucht aufzuzeigen, mit welcher Gewichtung die jede der vier Kompetenzen in einem gewöhnlichen österreichischen CLIL-Unterricht vorkommen. Dazu wurde ein strukturierter Beobachtungsbogen mit insgesamt 33 Kategorien ausgearbeitet.

Die Conclusio meiner Arbeit lautet, dass österreichischer CLIL-Unterricht, da er im Rahmen des österreichischen Schulsystems stattfindet, nach wie vor vieles mit dem herkömmlichen Sachunterricht teilt. Die beobachteten CLIL-Klassenzimmer waren geprägt von vom Lehrer geleiteten Unterrichtsgesprächen, bei denen die Schüler_innen hauptsächlich die Rolle der Zuhörenden einnahmen und ihnen kaum Möglichkeit geboten wurde, selbst zu sprechen. Dieser Mangel an aktiver Schüler_innenbeteiligung widerspricht ganz klar den theoretischen Absichten von CLIL. Des Weiteren werden die Fertigkeiten Lesen oder Schreiben nur gelegentlich im Unterricht angewendet. Auffallend ist jedoch auch die hohe Zahl an „native“ CLIL-Lehrer_innen, die ihren Schüler_innen damit einen verhältnismäßig „natürlichen“ Kontakt mit der Zweit- oder Fremdsprache ermöglichen.

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1 Introduction

“The political, technological, economic and social realities of the modern world have led and continue to lead to more contact between more people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds than ever before” (Dalton-Puffer & Smit 2007: 7). Our globalized world with its increased mobility and our information society call for improved second language and communication skills. Thus, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) has been developed as an innovative method for responding to present-day needs (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 4-5).

Content and Language Integrated Learning, hereinafter abbreviated as CLIL, “is a dual-focussed educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language” (Maljers, Marsh & Wolff 2007: 8). However, CLIL is not only groundbreaking due to fusing content and language learning, which were fragmented before, but also because it represents a new way for second or foreign language learning.

Classroom communication is at the core of learning in CLIL lessons and thus students are supposed to be active participants since meaningful interaction is crucial for acquiring language competence. Furthermore, CLIL intends to promote genuine communication in the target language because this boosts the learners’ motivation. Moreover, language use in authentic interactive settings leads to a subtle overlap between intentional language learning and incidental language acquisition (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 11; 35).

This language teaching method receives great support from very different angles, from high-level policy as well as grass roots actions. CLIL enjoys increasing popularity not only in Austria but in the whole of Europe. Despite this enthusiasm among local as well as international politicians, researchers, teachers, students and their parents, the question arises whether CLIL really lives up to its promise. Do CLIL students enjoy autonomy and get the opportunity for being active participants? Do CLIL lessons offer meaningful interaction and promote genuine communication in the vehicular language? Does CLIL equally keep the balance between different aspects of language use? CLIL theory promises all these but how does reality look like? What would a reality check in Austrian CLIL classrooms reveal? To put it in a nutshell, is CLIL really as groundbreaking as it is promoted?

Looking at present CLIL research, the answer is pretty clear, namely the supremacy of CLIL. A proper literature review on current research can be found in chapter 3. Most studies report as a recurring outcome that CLIL is beneficial and that it has a positive influence on the students' language competence. However, one must strongly admit that "[e]mpirical studies on the effectiveness of CLIL on the mastery of the second language are very scarce in Europe" (Jiménez Catalán & Ruiz de Zarobe 2009: 83). According to Dalton-Puffer and Nikula (2006a: 5) truly international research focusing on CLIL has just developed about ten years ago. Since then CLIL has been approached from a variety of perspectives even though some aspects have received closer attention than others and some have even been neglected until now. However, for attaining a comprehensive view of CLIL, investigations are needed into various lines of research.

Because of the extremely positive research outcomes, which promise CLIL a very good reputation but might sound too good to be true, as well as the gaps in CLIL research, I decided to investigate CLIL more closely and to conduct an empirical study. The aim of this thesis is to explore an uncharted territory of CLIL research and to provide a useful contribution to the research-based knowledge of the issues involved in CLIL. My personal research interest is devoted to the occurrence of the four language skills, which are speaking, writing, listening, and reading, in CLIL lessons. This particular aspect of research, namely CLIL classroom interaction with a specific focus on the language skills, has been neglected so far, consequently it represents a research gap which this paper may close.

This thesis on the four language skills in CLIL is divided into two parts. The first part of the paper represents a textual analysis which provides a theoretical framework of CLIL as well as the four language skills and thus prepares for the second part, namely the presentation as well as analysis of the empirical study. In detail, chapter 2 addresses the broad concept CLIL and offers a theoretical foundation as well as approaches CLIL from various perspectives. Chapter 3 represents a literature review on CLIL research focusing on product-oriented micro studies, which evaluate the language learning outcomes of CLIL by contrasting CLIL and non-CLIL students, and on process-oriented micro studies, which focus on classroom interaction and classroom discourse. In chapter 4 a compact overview of each of the four language skills, namely speaking, writing, listening, and reading is provided. The second part of the thesis deals with the empirical study and investigates how much time is allocated

to each language skill and how these skills get promoted in CLIL lessons. This part starts with a presentation of the method of the investigation, namely classroom observation, as well as its material, that is observational schedules, and a description of the three Viennese schools involved in the classroom research. Finally, the observational schedules are evaluated and the results of the study are portrayed as well as interpreted.

2 Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

This paper starts with providing a theoretical foundation of the broad concept Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and looks at the method of CLIL from various perspectives. As a first move, the term CLIL is defined followed by a description of a contextualised framework and six CLIL related language learning theories. The next step is to describe different variants of CLIL and to clarify its most important roots. Finally, the present situation of CLIL in Austria is looked at in greater detail.

2.1 Defining CLIL

The acronym CLIL stands for Content and Language Integrated Learning. CLIL "is a dual-focussed educational approach in which an **additional language** is used for the learning and teaching of both content *and* language. That is, in the teaching and learning process, there is a focus not only on content, and not only on language" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 1, original emphasis). These two are interwoven with each other but there can be an emphasis on one or the other. However, CLIL is groundbreaking because it fuses elements which were fragmented before (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 1; 4).

The CLIL vehicular language can be any additional language, which is usually a foreign language that learners mainly encounter at school but it can also be a second language or even a community language. Despite the fact that every language can be used as CLIL target language, English is the most popular vehicular language in non-Anglophone regions. Globalization demands people to communicate with each other but time allocated to language learning is often limited because of pressure from other curricular subjects or obligations. "Successful language learning can be achieved when people have the opportunity to receive instruction, and at the same time experience real-life situations in which they can acquire the language more naturalistically" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 11). Moreover, this leads to a subtle overlap between intentional language learning and incidental language acquisition because it boosts the learners' motivation. The goal of language learning includes language using and this "emphasizes the importance of using language in authentic interactive settings in order to develop communicative skills" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh

2010: 33). CLIL makes use of several language-supportive methodologies but it is different from language-teaching approaches because of being content-driven and thus represents a dual-focused form of instruction (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 1; 3; 9; 11).

CLIL as a dual-focused approach has to keep the balance between content and language learning but this can be quite complex because in a CLIL classroom the students' language level is usually lower than their cognitive level. "Ensuring that learners will be cognitively challenged yet linguistically supported to enable new dialogic learning to take place requires strategic and principled planning. [...] [I]t involves analysing in depth the type of language needed for effective learning" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 43). As a consequence, CLIL teachers need to take on a great amount of extra work and they usually show a high pedagogical interest as well as motivation (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula & Smit 2010b: 282).

There are different ways of practicing CLIL because it has to be adapted for each teaching situation. Each country with its specific socio-cultural setting or educational policies, every school type, differences in the students' age or proficiency level demand for a different approach. CLIL is a very flexible approach and can be adapted to various contexts as well as it can take on a wide range of organizational forms. Thus, CLIL has to be seen as an umbrella term which covers several educational approaches.

> [S]uch a flexible inclusive approach to CLIL is both a strength and potential weakness. The strength of CLIL focuses on integrating content and language learning in varied, dynamic and relevant learning environments built on 'bottom-up' initiatives as well as 'top-down' policy. Its potential weakness lies in the interpretation of this 'flexibility' unless it is embedded in a robust contextualised framework with clear aims and projected outcomes. (Coyle 2007: 546)

The chapter below will describe such a contextualised framework namely Coyle's 4Cs Framework which represents a theoretical basis for different forms of CLIL.

2.2 4Cs Framework

Coyle (2007) developed the 4Cs Conceptual Framework which views CLIL from a holistic perspective and integrates different aspects. "[It] integrates four contextualized building blocks: **content** (subject matter), **communication** (language learning and using), **cognition** (learning and thinking process) and **culture**

(developing intercultural understanding and global citizenship)" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 41, original emphasis).

> The framework goes beyond considering subject matter and language as two separate elements but rather positions content in the 'knowledge of learning' domain (integrating content and cognition) and language, a culture bound phenomenon, as a medium for learning (integrating communication and intercultural understanding). [...] It takes account of 'integration' on different levels: learning (content and cognition), language learning (communication and cultures) and intercultural experiences. (Coyle 2007: 549-550)

Coyle (2007: 551) views her framework not as a theory but as a conceptualisation of CLIL. As Figure 1 shows, all of the four conceptual elements of CLIL, namely content, cognition, culture as well as communication, are interwoven with each other and form the educational basis for all variants of CLIL.

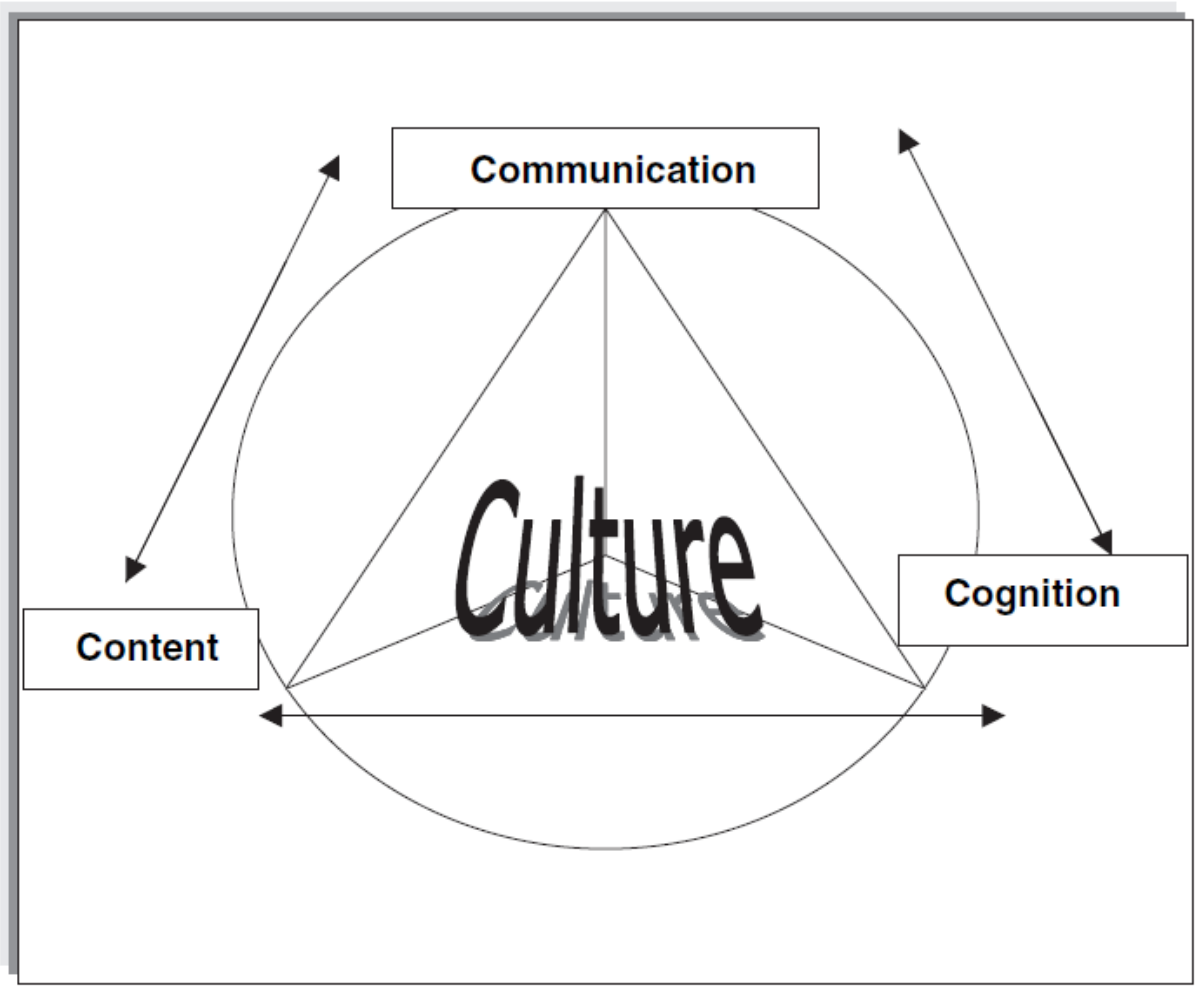

Figure 1: The 4C Framework for CLIL (Coyle 2007: 551)

In the following subchapters each of the four Cs, namely content, cognition, culture, and communication will be described. However, it has to be said that the emphasis

lies on communication due to the fact that this thesis investigates the language skills, which are speaking, writing, listening, and reading.

2.2.1 Content

Content in a CLIL context can be a discipline from a traditional school curriculum. The Eurydice Report (2006: 26) lists the most frequently chosen curricular subjects for CLIL in Europe. Among the science subjects are mathematics, biology, physics, chemistry, as well as technology and the most preferred social science subjects are history, geography, or economics. Music as well as plastic and visual arts are the most taught artistic subjects. Consequently, CLIL lessons at school are typically scheduled as content lessons and they are taught on the basis of the already existing national curricula. In addition to that, the target language is also a subject in its own right as a foreign language subject (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula & Smit 2010a: 1-2).

However, according to Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010: 27), "[t]he concept of what constitutes content in a CLIL context is much more flexible than selecting [...] curricular subjects" because the context of the learning institution defines content in CLIL. The choice of content is influenced by contextual variables like the age or language level of the learners, teacher availability, and language support.

> Content can range from the delivery of elements taken directly from a statutory national curriculum to a project based on topical issues drawing together different aspects of the curriculum [...]. Content in a CLIL setting could also be thematic, cross-curricular, interdisciplinary or have a focus on citizenship, for example. (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 28)

The content of CLIL can be located within or beyond the school curriculum and how exactly the content will look like depends on whether the CLIL context demands for a more language-led, content-led or balanced approach. Nevertheless, CLIL content should offer opportunities "to initiate and enrich learning, skill acquisition and development" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 28).

2.2.2 Cognition

The teaching tradition in Western and Eastern societies is teacher-controlled, which means that the teacher has the role of the expert and transfers knowledge to the rather passive learners. However, Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010: 29) claim that CLIL

supports social-constructivist learning which invites learners to take over an active role and calls for social interaction. According to the theoretical intentions of CLIL, it represents a student-led approach in which learners are cognitively engaged and they get the possibility to think on their own, make choices, or to reason. Effective content learning can only take place when learners are intellectually challenged and when they get the opportunity to apply their knowledge through problem solving or creative thinking (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 28-30). CLIL is supposed to activate deep learning which "involves the critical analysis of new ideas, connecting them to already-known concepts and leads to understanding and long-term retention of those concepts so that they can be used for problem solving in unfamiliar contexts" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 39).

2.2.3 Culture

Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010: 39) explain the connection between culture and language as follows: "culture determines the way we interpret the world, and [...] we use language to express this interpretation [...]. This means that language is not only part of how we define culture, it also reflects culture".

Coyle (2007: 550-551) locates culture at the core of her framework and states that intercultural learning as well as understanding permeate CLIL teaching or learning. Moreover, CLIL can be seen as a door opener for intercultural experiences because it raises awareness of 'otherness' and 'self' as well as mediates between different cultures.

> Culture associated with language cannot be 'learned' in a few lessons about celebrations, folk songs, or costumes of the area in which the language is spoken. Cultural awareness may focus on *knowledge about* different cultures, but the move towards intercultural understanding involves different experiences. [....] It starts with raising awareness about one's own cultures, including culturally learned attitudes and behaviours. (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 39-40, original emphasis)

CLIL induces an intercultural dialogue in which learners need to develop competences in analysing social processes or outcomes. In interactive settings CLIL students can demonstrate their cultural knowledge, attitudes as well as skills (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 40).

2.2.4 Communication

Classroom communication is at the core of learning in CLIL lessons. CLIL students are supposed to be active participants because meaningful interaction is crucial for acquiring knowledge. This 'dialogic form of pedagogy' is an essential part in CLIL classrooms (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 35). "In the 4Cs Framework, the terms 'language' and 'communication' are used interchangeably. This is not only a syntactical device for promoting the C concepts, but also a strategy for promoting genuine communication in the vehicular language" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 42). CLIL students are not only supposed to learn an additional language but rather to develop communication skills and this is best done via actively communicating in the target language.

In a CLIL context the role of language needs to be reconceptualised from language learning 'per se' towards a combination of "learning to use language and using language to learn" (Coyle 2007: 552). The Language Triptych (Figure 2), a conceptual representation, connects content and language objectives because it combines the language as a subject with the language as vehicular for content learning (Coyle 2007: 552 and Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 36). "It supports learners in language using through the analysis of the CLIL vehicular language from three interrelated perspectives: language ***of*** learning, language ***for*** learning and language ***through*** learning" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 36, original emphasis).

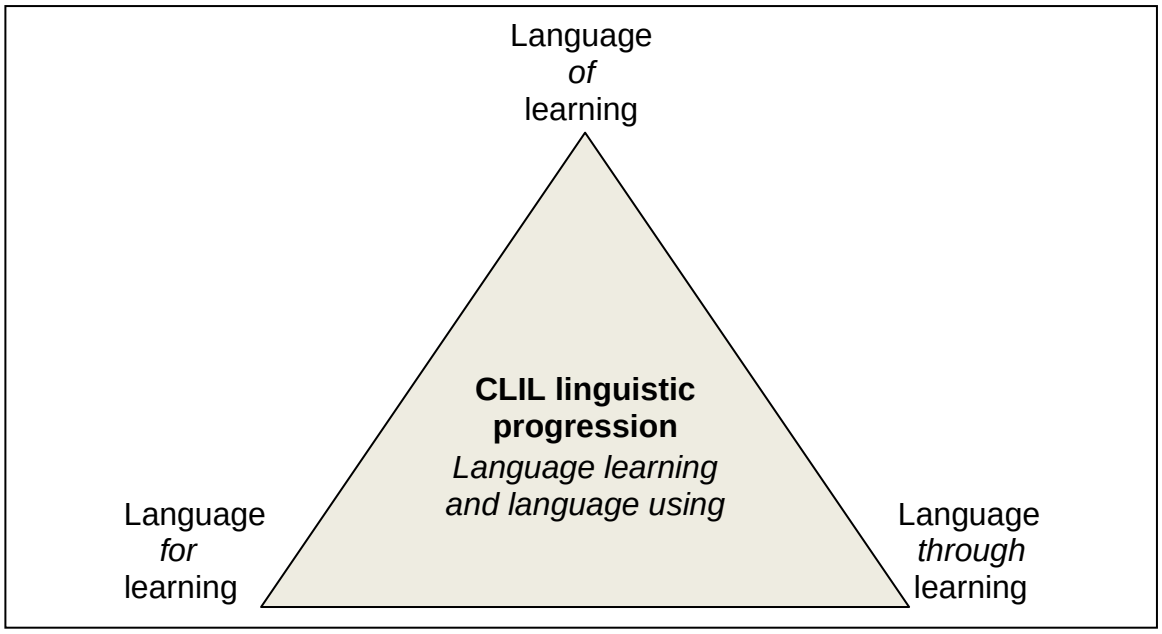

Figure 2: The Language Triptych (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 36)

Language *of* learning is needed by CLIL students "to access basic concepts and skills related to the subject theme or topic. [...] [A]n analysis of the language needed to scaffold content learning will lead to a complementary approach to learning progression" (Coyle 2007: 553). This means that grammatical elements, for instance the use of tenses, are not taught according to their difficulty but according to their functional need required by the content. Learners get the opportunity to acquire language in an authentic context and to use language in meaningful interaction (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 37).

Language *for* learning "focuses on the kind of language which all learners need in order to operate in a foreign language using environment. It foregrounds metacognition and learning how to learn" (Coyle 2007: 553). In CLIL classes students ought to acquire skills which are needed for pair or group work, like debating, asking, or memorizing, for example. Furthermore, they need a repertoire of speech acts which help them to describe or evaluate because these are vital for carrying out tasks appropriately. Quality learning can only take place when the participants know the language for supporting each other or for being supported (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 37).

Language *through* learning "is based on the principle that effective learning cannot take place without active involvement of language and thinking. When learners are encouraged to articulate their understanding, then a deeper level of learning takes place" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 37). CLIL students need language to improve their thinking skills and they need to acquire new knowledge as well as advance their thinking process for supporting their language learning. Language learning is "based on an upward spiral for progression rather than step-by-step grammatical chronology" because the progression is achieved through comprehending emerging language as needed by the students (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 38).

2.3 Second Language Learning in CLIL

The present subchapter is devoted to theoretical approaches to second language learning and acquisition which are linked with CLIL. For making an appropriate choice out of the numerous theories this selection of approaches is based on Dalton-

Puffer's (2007: 258-292) discussion of second language learning theories related to CLIL. First, three input-output theories, namely Krashen's Monitor Model, Long's Interaction Hypothesis and Swain's Output Hypothesis will be explored followed by two participation-based theories, namely Givon's Discourse Hypothesis and Sociocultural Theory by Vygotsky. Finally, Communicative Competence will be analysed in more detail. Dalton-Puffer (2007: 258) regards these approaches as "important to CLIL either because of having served as a conceptual backdrop in the conception of CLIL programmes, of having been used for researching CLIL education [...], or because of promising further insights about CLIL and the best ways to implement it".

2.3.1 Input-Output Theories

The Monitor Model is probably one of the most influential as well as most widely known theories of second language learning and acquisition. It was developed by Stephen Krashen between the 1970s and the early 1980s as the first theory specially generated for the field of second language acquisition. Krashen's Monitor Model consists of five interrelated hypotheses which are now considered in little detail. These hypotheses produce a theory in which comprehensible input is essential for language acquisition (Johnson 2001: 95 and VanPatten & Williams 2007: 25). Firstly, the Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis claims that adults have two separate and independent ways of gaining knowledge in a second language. On the one hand, language *acquisition* "is a subconscious process identical in all important ways to the process children utilize in acquiring their first language" (Krashen 1985: 1). On the other hand, language *learning* refers "to conscious knowledge of a second language, knowing the rules, being aware of them, and being able to talk about them" (Krashen 1982: 10). Language learning is not as important as acquisition because only the latter process enables language to be used for spontaneous or fluent communication (Lightbown & Spada 1999: 38). Secondly, the Natural Order Hypothesis

> states that we acquire the rules of language in a predicable order, some rules tending to come early and others late. The order does not appear to be determined solely by formal simplicity and there is evidence that it is independent of the order in which rules are taught in language classes. (Krashen 1985: 1)

Thirdly, the Monitor Hypothesis shows how learning is used in production. “Learning, conscious knowledge, serves only as an editor, or Monitor. We appeal to learning to make corrections, to change the output of the acquired system before we speak or write (or sometimes after we speak or write, as in self-correction)” (Krashen 1985: 1-2). Fourthly, in the Input Hypothesis Krashen (1982: 21 and 1985: 2) states that understanding comprehensible input is the only way for humans to acquire language. The acquirer needs to understand this input which means that s/he must focus on the meaning of the message instead of the form. “Comprehensible input is defined as L2 input just beyond the learner’s current L2 competence, in terms of its syntactic complexity. If a learner’s current competence is *i*, then comprehensible input is *i+1*, the next step in the developmental sequence” (Mitchell & Myles 1998: 38, original emphasis). Language production is the result but not the cause of acquisition. Thus, teaching speech in a direct way is impossible because output needs to arise from language competence built on comprehensible input (Krashen 1985: 2). Finally, the Affective Filter Hypothesis explains individual variations in second language acquisition.

> The ‘affective filter’ is a mental block that prevents acquirers from fully utilizing the comprehensible input they receive for language acquisition. When it is ‘up’, the acquirer may understand what he hears and reads, but the input will not reach the LAD [Language Acquisition Device]. This occurs when the acquirer is unmotivated, lacking in self-confidence, or anxious [...]. The filter is down when the acquirer is not concerned with the possibility of failure in language acquisition. (Krashen 1985: 3)

Despite the fact that Krashen’s Monitor Theory attracted heavy criticism for being too general or for lacking empirical testability, his writings have gained “wide currency among foreign language professionals who welcomed Krashen’s model as an intuitively appealing theoretical underpinning of Communicative Language Teaching” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 259). Krashen’s arguments against grammar-based methods made learners and teachers aware that second language development includes more than learning grammar rules but that it rather calls for meaningful interaction and a realistic communicative use of the target language (McLaughlin 1987: 48; 57).

> In this sense the idea of CLIL, with its emphasis on the meanings provided by the content subject, seemed to finally answer the description of a truly Natural Approach (Krashen and Terrell 1983) where language acquisition could run its course ‘naturally’ under meaningful and affectively positive conditions. (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 259)

At about the same time as Krashen, Michael H. Long developed another input-based theory which holds that an interaction with other speakers of the target language offers more comprehensible input for language learners than simplified input planned in advance because of the conversational adjustments that occur naturally in a two-way interaction. Thus, the Interaction Hypothesis regards the processes involved when language learners meet input, interact with other speakers, or obtain feedback. Even though Long (1996: 423) agrees with Krashen (1982 and 1985) that comprehensible input is necessary for language acquisition, he states that input alone is not enough because modified interaction is needed for L2 acquisition. "Communicative trouble can lead learners to recognize that a linguistic problem exists, switch their attentional focus from message to form, identify the problem, and notice the needed item in the input" (Long 1996: 425). Moreover, Long (1996: 413) thinks that interaction is extremely important because in conversations learners receive feedback about the correctness, positive evidence, or the incorrectness, negative evidence, of their utterances. This feedback is necessary for language acquisition because it alerts learners to the possibility of errors in their speech (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 259 and Gass & Mackey 2007: 176). To put it in a nutshell, Long's Interaction Hypothesis declares that modified input is necessary for language acquisition and this relationship is explained via three steps.

> Step 1: Show that (a) linguistic/ conversational adjustments promote (b) comprehension of input.
> Step 2: show that (b) comprehensible input promotes (c) acquisition.
> Step 3: Deduce that (a) linguistic/ conversational adjustments promote (c) acquisition. (Long 1985: 378)

These three steps represent an indirect causal relationship between (a) conversation including its adjustments and (c) acquisition.

While the previously discussed approaches of second language acquisition were reception based theories, Swain's Comprehensible Output Hypothesis is a production based theory which focuses on the importance of output that language learners produce when acquiring a second language. Swain does not deny that input is of critical importance for second language acquisition but "it is not enough to ensure that the outcome will be nativelike performance. [...] [W]hile comprehensible input and the concomitant emphasis on interaction in which meaning is negotiated (e.g., Long [...]) is essential, its impact [...] has been overstated" (Swain 1985: 236). This conviction that input alone is not enough for native-like language competence

derived from her research on French immersion programs in Canada. Immersion students perform as well as native speakers in comprehension skills which suggest that immersion students receive extensive comprehensible input but their productive skills, especially speaking, are significantly lower than those of native speakers (Swain 1985: 238-246). Based on this research Swain hypothesised that production is essential for acquisition in that "output may stimulate learners to move from the semantic, open-ended, non-deterministic, strategic processing prevalent in comprehension to the complete grammatical processing needed for accurate production" (Swain 1995: 128). Producing output in the target language supports acquisition in different ways and the three main functions of output are the noticing function, the hypothesis-testing function and the metalinguistic function. Firstly, Swain hypothesises that output stimulates noticing because when learners produce the target language they might have to face a linguistic problem and this raises their awareness of gaps in their language competence. Secondly, producing output supports language acquisition through hypothesis testing in that language learners have formulated a hypothesis about how the target language works and via speaking or writing they test their hypothesis. Thirdly, the metalinguistic function of output represents a reflective role of language production because reflecting upon the language use allows learners to control as well as internalize linguistic knowledge (Swain 1995: 125-126; 128-133).

Swain's claim that language learners need to produce comprehensible output for acquiring the target language and that typical classroom settings lack this opportunity is also true for CLIL classrooms. According to Dalton-Puffer's (2007) observations, CLIL classes offer students only limited opportunities for speaking and show a practical absence of writing, however, in Swain's (1995) view this should be changed because a way of teaching is required that allows both focusing on form and on meaning (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 261 and Swain 1995: 141).

2.3.2 Participation-Based Theories

The previously described hypotheses focus on the individual mind and thus belong to the cognitivist input-output SLA theories. Theorists of these approaches do not consider the context of input or output but centres the cognitive processes which are thought of being "pre-existent and even hard-wired in the individual mind, where

receiving input as well as producing output would be seen as a way to enhance the individual's cognitive processing levels, which would lead to improved language learning outcomes" (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 261). These input-output theories offer insights into the complex process of second language acquisition in CLIL but they cannot do full justice to it, hence they need to be complemented by participation-based theories (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 262; 277).

Givon's Discourse Hypothesis is categorized as a socio-participatory theory which views language not as purely cognitive but as a social phenomenon. "[L]anguage is learned through interacting with other social beings, who use language as a particularly powerful semiotic means for participating and performing in the activities and encounters of the social world" (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 262). Moreover, the Discourse Hypothesis states that only those varieties of language are acquired that are present in the discourse types language learners participate in. Hence, if language learners only participate in formal classroom discussion, they will only acquire that formal type of language. According to Dalton-Puffer (2002: 9), "this is an important point to consider in the formulation of curricular aims as well as in the discussion of authenticity issues in the context of English-medium instruction in Austria". CLIL classrooms represent a formal as well as institutional discourse which is very different from other discourse types and this influences language learning in CLIL (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 261-263).

Another approach that is important to language learning in CLIL is Sociocultural Theory. It has its origins in the writings of the Soviet developmental psychologist Lev Vygotsky who designed a general theory of learning and mental development rather than an approach of language acquisition (Mitchell & Myles 1998: 144). "Vygotsky's theory assumes that all cognitive development, including language development, arises as a result of social interactions between individuals. [...] [L]anguage acquisition actually takes place in the interactions of learner and interlocutor" (Lightbown & Spada 1999: 44).

> For Sociocultural Theory, then, the role of language is that of a tool mediating between the plane of social interaction and the plane of higher order mental processes. [...] Very importantly, language as the prime symbolic mediating tool is viewed as something which is in the first place located 'out there' in social interaction, in the dialogue between 'experts' and 'novices', and it is internalized and cognitivized only as the development of the individual mind progresses. (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 263-264)

Sociocultural theory offers many concepts applicable to second language teaching and learning such as the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) or scaffolding which are both strongly interlinked with internalization. Vygotsky (1978: 86) defined the ZPD as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers". Hence, the ZPD considers the dialogic relationship between novice and expert whose goal is to move the learner towards greater autonomy through scaffolded help. This process of supportive dialogue is called scaffolding. The metaphor of scaffolding describes the "linguistically mediated assistance from a parent or teacher [...]. The individual taking the mentoring role promotes the novice's appropriation of new knowledge by co-constructing it with him or her through shared activity" (Block 2003: 101). Scaffolding involves directing attention of the learners and providing modelling or guidance when solving successive steps of a problem (Haley & Austin 2004: 14 and Mitchell & Myles 1998: 145-147).

As has been mentioned above, Sociocultural Theory is a learning theory in general rather than one which focuses on language learning but this is actually one of its strengths because it integrates language and subject learning which is essential for CLIL. Moreover, Vygotsky's theory is not just an analytical tool but it also allows the application of research to practice which stresses its importance to the further development of CLIL (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 263 and Lantolf & Thorne 2007: 220).

2.3.3 Communicative Competence

Over the past decades several approaches of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) have become popular which are mostly based on Hymes' (1972) notion of communicative competence. Hymes was the first to speak against Chomsky's competence-performance dichotomy because

> what was needed was a characterization of not just how language is structured internally but also an explanation of language behaviour for given communicative goals. Therefore, he proposed the notion of *communicative competence*, which included both grammatical competence as well as the rules of language use in social context and the norms of appropriacy. From the 1980s on, various models of communicative competence have given specifications of the different components which should integrate the communicative competence construct. (Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006b: 267, original emphasis)

These models do not differ considerably and share major components so that the differences will not be explored here but a framework of communicative competence is presented which embraces the key aspects identified by several researchers. The key components, namely linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence are discussed in greater detail.

Linguistic Competence

Linguistic competence refers to the knowledge about all elements in the language system. It includes knowledge of syntax, morphological inflections, phonology, orthography, and lexical resources like formulaic constructions, collocations or phrases. These elements are regarded as the traditional realm of foreign language teaching but they are an integral part of communicative competence. “It has perhaps been a misconception about communicative language teaching that it does not aim for a high standard of formal correctness” (Hedge 2000: 47). Linguistic competence is the knowledge of the language itself and thus represents the basis of communicative competence (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 279-280 and Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006a: 13).

Sociolinguistic Competence

Sociolinguistic competence, which is called pragmatic competence in some models, refers to an understanding of the sociocultural rules of language use within a particular context and is comprised of two components namely pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. The former regards the appropriateness of form that is the knowledge about how to use linguistic resources including formality, politeness, and role relationships. The latter deals with the “knowledge of situational meanings in terms of social power, distance, degree of imposition, face wants and the like” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 280). A successful communication, whether it be spoken or written, requires language usage appropriate to the social context and language learners need to be aware of such social conventions (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 280 and Hedge 2000: 49).

Discourse Competence

Discourse competence concerns “the selection and sequencing of utterances or sentences to achieve a cohesive and coherent spoken or written text given a particular purpose and situational context” (Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006a: 17). In addition to that, it refers to the interpretation of these sentences or utterances and their interconnectedness as well as their relationship to the whole discourse. For written discourse language learners need to learn how to organize their ideas into a unified text and to interpret the usage of cohesive devices. A similar competence is needed for spoken discourse, mostly for monologues; however, participating in a conversation requires discourse competence as well (Hedge 2000: 51-52 and Richards & Rodgers 2001: 160).

Strategic Competence

Strategic competence is the knowledge of verbal and nonverbal communication strategies and their usage for avoiding communication breakdowns or overcoming limited language competence. Gaps in the language knowledge are compensated by changing the original intention or by using other means of expression. “Clearly the advantages of [...] taking risks with the language is that they keep the conversation going and may encourage the listener to provide the necessary language” (Hedge 2000: 53). Obviously, strategic competence is of particular importance for second language speakers (Hedge 2000: 52-53 and Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006a: 11; 18).

The concept of Communicative Competence is the foundation of all Communicative Language Teaching and thus it is also critical to CLIL because Dalton-Puffer (2007: 227-292) clearly characterized CLIL lessons as a communicative event.

> Subject content counts as ‘information’ and, since the transfer of information is widely seen as tantamount to communication, CLIL classrooms come to be regarded as more truly communicative events than language lessons and thus as excellent environments for gaining knowledge of language through participation. (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 278)

2.4 Different Forms of CLIL

As has been stated in the definition of CLIL, the acronym CLIL is a generic term which covers more than twenty educational approaches around the world. Even though the national terminology differs, they all share certain common methodologies. CLIL was designed as such an umbrella term in that it can capture new educational developments and develop them further (Maljers, Marsh & Wolff 2007: 8).

Which form CLIL actually takes depends on many variables and "[i]t may be useful to start by summarizing two of the key issues which schools need to consider before developing any particular model: the operating factors [...] and the scale of the CLIL programme" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 14). Among the operating factors are teacher availability, target language fluency, time availability, and assessment process. The starting point for designing a CLIL programme is the teacher availability and their language fluency because CLIL teachers should have qualifications for teaching the content but they also need to be proficient in the target language. Next, the amount of time available for CLIL decides on whether a long-term or a short-term model is chosen. Finally, the assessment process, which can focus on language only, content only or on both, content and language, influences the model design (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 14-15).

> The fundamental variable in this range of realization of CLIL seems to be a quantitative one, captured in the question 'how much foreign language exposure do students get?': CLIL programmes may be short-term or long-term, ranging from a sequence of lessons spanning a few weeks to entire school-years to entire school-careers. Within the time allotted, the intensity of foreign language deployment may vary considerably. (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula & Smit 2010a: 2)

In CLIL models which involve extensive instruction through the vehicular language, the content is almost exclusively taught via the target language but sometimes teachers switch into the students' first language to explain certain aspects of the language or vocabulary items. "Extensive instruction in the vehicular language requires that the curriculum be purpose-designed with objectives that not only lead to high levels of content mastery but also linguistic proficiency" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 15). Sometimes fifty percent or even more of the curriculum are taught through this model. At the other end of the scale, in partial instruction through the target language, "specific content, drawn from one or more subjects, is taught through CLIL

according to limited implementation periods – possibly less than five per cent of the whole curriculum will be taught through CLIL. In this case a project-based modular approach is often used" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 15). Partial instruction often makes use of 'bilingual blended instruction' which includes code-switching between the CLIL vehicular language and the learners' mother tongue. The systematic shift from one language to another for specific reasons is termed translanguaging and it leads to a 'dynamic form of bilingualism' (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 15-16).

The CLIL cline (Figure 3) gives an overview on the range of possibilities how CLIL can be practically implemented and indicates the intensity of foreign language deployment.

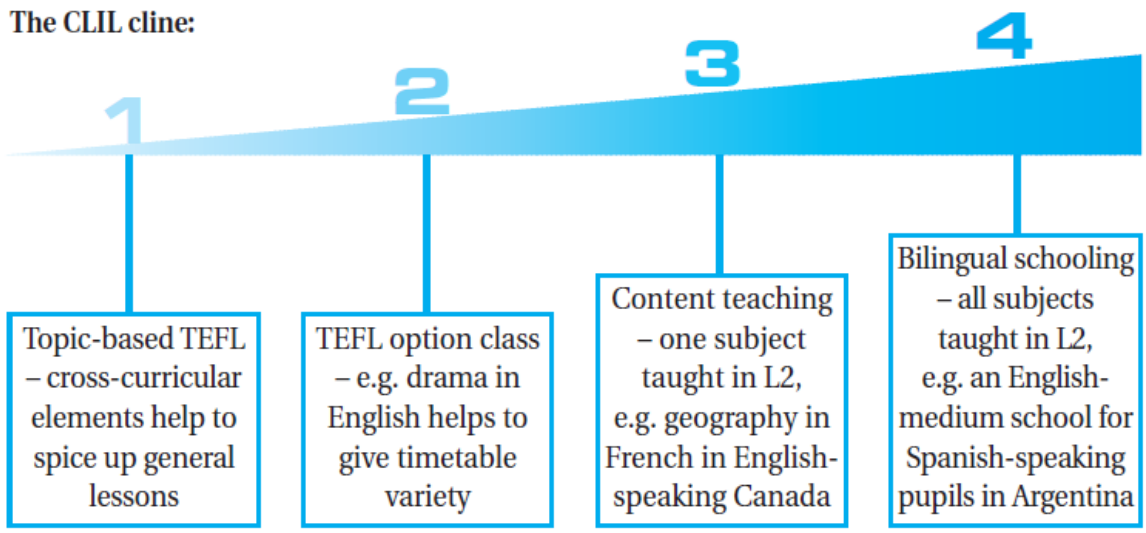

Figure 3: The CLIL cline (Bowler 2007: 7)

"At one end of the scale, the approach can mean including snippets of different subjects (cross-curricular and cross-cultural topics) within general [...] Foreign Language classes" (Bowler 2007: 7). At the other end, CLIL can mean teaching one or several subjects entirely through the vehicular language to students who are not native speakers of the target language (Bowler 2007: 7).

Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010: 16-24) outline characteristics of CLIL at different educational levels, namely pre-school, primary, secondary, and tertiary level.

At **pre-school level** (three to six years) typical CLIL models use a ludic approach which includes fun activities such as games or other play-based activities. "Whilst

they are aware that they are learning to listen to and use sounds and words from another language, their main focus is on the doing – be it playing, singing, drawing, building models or other activities" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 16). This learning environment is very authentic for children, however, CLIL at this early stage usually takes place in the private sector (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 16).

In **primary education** (five to twelve years) CLIL is seen as a 'pre-language-teaching primer' which should build a positive language attitude and raise motivation towards language learning. The interest in primary-level CLIL grows because the idea of early language learning progresses in popularity. "Views which hold that 'earlier is better' and that the introduction of an additional language should be as 'naturalistic as possible' following the framework of 'incidental learning' support the introduction of CLIL at an early stage" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 18).

More sophisticated CLIL models are possible in **secondary education** (eleven to nineteen years). Students have already developed learning skills, possess a higher cognitive level and they have better knowledge of the target language as well. Moreover, the use of new technologies can easily be integrated in CLIL lessons because teenagers are very motivated to use them for communication across languages. The school curriculum represents an appropriate environment for introducing CLIL but pressures of examinations complicate the usage of CLIL, especially in the upper secondary. The main aim of CLIL at this level is to prepare students for their later life at university or for their vocational future in which they may need the target language (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 20-22).

At **tertiary level**, that is higher education such as universities, English as a lingua franca has had an enormous impact. However, "[t]he shift towards adoption of English as a vehicular language does not automatically correlate with the introduction of CLIL" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 24). It might be assumed that students at tertiary level do not need an integrated approach with content and language objectives. Nevertheless, CLIL can be a 'professional development catalyst' within institutions of higher education (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 23-24).

2.5 Historical and Political Background of CLIL in Europe

Teaching in a foreign language is not new but it is rather an ancient practice of many civilizations. In Ancient Rome, for example, when the Greek territory was absorbed

by the expanding Roman Empire, many Roman families wanted their children to be educated in Greek because access to this prestigious language would also entail social and professional opportunities in the upper class (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 2).

> This historical experience has been replicated across the world through the centuries, and is now particularly true of the global uptake of English language learning. [...] Globalization and the forces of economic and social convergence have had a significant impact on who learns which language. (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 2)

Before the 1970s, teaching a subject in another language than the students' L1 was restricted to linguistically distinctive areas, such as regions close to national borders or to large cities. As a consequence, this kind of provision was only available to a limited number of people who lived in an unusual linguistic and social context. In the 1970s and 1980s, the successful Canadian experiment of immersion teaching in Quebec had a strong influence on different forms of European bilingual teaching. In Europe there were already some experimental initiatives in the 1950s and 1960s but, in general, this kind of provision got available from the 1980s or 1990s onwards (Eurydice 2006: 7, 14). Between 1990 and 2007, the period of rapid integration, Europe strongly felt the impact of globalization and this called for improved language and communication skills. Thus, CLIL was developed as an innovative method for responding to the needs of modern age (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 4-5). Since the 1990s the acronym CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) is the most widely used and best known term for this type of provision. Moreover, in the 1990s most European countries constituted a legal basis for CLIL (Eurydice 2006: 7).

Right from the start CLIL got enthusiastic support from both, high-level policy and grass roots actions.

> [It] were individuals reacting to what they rightly perceived as major shifts in the fabric of post-industrial society: an economy becoming increasingly internationally interwoven and requiring ever better educated employees, the presence of an international workforce in higher level jobs, the knowledge of certain languages being crucial on the job market. [...] CLIL seemed to promise their children/students an edge in the competition for employment. (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula & Smit 2010a: 4)

Also high-level political agents, like the European Commission or the Council of Europe reacted to this economical and socio-political situation and stated clearly as their language learning goal that all EU citizens should learn two European

languages in addition to their mother tongue. The 1995 Resolution of the Council was the first legislation of European cooperation in CLIL and the Commission's Action Plan 2004-2006 regards CLIL as 'a major contribution' to their language learning goals (Eurydice 2006: 8-9). The EU supports CLIL "not only in the compulsory education sector but inclusive of kindergarten, vocational and professional learning" (Coyle 2007: 545).

Despite the fact that the European Union tries to establish CLIL in each of their member states, the European Union's language management is quite complex because "the juncture between policy declaration and policy implementation is rather diffuse: while general policy lines are formulated at EU-level, it is not 'Brussels' that decides on educational legislation and financing but the 27 national governments" (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula & Smit 2010a: 5). Thus, every country with its specific socio-cultural setting or educational policies creates an individual form of CLIL and there exists no blueprint which could be applied to all countries. "[O]ne size does not fit all – there is no one model for CLIL" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 14).

2.6 CLIL in Austria

After having looked at the theoretical framework of CLIL and its political background, it is recommendable to focus on CLIL in Austria since the empirical study was conducted in Austrian schools. Due to the fact that the study looks at CLIL lessons in secondary schools, the following chapter will focus on secondary education and thus primary schools or the tertiary level will be left out.

2.6.1 National Terminology

In Austria exists a terminological difficulty because the concept of CLIL is associated with several terms. The national terminology includes EaA - Englisch als Arbeitssprache (English as a working language), EMI – English as a Medium of Instruction, and EAC – English Across the Curriculum or LAC – Language Across the Curriculum which is also known as DLP – Dual Language Programme (Eurydice 2005: 3).

Locally the most current term which refers to the broader concept of CLIL is EaA - Englisch als Arbeitssprache. EaA "means using English [...] in teaching situations

ranging from short projects to bilingual education throughout the whole school year. [...] [T]his definition does not suggest the exclusive use of the foreign language as the only medium of instruction" (Eurydice 2005: 3). EaA views language as a tool that is used to teach content by fusing content teaching and language learning. This approach should lead to the learning of a foreign language along with the conscious learning of content. The aims of EaA are to raise the students' linguistic ability, communicative competence as well as motivation and prepare them for their future in that they are able to cope with various situations in a foreign language (Eurydice 2005: 3).

LAC – Language Across the Curriculum uses foreign languages, but mostly English, for teaching some content subjects. DLP – Dual Language Programme is the official name of this programme by the 'Stadtschulrat für Wien' (the Vienna Board of Education) (Eurydice 2005: 4).

EAC – English Across the Curriculum is the most dominant mode of LAC in Austria but it has no standardized definition and thus it can mean different things. However, Eurydice (2005: 3) describes it as follows:

> EAC differs from EAA/EMI in that the aims of the latter do not refer explicitly to raising cross-cultural awareness, or to the desired level of learner proficiency in the mother tongue, or the staffing implications. As EAC includes content and language components based on the networking of several subjects it seems to apply to a wider context than EAA.

Despite the fact that the terms EaA and EMI are well established in Austria, Austrian university lecturers, foreign language experts, or teacher trainers mostly use the term CLIL because it is well known around Europe.

Another term which might be confused with CLIL in an Austrian context is bilingual schooling. 'Vienna Bilingual Schooling (VBS)' is a project by the Vienna Board of Education which was initiated in the 1990s due to Vienna's geopolitical situation.

> [T]he term 'bilingual' means that the official state language, German, is the dominant language of 50% of pupils in the bilingual classroom, while English is the dominant language of the other 50%. Most subjects are taught bilingually by highly qualified German-speaking and English-speaking teachers throughout the school year. (Eurydice 2005: 4)

On the other hand, in the previously described approaches the majority of students do not have English as their first language and they are predominantly taught by German-speaking teachers (Eurydice 2005: 4; 6).

2.6.2 CLIL Practice in Austria

In the 1990s, CLIL, locally known as EaA, was introduced in Austria "in order to provide for 'sheltered immersion' to encourage the use of foreign languages outside language lessons. In addition to the language learning factor, CLIL may possibly be introduced to raise intercultural awareness and develop motivation" (Eurydice 2005: 6). The Austrian model of CLIL was initiated by a project group, important members were Dagmar Heindler or Gunther Abuja, who made the concept of CLIL more familiar in Austria and developed teaching materials. Since then, the interest in CLIL has been growing and a wide range of organisational forms such as bilingual schooling or mini-projects have developed (Eurydice 2005: 4-7). "In practice, schools use CLIL in projects (one or two weeks) in a phased-in approach for a limited time of the school year in one or more subjects. [...] CLIL is used all over Austria and in all types of schools, including vocational schools" (Abuja 2007: 17).

Paragraph 16/3 of the Austrian 'Schulunterrichtsgesetz' (School Education Law) and its 14th amendment, which allows a limited educational autonomy, constitute the legal basis for CLIL. This autonomy allows schools to give themselves a certain profile or characteristic identity. Hence, all CLIL activities are on a voluntary basis and mainly depend on each school's resources like the motivation as well as education of the teachers, the number of native speakers, or available financial resources. Nevertheless, there are several reasons why Austrian schools decide to offer CLIL.

> They may wish to emphasise their firm commitment to foreign languages, explore methodological aspects of CLIL, engage in competition with neighbouring schools to attract more pupils, thereby enhancing their reputation and prestige, or receive extra resources from the authorities (such as financial support for native speakers or better equipment). (Eurydice 2005: 9)

Every school has the freedom to decide how many CLIL lessons to offer and which subjects or target language to choose. Thus, there is no statistical data which states how many lessons or which subjects are taught through the CLIL approach. However, according to Eurydice's national description (2005: 7) geography, history and biology are the most popular CLIL subjects in Austria. "The choice of subjects very much depends on the provision of qualified teachers and teaching materials" (Abuja 2007: 18). The School Board tries to encourage teachers of natural sciences to use CLIL too. The most preferred target language in CLIL is English followed by French and Italian (Eurydice 2005: 6-9). Reason for the strong preference of English as the CLIL target language is "the importance attached to English as a lingua franca

throughout the world. In particular, at upper secondary level it is regarded as essential for pupils to be able to read and discuss relevant information in English" (Abuja 2007: 18).

In Austria there exist no official admission requirements for CLIL. However, teachers have to inform as well as advise parents when a school decides to open a CLIL class. "[W]here an additional language is used for teaching non-language subjects throughout the school-year, pupils may get a Zeugnisvermerk, a note in their reports indicating which subjects were taught in a foreign language" (Eurydice 2005: 8). In some schools only informal acknowledgments are given. CLIL students are not required to take any specific exams and in tests or examinations students themselves choose whether they want to answer in the CLIL target language or, in the case of Austria, in German. Nonetheless, language proficiency must not be assessed. In 'Allgemein bildenden höheren Schulen' (academic secondary schools) it is allowed to answer one question of the 'Matura' (final examination) in the CLIL target language (Eurydice 2005: 7-8).

2.6.3 Training for Austrian CLIL Teachers

Next to their teacher training, Austrian teachers need no additional formal qualifications to teach CLIL. "School heads themselves decide whether teachers may teach their subject(s) in a language other than the normal language of instruction" (Eurydice 2005: 10). Obviously, the language proficiency of a potential CLIL teacher needs to be considered, such as whether the teacher is a native speaker, has a proficiency examination in the target language, is also trained to be a language teacher, or has spent a longer period of time in a country of the CLIL target language. However, many teacher training colleges do already offer CLIL training but the intensity of this CLIL training varies from just one lecture to whole courses over several semesters. In that the interest in such a provision has increased, the amount of shorter workshops on this topic has risen. It has to be noted that there are no curricula or nationwide coordination for these courses but every teacher training college individually designs them. Due to the fact that the salaries of teachers involved in any kind of CLIL and teachers who are not do not differ, the willingness to do in-service training is based either on the individual teacher's motivation or the pressure by the school head (Eurydice 2005: 10-13).

It is obvious that native speaker teachers are desirable in any form of CLIL but in mainstream education their use depends on the financial resources of each school. “If a school attaches great importance to foreign language learning, some of its *Werteinheiten* will be used to employ native speakers; if not, Austrian teachers will have to teach without such support” (Eurydice 2005: 13, original emphasis). Usually, in pilot projects native speakers, who need not be trained teachers, practice team teaching with Austrian teachers. Sometimes the Parent Teacher Association pays for native speakers and some of them also have teacher qualifications (Eurydice 2005: 13). The Vienna Board of Education employs around fifty “native speakers for the various bilingual and CLIL projects with normal teaching contracts (i.e. the same type of contract applicable to Viennese teachers)” (Eurydice 2005: 14).

3 Literature Review on CLIL Research

Before conducting my own research, which investigates the occurrence of the four language skills in CLIL lessons, it is worth looking at empirical studies that investigate CLIL in combination with speaking, writing, listening, or reading. Such studies usually focus on the learning outcomes of each language skill, however, there are not many of these product-oriented micro studies. These studies "look at the effectiveness of CLIL on learners' language achievement by comparing the scores on tests obtained by CLIL and non-CLIL students [...] as well as by contrasting CLIL and non-CLIL students' mastery of different aspects of language competence" (Jiménez Catalán & Ruiz de Zarobe 2009: 83). Comparative studies which evaluate the language learning outcomes of CLIL will be discussed in the first subchapter below. On the other hand, a second path of CLIL research can be traced, namely process-oriented micro studies which focus on classroom interaction and classroom discourse but these studies have not focused on the four language skills. However, the second subchapter about CLIL classrooms provides an overview of the most important studies conducted in this field of research.

3.1 Language Learning Outcomes of CLIL

The two Spanish studies by Lorenzo, Casal and Moore (2010) and Lasagabaster (2008) as well as the German study by Zydatiß (2007), each represents a test battery comprising the four language skills, unanimously state that CLIL learners significantly outperform their non-CLIL counterparts in mainstream education. This competence differential between CLIL and control groups is true for the overall foreign language proficiency as well as for each language skill. Thus, these experts conclude that the beneficial learning outcomes serve as evidence that CLIL provision can be more profitable than conventional foreign language teaching in fostering language acquisition. The results of these studies match with CLIL students' self evaluation of their foreign language skills. Dalton-Puffer et al. (2008: 100) asked CLIL and non-CLIL alumni of engineering colleges in Austria about their own perception of their English proficiency and CLIL alumni self-evaluated their speaking, writing, listening, as well as reading skills considerably higher than alumni of mainstream education.

However, not all language skills profit equally from CLIL as research on Canadian immersion reveals.

> [T]he second language results of the immersion research and evaluation studies indicate that immersion students [...] develop receptive skills in the second language comparable to francophones of the same age. [...] Although immersion students appear to attain native-like receptive skills, their productive skills continue to remain non-native-like. They are, however, quite capable of communicating their ideas in spite of their grammatical weaknesses. (Cummins & Swain 1986: 49)

In that the productive skills show more variation in their learning outcomes, a closer look is taken on writing and speaking. The experts' opinions on CLIL's influence on the writing skill is mixed because Spanish studies, by Ruiz de Zarobe (2010) for example, show a positive influence whereas studies in German speaking countries by Jexenflicker and Dalton-Puffer (2010) or Zydatiß (2007) demonstrate a limited effect on writing. Ruiz de Zarobe's (2010: 191; 198) evaluation of the written competence states that CLIL students outperform their non-CLIL peers with regard to content, organisation (structure and cohesion), vocabulary, language use (grammar and syntax) as well as mechanics (punctuation and spelling). However, she (2010: 199; 201; 203) admits that only the categories content as well as vocabulary are statistically significant and that the oral competence is more advanced than the written one. An Austrian study (Jexenflicker & Dalton-Puffer 2010) does not reveal such positive writing outcomes of CLIL instruction.

> [T]he greatest advantages of CLIL students in terms of their writing skills result from their greater general language ability and also a greater awareness of the pragmatic demands of the task. The effects on textual competence, on the other hand, seem limited. [...] Studies conducted in Germany have shown CLIL and non-CLIL students to have considerable difficulty with expository and argumentative writing based on subject-content materials ([...] Zydatiß 2007). Interestingly, these difficulties were language-independent, surfacing also in the students' L1 German. (Jexenflicker & Dalton-Puffer 2010: 182-183)

A possible reason for this poor writing of German speaking students may be that apart from board copying or note-taking little writing takes place in content lessons and thus CLIL as well as mainstream students have almost no experience with encoding complex conceptualizations or using an appropriate style and terminology. Austria and Germany share this lack of writing in the culture of subject-didactics. Comparing Austrian or German studies with the above-mentioned Spanish study, one can assume that the positive writing outcomes in Spain result from the greater

emphasis put on writing in their content subjects (Jexenflicker & Dalton-Puffer 2010: 172; 182-183).

The situation is less differentiated with the speaking skill because the Austrian study by Mewald (2007) as well as the Spanish study by Ruiz de Zarobe (2008) clearly demonstrate that speech production of CLIL students is more advanced than of their mainstream peers. The spoken output of CLIL learners is more fluent and they are better at producing continuous speech in that a higher word frequency as well as longer sentences are used. Moreover, CLIL students' output demonstrates more variation in sentence structure and a richer lexical range. Although their spoken texts are longer and more elaborated, students from CLIL classes make fewer mistakes and thus produce more accurate texts. Reason for the speaking differential between CLIL and non-CLIL peers might be that CLIL instruction does not focus on accuracy and mistakes are not penalized, in contrast to EFL lessons, which encourages risk-taking and livelier speech (Mewald 2007: 153; 158-162). "Although the observed output of pupils from CLIL classes in the communicative test was rich in quality, originality and flexibility it did not really exceed the complexity of the language commonly used in FL lessons apart from lexical range" (Mewald 2007: 166). The only aspect of speaking that authors differ about is pronunciation because Mewald (2007: 163) and Ruiz de Zarobe (2008: 67) state that pronunciation clearly benefits from the CLIL approach. The CLIL students' pronunciation is "generally good with some pupils reaching near native-like pronunciation and intonation" (Mewald 2007: 168). In contrast, the German study by Wode (1994: 121) holds that there is no significant difference between CLIL and non-CLIL groups with regard to pronunciation. Nevertheless, experts agree that the overall speech production of CLIL students is more developed than their writing skill. This mismatch between the two productive skills is probably caused by the nature of CLIL lessons. The majority of input that CLIL students receive as well as the output they are expected to produce is oral. "As CLIL seems to stress face-to-face oral interaction [...], results in oral competence are favoured" (Ruiz de Zarobe 2010: 203). Furthermore, the fact that students possess a rich lexical range in oral interaction does not necessarily lead to a correct orthography. Hence, many students leave out words in their writings in case they do not know how to spell it which leads to more restricted but saver written texts (Wode 1994: 82).

All the studies described above speak for encouraging learning outcomes of the CLIL approach but Bruton (2011a and 2011b) criticises these studies for showing methodological weaknesses and he states that CLIL is selective rather than beneficial. One argument against these comparative studies is that no benchmark has been established. “Without any pretest scores, it is not possible to assess any form of change since there is no point of departure. As a result, there is no assurance that there was improvement, and there may even have been deterioration” (Bruton 2011a: 237). Another problem is represented by the control groups, since CLIL learners are usually not compared with students of an equal initial proficiency from other schools without CLIL streams but they are compared with mainstream peers of the same school. Comparing students of the same school is problematic because CLIL schooling is voluntary and “students who opt for, and are very often encouraged into, the bilingual programmes are the highly motivated ones, whose parents are generally in the higher socio-economic classes” (Bruton 2011b: 529). As a consequence, the control group is made up of the remnants from the selected CLIL students (Bruton 2011b: 528-529). Additionally, most CLIL classes receive extra support due to motivated teachers and native speaker language assistants who make the use of the target language more logical as well as authentic. However, according to Bruton (2011a: 240) the main problem is that some investigators conduct their study in order to demonstrate that CLIL is beneficial and thus ignore research limitations (Bruton 2011a: 238; 240).

3.2 CLIL Classroom Interaction and Discourse

> In contrast to the outcome studies (examples cited above), which construct language learning in terms of a product, studies on CLIL classroom discourse take a process-oriented view of language learning, a process that is prototypically enshrined in the lesson as *the* core event in institutional learning. In other words, language learning is thought to take place via learners’ participation in the sequentially structured discourse activities which are determined by local pedagogical designs and afford specific interaction opportunities among the participants. (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares 2013: 75, original emphasis)

Badertscher and Bieri’s (2009) study on the negotiation of meaning compared CLIL and mainstream teaching in Switzerland. They found that CLIL lessons have twice as many negotiation sequences than mainstream lessons in that negotiation of meaning

makes up 17.3% of total lesson time compared with 9.8% in the L1. However, a negotiation of meaning sequence in CLIL is not necessarily longer than in mainstream content lessons but quantitative differences can be observed. Negotiation of meanings in CLIL "consist of more clearly discernible phases and are carried out more consistently by teachers once they have realized a problem has occurred" (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares 2013: 76). Moreover, CLIL teachers are willing to use greater methodological diversity for dealing with language difficulties (Badertscher & Bieri 2009: 147; 155; 191). Closely related to this negotiation of meaning study is the topic of language errors and corrective feedback. According to a study of CLIL classrooms by Dalton-Puffer (2007), the most frequent type of repairable is vocabulary or lexical errors followed by pronunciation errors. On the other hand, grammatical errors are often ignored, especially by non-language teachers, because they are regarded as less important. Repair in CLIL classrooms is mostly initiated by teachers and repairs are quite direct, especially among peers, but the repair realizations between teachers and students get more indirect the older the students are. "It thus seems to be the case that in the higher grades the students slowly begin to approximate the status of equal and socially-distant adults where face-saving issues are of increasing importance" (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 255). Furthermore, CLIL repair is still classroom repair regardless of CLIL's intention to be a naturalistic environment for language acquisition and thus its repair is not typical for casual conversations (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 230-231; 254-255).

The pedagogic design of lessons has a strong impact on the students' output because it can encourage either longer student contributions or only one-word answers. According to Dalton-Puffer (2011: 192), CLIL researchers agree "that students should be given the necessary interactional space to test their linguistic hypotheses while talking about subject content". However, Badertscher and Bieri's (2009: 190) comparison of CLIL and mainstream lessons reveals that teacher-led whole class discussion is dominant in both teaching methods and this activity type is even more used in CLIL lessons. Similar observations have been made by Dalton-Puffer (2007: 32) who states that two thirds of talk happens in whole class interaction. Every Austrian content lesson includes whole class discussion and group work is also used but not in all lessons. "Neither group work nor individual work tends to take up much time, that is, short phases of these activity types are commonly slotted into an overall flow of whole class interaction. A few lessons have a strong

share of student monologue, that is, student presentations" (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 32). In addition to that, Dalton-Puffer (2007: 34-36) argues that CLIL lessons are characterized by a 'Triadic Dialogue' which is a whole class discussion based on loops of Initiation- Response- Feedback (IRF)-sequences. By the first sequence, the Initiation or also called opening move, the teacher introduces a topic and thereby tries to solicit a contribution from the students. This second answering move usually consists of a minimal oral response by one student. Finally, the student's contribution is evaluated as either acceptable or irrelevant. This three-step pattern is repeated over and over again for achieving classroom interaction. In that the Initiation slot along with the Feedback slot are reserved for teachers and only the Response slot for students, it is no surprise that students' opportunities for active participation in classroom interaction are quite limited.

> IRF exchanges in CLIL are generally less tightly packed in that students' responses tend to be longer than in EFL settings, as well as inviting from teachers reasons and further explanations rather than them just acknowledging the correctness of students' responses. (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares 2013: 83)

Speech in CLIL classrooms, in particular student output, is examined by looking at questions as a vital element of classroom talk and many researchers agree that teacher questions are the key to the amount as well as quality of students' language production. "Especially in whole-class interaction the type of question asked by the teacher will have a direct impact on quality and quantity of language output produced by the students" (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares 2013: 77). Working with question-type taxonomies, such as open or closed questions, suggest that certain question types lead to longer as well as more complex student answers. Closed questions, also called yes/no questions, are easy to understand and quick to answer whereas open questions, that are wh-questions, are more demanding and allow more space for the response but they also put higher demands on the questioner because the answer is less predictable. Thus, many open questions are not as open as they seem to be because they often allow a quick one-word answer and so the conversation control stays with the teacher. As a consequence, student responses are usually quite short and only randomly consist of more than one word, mostly the answer is yes/no, a noun, or sometimes a verb. "It must be the context of didactic discourse which determines that numerous questions which are formally 'open-ended' are treated as closed by the participants" (Dalton-Puffer 2006: 198). In that the students'

preference for single noun answers does not depend on the type of question asked, Dalton-Puffer (2006: 193; 198) suggests that the type of information sought by the questioner is responsible for the amount of student output.

> Evidently, student responses differ in quantity and quality according to what kind of information they are supposed to provide. Questions for facts almost universally result in minimal responses, no matter whether they are [open or closed]. If, in contrast, teachers aim at students' beliefs and opinions or require them to explain, define or give reasons, they are quite likely to get extended student responses. (Dalton-Puffer 2006: 205)

Hence, if teachers want to improve the speaking skills of their students, they need to allocate more discourse space to them and this can be done via asking non-facts questions (Dalton-Puffer 2006: 192-193; 197-198; 205).

According to a Finnish study by Nikula (2010: 119-120) CLIL lessons do offer more room for active participation in classroom discourse than content lessons in the students' L1 because students and teachers are on a more equal footing regarding the right to engage in classroom discourse. "[T]he greater sense of social symmetry between the teacher and the students in CLIL lessons may be due to the teacher lacking some of the language resources with which to contribute to subtle creation and re-creation of classroom power differentials in English" (Nikula 2010: 119). Another dimension of the concept of discourse space is the so called mask effect, which has been observed by Gassner and Maillat (2006: 18-20) in Swiss CLIL lessons. Students produce richer output in role plays conducted in the CLIL target language than in their L1 and this pragmatic mask effect is triggered by the use of a L2 in CLIL. The mask effect is "a pragmatically induced discursive pattern characterised by referential and modal blocking, whereby the linguistic activity becomes a purely language-internal phenomenon which ceases to refer and to imply epistemic grounding" (Gassner & Maillat 2006: 19). Such a mask effect is not available in traditional language lessons because here the foreign language represents the focal point of learning. Thus, the pragmatic differences between CLIL and EFL classrooms, for example the mask effect or reduced error correction, are responsible for the lower foreign-language-speaking anxiety of CLIL students (Dalton-Puffer 2011: 190 and Gassner & Maillat 2006: 18-20).

Another pragmatic stance looking at CLIL classrooms investigates speech acts by students or teachers, in particular directives because of their high frequency in classroom discourse. There are two interrelated contextual factors that affect the

norms of directness or indirectness, namely object of directives and classroom register. First, the object of directives, that is either a demand for information or for action, has a strong impact on the performance of a directive. “[D]emands for information seem to be fully sanctioned by the educational context and are therefore normally performed directly by both teacher and students whereas demands for action require more interpersonal work” (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula 2006b: 241). Moreover, the local matrix cultures influence the realization of directives by teachers as a comparison study (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula 2006b) of Finnish and Austrian CLIL lessons reveals. Austrian teachers show a higher degree of discourse modification and many more features of indirectness in demands for actions, compared with content information, while teacher requests in Finland are more direct overall. The second contextual factor is classroom register which is divided into the instructional register, concerned with subject matter, and the regulative register, coping with organisation or discipline. “The instructional register is the one where (a) directness is generally most firmly entrenched and (b) students are limited to making demands for information. The regulative register, on the other hand, is the one that shows more variation in request realization” (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula 2006b: 263). Furthermore, the latter register allows students to make longer contributions and to perform directives for information as well as action, although directives for actions are limited to interactions between students. Nevertheless, speech acts that CLIL students experience still happen in classroom discourse with its educational as well as institutional characteristics and thus even CLIL lessons do not cover the linguistic contingencies in other settings (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula 2006b: 261-264 and Dalton-Puffer 2011: 190-191).

4 The Four Language Skills

This chapter offers a compact overview of each of the four language skills, namely speaking, writing, listening, and reading. Each of the four subchapters starts with a general definition of one language skill and provides a short account of the historical developments of teaching this skill. Next, the process(es) and the components involved for producing or receiving, respectively, language are considered. Moreover, aspects, which are of importance to one particular language skill, are addressed. Finally, each subchapter ends with looking at the situation of foreign language learners and their difficulties as well as challenges with the language skill in question.

4.1 Speaking

The speaking skill is so often used in everyday life that speakers might take it for granted but it is a very important skill since speaking is used for a variety of reasons and often first impressions are formed on the basis of one's speech. Nevertheless, learning to speak competently is a challenging task, regardless of whether it is one's mother tongue or a foreign language, since speakers need to know why, when and how to communicate as well as speakers have to adjust their language according to the social and cultural context of speaking. "Additionally, it involves a dynamic interrelation between speakers and hearers that results in their simultaneous interaction of producing and processing spoken discourse under time constraints" (Martínez-Flor, Usó-Juan & Alcón Soler 2006: 139). To put it in a nutshell, speaking represents a social, contextualized and interactive communicative process (Burns & Seidlhofer 2002: 211 and Hedge 2000: 261 and Martínez-Flor, Usó-Juan & Alcón Soler 2006: 139).

4.1.1 History of Teaching the Speaking Skill

Until the late 1960s, the most prominent approach to teaching the oral skill was Audiolingualism, which emphasised the exposure to input before producing output. "[L]earning to speak a language [...] followed a stimulus-response-reinforcement pattern [...]. In this pattern, speakers were first exposed to linguistic input as a type of external *stimulus* and their *response* consisted of imitating and repeating such input" (Martínez-Flor, Usó-Juan & Alcón Soler 2006: 140, original emphasis). This

Audiolingual teaching approach concentrated on phonological and grammatical accuracy instead of encouraging spoken interaction. From the late 1970s onwards, the view of how to teach speech changed since “producing spoken language was no longer seen in terms of repeating single words or creating oral utterances in isolation, but rather as elaborating a piece of discourse (i.e., a text) that carried out a communicative function and was affected by the context” (Martínez-Flor, Usó-Juan & Alcón Soler 2006: 143). Henceforth language production has been viewed from a more dynamic as well as interactive perspective and the communication process regards not only the speakers but also the listeners along with the context of the speaking act (Bygate 2001: 15 and Martínez-Flor, Usó-Juan & Alcón Soler 2006: 140-144).

4.1.2 Characteristics of Speech

Spoken language is differently organized than written language because speech has its own structures as well as systematic patterns.

> [S]peaking in real-life interactions is not a matter of producing a spoken version of written language. Speech is a way of achieving a range of communicative purposes which are different from those achieved through writing. Thus, it is not the case that speech is inferior to writing, but rather that speakers use the resources of language differently from writers. (Burns & Joyce 1997: 8)

Responsible for this distinct usage of spoken language are mainly the processing conditions under which speech is produced. These processing conditions are constraints that affect speakers since in most situations oral language is produced ‘on-line’ and this imposes time pressure on all interlocutors. “[S]peech is transitory and impermanent, so talk has to be produced bit by bit [...]. In other words, [...] working aloud allows less time to make sure of the meaning and expression of each bit of talk, and no time at all to check over the whole interaction” (Bygate 2006: 160). These conditions and processes, most importantly the time constraints, affect the spoken language in that speakers have to facilitate their language production and need to compensate for potential difficulties. These circumstances result in certain common features of oral language which are now described (Bygate 1987: 14 and Bygate 2001: 16-17).

Using less complex syntax facilitates speakers to improvise and thus spoken texts are grammatically more fragmented, loosely structured as well as less lexically dense. A simplified structure is realised in two ways. Firstly, spoken language is built up of sentence fragments rather than complete sentences. In that communication is jointly constructed "the organization of the structure of speech involves short bursts of language, back and forth between the speakers, so that people can comment freely on remarks made as they come up" (Bygate 1987: 19). Secondly, new pieces of information are usually linked by using coordinating conjunctions such as 'and', 'or', or 'but'. (Bygate 1987: 14-15 and Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 48).

Additionally, the use of 'ellipsis' eases the time pressure of talk. Ellipsis represents the omission of parts of structures which would usually be demanded by the grammar. "It is done on the assumption that the listener can understand what the speaker is referring to because of their shared knowledge of the context and because of the proximity of previous grammatical structures" (Burns & Joyce 1997: 22). If a speaker makes an incorrect assumption about what is obvious to the listener then a communication breakdown is likely to happen since the hearer cannot comprehend what is referred to. However, ellipsis is used to facilitate communication and to speak economically because it is not always necessary to speak in complete sentences in that speakers can usually count on the cooperation of listeners (Burns & Joyce 1997: 22-23 and Bygate 1987: 16).

Further, spoken texts contain a high amount of repetitions and reformulations because time pressure also increases pressure on the speaker's as well as listener's memory. Hence, for facilitating production along with comprehension speakers provide much redundancy to make sure that listeners get the meaning. In addition, "[b]ecause planning time is limited, speakers also often need to change what they have already said. In speech alterations are permitted - indeed they are quite common" (Bygate 1987: 18). Self-corrections are overt as well as public but they are usually tolerated by the audience (Bygate 1987: 15; 18 and Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 51).

Another strategy for facilitating production is to use time-creating devices which involve pauses, fillers, and hesitations such as 'well' or 'erm'. These features are used to slow down output for creating planning time to find words as well as to organize ideas and to gain time for formulating the intended utterance (Bygate 1987: 18 and Bygate 2001: 17).

Finally, speakers seek to sound fluent and thus they use formulaic expressions which are conventional or idiomatic phrases like ‘for some reason’ and ‘you know’. However, these kinds of routine set expressions are “not just idioms, but also phrases which have more normal meanings, but which just tend to go together” (Bygate 1987: 17). Such pre-fabricated phrases can be utilized as a kind of shorthand in common situations and thus help speakers to get their message across (Burns & Joyce 1997: 7 and Burns & Seidlhofer 2002: 214).

The degree to which speakers need to lean on these tools of facilitating language production depends on the degree of planning because some types of speech can be well planned in advance, for instance a press conference, or they might even be written to be spoken like a university lecture. In contrast, casual conversation is obviously spontaneous as well as unplanned and therefore the language used is rather colloquial and informal (Burns & Joyce 1997: 8 and Burns & Seidlhofer 2002: 212 and Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 49).

Another characteristic of speech is its context dependency because usually spoken language is used to communicate with people in the same time and space. Generally, speaking represents a physically situated face-to-face interaction, hence speakers often make use of their surrounding context when getting their meaning across. “This means that speakers can typically refer directly to the environment (‘this here’) and can orient to the same temporal context (‘now’) without having to make these points of reference explicit” (Bygate 2002: 34). Oral communication tolerates more implicit references and such a reference outside the text is termed deixis (Burns & Joyce 1997: 10 and Bygate 2001: 16).

4.1.3 Issues of Pronunciation

Pronunciation is an umbrella term that covers various aspects of how speakers employ speech sounds for communication. Particular important to these phonological aspects are suprasegmental, or prosodic, features, that are elements which go beyond individual sound segments, like rhythm, stress or intonation.

> To start with, there are certain patterns to how speakers use their voices to structure what they say, thus providing important signposts for listeners as how to process what they hear. [...] These patterns are achieved by chunking utterances into what is called ‘sense or tone groups’ or ‘tone units’, which indicate what, from the speaker’s point of view, ‘belongs together’. (Burns & Seidlhofer 2002: 219)

Intonation is another strategy to get one's meaning across because it foregrounds what is important in an utterance. Speakers make use of 'pitch movement', which refers to the voice going up and down, along with increased loudness or vowel length to make certain syllables more salient and so giving them prominence. Which "words get stressed is to a great extent a matter of speaker choice in the constantly evolving state of play in the participants' conversation. However, speakers are not entirely free in their stress-placement: there are also certain grammatical and lexical constraints" (Burns & Seidlhofer 2002: 222). Overall, pronunciation is an extremely important part of language competence because it is responsible to whether speakers are able to produce sounds so that the message is intelligible to other interlocutors. This issue of intelligibility is of particular importance to second or foreign language speakers (Burns & Seidlhofer 2002: 212; 219-222 and Martínez-Flor, Usó-Juan & Alcón Soler 2006: 148).

4.1.4 The Speaking Process

Levelt (1989) proposed a framework of speaking which brings together the various processes involved in the production of speech. Levelt's model depicts four processes, namely conceptualising the message, formulating as well as articulating the utterance, and finally monitoring what is being said. These four processes of spoken language generation are now discussed in some detail.

Conceptualisation

Before producing oral output, speakers have to work on the conceptualisation of their message which represents a cognitive skill. "Talking as an intentional activity involves conceiving of an intention, selecting the relevant information to be expressed for the realization of this purpose, ordering this information for expression, keeping track of what was said before" (Levelt 1989: 9). For encoding a message, speakers need access to declarative knowledge, which is available in the long-term memory. Conceptualising draws on background knowledge about the world in general as well as the topic in particular and knowledge of the present discourse situation including all participants. The generated messages are not only the output of the conceptualizing process but they are also the input of the following process, namely formulating. However, "the Formulator can handle only those messages that fulfill

certain language-specific conditions. Hence, the adequate output of the Conceptualizer will be called a *preverbal* message. It is a conceptual structure that can be accepted as input by the Formulator" (Levelt 1989: 10, original emphasis). In brief, conceptualisation lays the foundation for formulation as well as prearticulatory and postarticulatory monitoring (Bygate 2002: 30 and Levelt 1989: 9-10).

Formulation

During formulation the conceptual structure of the previous process is translated into a linguistic structure and the final product of formulating is called phonetic plan. This translation of the Formulator is realised via two steps, namely the grammatical and the phonological encoding. "The Grammatical Encoder retrieves lemmas from the lexicon and generates grammatical relations reflecting the conceptual relations in the message. Its output is called 'surface structure'" (Levelt 1989: 27). In other words, speakers select the language for conveying their meanings, which involves choosing as well as sequencing words or phrases and accessing the appropriate grammatical rules. Secondly, the Phonological Encoder's "function is to retrieve or build a phonetic or articulatory plan for each lemma and for the utterance as a whole. [...] It is not yet overt speech; it is an internal representation of how the planned utterance should be articulated – a program for articulation" (Levelt 1989: 12). Speakers are usually not aware of this phonetic or articulatory plan when engaged in conversation but it is an important step in oral language production (Bygate 2002: 31 and Levelt 1989: 11-12; 27).

Articulation

Articulation is the execution of the articulatory or phonetic plan created in the preceding process. Articulation requires the motor control of the articulatory organs and for producing the English language speakers need to control the lips, tongue, teeth, glottis, alveolar plate, velum, mouth cavity as well as breath. "Fluent articulation is probably man's most complex motor skill. It involves the coordinated use of approximately 100 muscles, such that speech sounds are produced at a rate of about 15 per second" (Levelt 1989: 413). The outcome of these movements of the articulators and thus the end product of this third phase is overt speech. Articulation is a rather automated process and so speakers can carry out the phonetic plan without much conscious attention (Bygate 2001: 16 and Bygate 2002: 32).

Self-Monitoring

Self-monitoring allows speakers to identify as well as correct mistakes of their speech. This processing takes place via the so called Speech-Comprehension System, which provides access to self-produced internal or overt speech and thus enables speakers to monitor their own language output. “Speakers attend to what they are saying and how they say it. They can monitor almost any aspect of their speech, ranging from content to syntax to the choice of words to properties of phonological form and articulation” (Levelt 1989: 497). Which aspects of speech gain attention depend on the context or the speaking task because attention is selective as well as fluctuating. However, self-monitoring is activated before the message is sent to the Formulator, while it is articulated and after it has been said. Sometimes the listeners point to mistakes in speech and thus speakers can monitor their output either directly or indirectly by reacting to the interlocutors’ responses. When speakers notice some flaw in their internal or overt speech, they have several opportunities of dealing with that problem. Speakers could interrupt themselves along with starting a repair operation, such as to “rerun the [...] preverbal message or a fragment thereof, create a different or additional message, or just continue formulation without alteration, all depending on the nature of the trouble” (Levelt 1989: 14). Self-interruption usually happens immediately after detecting an error because speakers tend not to wait for the completion of a phonetic, lexical, or syntactic unit (Bygate 2001: 16 and Levelt 1989: 13-14; 27; 497-499).

4.1.5 Components of Spoken Interaction / Interaction Skills

Brown and Yule (1983a) divided language into two different functions, namely language for transactional purposes and interactional purposes. Transactional language has as its main purpose the conveyance of factual information. It is employed for explaining, describing, instructing, requesting, or checking and it is used in lectures or news broadcasts, for instance. On the other hand, interactional language’s “objective is the establishment and maintenance of cordial social relationships. [...] Important features of interactional language are those of identifying with the other person’s concerns, being nice to the other person, and maintaining and respecting ‘face’” (Morley 2001: 73). Samples of interactional language are jokes, greetings, compliments, or small talk (Morley 2001: 73; 75).

Spoken interaction, also termed dialogical speech, is characterised by the fact that the participants switch roles and become alternately listener as well as speaker. In oral interaction all interlocutors construct the meanings together and therefore it represents a joint activity in which everyone needs to contribute. For participating in such an exchange speakers must be able to handle certain components of spoken interaction and the three most important ones, namely turn taking, topic management, along with negotiation of meaning, are now considered.

Turn Taking

Turn taking "refers to the business of agreeing who is going to speak next, and what he or she is going to talk about. Interaction [...] [usually] takes place without a chairperson to decide the order in which people will speak" (Bygate 1987: 27). Thus, speakers have to decide themselves when or how to take a turn and for doing this in a smooth as well as cooperative way, all interlocutors need to follow certain rules that govern standard interaction. Five abilities are required for successful turn taking. Firstly, it concerns signalling that one wants to come in by using phrases as well as sounds like 'Ummm', 'Well', or couching and by gestures such as leaning forward or raising eyebrows. Secondly, it involves recognizing the right moment for speaking, that is when the current speaker comes to a close which is indicated by falling intonation, changes of pace along with volume, pauses, and certain discourse markers like 'anyway' or 'so'. "Thirdly, it is important to know how to use appropriate turn structure in order to use one's turn properly and not lose it before finishing what one has to say" (Bygate 1987: 39). This implies to say the right amount and to formulate an utterance which fits into the conversation as well as refers to what has already been mentioned. Fourthly, speakers have to recognize other participants' signals of their wish to speak and such signals may be body language, such as gestures, as well as phrases or sounds. Finally, speakers need knowledge about how to give other people the opportunity to talk. A typical device for inviting other people to participate is the adjacency pair where a turn by one speaker demands for an immediate reaction by the other, for instance question/answer, greeting/greeting, or apology/acceptance. These conventions of turn taking vary depending on the particular context and factors like the status of the speakers or the familiarity between the interlocutors. In some situations one speaker has more speaking rights than the

others such as in teacher/student or adult/child interactions (Burns & Joyce 1997: 30-32 and Bygate 1987: 27; 39 and Hedge 2000: 267-268).

Topic Management

Topic management refers to the speaker's skill to select a topic and to manage this topic, which involves choosing a way for developing it as well as deciding how long to maintain one particular topic or when to conduct a topic shift.

> During spoken interactions topics are introduced, taken up and changed as a joint activity among speakers. Topics which are put up for discussion by any one speaker are either developed further or lapse through a kind of mutual consent between the speakers involved. Discussion of a particular topic generally proceeds until a new topic is introduced and taken up. The introduction of a new topic places an obligation on other speakers to respond and to join the speaker in moving the topic forward. (Burns & Joyce 1997: 33)

Casual conversations are characterised by quick changes of topics due to being more spontaneous as well as freer in topic selection compared with transactional talk (Burns & Joyce 1997: 33 and Bygate 1987: 36).

Negotiation of Meaning

Spoken interaction implies negotiation of meaning, which refers to the ability of communicating ideas comprehensibly. To be more precise, interlocutors need to control whether they or others have understood properly and they also have to signal this understanding or misunderstanding. For ensuring understanding of all participants, speakers need to be aware of two factors. Firstly, a level of detail and explicitness needs to be chosen which is appropriate for the audience because being too explicit as well as a lack of explicitness could appear as non co-operative or distract the listeners. Secondly, there are procedures which ensure understanding but these require a contribution of both, the speaker and the listener. Speakers need to be aware of their audience and check that they are being understood by asking for other participants' opinions or clarifying meaning, for example. "In order for speakers to continue with their message, they need signals, or *back-channel cues*, from their listeners to let the speakers know that they are attending. Without back-channel cues, a conversation would likely break down" (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 54, original emphasis). Such back-channel cues can be sounds like 'yeah', 'mm', or 'ah' but they

can also be nonverbal like head nodding or shoulder shrugging, for example (Bygate 1987: 27; 29; 31; 34 and Hedge 2000: 262).

4.1.6 L2 Speakers' Strategies

As probably all foreign language learners have already experienced, sometimes messages are really difficult to express because of lacking the needed vocabulary or structure but there are two types of communication strategies which help L2 speakers to compensate for these difficulties. On the one hand, achievement strategies represent attempts to cope with the problems by compensating for language gaps. One achievement strategy is guessing, in which L2 speakers probe for a word they do not know and by using their knowledge about morphology they hope to come up with an expression that the interlocutors understand, for instance borrowing a word from one's mother-tongue. Another strategy would be the paraphrase strategy, in which speakers try to find an alternative to the expression, like a synonym, or to explain their concept. In the co-operative strategy speakers of a second or foreign language hope to get help from the listener, for example when they ask for a translation or point to the intended object. On the other hand, via avoidance strategies L2 speakers want to bypass troubles such as an unknown word, a difficult structure, the articulation of a particular sound, or the expression of a whole idea. For abandoning these problems, speakers can either change the topic and go on to something easier to handle or alter the message in order to bring it within the scope of their language competence (Bygate 1987: 42-47 and Hedge 2000: 265-266).

4.2 Writing

From a historical point of view, writing is a rather recent innovation because written language has a documented history of only six thousand years which is quite short compared with spoken language. On the whole, linguists tend to say that some aspects of spoken language are biologically determined, hence almost every normally developing child learns to speak their mother tongue but this is not true for writing since an estimated fifty percent of the world's population do not possess writing skills on a functionally adequate level and about one-fifth is totally illiterate. "Writing abilities are not naturally acquired; they must be culturally (rather than

biologically) transmitted in every generation, whether in schools or in other assisting environments" (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 6). Writing is a set of skills which are acquired through conscious effort and they must be learned as well as a practised (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 5-6).

Despite this effort, the role of writing is substantial in the modern world made up of literate societies which are characterized by pervasive print media. In everyday life people engage in numerous varieties of writing, for example writing shopping lists, letters or messages. Reasons for writing may be private or related to one's work. These different forms of writing demand for various sorts of writing abilities. Basic skills like writing one's name or filling out a form represent aspects of writing but

> most of what is referred to academically as writing assumes composing. Composing involves the combining of structural sentence units into a more-or-less unique, cohesive and coherent larger structure (as opposed to lists, forms, etc.). A piece of writing which implicates composing contains surface features which connect the discourse and an underlying logic of organization which is more than simply the sum of the meanings of the individual sentences. (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 4)

Especially this complex composing skill demands instruction, practice, training as well as experience and the majority of students who show writing problems possess writing skills but not the ones appreciated by educational institutions (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 3-4; 6-7).

4.2.1 History of Teaching the Writing Skill

Until the 1970s, writing was perceived as secondary to speech because it was supposed to be a mere orthographic representation of speech and writing was regarded as a monitor of students' language output. "[W]riting was not viewed as a language skill to be taught to learners. Instead, it was used as a support skill in language learning to, for example, practise handwriting, write answers to grammar and reading exercises, and write dictation" (Reid 2001: 28). Teachers assumed that the knowledge of grammar, vocabulary along with spelling enables anyone to write (Silva & Matsuda 2002: 251 and Usó-Juan, Martínez-Flor & Palmer-Silveira 2006: 384).

By the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the writing approach was in transition from a focus on form to a focus on the process of composition and henceforth writing was seen as a complex, dynamic as well as creative process. Moreover, attention shifted

toward “the influence of the sociocultural context on the composing processes, which helps construct writers’ goals and communicative intentions” (Usó-Juan, Martínez-Flor & Palmer-Silveira 2006: 386). Nowadays writing is considered as an inventive and contextualized process of communicating meaning. A writer’s textual choice is influenced by his or her communicative purpose and thus writing is a social process rather than an individual one (Usó-Juan, Martínez-Flor & Palmer-Silveira 2006: 385-386; 388; 394).

4.2.2 The Writing Process

The process view of writing states that writing “is the result of employing strategies to manage the composing process” (Hedge 2000: 302). The most influential theory was constructed by Flower and Hayes (1981) which states that the writing process is made up of three major elements. These three main operational processes of writing are planning, translating, and reviewing, which are discussed in further detail below (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 91-92 and Usó-Juan, Martínez-Flor & Palmer-Silveira 2006: 385).

However, these three processes, that generate a written text, do not form a linear progression but the writing process is rather cyclical. Writers move back and forth between the different sequences and thus they are all interwoven. For example, not all ideas are generated in the planning phase because the act of formulating frequently creates new ideas. Moreover, this cyclical character of the writing process offers writers several opportunities for changing the text before presenting the end product to readers. “The (result of the) writing process and its subprocesses can be monitored by the writer applying (metacognitive) knowledge to judge the appropriateness of the writing, and this monitoring may lead to revisions at different levels of the text” (Schoonen et al. 2009: 80). Usually, a writer goes through many revisions during the actual formulation process as well as after the draft is already finished (Brookes & Grundy 1990: 22 and Schoonen et al. 2009: 86 and Silva & Matsuda 2002: 256).

Planning

The planning process is subdivided into three subcomponents, namely generating ideas, organizing this information, and setting goals for writing. This initial process

includes an evaluation of the context and the rhetorical situation as well as an activation of genre characteristics or conventional forms (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 91; 230 and Silva & Matsuda 2002: 255). “In planning a written message or part of it, writers can use their (metacognitive) knowledge about texts, writing processes and writing contexts to develop their writing plan and goals. This knowledge can help orchestrate the writing processes” (Schoonen et al. 2009: 79).

“The amount of planning will vary [...] in relation to the type of writing task, from relatively spontaneous writing based on a quick mental plan, to something carefully worked out beforehand in notes” (Hedge 2000: 305). Some writers may start with brainstorming or noting down ideas for creating an organization plan whereas visually oriented writers could map out ideas for presenting several elements of the topic and organizing them. Another way for preparing a written text is reading in order to explore topics. The quality of the planning phase affects the quality of the ultimate written text because such pre-writing strategies contribute to a more developed drafting phase. Hence, it is important that writers invest sufficient time as well as cognitive resources in the planning process (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 232 and Schoonen et al. 2009: 79 and Silva & Matsuda 2002: 255).

Translating

In the present process writers start to produce a text on paper or on computer screen and therefore this stage is often referred to as formulating or drafting. However, in Flower and Hayes’ model (1981) it is called translating because the writer’s thoughts and ideas generated in the planning stage are translated into language. Linguistic skills and knowledge about appropriate style or register are required for the actual writing process. This translating process consists of two major subcomponents, namely grammatical and orthographic encoding.

> Grammatical encoding pertains to the construction of clauses and sentences in terms of vocabulary selection and sentence building. In order to translate the propositions into language, the words selected from the mental lexicon have to be put together in a grammatically correct and pragmatically adequate way, so that coherence and cohesion are maintained. (Schoonen et al. 2009: 79)

Orthographic encoding is the written counterpart to phonological encoding in the spoken language. Once a message is grammatically encoded it needs to be converted into graphemic form. This phase of actually producing output can be quite

challenging for writers due to factors like the fear of writing or a negative self-image and sometimes they even lead to a writing inhibition which is commonly known as writer's block (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 91; 232 and Schoonen et al. 2009: 79-80 and Silva & Matsuda 2002: 256).

Reviewing

The reviewing phase, in which writers evaluate, edit, and revise their texts, is a very important part of the writing process. "A writer can make online revisions to various aspects of the text, including surface linguistic elements (such as spelling and grammar) and also conceptual aspects (such as the information that the text contains and the order in which this information is presented)" (Schoonen et al. 2009: 86-87). The reviewing process includes significant changes like additions, in that something new is composed, deletions of sentences or even whole paragraphs, and rearrangements of information. The revisions that writers make depend on their metacognitive knowledge as well as on the specific features of the text in question. In educational settings a writer's revisions are usually based on suggestions and comments by teachers as well as peers or colleagues. "The writer may also be able to revise the text by letting it sit for a while, which allows the writer to see the text from a somewhat different perspective. [...] Some of the revisions are invisible because they take place in writers' minds as they rehearse" (Silva & Matsuda 2002: 256). When advanced writers write in a well-known rhetorical context, they can mentally rehearse so well that their initial drafts need only very few revisions (Hedge 2000: 303; 306 and Schoonen et al. 2009: 86-87 and Silva & Matsuda 2002: 256).

4.2.3 Components of Writing

"Viewing writing as an act of communication suggests an interactive process which takes place between the writer and the reader via the text" (Olshtain 2001: 207). The writing process represents a dynamic interaction between these three basic components and each of them has to be considered when writing. The writing act is not an easy task since the relationships between the writer, the reader and the text change continuously (Silva & Matsuda 2002: 253 and Usó-Juan, Martínez-Flor & Palmer-Silveira 2006: 383).

Writer

Writers “need a reasonable degree of control over the language and some ability to manipulate the language in response to varying needs. They need to have an appropriate level of control over vocabulary and the rhetorical structures of the language” (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 251). Hence, writers are not only required to have a rich lexical resource but also knowledge of how word meanings work in context and for using this vocabulary writers need syntactic as well as structural knowledge. Furthermore, writers have to have knowledge of the mechanics of writing because an illegible handwriting, incorrect punctuation, spelling mistakes, or inaccurate formatting conventions could lead to an unintelligible text (Olshtain 2001: 207 and Usó-Juan, Martínez-Flor & Palmer-Silveira 2006: 391).

Although writers are expected to have control over the above described, this linguistic knowledge alone does not promise a well written text because successful writers need to do more than producing linguistically accurate sentences. The global perspectives of content and organization need to be considered as well since the organisation of ideas, the development of arguments, and the clear presentation of the information are necessary for guaranteeing an efficient communicative act. To be more precise, “[s]entences need to be ‘cohesive’, that is, they have to be connected by cohesive devices in ways that can be followed by readers [...]. The whole text also needs to be ‘coherent’, that is, various parts of the text have to work together conceptually” (Silva & Matsuda 2002: 257). Moreover, successful writers are sensitive to their readers and thus try to produce reader-based texts, which is discussed in the next subsection (Hedge 2000: 307 and Olshtain 2001: 207 and Silva & Matsuda 2002: 257).

Reader

“[W]riting is social and interactive in nature as the writer conducts a ‘dialogue’ with a putative reader, anticipating the responses and selecting appropriate information, ideas, and expressions to influence those responses” (Hedge 2000: 307). Usually writing has a specific audience in view and the knowledge about this readership represents the context of the writing process in that it influences the choice of content or style. Grabe and Kaplan (1996: 207-208) identify five parameters of audience influence that constrain the decision of the writer and thus the creation of the written text. As a first parameter, the number of expected readers will influence the text

structure since the writing could be intended for oneself only, one particular person, a small or large group of people, as well as a general audience. The second parameter is represented by the degree of familiarity with the audience because the text will vary according to whether the reader is a close friend, a colleague, or even a stranger, for instance. A third parameter of reader variation is the status of the reader(s) with respect to the writer as the audience could have a higher, equal, or lower status than the author. Fourthly, "the extent of shared background knowledge will influence the writing to a considerable degree [...]. Writing for readers who are familiar with current events in certain cultural contexts will allow the writer to anticipate general knowledge on the part of the reader" (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 208). Finally, the extent of specialist and topical knowledge shared by the author and the intended audience will affect the selection of detail, the usage of terms and the need for definitions (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 207-208; 221 and Hedge 2000: 307).

Text

> Although each text is unique in some ways, a text cannot be understood only in terms of itself because the text is always situated in a network of other texts, to which it may respond explicitly or implicitly [...]. In many cases, each local 'discourse community' develops its own network of texts that are shared by its members. (Silva & Matsuda 2002: 254)

Structure, content, or style of a text are shaped according to the expectations of the readers and thus writers need to be aware of the characteristics of the genres they produce within a particular discourse community. "*Genres* might simply be described as discourse types that have identifiable formal properties, identifiable purposes, and a complete structure" (Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 206, original emphasis). A genre analysis shows writers what elements are expected in a certain genre as well as their usual order and so writers can decide which elements to use or to omit. Certain topics ask for specific genres and thus writers are forced to use particular linguistic resources (Brookes & Grundy 1990: 28 and Grabe & Kaplan 1996: 206-207 and Hedge 2000: 320).

4.2.4 L2 Writers

"The ability to express one's ideas in writing in a second or foreign language and to do so with reasonable coherence and accuracy is a major achievement; many native

speakers of English never truly master this skill" (Celce-Murcia 2001: 205). Nevertheless, once language learners have attained a certain proficiency level in the second language, they are supposed to produce texts that resemble the well-formed writings of the target language (Kroll 2006: 423).

It can be assumed that most students of language classes have already gained some writing experience and metacognitive knowledge about writing in their first language but their L1 writing expertise is only helpful during conceptual preparations in that their L1 writing strategies are of little support during the formulation process, when writers struggle with their limited linguistic knowledge of the target language. However, in some cases language learners are not even capable of using their available knowledge about textual organization because L2 writers need to assign their cognitive resources to other subprocesses. "To be able to formulate fluently, the retrieval of words, collocations and sentence frames must be easy [...] [because] burdening working memory with vocabulary searches and morphosyntactic considerations will affect the focus of a writer's attention" (Schoonen et al. 2009: 81). Writers overburdened with linguistic considerations are likely to focus on local problems in a text while neglecting the whole text as being part of a larger discourse and inhibiting the planning as well as the reviewing processes. To put it in a nutshell, "L2 writers need to reach a threshold level of proficiency in L2 before they can engage in the efficient writing processes they use in L1" (Leki 2002: 64). However, some L2 writers may have not received the needed support in their first language and thus cannot fall back on efficient writing strategies which result in the fact that even adult language learners benefit from writing instructions in the second language (Hedge 2000: 307 and Schoonen et al. 2009: 79; 81).

Another aspect of L2 writing is the cultural aspect because "different cultures have different expectations of how to organize writing, and [...] knowledge of conventions in the first language will influence the organization of texts in second language writing" (Hedge 2000: 320). Hence, writers of a second or a foreign language have to develop cross-cultural awareness and need to know the rules as well as norms of a certain culture for producing a competently written discourse in the target language community (Usó-Juan, Martínez-Flor & Palmer-Silveira 2006: 393).

4.3 Listening

“Listening involves making sense of spoken language, normally accompanied by other sounds and visual input, with the help of our relevant prior knowledge and the context in which we are listening” (Lynch & Mendelsohn 2002: 193). Instead of regarding listening as one complex process, one should perceive it as a ‘bundle of related processes’, which are described in greater detail below. People are normally unaware of these processes when listening to their own language as long as they do not face demanding conditions, like an unfamiliar accent or poor acoustics. Demanding conditions, in particular when trying to understand a foreign language, put the listening process into the focal point of consciousness. An additional problem of listening are the facts that the spoken input needs to be understood as well as interpreted in real time and listeners usually get only one opportunity to process the message because only rarely the speaker can be asked to repeat or rephrase (Lynch & Mendelsohn 2002: 193).

4.3.1 History of Teaching the Listening Skill

Although listening is the most used language skill in daily life and it plays a key role in language development in the mother tongue as well as in a second or foreign language, language teaching often neglected the listening skill in the past and it was traditionally viewed as “a passive process, in which our ears were receivers into which information was poured, and all the listener had to do was passively register the massage” (Lynch & Mendelsohn 2002: 193).

> By the late 1960s, the status of listening changed from being considered just a merely mechanical process of habit formation to a more dynamic and mentalistic process. The main influence of such a shift came from Chomsky [...]. Within such a [innatist] view [...] special emphasis was given to the mental and cognitive processes involved in the comprehension act. Comprehension was, therefore, a necessary step for language learning and listening was viewed as the primary channel by which access could be gained to L2 input [...]. As a result of this primacy of listening, listener’s role also changed from merely recognizing sounds to actively participating in the comprehension process through the use of mental strategies. (Martínez-Flor & Usó-Juan 2006: 31)

Nowadays listening is regarded as an active reception skill which also involves an interpretative process. Listening was supposed to be the exact decoding of spoken input but it actually represents a subtle interpretation according to the listener’s own

purpose and background knowledge (Lynch & Mendelsohn 2002: 193 and Morley 2001: 70; 72).

4.3.2 The Listening Process

There are two models that help to understand how listeners process information, namely the externally based bottom-up mode and the internally based top-down mode. These two modes are not in opposition but they work together in a cooperative process and are mutually dependent from each other (Hedge 2000: 234). Below follows a detailed description of the bottom-up and the top-down model to enlighten the complex process(es) of listening.

Bottom-Up

The bottom-up processing uses the listener's knowledge of the language and information in the speech itself to understand as well as comprehend the spoken message. Hereby listeners start "with the smallest units of the acoustic message: individual sounds, or phonemes. These are then combined into words, which, in turn, together make up phrases, clauses and sentences. Finally, individual sentences combine to create ideas and concepts" (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 24). For inferring meaning from the incoming language data, listeners make use of different types of knowledge, for example phonological or semantic knowledge, which are dealt with in the next subchapter (Hedge 2000: 230-231).

According to Rost (2006: 57), word recognition, that is the segmentation of words out of the spoken input, is the foundation of the bottom-up processing. Word recognition is a retrospective as well as prospective procedure. It "is retrospective in that it requires identification of words and activation of lexical knowledge linked to words that have been recognized. Word recognition is prospective in that it allows the listener to locate the onset of the immediately following word" (Rost 2006: 57).

Memory plays an essential role when performing the above mentioned processes of sound identification, imposing structure, inferring meaning, or anticipating what might follow. According to the Human Information-Processing System humans have three kinds of memory stores, namely sensory memory, short-term memory and long-term memory. The sensory memory receives the auditory input and holds the message in its exact form but only for a very short period of about one second. Then, depending

on the quality, source, or urgency of the input, the message is either lost or passed on to the short-term memory. Here the input is consciously processed but listeners have only around fifteen seconds to decide what needs to be retained. Usually, only the gist of the message, instead of the detailed structure, is stored in the long-term memory. However, once new information is placed in the long-term memory, listeners can keep it as long as they wish (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 23-24 and Hedge 2000: 231).

This bottom-up mode is indispensable because listeners need to decode the acoustic signals for facilitating the subsequent top-down mode (Lynch & Mendelsohn 2002: 197).

Top-Down

Top-down processing is somewhat the reverse of bottom-up in that the former is holistic, infers from whole to part, and interprets meaning instead of decoding sounds. “In top-down processing we rely on what we already know to help make sense of what we hear. The term ‘schema’ [...] is used to refer to a ‘package’ of prior knowledge and experience that we have in memory and can call on in the process of comprehension” (Lynch & Mendelsohn 2002: 197). There are two types of schemata, namely content schemata, that is general world knowledge along with topic knowledge, and rhetorical or formal schemata, that is knowledge of the structure as well as organisation of speech events like sermons (Lynch & Mendelsohn 2002: 197). “These schemata obviously help us process spoken communication quickly [...]. In order to remain operational as comprehension devices, new schemata are created every day and existing ones are updated constantly” (Rost 2006: 53). However, misunderstandings can easily arise, in particular in L2 listening, when schematic knowledge differs, for example due to cultural differences (Hedge 2000: 232 and Rost 2006: 54).

4.3.3 Components of Listening

As noted above, different types of knowledge are used during the listening process and these are now considered. The present subchapter looks at five different components involved in listening, namely phonological, syntactic, semantic,

pragmatic, and kinesic knowledge. However, due to its importance in the listening process, the main focus is placed on phonetic knowledge.

Phonological Knowledge

Phonological knowledge refers to the knowledge of the sound system and it is needed to segment spoken input into its component sounds. The smallest units of sounds are phonemes of which the Received Pronunciation of British English has 44. The full range of phonemes of one's mother tongue is already acquired in early childhood and once this set has been acquired, it is quite difficult to acquire a new set for a second language. Hence, language learners have problems with the perception of L2 sounds that are dissimilar to those in their first language (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 30-31 and Rost 2006: 58-59). "The speech can be difficult to segment [...] because different phonemic categories in the L2 can sound as if they are the same (single category assimilation) and occurrences within the same category can be heard as if they are different (multiple category assimilation)" (Rost 2006: 58).

Next to processing speech via phonemes, listeners also use a holistic type of word recognition process, namely metrical segmentation.

> Metrical segmentation refers to the use of stress and timing rules to segment incoming speech into words, which are then used for lexical processing and meaning construction. [...] For most varieties of English, the preferred segmentation strategy utilizes two principles: (1) a strong syllable marks the onset of a new content word [...] and (2) each pause unit of speech (most speech is uttered in 2-to-3 second bursts, bounded by pauses) contains one prominent content item. (Rost 2006: 58-59)

These stress patterns give a language its rhythm and Standard English is supposed to be stress-timed, that is stressed syllables occur at regular intervals and unstressed words are spoken faster for maintaining the overall rhythm. For EFL learners, whose first language is not stress-timed, the comprehension of the English rhythm can be quite challenging (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 32).

Another challenge for language learners of English is the fact that phonological features vary considerably in actual speech and authentic speech does not stick to Standard English. "'Real' spoken language is simplified (from the speaker's point of view) so that sounds run into one another (assimilation) or may be reduced or left out (elision). [...] One important effect of reductions [...] is that the boundaries between words become blurred" (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 33-34).

Syntactic Knowledge

"[I]t is the role of syntax to establish the relationships between the words of a sentence and the meanings these relationships carry" (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 35). Listeners use their knowledge of syntactic rules to infer meaning in that they expect a certain sentence structure, namely a noun phrase as the agent, a verb phrase as action and a noun phrase as the object or recipient of the action. This expectations support listeners in imposing a structure on the oral input and thus in the inference of meaning. Luckily for listeners, the syntax of spoken language is usually less complex than the written one (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 35; 38 and Hedge 2000: 230-231).

Semantic Knowledge

Semantic knowledge is knowledge about the meaning of words and of the relations between these words in sentences.

> In normal sentence processing [...] semantic considerations tend to dominate understanding, while syntax plays a minor role in confirming any problematic semantic relations where necessary. [...] In line with this dominance of semantics over syntax, what tends to endure in individuals' memories after processing sentences is not the linguistic form but the semantic content. (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 38-39)

Moreover, the depth of knowledge of words affects speed of word recognition and the occurrence of words, which are outside the listener's lexical knowledge, lead to serious comprehension problems (Rost 2006: 55).

Pragmatic Knowledge

Pragmatic knowledge refers to knowledge of "the function or illocutionary force of a spoken utterance in a given situation, as well as the sociopragmatic factors necessary to recognize not just what that utterance says, in linguistic terms, but also what is meant by it" (Martínez-Flor & Usó-Juan 2006: 38). For utterance interpretation listeners need to make use of contextual knowledge and be aware of situational as well as participant variables, such as status or social distance, implied in the spoken message. In L2 situations, where listeners often do not have a full mastery of the language system, the pragmatic knowledge can make up for a listener's lack of knowledge and thus allows the interpretation of an utterance (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 41-43 and Martínez-Flor & Usó-Juan 2006: 38).

Kinesic Knowledge

Kinesic knowledge is knowledge about extralinguistic means of communication, such as body language. Elements involved include facial expressions, eye contact, body movements and positioning, and hand gestures. Such physical messages add meaning to what speakers say or support it. Sometimes a nonverbal message, for example a nod or a shrug, is enough to convey meaning. However, listeners as well as speakers need to be aware that body language varies greatly between cultures and languages (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 45 and Morley 2001: 76).

4.3.4 Types of Listening

There are two types of listening, namely the unidirectional or one-way listening and the bidirectional or two-way listening. The former represents communicative situations in which a listener hears a speaker but usually cannot interact, such as watching a film, listening to the radio or public performances. One-way listening is of particular importance in academic settings, like lectures, where the pedagogic discourse is built up on transactional listening. Mostly people think of listening as one-way although the majority of every-day listening is bidirectional (Lynch & Mendelsohn 2002: 196 and Morley 2001: 73). This conversational listening is "a very social activity, in which both speaker and hearer affect the nature of the message and how it is to be interpreted. [...] [I]t is not easy to talk about 'speaker' and 'listener', as both interlocutors (in a canonical dyadic exchange) take on both roles" (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 52).

> Among the factors making two-way listening easier are the lower density of cognitive content and the opportunity to request clarification or repetition. Conversely, factors that make it harder include the need to produce a response while listening to one's interlocutor, the intensity of time pressure in the processing of what is being heard and the risk of misinterpreting the interlocutor's intent. (Lynch & Mendelsohn 2002: 196)

Regarding the listener's role in an interactive conversation, listeners have to employ some activities next to processing the oral input, such as recognizing stages in the conversation, topic shift, back-channelling, repair, turn-taking, or negotiation meaning but these have been explored in the initial chapter about the speaking skill (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 52-58).

4.3.5 L2 Listeners

“The processes we use as L2 listeners may be technically somewhat similar to those of L1 situations, but barriers to comprehension and additional processes that L2 listeners must perform can make listening in a second language an arduous task” (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 27). Environmental noise, for example a passing lorry, hampers the sensory memory of both first as well as second language listeners but the former are likely to compensate for the interruption and reconstruct the missing information by using different clues whereas listeners of a second or foreign language probably need to hear the full message for a proper comprehension. Next to environmental noise, also poorly articulated speech or a lack of attention can create such gaps in messages (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 27-28 and Hedge 2000: 238).

An additional challenge for language learners is the fact that they are mostly presented with planned as well as rehearsed spoken language, which rather resembles written language, delivered at a slow speed and in Standard English. “This is not the language that learners are likely to encounter in real life (although they probably will in their textbooks)” (Flowerdew & Miller 2005: 33). Authentic speech, which is unplanned and unrehearsed, displays pauses, false starts, repetitions, fillers, incomplete sentences, corrections, or restructurings. Moreover, spoken language shows colloquial expressions, contracted forms, and a variety of accents (Hedge 2000: 238).

4.4 Reading

Traditionally, reading was regarded as a passive and perceptual process. “Readers were decoders of symbols printed on a page and they translated these symbols into the corresponding word sounds before they could construct the author’s intended meaning from them” (Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006b: 262). This conception of reading as a mere decoding process changed by the late 1970s. Nowadays reading is viewed as an interactive, constructive, and contextualized process in which writer and reader engage in a dynamic interaction “in which the reader creates meaning from the text by activating his stored knowledge and extending it with the new information supplied by the text” (Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006b: 265). Especially the notion of context has extended in the course of time, namely from the institutional

context to the larger social context including its beliefs and values (Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006b: 261-262; 264-266).

“Unlike our first spoken language, which one might say ‘comes for free’, nothing is free with respect to reading. Learning to read requires considerable cognitive effort and a long learning process, whether one is learning to read in the L1 or in a second language” (Grabe 2006: 279). Reading is a complex process that requires the incorporation of various aspects. According to the Common European Framework of Reference (2002: 91), reading demands of readers the mastery of five different types of skills, namely visual skills for perceiving the written text, orthographic skills for recognising the script, linguistic skills for indentifying the message, semantic skills for understanding the input, and cognitive skills for interpreting the message. However, reading abilities are essential for academic learning and the ability to read in a second or foreign language allows learners to develop their language skills independently outside classroom and at their own pace (Carrell & Grabe 2002: 233).

4.4.1 The Work of the Eyes during Reading

Visual information is the prerequisite of reading and the eye represents the input organ. The human optical instrument consists of a lens that must focus, requires illumination, and has only a restricted field. The physical manifestation of reading is eye movements. Despite the feeling that the eyes sweep continuously over the written text, eye movements are actually quick and irregular jerks from one focal position to the next and these jumps are called saccades. “Information is picked up between saccades when the eye is relatively still-during fixations. [...] The information collection occurs only once during a fixation - for the few hundredths of a second at the beginning, when information is being loaded into the sensory store” (Smith 2004: 84-85). The number of fixations differs according to one’s reading skills as well as to the difficulty of the text but advanced readers can adjust their fixation speed appropriate for their comprehension needs. When reading the English language, the eye movements usually proceed from left to right but sometimes the eyes perform backward movements, termed regressions, for example to reanalyze a certain part of the read text or to check information (Birch 2007: 75-76 and Smith 2004: 73; 84-85).

4.4.2 The Reading Process

There are two different types of reading models, namely process and componential models. The latter looks at the many components which are engaged in the reading process and these are the subject of the next subchapter. In contrast, process models try to explain the process of reading and how the various components operate, which are now considered (Urquhart & Weir 1998: 39).

The most common approaches of the process models are the bottom-up as well as the top-down processing. Both have already been explored in the previous chapter about listening but they are summarized again since these two were originally developed for reading and are of crucial importance to this visual receptive skill. Although listening and reading are both receptive skills, they operate differently and thus their bottom-up as well as top-down processing differ.

Bottom-Up

"The bottom-up model of reading [...] holds that the reader takes in data from the page in sequence, and that reading involves a letter-by-letter, and word-by-word analysis of the orthographic words, processed through various nodes" (Williams 2006: 365). When the letters are recognized as words and all words in a sentence are processed, semantic along with syntactic rules are applied for assigning meaning to the sentence. In this model the processing moves from the bottom, namely the visual perception of letters or words, to the top that is the cognitive process of meaning construction (Urquhart & Weir 1998: 40 and Williams 2006: 365).

Top-Down

The top-down model refers to the usage of prior or background knowledge when constructing meaning of a text. "[T]he expectations of the reader play a crucial, even dominant, role in the processing of the text. The reader is seen as bringing hypotheses to bear on the text, and using the text data to confirm or deny the hypotheses" (Urquhart & Weir 1998: 42).

4.4.3 Components of Reading

As noted above, componential models examine the various components which are involved in reading activities. The present subchapter focuses on two main components, namely language knowledge and background knowledge.

Language Knowledge

Language knowledge involves elements of the linguistic knowledge like grammar rules or lexical knowledge. Additionally, reading requires an understanding of the mechanics of the language, for instance punctuation or the alphabet (Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006b: 269).

In particular vocabulary knowledge has a strong impact on the reading process, in L1 as well as L2 contexts, because a large vocabulary facilitates reading comprehension. “Good readers need strong word-level skills because having them enables readers to decode a text efficiently, leaving their remaining mental processing capacity available for focusing on other aspects of comprehension” (Ediger 2006: 304). Moreover, not only a large vocabulary supports fluent reading but an automatic recognition of words is necessary for an efficient reading comprehension (Grabe 2006: 284 and Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006b: 269).

“In addition to words being recognised, the significance of the relationships between them (e.g. syntax) needs to be extracted by the reader. [...] [T]he amount of syntactic knowledge necessary for reading is less than that required for writing or speaking” (Urquhart & Weir 1998: 58; 61).

Background Knowledge

Background knowledge is crucial for reading comprehension, for both L1 and L2 readers. Prior or background knowledge are mental resources that allow readers to make sense of the incoming input and for comprehension to take place readers have to relate the new information to what they already know (Smith 2004: 13).

> [R]eaders comprehend texts better when texts are culturally familiar or when they relate to well developed disciplinary knowledge of a reader. More generally, background knowledge is essential for all manner of inferences and text model construction during comprehension. [...] The complications appear to arise with texts that present relatively new information or information from fields for which readers have no special expertise. (Grabe 2006: 285)

Especially for L2 readers background knowledge plays an important role because when reader and writer do not share the same prior experience misunderstandings may arise but when having the required world knowledge a compensation of linguistic shortcomings could happen (Urquhart & Weir 1998: 63).

Background knowledge is an umbrella term for all types of knowledge such as sociocultural, genre, topic, or general world knowledge and together they are often labelled schema theory or schematic knowledge. There are two types of schemata, called content schemata and formal schemata which are now discussed in more detail (Hedge 2000: 189 and Urquhart & Weir 1998: 69).

Content schemata represent a variety of knowledge of the world, from daily concerns like the fact that grass is green to specialized knowledge about biotechnology, for example. This schematic knowledge is usually organized around topics like ‘tennis’ or ‘cinema’. Some knowledge is universal and it can be assumed that all readers share the schema about the nature of ice but content schemata also include sociocultural aspects. Schemata “are not just cognitive constructs to do with the mental organization of concepts but also social-psychological constructs which allow us to attach particular values and attitudes to that knowledge” (Wallace 1992: 36). Hence, readers’ interpretations of any text are guided by their own social roles, environment, or purpose of reading (Wallace 1992: 33-38).

Formal schemata, on the other hand, are knowledge about the nature of texts or, being more precise, knowledge about text structure along with discourse organization. Readers need to know what kind of text they are dealing with and how information is structured in the various genres of texts. A text is not a random collection of sentences but the information is constructed in a certain way. Texts include several signalling systems, namely lexical cohesion devices such as connectives, that help readers to understand the relationships between parts of a text and so support readers in interpreting the presented information. The usage of such items should make texts more transparent for readers and thus easier to comprehend. However, for L2 readers cohesive devices often represent a difficulty because they are often not familiar with them or simply do not know the meaning of some items (Grabe 2006: 288 and Urquhart & Weir 1998: 73-75; 90).

4.4.4 Reading Styles

> Because we read for a variety of purposes, we often vary the cognitive processes and knowledge resources that we use. [...] The many purposes for reading, although drawing on the same cognitive processes and knowledge resources, do so in differing combinations and with varying emphases on these processes and resources. (Carrell & Grabe 2002: 233)

Hence, the reading style employed depends on the purpose of reading but there is no necessary correlation between a specific text genre and a particular reading style. Moreover, readers do not have to maintain a certain reading style throughout the whole text but may switch from one style to another within one page (Urquhart & Weir 1998: 104). The best known reading strategies are probably scanning along with skimming but Carrell and Grabe (2002: 234) argue that L2 readers in academic settings, such as CLIL students, mostly use reading for general understanding as well as reading to learn. These four reading styles are described below.

Scanning

Scanning represents rapid and selective reading, when looking for specific information. It involves searching for a word, phrases, figures, particular names or dates, for instance. “The main feature of scanning is that any part of the text which does not contain the preselected symbol(s) is dismissed” (Urquhart & Weir 1998: 103). Scanning requires almost no semantic or syntactic processing and it is not even necessary to complete the reading of the sentence because readers only need to check whether the scanned words fit into the search description. Hence, fluent readers carry out scanning at a rate of 600 words per minute (Grabe 2006: 281 and Urquhart & Weir 1998: 103; 107).

Skimming

Skimming represents as well rapid and selective reading but it implies reading for general gist and avoiding details. “Skim reading is used to get a global impression of the content of a text. An example would be previewing a long magazine article by reading rapidly, skipping large chunks of information, and focusing on headings and first lines of paragraphs” (Hedge 2000: 195). It requires readers to quickly evaluate the main points of the text and to reject what is irrelevant. In skimming the reader builds up a macrostructure of the text, according to ones clearly defined reading goal,

hence skimming is a reader-driven activity (Harmer 1983: 144 and Urquhart & Weir 1998: 102-105; 108).

Reading for General Understanding

"Reading for understanding is a process requiring visual and semantic processing and the construction of a summary version of what the text means" (Grabe 2006: 281). In that this reading style demands more cognitive processing, fluent readers carry it out at a rate of around 250 to 300 words per minute and thus takes twice as long as the above described scanning (Grabe 2006: 281).

Reading to Learn

"Reading to learn is a process that requires [...] the formation of elaborated relations among the sets of information being processed. These relations reflect hierarchies of text information and they need to be combined with the reader's prior topical knowledge" (Grabe 2006: 281). Important characteristics of this reading style are that readers are not selective but construct a macrostructure by referring to the whole text and that readers take on a submissive role in that they accept the writer's organization (Urquhart & Weir 1998: 103; 105).

4.4.5 L2 Readers

It is quite difficult to define a L2 reader because many factors influence reading in a second or a foreign language and three of them are explored in the present subchapter. Firstly, there is a clear distinction between literate and non-literate L2 learners because already literate readers can infer some of their existing reading skills to L2 reading. However, learning to read in one's mother tongue and in a second or foreign language is not the same because of different language backgrounds.

> Children learning to read in their L1 generally are already fairly fluent in speaking and understanding the target language when they begin school, and can build on the oral language they already have. [...] ELLs [English Language Learners], on the other hand, do not necessarily have oral ability in the L2 yet and generally cannot fall back on an oral knowledge of what they are learning to read or write. (Ediger 2001: 155)

Hence, teaching L2 reading should be incorporated in a learning environment that aims at overall second language proficiency, especially for beginners. “It seems that a certain level of L2 proficiency is necessary before L1 reading strategies and skills can be utilized effectively in L2 reading” (Carrell & Grabe 2002: 244). Having basic lexical, grammatical, and discourse knowledge makes the complex task of reading in a second language much easier (Carrell & Grabe 2002: 236; 243-244 and Urquhart & Weir 1998: 33).

Secondly, the socio-cultural background has an impact on the demands of reading in a second or foreign language. “[R]eaders of English as an L2 from Western Europe are likely to bring far more shared knowledge to English texts than are readers from other cultures” (Urquhart & Weir 1998: 33). However, nearly all L2 readers have to face the problem of not sharing world knowledge with the author due to differing cultural backgrounds. Often L2 readers approach a written text from a framework of their first language but this leads to misinterpretations as well as misunderstandings because authors create texts with a particular audience, including their framework, in mind (Bernhardt 1991: 16 and Ediger 2006: 322).

Thirdly, the script of one’s first language influences L2 reading skills because the more similar the graphemic as well as orthographic forms of both languages are, the easier it is to acquire readings skills in the second or foreign language. For example, English and German use the same alphabet but Russian is written in another alphabet, hence German speaking students will probably have less difficulty in reading English because more language-transfer occurs. “L2 learners coming from an L1 with a different orthographic system may be disadvantaged not only because they have to learn a new orthographic system but because they may also need to develop new processing mechanisms more suitable to the L2” (Carrell & Grabe 2002: 239). L2 readers tend to process print in another way than L1 readers because of differing orthographic processing experience, particularly when the two languages require different orthographic knowledge (Carrell & Grabe 2002: 235-237 and Urquhart & Weir 1998: 33).

5 Empirical Study

While the general concept of CLIL and the four language skills have been viewed from a theoretical angle in the last chapters, my classroom research, portrayed in the present part of the thesis, offers an empirical perspective on the practice of CLIL and the occurrence of the four skills in it.

This investigation of CLIL classrooms was conducted with the aim to answer the following two research questions:

- How much time is allocated to each language skill in CLIL lessons?
- How do these four skills get promoted in CLIL lessons?

The analysis of CLIL lessons should help to determine which of the four skills should be paid more attention to and which might be overused. Moreover, it allows a comparison between the reality of CLIL practice and its theoretical intentions.

This chapter presents the method, the material, and the subjects of the classroom research. As a first move, classroom observation, the method used to gather data, is explored as well as the procedure to conduct this study. Following this description, the observational schedule is explained and the observation categories are looked at in greater detail. Next, the schools involved in this research will be described in terms of offered CLIL variant, language level of students, and educational background of teachers or native speakers. The final part of this paper is devoted to the evaluation as well as the interpretation of the observational schedules and connects these results with the theoretical foundation of CLIL and the four language skills examined in the initial chapters.

5.1 Method

A typical method for examining learning environments is classroom observation, which is one of the three basic data sources for empirical research because of being an advanced data collection approach. The distinctive feature of this method is its provision of direct information and it allows looking directly at what is happening in situ instead of depending on self-report or second-hand accounts (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 398 and Dörnyei 2007: 176; 178).

The observation conducted for classroom research is highly structured and thus represents a quantitative research method. “Highly structured observation involves

going into the classroom with a specific focus and with concrete observation categories" (Dörnyei 2007: 179). In a highly structured observation the observation categories need to be worked out in advance and they must not overlap. Hence, all categories must be mutually exclusive as well as comprehensive. These categories are united in a well prepared observation schedule (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 398-399). The schedule and its categories for the classroom research in question are described in greater detail in the next chapter.

Obviously, a structured observation demands much time to prepare but it was chosen because of its advantages that are described in the quote below.

> Adding structure to observation by means of using observation schemes makes the process more reliable and produces results that are comparable across classrooms and over time. Structured observational guidelines make the formidable task of documenting the complexity of classroom reality doable, and help to focus on certain key events and phenomena. Thus, coding schemes introduce systematicity into the research process. (Dörnyei 2007: 185)

Furthermore, data analysis is quite fast because all categories have already been set up. In that a structured observation is very systematic, it enables the generation of numerical data and this allows a comparison between the observed cases (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 398-399). For evaluating the observational schedules the number of tokens is totalled which allows a quantitative comparison of the four language skills.

For entering data into the structured observational schedule instantaneous sampling, or also called time sampling, was chosen. "Here researchers enter what they observe at standard intervals of time, for example [...] every minute. On the stroke of that interval the researcher notes what is happening at that precise moment and enters it into the appropriate category on the schedule" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 401). Hence, every minute I entered a forward slash or another sign into the appropriate categories. The full coding system is described below in a subchapter of its own.

I took ongoing notes which meant that the observed was categorized in situ. For doing so, categories of low-inference had to be prepared in the structured schedule. "A *low-inference* category is so straightforward that even in real-time coding (i.e. ongoing coding during observation) the observer can reach almost perfect reliability in recording instances of it" (Dörnyei 2007: 180, original emphasis). In addition to the

notes made in situ, the lessons were documented via an audio-recorder. “Audio-visual data collection has the capacity for completeness of analysis and comprehensiveness of material, reducing the dependence on prior interpretation by the researcher” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 407).

As every data collection approach, also the method of observation carries the risk of bias. One of the main problems and risks is represented by the observer because “the quality of observational data is dependent on the skill with which the researcher conducts the observation” (Dörnyei 2007: 186). The risk of bias by the observer could result from selective attention, attention deficit, or selective data entry. “[W]hat we see is a function of where we look, what we look at, how we look, when we look, what we think we see [and] what is in our minds at the time of observation” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 410). If the investigator is distracted or the note taking is affected by personal judgement then the results will probably lack the necessary objectivity. On the other hand, the presence of the observer could influence the participants’ behaviour. Knowing that they are observed might cause that the participants feel more anxious or try harder in class and as a result they could perform much worse or much better than usual. As a matter of fact, every classroom researcher is an intruder and it can be quite challenging for observers to minimize this intrusion. For obtaining valid data it is necessary that the observed classroom situations are as natural as possible while an investigator is present (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 410 and Dörnyei 2007: 190).

> Finally, a serious concern with structured observations is that regardless of the coding convention applied it involves a reduction of the complexity of the observed situation, and by focusing on the target categories the observer can miss some more important features. Highly structured schemes also share the general weakness of quantitative measures, namely that the examined categories are preconceived. (Dörnyei 2007: 186)

Bearing these potential risks in mind, high diligence was put into designing the schedule and in conducting as well as evaluating the observations.

After having designed the observation schedule, I piloted my structured schedule in advance as recommended by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007: 399).

> [T]he researcher will need to practise completing the schedule until he or she becomes proficient and consistent in entering data (i.e. that the observed behaviours [...] are entered into the same categories consistently), achieving reliability. [...] Bearing in mind that every [minute] one or more entries must be made in each column, the researcher will need to become proficient in fast

> and accurate data entry of the appropriate codes. (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 399)

Such a pilot test is necessary to iron out any problems or overlaps of categories and this can be done through practising with recordings (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 398-399). The observational schedule in question was tested with audio files of CLIL lessons and their transcripts. While doing that, some minor changes of the categories happened. Additionally, the final version of the schedule was tested in a live situation but these observations are not included in the research.

5.2 Observational Schedule

The structured observational schedule consists of thirty-three categories which are described in the subchapter below. Additionally, the schedule includes fifty columns and each column represents a one minute time interval. The decision to use fifty columns is based on the fact that a school lesson in Austria officially lasts fifty minutes.

5.2.1 Categories

The observational schedule consists of four main categories, namely the language skills. It starts with the productive skills, speaking as well as writing and then lists the receptive skills, listening as well as reading. These four main categories have already been described in chapter five but all subcategories of each skill, which are the actual focus of the observation, are characterised below.

The category **speaking** is subdivided into monological speech, also called spoken production, and dialogical speech, also named spoken interaction. In the former the speaker produces a spoken text, received by an audience who is usually not called upon to reply. Monological speech is a prepared longer turn which consists of a string of utterances (Council of Europe 2002: 98; 179 and Brown & Yule 1983b: 16).

> [It is] obvious that what is required of a speaker in a long turn is considerably more demanding than what is required of a speaker in a short turn. As soon as a speaker ‘takes the floor’ for a long turn, [...] he takes responsibility for creating a structured sequence of utterances which must help the listener to create a coherent mental representation of what he is trying to say. (Brown & Yule 1983b: 17)

Monological speech is further divided into three subcategories. First, a non-interactive activity is *giving presentations* in which students speak at greater length. This category includes giving presentations about a prepared topic, for example with the support of written notes or visual aids, and presenting ones knowledge as in check-ups at the beginning of lessons. In the second category students *present the results* of the previous pair or group work. Finally, *reading aloud* is a mechanical meaning-preserving activity. Although students get the possibility to produce a spoken text, it is not very cognitively or linguistically demanding for the speaker. However, phonetic skills are required for articulating the spoken text. On the other hand, "[i]n interaction at least two individuals participate in an oral [...] exchange in which production and reception alternate and may in fact overlap in oral communication. [...] Learning to interact [...] involves more than learning to receive and produce utterances" (Council of Europe 2002: 14). Spoken interaction also involves turntaking or turngiving because the participants switch roles and become alternately listener as well as speaker (Council of Europe 2002: 73). Dialogical speech is subdivided into four categories. Firstly, *pair work* is characterised as an interaction in which two individuals participate in an oral exchange and the interlocutors form a goal-orientated co-operation. Secondly, *group work* is classified the same as pair work with the only difference that group work stands for an interaction of more than two individuals. Thirdly, students are supposed to *answer the teacher's questions* which represents "active interactional work with the teacher and the passive, responding role with the students" (Dalton-Puffer 2006: 191). Although students get the opportunity to speak and they are forced to interact with the teacher, the conversational control stays with the questioner and thus student speech is usually quite limited. In the last subcategory students *ask questions* themselves or they make a comment without being requested to produce speech. Via student questions or other unsolicited contributions they take on an active speaking role in the target language.

Writing, the next productive skill, investigates what CLIL students have to write in their lessons. Six subcategories are used for examining the ways in which the writing skill is promoted. First, *copying from the board* actually involves reading as well writing and thus students need orthographic competence which "involves a knowledge of and skill in the perception and production of the symbols of which written texts are composed" (Council of Europe 2002: 117). However, in that the

students do not compose a text themselves, only very little cognitive or linguistic skill is required. Secondly, *note-taking* could be classified as both listening and writing because they happen at the same time when notes are taken. In such situations it is usually impossible to write down every single word because generally people do not speak at dictation speed and so it is necessary to write a summary of the source text where the most important information is picked up (Raimes 1983: 78). “Note-taking does two jobs: it stores information for later use, and it provides the opportunity to encode information. [...] Encoding means changing information from one form to another” (Newton 2009: 52). The third category comprises *writing summaries and synthesising*. They are put together because both involve writing about source texts and they are primary contact points between writing and reading. Summarizing is “an act of composing, since the reader is basically creating a new and more manageable version of the original text, one reflecting her or his interpretation of what is and isn’t important” (Hirvela 2004: 90). When synthesizing, writers use the same processes as in summarizing but syntheses are discussions of at least two source texts. As a consequence, syntheses are usually longer and they are more advanced because sophisticated connections between the multiple texts are required (Hirvela 2004: 89-93). Fourthly, students are supposed to *answer questions* in a written form. The learner is required to produce a written response to a textual stimulus and the length of the answers can vary from a single word to a paragraph or even a whole essay. In the next category students have to *fill in a worksheet* where they are usually supposed to complete a written text, such as ‘fill in the gaps’-type exercises, or label a map for example. “When students examine a reading passage with parts (words, phrases, sentences, or larger chunks) are missing, they have to consider a great many features of writing if they are to complete it. Obviously they have to consider meaning” (Raimes 1983: 60). Finally, students could also be asked to write a text of any length themselves. The learners are usually required to write “a textual response to a textual stimulus. The textual stimulus may be an oral question, a set of instructions (e.g. an examination rubric), a discursive text, authentic or composed, etc. or some combination of these” (Council of Europe 2002: 99). This task is quite demanding because the writers are supposed to organise as well as formulate their message.

The receptive skill **listening** investigates who students listen to in CLIL lessons and what is their purpose for listening. The observational schedule lists four possible

groups of speakers who students are confronted with in their lessons, namely content and/or language *teachers*, *native speakers* of the target language, fellow *students,* or *recorded material*. The latter is further divided into audio recordings where the students are not able to see the speaker which means that they must concentrate on what they hear and video recordings "where the visual support is a help to the viewer-listener, who either sees the speaker and so gets help in understanding what is being said [...] or sees scenes which relate to the topic being spoken about and so gets help in contextualising the utterances" (Underwood 1993: 5-6). For examining the listening purposes that CLIL lessons provide, four subcategories have been chosen which are based on Ediger's (2006: 319-320) list of suggested real-world purposes and related classroom activities. In the first category, students listen to someone because they have to *report*, orally or in writing, what knowledge they have gained about a subject. Another reason for listening is to *synthesize* or to put the heard information into a different format. Thirdly, the listener is supposed to learn about a subject by means of passing a test on it. This means that the information should be memorized but nothing has to be done with the newly gained knowledge at the moment. Hence, no active involvement of the students is necessary. Finally, students listen to their teacher in order to obtain information which is crucial for performing a specific task. This could be instructions for a task or comparing the results of an activity.

The last category, **reading**, first differentiates between the texts students are supposed to read. On the one hand, *educational texts* are especially composed for language learners who "will probably not be able to handle genuinely authentic texts, but should nevertheless be given practice in reading [...]. The reading of such texts [...] will help students to acquire the necessary receptive skills they will need when they eventually come to tackle authentic material" (Harmer 1983: 146). On the other hand, *genuine texts*, also called authentic texts, are written for communicative purposes only and thus have not got any language teaching intention. These texts are produced for native speakers instead of language students (Council of Europe 2002: 145-146 and Harmer 1983: 146). Next the category reading looks at the purpose for reading and uses the same purposes as outlined above for listening.

5.2.2 Coding System

During classroom observation it needs to be decided which entry to make in the appropriate category and bearing in mind that the code needs to be simple as well as quick to enter, a forward slash was chosen. However, whenever a teacher or a student uses the German language a capital 'G' is entered instead of the slash. When students listen to recorded material, the letter 'a' is entered to indicate that audio recordings are used whereas the letter 'v' is entered to indicate that video recordings are used. In case none of the four skills can be observed, a forward slash is entered into the time column. Handing out worksheets, arranging a certain seating order, or fix posters on the wall takes some time in which none of the four skills can be observed and thus nothing is entered into any category.

5.3 Account of Research Context and Process

The present chapter provides information about the research context of the empirical study, such as a characterisation of the involved schools, teachers, or students as well as a description of the observed lessons. Furthermore, this chapter offers information about the research process in that it portrays the process that has been used to conduct this classroom investigation.

5.3.1 Research Context

The classroom research was conducted in three Viennese schools. They were not selected according to any criteria but they were chosen by their availability and thus will provide a kind of "reality check" of CLIL lessons in Vienna. Several Viennese schools offering a variant of CLIL were asked to take part in the research and three schools were as kind as to allow me to observe some of their lessons. These three schools are characterised below and the context of the observed lessons is described as well. However, the names of the schools are not published for guaranteeing anonymity of the teachers and the students. Hence, the schools are hereinafter referred to as School A, School B, and School C.

School A is an 'Allgemein bildende höhere Schule' (academic secondary school) and offers bilingual schooling. One class in each year group is run as a bilingual class where several subjects are taught entirely in English. Teachers of these

subjects are usually English native speakers with teaching qualifications and thus have a normal teaching contract. This schooling aims at children with English as their mother tongue or as their language of communication and children with a good previous knowledge of English. On average, a third of the students are native speakers of English. Orientation talks are held in the school and in the course of a conversation the children's language competency is evaluated. Students need to successfully complete this interview before being accepted in a bilingual class.

In this school five lessons of bilingual schooling and five lessons of mainstream education were observed. To be more precise, of bilingual schooling four physics lessons in a third form and one maths lesson of a fourth form were observed. Physics was taught by a South African teacher with a university degree for teaching physics. The maths teacher was an English native speaker who studied engineering first and then got his teacher qualifications in Cambridge. In addition to that, five lessons of mainstream education in a fourth form were observed. Students of this class were not used to being taught content in another language than German and they had got no additional language input than in their EFL lessons. The observations took place in a two-day project about Jamaica and it was held by a Jamaican native speaker with almost no formal teaching qualifications.

School B is also an 'Allgemein bildende höhere Schule' (academic secondary school) and at lower secondary offers the Dual Language Programme (DLP). Only one class in each year group runs as a DLP-class. In this programme three content subjects are taught in part or entirely in English and they are all taught by a qualified native speaker in cooperation with a content teacher. Like in school A also their target group are children coming from bilingual primary schools or children from bilingual families. The requirements for taking part in this programme are the same as in school A.

In school B a total of five lessons were observed. They were put together of Geography in a first and third grade, Music in a second and fourth grade as well as Biology in year one. They were all taught by the same native speaker who was an Australian teacher with general teaching qualification but with no content qualifications. In each of these lessons an Austrian content teacher was present.

School C is also an 'Allgemein bildende höhere Schule' (academic secondary school) offering so called CLIL-classes. At least three content subjects are taught in part in English but only for a third of the lessons English is actually used. They are

taught by Austrian content teachers some of whom have received CLIL training. Sometimes native speakers are employed as a support but they usually have got no teaching qualifications. Students should already have a good knowledge of English but there are no native speakers among them.
In this school two music lessons in a third year CLIL-class were observed. It was taught by an Austrian content teacher who went through a two-year CLIL training.

The table below presents an overview of all seventeen lessons observed and indicates in which school and school form the lesson took place, the grade of the students, the content subject, as well as the teacher(s) who taught each lesson.

Table 1: Summary of observed lessons with regard to research context

lesson	school	form	grade	subject	teacher
1	A	bilingual	3	Physics	qualified native teacher
2	A	bilingual	3	Physics	qualified native teacher
3	A	bilingual	3	Physics	qualified native teacher
4	A	bilingual	3	Physics	qualified native teacher
5	A	bilingual	4	Maths	qualified native teacher
6	A	mainstream	4	Jamaica Project	native speaker
7	A	mainstream	4	Jamaica Project	native speaker
8	A	mainstream	4	Jamaica Project	native speaker
9	A	mainstream	4	Jamaica Project	native speaker
10	A	mainstream	4	Jamaica Project	native speaker
11	B	DLP-class	1	Geography	qualified native speaker and content teacher
12	B	DLP-class	1	Biology	qualified native speaker and content teacher
13	B	DLP-class	2	Music	qualified native speaker and content teacher
14	B	DLP-class	4	Music	qualified native speaker and content teacher
15	B	DLP-class	3	Geography	qualified native speaker and content teacher
16	C	CLIL-class	3	Music	content teacher with CLIL training
17	C	CLIL-class	3	Music	content teacher with CLIL training

5.3.2 Research Process

After having designed and piloted the previously described observational schedule, the next step was to collect the data and so several Viennese schools were contacted for arranging lessons to be observed but the arrangements as well as the actual observations were not an easy task since the observation of classrooms entails some general difficulties as noted by Dörnyei (2007: 188). Most research carried out in a school is very time consuming because in addition to the data collection procedures, meetings with different school administrators as well as teachers are required and these arrangements can stretch over a longer period of time. Working with several teachers can be quite taxing for observers because teachers are often stressed out and schools in general are a very busy environment. I also had to face these challenges because I often appeared at school without being informed that the teacher was ill or at a workshop and that the students were away on a class trip or had a project. These unexpected interruptions stretched the data collection process and made the observations quite exhausting.

My role as a researcher in observation was that of an 'non-participant observer' which meant that I was known as a researcher to the class but I had got less extensive contact with the students and thus I was only minimally involved in the setting which was necessary for achieving distance as well as objectivity. An observer has to have good concentration and needs to be unobtrusive but attentive for ensuring the researcher's reliability (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 404; 411).

A couple of weeks after the last lesson in class had been observed, all taped CLIL lessons were listened to again and entries in the structured observational schedule were made. Next, the results of the observations made in class and the results of the reanalysis of the taped lessons were compared. In case these two sets of observational schedules did not match, the mismatching part was listened to a third time. This two-phase observation should ensure that the notes on the observational schedule were objective and did not contain missing parts. Validity and reliability are key characteristics in my classroom research.

> With regard to the validity of the observations, researchers have to ensure that the indicators of the construct under investigation are fair and operationalized, for example, so that there is agreement on what counts as constituting qualities [...]. With regard to reliability, the indicators have to be applied fully, consistently and securely, with no variation in interpretation. (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 411)

6 Results of Classroom Research

Seventeen CLIL lessons were observed and a total number of 714 minutes were evaluated. In a few cases a short part of the lesson, about ten minutes, was held in German by Austrian content teachers because they wanted to finish the topic of the prior lesson or repeat it. However, these parts are not included in the evaluation since the research focuses on CLIL and so German contributions by content teachers have been ignored. The investigated lessons took place in three different Viennese schools each of which offered a different variation of CLIL. The lessons were taught by five different people four of whom were English native speakers, each with a different nationality as well as educational background, and only one was an Austrian teacher. I am aware that the lessons differ in many aspects such as CLIL variant, language level of students, and qualifications of teachers. Nevertheless, all seventeen lessons have many characteristics in common so that an objective comparability is assured. The observational schedules of each lesson are to be found in the appendix.

6.1 Presentation of Results

The table on the next page represents the aggregated result of the structured schedules of the observed CLIL lessons. The table shows the total number of tokens per category of each lesson and the total number of tokens each category. These figures are the basis of the statistical analysis of the four language skills which is illustrated via pie charts below.

Table 2: Evaluation of the seventeen observational schedules

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	total
SPEAKING	51	39	49	40	48	34	27	39	34	38	29	19	8	3	42	32	30	**562**
MONOLOGICAL	7	/	/	/	/	3	5	6	19	26	/	16	/	/	/	10	10	102
presentation	7	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	19	21	/	16	/	/	/	/	/	63
present results	/	/	/	/	/	3	5	6	/	5	/	/	/	/	/	10	10	39
read aloud																		/
DIALOGICAL	44	39	49	40	48	31	22	33	15	12	29	3	8	3	42	22	20	460
pair work	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	6	/	/	/	/	25	/	/	31
group work	/	/	/	/	/	8	11	20	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	14	12	65
answer question	24	28	15	23	27	19	11	11	12	3	18	/	5	1	4	8	6	215
ask question	20	11	34	17	21	4	/	2	3	3	11	3	3	2	13	/	2	149
WRITING	14	12	10	11	25	11	19	/	/	/	21	13	8	23	5	/	10	**182**
copying of board	14	12	8	11	25	3	7	/	/	/	6	10	8	/	5	/	/	109
note taking	/	/	/	/	/	/	1	/	/	/	/	3	/	/	/	/	/	4
synthesise																		/
answer question	/	/	/	/	/	8	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	23	/	/	/	31
fill in worksheet	/	/	2	/	/	/	11	/	/	/	8	/	/	/	/	/	10	31
write a text	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	7	/	/	/	/	/	/	7
LISTENING	46	44	45	46	42	39	35	33	31	18	33	13	30	7	28	31	33	**1054**
W teacher	/	/	/	/	/	/	5	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	8	27	29	69
H native	46	44	45	46	42	39	30	33	31	18	33	13	19	7	20	/	/	466
O student	40	35	41	33	38	31	25	34	33	37	25	19	8	3	41	28	29	500
M recorded	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	11	/	/	4	4	19
report	/	/	/	/	/	21	5	/	/	/	/	16	/	/	/	/	/	42
synthesise																		/
memorize	42	44	31	44	/	12	12	19	25	36	8	1	5	5	8	14	18	324
perform a task	6	2	14	2	43	16	29	35	25	15	27	12	24	2	35	36	24	347
READING	/	/	/	/	/	5	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	/	/	8	/	**15**
educational text	/	/	/	/	/	5	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	/	/	8	/	15
genuine text																		/
report	/	/	/	/	/	5	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	8		13
synthesise																		/
memorize																		/
perform a task	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	/	/	/	/	2
number of tokens per category each lesson																		**1813**

The distribution of the four language skills in the investigated CLIL lessons is represented by the very first pie chart (Figure 4). It can be clearly seen that the vast majority of time is spent on the skills speaking and listening. More than half of the time is allocated to listening and a third is spent on speaking. On the other hand, only limited time is allocated to reading or writing. A mere one percent of time is spent on reading and ten percent is allocated to the writing skill. The next charts present more information about each skill and how they get promoted in CLIL lessons.

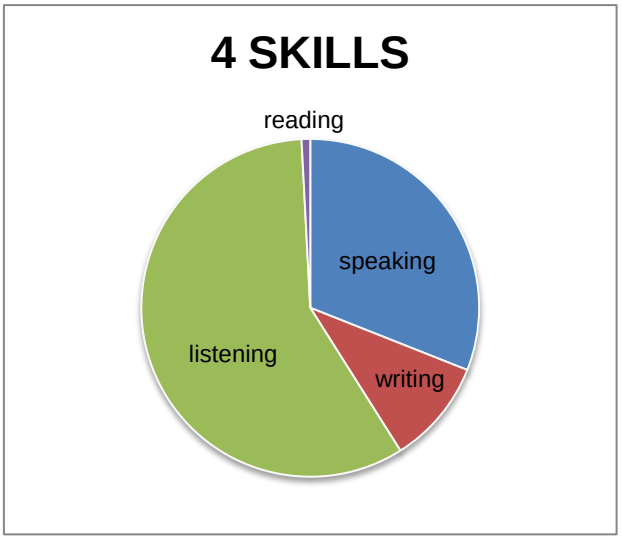

Figure 4: Distribution of the four language skills in CLIL lessons

Details of the oral production skill are provided in the next three paragraphs. Looking at the distribution between monological and dialogical speech (Figure 5), it is striking that that the latter is much more employed in that it makes up 82 percent of total student speaking time. Monological speech, which are opportunities for students to produce longer turns, appear far less frequently. More information about how monological and dialogical speech is represented in CLIL lessons is offered below.

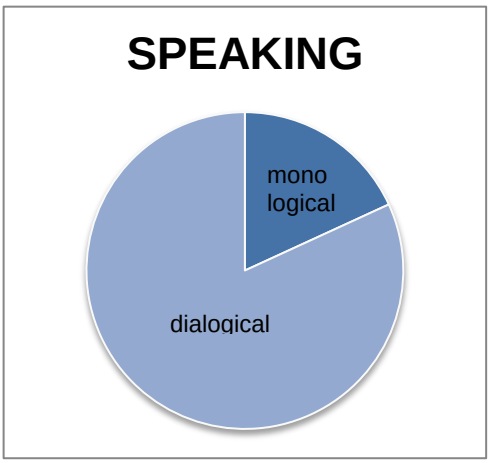

Figure 5: Division of speaking into monological and dialogical speech

Monological speech is represented by student presentations which make up almost two thirds of monological student speaking time. The other third is allocated to the presentation of results of previous pair or group work. No case of reading aloud has been observed.

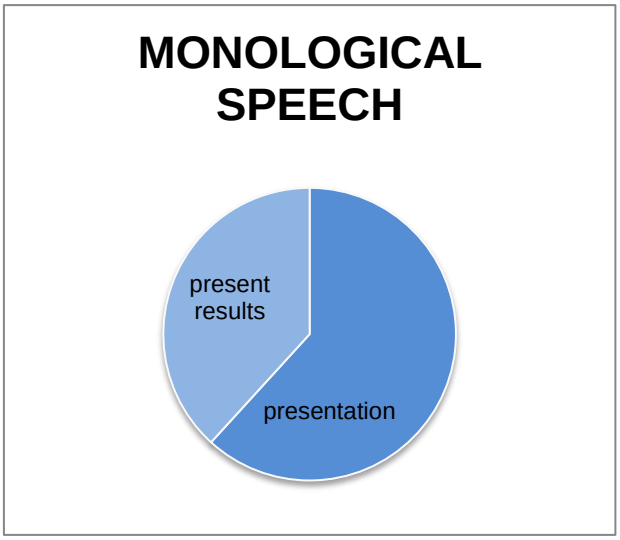

Figure 6: Detailed view of monological speech

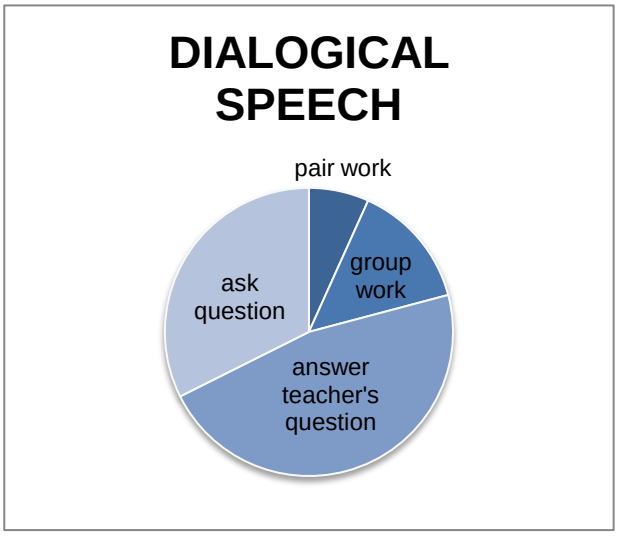

Figure 7: Students' opportunities to participate in dialogical speech

The four opportunities for CLIL students to practice spoken interaction and how these are distributed are shown in Figure 7. The majority of dialogical speech is filled with answering or asking questions. Students answering teachers' questions make up almost half of dialogical speech but here the conversational control stays with the questioner whereas students are rather passive. Nevertheless, a third of dialogical speech is represented by students who take on an active speaking role via asking questions themselves. Another way to support the oral exchange is pair or group work in which students form a balanced co-operation, contrasting the two teacher-led interactions above. Group work is practiced twice as much than pair work. However, it must be noted that most students speak German rather than English during pair or group work.

Turning to the writing skill, the respective pie chart shows the apportionment of the different ways to promote writing and thus presents all writing categories of the observational schedule, except the category "synthesising or writing summaries" which has not been observed once. Almost two thirds of the time spent on writing is allocated to the rather mechanical skill copying from the board, followed, by some distance, by the categories "answer questions" and "fill in a worksheet" with only seventeen percent each. The shortest amount of time is spent on writing a text of any length and on note taking, which are both cognitively and linguistically demanding.

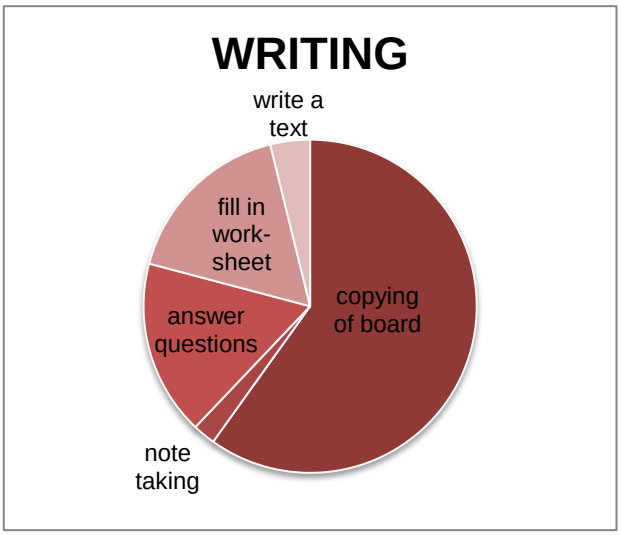

Figure 8: Distribution of writing categories

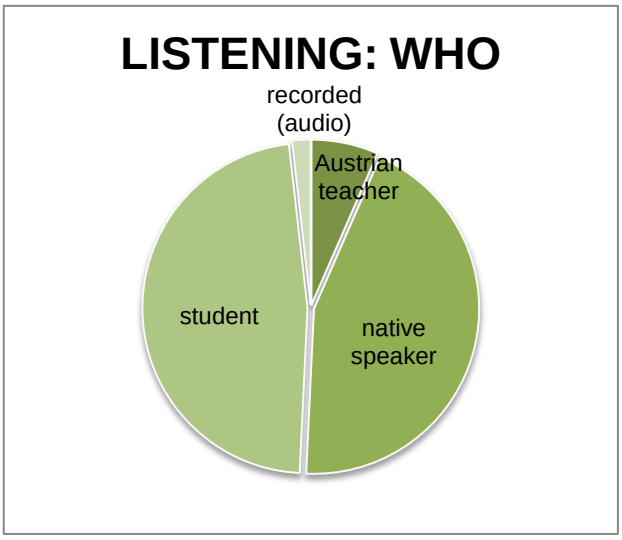

Figure 9: Apportionment of speakers students are listening to

Next we turn to reviewing the aural reception skill and start with focusing on speakers who CLIL students are confronted with in their lessons. According to Figure 9, almost the equal amount of listening time is allocated to native speakers and students, namely 44 and 47 percent, respectively. However, it must be noted that the bulk of student speech consists of short utterances whereas students listen to longer talks by native speakers or teachers. Almost half of the listening time is allocated to English native speakers of whom some went through teacher training in their homeland. Only two out of the seventeen investigated CLIL lessons were taught by an Austrian content teacher and in the rest of the lessons the native speakers were rarely supported by content and/or language teachers. Hence, only seven percent of the listening time is spent on

Austrian teachers. Finally, a very limited time is spent on listening to audio recordings but these occasions have only been observed in the subject music.

Secondly, looking at the reasons for listening it is evident that the main reason for listening is to obtain information crucial for performing a task, closely followed by memorizing the heard information. On few occasions the students have to report what knowledge they have gained through listening. However, the reason "synthesize or put the heard information into a different format" did not come up in the investigated lessons.

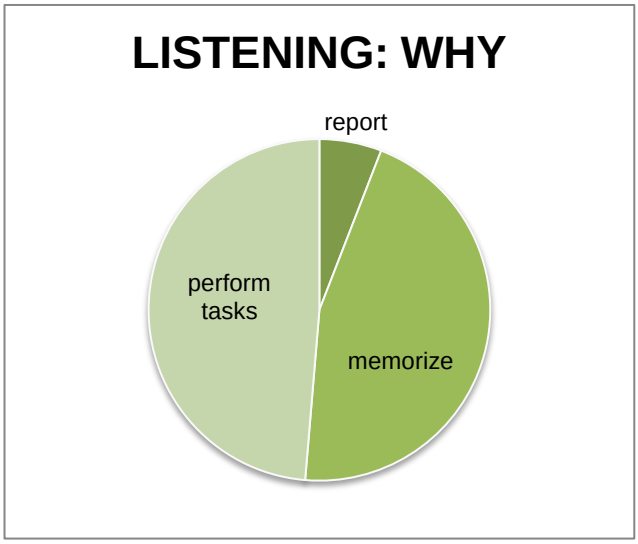

Figure 10: Distribution of listening purposes

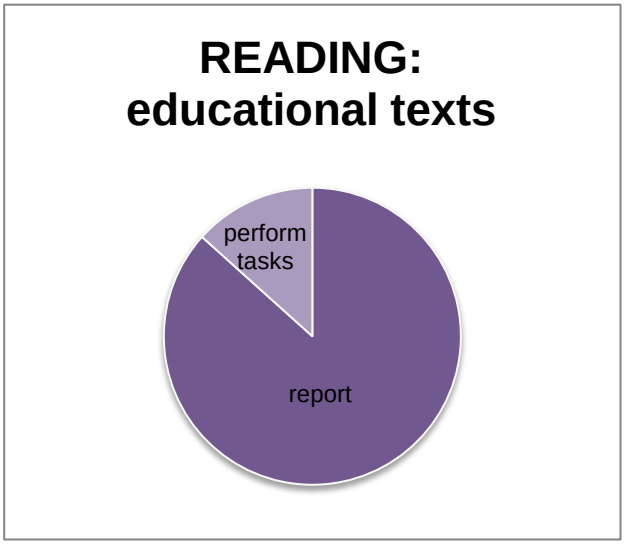

Figure 11: Students' reasons for reading educational texts in class

The visual reception skill is not engaged very often in CLIL lessons as outlined above. The observed CLIL students are only exposed to educational texts, which are especially composed for language learners, and thus do not have to handle genuine or authentic texts. The evaluation of the observational schedules reveals only two reasons for reading, namely report what one has read and obtain information crucial for performing a task. The former is by far the most prominent reason.

6.2 Discussion of Results

Due to the fact that the vast majority of time is spent on the skills speaking and listening, as can be read in Figure 4, it seems obvious that CLIL lessons are predominantly oracy-oriented. This observation can be reasoned by the fact that formal education in general is mainly located in the oral sphere and thus school lessons, including CLIL, focus on oral communication. “They are face-to-face encounters designed to make knowledge accessible to the students by interacting with a teacher and with peers” (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 148). This correlates with CLIL theory, which states that such a ‘dialogic form of pedagogy’ is an essential part of CLIL lessons because classroom communication is at the core of learning in CLIL (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 35 and Jexenflicker & Dalton-Puffer 2010: 169).

According to theory (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 29; 35), CLIL teaching should be student centred so that students get the possibility to express their ideas and to be active participants in a genuine communication but this is not always the case in CLIL practice as my classroom research about Austrian CLIL lessons reveals. Even though Figure 4 suggests that a third of the lesson time is offered to students for speaking, one needs to take a closer look for getting a realistic picture of student speaking time in CLIL classrooms. Only twenty percent of student speaking time is contributed to monological speech, see Figure 5, that are students’ opportunities to speak at greater length along with having some authority over topic choice but these instances are usually scripted speech, such as student presentations, and thus there are few opportunities for students to test their linguistic hypotheses and they are not forced to go beyond safe territory. On the other hand, dialogical speech also allows students to take the floor but, as Figure 7 demonstrates, more than two thirds of dialogical speech is teacher led. This sort of dialogical speech has been termed whole class interaction, which Dalton-Puffer (2007: 31) defines as “the teacher conducting a dialogue with the class as a collective conversational partner”. Here the main discourse is in the hands of the teachers who control the conversation and as a result students do not get the opportunity to practice the interaction skills usually required for participating in an oral exchange.

> In other words, self-nomination, deciding when to speak, fighting for the floor and ceding speaking rights are not activities which are part of the student’s role repertoire in whole-class interaction. On top of being the discourse manager the teacher is also the main provider of topics and information so that

> by the same token, topic nomination and steering the talk in a certain direction are largely outside the scope of student talk. (Dalton-Puffer 2009: 207)

Dalton-Puffer's (2007) Austrian study about CLIL reveals pretty much the same and she noticed that CLIL lessons are marked by a "tripartite Initiation-Response-Feedback structure. The teacher 'owns' both the Initiation and the Feedback slot and decides whether responses will be individual or in chorus and how the students can bid for turns at talk (volunteering or nomination)" (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 31). Since only the Response slot is reserved for students, it is self-explanatory that students' opportunities for oral production are quite limited and as a consequence student output is short as well as simple. However, pair or group work could intensify students' involvement and increase the quantity along with quality of their oral output in that students do not have to compete with the superior teacher but in my data, compare Figure 7, as well as in Dalton-Puffer's (2007: 32) pair or group work are not employed very often and these rather short activities are usually slotted into the overall flow of teacher-led whole class discussion (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 28; 31-32; 36-37; 118 and Dalton-Puffer 2009: 203 and Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares 2013: 79-80). This shortage of small group interactions opposes the theoretical intention of CLIL because Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010: 35) clearly state that students "must learn how to operate collaboratively and work effectively in groups".

"Simple arithmetic tells us that with 25 students in a class, if each has a say in a 50 minute lesson, their speaking time must be less than two minutes [...]. It follows, by simple power of logic, that CLIL students are listeners most of the time" (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 148-149). This inference is confirmed by the present data because Figure 4 clearly displays that listening is by far the most employed language skill. In that Austrian CLIL lessons are characterized by teacher-led whole class interactions, the main source of aural input are utterances of teachers or peers, namely questions along with feedback from the teachers and student answers or student presentations. Moreover, Dalton-Puffer (2008: 149) remarked on her observations of Austrian CLIL classrooms that extended teacher monologues, also referred to as lecturing, are missing in classroom talk.

> On the linguistic level, the absence of lecturing means that in the students' input there is an absence of longer pieces which set out facts, concepts and the semantic relations holding between them in a coherent discourse of some syntactic and textual complexity. (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 149)

However, CLIL strongly contributes to the development of the oral reception skill in that it enlarges the number of different speakers which students listen to in their lessons. My data is even exceptional with regard to the high number of native speakers because four out of five observed teachers are English native speakers everyone with a different nationality. Hence, the investigated CLIL lessons offer students the opportunity to work with native speakers of the target language and to benefit from their multicultural identities. Culture is an essential aspect of CLIL and it should be seen as a door opener for intercultural experience because CLIL lessons provide students with opportunities to engage in an intercultural dialogue (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 40 and Dalton-Puffer 2008: 143; 148-148; 152).

Writing, on the other hand, plays only a minor role in the CLIL lessons investigated in the present study. This data is not exceptional in that also Dalton-Puffer (2009: 206) states about her observations in Austrian CLIL classrooms that writing has 'a minute role' and that apart from some note taking there is not much evidence for students producing written language. However, as Figure 8 shows, in my data there are almost no cases of note taking but most of the writing time is spent on copying from the board, which might be explained by the fact that all CLIL lessons took place in lower secondary and at that level students are usually not mature enough to cope with tasks that are cognitively or linguistically too demanding, like note taking. Given this absence of writing in CLIL lessons, which is actually a general phenomenon of subject-didactics in the German speaking teaching culture, it seems not surprising that Austrian or German studies on language learning outcomes report of students' deficiencies in the written competence in both, the mother tongue as well as English, which has already been discussed in chapter 3 (Jexenflicker & Dalton-Puffer 2010: 172; 182-183).

Reading as well is not engaged often in CLIL lessons because a mere one percent of time is spent on the visual reception skill as Figure 4 demonstrates. This absence of reading has also been observed by Dalton-Puffer (2008: 148) who states that "despite the centrality of written texts in the knowledge traditions of literate societies, for the actual process of teaching [...] classroom talk [remains] the central source of participants' linguistic and intellectual experience at school". Hence, books or other written texts are only additional resources of knowledge to the transmission of information via speech. The present Austrian data, which reveals little exposure to written language in CLIL lessons, contradicts to some extent the positive learning

outcomes reported by CLIL research. As mentioned in chapter 3, Canadian immersion students obtained native-like receptive skills, such as reading, but it is questionable whether Austrian CLIL students would also perform so well in reading tasks since they do not get the opportunity to read English texts so often. However, there is the possibility that CLIL students' greater general language ability compensates for their lack of reading experience in the target language (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 143; 148).

Overall, the acquisition of the four language skills "takes place within a larger sociocognitive whole, that is, a *discourse*. With regard to language learning in CLIL the central speech event in this discourse is the school-lesson" (Dalton-Puffer 2009: 211-212, original emphasis). A school lesson, independently of being a mainstream content lesson or a CLIL lesson, is characterized by "the situative context of *institutional education*. It is widely known that educational discourse is determined by certain spatial and temporal conditions (buildings, classrooms, timetables) as well as by the goals of the institution and the roles of the participants" (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 148, original emphasis). Students and teachers have already been socialized for many years by the institutional frame and so they act in their fixed roles of expert or novice. This explains why CLIL students do not get the opportunity to talk or to participate as much as CLIL theory suggests. Even though 15 out of 17 investigated lessons were taught by native speakers, so teachers who got socialized in another country than Austria, their CLIL classrooms can be largely defined the same as any Austrian classroom. Austrian content lessons are simply characterized by teacher-led whole class interaction and students accepting their inferior speaking rights, no matter which language is used. Using a foreign language does not transfer the event into the target language's cultural context because CLIL students along with teachers just re-enact the well-known classroom discourse in English (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 32 and Dalton-Puffer 2008: 148 and Dalton-Puffer 2009: 207; 211-212).

> In sum, the conditions of classroom talk necessarily impose restrictions on all aspects of communicative competence acquired and practice in CLIL. The positive side of this restrictedness is that CLIL students can rehearse participation in L2-talk-in-interaction under simplified conditions because of their high familiarity with the context and its discourse rules. (Dalton-Puffer 2009: 212)

7 Conclusion

After having conducted an empirical study about CLIL classrooms and connecting its results with the theoretical foundation of CLIL and the four language skills established in the initial chapters, I would like to summarise and conclude the results of the observation as well as findings of this thesis.

As a starting point, the concept of CLIL has been examined with a special focus on the language learning aspect. It has been shown that CLIL puts genuine communication in the vehicular language at its core because meaningful language usage is crucial for developing language competence. Moreover, six theoretical approaches to second language learning and acquisition have been introduced, of which one theory, namely Communicative Competence, is central to the concept of CLIL because its lessons are clearly characterized as communicative events. Further, a literature review on CLIL research has been provided and it can be summed up that pretty much every product-oriented study reports that CLIL learners significantly outperform their non-CLIL counterparts of mainstream education in the overall foreign language proficiency as well as in each language skill, even though some language skills profit more than others. Also the process-oriented studies, which focus on classroom interaction and discourse, report of CLIL as being beneficial to students' language competence. Finally, the compact overview of each of the four language skills has demonstrated that each skill fulfils an important role of human communication because successful participation in an interaction requires productive and receptive skills. Hence, CLIL students must gain competences in each of the four language skills for being proficient foreign or second language users.

The aim of this thesis was to investigate Austrian CLIL classrooms and to find out how much time is allocated to each language skill and how these four skills get promoted in CLIL lessons. The empirical study presented in this paper used highly structured observational schedules for observing seventeen CLIL lessons taught in three different Viennese schools.

With regard to the first research question, it can be concluded that Austrian CLIL lessons are predominantly oracy-oriented because the vast majority of time is allocated to the skills speaking and listening. In particular the listening skill is employed extremely often in that more than a half of the time is spent to listening which suggests that CLIL students receive more input than actively producing

language themselves. Furthermore, the skills reading or writing are employed only randomly during the observed CLIL lessons. This distribution of the four skills has been explained by the fact that formal education in general is mainly located in the oral sphere and thus books or other written texts are only additional resources of knowledge to the transmission of information via oral communication.

Regarding the second research question, which offers a more detailed view into the four language skills, it can be stated that in particular the speaking skill is not as promoted as one might expect from CLIL theory. According to the theoretical intentions of CLIL, students should get the possibility to express their ideas and be active participants in a genuine communication but students' opportunities for speaking are usually represented by answering teachers' questions and these answers are usually short as well as simple. Opportunities for students to speak at greater length or having some authority over topic choice are represented by pair- or group work as well as student presentations but these are quite limited and slotted into the overall flow of teacher-led whole class discussion. As a consequence, CLIL students are most of the time listeners and mainly they listen to the short answers of their peers and longer turns of their teachers, which are largely English native speakers with different nationalities. The writing skill is primarily promoted via the rather mechanical task of copying from the board and via filling in worksheets or providing short answers to questions, hence the employed writing tasks are neither cognitively nor linguistically demanding. Finally, in the very few instances of reading the observed CLIL students are exclusively exposed to educational texts and so they do not have to handle genuine or authentic texts.

As a conclusion, this thesis argues that Austrian CLIL lessons still take place in an Austrian educational context and thus CLIL lessons share many characteristics with mainstream content lessons. The observed CLIL classrooms were characterised by a teacher-led whole class discussions and students accepting their inferior speaking rights. Students and teachers have already been socialized for many years by the institutional frame and so they act in their fixed roles of expert or novice. This explains why CLIL students do not get the opportunity to talk or to participate as much as CLIL theory intends.

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Appendix

This appendix entails the observational schedules of the seventeen CLIL lessons which were observed for conducting the classroom research. A description of the schedule or its usage is found in chapter 5. Detailed information about the subjects of the study can be read up in subchapter 5.3.1. The evaluation of the observational schedules is presented in chapter 6.

Lesson 1

School A: 3rd form bilingual schooling. Physics: qualified native teacher.

Min	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	20	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	30	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	40	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	50
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Lesson 2

School A: 3rd form bilingual schooling. Physics: qualified native teacher

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Lesson 3

School A: 3rd form bilingual schooling. Physics: qualified native teacher

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Lesson 4

School A: 3rd form bilingual schooling. Physics: qualified native teacher

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Lesson 5

School A: 4th form bilingual schooling. Maths: qualified native teacher

Min	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	20	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	30	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	40	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	50
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Lesson 6

School A: 4th form mainstream education. Project about Jamaica: native speaker

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School A: 4th form mainstream education. Project about Jamaica: native speaker

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School A: 4th form mainstream education. Project about Jamaica: native speaker

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Lesson 9

School A: 4th form mainstream education. Project about Jamaica: native speaker

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Lesson 10

School A: 4th form mainstream education. Project about Jamaica: native speaker

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Lesson 11

School B: 1st form Dual Language Programme (DLP). Geography: qualified native speaker and content teacher

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Lesson 12

School B: 1st form Dual Language Programme (DLP). Biology: qualified native speaker and content teacher

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Lesson 13

School B: 2nd form Dual Language Programme (DLP). Music: qualified native speaker and content teacher

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Lesson 14

School B: 4th form Dual Language Programme (DLP). Music: qualified native speaker and content teacher

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Lesson 15

School B: 3rd form Dual Language Programme (DLP). Geography: qualified native speaker and content & language teacher

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Lesson 16

School C: 3rd form CLIL-class. Music: content teacher with CLIL training

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Lesson 17

School C: 3rd form CLIL-class. Music: content teacher with CLIL training

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Curriculum Vitae

Persönliche Daten

Vorname:	Claudia
Zuname:	Windhager
Geburtsdatum:	22.11.1988
Geburtsort:	Wien
Staatsangehörigkeit:	Österreich

Bildungsweg

WS 2010/11	Studium an der University of Manchester, Großbritannien, im Rahmen des Erasmusprogrammes
seit Oktober 2007	Lehramtsstudium der Anglistik und Amerikanistik sowie Psychologie und Philosophie an der Universität Wien
Juni 2007	Matura mit ausgezeichnetem Erfolg
2004	Ausbildung zum Peer Mediator
1999 - 2007	Gymnasium, Bernoullistraße 3, 1220 Wien
1995 - 1999	Volksschule Schrebergasse

Berufliche Tätigkeiten

seit 2011	Geringfügig beschäftigt bei United Colors of Benetton
Aug. - Sep. 2009	Au Pair in Oxford, Großbritannien
Juli - Aug. 2008	Au Pair in Kent, Großbritannien
seit 2008	Nachhilfeunterricht für Englisch
2007 - 2008	Geringfügig beschäftigt bei C&A
Juli 2006	Ferialpraktikum in der AKH – Telefonvermittlung