Searching for identity and focus: towards an analytical framework for language teachers in bilingual education

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ABSTRACT
In CLIL contexts, school subjects are taught in an additional language, allowing learners to acquire the target language through meaningful use. This places language teachers in an ambiguous position. What is their role in this context? On the one hand, language teachers are expected to collaborate with subject teacher colleagues; on the other hand, they teach separate language lessons. This double role provides language teachers and their educators with specific challenges in terms of identity and focus.

To explore and explain the choices language teachers have, this review examines international research from the last 25 years with a primary focus on secondary schools. As recent discussions argue convincingly that research into CLIL, Content Based Instruction and immersion benefit from convergence and cross-fertilisation, we used a broad range of search terms to identify primary and secondary research.

Selected articles were organised into four inquiry areas and analysed thematically: (1) language focus, (2) content focus of learning, (3) language teachers’ pedagogical practices, and (4) their collaboration with subject teachers. Based on these themes, we developed a framework for language teachers and their educators in bilingual education designed to help them explore, explain and develop their own identity and focus.

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Language teachers; CLIL; collaborative practices; pedagogical practices; language focus; content focus

Introduction
Despite the prevalence of bilingual education programmes across the world (Lyster 2011) and a body of research showing their feasibility and effectiveness (Genesee 2008), the preparation of teachers and the challenges for teachers already working in this field have been highlighted as a concern by both researchers and practitioners (Tedick and Cammarata 2012). However, much of the literature (see below) focuses on challenges for subject teachers (STs) rather than language teachers (LTs) and where teacher education programmes do exist, they are aimed mainly at STs.

Our experiences in bilingual stream inspection teams in the Netherlands suggest LTs can struggle to define their position. They are unclear as to what they are teaching, how to teach in a bilingual context and how best to collaborate with ST colleagues. Their understandings of appropriate pedagogical and collaborative practices vary significantly within and between schools. Some feel their expertise is being under-used by their schools, others feel colleagues and school leaders have unrealistic expectations of them. Language teacher educators, in turn, express concern that existing
teacher education programmes in the Netherlands do not adequately prepare LTs to work in this context.

More generally, in CLIL classroom research, language lessons tend to be under-represented, as they are one of many subject lessons in schools. For example, the majority of 69 lessons studied by Schuitemaker-King (2012) were subject lessons. She looked at only 14 English support lessons in bilingual streams and 11 mainstream English lessons. Dalton-Puffer (2007) analysed the classroom discourse in 10 subject teachers’ classes, de Graaff et al. (2007) observed nine lessons of which seven were subject lessons and two were English lessons.

Recent publications on CLIL (Coyle, Hood, and Marsh 2010; Dale and Tanner 2012; Llinares, Morton, and Whittaker 2012; Mephisto, Marsh, and Frigols 2008) also pay more attention to the ST than to the LT. Teaching handbooks for CLIL (e.g. Dale and Tanner 2012; Deller and Price 2007) have been aimed at STs rather than LTs. We appear to know surprisingly little about LTs, about their language teaching and about how they collaborate with STs in bilingual streams. We appear to neglect them in teacher education programmes. This literature review therefore sets out to explore and explain the position of the LT and the language curriculum in bilingual streams to inform continuing professional development and pre-service teacher education of LTs in bilingual streams on the choices that can be made. To provide focus in the review, four inquiry areas have been selected; language, content, pedagogical practices and collaborative practices in bilingual contexts. These in turn led to four main questions in relation to CLIL teaching:

1. Which language focus is identified for language teaching?
2. Which content focus is identified for language teaching?
3. How does theory inform LTs’ pedagogical practices?
4. What issues are identified with regard to LTs’ collaborative practices?

We are interested in both pedagogical and collaborative practices for LTs in bilingual streams. By pedagogical practices we mean the ways in which the literature reviewed suggests LTs teach the language and content they choose to teach. Pedagogical practices are underpinned by implicit or explicit assumptions about what to teach, how this is learned, where learning takes place, and what kinds of evidence can be used to demonstrate that learning has taken place (Bransford et al. 2005). For this reason, we are interested in the ways theory informs the pedagogical practices discussed in the literature.

By collaborative practices we mean the ways in which the literature reviewed suggests LTs cooperate with STs in bilingual contexts. We include these because STs in several contexts (e.g. the Netherlands and Spain) may be non-native speakers (Garcia and Vazquez 2012; Schuitemaker-King 2012) and not trained as LTs. LTs may then, for example, be asked to support non-native speaker STs’ language development, help them formulate language learning outcomes and develop
language-focused approaches to subject teaching. A quality standard in the Netherlands (European Platform 2011) even requires schools to facilitate collaboration between LTs and STs, as a means of support for these non-native, non-language-trained STs. Our focus in this inquiry area is on issues identified in the literature because our primary interest is in the position and profile of LTs in relation to STs rather than the theoretical underpinnings of collaborative practices per se.

**Method**

**Search terms**

For this review, we conducted a literature search in the University of Amsterdam discovery interface which includes all the records from the university catalogue and most articles from e-journals that the university subscribes to, including journals in the fields of language, linguistics and education. The search was limited to publications after Snow, Met, and Genesee's (1989) seminal paper which provided a conceptual framework for the integration of language and content in foreign language instruction. The initial search included publications up to and including 2014.

Research focusing solely on LTs in CLIL contexts is scarce; much of the research until now has focused on either STs or both STs and LTs. For example, a preliminary search using the terms 'roles, LTs, CLIL' returned only five articles including Coyle (2007) and Lo (2014a, 2014b). In addition, there has been debate about the distinctiveness of CLIL as a language teaching approach. It has been compared to a family of approaches to bilingual education, including Content-Based Instruction (CBI), immersion, English as an Additional Language (EAL) and Languages or Literacy Across the Curriculum (LAC) (Cenoz, Genesee, and Gorter 2014; Coyle, Hood, and Marsh 2010). Brinton, Snow, and Wesche (2003) link CBI to Sheltered Instruction and suggest it is influenced by LAC, English for Specific Purposes and English for Academic Purposes.

Following Cenoz, Genesee, and Gorter (2014), Coyle (2007) and Llinares (2015) we agree that research into CLIL, Content Based Instruction (CBI) and immersion will benefit from convergence and cross-fertilisation. The various approaches reflect several lines of thinking about language teaching in school contexts, broadly represented by the three terms foreign language (FL) teaching, second language (SL) teaching and mother tongue or first language (L1) teaching. All three lineages can provide insights into language teaching in this context. CLIL, CBI and immersion are built on both FL and SL lineages; EAL and Sheltered Instruction on an SL lineage; language and literacy across the curriculum are built on an L1 lineage.

The search terms we used build on the above mentioned convergence. The approaches we searched for included CLIL, CBI, immersion, English as an Additional Language, language and literacy across the curriculum and Sheltered Instruction, as well as LT roles, language coach, ST and LT collaboration and co-teaching.

The search was carried out in three stages; a systematic library search followed by a hand search and finally expert consultation. An initial search using the above terms returned 147 hits. These were sorted by relevance and screened on the basis of the title and/ or summary until no new relevant articles were identified. Research was selected which focused on language teaching, language teachers’ pedagogical and/ or collaborative practices and included LTs in bilingual schools. Articles on subject teaching only, research on assessment or policy only, on STs only, on learners only or in professional settings only were excluded.

The systematic search and subsequent hand search of the articles’ bibliographies resulted in an initial list of 58 publications. Three experts (from the Netherlands, the US and Spain) were then asked to comment on the completeness of this list. On the basis of their feedback, 23 additions were made, giving an initial database of 81 articles. This included articles then in press, subsequently published in 2015. These were read in full and papers were then screened again using the above criteria. Because LTs and their position in tertiary settings may differ from school settings in a number of ways, e.g. educational background and training, access to and
use of learning resources and materials, organisational, departmental and interdepartmental structures, the status of the profession, tertiary settings were excluded. 12 articles were thereby removed from the database. The finalised literature list contained 69 papers of which 33 were studies from peer reviewed journals, edited volumes and conference proceedings and 36 were theoretical articles, summaries, reviews.

Data collection and analysis
A thematic analysis was carried out. Topics were inductively operationalised as the data was analysed, using MaxQDA (a software programme for qualitative and mixed methods data analysis). Five topics were identified: types of language, aspects of language, types of content, theories for pedagogical practices, and issues with collaborative practices. Descriptions in the data related to each topic were grouped and generic labels were assigned to identify underlying themes within each topic. This was an iterative process, as the authors regularly reviewed and critically evaluated the labels. The themes are not intended to be mutually exclusive categories and may show overlap as a result of taking a wide frame of reference. This convergence and cross-fertilisation is inevitable when different lineages are represented in literature.

Results
The results of the literature review are presented below. The five topics are presented in turn. For each topic, we give a brief definition of the themes we identified. This is followed by a table showing descriptions given in literature and the sources in which they were used. To keep the text readable and allow readers to trace the sources of the themes, references are provided in the tables, but not in the text. After summarising the findings of the five topics, the discussion will show how these topics interact and give rise to a framework that may be used to explore and explain LTs identity and focus.

Type of language
We identified five themes for types of language in our inductive analysis of the literature (see Table 1). ‘Subject-specific’ language is the language needed to access and express understanding of subject-specific concepts (cf. content-obligatory; Snow, Met, and Genesee 1989). Classroom language is the language needed to understand instructions and carry out learning activities in the classroom (cf. Coyle 2007). General academic language is the more generic, non-subject-specific academic language found across subject areas. This language is characterised as being particular to the context of schooling, like Cummins (1984) Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). It is less specific than content language, but different from everyday language. General everyday language is language used for social interaction on a daily basis (Cummins 1984 denotes this language as Basic Interpersonal Communications Skills (BICS)). Culture-specific language is language needed to communicate effectively with members of countries or communities where the TL is spoken. Kramsch and Ware (2004), for example, advocate teaching intercultural communicative competence.

These five themes are not intended to be all-inclusive. They do not, for example, accommodate Coyle’s (2007) idea of language through learning, or Archer’s (2000) support of visual literacy. Nor do they encompass ideas about English as a global language, or lingua franca, which is independent of the cultures where it is spoken as a community language (e.g. Kramsch 2014; Kramsch and Ware 2004; Larsen-Freeman and Freeman 2008; Scarino 2014).

Table 1 gives an overview of the five themes for types of language we identified in the literature. The first column gives examples of how researchers referred to this type of language.
Aspects of language

Tedick and Cammarata (2012) emphasise that one of the biggest challenges for teachers in bilingual contexts is choosing which aspects of language (meaning or form) to focus on. Through the literature review, we identified five themes for aspects of language.

The label content/meaning describes contexts where no language focus is made explicit, either unintentionally or as a result of a focus on content learning at the expense of language learning. The theme vocabulary identifies a focus on the learning of words.

The label grammar describes a focus on the learning of language structures, syntax and morphology. Although we include grammar as a theme, the use of this term does not imply that grammatical focus is or should be based on a linear, prescriptive grammatical sequencing. None of the authors explicitly advocate such an exclusively rule-based view of language, although it may be the intentional or incidental focus of learning, or measured when evaluating outcomes. DiCerbo et al. (2014) characterise such a view as being inconsistent with findings from linguistic research and as having ‘negative consequences for the way in which grammar is described and taught’ (Celce-Murcia [2002, 143–144] in DiCerbo et al. [2014]). Pessoa et al. (2007) demonstrate that manipulative practice of language form out of context is ineffective in bilingual contexts. Myhill and Watson (2014) also argue against prescriptive grammatical approaches such as isolated naming and labelling of word classes and syntactical structures. Snow, Met, and Genesee (1989) advocate a language curriculum based around the content and communicative needs of learners, rather than on a
grammatical progression from simple to complex language structures. This is supported by Coyle (2007), who advocates language teaching beyond such grammatical progression. Similarly Cammarata (2010), Ceruti (2010), Lyster and Tedick (2014) argue against more traditional language instruction. Moreover, When a focus on form is advocated, the focus is intentional (Lyster and Tedick 2014) but on form which is incidentally occurring in contextualised content (Afitska 2012; Banegas 2016; Bigelow 2010; Creese 2005).

*Functions, skills and strategies* describes a language focus on one or more of these three linguistic dimensions. These three dimensions were grouped as one theme rather than individual categories as both in language teaching approaches (e.g. Communicative Language Teaching and Cognitive Academic Language Learning) and in the literature reviewed, they are often used concurrently or seen as inter-related. Under functions we included a focus on form and meaning (Nikula, Llinares, and Dalton-Puffer 2013), form-function relationships (Kong 2009) or form-meaning relationships (Hlas and Hlas 2012) and the relationship between grammatical features and sentence patterns for knowledge structures at sentence level, rather than text or discourse level (Coyle 2007, 2011; Lo 2014a). Skills included the common language skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing), and general study skills. Strategies included language learning strategies such as reading strategies. *Discourse* describes a language focus at text or discourse level, including reference to lexico-grammatical systems in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

Table 2 gives an overview of the five main aspects of language identified in the literature. The first column gives examples of the descriptions used in the literature to describe this language feature. The descriptions of types and aspects of language reflect the variety and complexity of orientations towards language in research. Different viewpoints on language led to researchers highlighting different aspects of language and referring to language in different ways. The variety of viewpoints reflects struggles in the research field. But the variety and range of types of language and aspects of language described does not help either LTs or teacher educators choose which type or aspect of language to focus on.

### Type of content

Whether or not the language curriculum has content and whether that content is fixed is a matter of debate in the literature. Creese (2000) argues it has no content. Larsen-Freeman and Freeman (2008, 178) point out that language is dynamic, and so re-constituted as it is taught, learned and used in different places. In their view, the content of the language curriculum is therefore also in a continual state of flux. In the literature, we identified four themes for types of content through the inductive analysis (see Table 3). These are parallel in some, but not all, respects to the types of language.

*School subjects* refers to content which follows the curriculum of non-language and non-culture (such as literature, arts, see below) or school subjects. *Thematic* is theme-based content selected from school subjects or contemporary social or cultural issues. *Cultural content* refers to literature, arts or culture oriented content. It includes cultural perspectives, points of view and identity management (Kramsch and Ware 2004). Cultural content is culture-specific when it is linked to or derived from the culture of countries or communities where the language is spoken. *Language as content* refers to language itself as the subject matter in the lesson. Banegas (2016, 115) argues ‘content should also include language as a system of subsystems, as an object of study positioned in systemic functional linguistics.’ Table 3 gives an overview of the content we identified in the literature. The first column gives examples of descriptions in the literature for these types of content.

Whilst we found fewer (four) themes for content in the literature than for language, there is still great variety in the type of content which an LT may choose to focus on. Teasing out these content perspectives may help LTs make more conscious decisions when selecting content.
Table 2. Descriptions in the literature of five features of language.

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<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
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Theories for pedagogical practices

We identified four theories informing pedagogical practices in bilingual contexts in our literature review (see Table 4). Nikula, Llinares, and Dalton-Puffer’s (2013) review of CLIL classroom discourse research from Europe identifies three intertwined focus areas of research; language use, language learning and knowledge construction in an L2 in CLIL classrooms. Under research primarily oriented to L2 learning and pedagogical aspects of CLIL classrooms, they included as SLA research topics negotiation of meaning, output, corrective feedback, scaffolding, task-based learning and explicit language work such as attention to vocabulary or focus on form.

To reflect these areas, with the exception of scaffolding, we used the term SLA-derived to describe such pedagogical practices, and as Table 4 shows they seem to dominate the field. Socio-cultural theory-derived describes pedagogical practices related to teacher questioning, dialogic inquiry and scaffolding, as these are closely associated with Vygotskian theories of learning. SFL theory-derived refers to pedagogical practices which were explicitly based on genre and register theory and rhetorical grammar. Cultural theory-derived refers to pedagogical practices which reflected views of culture as discourse, or focused on the development of cross-cultural or intercultural skills. Llinares (2015, 63) suggests discursive pragmatics can also provide insights into
pedagogical applications in CLIL by highlighting the role of interaction in learning. The importance of interaction, however, is also emphasised by SLA and socio-cultural theories, so no extra theme was created for this area.

These themes refer only to theories underpinning pedagogical practices which are advocated by researchers. Table 4 shows how the pedagogical emphasis (i.e. the teaching focus or approach advocated by the sources) was categorised using these themes. The first column gives examples of the pedagogical emphasis corresponding to each theme.

### Issues with collaborative practices

Through our review, we identified five themes in the literature regarding issues with collaboration between LTs and STs (see Table 5). Lack of expertise, knowledge or skills draws attention to teachers lacking expertise or skills in one or more of the areas of language, content or collaborative expertise. Non-native speaker LTs and STs may, for example, lack language skills, LTs may lack content skills or they may lack collaborative skills. It also refers to identified lack of knowledge. Teachers may, for example, lack linguistic, metalinguistic or content knowledge, or knowledge of collaborative models and issues. Metalinguistic knowledge which is lacking may implicitly or explicitly refer to either traditional, prescriptive grammars or the descriptive, rhetorical grammar related to SFL.
Balancing language and content denotes issues discussed in the literature relating to challenges or difficulties LTs teachers experience formulating learning outcomes for both language and content, or integrating a focus on both language and content into lessons.

Varied understandings of learning and teaching processes linked to disciplinary and cultural identities refers to issues we identified in the literature in relation to differences in ST and LT understandings of what they want students to learn and how best to teach these. STs and LTs may, for example, use similar language to describe what they want to teach and how they plan to teach it, but mean different things. This theme also included references to differences in the way STs and LTs related to each other based on their subject discipline or cultural background. Scientists and linguists may have differing perceptions affecting both their interactions with each other and learners.

Inequalities of power and status describes issues the literature identified relating to the status of LTs in relation to STs and hierarchial power structures in bilingual settings. Organisational factors refers to procedural aspects, such as facilities and resources, identified in the literature as influencing collaborative practices. Table 5 provides an overview of these issues, listing key ideas in the first column.

These five themes show a great variety in the types of issues LTs face with the differing cultural and disciplinary identities of STs and LTs playing a significant role.

### Table 5. Key issues involving LTs’ collaborative practices.

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<th>Key ideas</th>
<th>Source</th>
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Discussion

The results show that literature from the three lineages of FL, SL and L1 learning and teaching generates a plethora of understandings in the inquiry areas of language, content, pedagogical and collaborative practices along with some thorny issues for LTs in CLIL contexts. Table 6 gives a schematic overview in relation to each topic.

Table 6 shows that each inquiry area identifies a range of themes with considerable variation in content foci, theories informing pedagogical practices and issues for collaborative practices. The topics are visualised as separate from one another, but in practice they overlap and interact with each other along various continua (cf Llinares, Morton, and Whittaker (2012) and Nikula et al. [2016]). For example, there may be interaction between the types and aspects of language. When the focus is on subject-specific language, the LT teacher may choose one or more aspects, such as vocabulary and/ or discourse. There may also be overlap between the content focus and the language type; when the focus is on cultural content, the type of language will tend to be specific to a particular English speaking culture. The choice of language aspect may be influenced by the theoretical perspective on pedagogical practice; a teacher familiar with SFL will be more likely to focus on genres and discourse than on isolated grammatical items. Both choice of content and collaborative practices may be influenced by the cultural and disciplinary identity.

Thus the LTs in bilingual schools are faced with a multitude of possible language and content foci in their lessons. At the same time, there is evidence (see Table 5), that when they collaborate with STs, LTs’ understandings of learning and teaching processes are linked to their disciplinary and cultural identities. On the basis of the findings in this review, we cannot assume that all LTs in bilingual contexts share the same disciplinary and cultural identity or that all LTs will choose a similar language or content focus.

To enable LTs to make informed choices we have created a framework based on the literature (see Figure 1). The horizontal continuum from content/ meaning (when language using is content determined and meaning focussed) to language/form (when language learning involves form focus and grammatical awareness). This reflects the distinction between language using and language learning in line with Coyle’s (2011) concept of language through learning. On this continuum, the LT can choose a focus on content-meaning, functions, skills, strategies or discourse, vocabulary or grammar.

The vertical continuum represents two discourse communities. At the top, in a culture-specific discourse community, learners are learning to communicate effectively with members of communities where the TL is spoken. They are being apprenticed into the discourse of that TL community. This may be the English spoken in the United States, the United Kingdom or in other English speaking countries. At the bottom, in a subject-specific discourse community, learners are being apprenticed into the discourse of school-subjects, e.g. the discourse of history or of science. They learn to think, speak and write like a subject specialist, a historian or a scientist, for example. On this continuum, the

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Table 6. Thematic overview of language, content, pedagogical and collaborative practices found in the literature.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1. Language focus</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Types of language</td>
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<td>Subject-specific</td>
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<td>General academic</td>
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<td>General everyday</td>
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<tr>
<td>Culture-specific</td>
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<td>2. Type of content</td>
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<td>Cultural content</td>
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<td>Language as content</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Theories informing pedagogical practices</td>
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<td>Socio-cultural theories</td>
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<td>4. Issues for LTs’ collaborative practices</td>
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<td>Lack of expertise, knowledge and skills</td>
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<td>Balancing language and content</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inequalities in power and status</td>
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<td>Organisational factors</td>
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</table>
LT can choose a focus (see Table 1) on culture-specific language, general every day (e.g. ask for bread in a bakery), general academic, classroom (e.g. asking questions about group work) or subject-specific language (e.g. describing a graph in maths).

These two continua create four quadrants. In quadrant 1, a culture-specific orientation combines with content orientation to create an LT focus on literature or language arts (e.g. different types of metaphor in Shakespeare as content). In quadrant 2, a culture-specific orientation combines with a language orientation to create an LT focus on language and communication (e.g. the language of debating as form). In quadrant 3 a subject-specific orientation combines with content orientation to create an LT focus on subject content, referred to in Figure 1 as ‘content support’. By this, we mean an LT focus on supporting learners’ understanding of content rather than language. In quadrant 4, a language orientation combines with a subject-specific orientation to create an LT focus on subject-specific language.

The quadrants of this analytical framework accommodate the theories informing LT’s pedagogical practices found in our review. In quadrants 2 and 4 we position theories of language learning; for example, SLA theories inform pedagogical practices on the language/ form side of the continuum. In quadrants 1 and 2 we position theories of culture where cultural theories inform pedagogical practices on the culture-specific side of the continuum. In quadrant 4, we position a theory of functional grammar as SFL theory will inform pedagogical practices with a focus on subject-specific language. All four quadrants are informed by a theory of knowledge construction; for example, socio-cultural theories can inform pedagogical practices, perhaps with the exception of quadrant 3 where the type of knowledge being constructed by the LT is more debatable, given they are not experts in the content.

These quadrants can also be used as a departure point to explore or explain the roles of LTs in relation to STs in CLIL contexts. The framework can help LTs and their educators make choices in their identity and focus, which are dynamic depending on context, the level of the learners and the LTs’ own background and preferences. An LT oriented towards a subject-specific discourse...
community (quadrants 3 and 4) will choose content which is based on non-language school subjects or academic thematic content. An LT oriented towards a culture-specific discourse community (quadrants 1 and 2) will focus on cultural content or cultural thematic content. An LT oriented to a culture-specific discourse community combined with language and form (quadrant 1), will choose language as content. An LT with a culture-specific discourse community orientation combined with content/meaning (quadrant 2), will choose literature or the language arts as content. An LT with a subject-specific discourse community orientation combined with a content/meaning focus (quadrant 3) will choose a focus on giving content support using non-language school subject content. In effect, in this quadrant, an LT moves away from LT activities, and concentrates on facilitating understanding of content (cf Creese 2000, 2002, 2006, 2010). An LT with a subject-specific discourse community orientation combined with a language/form focus (quadrant 4) will choose a focus on subject-specific language using non-language school subject content.

Note that the literature does not suggest that an LT in a particular quadrant is more or less effective in terms of learner outcomes. Of the 35 primary studies included in this review, only seven studies (Echevarria, Short, and Powers 2006; Kong 2014; Lesaux et al. 2010; Lo 2014a; Lyster 2015; Pessoa et al. 2007; Short, Fidelman, and Louguit 2012) measured the effects of practices on learner outcomes.

The quadrants not only allow us to explore how different LTs may consciously or subconsciously orient themselves in bilingual contexts, but they also allow us to tease out and explain associated pedagogical and collaborative practices. As far as pedagogical practices are concerned, an LT in quadrant 1, oriented towards culture-specific content may implement practices fostering understanding of the literature and cultures of the English speaking world, informed by cultural theories and possibly socio-cultural theories. For them, the content understanding would focus on literary and cultural studies. An LT in quadrant 2, oriented towards language as content and the discourse communities of the English speaking world may implement communicative language teaching practices to develop everyday spoken and written language, informed by SLA theories and possibly cultural theories. An LT in quadrant 3, oriented to the content of school subjects may implement practices fostering understanding of subject specific content, derived from socio-cultural theories. The LT in quadrant 4, oriented to subject-specific language may implement pedagogical and collaborative practices which aim to develop subject specific discourse, possibly informed by SLA, SFL or socio-cultural theories.

As far as collaborative practices are concerned, LTs’ identities may influence their choices. LTs in quadrants 1 and 2 identify with their own ‘content’ in the form of a literature syllabus (quadrant 1) or a language syllabus (quadrant 2) and they may resist content from other school subjects (cf. Cammarata 2009, 2010). For these teachers, balancing language and content may not be a concern and they are unlikely to seek collaboration with STs. If they are asked to collaborate, they are likely to do so at the lower levels of collaboration, pseudo-compliance or passive resistance, or compliance, but may be unlikely to move into accommodation, convergence or co-construction (cf. Davison 2006). In particular areas, they may lack expertise, knowledge and skills, linked to their disciplinary and cultural identities.

The disciplinary identity of LTs in quadrant 1 will be based on the literature and cultures of the English speaking world, suggesting an affinity with or, as Arkoudis (2006) puts it, a bias, towards the school subjects of language arts and culture. When asked to collaborate, their expertise, knowledge and skills will be derived from cultural theories and perhaps socio-cultural theories, rather than from SLA or SFL. Their understandings will be shaped by this background, affecting how they relate to STs or fellow LTs with a different identity. LTs in quadrant 2 may identify more with the pedagogical practices of course-book based traditional FL teaching, following a prescriptive, linear grammatical syllabus. Their collaborative practices will be shaped by SLA and they may lack expertise in or knowledge of pedagogical practices derived from SFL, socio-cultural theories. When the LTs are native speakers, their disciplinary identity may be strengthened by their cultural identity, and their concerns will then be to provide insight into the culture of the target language community (cf. Garcia and Vazquez 2012).
LTs with identities represented in quadrants 3 and 4 may be more likely to seek collaboration with STs, but each with a different focus. The collaborative practice of LTs in quadrant 3 will be characterised by a concern for facilitating the learning of content, like the teachers in Creese’s (2000, 2002, 2006, 2010) studies. Their collaboration may be at Davison’s (2006) level of compliance (good intent with limited understanding of its implications) or perhaps accommodation (emphasising practical implementation) or convergence (some co-option of the other teacher’s beliefs and practices). In terms of balancing language and content, they will tend to focus on content. Teachers in this quadrant, if seen by learners and STs as facilitators of learning, rather than subject experts (cf Creese 2000, 2002, 2006, 2010), may experience inequalities in power, suffer loss of status and find collaboration difficult for this reason.

The collaborative practices of LTs in quadrant 4 may be characterised by a concern that learners develop subject-specific discourse, perhaps allowing for more balance between language and content. It is possible that LTs with an identity matching quadrant 4 may have most potential for developing effective collaborative practices and may achieve the higher levels of Davison’s framework; convergence and creative co-construction. Perhaps quadrant 4 provides space for LT’s and ST’s varied expertise to develop in a complementary way.

Collaborative practices are not only influenced by identity, but also organisational factors. These may vary depending on the LT’s orientation. Organisational decisions on timetabling, resources and formal procedures will differ in each quadrant. Understanding where an LT’s conscious or unconscious affinity lies at any one time may help all involved in organisational decisions make more informed decisions and clarify expectations during collaboration.

An individual LT in a bilingual context may be dynamic in their linguistic, theoretical and cultural orientation and hence their language or content focus. In other words, LTs content and language and pedagogical and collaborative practise should not be seen as static and isolated but as dynamic and interactive. Considering an LT in terms of their position in the quadrant could provide LTs, LT educators and researchers with a vocabulary for exploring LTs’ identities and foci in bilingual contexts. Understanding that LTs may have a conscious or unconscious position allows space for different positions to be considered and their advantages and disadvantages to be debated. LTs may occupy different quadrants with different learners or in different settings at different stages in their careers. The framework allows us to help LTs make dynamic, informed choices depending on their context.

**Conclusion**

The literature review demonstrated a wide variety of views on and descriptions of what language and content LTs can focus on, which theories can be used to inform their pedagogical practices and which issues they face when collaborating with STs. It is no surprise that LTs and their educators are struggling to find identity and focus as the literature does not provide a one-size-fits all guideline.

To help LTs and their educators explore and explain the pedagogical and collaborative choices they can make, we developed a framework to show how the variety of views in the different topics are intertwined and interact. The framework puts together a wide frame of reference (Coyle 2007), with ‘research orientations rooted in different theoretical and methodological backgrounds’ (Nikula, Llinares, and Dalton-Puffer 2013, 91) and places teachers’ experiences and understandings at its core (Tedick and Cammarata 2012). Building on these, the framework for language teaching in CLIL contexts creates a dynamic field in which LTs can be positioned in terms of identity and focus.

The extent to which this theoretical framework reflects the actual experiences of LTs in practice and the extent to which these orientations are more or less fluid or dynamic needs to be explored in further research. Another area that would benefit from further exploration is the interplay between LTs’ language learning beliefs, their linguistic knowledge and their pedagogical and collaborative practices. Are there LTs with an understanding of SFL and do they feel better equipped to collaborate with STs than teachers whose language learning beliefs are informed by SLA theories,
cultural theories or sociocultural theories? Llinares (2015) stresses the need to focus on integration in CLIL, arguing that the context of culture shapes the linguistic code. However, because of potentially conflicting identities or foci, LTs may not consider the context of culture as the culture of subject content. The framework may help explore to what extent LTs feel uncomfortable or ill-equipped for the integration Llinares proposes.

Despite the need for further research, we hope the framework for LTs in bilingual contexts lays the ground for clarifying their choices, their identities, their language and content focus, and their positions relative to each other and STs.

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(An asterisk indicates an article referred to in the text which did not form part of the database of 69 articles selected for review.)