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Transformative Pedagogies for Gaelic Revitalisation

Report to Soillse
of a study of Gaelic-medium teachers' perspectives
on the potential of translanguaging
as a classroom pedagogy

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Summary

This report

This report presents the findings from a small-scale study of teachers' views on the potential of translanguaging as a classroom pedagogy in Gaelic-medium education (GME).

What is translanguaging?

Translanguaging refers to the pedagogical use of two languages in a language immersion classroom: both the target language (i.e. Gaelic in Gaelic-medium classrooms), and the other language widely spoken by pupils in the class (i.e. English in the case of most Gaelic-medium pupils). Interest in translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy initially emerged in Welsh-medium education in the 1990s, but has grown world-wide, particularly over the last decade. Several studies have been conducted in Wales and in the USA, and researchers in the Basque Country and in Ireland are beginning to explore the potential of this approach. As far as we are aware, there have been no Scottish studies to date.

What are the potential benefits of translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy?

It is argued that translanguaging benefits learners in language immersion settings because it facilitates the development of *flexible bilingualism* – the ability to move easily between two languages – and that this is a factor underpinning certain cognitive advantages that bilinguals are known to acquire by virtue of using two languages from an early age. More pragmatically, proponents of translanguaging argue that it supports both content and language learning in immersion settings, because pupils learn to draw on both their languages to understand and process information.

Research methods

As translanguaging is not currently in use as a pedagogical strategy in GME schools, this study set out to explore teachers' perspectives on its potential. Six groups of practising and prospective GME teachers were invited to take part in professional development sessions run by the researchers. Following a pre-session reading from Colin Baker's *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (2011) on translanguaging (pp 288-291), each session consisted of a presentation in which the researchers introduced translanguaging to the group; and a focus group discussion, facilitated by the researchers, in which the participants were asked to comment and explore the ideas they had encountered. There were 17 participants in total, from two primary and two secondary schools, and in each case, one from an urban and one from an island location; and a group of future GME teachers, which included prospective primary and secondary teachers. Teachers in this group were adult learners of Gaelic.

Analysis

The focus group discussions, which largely took place in Gaelic, were recorded and transcribed, and have been analysed, using a thematic content analysis approach.

Findings: concerns and questions

The findings indicate that participants had significant concerns about translanguaging. They also raised a number of questions about possible use in GME classrooms. Their concerns derived from a sense that translanguaging is counter-intuitive in the context of language immersion, where the assumption is that the greater the exposure to Gaelic, the better children will acquire it. It contradicts current policy and practice, which mandate Gaelic at all times in the early years

and a gradual, but strictly limited introduction of English from the mid primary years onwards. There is a strong consensus among teachers, policy-makers, parents, pupils and the wider community concerned with GME that this approach effectively secures GME pupils' Gaelic and supports Gaelic revitalisation.

Their questions reflect a recognition that English is, nevertheless, in use in GME classrooms, principally because a lack of resources in Gaelic sometimes entails the use of resources in English (particularly online resources). The discussion focused on how these resources are used, and how teachers scaffold the work based on them, to enable pupils to move from English to Gaelic in discussions and written outputs. This led to consideration of whether particular subject areas or particular stages in pupils' careers are more suited to translanguaging, and whether translanguaging could mediate tensions that teachers sometimes encounter between the demands of ensuring that pupils develop high standards of competence in Gaelic and expectations that pupils will cover the same curriculum as their peers in English-medium classrooms.

Participants recognised that the emphasis that proponents of translanguaging place on pupils' emerging bilingualism differs in some respects from the current focus in GME on pupils' competence in Gaelic. They considered whether there would be advantages in adopting a pedagogical approach which more overtly addresses this aspect of immersion pupils' learning. They identified a number of areas in which translanguaging might be of benefit, including helping pupils to make connections between Gaelic and English; helping them to develop metalinguistic awareness in relation to both languages; supporting the learning of a third language; helping pupils to learn *through* another language; and engaging parents more effectively in their children's learning. However, they concluded that more research would be needed to demonstrate that translanguaging effectively delivers these kinds of benefits; and that much work would be needed to change current attitudes, given the consensus that current provision meets both learner needs and revitalisation goals.

Discussion

In our discussion of the findings, we focus on the following questions that the work has raised for us:

- Why is translanguaging on the rise?
- What are the goals of Gaelic-medium education and to what extent do current policy and practice achieve these?
- How is English currently used in GME classrooms? What are the implications a) for the development of children's Gaelic; b) for the development of their bilingualism; c) for children's learning?
- Can translanguaging benefit minoritised languages?

Conclusions and recommendations

In conclusion, we briefly review the most recent literature on translanguaging as a transformative pedagogical strategy noting, critically, that this entails a move from a language immersion model based on the concept of *additive* bilingualism (where learners add new languages without detriment to those they already know) to *dynamic* bilingualism (where learners use and expand their full linguistic repertoire to learn). In line with this literature, participants in our study recognised their responsibilities to GME pupils in relation to supporting content learning and providing opportunities to develop appropriate linguistic practices for academic purposes; and expressed a cautious interest in the potential of translanguaging to enhance this work. They also noted challenges in relation to opportunities for recognising pupils' bilingualism and emerging bilingual identities. Participants felt that further research was needed to establish the

effectiveness of translanguaging and we support this view, recommending, therefore, that a research agenda is developed in collaboration with all stakeholders.

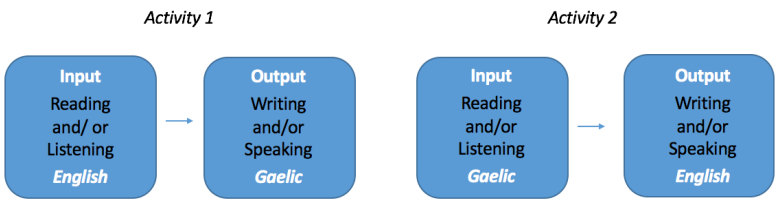
1. Introduction: translanguaging as a transformative pedagogical strategy

1.1 What is translanguaging?

In educational contexts, the term *translanguaging* refers to the deliberate use of two languages in a language immersion classroom: both the language formally adopted as the medium of instruction (i.e. Gaelic in Gaelic-medium classrooms), and the other language widely spoken by pupils in the class (i.e. English in the case of most Gaelic-medium pupils). The term derives from Welsh-medium education where this practice, labelled *trawsieithu,* was observed and analysed, initially by Williams (1994; 1996) and subsequently translated as *translanguaging* and discussed in English by Baker (2001; 2011; Baker & Wright, 2017).

Baker's account makes clear that translanguaging as a pedagogical practice needs to be planned, so that the languages of input (listening or reading) and output (speaking or writing) are systematically varied, with the intention of ensuring a more or less equal distribution of input and output in the two languages in question, over the course of a single lesson or a series of lessons, as represented schematically in diagram 1 below:

Diagram 1: Translanguaging Lesson



Baker (2011: 288) provides a hypothetical example to illustrate this practice:

> "For instance, a science worksheet in English is read by students. The teacher then initiates a discussion on the subject matter in Spanish, switching to English to highlight particular science terms. The students then complete their written work in Spanish. In the next lesson, the roles of the languages are reversed."

Translanguaging may seem counter-intuitive to those familiar with the widely accepted principles of language immersion, which indicate that pupils need extensive exposure (input) to the target language (TL) – i.e. Gaelic in Gaelic-medium education (GME) – and should also be expected or required to produce most or all of their school work (output) in the same language, in order to develop high level competence in the TL. It has been generally assumed that the limitation, discouragement or exclusion of the use of the pupils' other language (OL) is a necessary corollary of this principle. Lambert (1984: 13) underlined this target language principle in relation to early French-immersion education in Canada when he noted that:

> "The teacher plays the role of a monolingual in the target language … [she/he] never switches languages, reviews materials in the other language, or otherwise uses the child's native language in teacher-pupil interactions."

However, both Williams and Baker argue that translanguaging has the potential to contribute to, rather than detract from, the desired outcomes of language immersion education. These outcomes are widely understood to entail:

- attaining at least the same level of knowledge and understanding in relation to subject content as peers attending monolingual OL-medium education;

- acquiring a high level of competence (including high standards of academic literacy) in both the TL and the OL – in other words, becoming bilingual and biliterate.

(See Johnson & Swain, 1997, for a detailed discussion of the goals of language immersion.)

Extensive research into language immersion education around the world, now over some five decades, confirms that both of these goals are achievable (Johnstone, 2002; Cummins, 2014). However, there is considerable variation in outcomes, attributed to differences in the immersion educational models adopted[1], and to a range of contextual factors both inherent in and external to the school environment, such as: the relative status of the TL and the OL (Baker & Lewis, 2015); language policy and education policy at school, local and national levels (Hornberger 1998; Welsh Assembly Government, 2007); or the nature of the initial teacher education and professional development available for teachers working in language immersion settings (McPake et al., 2017; Tedick & Fortune, 2013; De Mejía & Hélot, 2015).

One key aspect of the debate about the outcomes of immersion education relates to the linguistic outcomes in the TL. Even students in early total immersion (the most strongly TL-oriented bilingual education approach) are typically found to have native-speaker like comprehension of the TL, but to exhibit less grammatical accuracy, a more restricted vocabulary, and less command of idiom than their native-speaker counterparts (Genesee, 1991; Harley, 1993; Lyster, 1994). Such results have prompted a focus on 'form' in immersion education, that is to say, on pedagogies which explicitly build grammatical skills in the TL, in addition to the communicative language pedagogies which have always characterized immersion education. More recently, there has been a move to consider how pedagogies which work across the pupils' two languages may help to build competence in language and in learning. Translanguaging, as defined above, is one of several pedagogical approaches suggested within this category[2].

Proponents of translanguaging have, over time, developed their views on the cognitive benefits of translanguaging. Williams (1996: 64) originally argued that translanguaging increases pupils' understanding of subject content, because:

> "You receive information through the medium of one language (e.g. English) and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (e.g. Welsh). Before you can use that information successfully, you must have fully understood it."

In other words, translanguaging requires additional processing for meaning, compared with receiving and using information in only one language, and it is argued that this additional processing, and the extra attention to the information entailed enhances learning. Lewis et al. (2012: 641) propose that:

> "Both languages are used in a dynamic and functional manner to organise and mediate mental processes in understanding, speaking, literacy, and, not least, learning."

These views are mirrored in the parallel literature on content and language integrated learning (CLIL), in which pupils study some school subjects through the medium of another language. This is a form of partial immersion, practised largely in non-Anglophone countries in Europe and Asia, as a way of enabling students to enhance their competence in English (and sometimes other 'world' languages such as French, German, Spanish or Mandarin). For example, Maillat &

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[1] Differences may relate to the stage of introduction of immersion education (e.g. nursery or early primary vs. late primary/early secondary) and amount of target language instruction (e.g. total immersion vs. partial immersion).
[2] Other strategies include using bilingual reading books (Cummins 2007, Lyster et al. 2009), comparing morphology across languages (Lyster et al. 2013), comparing cognates across languages (Cummins 2014), developing literacy skills across languages (Escamilla et al. 2013), or conducting content-based inquiry projects in both languages (Cummins 2014).

Serra (2009: 188) provide illustrations, derived from a large corpus of bilingual interactions in CLIL classrooms, of ways in which use of the two languages allows for "deeper understandings of subject meaning and linguistic competence to be co-constructed". While CLIL is mainly a feature of upper primary and secondary education (or the equivalent stages, depending on the education system), some studies of younger pupils have suggested that translanguaging could enable pupils to use their first language to scaffold their learning of complex concepts through a second language (Fortune et al., 2008; Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

An acknowledged forerunner of the recent interest in cross-linguistic pedagogies in bilingual and immersion education is Cummins' concept of *common underlying proficiency* (CUP) in the bilingual brain (Cummins, 1980; 2000). Cummins argued that bilinguals, like monolinguals, have a single area of linguistic proficiency in the brain, and not two separate areas or "two solitudes" (Cummins, 2008), as some had previously proposed. If this hypothesis were correct, then activities undertaken in one language would effectively strengthen underlying skills and competences in both languages. The concept underpins much of the work that educators have undertaken from the 1980s onwards to support bilingual learners in a variety of educational contexts, and has been critical in establishing that maintaining and developing both the TL and the OL is a more effective strategy, in terms of enhancing learning, than focusing on the TL alone (Ramírez et al., 1991; Baker & Lewis, 2015). More recent neurolinguistic studies have confirmed the CUP hypothesis (Perani & Abutaleji, 2005; Bialystok et al., 2009) and recent research has been exploring the effects of language of instruction (monolingual vs. mixed) on learning in immersion contexts (Antón et al., 2015). However, further research on language(s) of instruction, learning and cognition is required in immersion education contexts.

Evidence for the linguistic benefits of translanguaging are less widely discussed in either the translanguaging literature or the CLIL literature. Cenoz and Gorter (2017) argue that evidence for the linguistic benefits of translanguaging is likely to be found in enhanced language awareness and metalinguistic awareness among pupils who have opportunities to use translanguaging in immersion classrooms. They note that working across students' school languages encourages students to see similarities and differences between languages, and can help to activate prior knowledge that the learner may have acquired in one of their languages They recommend the extension of the scope of pedagogical translanguaging outlined above to include other forms of cross-linguistic pedagogies within immersion education, for example, in terms of morphology, lexis and literacy skills.

1.2 Translanguaging in practice

As translanguaging has become more of an established pedagogical practice in Welsh-medium education (WME) over the last two decades, it is taught to prospective WME teachers in the course of initial teacher education (Bryn Jones, personal communication) and is also recommended by the Welsh schools' inspectorate, on the basis that it "assists individuals' intellectual development by refining their ability to think, understand, and internalise information in two languages" (Estyn, 2002: 2). Lewis et al. (2013) investigated the extent to which WME teachers were using translanguaging as part of their practice, by conducting observations of 100 bilingual lessons in 19 primary and ten secondary schools. They found that translanguaging was used as a key strategy in 18 lessons, i.e. in a little under a fifth of all lessons observed. It was associated in particular with the upper primary (50% of lessons using translanguaging) and secondary school stages (44%). It may be considered that in the early years – in Wales as in Scotland – children need to focus on securing their competence in the TL, as Baker (2011: 290) comments:

> "Translanguaging may not be valuable in a classroom when a child is in the early stages of learning a language. For input and output to occur in both languages requires both languages to be reasonably well developed or emerging strongly."

Lewis et al. (op.cit.) found translanguaging was much more widely used in the context of arts and humanities subjects (72% of lessons using translanguaging) than in other subject areas. They also found that translanguaging was more commonly used in schools in Welsh-speaking communities than in schools where the surrounding community was largely English-speaking, perhaps suggesting that teachers are more comfortable with translanguaging when there are significant numbers of pupils who speak Welsh at home as well as at school. Jones & Lewis (2014: 168) note that teachers in Anglicised areas were less likely to use translanguaging as they feared that "allowing the use of English texts for translanguaging purposes might be a stepping-stone for introducing more of the majority language."

Lewis (2010) describes a typical translanguaging lesson as follows:

> "In a geography lesson for a combination of L1 and L2 Welsh pupils aged 7–9 years old in a bilingual primary school classroom, the teacher asked the class to read together information in English on 'Fair Trade' on the internet. The pupils were then questioned in English about the meaning of terms such as *crops*, *harvested*, *chemicals*, and the pupils responded in either Welsh or English. An explanation was provided by the teacher in Welsh for certain terms, for example, *environment* (amgylchedd), *community* (cymuned). The teacher summarised the reading work in Welsh before asking all pupils to complete a poster in Welsh to explain why supporting Fair Trade goods was a good idea."

This account illustrates input in the OL (English) and output in the TL (Welsh), but also reveals that linguistic 'scaffolding' (Wood et al., 1976; Gibbons, 2002) can accompany the transition from one language to another. Here we see the teacher checking comprehension of certain English terms and providing definitions in Welsh for those which may be considered more technical or more challenging; and then summarising in Welsh the information acquired, before pupils are asked to provide an output in that language. In the scaffolding process, the teacher is effectively modelling the kinds of cognitive processes translanguaging entails – processes which at a later stage, bilinguals are likely to have internalised and perform autonomously (as happens in relation to other forms of learning which are initially scaffolded). This scaffolding reveals to observers some of the complexities involved in the internal processing – it is not a 'simple' translation of information from one language to another. As noted above, the demands of processing as a result of translanguaging require learners to pay more attention to subject content and therefore may offer one explanation as to why bilingual learners usually do as well – and sometimes better – than their monolingual peers in terms of academic attainment. (See Maillat & Serra, 2009, for a CLIL-based account of this phenomenon.)

Translanguaging is beginning to be adopted as a pedagogical practice in other educational contexts, particularly in immersion and dual language education settings in the USA (García et al., 2017); and in the Basque Country (Cenoz & Gorter, 2016). The Basque research has involved designing classroom interventions to explore the impact of translanguaging on primary school pupils' communicative and academic competences in three languages (Basque, Spanish and English). Though the research is not yet complete, pupils told the researchers that they thought their reading and comprehension skills had improved, and teachers, some of whom had been sceptical about the initiative, were positively surprised: they did not find that the children's Basque was adversely affected; they were themselves intellectually engaged in the kinds of comparisons across languages which emerged as a result of the work; and they felt that it had raised the status of Basque in their pupils' eyes (Cenoz & Gorter, 2016).

1.3 Translanguaging and endangered minority languages

Cenoz and Gorter (2017) explicitly raise the question of whether translanguaging is appropriate in the context of education through the medium of an endangered minority language, such as Basque or Gaelic, particularly when this provision is specifically designed with language revitalisation in mind. Following Cummins (2007) and García (2009), they emphasise the importance of 'breathing spaces' for minority languages, a concept introduced by Fishman (1991: 59), and referring to social domains in which the minority language is not in competition with the majority language. For many, such spaces would include the immersion classroom or school itself. However, Cenoz and Gorter (2017) note that translanguaging is not an *alternative* approach to immersion pedagogy, but rather could form one of several pedagogies within a teacher's repertoire to enhance linguistic and educational outcomes within an immersion context.

Thus, for GME teachers, the question of whether translanguaging has potential in GME classrooms concerns not only its contribution to learning but also the risk it might represent for the revitalisation of Gaelic. Hornberger (2015) notes the importance of context when considering potential transfer of language policy, and Romaine (2002: 4) similarly warns: "What is ostensibly the same policy may lead to different outcomes, depending on the situation in which it operates." Section 2 thus outlines the policy background to curricular language use within Gaelic-medium education, to set the context for the data presented within the present study.

2. The use of Gaelic and English in Gaelic-medium education

An immersion approach to Gaelic-medium education has existed in Gaelic-speaking areas of the Highlands and Islands since the 1960s, through the Inverness-shire Gaelic Language Scheme, the Western Isles Bilingual Project and the Skye bilingual education initiative (O'Hanlon & Paterson, 2015). This was a partial immersion model, in which Gaelic-speaking pupils studied social subjects such as history, geography, physical education and religious education bilingually. However, difficulties experienced in achieving desired Gaelic-language outcomes within a context of language shift to English (Mitchell et al., 1987) led to a revised model in which the amount of Gaelic-medium instruction was considerably increased. This new form of early total immersion GME began in 1985. However, over the last 40 years, there have been further policy shifts which aim to maximise pupils' exposure to Gaelic and their opportunities to use the language as the language of learning. These policy shifts are summarised below.

The first curriculum to outline language use within early total Gaelic immersion in Scotland, *Gaelic 5-14,* was published by the Scottish Office Education Department in 1993. It recommended that there be an "initial immersion phase of at least two years' duration" in Gaelic-medium primary education and that "Gaelic should be the predominant teaching medium throughout primary stages" with "the whole curriculum delivered through the medium of Gaelic" (pp. 6-7). The initial two-year phase was termed an *immersion* phase and the subsequent years of primary and the first two years of secondary education were a *bilingual* phase. In the first two years of secondary school, "all departments" were to have "responsibility for the development of [Gaelic] language" (p. 25).

In 2010, the new Scottish curricular policy, *A Curriculum for Excellence* (CfE), outlined a similar language model, but extended the bilingual phase throughout secondary school, as CfE is a curriculum for those aged 3 to 18:

> "In Gàidhlig medium classes learning and teaching is wholly through Gàidhlig during the immersion phase from P1 to P3. English language is then gradually introduced through the medium of Gàidhlig, with Gàidhlig remaining the predominant language of the classroom in all areas of the curriculum [… I]t is important that teachers continue the immersion in Gàidhlig through primary and secondary education."
>
> (Scottish Government et al., 2010a: 3)

However, since 2010 this curricular policy position has been supplemented by national advice from the School Inspectorate, formerly known as HMIE and now as Education Scotland (Scotland's national agency for quality improvement in education). This advice further emhasises the role of Gaelic as a language for learning and teaching.

> "The early stages of learning through the medium of Gaelic and where no other language is used, is referred to as total immersion. The next phase – where the development of the other language (English) is introduced - is referred to as immersion but with all of the curriculum continuing to be delivered through the medium of Gaelic […I]n secondary, Gaelic immersion is taken forward within a broad general curriculum up to the end of S3 as a minimum entitlement." (HMIE, 2011: 3)

This marked a change in terminology, with the immersion phase now becoming the *total immersion* phase, and the bilingual phase becoming an *immersion* phase. The valuing of both extensive and exclusive use of Gaelic within such an immersion phase is underlined.

> "In the best examples, staff show a very strong commitment to ensuring that the curriculum is delivered totally through the medium of Gaelic [within the immersion phase]." (Education Scotland, 2015: 19)

This extends to the learning of English as a subject, which should also be led through the medium of Gaelic.

The rationale for such a change in policy and terminology was outlined in the same document.

> "Total immersion leads to total fluency. Alternative models lead to the dilution of fluency and are as such non-compatible with the development of strong and sustained Gaelic Medium Education. Some schools and local authorities refer to the phase after total immersion as a bilingual stage and allow English to be too dominant in the learning process. This results in children not being as fluent as they can be. There needs to be a clear understanding that bilingualism is an outcome of Gaelic Medium Education and not a learning and teaching approach. The total use of Gaelic as part of immersion helps achieve the benefits of bilingualism. These benefits and expected outcomes need to be kept to the forefront in the promotion and debates about the development of Gaelic Medium Education. A few schools talk about their approach as being that of partial immersion. There is a substantial and convincing body of evidence from inspection that partial immersion is not effective in developing fluency." (Education Scotland, 2015: 10)

Such policy developments, aiming to maximise the use of Gaelic as the language of learning and teaching, have developed within the context of an expansion of Gaelic-medium primary education, an increased uptake by pupils with no family background in Gaelic, and in urban areas where the proportion of Gaelic-speakers in the community is low (O'Hanlon & Paterson, 2015).

The policy approaches concord with practices in early Canadian French-immersion and are associated with theoretical beliefs that maximising pupil exposure to the target language will increase proficiency (Krashen, 1982; Richards & Rodgers, 2014); and a wish to promote Gaelic language use in formal and informal contexts within the school, creating 'breathing spaces' for the language (see Section 1.3 above). These principles – of significant use of Gaelic in GME, as the expected language of learning and communication – are indisputably important in building language competence, language use and pupil identity. However, more recent research from immersion education in Canada (Genesee, 2013: 35) has shown that "there are upper and lower limits to the importance of time" in relation to the use of the TL in immersion contexts. This work emphasises the importance of effective pedagogies and effective language learning opportunities for maximising pupil competence in the TL (for example, in relation to grammatical accuracy). In Canada, this involves two key aspects: a "focus on form" (Long, 1991; Lyster, 2007) – that is to say, a focus on how grammatical features of the TL are taught within immersion education; and a focus on cross-linguistic pedagogies, and how "judicious use" (Cummins, 2014: 16) of such pedagogies might enhance linguistic outcomes across students' languages. As noted in Section 1, translanguaging is one of several such cross-linguistic strategies that are being trialled within immersion education internationally.

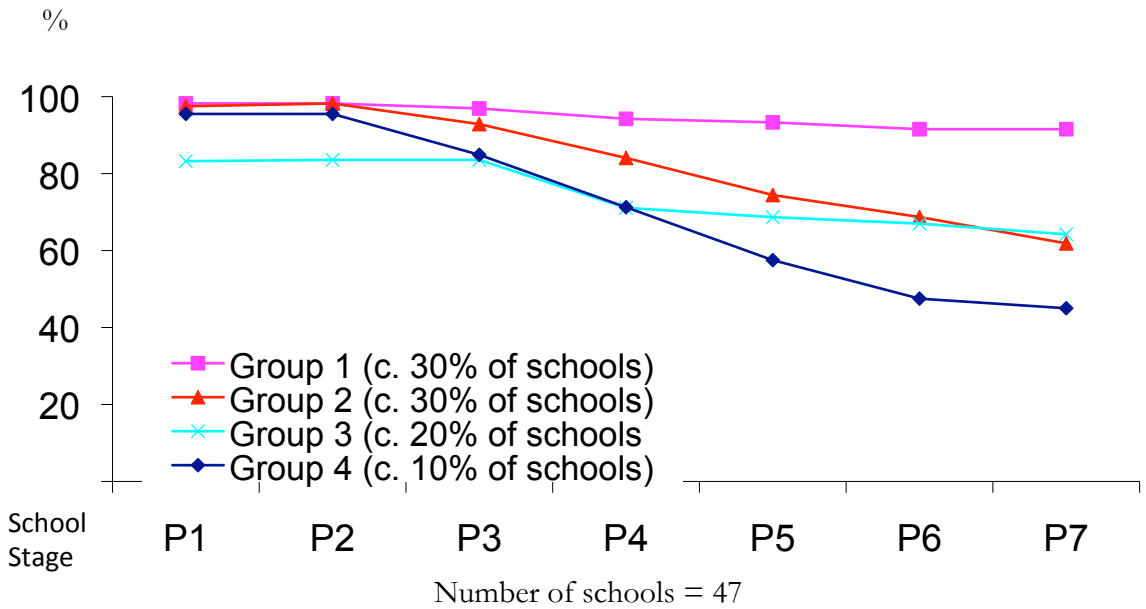
In addition to these theoretical perspectives, current curricular policy should also be considered in relation to classroom practice. This is important, as Jones & Wilson (2012: 14) note,

> "the 'models' of minority language medium education as they are defined and prescribed in policy documents are often at odds with the reality of current classroom practice."

A survey of language use in Gaelic-medium early years, primary and secondary schools conducted in 2011-12 (O'Hanlon et al. 2012), suggests that such a difference between policy and practice exists within some Gaelic-medium providers during the immersion phase. The study,

which asked teachers to report the proportion of curricular language use in Gaelic and in English in Gaelic-medium education, showed that 30% of the 47 primary schools who responded to the questionnaire reported almost exclusive use of Gaelic for learning and teaching activities throughout the primary school stages. However, the other respondents reported greater use of English in the immersion phase. Some indicated that Gaelic was used for less than 50% of the time at the Primary 7 stage. This situation is shown in Figure 2i.[3]

Figure 2i: Percentage teaching time in Gaelic, by primary school stage



At the secondary school stage, the overall proportion of curricular time reported to be taught through the medium of Gaelic was much lower, with an average of 20% in Secondary 1 and 19% in Secondary 2 across the 29 schools who responded to the questionnaire (97% of providers of secondary Gaelic-medium education). The use of both Gaelic and English as a medium of instruction is shown to be common in teaching subjects other than Gaelic as a subject at the early secondary school stages (as shown in Figure 2ii).

[3] Figure 2i shows the results for reported language use across all curricular areas at each primary school stage for the 47 primary schools who responded to the questionnaire (80% of providers in 2011-12). Individual schools' responses were grouped by language pattern into four groups using cluster analysis, a statistical procedure which groups objects (here schools) according to how similar they are on certain specified variables (Krzanowski, 2000, ch.3). See O'Hanlon et al. (2012) for further details.

Figure 2ii: Subjects taught using Gaelic, by proportion of Gaelic and secondary school stage

Percentage of teaching time in Gaelic	*S1 Subjects (Average of teaching time across 4 or more schools)*	*S3 Subjects (Average of teaching time across 4 or more schools)*	*S5 Subjects (Average of teaching time across 4 or more schools)*
75 - 99%	Gàidhlig (29), Geography (13)	Gàidhlig (26), History (6), Geography (5)	Gàidhlig (27)
51 - 74%	History (12), Modern Studies (8) Home Economics (7) RME (6) PSE (4)		
50%	CDT (4) Biology (6) Chemistry (6) Physics (6)		
25 - 49%	Information Technology (4)		
1 - 24%	Music (4)		

Thus the present study has been conducted in a context where policy is strongly in favour of an immersion model in which the use of English is entirely excluded in the early years and limited in the later stages, but evidence from practice indicates that English plays a role in GME classrooms in all but the very earliest years. The research presented here therefore aimed to explore teachers' perceptions of the potential of translanguaging, along the lines by which it has been used as a pedaogical strategy in Wales to incorporate the use of two languages (the TL, Welsh, and the OL, English) in Welsh-medium classrooms. Might translanguaging enhance the learning of both languages (i.e. Gaelic and English in GME classrooms), subject learning and pupils' emergent bilingualism?

3. Research methods: design, data collection and analysis

3.1 This study

The research reported here aimed to explore teachers' perceptions of the concept of translanguaging and its use as a pedagogical strategy, in relation to GME in Scotland. It is a small-scale study which involved researchers from the Universities of Strathclyde and Edinburgh, all of whom have been actively involved in GME and in professional development for teachers working in the sector. Three of the researchers are native speakers *(luchd-labhairt bho thùs)* and two are learners with intermediate to advanced levels of competence in Gaelic.

3.2 Research Design

The study is based principally on focus group discussions which took place during 2016. Participants included prospective and practising GME teachers, working or expecting to work in the primary and secondary sectors, and in urban and island schools. In advance of the focus group discussions, participants were invited to read Baker's commentary (2011: 288-291) on translanguaging. For each focus group session, we designed a presentation in English outlining the concept of translanguaging, and how it has been implemented in the Welsh context. This was based on existing literature on pedagogical translanguaging, and was informed by a full day seminar given to the research team by Dr Bryn Jones, who has played a key part in translanguaging research and teacher education in Wales. Following this presentation, the focus groups discussed, in Gaelic, the implications of translanguaging for the Scottish context. Our research design aimed to mimic a translanguaging task, with input in English and output in Gaelic, as a way of encouraging participants to reflect on their own experiences of working across the two languages.

Slides from the presentation are included in this report as Appendix A and the semi-structured focus group interview schedule as Appendix B. Information about the project provided to presentations is included as Appendix C.

3.3 Sample

Our school sampling strategy was informed by the results of the Welsh research, which found differences in views, and in the pedagogical uses, of translanguaging by (i) school stage; (ii) community context; and (iii) curricular area. As noted in Section 1, translanguaging in the Welsh-medium context was associated with the upper primary and lower secondary school stages, with schools in Welsh-speaking communities, and with arts and humanities subjects (Lewis et al., 2013). We wished to consider whether similar patterns might be found in Scotland, and therefore our sample included:

- primary and secondary teachers (teaching Gàidhlig/Gaelic, or another subject through the medium of Gaelic);
- teachers working in rural Gaelic-speaking areas (island schools), and those working in more urban, Anglicised contexts (urban schools)

In addition, we sought to investigate whether there were differences bewteen current and future Gaelic-medium teachers (i.e. qualified practising teachers, and those currently registered on a GME university course). Our sampling criteria were informed by a wish to gain views from as wide a range of teachers as possible; that is to say, to "sample for heterogeneity" (Cook & Campbell, 1979: 75; Gomm et al., 2000), a technique which enhances the external validity, or

generalisability, of research findings. However, due to the small numbers of teachers involved in the research, we cannot confidently generalise from our present findings to a wider population of Gaelic-medium teachers. Thus, the views presented in Section 3 are simply the views of 17 respondents we interviewed (Gomm et al., 2000).

Schools were selected according to the primary/secondary and island/urban criteria outlined above, and approval for the study was sought, and achieved, from the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee, and the headteachers of the schools. On the day of the research, the purposes and nature of the research were explained to teachers by means of an oral introduction and an information sheet (Appendix C), and teachers gave written informed consent for participation.

The achieved sample is detailed below:

Table 3a: Focus Group Participants

Group	Date	Nature of Data
Prospective Teachers N=6: A, B, C, X, Y and Z	February 2016	Focus group recording *In Gaelic (learners)*
Island Primary N=3: L, M and N	June 2016	Focus group recording *In Gaelic*
Urban Primary N=1: D	June 2016	Recording of interview with HT *In Gaelic*
Island Secondary N=5: G, H, I, J and K	June 2016	Focus group recording *In English*
Urban Secondary N=2: E and F	November 2016	Focus group recording *In Gaelic*

Note on identification of participants

In the excerpts from the focus group transcripts below, we have identified focus group participants by letters, as set out in the table above. Note that R is used throughout to indicate one of the researchers.

Language of the focus group discussions

As mentioned in Section 3.2, the intention was for the focus group discussions to take place in Gaelic; and most were largely in Gaelic, with code-switching into English at times. The discussion in the island secondary school took place in English as a colleague from the modern languages department in this school – who was not a Gaelic speaker – was interested in the topic under discussion and asked to take part. The prospective teachers were adult learners of Gaelic; their contributions sometimes show linguistic idiosyncracies for this reason.

3.4 Methods of data analysis

The focus group discussions were audio recorded, and transcribed. The data was analysed using thematic content analysis in which "themes are identified, with the researcher focusing on the way the theme is treated or presented and the frequency of its occurrence [… T]he analysis is then linked to 'outside variables' such as the gender and role of the contributor" (Spencer et al., 2003: 200). In the present study, we have linked the analysis to the outside variables of school stage, the community context, or teacher experience (pre-service, in-service), and have made reference to this, where relevant, in the discussion below.

4. Findings

Discussions concerning the potential of translanguaging with prospective and practising teachers revealed both misgivings about its impact on the quality of pupils' Gaelic and questions about the efficacy of current classroom practice. Nevertheless, participants recognised that English is also used in GME classrooms, and they concluded that translanguaging might have potential to improve pupils' ability to use both Gaelic and English to support their learning. Further research and policy development in Scotland would be needed before this approach could be adopted in GME classrooms.

Participants' views are summarised in the following table and then presented in greater detail below.

Table 4a: GME teachers' concerns, questions and conclusions about the potential of translanguaging

Concerns	Questions
1. Translanguaging seems counter-intuitive: – the greater the exposure to Gaelic, the better children will acquire it – if the GME classroom is not a 'safe space' for Gaelic, English will take over – GME pupils become used to using Gaelic as the medium of instruction and prefer it to English	3. English is commonly used in GME classrooms though this practice is largely unacknowledged. Can translanguaging help us to use both languages more effectively? – Are some subject areas more suitable? – Are some stages more suitable? – Can translanguaging support transitions? – Can tranlanguaging help mediate tensions between the importance placed on learning Gaelic and that placed on subject learning?
2. Translanguaging contradicts the principles of immersion espoused in GME and related policy and practice – current policy makes clear that GME classrooms should use Gaelic at all times, or as much as possible – policy makers, the school inspectorate, and parents and GME pupils themselves would be opposed to any approaches which increased the amount of English in use in GME classrooms	4. Does translanguaging support pupils' emerging bilingualism more effectively than immersion? – How do we help pupils make connections between Gaelic and English? – How might translanguaging help pupils to understand their learning of Gaelic better? – How might translanguaging support the learning of a third language? – How do we use both languages to engage parents more effectively in their children's work? – How might translanguaging help pupils to understand how to learn through another language?

Conclusions

5. Any changes to classroom practice to accommodate translanguaging would require further research to demonstrate effectiveness, and changes to national and local policy.

4.1 Translanguaging seems counter-intuitive

It seems obvious that if we want pupils to learn and use Gaelic well, the classroom should be a wholly Gaelic-speaking environment from the outset. Education Scotland (2015: 17) make clear that the development of the language, rather than other aspects of the curriculum, must have priority during the total immersion phase:

> "During total immersion, there is a clear emphasis on developing fluency in Gaelic first and foremost […D]ue to the initial focus on language development, children learning through the medium of Gaelic will not be working at the same rate of learning and progress as their peers in English-medium education through the CfE Experiences and Outcomes across the curricular areas."

This is a view supported in the research literature on immersion: for example Met (2008) argues that language is the cornerstone of literacy, and that this in turn is the tool for gaining, storing, interpreting and retrieving information. Language is therefore a key element in academic success

Current and prospective GME teachers are well aware of the fact that most GME pupils are monolingual English-speakers, or English dominant with a little Gaelic, when they first enter GME. The work involved in enabling them to learn Gaelic and to use it as the language of learning is considerable. Total immersion, where English is excluded from the GME classroom – entirely if possible, but otherwise as much as is practicable – is widely considered the most effective way of achieving this.

> D: *Bu chòir structar foirmeil a bhith ann airson Gàidhlig a theagasg agus sin an rud a tha sinn a' feuchainn ri dhèanamh cuideachd ann an sheo. Agus ma tha sibh a' cleachdadh...tha clann a' bruidhinn Beurla nuair a tha iad a' cluich còmhla ach tha na luchd-obrach an-còmhnaidh a' bruidhinn anns a' Ghàidhlig agus beag air bheag, tha a' chlann ag ionnsachadh cànan làitheil sa Ghàidhlig, agus tha iad ga cleachdadh.* (Urban Primary)
>
> D: There should be a formal structure for teaching Gaelic and this is also what we are trying to do here. And we are using … the children speak English when they are playing together, but the staff always speak Gaelic and gradually the children are learning conversational Gaelic for daily use, and they then use it.

For these reasons, developing pupils' Gaelic is seen by some as a higher priority, in the early stages, than ensuring that they are learning subject content.

> Z: *Tog tog, nuair a tha na sgoilearan òg. 'S e Gàidhlig am prioma rud a tha iad ag iarraidh, agus nuair a tha na Gàidhlig math, bidh a h-uile càil eile a' tighinn. Chan eil iad ag iarraidh, you know, cruinn-eòlas fìor-mhath nuair a tha na sgoilearan ann an clas a trì no clas a ceithir.*
>
> (Prospective Teachers)
>
> Z: Acquire, acquire while the pupils are young.[4] Gaelic is the main thing that they want and when their Gaelic is good, everything else will follow. They don't want, you know, excellent geography when the pupils are in P3 or P4.

If English is introduced, then there is a risk that it will take over.

> M: *Ach tha fhios againn uile, cho luath 's a tha thu a' tòiseachadh air a' Bheurla sa chlas, tha e dìreach a' dèanamh mar gum biodh takeover air a h-uile sian eile a tha thu a' dèanamh.*
>
> (Island Primary)

[4] A rhyming slogan perhaps based on the well-known Gaelic saying, "An t-ionnsachadh òg, an t-ionnsachadh bòidheach." [What you learn when you are young is the most beautiful (established) learning.]

M: But we all know that as soon as you start using English in the classroom, it just takes over everything else you're doing.

As there are currently no secondary schools where all curriculum provision is in Gaelic, GME pupils study some subjects in Gaelic and others in English. Introducing English into Gaelic-medium classes would therefore further limit their opportunities to maintain and develop their Gaelic language competences and to use Gaelic as a language of learning.

E: Agus leis gu bheil iad a' dèanamh cuspairean eile anns an sgoil seo ann am Beurla co-dhiù, tha iad a' faighinn measgachadh den dà chànan aig ìre àrd-sgoil. (Urban Secondary)

F: Ach tha mi a' creidsinn a-rithist, a' tilleadh gu àrd-sgoil far a bheil thu dìreach ann am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig, 's tha seòrsa de dhùil agad gu bheil thu faighinn d' oideachadh sa Ghàidhlig. (Urban Secondary)

E: Given that they are doing other subjects in English in this school anyway, they get a mix of both languages at high school level.

F: But again, I believe that when you come to a high school where you are in Gaelic medium [classes], you sort of expect your education to be in Gaelic.

Secondary teachers were unwilling to countenance the use of English in GME classrooms for two reasons. One argument is that by the time they reach the secondary stage, pupils should be fluent Gaelic speakers and therefore should not need to use English in the classroom.

F: 'S dòcha sa bhun-sgoil […] aig nach eil na sgilean ann an Gàidhlig fhathast, so tha e nas nàdarra dhaibh Beurla a chleachdadh fhathast. Ach nuair a thig iad suas dhan àrd-sgoil, tha iad air a bhith a' dèanamh Gàidhlig 'son seachd bliadhna co-dhiù sa bun-sgoil, so tha dùil againn gum bi iad comasach air Gàidhlig a chleachdadh. (Urban Secondary)

F: Perhaps in primary school […] when they still haven't developed their Gaelic skills, it's more natural for them still to be using English. But when they come up to the high school, they've been doing Gaelic for at least seven years in primary school, so we expect that they are able to use Gaelic competently.

However, some of the tasks secondary pupils are expected to undertake in Gaelic are challenging. This is also seen as an argument against translanguaging, because using English in these contexts could limit their opportunities to develop their Gaelic.

F: Aonan dhe na ceistean [dhe na measaidhean ùra a tha seo]: "Leugh seo, tog rudeigin às, is cuir nad fhaclan fhèin e." Fhios a'd, a' leughadh na Gàidhlig, is feumaidh iad a sgrìobhadh sa Ghàidhlig aca fhèin. Agus 's e an aon cheist a ghlacadh a h-uile bliadhna […] agus tha e uabhasach doirbh dhaibh sin a dhèanamh, ged a tha an cànan aca. So ma tha thu gus a bhith a' gluasad eadar Gàidhlig is Beurla, tha mi cinnteach gum bi … Tha a' Bheurla mun cuairt orra a h-uile latha, so bidh a' Bheurla aca làidir gu leòr, ach am bi a' Ghàidhlig? (Urban Secondary)

F: One of the questions [in these new assessments] is: "Read this, select something from it, and put it in your own words." You know, they have to read something in Gaelic and [re]write it in Gaelic in their own words. It's the one question that stumps them every year […] and it's terribly difficult for them to do this, even though they have the language. So if you shift between Gaelic and English, I am sure that … English is around them every day, so their English will be very strong, but what about their Gaelic?

As this last quotation suggests, outwith the GME classroom, pupils have very limited opportunities to hear or use the language. The classroom therefore must be a 'safe space' for Gaelic. One of the challenges is to enrol the pupils in this task, to ensure that they are committed to using Gaelic at all times.

F: 'S chan e gu bheil sinn ag ràdh, "Na bi bruidhinn Beurla." 'S e, tha sinn ga chur, fhios a'd, ann an dòigh eile, "Tha Gàidhlig agaibh, is bithibh moiteil às a' Ghàidhlig, agus tha sibh fileanta co-dhiù."

(Urban Secondary)

F: It's not that we are saying, "Don't speak English." It's that we put it in a different way, you know: "You have Gaelic. Be proud of Gaelic and you speak it fluently anyway."

Once GME pupils have become fluent speakers of Gaelic and accustomed to using it as the language of learning, shifting into English in the classroom is difficult, even though they may use English extensively in other contexts. This phenomenon is already discernible in the upper primary.

L: Agus ma bhruidhneas tu Beurla riutha, tha iad a' coimhead ort mar gu bheil thu craicte. Tha e cho neo-àbhaisteach dhaibh.
[…]
M: Chan eil e nàdarrach dhaibh.
N: Chan eil e nàdarrach, dhuinne no dhaibhsan.
L: Uill, mar eisimpleir, tha mise a' teagasg RE, a' chòrr den clas aig Mrs F., clas a còig agus tha fios aca, tha eòlas aca, tha a h-uile duine ag obair sa Ghàidhlig ach an uair sin, 's ann anns a' Bheurla a bhios sinn a' teagasg RE. Tha sgoilearan na Beurla againn cuideachd. Is dìreach smaoineachadh air sgoilearan Gàidhlig a' coimhead ormsa, agus nuair a tha aca ri bruidhinn, is tha iad a' coimhead, chan eil mi airson seo a ràdh ann am Beurla idir. Chan eil e nàdarrach dhaibh idir Beurla a bhruidhinn.
M: Is an uair sin, tha thusa eadar-theangachadh do chàch sa chlas, eil fhios agad, nuair a fhreagaireas iad. (Island Primary)

L: And if you speak English to them, they look at you as if you are crazy. It's so unusual for them.
M: It's not natural for them.
N: It's not natural for us or for them.
L: Well, for example, I teach RE to the others in Mrs F's P5 class, and they know, they're aware that everyone is working in Gaelic, but then we do RE in English. The English-medium pupils are with us too. And just thinking of the Gaelic-medium pupils looking at me, and when it's their turn to talk, they look at me [as if to say] I don't want to say that in English. It's not at all natural for them to be speaking English.
M: And then you are translating for the others in the class, you know, when they [the Gaelic-medium children] answer [in Gaelic].

Similarly, at secondary level, teachers anticipated that pupils would not be keen to use English in GME classrooms.

F: Agus chanainn gum bi ceum glè mhòr ann gluasad às a' sin gu cleachdadh Beurla sa chlas is mar sin. Agus even 's dòcha airson sgoilearan, tha mi smaoineachadh nam biodh […] Tha mi smaoineachadh nam bithinnsa a' bruidhinn riutha ann am Beurla 's ag iarraidh orra rudeigin a sgrìobhadh ann am Beurla, […] chan eil fhios a'm ciamar a ghabhadh iad fhèin ris. Agus tha, mar a tha thu ag ràdh, tha e a' còrdadh riutha a bhith ga dhèanamh sa Ghàidhlig.

(Urban Secondary)

F: And I would say that it's a very big step to move away from this to using English in the classroom and so on. And even perhaps for the pupils, I think that […] I think that if I were to speak to them in English and ask them to write something in English […] I don't know how they themselves would react to it. And yes, as you say, they enjoy doing [their work] in Gaelic.

For these reasons, some participants expressed scepticism about Welsh research and practice regarding translanguaging.

E: Tha e inntinneach oir tha sinne a' coimhead air a' Chuimrigh mar deagh eisimpleir, mar dùthaich agus cànan a tha gu math air toiseach air mar a tha sinne, is gu math nas làidire a thaobh na cànain aca, ach tha e inntinneach faicinn gu bheil iad a' faicinn luach ann an cleachdadh barrachd Beurla anns a' classroom.

F: *Chanainn gu bheil sin dìreach na … cha robh for agamsa air sin nas motha, so tha e gu tur ùr. […]*
E: *Tha e a' dol an aghaidh mo bheachd air mar a tha cùisean anns a' Chuimrigh.*
F: *Cha robh dùil a'm …*
E: *Mar a bha mise ga thuigsinn …*
F: *Cha robh dùil a'm gun gabhadh iad ris a' sin, àidh.* (Urban Secondary)

E: It's interesting because we are looking at Wales as a good example, as a country and as a language which is much further ahead than we are, and much stronger than us in respect of their language, but it's interesting to see that they perceive some value in using more English in the classroom.
F: I would say that [translanguaging] is just … I didn't know anything about that, so it's totally new. […]
E: It doesn't fit with my view of how things are in Wales.
F: I didn't expect …
E: As I understood it …
F: I didn't expect that they would go along with this, aye.

4.2 Translanguaging contradicts the principles of immersion espoused in GME and related policy and practice

Education Scotland has set out clear guidelines concerning the language immersion approach to be adopted in GME settings. Total immersion (i.e. Gaelic to be used at all times) is expected in the early years of GME (i.e. from P1 to P3) with the gradual introduction of English from P4 onwards. The *Advice on Gaelic Education* (Education Scotland, 2015: 15) aims to strengthen this model:

- *Children and young people need to experience high-quality total immersion as part of Gaelic Medium Education until they have a secure foundation in the language and a level of fluency that will enable them to build on the progress made in Gaelic.*
- *Teachers' monitoring and tracking of progress and achievement needs to ensure that children have received sufficient total immersion.*
- *A range of approaches are used in total immersion to enable children to hear and absorb high-quality Gaelic.*

While the the interpretation of terms such as "secure foundation", "sufficient total immersion" and "high-quality Gaelic" may vary, it seems clear from this and other statements, that Education Scotland's primary concern in relation to GME is securing children's Gaelic to enable them to achieve "equal fluency and literacy in both Gaelic and English" (HMIE, 2011: 4). This reflects the consensus that developed following the critiques of the partial immersion model adoped in the 1960s, and the reassurance provided by the work of Johnstone et al. (1999) and O'Hanlon et al. (2010) that total immersion did not, the long run, have any negative impact on pupils' English. is limited attention in policy documents specifically concerned with GME to pupils' emerging bilingualism, as the CfE *Literacy and Gàidhlig* (Scottish Government et al., 2010 a and b) and *Literacy and English* (Scottish Government et al., 2010 c and d) documents are separate. There is acknowledgement of the 'transfer' of pupils' reading and writing skills in Gaelic to English (Education Scotland, 2015: 9); and experiences and outcomes associated with the *Literacy Across Learning* document (Scottish Government et al., 2010 e and f), which emphasises the importance of developing literacy skills across the curriculum, are integrated into both *Literacy and Gàidhlig* and *Literacy and English*. However there is little reflection on how such literacy skills could be developed across the pupils' two school languages using cross-linguistic pedagogies. (As noted in Section 1.1, this is a current area of interest for research on immersion education internationally.)

Moreover, in recent guidance, it is explicitly stated that bilingualism is the outcome of GME, but not the method by which it is achieved (Education Scotland, 2015: 10; see also Section 2 of this report). For these reasons, it is unsurprising that some of the teachers who participated in this study assumed that Education Scotland and other educational organisations in Scotland would oppose the introduction of translanguaging as a pedagogical approach in GME classrooms.

Primary teachers recalled encounters with inspectors who were critical of the amount of English in use in a vertically grouped upper primary class.

> M: *Air sàilleibh 's, tha fhios 'am nuair a bha luchd-sgrùdaidh againn ann an sgoil eile far an robh mi […] Bha clas a ceithir gu seachd a' tighinn còmhla anns a' Ghàidhlig agus anns a' Bheurla agus bha iad a' dèanamh a' mhòr-chuid ann am Beurla ged a bha iad a' dèanamh tòrr mu dheidhinn còmhradh sa Ghàidhlig. Ach bha, mar gum biodh, an outputs uile ann am Beurla is thuirt iad gun robh e a' dèanamh cus ionnsachadh ann am Beurla ged a bha iad air tòrr mar input Gàidhlig fhaighinn cuideachd.* (Island Primary)
>
> M: Because, I know that when the inspectors came to us in another school where I used [to work …] The composite P4-7 Gaelic class came together with the English [class], and they were doing most of the work in English, although they were doing a lot of conversation in Gaelic. But, as you would expect, the outputs were all in English and [the inspectors] said that they were doing too much of their learning in English, although they had been getting a lot of input in Gaelic too.

Similarly, secondary teachers gave examples of inspection visits which indicated that inspectors accepted the use of English language resources, but would not be keen to see class discussion or outputs in English.

> F: *Tha cuimhne a'm bho chionn beagan bhliadhnaichean bha HMI a-staigh againn cuideachd […] Bha sinn car, 'eil fhios a'd, "Gabhaibh ar leisgeul, ach tha sinn a' cleachdadh leabhraichean Beurla." Is thuirt iad, "Fhad 's gu bheil sibh […] a' cleachdadh goireasan sa Bheurla 's gun cuir sibh mìneachadh anns a' Ghàidhlig, 's e rud math a tha sibh a' dèanamh." 'S tha cuimhne a'm gun robh sinn a' faireachdainn car faothachadh ann a shin cuideachd.* (Urban Secondary)
>
> F: I remember a few years ago, HMI were in with us too […] We were a bit, you know, "Please excuse us, but we are using English books." And they said. "As long as you are […] using English resources but you are explaining them in Gaelic, you are doing a good thing." And I remember that we felt quite relieved about that too.

They also suggested that the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) would take a critical view, particularly in view of a recent circular which indicates that GME candidates should not use English in GME exam papers where pupils have been entered for the Gaelic version.

> F: *Ciamar a bhiodh an SQA a' faicinn seo ge-tà? Tha sinne gan oideachadh sa Ghàidhlig, tha iadsan cho cleachdte ri bhith a' sgrìobhadh sa Ghàidhlig. […Ach] tha cuimhne a'm, bhithinn fhèin a' comharrachadh SQA aig amannan is tha cuimhne a'm 's iomadh aiste a chunna mise sgrìobhte am Beurla, 's bha e a' cur uabhas orm, 'son an fhìrinn a ràdh, bha e a' cur uabhas orm! […] Cha robh for agamsa aig toiseach gnothaich nuair a thòisich mi bho chionn bhliadhnaichean gun robh cead aca sgrìobhadh sa Bheurla 's nach robh iad air a pheanasachadh co-dhiù. […Ach an-uiridh] thàinig an litir bhon SQA, ag ràdh nach math dhaibh idir idir idir a bhith a' sgrìobhadh sa Bheurla. Agus, fhios a'd, ciamar a tha sin a' bualadh air sin …* (Urban Secondary)
>
> F: How would SQA look at this, though? We are educating them in Gaelic, and they are so used to writing in Gaelic. [… But] I remember, I would be doing marking for SQA at times and I remember seeing a number of essays written in English, and I was astonished, to tell the truth, I was astonished! […] I had no idea when I first started [marking for SQA], some years ago, that they were allowed to write in English and weren't penalised anyway. [But last year] we got a letter from SQA saying that they weren't at all, at all, at all to write in English. And, you know, how does that affect that …?

At the primary stage, parents and teachers themselves might also oppose translanguaging in principle, on the basis that it could be detrimental to the development of pupils' Gaelic.

> *D: Tha mi a' creidsinn gum bi cuid den pàrantan a tha uabhasach làidir air taobh Gàidhlig, cha bhi iadsan toilichte nan robh sinn a' sgrìobhadh rudan mar sin sìos sna poileasaidhean againne. […] Tha mi a' creidsinn gu bheil translanguaging a' tachairt sna clasruman, gu h-àraidh bho chlas 's dòcha a còig gu seachd no rudan mar sin, nan robh sinn a' sgrìobhadh sin sìos mar poileasaidh, cha bhi tòrr dhaoine uabhasach toilichte. [R: Pàrantan is tidsearan is...] Uh huh, pàrantan is tidsearan gu h-àraidh.* (Urban Primary)
>
> D: I think that some parents who are very strong supporters of Gaelic would not be pleased if we were to write something like this in our policy documents […] I believe that translanguaging does take place in classrooms, particularly from P5 to P7, or thereabouts, but if we were to write this down as policy, many people would be very unhappy. [R: Parents and teachers and …] Uh huh, particularly parents and teachers.

Similarly, secondary teachers thought that parents might not be supportive, given how much time and effort they had already invested in ensuring that their children became fluent Gaelic speakers:

> *F: 'S bhiodh e inntinneach beachd phàrantan fhaighinn cuideachd. Ge-tà, tha mi a' creidsinn, tha iad a' dèanamh de strì shìos seachd bliadhna [aig a bhun-sgoil], fhios a'd, foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig, agus an uair sin — okay, gheibheadh iad taic le obair-dachaigh is gnothaichean mar sin is bhiodh sin na tharraing do chuid tha mi cinnteach, ach air an làimh eile, tha a' cheart uidhir de dhraghan, ged a tha feadhainn againn far a bheil — 's e Gàidhlig a' chiad chànan aca san dachaigh, agus tha mi creidsinn gu bheil pàrantan air a leithid de shaothair a dhèanamh 's tha iad a' faicinn seòrsa de investment ma thogras sibh — am biodh iad fhèin còrdail leis an sin?*
>
> (Urban Secondary)
>
> F: It would be interesting to get parents' views too. However, I believe they have been pro-active [for Gaelic] for seven years [at primary school], you know, for Gaelic-medium education and then – okay, they would get help with homework and things like that and this would appeal to some, I'm sure. On the other hand, there are an equal number of worries [with it], even though we have some who – they speak Gaelic as their first language at home, and I believe that parents have made so much effort that they see it as a kind of investment, if you like – would they be happy with this?

They also thought that pupils would not like to see their achivements diluted, giving the example of recently achieved recognition that pupils have sat examinations in Gaelic rather than in English:

> *F: Tha iad moiteil aig deireadh an latha, mu dheireadh gun e "eachdraidh" a th' air an duilleig, b' àbhaist gun e "history" a bh' ann. […] So tha mi a' creidsinn gu bheil seòrsa de, tha mixed messages ann a shin 's dòcha cuideachd. Chan eil mi buileach cinnteach.* (Urban Secondary)
>
> *F:* At the end of the day they are proud, that finally it says "eachdraidh" on the certificate, instead of "history", as it used to say. […] So I think that there is a sort of, that perhaps there are mixed messages there too. I'm not really sure.

4.3 English is commonly used in GME classrooms though this practice is largely unacknowledged. Can translanguaging help us to use both languages more effectively?

Participants recognised that English is used in GME classrooms

Despite teachers' views that both the principles of immersion education and current policy relating to GME indicate that Gaelic should be used exclusively, or as much as possible, they also recognised that English is used in GME classrooms, for a variety of reasons.

> D: *Tha mi a' creidsinn, tha mi a' creidsinn gum biodh sin a' tachairt. San sgoil seo, feumaidh mi aideachadh, bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' cumail le Gàidhlig a' phrìomh chànan san sgoil againne ach nuair a tha sinn a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn diofar rudan, uaireannan bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' cleachdadh translanguaging agus tha mi a' creidsinn gu bheil sin a' tachairt co-dhiù. Tha mi a' creidsinn gu bheil feadhainn de na leasanan - tòrr den leasanan – tha mi a' smaoineachadh gu bheil sin a' tachairt […]* (Urban Primary)
>
> D: I believe, I believe that this would happen. In this school, I have to admit, we should maintain Gaelic as the main school language but when we are talking about different things, sometimes we should be adopting translanguaging and I believe this is happening, anyway. I think that in some lessons – many lessons – I believe this is happening.

One reason is the limited resources available in Gaelic

A significant source of English in GME classrooms derives from the resources used, particularly for project-based work in the primary school and for teaching subject-related matter in the secondary school.

> *Yeah, you know, people say we've got lots of sources, we've got lots of materials. But some of them aren't that useful to us. For example, if you're looking at videos, films, what do we really have in Gaelic? It's limited. Whereas there's a tremendous amount of really good stuff out there in, in English. […] With the best will in the world we couldn't just use Gaelic sources even if we wanted to.* (Island Secondary)

> E: *Well, an-dràsta 's e na goireasan a tha ag adhbharachadh sin dhuinn, a' ciallachadh gum feum sinn siud [cleachdadh stuthan anns a' Bheurla] a dhèanamh. […]*
> R: *Chan e strategy a th' ann …?*
> E: *So chan e …*
> F: *Chan e, 's dìreach cion ghoireasan.* (Urban Secondary)
>
> E: Well, just now it is the resources that cause that [the use of English], meaning that we have to do this [using English materials] […]
> R: It's not a strategy…?
> E: So no …
> F: No, just a lack of resources

> N: *Tha […] mise aig clas a h-aon is a dhà, is tha e gu math doirbh a thaobh pròiseactan, uill an stuth air fad gu leth, tha a' mhòr-chuid den stuth a tha air an eadar-lìon 's ann ann am Beurla a tha e. Agus an uair sin, rinn sinn [pròiseact] am-bliadhna agus tha cuimhne 'am a' coimhead air na faclair is a' coimhead suas eadar-theangachadh airson na facail sin is mar sin bha mi a' smaoineachadh, chan fhaigh iad a-riamh tuigse ma tha mi dìreach gu bhith a' cleachdadh [Gàidhlig] a-mhàin ga fhèin. So gu math tric, na tha sinn a' dèanamh, chanainn, uill anns a' Bheurla, tha fios agaibh dè am facal a tha sin […] Bidh iad a' freagairt ann am Beurla is chanainn an uair sin e anns a' Ghàidhlig, 's e seòrsa de focus. A-rithist, aig na tràth ìrean, tha sinn a' feuchainn ris a' chànan a bhrosnachadh is a' feuchainn ris na cànan a thoirt dhaibh.* (Island Primary)

N: I am in P1 and P2 and it's quite difficult regarding projects, well all the resources, most of the materials that are on-line are in English. We did [a project] this year and I remember looking at the dictionary and looking up the translations for these words, and thinking that they wouldn't ever gain understanding [subject conceptual knowledge] of we're doing. I would say, well, in English, you know what this word is. […] They'll answer in English and then I would say it in Gaelic, it's a sort of focus. Again, in the early years, we are trying to encourage the language, and trying to give them the language.

Even if resources are in English, the work should, as far as possible be in Gaelic

Because of the need to use English resources, teachers aim to limit its impact as much as possible (for example by muting videos, as M mentions in the extract below), and by ensuring that Gaelic is used in discussions based on the materials and other work that ensues.

M: *'S e Gàidhlig cànan a' chlas agus feumaidh mi ràdh, chan eil sinn a' bruidhinn mòran Beurla. Cha chanainn gu bheil sinn a' còmhradh ann am Beurla idir, idir sa chlas ged a tha sinn a' cleachdadh stuthan Beurla. Dìreach a' smaointinn mu dheidhinn obair pròiseactan, tha thu ag iarraidh rudeigin a shealltainn dhaibh agus tha thu a' faicinn bhideo clip a tha glè mhath ann am Beurla agus gu math tric, an rud a sinn a' dèanamh, 's e a' cur am volume sìos no rudeigin, a' cur am fuaim sìos, is a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn ann an Gàidhlig. Air neo, aig amannan, tha sinn a' sealltainn dhaibh ann am Beurla ach tha an còmhradh uile ann an Gàidhlig, tha thu a' cur suas na facail ann an Gàidhlig dhaibh agus na outcomes, 's ann ann an Gàidhlig a tha iad.* (Island Primary)

M: Gaelic is the language of the class and I have to say we do not speak much English. I would say that we don't talk in English at all, at all in the class even though, we do use English materials. Just thinking about project work, you want to show them something and you see a video clip which is quite good in English, and often one of the things we do is to turn down the volume or something, turn the sound down and talk about it in Gaelic. Or sometimes, we show it to them in English but hold the whole discussion in Gaelic, you put up the words and the outcomes in Gaelic for them, these are in Gaelic.

Another teacher in this school commented that primary GME pupils themselves understand that, even if English is occasionally used, this is to support the development of their academic vocabulary in Gaelic, not to replace Gaelic.

N: Nuair a bha sin a' coimhead air vertebrates is invertebrates, agus aig toiseach na leasain thuirt mi riutha, "Nis, seo facal Beurla a th' againn an sheo, 's e vertebrates." Ach thuirt mi riutha sa Ghàidhlig, "Bidh sinn ag ràdh, beathaichean le cnàimh-droma." Nist, cha d' thuirt iad a-riamh vertebrates às dèidh sin idir ged a bha fios aca air am facal Beurla, thug mi dhaibh facal Gàidhlig, cha do chleachd iad idir e [anns a' Bheurla]. Bha mi a' smaoineachadh gu math tric, tha eagal oirnn faclan Beurla a ràdh mus tòisich iad ga chleachdadh ach an seòrsa suidheachadh a th' againn an seo, chanainn ma tha structar ann is ma tha thu eòlach air seo a dhèanamh mar bu chòir, 's dòcha nach togar na faclan Beurla idir. (Island Primary)

N: When we were looking at vertebrates and invertebrates, at the beginning of the lessons I said to them, "Now this is an English word we have here, it's 'vertebrates'." But I said to them in Gaelic, "We'll be saying 'beathaichean le cnàimh-droma' [animals with a backbone]." Now they never said 'vertebrates' again after that although they knew what the English word was. I gave them the Gaelic word and they never used it again [in English]. I was thinking that we are quite often afraid of saying English words in case they start using English, but the kind of situation we have here, I would say that if the structure is there and you know how to do this appropriately, perhaps the English words won't be learnt at all.

Nevertheless, any use of English in the GME classroom may be regarded as excessive, given teachers' interpretation of immersion principles and policy; and teachers can clearly feel guilty about using English at all.

M: Is tha mi a' smaoineachadh cuideachd, eil fhios agad, tha sinn a' feuchainn gu mòr ris a' Ghàidhlig againn a chumail suas is […] tha thu a' faireachdainn gu math ciontach, nach eil, nuair a tha thu a' cleachdadh stuthan Beurla is ag ràdh, dè am bu chòir dhomh... (Island Primary)

M: I also think, you know, that we are trying so hard to give Gaelic status and […] you feel very guilty, don't you, when you are using English materials and saying, what should I do …

You know, so I was kind of thinking I'm doing the wrong thing really by showing them this English resource. But I just made the decision that it's this or it's not done at all if I don't do it in English. And we talked a bit in Gaelic and we just said it was fine. (Island Secondary)

As translanguaging was a new idea for most of the teachers who took part in the study, the recognition that English is used in some contexts was a starting point for considering how translanguaging might work or could be adapted to the needs of the GME classroom. The fact that they already find themselves using resources in English meant that they felt more comfortable with the idea that inputs could be in English and outputs in Gaelic, rather than the other way around.

I'm not kidding myself that they're going to watch the news in Gaelic all the time. […] They do pick up news items [in English …] but you can discuss them in Gaelic. So to a degree we're using it [translanguaging] already. And most of their internet research that they do […] will be in English. And then their output will be in Gaelic. (Island Secondary)

X: *Tha mi a' smaoineachadh 's dòcha tha e a' tachairt an-dràsta. Nuair a bha na sgoilearan a' dèanamh rannsachadh air-loidhne, you know, tha a h-uile rud ann am Beurla co-dhiù.*
Y: *Bidh cothrom math airson a dhèanamh eadar-chànanachadh.* (Prospective Teachers)

X: I think that perhaps it's happening now. When pupils were researching on line, you know, everything is in English anyway.
Y: There will be a good opportunity for doing translanguaging.

E: *Ach tha sin dìreach a' dol bho chleachdadh stuthan anns a' Bheurla is a' dèanamh obair anns a' Ghàidhlig. Chan eil … cha chanainn gu bheil sinn a' dol an taobh eile, bho […] bho Ghàidhlig gu Beurla idir.*
[…]
F: *Cha robh mi a-riamh a' dèanamh sin [input in Gaelic, output in English]. So tha mi creidsinn, tha mi a' tuigsinn an translanguaging systematic mar sin. Ach 's e an input 's an output, chan eil fhios a'm, tha mi toilichte gu leòr … còrdail gu leòr le input sa Bheurla, ach output sa Bheurla? 'S e rud mòr a tha sin.* (Urban Secondary)

E: But we just go from using materials in English to doing work in Gaelic. I don't … I wouldn't say that we go the other way, from […] from Gaelic to English.
[…]
F: I have never done this [input in Gaelic, output in English]. So I believe, I understand the systematic translanguaging in this way. But it's the input and the output, I don't know, I am happy enough… content enough with input in English, but output in English? That's a big thing.

<u>Are some subject areas more suitable for translanguaging?</u>

Taking their cue from the presentation in which we had explained that Welsh researchers had found that translanguaging was more likely to occur in certain contexts than others, participants considered whether this could be the case in GME too. Primary teachers felt that certain subject areas might be more suitable for translanguaging.

D: *Tha mi a' creidsinn gu bheil feadhainn de na leasanan – tòrr den leasanan – tha mi a' smaoineachadh gu bheil sin a' tachairt, gu h-àraidh cuspairean sòisealta agus maths cuideachd agus science.* (Urban Primary)

D: I believe that some of the lessons – many of the lessons – I think that happens, especially in social subjects, and maths too and science.

M: Obair pròiseact 's dòcha, science. Tha briathrachas cho doirbh co-dhiù ann an Gàidhlig, cuspairean sònraichte agad is mar sin a dhèanamh.
N: 'S dòcha fiù 's mathematics aig ìrean clas a seachd.
L: Agus a thaobh slàinte cuideachd, tha sinne gu math tric a' cleachdadh [resource] mar eisimpleir agus tha mar gum biodh suidheachdainn diofraichte ann, cothroman airson mar gum biodh cleasachd, role plays is rudan mar sin. Ach cha (shoilleir) e ceart anns a' Ghàidhlig.
M: No, chan eil.
L: No, chan eil. Chan obraicheadh e idir.
R: Chan obraicheadh e. Chan eil e cool ann an Gàidhlig co-dhiù. [*Gàireachdaich*] (Island Primary)

M: Project work, perhaps science. The vocabulary is so difficult anyway in Gaelic, when you're doing specialist subjects and so on.
N: Perhaps even maths at P7 level.
L: And in health and wellbeing too, often we're using [a resource] as an example and there can be different scenarios, opportunities for drama, role plays and things like that. But it's certainly not clear in Gaelic.
M: No, it's not.
L: No, it doesn't work.
R: It doesn't work. It's not cool in Gaelic anyway. [Laughter]

Language and literature was an area in which some of the secondary teachers saw particular potential for translanguaging.

> *When you're doing literature, why can't you draw on things that they will come across in English literature, for example? And I think a natural situation can be really useful just to… You would obviously still be speaking in Gaelic but they're using … information and experience and things that they've picked up in English.* (Island Secondary)

In the other secondary school, one teacher found this kind of work hard to envisage, but her colleague wondered whether deliberately working across two languages would enhance pupils' understanding of both languages.

F: A bheil àite ann, 's dòcha a bhith a' teagasg clasaichean Beurla, a' mìneachadh sa Ghàidhlig, a' sgrìobhadh sa Bheurla? A bheil sin a' dol gu nàdarra còmhla? Chan eil mi cinnteach.
E: *Bhiodh e inntinneach nan robh an aon tidsear aig clas airson Gàidhlig agus Beurla, aig can, Nàiseanta 5, agus a' bualadh na h-aon sgilean. Bhiodh sin a' toirt buaidh air na comharran aca.* (Urban Secondary)

F: Is there anywhere, perhaps when teaching English classes, where you can explain things in Gaelic and be writing in English? Does this work together naturally? I'm not sure.
E: It would be interesting if they had the same teacher for Gaelic and English, say at National 5, focusing on the same skills. That would have an impact on their grades.

One primary teacher thought there was a place for translanguaging when telling stories in the early years.

M: Dh' fhaodadh tu 's dòcha le stories, eil fhios agad, ma tha thu a' leughadh stòraidhean, airson tha fhios againn uile...chan eil fhios agam cia mheud leabhraichean Gàidhlig a tha iad air a' leughadh, a tha sinn a' leughadh dhaibh, is an-còmhnaidh, is tha sinne eadar-theangachadh iad anns a' Bheurla is tha sinn a' coimhead air leabhar còmhla. Ach bhiodh an tuigse 's dòcha na b' fheàrr airson na fheadhainn beag a tha sin ma dhèanadh tu an leughadh, pìos anns a' Bheurla. (Island Primary)

M: You could perhaps do it with stories, you know, if you are reading stories, because we all know … I don't know how many Gaelic books they have read, or that we have read to them, and we are always translating them into English when we are looking at the books together. But some of these little ones would perhaps understand better if you read some parts in English.

Another saw opportunities for challenging work in which primary pupils compared poetry in Gaelic, Scots and English.

> D: *Tha cuimhne 'am nuair a bha mise nam thidsear aig sgoiltean eile agus bha sinn a' dèanamh rudan mar Robert Burns agus bàrdachd, gu h-àraid a' coimhead air An Cogadh Mòr agus bha sinn a' coimhead air bàrdachd sa Bheurla agus an uair sin, a' cur sùil air bàrdachd sa Ghàidhlig cuideachd agus a' coimhead air na facail diofraichte agus na cruthan diofraichte air na bàrdachd. Agus cuideachd, nuair a bha mi a' dèanamh Burns leis a' chlas agamsa, ged a tha eadar-theangachadh bho Scots gu Gàidhlig, tha mi a' smaoineachadh o chionn 's gun do sgrìobh Robert Burns e ann an Albais, bu chòir dhuinn a bhith an-còmhnaidh ag ionnsachadh mar sin. Agus ma bhiodh sinn ag èisteachd ri taisbeanadh 's a leithid air an eadar-lìon ann an Albais agus an uair sin, bha sinn a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn Robert Burns anns a' Ghàidhlig agus cuideachd a' cur sùil air cuid den bàrdachd mar Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair is a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn nàdar is a leithid. So, an aon dòigh no 's urrainn a bhith a' cleachdadh na dà text sa Ghàidhlig is sa Bheurla is ann an Scots cuideachd ach a' bruidhinn...tha e doirbh dìreach a bhith a' smaoineachadh mu dheidhinn.*

> D: I remember when I was teaching in other schools and we were doing things like Robert Burns and poetry, particularly looking at the Great War, and we were looking at poetry in English and then at poetry in Gaelic too and looking at the different words and the different forms of the poems. And also when I was doing Burns with my class, although there was a translation from Scots to Gaelic, I thought that because Burns wrote it in Scots, we should always study it that way. And if we were listening to a presentation or something like that on the internet in Scots, we would then talk about Robert Burns in Gaelic and also look at some poetry by Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair and talk about nature and things like that. So in the same way we can use both texts, in Gaelic and in English, and in Scots too, but speaking … it's just difficult to think about it.

(Urban Primary)

<u>Are some stages of GME pupils' school careers more suitable for translanguaging?</u>

Most of the participants thought that translanguaging should not be introduced until children had reached a certain level of Gaelic, concurring that this stage was probably reached in the upper primary years.

> Z: *Sin an t-àm nuair a tha iad air Gàidhlig ionnsachadh agus tha an cànan aca gu ìre, […] ma tha iad a' tòiseachadh ag ionnsachadh Beurla sann an uair sin tha e èifeachdach, it's effective to use both, nach eil?* (Prospective Teachers)

> Z: That's the time when they have learnt Gaelic and they have the language to an extent […] if they are starting to learn English, then that's the time it's effective, it's effective to use both, isn't it?

> D: *Agus tha mi a' smaoineachadh ma tha sinn feuchainn Gàidhlig a leasachadh, cha bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' cleachdadh translanguaging gus am bi iad ann an clas a ceithir no a còig fiù 's gus am bi iad misneachail air Gàidhlig a chleachdadh. Agus cha bu thoil leamsa idir translanguaging fhaicinn bho sgoil-àraich gu clas a ceithir.* (Urban Primary)

> D: And I think that if we are trying to develop Gaelic, we should not be using translanguaging until they are in P4 or P5, until they are confident in using Gaelic. And I wouldn't like to see translanguaging at all between preschool and P4.
>
> *I thought it was quite interesting that the higher percentages [in relation to the use of translanguaging in the Welsh research] are upper primary [when] they are starting to deal with more complex sources.*

(Island Secondary)

> E: *Chanainnsa nach eil, sa bhun-sgoil, uill, gu h-àraidh lower primary, chanainn nach eil — nach biodh àite ann dha. Ach 's dòcha ma tha iad dha-rìribh gu bhith dà-chànanach, 's dòcha gu bheil àite ann dha nas fhaide suas an sgoil.* (Urban Secondary)

E: I would say that in the primary school, particularly in the lower primary, I would say that there isn't – there wouldn't be a place for it. But perhaps if they are to be indeed bilingual, perhaps there is a place for it in further up the school.

Can translanguaging support transitions?

When children begin to learn English as they move into the upper primary school, they start to need to know academic terminology in both languages.

D: Nuair a tha an leughadh uile sa Bheurla agus tha iad a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn adjectives is a leithid agus uaireannan, mur eil sinn a' teagasg adjectives, buadhair, an aon rud, cha bhi clann a' dèanamh cho math air na measaidhean sin, so tha sinn a' dèanamh sin co-dhiù. […] Actually tha sinn air a bhith a' cleachdadh 's dòcha barrachd na tha sinn a' smaoineachadh gu h-àraidh air maths is 's dòcha science cuideachd, facail science. (Urban Primary)

D: When all the reading is in English and they are speaking about adjectives and things like that, sometimes, if we are not teaching them that adjectives and 'buadhair' [adjectives] are the same thing, the children don't do so well on the assessments, so we do this anyway. […] Actually we have been using perhaps more [English] than we realise, especially for maths and perhaps for science too, scientific vocabulary.

Most pupils who have attended GME primaries will be going on to secondary schools where only some subjects are offered in Gaelic. Primary teachers argued that making the shift to English beforehand could help them to cope with the challenges of terminology when continuing the same subject but in a different language.

D: Tha cuimhne 'am an sgoil eile, cha robh iad a' faighinn cothrom maths a dhèanamh tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig nuair a bha iad a' dol suas dhan àrd-sgoiltean. So bha e cudromach gun robh an dà chànan aca ann an clas a seachd, ma tha cuideigin ag ràdh rithe, "Well, multiply, dè tha sin a' ciallachadh? You know, iomadachadh." Bu chòir an dà chànan a bhith aca co-dhiù, gu h-àraidh air maths. Agus tha mi a' creidsinn a' mhòr-chuid den clasaichean, tha sinn a' dèanamh sin co-dhiù còmhla riutha so bidh iad eòlach air dà chànan. […] Oir nuair a thèid iad dhan [Ainm Àrd-Sgoile], chan eil iad a' faighinn cothrom gach cuspair a dhèanamh ann an Gàidhlig, so tha e cudromach an cànan a bhith aca is am facail a bhith aca cuideachd. (Urban Primary)

D: I remember another school where they didn't have the opportunity to do maths in Gaelic when they went up to the high schools. So it was important that they knew both languages in P7, if someone said to them, "Well, 'multiply', what does that mean? You know, 'iomadachadh' [multiplying]." They should have both languages anyway, particularly for maths. And I think that in the majority of classes, we do this with them anyway, so that they are familiar with both languages […] Because when they go to [Name of High School] they don't get the opportunity to do every subject in Gaelic, so it's important that they know the languages and that they have the vocabulary too.

L: Chanainnsa ann am mathematics co-dhiù, bidh mi gu math tric a' cleachdadh am briathrachas Beurla feumaidh mi ràdh. Airson nuair a tha iad a' gluasad air adhart chun an àrd-sgoil, 's ann anns a' Bheurla co-dhiù...
M: Chan urrainn dhaibh mathematics a dhèanamh ann an Gàidhlig.
L: Chan urrainn dhaibh, chan eil an cothrom aca.
M: So feumaidh sinne an terminology a thoirt dhaibh anns a' Bheurla agus anns a' Ghàidhlig.
(Island Primary)

L: I would say that in maths, anyway, I often use English terminology, I have to say. Because when they move on to the High School, it's in English anyway …
M: They can't do mathematics in Gaelic
L: They can't, there's no opportunity
M: So we have to give them the terminology in English and in Gaelic.

When pupils do not have the opportunity to learn how to operate in both languages, they can struggle in the secondary school when they have to switch to English.

> F: *An rud a tha a' tachairt gu math tric bho nach eil iad a' dèanamh eachdraidh tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig aig àrd-ìre, gu math tric bidh feadhainn a' tilleadh thugam 's bidh iad ag ràdh, "Tha e cho doirbh!" You know, ga dhèanamh dìreach ann am Beurla 'son àrd-ìre. Agus dhòmhsa dheth a' fàs suas dìreach eadar an dà chànan, bha Gàidhlig againn a-staigh, ach cho cleachdte ri dìreach Gàidhlig – Beurla – Gàidhlig – Beurla, tha mi creidsinn nach eil mise a' faicinn an duilgheadais a th' acasan switching a tha sin a dhèanamh. 'S bha e iongantach dhòmhsa cluinntinn grunn a' ràdh rium cho doirbh 's a tha e dìreach a' tionndadh gu Beurla mar sin. So bhiodh e iongantach …*
> (Urban Secondary)
>
> F: One thing that happens quite often as a result of not doing Higher history in Gaelic, often some of them come to me and say "It's so hard!" You know, doing the Higher just in English. And I was brought up with both languages, we spoke Gaelic at home but I was so used to just Gaelic-English-Gaelic-English. I believe I don't see the difficulty that they experience in switching. And it was strange for me to hear a number of them say how hard they find it to switch to English. So it was strange …

Moving between the two languages could remain a challenge for them after they leave school.

> E: *Ach an uair sin ma tha e doirbh dhaibh [to move between Gaelic and English], bhiodh seo [translanguaging] a' toirt na sgilean dhaibh dol eadar an dà chànan, eh, ann an suidheachadh às dèidh na sgoile.* (Urban Secondary)
>
> E: But then if it's difficult for them [to move between Gaelic and English] this [translanguaging] would give them the skills to move between the two languages, eh, after they leave school.

<u>Can tranlanguaging help mediate tensions between the importance placed on learning Gaelic and that placed on subject learning?</u>

Many of the teachers commented that children's understanding of curriculum content could be enhanced if English were used to support their learning. Primary teachers acknowledged the tension between the imperative to use Gaelic at all times and the importance of ensuring that children could understand, could learn and could participate actively in the class.

> L: *Gu math tric, ma 's ann anns a' Ghàidhlig a tha an output gus a bhith, chleachdainn dìreach aon phìos anns a' Bheurla tha mi a' smaoineachadh: bhideo, leabhar, rannsachadh air an eadar-lìon. Ach mar a bha mi ag ràdh, 's ann anns a' Ghàidhlig a dh'fheumadh iad a h-uile sian, na notaichean aca is a h-uile sian a sgrìobhadh. Aon phìos.*
> M: *Ach bhiodh tu a' faireachdainn, tha fhios 'am gum bithinnsa a' faireachdainn gu math neònach, eil fhios agad, tòrr mòr Beurla a chleachdadh.*
> L: *Mmm hmm ach ann an dòigh, bhiodh e na b' fhasa dhaibh cuideachd, feumaidh mi ràdh. Na b' fhasa dhaibh agus bhiodh tuigse na b' fheàrr aca tha mi a' smaoineachadh.*
> M: *Feumaidh mi aideachadh, cha bhiodh e ceàrr.*
>
> […]
>
> M: *Fiù 's na th' aca airson mathematics, tha e aca ann an Gàidhlig agus ann am Beurla agus tha e a-rèir dè tha an tidsear fhèin a' smaointinn, eil fhios agad, dè as fhreagarraiche dhan a' phàiste a th' agad air do bheulaibh. Tha feadhainn a tha cho fileanta is nì iad an gnothach sa Ghàidhlig agus feadhainn eile, tha mi a' smaoineachadh gun e an cànan, gu h-àraidh ann am mathematics, an cnap-starra aca.*
> L: *Tha e gan cumail air ais.* (Island Primary)
>
> L : Often, if the output is to be in Gaelic, I would use one piece in English, I think: a video, a book, online research. But as I was saying, they would have to do everything in Gaelic, their notes and everything they write. One piece.

M: But would you feel, I know that I would feel very odd, you know, using a whole lot of English.
L: Mmm hmm but in a way, it would be easier for them too, I have to say. Easier for them and they would have better understanding, I think.
M: I have to admit, that it would not be wrong.
[…]
M: Even all they have for mathematics, they have it in Gaelic and in English, and it depends on what the teacher thinks, you know, as to what would be most suitable for the child they have in front of them. Some are so fluent and can manage in Gaelic, but others, I think it's the language, especially in mathematics, that is their barrier [to learning].
L: It holds them back.

D: Uaireannan, tha fios 'am ann cuid de na clasaichean a bh' agamsa, gu h-àraidh nuair a bha sinn a' smaoineachadh mu dheidhinn cuspairean sòisealta agus pearsanta, tha e fada nas fhasa dhaibh a bhith a' bruidhinn rium sa Bheurla oir cha robh an cànan aca. […] Ach an aon dòigh, ma tha sinn feuchainn an cànan a leasachadh, cànan na cloinne a leasachadh, bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig cuideachd. Ach aig an aon àm cuideachd, bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' smaoineachadh mu dheidhinn foghlam gach pàiste agus ged nach eil 's dòcha an cànan ceart aca aig àm diofraichte, 's dòcha bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' toirt cothrom dhaibh a bhith a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn, mar eisimpleir, faireachdainnean nuair a tha iad a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn cuspairean a tha caran doirbh, you know. Chan eil an cànan teicnigeach aca sa Ghàidhlig agus tha e nas fhasa dhaibh a bhith a' bruidhinn sa Bheurla. Agus uaireannan, tha eagal orm gu bheil feadhainn dhaibh, chan eil an cànan aca agus an uair sin, chan eil iad a' bruidhinn idir. So chan eil iad a' faighinn cothrom a bhith ag ionnsachadh mu dheidhinn an cuspair. Uaireannan, tha mi a' smaoineachadh sin oir 's dòcha nach eil an ìre cànan a th' aca, chan eil aig an ìrean ceart airson a bhith a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn cuspairean sònraichte. Mar eisimpleir, nuair a tha sinn a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn creideamh no rudeigin agus rudan a tha a' tachairt ann am Middle East is a leithid agus 's dòcha nach eil an cànan aca sa Ghàidhlig ach tha faireachdainn làidir aca agus tha iad ag iarraidh a bhith bruidhinn. Agus uaireannan, nuair nach eil sinn ceadaichte sa chlas a bhith a' bruidhinn sa Bheurla, chan eil iadsan a' faighinn cothrom a bhith a' gabhail pàirt anns na deasbadan. (Urban Primary)

D: Sometimes, I know in some of my classes, especially when we are thinking about personal and social education, it's much easier for them to talk to me in English, because they don't have the language […] But in one way, if we are trying to develop the language, develop the children's language, we should be using Gaelic too. But at the same time, we should be thinking about the education of each child and if, perhaps, they don't have the correct language, on some occasions, perhaps we should be giving them the opportunity to talk about their feelings, for example, when they are talking about things that are somewhat difficult, you know. They don't have the technical language in Gaelic, and it's easier for them to speak English. And sometimes I am afraid that some of them, they don't have the language and so they don't speak at all. So they don't get the chance to learn about the topic. Sometimes, I think it's because they don't have the level of language they need, they don't have the right level of language for them to talk about particular subjects. For example, when we talk about religion or something, and things that are happening in the Middle East and so on, and perhaps they don't have the Gaelic to talk about this, but they have strong feelings and they want to talk about these things. And sometimes, when we don't allow English to be spoken in the class, they don't have the opportunity to take part in the discussion.

Secondary teachers who taught both Gàidhlig and other subjects through GME were clear about the different expectations. In subjects other than Gàidhlig, they felt that subject learning has to come first, and this may entail the use of English.

E: 'S e an cuspair as cudromaiche, ann an cuspairean tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig, agus 's e an cànan as cudromaiche ann an Gàidhlig. Ach mura h-eil an cànan aca sa chiad dol a-mach, chan urrainn dhaibh, an uair sin, an cuspair ionnsachadh cho math. (Urban Secondary)

E: The subject is the most important thing, in subjects taught through the medium of Gaelic, and the language is the most important thing in the Gaelic class. But if they don't have the language in the first

instance [i.e. they don't have the necessary langauge proficiency] they can't then learn the subject so well.

In this context, the importance of bilingual scaffolding was recognised.

N: Cha bhiodh an cànan aca an uair sin airson an output agus tha mise a' dol air ais dhan scaffolding a tha seo. Bhithinnsa toilichte gu leòr rud beag bruidhinn a dhèanamh aig na h-àrd ìrean, rud beag Beurla a dhèanamh sa Bheurla, beagan sa Ghàidhlig, a' bruidhinn air cànan, am facail a tha mise a' dol a chleachdadh, ouptut ann a shiud, is an uair sin output sa Ghàidhlig. Ma tha an tuigse aca an toiseach, 's dòcha tuigse nas fheàrr aca sa Bheurla is an uair sin, tha thu a' dol thairis air na facail a dh'fheumadh iad a chleachdadh. (Island Primary)

N: They wouldn't then have the language for the output and I am going back to this scaffolding [business]. I would be very happy to be doing a bit of speaking at the upper stages, doing a little bit of English [the subject] in English and a little in Gaelic, speaking about language, about the vocabulary that I'm going to use, the output in that, and then the output in Gaelic. If they have the comprehension first, perhaps they understand better in English and then you go back over the vocabulary that they should use.

Regular evaluation of the children's linguistic development, in Gaelic and in English, would help teachers to ensure that they are meeting their learning needs.

D: Ach nuair a tha sinn a' smaoineachadh mu dheidhinn foghlam gach pàiste, agus leasachadh gach pàiste, bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' cleachdadh an dà chànan ann an aon dòigh. Ach bu chòir Gàidhlig a bhith an cànan àbhaisteach a tha sinn a' cleachdadh sa chlasrum ach airson cuid den cuspairean, tha pàirt ann an sheo a' smaoineachadh gum bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' cleachdadh Beurla 's dòcha airson cuid den texts agus fiù 's airson a bhith a' bruidhinn. Agus co-dhiù, bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' dèanamh measadh air na h-ìrean a th' aig a' chlann co-dhiù; an èisteachd is labhairt sa Bheurla agus sa Ghàidhlig. So bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' dèanamh sin co-dhiù. (Urban Primary)

D: But when we think about the education of each child, and the development of each child, we should be using both languages in the same way. But Gaelic should be the usual language of the classroom and for some of the subjects. Some people here think that we should be using English, perhaps, for some of the texts and even for speaking. And anyway, we should be assessing the children at the level they have reached, listening and speaking in English and in Gaelic. Se we should be doing that in any case.

A secondary teacher reflected on the possibility that translanguaging supports information processing and that this (and not just the question of comprehension) could make it an effective learning tool.

I've done a bit of work on higher order thinking skills. […] The theory behind translanguaging is that it enables automatic processing because you have to process the information […]. I find that really interesting because this is one of the big battles that we have in social subjects where we're trying to get pupils to understand concepts, and be able to explain things and why things are important. So if, if this was something that for Gaelic medium pupils would then introduce that a wee bit more naturally or, you know, that, that would be really interesting for us … (Island Secondary)

Prospective teachers who are learners of Gaelic had first-hand experience of the tensions between working in Gaelic at all times and the frustration of not understanding what is being said.

Z: Tha mise a' smaoineachadh gu bheil seo ag obair ann am foghlam bogaidh, ach tha mi smaointinn gu bheil e rud beag diofraichte airson daoine nas sine mar sibh fhèin, no sinn fhèin. Bidh e nas fheàrr, you know, uaireannan bidh sibh a' dèanamh rudeigin ùr, "gam, gad, gur" no rudeigin mar seo, agus bidh sibh a' bruidhinn airson dhà no trì uairean mu dheidhinn nan riaghailtean airson rudeigin ach ann an coig mionaidean bidh sibh a' tuigsinn a h-uile rud ann am Beurla, agus bidh e nas fheàrr a dèanamh seo, you know, we are adults, we can accept that five minutes and switch back effectively.

Ach tha seo nas doirbhe airson . . . 's dòcha luchd-ionnsachaidh ach 's dòcha airson daoine mar tidsearan. (Prospective Teachers)

Z: I think that immersion education works, but I think that it's a bit different for older people like you, or like us. It's better, you know, sometimes we're doing something new, "gam, gad, gur"' [= object pronouns] or something like that, and you'll be talking for two or three hours about the rules for something, but in five minutes we could have understood the whole thing in English, and it would be better to do this, you know, we are adults, we can accept that five minutes and switch back effectively. But is harder for … perhaps for learners and perhaps for people like teachers.

Their experience of participating in the focus group discussion in Gaelic revealed both what is gained by being required to discuss issues in Gaelic, and what is lost when you cannot say everything you want to say.

Y: [Commenting on the focus group discussion itself] *Cha robh mi a' bruidhinn cho fada ri sin riamh anns a' Ghàidhlig! So, eh. […] Chan eil mi ag ràdh a h-uile rud a tha mi a' smaoineachadh.*

R: *So, bheil e, ma tha thu a' feuchainn ri cumail gu bogadh, dìreach bruidhinn ann an Gàidhlig, 's e dùbhlan a th' ann oir chan urrainn dhut a ràdh a h-uile càil a tha thu airson a ràdh. So, nam biodh sinn a' cleachdadh eadar-chànanachadh, agus dh'fhaodadh tu bruidhinn ann am Beurla, am biodh e . . . an e buannachd a bhiodh ann?*

X: *Ma tha an Gàidhlig agam nas fheàrr, 's dòcha gu bheil sin nas fheàrr.* (Prospective Teachers)

Y: [Commenting on the focus group discussion itself] I've never spoken as long as that in Gaelic! So, eh […] I'm not saying everything I'm thinking.

R: So, is it that if you are trying to keep to immersion, speaking only in Gaelic, it's difficult because you can't say everything you want to say. So if you were to use translangauging, and you could speak in English, would it be … would that be an advantage?

X: If my Gaelic were better, perhaps that would be better.

As there are GME pupils for whom Gaelic is the first language, a translanguaging approach can work well for them 'in reverse' – as one secondary teacher who teaches both Gàidhlig and English explained.

> *One little girl came in last year and […] the wee girl speaks Gaelic obviously at home. […] And had been through Gaelic medium and she walked into my classroom. I only have her one period a week for library skills. And she just walked in and [spoke in Gaelic…] I was taken aback. This is my English class and I've got my English head but this girl's talking Gaelic. […] And I thought, "Do you know what, I'm going to talk Gaelic to this girl. You know, that's what she wants." And so I did. I talked to her in Gaelic. […] She's all absolutely natural Gaelic. […] Her first language is Gaelic. There's no problem […] reading an English book. I can ask her about the book in Gaelic but she still understands the books [in English …] So we have little chats about the books and what they're reading. So I suppose that's a bit maybe like translanguaging in a way [laughs].*
>
> (Island Secondary)

4.4 Does translanguaging support pupils' emerging bilingualism more effectively than immersion?

Teachers' understanding of the principles of language immersion education and Scottish GME policy, as we have seen, indicate that their focus should be on supporting and developing pupils' Gaelic. Although the expected outcome of GME is that pupils will be bilingual in Gaelic and English, there is limited attention to the process by which this can be achieved. As the above discussion makes clear, teachers are aware that pupils can struggle when they have to shift from learning in Gaelic to learning in English. Furthermore, a practice in which inputs may or may not be in English but outputs are always in Gaelic creates linguistic challenges even as it solves some

of the resource problems that GME teachers typically enounter. The gaps and contradictions teachers encounter in attempting to reconcile principles, policy and practice raised a number of questions.

How do we help pupils make connections between Gaelic and English?

Teachers recognised that it was unrealistic and unhelpful to act on the basis that children do not know English, and that, rather, they should be more actively considering how pupils' knowledge of each language can help the other.

> D: *'S dòcha nuair a tha sinn a' sgrìobhadh am poileasaidh cànain againne, tha sinn a' coimhead air emerging literacies agus tha sin [translanguaging] dìreach pàirt den emerging literacies, tha mi a' creidsinn cuideachd, agus a' dèiligeadh ris an dà chànan. Chan urrainn dhuinn a bhith ag ràdh nach eil Beurla againn oir tha Beurla againne agus bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' cleachdadh an dà chànan, a' toirt cuideachadh, you know, na dà chànan [R: An dàrna fear a' cuideachadh fear eile]. Yeah, dìreach modal a bh' agaibhse, tha sin fior.* (Urban Primary)
>
> D: Perhaps when we are writing our language policy, we look at emerging literacies and this [translanguaging] is just part of emerging literacies, and I believe also and dealing with the two languages, I believe. We can't say that we don't speak English because we do, and we should be using both languages to support them both. [R. The one supporting the other.] Yeah, just the model you had, that's right.

They would like to know more about how others are dealing with this issue.

> D: *[…] tha mi a' smaoineachadh air mo shonsa, bu thoil leamsa a bhith a' faighinn a-mach barrachd air ciamar a tha tidsearan a' cleachdadh na dà chànan an-dràsta oir...yeah, bidh e gu math inntinneach a' faighinn a-mach ciamar a tha iad a' dèanamh cinnteach gu bheil clann aig an ìre cheart air taobh Beurla.*
>
> R: *Is 's dòcha cuideachd carson a tha iad ga cleachdadh, dè an adhbhar.*
>
> D: *Yeah, uh huh, an dà rud. Tha mi a' creidsinn pàirt airson tuigse agus pàirt cuideachd airson an cànan a leasachadh, Beurla a leasachadh. Gu math inntinneach. Uaireannan, cuid den sgoiltean, tha iad dìreach a' dèanamh, mar eisimpleir, comprehension, eacsarsaich comprehension sa Bheurla agus a' leughadh leabhraichean is a leithid, chan eil iad a' smaoineachadh 's dòcha mu dheidhinn na cuspairean eile. Agus an-dràsta o chionn 's gu bheil sin, Curriculum for Excellence, bu chòir dhuinn...tha sinn cuideachd a' smaoineachadh mu dheidhinn interdisciplinary learning, so sin a' ciallachadh gum bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig is a' Bheurla is ceanglaichean eadar a h-uile rud.* (Urban Primary)
>
> D: […] For me I think, I would like to find out more about how teachers are using both languages now because, … yeah, it would be really interesting to find out how they make sure that the children are at the right level in English.
>
> F: And perhaps why they are using it too, what the reason is.
>
> D: Yes, uh huh, both of these things. Partly, I think for understanding and partly also for developing the language, developing English. Very interesting. Sometimes, in some schools, they just do comprehension, for example, a comprehension exercise in English and reading books and so on. They're not perhaps thinking about the other subjects. And now because we have the Curriculum for Excellence, we should … we're also thinking about interdisciplinary learning, so this means that we should use Gaelic and English and and making connections between everything.

How might translanguaging help pupils to understand their learning of Gaelic better?

Some teachers thought that if pupils were able to discuss, in English, how they were learning Gaelic, this would help them to understand the process better. Z, a prospective secondary GME teacher, had noticed on placement that questions to secondary pupils about Gaelic grammar revealed underlying anxieties.

Z: *Nuair a bha mi dh'fhaighnich ceist mu dheidhinn gràmar, bha iad, ooof, 's e . . . eh, neurosis a th' ann. Nuair a tha iad a bun-sgoil, there was no emphasis, em. But when it came, it came, you know, it came down on them like a ton of bricks. The rules they hadn't realised they'd been supposed to be following.*

R: *Tha, so tha diofar ann eadar bun-sgoil 's an àrd-sgoil, 's bha thusa a' faicinn diofar eadar mar a bha na sgoilearan a' faireachdainn mu dheidhinn a' chànain, yeah.*

Z: *Yeah, so they had absorbed it, but they hadn't been able to talk about it in English, to understand.*

(Prospective Teachers)

Z: When I was asking about grammar, they were, oof, it's … it's a neurosis. When they were at primary school, there was no emphasis, em. But when it came, it came, you know, it came down on them like a ton of bricks. The rules they hadn't realised they'd been supposed to be following.

R: Yes, so there's a difference between primary and secondary, and you saw a difference between how the pupils were feeling about the language, yeah.

Z: Yeah, so they had absorbed it, but they hadn't been able to talk about it in English, to understand.

Some of the primary teachers commented that their experience of using English as means to help younger pupils understand the work showed that this also helped the pupils to think about how they were learning Gaelic.

M: *Tha thu a' dèanamh cinnteach gu bheil an tuigse aca is a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn.*

N: *Tha. Yeah […] thog mise sin, bhiodh e gu math feumail gu h-àraidh dhomhsa sna tràth ìrean a' dèanamh translanguaging a chleachdadh gus am bi an tuigse aca, gus am bi deagh thuigse aca. Ged a tha an uair sin gu bheil an obair agad sa Ghàidhlig is a h-uile sian ach chanainnsa gum biodh sin gu math feumail a thaobh tuigse.* (Island Primary)

M: You make sure that they understand and then discuss it.

N: Yes. Yeah […] I understood that, it would be really useful for me to be using translanguaging in the early years until they have the understanding, until they have a good understanding. Although your work is then in Gaelic and everything but I would say that this is really useful in terms of understanding.

Secondary teachers argued that similar practices helped them to understand how pupils needed to develop specialist vocabulary in both languages, not just in Gaelic.

Yeah I think there's an increasing need for teaching vocabulary in English. I remember a comment made about the amount of time spent on vocabulary in Gaelic-medium. […] And I [replied], "Well I think I spend an equal amount of time going over vocabulary in English to be honest". […] I've got much more of an appreciation of how some of my pupils may feel reading some things in English and basically not understanding or even doing a listening task in English which we sometimes do.

(Island Secondary)

<u>How do we use pupils' bilingualism to support the learning of a third language?</u>

It is often stated, in the research literature on bilingualism (Cenoz, 2003), in Scottish policy documents (HMIE, 2011; Scottish Government 2012) and GME promotional material (Comann nam Pàrant, 2013) that bilingualism facilitates the learning of a third language. One reason for this is that the metalinguistic awareness that children may be developing as a result of becoming bilingual can applied to the learning of a third language. One primary teacher noted that they were able to point to similarities between Gaelic and French (not shared with English) to support the learning of the third language.

D: *A-nise airson L3 sa chlas còig gu seachd, tha iad a' dèanamh Fraingis agus chan eil sin a' cur dragh sam bith orra o chionn 's gu bheil ... uill of course tha e a' dèanamh ciall a bhith a' cur am buadhair*

às dèidh an ainmear, oir tha iad a' dèanamh sin sa Ghàidhlig co-dhiù. So tha iad a' cleachdte ris sin.

(Urban Primary)

D: Now for L3, from P5 to P7, they're doing French, and this isn't causing them any problems because … well of course it means putting the adjective after the noun, because they are doing this in Gaelic anyway. So they are used to this.

Another teacher noted that it was easier to teach French through Gaelic than through English, implying that GME pupils have less difficulty in meeting the expectation that they should produce work in French, right from the early stages of learning the language. The model adopted mirrors that of some of their other classes: but in this case, input in Gaelic, output in French.

L: *Agus cuideachd a thaobh a bhith a' teagasg Fraingis, tha mi air sin a dhèanamh... uill a' tòiseachadh aig clas a ceithir agus tha e gu math doirbh dhomh a chòmhradh riutha sa Bheurla [gàireachdaich]. Agus mar sin, tha sinn a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn a h-uile sian sa Ghàidhlig agus na seòrsa de faclan is mar sin air adhart ach 's ann anns am Fraingis a tha am pìos obrach aig deireadh an leasan.* (Island Primary)

L: And also, in terms of teaching French, I have been doing that … well starting with P4, it's really difficult for me to chat to them in English [laughter]. And so we talk about everything in Gaelic and the kinds of words and so on but the piece of work at the end of the lesson is in French.

<u>How do we use both languages to engage parents more effectively in their children's work?</u>

Most parents of GME pupils are not themselves Gaelic speakers and few have had experience of learning in an immersion setting. A challenge for the sector has therefore been how to inform parents about the nature of the work and how to involve parents actively in their children's education. Secondary teachers recognised that parents could be hugely impressed with their children's ability to work across two languages at a high level, but some had little idea about what is involved in achieving or sustaining this. This can have negative consequences when pupils reach the stage of sitting examinations, if parents come to the conclusion that examinations sat in Gaelic rather than English are too difficult.

F: *Bidh sinn a' mìneachadh […] oidhche nam pàrant, "Seo agad na leabhraichean." 'S tha mi an-còmhnaidh a' sealltainn Gàidhlig is Beurla, is bidh mi ag ràdh rud sam bith, ged a tha iad gu math tric 's e, "Och, ach tha e cho doirbh ge-tà, nach eil?" [Bidh mi ag ràdh] "Och well, tha iad comasach gu leòr" [Bidh iad ag ràdh] "Tha e cho doirbh, nach eil? Ga dhèanamh sa Ghàidhlig." [Bidh mi ag ràdh] "Uill, chan eil!" So bidh mi a' sealltainn leabhar Gàidhlig is leabhar Beurla, 's bidh mi an-còmhnaidh ag ràdh 's e an cuspair as cudromaiche, so ma tha iad stuck le rud sam bith gum bi sinn ga mhìneachadh mar sin. So gu math tric, feumaidh tu na pàrantan fhaighinn . . . gud thaobh, ma thogras tu. A' leantail tro Fhoghlam tro Mheadhan na Gàidhlig, gu math tric S1, S2, math dha-rìribh. S3, S4, nuair a tha thu a' tòiseachadh air N4 is N5, [bidh iad ag ràdh] "Oh well, chan eil sinn cinnteach às a' sin idir." […] Tha mi a' smaoineachadh gum feumadh obair — gu bheil obair mhòr [unclear] coimhead ris a sin is mìneachadh dha na pàrantan, 's dòcha.*

(Urban Secondary)

F: We explain […] at parents' evening, "Here are the books." And I always show Gaelic and English, and I will be saying something, although they often say "Oh, but it's so difficult, isn't it?" [I'll say] "Oh well, they are able enough." [They'll say]. "It's so difficult, isn't it? Doing it in Gaelic." [I'll say]. "Well it's not." So I'll be showing the Gaelic book and the English book and I'll always say that the subject is the most important thing, so if they are stuck with anything, that we will explain it. So quite often, you need to get the parents … on your side, if you like. Going through Gaelic medium education, quite often in S1, S2 that's fine. S3, S4, when you are starting on N4 and N5 [they will say] "Oh well, we are not sure about that at all." […] I think there is a need for work, for significant work [unclear], looking at this and explaining it to parents, perhaps.

Such difficulties may be traced back to the primary stages, when parents may not be able to understand the tasks set or to provide help. While teachers maintained a commitment to using Gaelic as much as possible in the classroom, a bilingual approach to homework can help to engage parents from the outset. Prospective GME teachers had observed this on school placements.

> Z: *Cha do chunnaic mi eadar-chànanachadh anns an sgoil mòran idir. Ach an aon rud a bha tachairt, bha na sgoilearan a' dèanamh obair-dachaigh a h-uile seachdain agus bha na tidsearan eadar-theangachadh a h-uile rud anns na obair-dachaigh. So, bha na obair-dachaigh a' dol dhachaigh ann am Beurla agus Gàidhlig, so bha seo math airson na clann ag obair còmhla ri na pàrantan, ach bha e cuideachd, bha e math airson cleachdadh na faclan ùr ann an Gàidhlig agus ann am Beurla cuideachd. So 'son an dà rud, bha seo math. So, mar as trice bha na obair ceangailte ris na obair anns na clas airson na seachdain seo, so a h-uile seachdain bha na faclan ann am Beurla cudromach airson na luchd-ionnsachaidh.* (Prospective Teachers)

> Z: I din't see much translanguaging in school at all. But one thing that happened was the pupils doing homework every week and the teachers were translated everything in the homework. So the homework went home in English and Gaelic, so that was good for the children working together with the parents, but it was also, it was good for practising new words in Gaelic and in English too. So for both these reasons, this was good. So, often, the work was linked to the work in the class for that week, so every week having the words in English was important for the learners.

As Z noted, this work supported the learning of new vocabulary as well as involving parents in their children's work. D had developed similar practice in earlier posts.

> D: *B' àbhaist dhomhsa, nuair a bha mi sna sgoiltean eile, a bhith a' dèanamh aon turas gach seachdain, bha obair dachaigh aca a' dèanamh current affair. Agus b' àbhaist dhuinn a bhith a' dèanamh sinn tro mheadhan na Beurla. Agus cuideachd, aig an aon àm, bha sinn ag ionnsachadh facail ùra sa Ghàidhlig. B' e cothrom a bh' ann a bhith a' bruidhinn sa Bheurla agus bha e nas fhasa airson pàrantan a thoirt cuideachadh dhaibh aig an taigh oir sin an obair dachaigh a bh' aca. Agus an uair sin, bha againne dìreach a chur na facail cudromach a bha sinn ag ionnsachadh, mar earthquake no rudan mar sin, agus bha sinn a' sgrìobhadh sin air a' bhòrd agus bha cothrom eile againne a bhith ag ionnsachadh facail ùra sa Ghàidhlig. So, bha sinn a' cleachdadh ann an dòigh seo. So bha sinn a' bruidhinn sa Bheurla ged-tà oir bha e fada nas fhasa dhaibh a bhith a' bruidhinn sa Bheurla oir bha iad a' bruidhinn sa Bheurla còmhla ris na pàrantan aca aig an taigh. Ach uaireannan, bha iadsan a' bruidhinn riumsa sa Bheurla, agus an uair sin, bha mise a' bruidhinn air ais dhaibh anns a' Gàidhlig agus bha sinn a' cleachdadh an dà rud.*
>
> (Urban Primary)

> D: When I was in the other schools, I used to do homework on current affairs, once a week. And we used to do this in English. And at the same time, we were learning new words in Gaelic. It was an opportunity to speak English and it was easier for parents to help them at home, because this was their homework. And then, we had to put the important words that we were learning, like 'earthquake' or things like that, and we were writing this on the board and it was another opportunity for us to be learning new words in Gaelic. So we were using this strategy [translanguaging?]. So we were speaking in English because it was much easier for them to be speaking English because they were speaking in English with their parents at home. But sometimes they were speaking to me in English, and then I was replying in Gaelic and we were using both languages.

<u>How might translanguaging help pupils to understand how to learn through another language?</u>

For some of the participants in the study, reflecting on their own experiences of translanguaging helped them to think about what the experience is like for their pupils. Expressing ideas in a language different from the language in which the ideas were introduced to you is a challenge even for adults who are fluent in both languages. However, the opportunity to do this on a regular basis would, they thought, help pupils to reflect more on their own learning.

I was thinking actually that for Gaelic teachers you don't need scaffolding to discuss the words or the concepts in the other language. But still in your head you're having to do the scaffolding and thinking, "Well, what is the Gaelic for translanguaging *and [other technical terms]?* (Island Secondary)

When we were reading [the Baker Chapter and looking at] these ideas just now and I think you had said that the discussion was going to be in Gaelic, I actually started thinking, "How would I explain this in Gaelic?" Kind of pre-empting the task. And it was making me think about it more deeply. Particularly the very thought that I was going to have to use different words, not the words that are there. So I kind of think maybe a pupil going through that process would understand what they were learning. (Island Secondary)

These reflections led some of the teachers to conclude that translanguaging could be a useful tool in GME classrooms.

N: *Tha e doirbh a fhreagairt [whether we should stick strictly to immersion], feumaidh mi ràdh. Tha mise a' smaoineachadh gum biodh tidsearan gu math toilichte leis a seo [i.e. translanguaging]. Tha sinn uile a-nis ann an suidheachadh a-nis far a bheil bogadh gu math doirbh, nuair a tha thu a' faicinn na stuthan a th' agad sa Bheurla is na stuthan a th' agad sa Ghàidhlig. Agus a' chlann a th' agaibh, an seòrsa clann a tha a' tighinn a-staigh gun facal Gàidhlig is tha thu a' smaoineachadh, an tuigeadh tusa sin na b' fheàrr nam biodh seòrsa (unclear) a tha seo, an e sin an rud as fheàrr airson an leanabh a tha sin, seo a thoirt dhaibh ann an Gàidhlig air fad air neo am biodh e beagan nas cofhurtaile airson toiseach-tòiseachaidh a thoirt dhaibh. Agus ma tha na studies a tha sin a' sealltainn gu bheil brosnachadh dà-chànanach, chan e an aghaidh an dà-chànanach.*

(Island Primary)

N: It's difficult to answer [whether we should stick strictly to immersion], I have to say. I think that teachers would be very happy with this [i.e. translanguaging]. We are all now in the situation where immersion is really difficult, when you see the resources that you have in English and the resources you have in Gaelic. And the children you have, the kind of children who come in without a word of Gaelic, and you think, would you understand this better if there were a sort of [unclear] here. Is this the best thing for this child, giving them everything in Gaelic, or would it be a little more comfortable at the very beginning if we give them this [translanguaging]? And if these studies are showing it promotes bilingualism, it's not against bilingualism.

They thought that parents and others in the community might view translanguaging positively too, if it were clear that this supported their children's bilingualism.

M: *Bhiodh, bhiodh [iad fàbharach] agus tha fhios aca, eile fhios agad, cho math 's a tha e dhan clann an dà chànan seo a bhith aca co-dhiù. Tha iad a' coimhead ri sin, a' mhòr-chuid, ma cur iad ann an clas Gàidhlig co-dhiù. Tha mi a' smaoineachadh gu bheil iad fosgailte, eil fhios agad, a bhith a' coimhead gu bheil iad ag obair eadar dà chànan co-dhiù agus cho math 's a tha sin (ga dhèanamh).*

(Island Primary)

M: They would, they would [be in favour] and they know, you know, how good it is for the children to have the two languages anyway. Most of them are looking for this, before they put their children into Gaelic-medium education, in any case. I think they are open, you know, to consider that they [the children] are working between two languages anyway, and how good that is.

4.5 Any changes to classroom practice to accommodate translanguaging would require careful planning

The focus group discussions showed that teachers were well aware of the principles, policies and practices underpinning Gaelic immersion as the means by which GME pupils acquire good Gaelic through the course of their school careers; and that they sought to apply these to the best of their ability, because they were committed to the development of pupils' bilingualism and many also saw this as a means to support the revitalisation of Gaelic. Nevertheless, the

opportunity to think about translanguaging pedagogies raised a number of questions about the role of English in GME classrooms and about the extent to which current practice supports and develops pupils' emerging bilingualism. If the adoption of translanguaging could enhance both the learning of Gaelic and the learning of subject content, by drawing more effectively on pupils' English as a tool to support this learning and by enabling them to work across the two languages, then it could be worth considering how best to incorporate translanguaging into current classroom practice.

Teachers would look for research evidence establishing the effectiveness of translanguaging.

> *D: Bhiodh e inntinneach 's dòcha rannsachadh a dhèanamh san sgoil, a' faighinn a-mach ciamar a tha na tidsearan a' cleachdadh sin [eadar-chànanachadh] oir tha fios 'am gu bheil iad a cleachdadh co-dhiù.* (Urban Primary)
>
> D: It would be interesting perhaps to have research done in the school, to find out how teachers use this [translanguaging] because I know they are using it, in any case.

> *F: Tha seo cho ùr dhuinne, 'eil fhios a'd, agus tha mi gabhail ris gu bheil eòlaichean, rannsachadh is gnothaichean is carson ach — carson nach biodh adhartas is gluasad ann a shin? […] Ma tha e air a dhearbhadh ma tha thu a' gluasad eadar na diofar chànain is gu bheil e air a dhearbhadh gun toir e barrachd doimhneachd is barrachd eòlais aca air a' chuspair …* (Urban Secondary)
>
> F: This is so new for us, you know, and I accept that there are experts, research, and initiatives, but – why would there not be progress with this? […] If it has been shown, if you are moving between the different languages and it has been shown that this would provide greater depth and more knowledge for them in terms of the subject …

They would also expect policy changes at local and national level, as this would indicate that inspectors, local authorities, headteachers and others involved in GME had recognised the potential of translanguaging and supported changes in classroom practice. One group of teachers noted that current policy dates back to an earlier period, when the context was very different, in that there were more pupils who had grown up with Gaelic at home.

> *R: So ciamar a tha sibh a' smaoineachadh ged-tà gu bheil seo [eadar-chànanachadh] suidhe le prionnsabalan foghlam bogaidh?*
> *L: Tha e a' dol an aghaidh. [gàireachdaich]*
> *N: Tha, nuair a smaoineachas tu cuin a thòisich iad air am poileasaidh seo, bogadh cànain, thòisich iad seo nuair a bha mi fhèin sa sgoil agus bha suidheachadh gu math diofraichte ann an uair sin. Chaidh mi fhèin dhan sgoil cha mhòr gun facal Beurla idir. Thu fhèin an aon rud (Mmm hmm).*
> (Island Primary)
>
> R: So how do you think that this [translanguaging] sits with the principles of immersion education, anyway?
> L: It goes against it. [Laughter].
> N: Yes, when you think when they started that policy, language immersion, they started it when I was at school myself, and the situation was very different then. I started school with hardly word of English. And you were the same. (Mmm hmm).

If there were a change in policy, teachers would be willing to change practice too.

> *L: Nan canadh cuideigin rinn, faodaidh sin a dhèanamh.*
> *N: Tha mi a' dol leis a sin cuideachd. Nan canadh cuideigin, cha dèanadh cron sam bith dhaibh Beurla fhaighinn aig an toiseach is a chur an [unclear] sa Bheurla, tha sin ceart gu leòr. Bhithinn toilichte gu leòr.* (Island Primary)
>
> L: If someone were to tell us, you can do this.
> N: I agree with that too. If someone said that it wouldn't do them any harm to use English at the begninng and to put [unclear] in English, that would be fine. I would be very happy.

D: Bhiodh e nas fheàrr nan robh poileasaidh againne agus a' bruidhinn ris na tidsearan ag ràdh, "Tha sinn gu bhith a' cleachdadh sin, tha sin ceart gu leòr," oir tha mi a' creidsinn gum bi sinn a' faighinn a-mach bidh a' mhòr-chuid den tidsearan a' cleachdadh sin co-dhiù. Ach nan robh sinn ag ràdh, "Actually tha siud ceadaichte sin a chleachdadh," bhithinn gu math toilichte ann an dòigh.

(Urban Primary)

D: It would be better if we had a policy, telling teachers, "We are going to be using this, it is okay," because I think that we will find out that most teachers are doing this anyway. But if we were to say, "Actually, it is permissible to use this", I would be very happy in a way.

Nevertheless, they recognised that changing opinions would be hard work, and that much additional research would be needed to to convince some people.

F: Tha cuimhne a'm smaoineachadh, oh well, Gàidhlig is Beurla, dhòmhsa dheth tha sin a' dol còmhla glè mhath. Ach bha mi a' bruidhinn ri cuideigin, Oh, cha robh iad ag aontachadh idir. "Carson a bhodraigeadh tu leis a sin?" 'S e tidsear a bha ga ràdh, fhios a'd, so 's e dìreach diofar — tha beachdan gu math làidir ann ann a shin. So chanainn gu bheil tòrr rannsachaidh air thoiseach oirnn 's dòcha. (Urban Secondary)

F: I remember thinking, oh well Gaelic and English, as far as I'm concerned, they go together very well. But I was talking to someone, oh, they didn't agree at all. "Why are you bothering with this?" It was a teacher who said this, you know, so it's just different – there are strong opinions on this issue. So I would say that there is a lot of research ahead of us.

5. Discussion

It is important to reiterate that findings from a small-scale study of this kind cannot be generalised to the whole population of GME teachers in Scotland, and thus our presentation of the findings in the previous section and our discussion here represent only the views of the study participants and our reflections on those views. A larger study would be required to explore these issues further, if any changes to current policy and practice were proposed.

In this section we first summarise the key points emerging from our presentation of the findings in section 4, and then reflect on four significant issues emerging from this work. Firstly we discuss why interest in translanguaging is on the rise around the world. Secondly, we review the goals of GME, considering the extent to which current policy and practice are meeting those goals. Thirdly, we address the role that English plays currently in GME classrooms and ask whether a more strategic approach could enhance GME pupils' Gaelic, their emergent bilingualism and their learning. Finally, we reflect on potential tensions between the use of translanguaging as a pedaogical method and the need for 'breathing spaces' to protect minoritised languages such as Gaelic.

5.1 Summary of the findings

For most participants in this study, the concept of translanguaging was new. The reading from Baker (2011: 288-291) and the presentation given by the researchers before the focus group discussions took place represented their first encounters with the concept. The discussions therefore, constituted their first opportunities to explore translanguaging and consider how it might or might not fit the goals of GME, and current policy and practice.

As the previous section indicates, participants found the concept of translanguaging counter-intuitive, contradicting the principles of language immersion education. These emphasise classroom use of Gaelic at all times, as a way of ensuring that pupils for whom Gaelic is a second language become competent in using the language. Precisely because Gaelic is a minoritised language, with a long and continuing history of marginalisation in relation to English, revitalisation initiatives such as the current GME programme need to provide 'safe spaces' where Gaelic can develop and flourish. Participants recognised that current policy and practice is designed to safeguard immersion-based provision and provide opportunities for GME pupils to learn to use Gaelic for academic purposes. They also recognised that commitment to GME as a revitalisation project, and consensus around immersion as the means to achieve this, go beyond the education profession: parents who choose GME for their children understand these principles and practices; and parents and the pupils themselves value the outcomes, in terms of pupils' ability to speak Gaelic fluently and to learn through Gaelic.

Nevertheless, participants recognised that English is used in GME classrooms for a variety of reasons. Principal among these are:

1) limitations on the range of resources available for pupils to use in Gaelic, particularly when doing project work in primary school or as they move to more specialist aspects of the subjects they are studying at secondary level;
2) the value of English to support comprehension of challenging lesson content;
3) the importance of developing technical vocabulary in both languages so that pupils are able to switch from Gaelic to English if and when they reach a stage where they are no longer able to study the subject in question through Gaelic.

Use of English in these contexts does not necessarily constitute translanguaging, partly because it tends to be seen as a 'necessary evil' by some of the participants, to be avoided if possible. As a result English is often not incorporated into GME classrooms as a deliberate pedagogical strategy but rather as an ad hoc practice. However, the discussion shows potential for a more strategic approach: participants considered whether translanguaging would be more appropriate in certain subject areas, at certain stages of pupils' educational careers – with transition points emerging as potentially critical, and as a way of mediating tensions between the learning of the language and the learning of subject content.

In addition, participants engaged in discussion concerning the principles underpinning translanguaging: specifically the focus on learners' emerging bilingualism rather than exclusively on their developing competence in the target language; and the possibility that translanguaging can support content learning and the development of bilinguals' cognitive advantages more effectively than monolingual (in the target language) approaches. They recognised that, through translanguaging, pupils could gain from using both languages to support learning, both in terms of learning about the other language (and indeed third langauges) and in terms of subject content. They also argued that a bilingual approach – already adopted in relation to homework in some cases – could more effectively engage GME parents, thus providing additional valuable support for pupils.

Participants were cautious about the possibility of change, however, arguing that there is a need for further research which clearly demonstrates the benefits of translanguaging in a Scottish context. Given widespread consensus that the current immersion model effectively achieves GME goals, amending policy and practice to incorporate new pedagogical approaches of this kind would represent a considerable challenge.

5.2 Why is interest in translanguaging on the rise?

The growing focus on translanguaging and other crosslinguistic pedagogies emerges from observations of classroom practices in a wide variety of bilingual education settings (García, 2009; Baker, 2010) showing that despite an overt commitment to immersion or immersion-like principles to promote the acquisition of an additional language as the medium of instruction, in reality both teachers and pupils are using children's other languages to both to support subject content learning and to support their learning of the medium of instruction.

In most cases, until very recently, these bilingual practices have remained informal and largely under the radar of researchers, policy-makers and those providing professional development for teachers working in immersion settings. Wales stands out for having recognised much earlier than elsewhere that translanguaging is a feature of Welsh-medium classrooms and for having researched and theorised the practice. Some Welsh teacher education courses train Welsh-medium teachers to use translanguaging effectively in their classrooms, and the Welsh Inspectorate has endorsed translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy (Estyn, 2002).

Others are now beginning to investigate the potential of translanguaging as an approach which supports the development of bilingualism and may thus enhance children's potential to exploit the practical and the cognitive benefits of bilingualism. The approach fits well with earlier work in the USA where dual language provision (where the curriculum is delivered 50% in English, and 50% in the 'heritage' language) has proved the most effective approach (Thomas & Collier, 2002); and García and colleagues are developing practical guidance for teachers (Celic & Seltzer, 2011; García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Johnson & Selzer, 2017). Researchers in the Basque Country and in Ireland are also beginning to investigate translanguaging in Basque- and Irish-medium schools.

Practical benefits reported in the Welsh and American research include being able to move easily between languages and developing a flexible approach to the use of either language in a variety of contexts. GME pupils might therefore benefit academically in terms of being able to switch more easily between Gaelic and English as they build their knowledge of subject content and specialist or technical aspects of different curriculum areas. They might also develop a less compartmentalised notion of where it is appropriate to use Gaelic: currently we know that GME pupils rarely use Gaelic outside the classroom (MacNeil & Stradling, 2000: Oliver, 2002; Müller, 2005; O'Hanlon, 2012; O'Hanlon et al., 2012), but a translanguaging approach might help them to see that either language can be used in a wider range of settings. There is some evidence from the American research to support this view: for example, teachers' work described in García et al (2017: 14-16) very explicitly asks pupils to explore parental and wider community perspectives on the stories they are reading and on classroom work on environmental issues, and thus to think about how to make ideas locally relevant and accessible, through the use of both Spanish and English (in this case).

It is now well-established in the literature on bilingualism that certain cognitive advantages derive from the development of linguistic flexibility (Ricciardelli, 1992; Kharkhurin, 2009)) and from early opportunities to develop metalinguistic awareness (Bialystok et al., 2014). The long-term gains of pupils who have experienced immersion education are usually presented as the results of these cognitive benefits deriving from their bilingualism. However, this raises questions about whether such benefits might be more fully realised if their emerging bilingualism was recognised and enhanced in the classroom.

Theoretical underpinnings of translanguaging can be traced (as discussed in Section 1) to Cummins' hypothesis of the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) in the bilingual brain. This hypothesis is now demonstrated by neurological studies (Perani & Abutaleji, 2005; Bialystok et al., 2009). Over the last decade there has been extensive investigation into what is distinctive about bilinguals' deployment of both their languages, not only in educational contexts but much more widely, in social, cultural and work fields. This research differs from early studies in that it considers not how fluent bilinguals are in each of their languages, or where they use one or other of these languages, but rather how the much more extensive linguistic repertoire of bilinguals, compared with monolinguals, enables them to operate more effectively, or in a more nuanced way, in these various contexts (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Li Wei, 2014). This recent research raises questions about the goals of GME.

5.3 What are the goals of Gaelic-medium education and to what extent does current policy and practice achieve these?

As discussed in Section 4.2, the goals set out in GME policy documents are only a subset of the goals of *CfE*, so while they appear to focus more or less exclusively on the development of pupils' Gaelic, the wider context – shared with EME pupils – is clearly also influential, in terms of the broader goals set for all Scottish pupils. As we have seen, teachers can sometimes find it difficult to determine whether the demands of the subject should be placed above the demands of Gaelic language development, or vice versa. There is a need to explore the integration of GME goals with those of *CfE*, not simply to translate policy documents into Gaelic. Policy discussion concerning the development of bilingualism and biliteracy could constitute a valuable addition.

The following goals were set by HMIE (2011: 4) for GME pupils at the end of their school careers, proposing that, by this stage, they be:

- equally fluent and literate in Gaelic and English;
- equally confident in the use of Gaelic and English;
- able to use Gaelic and English in a full range of situations within and outwith school.

To these we might add, drawing on the wider policy and research literature, that they should:

- be bilingual – able to move easily between Gaelic and English – with the ability to 'translate' (literally, culturally, conceptually) between the two languages;
- demonstrate all four *CfE* capacities – successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens, effective contributors – across both languages.

To what extent does current provision achieve these goals? Major studies (Johnstone et al., 1999; O'Hanlon et al., 2010) have shown that:

- by P7, GME pupils are achieving similar results, if not better, compared with EME peers, in relation to English, maths and science;
- their Gaelic is deemed by the teachers to be appropriate for the stage they have reached.

However, there are (as yet) no studies which measure GME pupils' academic achievements in the context of *CfE*. There are not, and have not been, any studies which investigate the impact of GME on pupils' entire school careers, including the secondary phase. Thus we do not know whether any gains achieved at P7 are retained by S5/6. The recently developed *Curriculum for Excellence Benchmarks for Literacy and Gaidhlig* may provide a framework for this. (Education Scotland, 2017.)

GME policy documents do not address the development of pupils' bilingualism, other than to say that this is an expected outcome, but not part of the educational process. Because bilingual methods are not favoured in the policy documentation, there is limited attention over the course of GME pupils' school careers to whether or how pupils' bilingualism is developing; and we do not have a measure of bilingualism to determine whether this outcome is achieved.

Despite recognition in various policy documents that GME pupils should be in a strong position to learn a third language because of their experiences of learning Gaelic, the major studies mentioned above have not addressed GME pupils' performance in modern languages. There is some evidence to suggest that timetabling challenges in the secondary school can lead to GME pupils being unable to pursue a third language at secondary level (i.e. Gàidhlig/ Gaelic is often timetabled against French, German or Spanish). Full implementation of a recent policy development, *1+2* (Scottish Government Languages Working Group, 2012) proposing that all Scottish pupils should learn two additional languages in addition to their 'first language' (deemed to be Gaelic for GME pupils) is expected by 2020. This indicates an opportunity to review whether GME pupils are getting opportunities to learn a third language (in addition to English) and to capitalise on the advantages bilingualism is expected to bring to bear on additional language learning.

5.4 How is English currently used in GME classrooms? What are the implications a) for the development of children's Gaelic; b) for the development of their bilingualism; c) for children's learning?

The evidence from this study indicates that English is sometimes used in both primary and secondary Gaelic classrooms. Early years teachers are committed to a 'total immersion' approach, meaning that English should rarely if ever be used in P1 to P3; but even at this stage it seems clear that GME teachers sometimes use English to support pupils' understanding.

From P4 onwards, English has a place in the curriculum for pupils in GME classrooms, although Education Scotland has recently sought to limit its use as a medium of curricular

instruction, on the basis that extending the use of Gaelic for this purpose will strengthen children's Gaelic. This advice makes it difficult for teachers to develop a strategic approach to the incorporation of English: as we have seen, some participants in our study feel guilty about using English at all.

According to the participants in this study, English enters the GME classroom primarily because of the lack of Gaelic resources to support learning in some subject areas. This lack of resources is unlikely ever to be fully addressed because children are increasingly using online resources, and only a tiny proportion of these will ever be available in Gaelic. At the very least, this indicates that GME policy needs to take take a pragmatic approach to this situation, and help teachers to develop strategies for incorporating English language resources into approaches which can be used to support pupils' developing competence in both languages. We can see from the participants' discussions that teachers already adopt bilingual scaffolding to enable children to derive knowledge and other competences from material in English and then to transform these into Gaelic outputs. Understanding more about how this transformation occurs and how it can best be facilitated would be valuable. This skill is at the heart of translanguaging.

The circumstances described above mean that transformations are currently occurring in a one-way direction: from English to Gaelic, but not from Gaelic to English. What would be the consequences of two-way transformation? Baker answers this question (2011: 288) by recommending systematic variation of input and output because "both languages are used in an integreated and coherent way to organize and mediate mental processes and learning". The participants in our study were clearly unhappy about the alternative – Gaelic inputs and English outputs. Why? Aside from a pragmatic response to the lack of resources in Gaelic, this suggests a greater concern about children learning to speak and write Gaelic than to understand and read the language, perhaps because the productive skills (speaking and writing) are seen as more challenging to acquire, while developing competence in the receptive skills (listening and reading) may be considered more difficult to assess. Baker, reflecting a long-standing theoretical position within the second language acquisition literature that rich linguistic input generates stronger linguistic output, stresses the importance of ensuring that bilingual learners have opportunities for two-way transformations, not always English to Gaelic (or Welsh or Spanish). Furthermore, it could be argued that, in the 'real world' (outside the classroom), those who know Gaelic are far more likely to be asked to translate and explain Gaelic material in English for non-Gaelic speakers than they are to do the reverse, given that all Gaelic speakers also understand and read English. Cook (2001) has argued the languages education should pay greater attention to the ways in which people use both or all the languages at their disposal in the world outside the classroom

Therefore, the implications of Baker's discussion of translanguaging are that two-way transformations (i.e. systematic variation) are more beneficial to the development of pupils' Gaelic than one-way transformations. Moreover, it is also likely that such practices help pupils to develop the kind of flexible bilingualism that is more likely to enable them to capitalise on the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, and to develop a bilingual repertoire that they can use in a wide range of contexts.

5.5 Can translanguaging benefit minoritised languages?

Despite growing interest in translanguaging as a pedagogical approach around the world and a developing conceptualisation of what translanguaging could add to established immersion-based approaches, in terms of developing pupils' emergent bilingualism and enhancing competences in both languages and in learning, researchers and professionals have urged caution in introducing translanguaging to minoritised language medium settings such as GME, for the reasons

discussed above in Section 1.3. Considerable importance is attached to 'breathing spaces' or 'safe spaces' for endangered languages because other contexts in which these languages can be used are disappearing. Participants in our study were acutely aware of the shrinking world of Gaelic: for example, teachers in the island primary commented that when they themselves had started school, they had barely a word of English, whereas now, even in a location considered still to be a Gaelic stronghold, none of their pupils found themselves in this position.

Such concerns reflect the views of commentators such as Romaine (2002: 194) that policies and practices that operate successfully in once context may not do so in another:

> "Evaluation of the potential and actual impact of language policy on endangered languages is complicated by lack of straightforward causal connections between types of policy and language maintenance and shift, as well as by confusion of policy and planning."

For these reasons, García, who has been a powerful advocate of translanguaging in US schools, acknowledges that there are challenges when endangered minoritised languages are involved:

> "[W]hen there is unequal power between the languages, then Fishman's warning (1991) to protect the minority language is still very relevant. While it is important to put the minority language alongside the majority language, thus ensuring for it a place in powerful domains, it is important to preserve a space, although not a rigid or static space, in which the minority language does not compete the majority language." (2009: 301)

Similar caveats have been expressed by Cammarata & Tedick, 2012; Cummins, 2014; Lewis et al., 2012; and Hickey, 2016.

Does this mean, therefore, that translanguaging should be avoided in minoritised language medium education, particularly in contexts where the minoritised language is in danger of disappearing? Certainly, as some of the focus group participants commented, there is a risk that once English enters the GME classroom, it takes over, and the impetus to use Gaelic at all times is lost. Adult learners of Gaelic among the prospective teachers group were particularly conscious of the value of maintaining a 'Gaelic-only' policy, from their own experiences of learning the language, arguing that if they had been 'allowed' to use English while learning they would not have pushed themselves to master the language.

However, this study has shown that English is already in use in GME classrooms, even though few, if any, of the participants in the study had encountered the concept of translanguaging before. Certain practices, such as the acceptance of inputs in English providing that outputs are in Gaelic; or the use – in some circumstances – of English to gloss new terminology or explain difficult ideas were discussed by practitioners; and there was an interest in exploring further the use of Gaelic and English in GME to facilitate learning, and pupils' emerging Gaelic-English bilingualism. Practitioners were keen to have further information and evidence about effective practices to promote these.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Translanguaging as a transformative pedagogy

At the heart of translanguaging is the concept of transformation. Although in this study we have focused on translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy, the word has gained much wider currency in recent thinking about what is distintive about bilinguals. Li Wei (2011: 1223) describes the transformative action of translanguaging as enabling bilinguals, through their access to and use of two languages, to develop their own unique linguistic repertoire, based on their experiences across the two languages:

> "The act of translanguaging then is transformative in nature; it creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience."

This view can be traced back to the work of Grosjean (1982) who argued from personal experience that a bilingual cannot be two monolinguals in one; and is developed by García (2009: 53-55) in a discussion in which she distinguishes between *additive* bilingualism and *dynamic* bilingualism. *Additive* bilingualism, where learners of additional languages acquire these without detriment to their first language, has traditionally been seen as the desired outcome of language immersion programmes; and is constrasted with *subtractive* bilingualism, where learners' first languages are neglected or suppressed, as happened with Gaelic-speakers in the past when they started in English-medium schools. However, the concept of additive bilingualism does not address the relationship between the two languages. *Dynamic* bilingualism is concerned with interaction between the two languages and the bilingual's consequent ability to adapt linguistically to the communicative tasks as required or most appropriate.

García et al. (2017) point out that language immersion classrooms (along with many others) are, *de facto,* bilingual (or multilingual). Pupils and, often, their teachers, use more than one language to socialise and to work during the course of the school day, regardless of which language is officially supposed to be in use. This is *dynamic* bilingualism (or translanguaging) in action, and in a classroom context they describe the flow of languages in use as the *translanguaging corriente* (or 'current'). Teachers can ignore the *corriente,* in which case it will flow on under the surface; or they can harness it, for transformative educational purposes, in which case, like a river, it becomes both a feature of the landscape and a transformative force. They identify (p.7) four purposes for adopting translanguaging approach in the classroom:

1. "Supporting students as they engage with and comprehend complex content and texts
2. "Providing opportunities for students to develop academic practices for academic contexts
3. "Making space for students' bilingualism and ways of knowing
4. "Supporting students' bilingual identities and socioemotional development"

This study reported here has shown that GME teachers recognise challenges in each of these areas and their own responsibilities to meet these.

Supporting students as they engage with and comprehend complex content and texts

Learning complex curriculum content through Gaelic is a challenge which at times pupils struggle to meet. Currently teachers can feel guilty about using English to support learning in these situations. Conceptualising their pupils' developing bilingualism as *dynamic* rather than *additive* and using translanguaging as a tool to enable pupils to translate and transform knowledge

could change this, if teachers can see this approach as playing to pupils' strengths and developing their ability learn across languages.

Providing opportunities for students to develop academic practices for academic contexts

By supporting students in this way, teachers will help pupils to develop appropriate academic practices in both languages. We have seen that teachers are concerned about pupils' ability to switch from Gaelic to English at transition points, whether the switch occurs (1) in the move from primary to secondary education; (2) within secondary education, from the broad general education phase to the work leading to examinations, which pupils may often have to sit in English rather than Gaelic; or (3) on leaving school. A translanguaging approach foregrounds different linguistic and presentational styles in each of the languages and, by developing pupils' metalinguistic awarenesss (i.e. their ability to recognise and talk about these differences), supports flexible movement between these. Such development of metalinguistic awareness thus enables bilingual pupils to "focus on form" in ways which monolingual pupils rarely do, and is, as we have seen, one of the explanations for the cognitive advantages bilinguals experience.

Making space for students' bilingualism and ways of knowing

Teachers in this study identified some of the issues connected to students' own experiences of bilingualism and ways of knowing when they mentioned the challenge of engaging parents in their children's work, given that few parents of GME pupils speak Gaelic or have experience of learning through language immersion. Although parents choose to send their children to GME and therefore can be assumed to be supportive both of the process and the outcomes, nevertheless it can be difficult for them to understand both what and how their children are learning, or to appreciate the extent of their linguistic achievements. As one of the participants noted, some parents argue that their children should sit examinations in English rather than Gaelic because Gaelic is 'so difficult', failing – she implied – to understand that their children, by this stage, have mastered the language and do not see things this way.

Underlying this discussion, however, is the issue of the children's own experiences of becoming bilingual. We see glimpses of this when GME teachers responsible for the early years comment that not all children can participate as fully as they might wish in the work of the class because they do not understand it or cannot articulate their own responses. Prospective teachers who are adult learners of Gaelic were aware of similar frustrations, taking hours to understand grammar points explained in Gaelic, when a short explanation in English would have resolved the problem; or being aware that they could not say everything they wished to say in the focus group discussions. Proponents of translanguaging argue that a dynamic conceptualisation of learners' bilingualism will allow them to articulate their knowledge and experiences across their languages and thus transform them into material that can be used in a classroom context, in both languages.

Supporting students' bilingual identities and socioemotional development

As Education Scotland have noted, GME pupils become bilingual – it is an outcome of the GME process – although the emphasis separates development of their two languages, rather than emphasising their development as bilinguals. We thus know relatively little about pupils' emerging identities as Gaelic-English bilinguals and how this affects or is affected by their socioemotional development. Some studies of GME pupils outside the classroom – such as those of Dunmore (2015) and Smith-Christmas (2014) indicate that some GME pupils have difficulties in reconciling their classroom experiences in Gaelic with their experience of the outside world (a world which can begin in the corridor outside their classroom) as an English-speaking place where Gaelic seems to have limited social or cultural value. García et al. (2017:

14) indicate that the starting point for the development of secure bilingual identities is a classroom where pupils participate on their own linguistic terms:

> "By teaching students to see their languages as part of a whole, contingent, and ever-changing performance, we are challenging a monolingual version of society and breaking the socially constructed fronteras that stand between languages and create hierarchies of power."

6.2 The need for further research

To sum up concisely what we have learnt from this small-scale study, we conclude that teachers and the wider community concerned with GME are committed to the current model of provision, rooted in early total immersion and a limited place for English in the upper primary and secondary phases. Nevertheless, participants in the study expressed a cautious interest in the potential of translanguaging and other cross-linguistic pedagogies to enhance the learning of Gaelic, the learning of subject content and the emerging bilingualism of their pupils. They thought that more research was needed to establish the benefits of such strategies before they were widely implemented in a Gaelic-medium context, or influenced curricular policy.

We agree with the participants. Research-informed pedagogy, drawing on best practice from the Gaelic-medium context, is key to future developments. Such a research agenda needs to be co-constructed with teachers and policy makers. For example, a seminar involving all stakeholders could initiate a research trajectory focused on maximising the language and learning benefits of GME, so that it retains its place as an example of effective education in Scotland, and as an example of bilingual education internationally, in the 21st Century.

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During the course of the project we made a series of presentations about the work in progress, at the following events:

LanguageStrathclyde: University of Strathclyde, June 2016
Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig: Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, UHI, June 2016
The Multilingual University Seminar 6: UCL Institute of Education, July 2016
Sixth International Conference on Immersion and Dual Language Education: University of Minnesota, October 2016

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Appendix A: Focus group presentation

THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH
Moray House School of Education

Translanguaging

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Format for Today

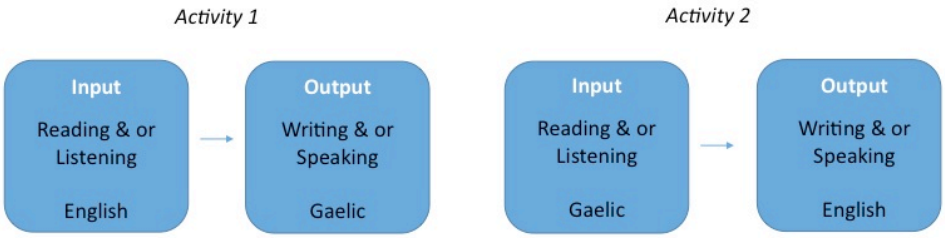
An opportunity to experience *translanguaging* – a language teaching practice where 'input' and 'output' languages are varied.

There will be

- a short presentation introducing translanguaging in English
- a group discussion in Gaelic
- an opportunity to draw your own conclusions about its potential for Gaelic-medium education

What is translanguaging?

- Translanguaging is a pedagogical approach in which the input language and the output language is systematically varied.



- The approach originated in Wales in the mid-1980s, and has been identified as a strategy used in bilingual secondary schools (Williams 1994), and, more recently, in Welsh-medium upper primary and secondary schools (Lewis et al. 2013).

Why use translanguaging (1)?

Williams (2002, p.40) argues that there are two key benefits of translanguaging:

- to increase understanding of subject content
- to 'augment the pupil's ability in both languages'

With regard to *subject content*, Williams (1996) notes:

> 'Translanguaging means that you receive information through the medium of one language (e.g. English) and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (e.g. Welsh). Before you can use that information successfully, you must have fully **understood** it.'

i.e. translanguaging requires processing for *meaning*.

Why use translanguaging (2)?

- With regard to *language*, the aim of translanguaging pedagogy is:

  > 'to develop academic language skills in both languages leading to a fuller bilingualism and biliteracy.'
  >
  > (Baker 2011, p.290)

- The idea is that translanguaging will enable pupils to build competence in both of their languages, by drawing on language skills and conceptual knowledge developed in the input language and transferring these to the output language.
- Williams (1994, 1996) particularly noted the potential of translanguaging strategies to develop pupils' minority language competencies.
- Cummins' (1980) *Common Underlying Proficiency* model underpins these ideas.

Background

This session is based on ongoing research

- by staff involved in Gaelic-medium education
- at the Universities of Strathclyde and Edinburgh
- funded by Soillse – the National Research Network for the maintenance and revitalisation of Gaelic language and culture
- investigating teachers' perspectives on potential of translanguaging as a pedagogical approach.

Common Underlying Proficiency

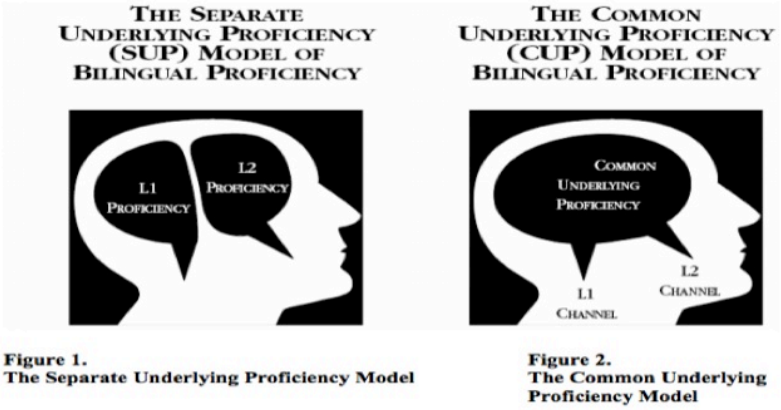


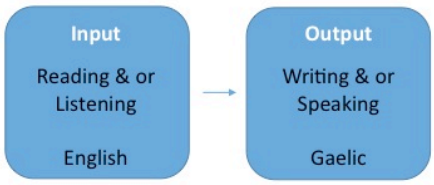
Figure 1.
The Separate Underlying Proficiency Model

Figure 2.
The Common Underlying Proficiency Model

(Cummins, 2005)

Translanguaging in practice

Activity 1



Internet research in English

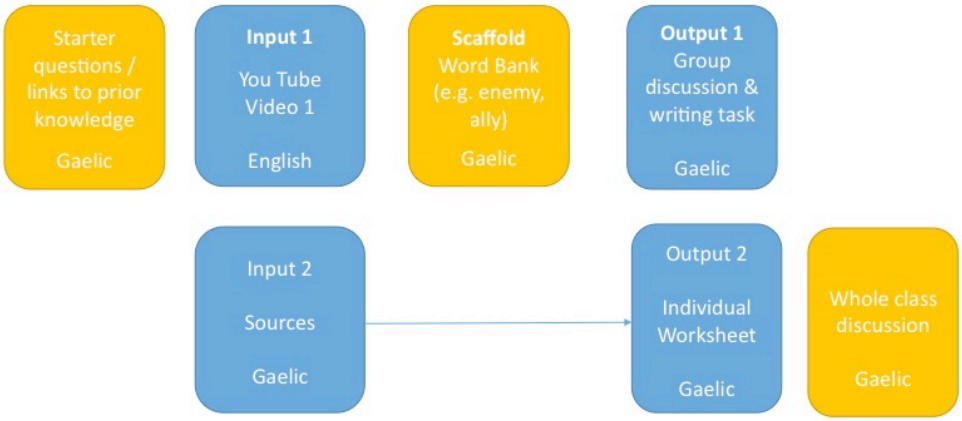
Piece of writing in Gaelic

Too simplistic – there may be:

- Multiple inputs and multiple outputs within one lesson
- A need to scaffold pupils' translanguaging

Example from Gaelic-medium education

Lesson: The Battle of the Somme – The First Day

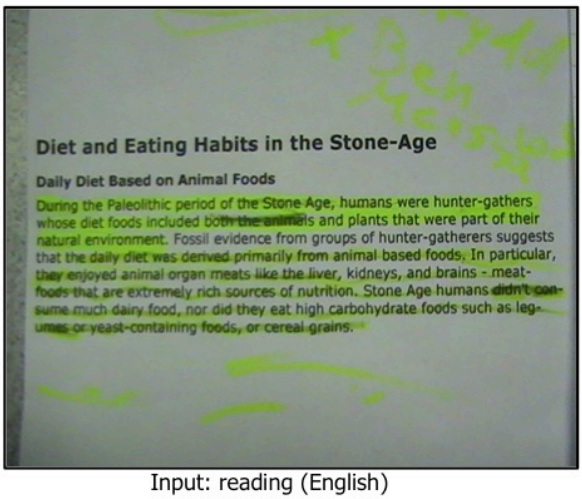


Example from Welsh-medium education

"In a geography lesson for a combination of L1 and L2 Welsh pupils aged 7–9 years old in a bilingual primary school classroom, the teacher asked the class to read together information in English on ''Fair Trade'' on the internet. The pupils were then questioned in English about the meaning of terms such as *crops*, *harvested*, *chemicals*, and the pupils responded in either Welsh or English. An explanation was provided by the teacher in Welsh for certain terms, for example, *environment* (amgylchedd), *community* (cymuned). The teacher summarised the reading work in Welsh before asking all pupils to complete a poster in Welsh to explain why supporting Fair Trade goods was a good idea."

(Jones, 2010)

Translanguaging from English to Welsh with competent bilinguals

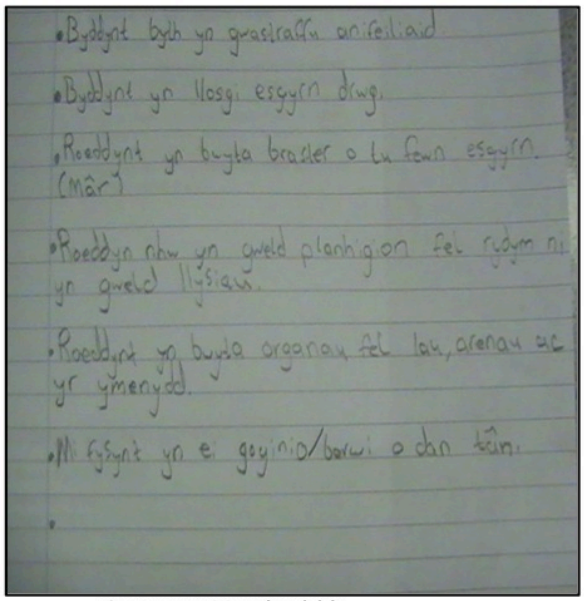


Diet and Eating Habits in the Stone-Age

Daily Diet Based on Animal Foods

During the Paleolithic period of the Stone Age, humans were hunter-gathers whose diet foods included both the animals and plants that were part of their natural environment. Fossil evidence from groups of hunter-gatherers suggests that the daily diet was derived primarily from animal based foods. In particular, they enjoyed animal organ meats like the liver, kidneys, and brains - meat-foods that are extremely rich sources of nutrition. Stone Age humans didn't consume much dairy food, nor did they eat high carbohydrate foods such as legumes or yeast-containing foods, or cereal grains.

Input: reading (English)



Output: writing (Welsh)

From data collected by Jones

Translanguaging in Wales

- Study of 100 bilingual lessons in 19 primary and 10 secondary schools
- Translanguaging was a key strategy in 18 classrooms
- Translanguaging practice was associated with:
  - the upper primary and secondary school stages (50% and 44%)
  - the arts and humanities subjects (72%)
  - schools in Welsh-speaking communities (Lewis et al. 2013)

Lewis et al. (2013, p.129) reflect that the tendency for language separation of Welsh and English partly relates to curricular policy and partly to 'sociolinguistic communities and contexts where safeguarding the Welsh language is often dominant in ideology, policy and practice.'

Key aspects of translanguaging as pedagogy

- Planned and systematic
- Teacher-led or student-led
- Possible benefits:
  - intellectual - using CUP to strengthen language and understanding
  - practical – preparing pupils for real-life situations where they will have to transfer from one language to another (Estyn, 2002)

- Possible areas of contention:
  - fit of a dual-language pedagogical strategy with class, school and national policies for immersion education
  - potential impact of translanguaging on minority language use in schools
  - where and when to introduce such a strategy into schooling

(Lewis et al. 2012, Garcia 2009)

Discussion

Do you think there is a place for translanguaging in Gaelic-medium education?

- What are the advantages (if any) that you see?
- What are the disadvantages (if any) that you see?

Have you used translanguaging in your own classroom practice?

- What did it involve
- Why did you choose to use this approach

Do your views of the use of translanguaging in GME differ by:

- school stage: *lower primary/upper primary/secondary?*
- curricular area: *Gaelic/English, arts & humanities, maths/science, practical/vocational, interdisciplinary?*
- level of Gaelic-speaking in the community?
- other factors?

Appendix B: Focus group discussion schedule

Eadar-chànanachadh

1. A' smaoineachadh mu na tha Baker ag ràdh mu dheidhinn eadar-chànanachadh, ciamar a tha sibh a' smaoineachadh a tha seo ag obair ann an clasaichean FTMG?

2. Ciamar a tha eadar-chànanachadh a' suidhe le prionnsabalan foghlam bogaidh?

3. (a) Dè na buannachdan a tha sibh a' faicinn ceangailte ris a bhith a' cleachdadh eadar-chànanachadh ann an clas?

   (b) Dè na dùbhlain a tha sibh a' faicinn ceangailte ris a bhith a' cleachdadh eadar-chànanachadh ann an clas?

5. Dè an uallach a th'air tidsearan FTMG a thaobh cànan a theagasg a bharrachd air cuspairean a theagasg tron a' chànan?

6. A bheil cuid de chuspairean nas freagarraiche airson eadar-chànanachadh na cheile?

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

University of Strathclyde Glasgow

THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Eadar-chànanachadh

Tha an Ionnsachadh Phroifeiseanta Fad-dhreuchd seo na chothrom barrachd ionnsachadh mu dheidhinn eadar-chànanachadh mar dhòigh teagaisg a dh'fhaodadh tidsearan Foghlam tro Mheadhan na Gàidhlig (FtMG) a chleachdadh airson an dà chuid Gàidhlig agus Beurla a leasachadh anns a' chlas. Air a leasachadh anns a' Chuimrigh airson Foghlam tro Mheadhan na Cuimris, tha eadar-chànanachadh a' cur an cèill planadh airson an dà chànan a th'aig sgoilearan a chleachdadh ann an gnìomhan sa chlas, mar eisimpleir, sgoilearan a' leughadh teacsaichean ann am Beurla ach a' còmhradh is a' sgrìobhadh mun deidhinn ann an Gàidhlig. 'S e amas na cùise cothrom a thoirt do sgoilearan dà-chànanach an ionnsachadh chuspaireil aca a leasachadh fhad 's a tha iad a' neartachadh an sgilean cànain aig an aon àm.

Tha ùidh anns an dòigh teagaisg seo a' fàs ann am foghlam dà-chànanach air feadh an t-saoghail, ach tha cuid fhathast a' smaoineachadh nach gabh an dòigh teagaisg a chothromachadh le prionnsabalan bogaidh, far a bheil cleachdadh a' chànain targaid a-mhàin na phrìomh amas.

Chaidh an Ionnsachadh Phroifeiseanta Fad-dhreuchd seo a dheilbh le luchd-obrach an sàs ann an trèanadh thidsearan FtMG aig Oilthighean Shrath Chluaidh agus Dhùn Èideann gus fiosrachadh a thoirt seachad mu dheidhinn eadar-chànanachadh, gus fiathachadh a thoirt do thidsearan FtMG fheuchainn dhaibh pèin, agus cothrom a thoirt dhaibh am beachdan a thoirt seachad. Thugadh maoineachadh dhan sgioba bho Shoillse airson sgrùdadh a dhèanamh air eadar-chànanachadh ann am FtMG, agus le sin thèid beachdan bho na còmhraidhean anns na seasanan a chleachdadh nar n-aithisg. A-rèir ar toraidhean, gur dòcha gum bi eadar-chànanachadh air a mholadh mar dhòigh teagaisg ann am FtMG, coltach ri mar a tha e anns a' Chuimrigh, neo gur dòcha gun co-dhùin sinn nach eil e cho freagarrach ann an co-theacsa FtMG. 'S e deagh chothrom a tha seo dhuibh ur beachdan a thoirt seachad air dòigh teagaisg ùr-ghnathaichte ann am FtMG.

Sgioba rannsachaidh

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Translanguaging

This CPD session is an opportunity to learn more about the potential of translanguaging as a pedagogical technique for GME teachers to use, to support the development of both Gaelic and English in the classroom. Developed in Wales for Welsh-medium education, translanguaging involves the planned-for and systematic use of bilingual pupils' two school languages in classroom activities, for example, pupils reading texts in English but discussing and writing about them in Gaelic. The aim is for bilingual learners to develop content knowledge and strengthen their competence in both languages.

Interest in this pedagogical practice is growing in bilingual education world-wide, but some believe this practice to sit uneasily with the principles of language immersion education, where exclusive use of the target language is often an established goal.

This CPD session has been developed by GME teacher education staff at the Universities of Strathclyde and Edinburgh to introduce translanguaging, invite GME teachers to experience translanguaging for themselves and to find out their views. The team has funding from Soillse to explore the potential of translanguaging in the GME context and discussions in the course of the session will therefore be used to inform our report. Depending on the outcomes, we may recommend developing translanguaging as a teaching strategy for GME, along the lines already in use in Wales, or may conclude that this is not appropriate in the Scottish context. This is an opportunity to have your say on what is potentially an innovative technique for the GME sector.

Research team

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