

English language teacher preparation

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHER PREPARATION

[English Language Teacher Preparation]

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ABSTRACT:

English language teacher preparation has a relatively short history in Scotland's universities. This chapter outlines some of the contributions made by Scottish institutions and academics to English language teaching globally, including during the very early stages of English becoming a global language. Commercial influences on English language teacher education are outlined as an explanation for why programmes diverged from ITE provision from the 1960s, including pressure from short-course teacher education and rising precarity of English language teachers. The chapter concludes with some encouraging work from foreign language teaching and Gaelic-Medium instruction, showing how English language teacher education may be able to re-build connections to ITE to engage with the contemporary linguistic diversity in Scotland's classrooms.

KEYWORDS:

1. English language teaching
2. Short-course teacher education
3. Commercial teacher education
4. Bilingual instruction

Additional index terms:

- English as an additional language (EAL)
- English as a foreign language (EFL), see EAL
- English as a second language, see EAL
- English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), see EAL
- Private providers of ITE, see commercial teacher education
- Short-course teacher education, see commercial teacher education
- TESOL, see English Language Teaching

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Much of the early history of Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in English Language Teaching (ELT) relates to short-course provision tailored around the unexpected sudden need for teachers resulting from incoming refugees or aimed at equipping teachers for overseas teaching (mostly in the former British colonies). ELT therefore does not have much place in the history of teacher education, at least not for teachers intending to stay in the country after completing their course. Even today, there are no programmes offering General Teaching Council registration in ELT in Scotland, despite newly qualified teachers citing teaching in multilingual classrooms as one of their greatest areas of professional development need (Carver, 2019). This chapter explains this disconnect between supply and demand by explaining how ELT is typically focused on overseas teaching, which helps to explain the specific ELT pedagogies and why ITE in English (i.e., English for English speakers, or sometimes just 'literacy') subject areas often involves little ELT knowledge. This chapter also outlines some of the commercial influences on ELT teacher education as an explanation for its unusual status in the universities compared with ITE provision, thus showing why it can be difficult to train, recruit, or retain teachers in-country. Finally, the chapter outlines some historical contributions from Scotland to the field of ELT, starting with a brief homage Alexander Bell, Melville Bell, and Alexander Graham Bell and ending with optimism that innovations in Gaelic-Medium Instruction and the almost-forgotten Scottish Storytelling Method may yet help to shape future ELT ITE provision in Scotland.

Terminology

With so many global influences, ELT has a proliferation of terminology. ELT tends to be preferred in the UK, and is used here as the more general term, while TESOL is preferred in the US and Ireland and is more common in the award titles of degrees (for instance, St Andrews was the last Scottish university to offer a masters in ELT, rebranding it to TESOL in 2019). Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) is more limited, usually referring to short-course teacher education for those preparing to teach at private language schools. English as a Second Language (ESL) is more common in the US as a generic term, while elsewhere it is usually English as a Foreign Language (EFL). English as an Additional Language (EAL) is sometimes used as a more positive framing of EFL, but can also refer to an individual's support need or the role of peripatetic English teachers in schools, while English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) is more common in adult education. University-based teacher preparation in Scotland is mainly at MA/MSc level in ELT/TESOL, or through private providers as short courses. These short courses are often referred to by their trade names, CELTA for the entry-level certificate and DELTA for the in-service diploma, though the generic terms are TEFL-I for and TEFL-Q, respectively.

Foundations of ELT in Europe

Histories of ELT tend to take a US-centric view, though archive research is starting to show European influences going back to the early 1700s (e.g., Howatt, 1984; Howatt and Widdowson, 2004). Teachers at this time were generally native French speakers or used classical languages, requiring teachers to be equally fluent in English and either French or Latin. Indeed, even when native English speakers became English teachers, they mostly still taught English through the medium of French. This situation is not as absurd as it might seem, since English grammar and spelling had yet to be standardised. Lessons relied heavily on a small number of published textbooks, so followed a familiar format with the explicit teaching of a pronunciation point followed by drilled repetition and translation of literary texts between the two languages. For teacher education, this meant keeping abreast of developments in the spelling and sound system of English and developing proficiency in two languages. Academic

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interest also grew in making English easier to learn, a tradition that would blend into the modern-day discipline of applied linguistics.

In contrast to England, Scotland was much quicker to adopt English as a language of education and to teach solely in English, and without regard for grammar rules derived from classical languages. Actor Thomas Sheridan held several month-long lecture series in Edinburgh in 1761 and 1764, with attendees in the hundreds (Howatt and Widdowson, 2004). These focused on pronunciation for those who already spoke some version of English, giving an early example of social anxieties around English pronunciation which suggests a growing status of English versus classical languages that was not yet felt in England. However, such lectures were given mostly by actors, rather than teachers.

English-in-English grew amid the industrial revolution, taking some influence from Germany's Gymnasien system and using more everyday language as examples, working at sentence-level rather than full-text, and developing a three-part lesson structure of introducing a grammar point and some vocabulary before working on translating some sentences chosen to reinforce the key points of the lesson. Resistance to such pedagogy among England's elites imbued accurate translation with an almost 'intrinsic moral value' (Howatt and Widdowson, 2004: 152), reinforced by the monopoly of Oxford and Cambridge on public English language examinations. Some of this elitism carried over to Scotland, at least in its universities. The University of Edinburgh experienced a 'long agitated controversy' over the use of English to teach Latin grammar (Bower, 1817: 232), with Latin narrowly winning the day. However, by the 1760s, English was on the rise as a language of instruction in Scotland's universities, led by innovations at the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh soon followed and, while Latin lingered on in some oral assessments until the 1830s, this meant that a classical education was now no longer needed for studying at university. This finally removed the need for school teachers to be classically educated and created the conditions in Scotland for pedagogy of teaching English in English.

In the schools, Scotland's teachers were also more familiar with teaching native-born pupils using English than their counterparts in England still favouring French or Latin, though not for particularly progressive reasons. Around 1750, English was used in attempts to develop 'loyalty and orthodoxy' (Anderson, 2018: 100) to Church and state as it swept away much of the Gaelic language. As schooling and literacy spread throughout the country, there was no letting up of the pressure on Gaelic, with particularly zealous insistence 'on the primacy of English' in the Highlands until as recently as 1945 (Anderson, 2018: 104). Much of teacher preparation was conducted by the Church, so teaching in English took on a much higher priority than it was previously afforded and bilingualism in English and either French or Latin as a requirement for teachers all but disappeared.

Scotland would make its contribution to global ELT pedagogy in what became known as the ELT Reform Movement in the late 1880s through to the early 1900s, a transformational two decades 'unique in language teaching history' (Howatt and Widdowson, 2004: 187). Teacher education from the Church could not hope to keep pace with innovations from linguists and technologists of the time, carving out a bigger role for universities. Alexander Bell innovated a modernised spelling system which would render written text easier to pronounce, helping to break the dichotomy between either teaching writing or teaching speaking. In 1867, his son, Alexander Melville Bell, innovated a new notation system known as Visible Speech, which would greatly influence the International Phonetic Alphabet notation system developed 20 years later and still much-used by ELT teachers and learners today. Alexander Graham Bell's telephone technology would transform the often passive instruction in language labs based on Edison's phonograph, enabling communication and correction, with teachers listening to individual pupils for pronunciation practice.

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With these new technologies, teachers would now need varied pedagogical skills to shift their teaching from broadcasting to a group to giving individual focus, listening **into** pronunciation practice for error correction, and managing what was essentially a telephone exchange in their classroom. At the same time, audio technology reduced demands on teachers to be proficient in the prestigious forms of correct pronunciation, though the dominance of just a few publishers able to put out tapes for a mass market essentially standardised prestigious forms of pronunciation globally as either received pronunciation or General American.

Elocution would no longer be as important in teacher preparation, but the need for a meta-language for giving feedback on pronunciation grew. Among the earliest specifications for language teacher education (Abercrombie, 1949) was a scientific awareness of sound-systems and the physiological means by which sounds are produced. This move towards applied linguistics owes much to Henry Sweet (1845 – 1912), seeing English as a living and evolving language for which teachers would need training in scientific methodologies to be able to understand. Just as earlier pedagogical changes shifted attention from whole-text to sentence-level, attention could now be focused with scientific precision down to the phoneme level of individual units of sound. This could then build to the study of whole texts – again, with a preference for oral and authentic texts.

The new-found legitimisation of ELT pedagogy through scientific approaches and, in particular, applied linguistics, ties developments in ELT more closely to general developments in education from the 1960s onwards. Just as behaviourism influenced pedagogy in the language labs and the use of drilling as part of a new methodology known as the Audio-Lingual Method, the rise of constructivism ushered in Communicative Language Teaching, a method which remains dominant today. Chomsky embodied the coming together of different branches of science to consider language learning from new perspectives, drawing on developing knowledge of how first languages were acquired. ELT teachers now required greater knowledge of child development in the same way as other teachers of the time but added to this was a newly emerging field of Second Language Acquisition. Teacher knowledge requirements again shifted: knowledge of notation systems and the physiology of speech shifted to language teaching which sought to replicate the natural ways in which a first language is acquired. Teacher preparation would pay much greater attention to classroom climate, such as finding ways to encourage spontaneous attempts to communicate and ways to limit correction of students in favour of developing communicative competence. This meant language labs fell out of fashion and students would increasingly communicate with each other in the target language, focused on getting meaning across rather than using particular forms of language or worrying about grammatical errors.

Teacher education for ELT teachers by this point would have mirrored foreign language teacher education. Communicative competence remains a guiding principle today, combining knowledge of grammar, syntax and the study of words with social knowledge of how language is really used. Teachers therefore needed to be able to distinguish between impeding and non-impeding errors when giving feedback and to determine what counted as 'strain' on an imagined conversation partner. While still valued by many in the profession, and often included in teacher education as an empathy experience, teachers being able to use a foreign language was by this point treated as far less significant than their knowledge of English grammar and usage.

The formation of Communicative Language Teaching was a remarkable consensus in ELT pedagogy worldwide. This was, in most part, thanks to the academic interest in ELT and greater interest in applied linguistics as a discipline, the UK's first school of applied linguistics being the University of Edinburgh in 1957. However, Edinburgh's School of Education, Moray House, moved away from the University of Edinburgh in 1959, cutting short potential for a stronger link between ITE and applied linguistics. For instance, Pit Corder's work on error analysis would lead the field in understanding

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potential sources of errors and pioneering new understanding in how interactions between first and second language should be treated in the classroom. However, this internationally-regarded work in ELT and applied linguistics circles would simply not translate into ITE, as would other Edinburgh-based contemporaries such as Michael Halliday, Tony Howatt, or Henry Widdowson. By the time Moray House, this time as its own institution, launched its own ITE degrees in 1966, the commercial side of ELT teacher education had already become established nationwide and set the tone for the next 50 years of ELT teacher education in Scotland, and the universities would have little more to do with ELT teacher education until the 1980s.

The commercialisation of ELT teacher education

The previous section illustrated the breadth and depth of knowledge ELT teachers needed, but the strong consensus on pedagogy meant that lessons could be taught to a formula and so teacher education could be made quicker and cheaper. It could also be packaged and sold for teachers going overseas, opening up a global market. The most common of these is Cambridge's CELTA, which originated in 1962 as an in-house teacher induction programme at a London language school (Haycraft, 1998). This placed heavy emphasis on practical tips for teachers, though it would develop into different courses for native and non-native speakers (Hobbs, 2007). Routes were consolidated in 1996 and 1997 to a pre-service 4-week CELTA and diploma-level 8-week DELTA, although the DELTA is more commonly taken part-time over a year, with native and non-native English speakers taking the same course.

Cambridge controlled curriculum and assessment through validating awards made at other institutions, standardising content and assessment regardless of provider. The course is therefore remarkably similar wherever it is taken around the world, with little variety by provider, making it a popular private sector offering. Some alternatives are available, the most common being Trinity's CertTESOL, which is popular in Further Education and Higher Education institutions for its increased flexibility in assessment and content over and above a standard core curriculum.

Students self-fund, with fees of around £1500 in 2020. While expensive for a 4-week programme, this is quite cheap for a teaching qualification, in part a reflection of the precarity of an ELT career which is often short, poorly paid, and requires frequent relocation for progression (Horne, 2003). Even though short courses make it clear that they are designed to only be the first step in a career and be supplemented with professional development, this is rare in practice (Hobbs, 2007). The lack of training prior to practice can hardly be over-stated: TEFL teachers in schools around the world may teach more classes on their first day of a new job than they did in their entire CELTA, while methodology and theory are highly condensed and simplified (Hobbs, 2013).

Coupled with the threat of needing to make ELT teacher preparation quicker and cheaper is the lack of quality assurance beyond the Cambridge or Trinity qualifications (Thomson, 2004). An extreme example is how global demand for cheap English teachers has prompted the phenomenon of 'Groupon TEFL', (Griffith, 2017), online courses for as little as £20 which give little more than a certificate that employers and visa officials choose not to look at too carefully. Some attempts at establishing principles of programme quality were made by the British Association of TESOL Qualifying Institutions (BATQI) in the early 1990s, but this dissolved in 2001 and the duty was taken up by various institutions which also later dissolved, the most enduring legacy being the Association for the Promotion of Quality in TESOL (QuiTE), which ran from 2001 to 2012, and at least leaves a website with a 10-point checklist for judging the quality of a TESOL programme, endorsed by 19 institutions (QuiTE, 2009). However, this is mostly a guide to avoiding the lowest-quality online TEFL programmes

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rather than choosing among programmes of high quality. For instance, it recommends candidates check that there is an awarding body. This advice might be confusing in Scotland, since the SNQF database gives the impression that only universities offer high-quality ELT instruction (even here, the University of St Andrews and UWS are both missing from the database as of 2019). The SNQF website yields no results for 'TEFL', while 'ESOL' only returns a short course from Ayrshire Council. Recruiting students to university-level programmes is therefore challenged by a crowded marketplace of cheap and quick teacher training, a lack of public funding for ELT degrees, a lack of GTCS recognition, and poor career prospects upon graduation. Such factors influence the design of ELT teacher education programmes, forcing them to position to a global rather than national job market.

ELT teacher education in the universities

Short courses in ELT teacher education are largely based on an export model where courses can be taken anywhere in the world. Thus, a ready supply of pupils for teaching practice is not assumed and so the formal requirement for teaching practice can be as few as six hours. For university-based ELT teacher education, there may even be no teaching **practice**, with the degree being entirely theory-based and somewhat awkwardly pitched to a mixed group of native and non-native English speakers as well as pre-service teachers and those with substantial experience.

The first university-level programme in the UK specifically for ELT is probably from London's Institute of Education in 1932, building on earlier programmes from 1927 for educators who would go on to teach in Africa. UCL archives show a 'Methods of Teaching English as a Foreign Language' course, running from 1934-1939 with funding from the Carnegie Corporation and then the Rhodes Trust. This was a department set up just for ELT teacher education, and emphatically did not undertake the teaching of English. The department was set up with one full-time lecturer, an occasional resident specialist in spoken English, and occasional guest lectures, both provisions budgeted at around 10% of the full-time lecturer salary.

While Scotland's universities would offer programmes much later than this, they were still among the early adopters in the UK. Stirling was the first, launching an ELT programme in 1981, noting this to be a bold move at a time when students seeking 'the teacher requiring training to teach English to non-native speakers, could find little in British universities to satisfy their needs' (University of Stirling, 1986: 14). In much the same **way** as the very first ELT programmes were formed back in the 1700s, Stirling's Centre for English Language Teaching was established by staff seconded from the University's French Department. It started with a professor and two lecturers, both of whom had to be trained in ELT before teaching it. One of the main reasons given for the Centre's foundation was financial, and it immediately satisfied this with substantial profits as well as filling vacant accommodation during university holidays. The centre was also intended to make an intellectual contribution through interdisciplinary cooperation, specifically with applied linguistics but also broadly across other disciplines. However, much of the department's work was taken up with the teaching of English, leaving little time for teacher education. What was offered tended to be short course programmes for teachers enrolled from overseas.

Stirling remains a leading ELT provider today, recruiting in large numbers. It made some exclusive provision for home students in its early days, teaching what would become the CELTA in cohorts of just 12 students. Stirling also experimented with undergraduate and postgraduate degrees and diplomas: its Bachelor of Education Studies in TEFL, launched in 1988, was Scotland's first, and made an important connection to the university's Department of Education. This was soon followed by an MEd, and today Stirling offers one of the few PhD TESOL options in the UK.

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Edinburgh's ELT provision was similarly focused on the overseas market. Moray House launched its undergraduate degrees in 1966, including a specialism in English, but this did not include ELT and was focused instead on the training of native-speaking English teachers for native-English speaking students. Its ELT programmes would come much later, with the earliest archived records for a curriculum being from 1985 (Moray House College of Education, 1985). This was designed and approved as a four-year full-time undergraduate route, Bachelor of Education TESOL. However, as in Stirling, this was not a programme designed for the local market: its first cohorts were all Malaysian students, funded on an initiative from the Malaysian government aiming to create an elite cadre of English language teachers for Malaysia's secondary school system. Edinburgh was the only Scottish university to be involved, taking two initial cohorts of 15 students, before the initiative spread to a further six institutions in England.

Despite being designed for an overseas cohort, the Moray House ELT degree shows what ELT could have looked like if it had remained aligned with ITE provision. The general education component covered Theory and Practice of Teaching and Learning, with modules on Learning and the Learner and Methodology. Other modules drew upon expertise from across the university, including high-level geography, sociology and political studies of South-East Asia and what must have been specially created modules on intercultural relationships between different cultures. The texts cited in the research methods module suggest a closer alignment to educational research than applied linguistics research, though there was some blending. Unusually for ELT, English literature also featured. This was not just Shakespeare and other worthies, but key children's writers from Dickens and Twain through to the contemporary Robert Westall and his UK secondary-school favourite 'The Machine Gunners'. Modules on poetry likewise featured poets popular on the English and Scottish school-leaver qualifications. Some applied linguistics influence was evident in modules on second language acquisition and language learning with key ELT scholars of the time – McDonough, McLaughlin, Steinberg and Villiers all feature. In many respects, the 1985 specification would not look out of place in ITE today, although the breadth and depth of study and bespoke modules made available for cohorts of 15 stand out as rather extravagant.

Even with this extravagance, Edinburgh's TESOL programmes grew at a time when Scottish ITE was shrinking and budgets were being cut. Throughout the 1980s, Moray House had 29 ITE programmes approved by the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA): two were in TESOL (MA, BEd) and three in ELT (MA, BEd, BEd in-service). The chance to balance the books by bringing in money from overseas would have been a factor in this growth, but it is encouraging that so many of the modules on these programmes would have been shared with other ITE routes. Other ELT teacher education was much more bespoke for specific cohorts of overseas teachers: Jordanhill created a programme for teachers from Libya in 1977; and Stirling created two-year programmes for teachers from Tunisia and Saudi Arabia in the 1980s. These early forays into the overseas market may therefore help to explain the foundations of ELT programmes and how they drifted towards export models and away from serving the needs of home students, who were much fewer in number. Today, this is taken to the extreme – while some Scottish students do still take these programmes, they are not eligible for registration with the GTCS to teach in schools in Scotland. Rather, the GTCS registration option for TESOL only applies to ELT/TESOL qualifications gained in other countries that confer qualified teacher status in that country. There is a simple problem of lack of local demand. Even if GTCS recognition were on offer for graduates, there are few, if any, jobs available outside the private language schools, making it all but impossible to complete probation within the mandated five years. This situation sustains itself: with so little local demand, TESOL programmes in Scotland have essentially become exports, with graduates mostly finding or continuing careers elsewhere, largely negating the need to retain a sense of Scottishness in the programmes.

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There are some missed opportunities in ELT being so distinct from ITE, but the positioning of TESOL/ELT as distinct from short-course TEFL has, at least, helped to raise the academic status of the profession. Qualifications such as Stirling's PhD have conferred prestige where previously the highest qualification was the DELTA, a postgraduate diploma (Bowers, 1986). This has been an important development given questions about the ease of access to the profession and stereotypes of backpacker teachers (Maley, 1992; Duff, 1997), as well as a global job market famous for precarity and poor working conditions (Swales, 1993). In some ways, TESOL goes too far in explicitly performing its distinctiveness and academic rigour. Much is borrowed from applied linguistics, whole modules are given over to theory heavy Second Language Acquisition instruction, and dissertations demand substantial researcher skills such as building and analysing corpora of natural language as a research methodology. All of which supports the status of TESOL, but at the same time pulls it further away from teacher education.

Other sources of ELT teacher education

ELT as a part of the mainstream requires distinguishing between specialist and non-specialist teachers. One recommendation is that all ITE should include 'some knowledge of the formal features and patterns of discourse of the English language in the curriculum or subject context (not just knowledge of English) and knowledge of second language acquisition in school settings' (Leung & Franson, 2001: 206), with further support in how to work collaboratively with a specialist EAL teacher. This is based on the argument that 'knowledge of English by itself does not lead to effective practice' (Ward, 2007: 97), an approach that helps to explain the limited impact of non-specialist ESOL courses aimed at the FE sector in England in the early 2000s. Over-simplification of ELT just requiring being 'good at English' can also explain practice-shock: a survey of graduating teachers in Scotland showed EAL to be one of the areas of lowest CPD need, by the end of their first year it was their greatest area of need (Carver, 2019).

One recent initiative (SQA, 2019) shows how ELT qualifications in Scotland may change to try to meet the more localised needs of teachers in Scotland, whether they are seeking to become subject-specialists or just make their general practice more ESOL-friendly. The SQA Professional Development Award is offered at three levels on the SCQF. First is a level 6 qualification for those who support EAL learners, such as through small group tutoring or in-class teaching assistant roles. This is positioned pre-CELTA, which is at SCQF level 8/9. Practitioners may then choose to take a CELTA or Trinity Cert TESOL or keep within the SQA and take four units at SCQF level 9. Finally, a level 10 PDA in Applied Practitioner Studies in TESOL comprising two core and one optional unit can be taken to complete the award or be taken alongside (or even replaced by) a DELTA.

This route makes for a rather complex pathway with awkward numbers of credits distributed across different pathways, but this at least serves to show how the SQA has anticipated a need for flexibility in ELT teacher education and trusting practitioners to determine for themselves which aspects of which pathways suit their needs and context. Unfortunately, few institutions offer these qualifications, those that do are rather expensive, and there is a lack of international recognition for the PDA award. Nevertheless, the design is sound in that the PDA recognises that there is a need for professional learning to precede the CELTA and again to bridge the gap between CELTA and DELTA.

As a separate strand, ELT pedagogy is starting to shift in ways that might bring it back towards areas in which Scottish ITE excels. The strongest sign of this is a return to valuing at least some form of bilingual instruction. There is still nothing influential enough to challenge the dominance of Communicative Language Teaching as codified in the CELTA, but some interest is growing in

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translanguaging, intentional switching between pupils' home and target languages as a pedagogical strategy. Scotland's ITE has strong examples of this kind of pedagogy dating back to the 1970s in the growth of Gaelic-medium education (GME). Here, pupils living in an English-speaking country were studying English as an additional language as well as their home language. Setting issues of identity and politics aside and looking in purely pedagogical terms, this is a rare situation in EAL under-appreciated in the history of ELT in Scotland.

One reason for this under-appreciation is that the history of GME is not all that old, and its advocates are perhaps less interested in how English language is taught. Nevertheless, it shows good examples of a 3-4 year period of instruction split between Gaelic and English (O'Hanlon, McLeod & Paterson, 2010; Robertson, 2018). English is largely taught using a communicative competence pedagogy, but one which is neither entirely monolingual nor bilingual in any one lesson. The early immersion period and subsequent bilingual period seem to be effective in developing English proficiency alongside Gaelic proficiency without sacrificing other areas of academic attainment, including the learning of additional modern foreign languages. However, as is its wont, English eventually overwhelms these other languages and takes over as a lingua franca across the range of curriculum subjects in later school years, breaking free from being a discrete subject. While there are clear social and cultural implications of this for Gaelic speakers that make this undesirable, in terms of English language learning for pupils using English as an additional language, it is nothing but a success.

GME shows how developing ELT awareness within Scottish ITE does not need to simply import practices from TESOL or TEFL programmes, and there may be useful synergies between the two. Irony aside, the best example of an educational programme in Scotland being able to produce bilingual proficiency in a home language plus English is the GME programme – one specifically designed to avoid English becoming 'too dominant in the learning process' (Robertson, 2018: 578)! Looking at the pedagogy, this is hardly surprising: GME has created a plurilingual learning environment, adopted language teaching pedagogy principles of immersion and communicative competence, and paid attention to language across the curriculum (McPake et al., 2017). Outwith GME, specialist teachers with the skills and training to enable this using just English are simply not available to the same extent.

As well as ELT in TESOL and ELT in GME having the potential to move closer together in the future, the Scottish Government's commitment to increased language learning throughout schooling may also draw in expertise from modern languages. The 1+2 language policy borrowed from the European Union aims to offer instruction to every pupil in Scotland in their home language plus two others (Scottish Government, 2012). Crucially, this is not English and two foreign languages. However, this nuance seems not to have been well-explored as Coyle (2018: 461) points out there remain unanswered

'specific questions, for example about the role of the first language for second languages speakers of English such as Polish; the impact of heritage languages beyond Gaelic-medium such as Scots and Doric; the positioning of more 'exotic' languages such as Mandarin and Arabic; the inclusion of British Sign Language and Latin in the mix; the growing popularity of Spanish – the list is complex.'

There also seems to be renewed interest in plurilingual classrooms derived from the Scottish Storytelling Method, a Scottish export that has been developed in language pedagogy in Scandinavia and Australia but which has almost disappeared in Scotland (Hancock, 2014). A new "'language rich' classroom' where foreign language skills are developed across the curriculum (Coyle, 2018: 463) could create innovative links between teachers of modern foreign languages, GME, and ELT. Such approaches emphasise students' ability to adapt linguistically and flexibly to communicative situations

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rather than simply acquiring vocabulary or grammatical knowledge. Meanwhile, despite resourcing and teachers' professional status remaining problematic, Scotland's new ESOL strategy is broadly praised for its emphasis on inclusion and social emancipation (Brown, 2019). Just as Scotland adopts a more global view, so too are many of Scotland's teachers seeing international teaching as part of their career path (Carver, 2019). There is an abundance of expertise and language pedagogy innovation within Scotland that needs bringing together, and the country may yet continue its contribution to the development of ELT pedagogy on a global scale.

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Commented [MC2]: Added McPake reference (a report)