Celtic Languages in Education in the United Kingdom's Devolved Jurisdictions of Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland

Eugene McKendry

Introduction

The programme of the XV International Symposium of *Societas Celtica Nordica*, organised by the Finnish Society for Celtic Studies, illustrates the broad range of Celtic studies, not only in institutions in the Celtic countries themselves but also internationally. Nevertheless, when considering the local and international study of the modern languages, one can ask why students from Scandinavia or Finland might choose Celtic languages, and how they should be taught. It was in order to investigate such issues that a successful application was made to the European Commission's 2004-06 Action Plan Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity. The resulting Celtic, Regional and Minority Languages Abroad Project (CRAMLAP)[1] researched *ab initio* provision of Celtic and other Regional and Minority languages in Higher Education across Europe. Most of the partners in the project were present at SCN XV.

It would be a valuable exercise to see how the current provision for Celtic studies internationally compares with 10 years on, and what language teaching approaches or methodologies are being used. The Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs in Dublin, in cooperation with the Fulbright Commission and the Ireland Canada University Foundation makes funding available for the teaching of Irish in foreign universities, providing a valuable foundation for Irish and Celtic studies outside Ireland. But we are faced with the attitude that led to the vice-chancellor of Queen's University Belfast declaring in 2016 that 'society doesn't need a 21-year-old that's a sixth century historian' (*Belfast Telegraph* 30/5/16). Nevertheless, the future of the languages resides in the Celtic countries themselves, not abroad. University departments for Celtic languages in Northern Ireland and Wales, and to a lesser extent Scotland where a large proportion of university students studying Gaelic have not studied the language at school (University of Glasgow: 9), depend upon students progressing from secondary school. This paper will accordingly focus upon school examination entries, language policies and educational practice in the devolved UK administrations of Scotland, Wales and

1 www.cramlap.org

Eugene McKendry, Queen's University Belfast, e.mckendry@qub.ac.uk

Studia Celtica Fennica XIV (2017), 113-128, ISSN 1795-097X, ©Finnish Society for Celtic Studies

especially Northern Ireland. The situation in the Republic of Ireland will not be discussed here.

Languages in Schools

The qualifications framework for England, Wales and Northern Ireland is much the same for the three jurisdictions, with the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) at the end of Key Stage 4, age 16, and the General Certificate Advanced Supplementary (AS) and Advanced (A) Level examinations in the two subsequent years. The Scottish system follows a distinct structure of National Levels up to Standard Grade/National Qualification 5, the equivalent of GCSE, followed by Highers, which emphasize breadth across a range of subjects similar to Baccalaureate models, while the English, Welsh and Northern Irish systems focus on greater depth of education over a smaller range of subjects post-GCSE (QAA 2014).

Following Curriculum Review in England (2002) and later in Northern Ireland (2006), languages are no longer compulsory at Key Stage 4 (age 14 to 16 years old). In Scotland, the Curriculum for Excellence provides an entitlement from 2021 for every pupil to learn a first additional language from primary one and a second by primary five, but this entitlement to a second modern language only continues post-primary until the end of S3 (age 14-15), with no compulsion thereafter. Outside Wales, United Kingdom pupils including Northern Ireland are now only required to do 3 years of modern language study at Key Stage 3 (age 11-14) in post-primary education–the lowest compulsory language education in Europe. This has led to a marked drop in language study at secondary and university level throughout the United Kingdom, where universities have seen numerous departmental closures and a serious decline in Modern Language applicants (Havergal). It is notable that there is no longer the possibility to do a degree in German in Northern Ireland. Ulster University ceased teaching French, German and Spanish in 2016. Queen's University closed its German Department in 2009 and had earlier dropped Italian and Slavonic Studies. Celtic and Irish are also under threat.

In the non-Anglophone world, English is the language of choice, but which language do we choose in an English-speaking environment? The Nuffield Report of 2000 lamented:

> As each language valiantly fights its own corner, we are losing the greater battle […]We talk about communication but don't always communicate. There is enthusiasm for languages but it is patchy. Educational provision is fragmented, achievement poorly measured, continuity not very evident. In the language of our time, there is a lack of joined-up thinking. (2000, 5)

This lack of joined-up thinking was noted at school level in the 2015/16 Language Trends Wales:

> The Language Trends 2014/15 report found that English, Welsh and MFL were regarded in most schools as quite separate subjects, and that opportunities for the learning of one language to support others were being missed. (Board & Tinsley 2016)

This is despite the fact that the Welsh education system, more than any other in the United Kingdom (UK) or Ireland, supports Triliteracy – working across English, Welsh and Foreign Languages.

Since 2002, the Language Trends Survey by the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research (CILT) in London, and then by Tinsley and Board for the Centre for Better Teaching and the British Council have charted the uptake, or more correctly, perhaps, the downturn of language examination entries in England and Wales. The results of the summer GCSE and GCE examinations are provided by the Joint Council for Qualifications (JCQ) in August each year. A few months later, the Department for Education publishes further analysis. These data show that the proportion of the total cohort sitting a GCSE in a language dropped from 76% in 2002 to 48% in 2015. There was a drop of one percentage point (from 49 to 48 per cent) between 2014 and 2015. There had been a rise in entries from 2012, associated with the English Baccalaureate option which included the compulsory study of a modern or ancient language, but this has levelled off.

Examination entries and achievement can be considered a reliable proxy for a language's standing and health, particularly in the case of minority languages like the Celtic languages in the UK where there are few if any monolinguals beyond early childhood and the education system is considered vital to the maintenance and transmission of the languages.

Welsh

The 2011 census reported 19% of the population as 'able to speak Welsh'. Compared to Irish in Northern Ireland and Gaelic in Scotland, Welsh has benefitted from more positive provision in administrative and legislative measures and in the media and education. It is Welsh Government policy that all pupils study Welsh from pre-school, age 3, up to the end of Key Stage 4 (age 16). The language is taught as a first language ('Welsh Language 1-Cymraeg') in Welsh-medium schools. In English-medium schools it is taught as a second language ('Welsh Language 2'). Regarding Welsh-medium primary to secondary transition, an Estyn (Welsh Inspectorate) report reveals that the proportion of Welsh-medium pupils was 19.8% at the end of primary education, Key Stage 2, in 2008; 16.3% in Key Stage 3 in 2011, and 15.3% by Key Stage 4 in 2013 (Estyn, 2014: 9-10). So, while there is some drop-off, the

percentage of pupils receiving full-time education through the medium of Welsh is substantial.

While all students study Welsh until the end of Key Stage 4, it is not mandatory to take a Welsh GCSE examination at the end of that period. The combined GCSE entries in 2016 for Welsh L1 (Cymraeg) and L2 (Welsh and Welsh L2 Applied) GCSE was 16,282, which compares very favourably with the other Modern Languages at GCSE. Welsh Literature is also available as a subject at GCSE Level and 3705 students sat this subject in 2016. For further comparison, English and Maths achieved entries of 35,323 and 30,570 respectively. (JCQ). It can be noted that Welsh-language versions of the full range of subjects are available at GCSE and Advanced level examinations. The tables below give the number of entries for the various subjects, with the cumulative percentages for Grades A*-C, the government benchmark for achievement.

Table 1. GCSE Entries:Wales

GCSE	Cymraeg/ Welsh L1	Welsh L2	French	German	Spanish	English	Maths
2016 A*-C	5331 73.5%	10951 79.4%	4312 77.7%	1196 75.9%	1507 71.3%	35323 57.8%	30570 47.7%

(Figures from JCQ and WJEC Websites)

At Advanced Level, the JCQ statistics show that Welsh A-Level entries (age 18) have fallen from 1020 entries in 2000 to 610 in 2016 (Welsh First and Second Language combined), a drop of 10% from 678 in 2015. The figures on the WJEC site for 2016 record 276 for Welsh L1 and 339 for Welsh L2, a total of 615, the discrepancy of 5 probably due to external entries. When we compare the A-level entries with other Modern Languages (Table 2), however, the 2016 figures for Welsh entries still compare well, although the trend is downwards and the A*-C figure of 63.7% for Welsh Language 2 could be a cause for concern.

Table 2. GCE A-Level Entries 2016:Wales

GCE-A Level	Cymraeg/ Welsh L1	Welsh L2	French	German	Spanish	English	Maths
2016 A*-C	276 84.4%	339 63.7%	416 76.7%	123 80.5%	162 75.3%	3490 75.9%	3719 80.2%

(Figures from JCQ and WJEC Websites)

Scottish Gaelic

The Bord na Gàidhlig response to the 2011 census in Scotland strikes an optimistic note and claims that the reduction in the decline in the number of Gaelic speakers

is attributable to the growth in Gàidhlig/Gaelic-medium immersion education, compensating for the loss of older Gaelic speakers, a difficult enough claim to accept:

> …the growth in the number of children acquiring the language in Gaelic-medium pre-school groups and Primary Education compensat[es] to a degree for the loss of older Gaelic speakers over the period...numerically, the new generation of Gaelic speakers is helping to compensate for the loss of older Gaelic speakers. (Press Release 26/09/2013)

In Scotland, the Gaelic-medium sector in education attracts the most attention and investment, with less apparent focus on Gaelic Learners education provision.

While the situation as presented in the Bord na Gàidhlig reports makes as positive an analysis as possible, there is also realism and awareness of the challenges. So, for example, the 2010 Action Plan, Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig, is realistic about one of the greatest challenges facing Immersion Education, whether in Scotland or in Northern Ireland, namely transition from primary to secondary:

> Bòrd na Gàidhlig believes that the expansion of Gaelic education at secondary level is essential. Only through continuation of Gaelic Medium Education (GME) at secondary level can children's language skills and confidence in the use of Gaelic be enhanced. At present, there is an 80% drop-off in numbers of GME pupils between primary school and secondary, largely due to limited secondary provision. (2010)

This limited transition of 20% from primary to secondary GME is fundamental. The Action Plan extract above suggests that the drop-off is largely due to limited secondary provision, but parental and pupil choice must also be an important factor. This has been recognised in Northern Ireland where many parents of primary Irish-medium Education (IME) children choose to send them to an English-speaking secondary school. It is likely to be the same in Scotland and to a lesser extent in Wales.

The Scottish education system proceeds from Nursery to Primary 1-7, followed by Post-Primary S1-S6. National 4 or 5 qualifications (previously Standard Grades) are taken by most pupils as the equivalent in S3-S4, with National 5 accepted as an equivalent to GCSE. Highers are normally offered in S5 (age c. 16 with more Highers and Advanced Highers in S6 (age c. 17).

The Scottish Government's Curriculum for Excellence '1+2' Initiative, Mother Tongue plus 2, is a welcome reassertion of the value of Modern Languages, including Gaelic, but even here a cautionary note is appropriate as languages including Gaelic have to contend with other pressures on the curriculum such as timetabling and the promotion of STEM subjects (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics).

As an article in The Scotsman stated, 'With STEM subjects […] heavily promoted, modern languages are often sidelined' (Garavelli). This STEM pressure is noted across the UK. (Board & Tinsley 2014, 111)

Turning to examination entries, the Gaelic Learners and Gaelic-medium ('Gàidhlig') figures for 2016 at Standard Grade/National Qualification 5, the equivalent of GCSE, Highers and Advanced Highers are given below:

Table 3. Scottish Examination Entries 2016

	Gaelic-Medium/Gàidhlig	Gaelic Learners
Standard Grade/National 5	158	145
Higher	132	84
Advanced Higher	31	24

One can compare attainment in the various languages offered namely, the home or community languages like Chinese and Urdu, the main continental languages, then Latin and finally Gaelic, Language 1 and Language 2. For the sake of comparison, one can note that there were 45,813 entries for English (36% attaining A-Grade) and 41,778 for Mathematics (29% attaining A-Grade). Compared to the other languages, the relatively low percentage (42%) of Gaelic Learners achieving an A-Grade is to be noted.

Table 4:Attainment and Entries for Languages at National Qualification 5 Grade, 2016.

	'A' Grade	Entries
Chinese Languages	74%	98
Urdu	73%	62
Italian	64%	332
Latin	94%	445
Spanish	59%	4417
German	53%	2025
French	54%	9292
Gaelic Learners	42%	145
Gàidhlig	68%	158

(SQA website)

The relatively low percentage (42%) of Gaelic Learners achieving an A-Grade is to be noted.

When comparing the attainment and entries for languages at Higher Grade 2016 (Table 5), the attainment profile for Gaelic learners is again the lowest. With 40% Gaelic Learners and 38% Gàidhlig achieving A-Grade, attainment is closer to that of the main learner languages, French, German, Spanish. The higher attainment in other lesser-studied languages such as Chinese and Urdu, and perhaps Italian, is probably due to home use and more frequent practice of the languages.

Table 5: Attainment and Entries for Languages at Higher Grade, 2016.

	'A' Grade	Entries
Chinese Languages	81%	111
Urdu	78%	92
Italian	73%	219
Latin	68%	310
Spanish	52%	2600
German	50%	1020
French	46%	4581
Gaelic Learners	40%	84
Gàidhlig	38%	132

(SQA website)

Table 6: Attainment and Entries for Languages at Advanced Higher Grade, 2016.

	'A' Grade	Entries
Chinese Languages	94%	32
Urdu	-	-
Italian	59%	22
Latin	53%	79
Spanish	36%	480
German	45%	146
French	39%	697
Gaelic Learners	46%	24
Gàidhlig	31%	52

(SQA website)

Looking at these figures, it is difficult to share Bord na Gàidhlig's assertion that 'numerically, the new generation of Gaelic speakers is helping to compensate for the loss of older Gaelic speakers'.

Irish

Turning to Northern Ireland, the 2011 Census returned 10.65% of the population, some 185,000 people, with 'some ability in Irish' (NISRA, 75). Of these, some 65,000 could 'speak, read, write and understand Irish', probably an aspirational figure. As there is no historical Gaeltacht district in Northern Ireland, this figure is made up of learners, with some small revivalist Irish-speaking communities. The main difference from Gàidhlig in Scotland is that the Irish language has the status of being first official language in the Republic and holds a firm presence in the educational, social, political, and indeed economic arenas. This allows learners in the north to benefit from opportunities such as the summer colleges in the Gaeltacht and the said higher status of the language in the Republic. On the negative side, the Northern Ireland state and the Unionist community in general are opposed to the language, to the extent that it has been dubbed the 'green litmus paper of community relations' (Cultural Traditions Group 1994, 6). The antipathy to the language is well attested. Opposition to Irish-medium schools and an Irish Language Act are policy and manifesto commitments of Unionist parties. Arlene Foster, the leader of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and First Minister of Northern Ireland said at the launch of the DUP election campaign for the 2017 Assembly that her party would never agree to an Irish Language Act and that 'if you feed a crocodile it will keep coming back and looking for more', a remark that led to a strong backlash among voters in the election itself with a considerable increase in the votes cast for the anti-Unionist Sinn Féin and SDLP parties. The Democratic Unionist Party has also described Irish-medium Education (IME) as a Sinn Féin vanity project. Not one state-controlled school offers Irish as a subject and it is disappointing to note that the integrated school movement which aims to attract both Catholic and Protestant pupils also ignores it, with a few honourable exceptions. The language is therefore mostly restricted to the Maintained or Catholic schools and Irish-medium *Gaelscoileanna*. Despite this, Irish was the second most popular language in schools and formal examination entries after French when the GCSE examination was first sat in 1988 (Table 7).

Northern Ireland has traditionally operated a selective process at the end of primary school and Irish was widely taught in the non-selective or non-grammar post-primary schools. The Education Act in England (1988) and the Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order (1989) made language study compulsory at Key Stages 3 and 4 (age 11-16), but the original proposals for post-primary in Northern Ireland would have had an extremely negative effect on Irish, requiring pupils to study one of French, German, or Spanish before being able to choose the language. The budgetary and timetabling burdens for many schools, particularly smaller non-selective schools, and the cognitive burden for many pupils, would have been unmanageable. After a vigorous and highly public and political debate,

a compromise was reached whereby, in order to meet the statutory requirements of the Language Studies area of study in the Northern Ireland Curriculum, post-primary schools were required to offer one of French, German, Italian or Spanish. Only then could they offer Irish as a choice for pupils to fulfil the statutory requirement for modern languages. This discriminatory clause had a very negative effect on Irish in Northern Ireland schools.

When the first cohort of compulsory Key Stages 3 and 4 pupils came to GCSE in 1996 there was a marked rise in GCSE languages entries compared to 1988 (see Table 7 for Northern Ireland). But, as a result of the DfES 2002 Green paper 'Extending Opportunities, Raising Standards' in England and the Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order 2006 which made language study optional at Key Stage 4, there has been an overall drop at GCSE and GCE A-Level entries, despite a growth in Spanish which has prospered in a way that deserves further analysis elsewhere. Italian has almost disappeared from schools in Britain and Northern Ireland.

Irish remained the second most popular language after French at GCSE until 2002 when Spanish overtook it. Closer inspection of figures for Irish at GCSE and A-Level reveals a significant drop in pupils in English-medium schools. Entries for GCSE Irish fell under 2000 in 2015 with 1980 entries. The percentage for non-grammar school Irish entries in 2015 was 41%.[2] The equivalent non-grammar percentage for French was 31%; Spanish 19.5%; German 13%. Irish GCSE entries dropped further to 1901 entries in 2016.

The Irish total of 1980 for GCSE in 2015 includes 369 Gaeilge/Irish-medium entries. The remaining 1611 candidates include younger pupils from the non-selective post-primary Irish-medium *Gaelscoileanna* which enter pupils early for GCSE, usually at the end of Key Stage 3 (age 14), and some primary *Bunscoileanna* which enter pupils in Primary 7, age 11. This means that probably fewer than 1500 pupils from the English-medium sector sat Irish GCSE in 2015, and a considerable number of these would have transferred from Irish-medium primary to English-medium post-primary.

Table 7: GCSE Entries in Northern Ireland (2016 A-C percentages in brackets)*

	French	Irish	Spanish	German	Italian
1988	8747	1518	942	867	141
1996	13,838	2021	1561	1496	156
2015	5533	1980	3734	1044	
2016	5179 (85.9%)	1901 (96.5%)	3593 (90.3%)	1162 (86%)	

2 Non-Grammar figures for 2016 not available at time of writing.

For further comparison, 22,102 Northern Ireland candidates were entered for English in 2016 and 24,827 for maths.

At A-level, Spanish overtook French in 2016 as the most popular language in Northern Ireland.

Table 8: A-level Entries 2016 (A-C percentages in brackets)*

	French	Spanish	German	Irish
GB & NI	9672	8460	3842	331
N. Ireland	503 (87.5%)	524 (89.9%)	102 (85.3%)	331 (94.9%)

The higher A*-C percentages for Irish at GCSE and A-Level could be due to the number of candidates with an Irish-medium background.

Forty-five per cent of Irish entries at A-level in 2015 are from Non-Grammar schools, mostly due to entries from the non-selective Irish-medium schools. This contrasts strongly with the percentages from the other languages (French 9%; German 4%; Spanish 7%). It is also a common refrain that it is no longer possible to do Irish at A-Level as the language is no longer provided Post-GCSE in many schools which offered A-Level Irish in previous years.

Table 9: Grammar and Non-Grammar at A-Level

A-Level 2015	Grammar and Non-Grammar	Non-Grammar	Grammar
Irish	303	136 (45%)	167
French	524	45 (9%)	479
German	118	5 (4%)	113
Spanish	421	29 (7%)	392

So, while one can acknowledge the achievements of the Irish-medium sector, there is a need to recognise the significant drop for the language in English-medium schools.

Irish-Medium Education

From very humble family and community beginnings in Belfast in the 1960s, Irish-medium Education has flourished in the *Gaelscoileanna*, particularly since the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) of 1998. In the academic year 2016/17, there were 5854 children enrolled in Irish-medium education in Northern Ireland (*DENI Statistical Bulletin* 2, 2017), with 900 in 43 preschool and nursery settings, 3905 in 35 primary schools, and 1049 in 2 second-level *Gaelcholáistí* and 3 second-level Irish language streams in English-medium post-primaries (*Comhairle na*

Gaelscolaíochta). The post-primary IME population (n=1049) is 22% of the pre-school and primary population (n=4805), whereas the total Northern Ireland post-primary enrolment, excluding special and independent schools (n=140,413) is 72% of the pre-school and primary population (n=195,437) (*DENI Statistical Bulletin* 2, 2017). This suggests a low transition rate from primary to post-primary Irish-medium education as most primary IME pupils transfer to English-medium schools. Such a rate can result from personal or parental choice, or as a result of an offer from a post-primary grammar school following the transfer procedure, or due to a lack of post-primary IME provision.

The importance of language was recognised within the context of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland, culminating in the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) of 1998 (The Belfast Agreement). In Paragraph 3 of the section on Economic, Social and Cultural Issues, the Good Friday Agreement states that**:**

> All participants recognise the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity, including in Northern Ireland, the Irish language, Ulster-Scots[3] and the languages of the various ethnic communities, all of which are part of the cultural wealth of the island of Ireland.

The main language focus was on the Irish language where the government agreed to 'take resolute action to promote the language', but only 'where appropriate and where people so desire it'. It also sought to remove 'where possible' restrictions on the language. This ambiguous phrasing has impeded progress for Irish.

The only mention of education and Irish in the GFA is the 'statutory duty' to encourage and facilitate Irish-medium Education, rather than the language in general. Unfortunately, it could be argued that this Statutory Obligation to support IME has disadvantaged Irish in the vastly more numerous English-medium Education (EME) schools. Resources and professional support for Irish in EME is very limited when compared to the other curricular languages. Foras na Gaeilge, the body entrusted with supporting the language, acknowledges the limitations placed on the English-medium sector by the Statutory Obligation to support IME (personal communication from Foras na Gaeilge). In response to a letter written by the author to the Department of Education to discuss ways of supporting Irish in English-medium schools, the Department responded by outlining its support for IME (personal communications from the Department of Education Northern Ireland).

3 Ulster-Scots is a local variety of English which has come to prominence particularly since the Good Friday Agreement, where it was introduced by the Unionist parties as a counterbalance to Irish. Note that it is not described as a language.

Languages in Education

We can summarise that languages in general, and Celtic languages in particular, are under severe pressure in UK schools. Pupils are being guided away from languages towards STEM. Timetable provision is also reduced with some pupils only receiving 3 lessons per fortnight. At Third Level, language courses and whole departments in universities continue to be closed across the UK. The Bachelor of Arts degree is now a modular 3-year course, not 4 years as was frequently the case a generation ago. In England, many universities offering the Modern Languages Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), the Initial Teacher Education qualification, now depend on native speakers from abroad or Subject Knowledge Enhancement courses to attract and support applicants with weaker subject knowledge competences.

Identity and Culture

To seek the positives, in a context where the traditional curricular languages - French, Irish, German, Spanish - are in retreat and the Curriculum in all nations of the UK is less prescriptive, now focusing on skills and values (GTCNI, 6), there is an argument for revisiting the cultural heritage and cross-curricular advantages of Irish, Welsh and Gaelic, from Primary School on.

The 1989 Northern Ireland Curriculum gave statutory force to Cross Curricular Themes which included the linked themes of 'Education for Mutual Education' (EMU) and 'Cultural Heritage':

> Several respondents suggested that there should be opportunities for pupils to gain awareness of aspects of history, culture and traditions which contribute to the cultural heritage of Northern Ireland. The government welcomes and accepts this suggestion as a positive measure aimed at lessening the ignorance which many feel contributes to the divisions in our society. The government also believes it to be appropriate and necessary that the curriculum of every child should contain elements in Education for Mutual Understanding which has already helped to foster valuable cross-community contacts among our schools. (DENI 1988, §2.13)

Lessons or units presenting the Irish language element in place names, personal names, dialect, music, history, etc. could be introduced without controversy and contribute to an awareness of Northern Ireland's cultural heritage, moving from the Local to the National and the International (NICC 1989). Linking language to Cultural Heritage, it was hoped that state (non-Catholic) schools would participate in this broader intercultural approach to language. The themes of EMU and Cultural Heritage were however 'conjoined' after a few years, and then subsumed into the much wider area of Citizenship where language diversity and Irish were marginal.

The Learning about Scotland entitlement (CfE Briefing 9) and the Scottish Studies Award in the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence, the Cwriclwm Cymreig in Wales (ACCAC) and the Cultural Heritage theme in Northern Ireland, together with the more recent emphasis on CLIL, Content and Language Integrated Learning (ECML), all have the potential to introduce all pupils to the language in question, and possibly encouraging them to proceed to further language study. The 1974 Primary Education Teachers' Guide for Northern Ireland lists the linguistic, environmental, and cultural relevance of Irish as an indigenous language for pupils, factors which 'confer certain advantages which no other language can claim to the same extent in Ireland' (DENI 1974, 106), and similarly for Scotland and Wales.

Language Awareness and Integration

The expansion of the European Union in 2004 led to a large inward migration to Great Britain and Ireland, particularly from Eastern Europe, and schools have changed with so many newcomer pupils bringing new cultural and linguistic diversity. This was particularly marked in Northern Ireland where economic weakness and the Troubles conflict had failed to reflect the immigration to Britain of the 1950s onwards. Languages in school should no longer be seen solely in terms of traditional, stand-alone curricular languages (French, German, Spanish, Irish), but in a wider linguistic awareness context. With so many newcomer languages in the classroom after the EU expansion of 2004, as well as the previous community languages like Urdu and Punjabi in Britain, a Language Awareness approach, focusing on the environmental and identity advantages of indigenous languages, might strengthen the profile of the languages.

Out of a total Northern Ireland population of 1.8 million in the 2011 Census, 4.5% of the resident population of Northern Ireland, over 81,000, were born outside of the UK or the Republic of Ireland. This represents an increase of 199% since the 2001 census. The total of newcomer pupils increased from 1366 (0.4% of total enrolment) in 2001/02 to 13,943 (4.1% of total enrolment) in the 2016/17 Schools Census. The first languages of children with English as an Additional Language in primary and post-primary schools in Northern Ireland in the school year 2015/16 are given in Table 10.

Table 10: The Ten Top languages spoken by Newcomer pupils (2015/16)

1	Polish	4,751	6	Latvian	395
2	Lithuanian	2,017	7	Malayalam	384
3	Portuguese	907	8	Arabic	380
4	Romanian	710	9	Hungarian	350

5	Slovak	407	10	Tetum	337

Fostering awareness among local pupils of these different languages could serve to integrate newcomer pupils into classes, make local pupils more linguistically aware, and allow for access to and greater appreciation of the indigenous linguistic and cultural heritage of Welsh, Gaelic and Irish. What is certain is that given curriculum developments militating against languages, the presence of both learner and immersion sectors for Celtic languages, and the change in school population profiles with increased newcomer pupils, one cannot rely on the traditional arguments and mindsets to progress the case for Modern Languages in general, and the Celtic languages in particular.

Bibliography

Awdurdod Cymwysterau, Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru/Qualifications, Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales (ACCAC) [n.d.]. Developing the Curriculum Cymreig. Available at: http://wasacre.org.uk/publications/wag/E-developingthecurriculumcymreig.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017).

Belfast Telegraph 2016. 'The Big Interview'. *Belfast Telegraph,* 25 August 2016.

Board, K. & T. Tinsley 2014. *Language Trends 2013/14 The state of language learning in primary and secondary schools in England*. Available at: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/language-trends-survey-2014.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017).

Board, K. & T. Tinsley 2015. *Language Trends 2014/15 The state of language learning in primary and secondary schools in England*. Available at: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/language_trends_survey_2015.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017).

Board, K. & T. Tinsley 2016. *Language Trends Wales*. Available at: https://wales.britishcouncil.org/en/language-trends-wales (accessed 11 February 2017).

Bord na Gàidhlig 2010. 'Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig/An Action Plan for Gaelic'. Available at: http://www.gaidhlig.scot/Downloads/Ginealach%20Ur%20na%20Gaidhlig%20-%20B.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017).

Bord na Gàidhlig. 2013. 'MG Alba a' cur fàilte air àireamhan Ghàidhlig ann an data a' chunntais-shluaigh 2011'. Available at: http://www.mgalba.com/news/2013/census-26-09-13.html (accessed 11 February 2017).

Comhairle na Gaelscolaíochta 2017. 'Schools'. Available at: www.comhairle.org/gaeilge/schools (accessed 11 February 2017).

Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment (CCEA) 2007. 'Northern Ireland curriculum The Statutory Curriculum at Key Stage 3. Rationale and detail'. Available at: http://ccea.org.uk/curriculum (accessed 11 February 2017).

Central Statistics Office and Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (CSO/NISRA) 2011. 'Census 2011: Ireland and Northern Ireland'. Available at: http://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/releasespublications/documents/population/2011/Cen2011IrelandNorthernIreland.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017).

Cultural Traditions Group (CTG) 1994. *Giving voices: the work of the Cultural Traditions Group 1990-1994*. Belfast: Community Relations Council.

Department for Education and Skills 2002. '14-19 Green Paper. Extending Opportunities, Raising Standards'. London: DfES.
Department for Education and Skills 2006. *Languages Review*. London: DfES.
Department for Education [n.d.]. 'Get into Teaching: Subject Knowledge Enhancement (SKE) courses'. Available at: https://getintoteaching.education.gov.uk/explore-my-options/teacher-training-routes/subject-knowledge-enhancement-ske-courses (accessed 11 February 2017).
Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs [n.d.]. 'Third Level Education Overseas'. Available at: http://www.ahrrga.gov.ie/gaeltacht/the-irish-language/language-support-schemes/third-level-education-overseas/ (accessed 10 February 2017).
Department of Education Northern Ireland (DENI) 1974. *Primary Education Teachers' Guide*. Belfast: HMSO.
DENI 1988. *Education reform in Northern Ireland – the Way Forward*. Belfast, Northern Ireland.
DENI 2015. Annual school census exercise 2014 to 2015 Newcomer Pupils in Education 2014-15. Key statistics. Available at: https://www.deni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/de/newcomer%20infographic.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017).
DENI 2016. Newcomer pupils by school type, 2010/11 -2015/16'. Available at: https://www.educationni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/education/Statistical%20Bulletin%201516%20-%20March%20%2820.07.16%20update%29.PDF (accessed 23 November 2016).
DENI 2017 School Enrolments-Summary Data 2016. 'Newcomer pupils 2001/02 to 2015/16'. > DENI 2017 School Enrolments-Summary Data 2016. 'Newcomer pupils 2001/02 to 2015/16'.
DENI 2017. Statistical Bulletin 2/2017 Annual enrolments at schools and in funded preschool education in Northern Ireland, 2016/17. Available at: https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/education/Statistical%20Bulletin%20combined..Census%20statistical%20bulletin%20-%20Feb%2017%20FINAL%20revised.pdf (accessed 30 July 2017).
Doughty, H. 2013. 'Lesser studied modern Languages at SQA Higher Grade'. Available at:http://www.scilt.org.uk/Portals/24/Library/statistics/Attainment-Uptake%20Higher%20otherMLs%202008-13.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017).
Education Scotland/Foghlam Alba [n.d.]. 'Studying Scotland/Ionnsachadh Alba'. Available at: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/studyingscotland/index.asp (accessed 11 February 2017).
Education Scotland 2013. 'CfE Briefing 9: Learning about Scotland.' Available at: https://www.education.gov.scot/Documents/cfe-briefing-9.pdf (accessed 10 February 2017).
Estyn 2014. 'Linguistic progression and standards of Welsh in ten bilingual schools'.
ECML, [n.d.]. Content and language integrated learning through languages other than English - Getting started. Council of Europe.
Garavelli, D. 2015. 'Insight: Why Scots face a language barrier'. *The Scotsman* 8 August 2015. Available at: http://www.scotsman.com/news/opinion/in-full/insight-why-scots-face-a-language-barrier-1-3853275. 8 August 15. (accessed 11 February 2017).General Teaching Council for Northern Ireland 2011. 'Teaching: The Reflective Profession 3rd Edition'. Belfast: GTCNI.

General Teaching Council for Northern Ireland. 2011. Teaching: The Reflective Profession 3rd Edition. Belfast: GTCNI.
Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland 1988. *Education Reform Act 1988*. London: HMSO.
Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland 1989. *Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order, 1989*. Belfast: HMSO.
Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Ireland 1998. *The Agreement reached in the Multi-Party Negotiations* ('The Good Friday Agreement'). Belfast: Northern Ireland Office.
Havergal, C. 'University language departments 'at risk' as recruitment slumps'. Times Higher Education Supplement (THES), 19 August 2016'. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/university-language-departments-risk-recruitment-slumps (accessed 11 February 2017).
Joint Council for Qualifications (JCQ). 'Examination Results'. Available at: http://www.jcq.org.uk/ (accessed 11 February 2017).
McKendry, E. 2007. 'Minority-Language Education in a Situation of Conflict: Irish in English-medium Schools in Northern Ireland'. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 10/4, 394-409.
Northern Ireland Curriculum Council (NICC) 1989. *Cultural Heritage: A Cross-Curricular Theme – Consultation Paper*. Belfast: NICC.
Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA) 2014. 'Northern Ireland Census 2011. Key Statistics Summary Report'.
Nuffield Foundation 2000. *Languages: The Next Generation. The final report and recommendations of the Nuffield languages inquiry.* London: The Nuffield Foundation.
Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) 2014. Available at: http://www.qaa.ac.uk/en/Publications/Documents/qualifications-can-cross-boundaries.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017).
Scottish Government, The, 2012. *Language Learning in Scotland: a 1+2 Approach*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Government.
Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) 2016. 'Statistics 2016'. Available at: http://www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/64717.html (accessed 11 February 2017).
University Council of Modern Languages 2016. 'HE Languages'. Available at: http://www.ucml.ac.uk/languages-education/he-languages (accessed 11 February 2017).
University of Glasgow 2012. 'Gaelic Language Plan 2012-2017'. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.
Welsh Government. 'Stats Wales: Welsh Speakers'. Available at: https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Welsh-Language/WelshSpeakers-by-LocalAuthority-Gender-DetailedAgeGroups-2011Census (accessed 11 February 2017).
Welsh Joint Education Committee (WJEC) 2016. 'Results Statistics'. Available at: http://www.wjec.co.uk/students/results-and-research/results-statistics.html (accessed 11 February 2017).