

**Language Ideologies in the Secondary  
School: Attitude and Identity in Bilingual  
Wales**

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation is a sociolinguistic study of the relationship between language ideologies and adolescents' attitudes toward the Welsh language in secondary schools in Wales. The research, which took place in one Welsh-medium and one English-medium school in Cardiff, examined institutionalized language ideologies, adolescents' language attitudes and motivations, and the role of educational language policy in fostering positive attitudes toward (and associations with) Welsh.

Five complementary methods were employed: a language attitude and use questionnaire; a matched-guise test (Lambert et al., 1972); an Implicit Association Test (Greenwald et al., 1998); interviews with teachers, a headteacher, and members of Welsh-medium community institutions; and focus groups with pupils. Questionnaire and Implicit Association Test data indicate that pupils who attend the Welsh-medium school have significantly more positive attitudes toward Welsh than those who attend the English-medium school, even when controlling for first language, parental language, and home language factors. This suggests the type of educational institution attended plays a role not only in developing language proficiency, but in fostering attitudes as well.

The data indicate that institutionalized language ideologies are both reflected in and contested by pupils at both schools. While attitudes toward Welsh are generally more positive at the Welsh-medium school than at the English-medium school, even amongst non-first-language Welsh speakers, there are indications of linguistic insecurity, precluding young people from speaking the language outside the classroom. Empirical data demonstrated low levels of both confidence and engagement with Welsh at the English-medium school. Levels of affiliation with Welshness were also significantly higher at the Welsh-medium school, indicating that many non-Welsh-speaking adolescents in Cardiff are adopting alternative national and ethnic identities. Recommendations for educational language policy reform are offered, with an emphasis on aligning policy measures with the particular motivations of young people.

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## **Author's Declaration**

The work presented in this thesis (unless cited) is solely that of the author. Parts of the analyses presented in sections 4.4, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 6.2, and 6.3 have been presented at conferences in the United Kingdom and abroad. Some of the material discussed in sections 5.2 and 5.3 is included in an article (“Implicit Associations with Welsh in Two Educational Contexts”) written by the author and published in *York Papers in Linguistics* (2015). This has not been submitted for any other award at this or any other institution.

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1. Introduction

This dissertation is a sociolinguistic and social psychological investigation of language policies in secondary schools in Wales, the ideologies that underlie them, and how they relate to attitudes toward Welsh and English. Welsh is a Celtic language spoken by a minority population in Wales, and is often cited as one of the most successful cases of language revitalization (Berdichevsky, 2004). Welsh, once a majority language in Wales, experienced a rapid decline in speakership throughout the first half of the twentieth century. By the early 1960s, the prospect of the impending obsolescence of Welsh drove political protests by groups such as the nationalist party *Plaid Cymru* (Party of Wales) and the advocacy group *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Welsh Language Party). Throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, the Welsh language received increasing governmental support, resulting in measures to provide official services and documents in Welsh, make government signage bilingual, institute Welsh-medium radio and television channels, and to increase the provision of Welsh-medium education. The 1988 Welsh Language Act dictated that all young people in Wales be required to learn Welsh as a second language. These efforts effectively slowed the rate of decline of Welsh. In 2001, the Census revealed a rare and historic *reversal* of Welsh language shift, displaying an increase in the percentage of people able to speak Welsh from 18.5% in 1991 to 20.8% in 2001. The resulting optimism, however, was short-lived. The 2011 Census showed a 1.8% decline in speakership, including a slight decrease amongst the largest group of Welsh speakers—children ages 3–15 (ONS, 2011).

This decrease stands in contrast with the proliferation of Welsh-medium schools (Musk, 2010; see section 2.4) and the consistent provision of Welsh second language education in English-medium schools over the past three decades. The decline has been widely attributed to a lack of Welsh language use outside of school (Jenkins, 2001; Jones & Martin-Jones, 2004; Thomas & Roberts, 2011), as well as a steady decrease in engagement as children get older, particularly following the end of compulsory education at age 16 (Baker, 2003; Jones & Martin-Jones, 2004;

Edwards & Newcombe, 2005; Hodges, 2009). The Welsh Government and media have taken note of this trend as well: following the 2011 Census release, a speaker for the Office of National Statistics attributed the decline to a lack of Welsh language use outside the classroom (BBC News, 11 December 2012). First Minister Carwyn Jones stated that discovering why young people are reluctant to speak the language outside of school “is going to be crucial to the future of the language over the next 10 years” (BBC News, 11 December 2012).

The present investigation aims to explore this issue by examining the complex interactions between language attitudes, language ideologies, and language policy in Welsh secondary schools. In so doing, I hope to contribute to an enriched theoretical understanding of the relationships between these concepts, as well as to offer potential applications for language policy and planning in Wales.

### *1.2. Research questions*

Throughout this thesis, the following research questions (RQ) will be explored:

- RQ1. What language ideologies are espoused by Welsh- and English-medium secondary schools in Wales, and to what extent are they reflected in pupils’ language attitudes?

Baker (1992) notes that “the favourability or unfavourability of attitudes in the population fundamentally affects the success or otherwise of language preservation” (p. 5). Understanding these attitudes requires an acknowledgement that attitudes do not exist in isolation, but rather are shaped by the ideologies that permeate all aspects of social life. The school, whether Welsh- or English-medium, has a powerful ideological influence by virtue of being an institution with rules and policies. Beyond being taught academic subjects, children are educated on acceptable ways to behave, perform, and speak within the school setting. These teachings often contrast with pupils’ linguistic norms and beliefs outside of school, introducing ideological tensions that come to bear—positively or negatively—on pupils’ attitudes toward language. Comparing the school’s language ideologies (as expressed through policy, school ethos, and staff members’ expressed beliefs) with

pupils' attitudes can shed light on how these ideologies are embraced, rejected, or reflected by young people.

RQ2. What is the relationship between pupils' attitudes toward Welsh, their self-reported language behaviors, and their commitment for future language use?

In terms of language revitalization, the behaviors produced by particular attitudes are paramount, as language behaviors are what determine linguistic vitality. However, the highly complex relationship between language attitude and behavior (Ladegaard, 2000) is beyond the scope of the present research, and as such no actual language behavior was observed (apart from the choice of language on various components of the study). Of interest here is the relationship between attitude, self-reported language engagement inside and outside the school setting, commitment to future language use, and to what extent the school has an influence on these. For example, for pupils who come from non-Welsh-speaking homes, does attending a Welsh-medium school predict a high level of engagement with Welsh-medium activities outside of school? Is a positive attitude attained in school sufficient for fostering the intention of pupils to pass the language on to their children, or do family and first-language factors hold stronger sway? These and other questions will be addressed in the chapters that follow.

RQ3. To what extent do pupils perceive their Welsh ethnolinguistic identities to rely on Welsh language ability?

The Welsh language has been called “the only obvious remaining symbol of Welsh difference and identity” (Carter, 2010, p. 94). The historic and persistent Anglicization of the region, as well as other political and economic factors, has led to the precipitous diminution of other formerly iconic Welsh cultural symbols. For many, then, the Welsh language serves as an identity resource, indexing not only geographic or national Welshness, but a set of cultural values, norms, and practices linked to a Celtic heritage (Carter, 2010). For others, however, Welshness is derived from elsewhere: place of birth, Welsh-accented English, parental ethnicity, etc. For

still others, alternative, non-Welsh national and ethnic identities are embraced, such as British, English, or Pakistani.

It has been found that some non-Welsh speakers affiliate very strongly with Welshness (Coupland, et al., 2005; Price, 2010). Nevertheless, in many Welsh-medium schools, Welsh culture is tightly intertwined with the Welsh language, raising questions of how pupils from non-Welsh-speaking homes—which comprise 80% of the pupils in this study—relate the Welsh language with Welsh culture. This dissertation draws on Coupland et al.'s (2005) and Price's (2010) research, along with others, to closely examine these relationships.

RQ4. How effectively do codified language policies and unofficial institutional language practices coordinate with young Welsh adolescents' motivations to speak particular languages?

Education has long been an crucial component of Wales' language revitalization plan, as it is in many cases of language revival (Fishman, 1991), including Gaelic in Ireland (Ó Riagáin et al., 2008), Basque (Urla, 2012) and Catalan (Woolard, 2003) in Spain, and Māori in New Zealand (Smith, 1998; King, 2000). The Welsh Government's education plan, the *Welsh-Medium Education Strategy* (Welsh Government, 2011), fits into a larger language revitalization plan, entitled *Iaith Fyw, Iaith Byw—A Living Language, a Language for Living* (Welsh Government, 2011). Welsh-medium schools in particular (and, to a much lesser extent, English-medium schools) are therefore tasked not only with educating children in all subjects through the medium of Welsh, but with cultivating citizens who will speak Welsh beyond school and inevitably pass it on to their own children, propagating the language. Individual schools are responsible for developing and implementing language policies which will further both of these goals. However, in light of the aforementioned research showing a hesitance to pass on the language (section 1.1), there are questions as to whether the language policies employed by Welsh-medium schools are conducive to fostering positive attitudes toward Welsh, providing the opportunities to do so, and motivating pupils to choose to speak Welsh on their own.

### 1.3. Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 2 is a review of the relevant research, including the theoretical foundations drawn upon in this study and the historical context of Welsh-in-education policies and language attitudes in Wales. The first portion of the chapter is dedicated to defining the theoretical concepts of language planning and policy (section 2.2), linguistic normalization (section 2.2.2), language attitudes, ideology, and motivation (section 2.3). Subsequently, research regarding adolescents' attitudes and motivations toward language is explored. Finally, the historical and political context of the Welsh language in Wales is discussed (section 2.4), with particular attention paid to Welsh-medium and Welsh second language education (section 2.5).

Chapter 3 outlines the various methods employed in this dissertation. In section 3.2, the theoretical and practical rationales for each method will be discussed, as well as their potential benefits and drawbacks. Special attention is given to the benefits of triangulation and mixed-methods research. Sections 3.3 and 3.4 will address instrument design, sampling procedures, and statistical methods. Sections 3.5 and 3.6 will provide information about research context, including participants, school sites, and fieldwork. Finally, section 3.7 will address ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 focuses on the language ideologies espoused by the Welsh- and English-medium schools in the study. Section 4.2 focuses on the ethos of each school, drawing on data from the *Welsh-Medium Education Plan* (Welsh Government, 2010), school inspection reports, school communications to parents and pupils, and teacher and headteacher interviews. Official and unofficial language policies are analyzed with respect to their ideological underpinnings in section 4.3. Teachers' and headteachers' attitudes toward the language policies are also examined. Finally, in section 4.4, the focus shifts to teachers' own orientations toward the Welsh language and Welshness.

Chapter 5 centers on three quantitative measures: a language attitude and use questionnaire; a matched-guise test; and an Implicit Association Test. Section 5.1 questions the role of the school in fostering particular attitudes. Section 5.2 presents an analysis of the questionnaire data. In section 5.3, hypotheses relating to the Implicit Association Test are presented and the results analyzed. Section 5.4 focuses on the results of the matched-guise test. Finally, section 5.5 synthesizes the results from the three quantitative tests, offering insight into their common threads.

In Chapter 6, pupil focus group data are presented and analyzed. Section 6.2 addresses attitudes at the Welsh-medium school. Specific analyses focus on attitudes toward Welsh ethnolinguistic identity, motivations for Welsh language use, attitudes toward language policies, and attitudes toward code alternation. Section 6.3 focuses on attitudes at the English-medium school, including attitudes toward ethnolinguistic identity, multiculturalism and the ideology of “national language ownership,” motivations for Welsh language use, and attitudes toward the school’s language policies. Section 6.4 summarizes the analyses from both schools and identifies implications for future language policy.

Chapter 7 looks at the empirical findings of the study alongside their theoretical implications. Section 7.2 draws attention to the ideological tensions made evident by pupils’ expressed attitudes and how these findings align with similar research on language ideologies in educational contexts. This section also addresses the implications of negative attitudes toward code alternation, as well as the role of competence and confidence in language attitudes and motivation. Section 7.3 turns to potential applications of this research for language planners, focusing on reforms that could potentially improve attitudes toward Welsh and increase motivation for using the language, both inside and outside the classroom.

Finally, Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation, revisiting the research questions and summarizing the main empirical findings. Avenues of further research are identified.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1. *Introduction*

The underlying aim of the research questions in this dissertation (section 1.2) is to examine how effectively the goals of language planners, the enactment of language policy, language ideologies, and the attitudes and motivations of adolescents in Wales align to produce desired behaviors—in this case, increasing the use of the Welsh language, especially outside the classroom. This chapter lays out the theoretical foundations and empirical research that are relevant to each step in that process. In section 2.2, I will discuss the fundamentals of national and grassroots language planning and their application to educational contexts. In section 2.3, I will define the concepts of attitude, ideology, and motivation, their relationship, and their application to language planning. In section 2.4, I will provide a historical overview of the Welsh language in Wales and review the previous research on language attitudes and ideologies there. Finally, in section 2.5, I will delineate the language policies in Welsh-medium and English-medium educational settings.

### 2.2. *Language planning and policy*

In order to evaluate the impact of language planning and policy measures, it is necessary to examine how language planning and policy work, where and how they take place, and how they are applied to educational contexts. Sallabank (2014) defines language planning as “actions or measures to implement policies, especially measures to support languages (often at grass-roots level) or which are intended to influence language practices” (p. 26). Language policy, by contrast, indicates “decisions, positions, and principles (often ideologically motivated) regarding language, its nature and role” (pp. 25–6). According to Ager (2001), language planning takes place on three levels: that of the individual, that of the community, and that of the state. Language planning is often thought of as a top-down process in which government language planners set agendas and draft policies, which are then carried out by the appropriate agencies. Sallabank (2014) points out, however, that language planning often occurs from the ground up, through the efforts of political

and community organizers who lobby for government policy change and institutional support. In fact, she argues that the actions taken to revitalize languages at the grass-roots level are more likely to succeed than top-down efforts. Indeed, as will be discussed in section 2.3, the relatively high level of institutional support for the Welsh language in Wales would not have been possible without the effort of such community groups.

### 2.2.1. *Categories of language planning*

Language planning is typically categorized into three types: corpus planning, acquisition planning, and status planning (Ager, 2001). Corpus planning pertains to the codification and modernization of language, including the standardization of grammar, lexicon, and orthography. For language planners, this is assumed to be essential for successful language promotion, especially in formal educational settings (Sallabank, 2014). In Wales, this task has been taken up by Canolfan Bedwyr, a center established by the University of Wales at Bangor to provide linguistic support to non-fluent speakers, conduct research on bilingualism, and to modernize and standardize the Welsh lexicography (Jones and Prys, 2008). Two of their projects, for example, are creating an electronic lexical database based on the *Welsh Academy English/Welsh Dictionary* (Thomas et al., 1997), which includes terms for new technologies, innovative forms, and creating an electronic corpus of the Welsh language. The focus of acquisition planning is language learning and maintenance, and is considered “the largest arena for language policy and planning for endangered languages” (Sallabank, 2014, p. 26). Educational language policies, such as medium of education policies, second and foreign language requirements, and provision of language services, fall into this category. Status planning is the attempted modification of attitudes or perceptions of a language, which can involve guiding the domains in which a language is used (Ager, 2001). For example, the use of a particular language in government proceedings can have a positive impact on its status. Under the umbrella of status planning is prestige planning, which concerns fostering positive attitudes toward policies and planning efforts themselves (Haarmann, 1990). Sallabank (2014) argues that prestige planning is one of the most neglected aspects of language planning, as “all too often measures omit to foster

positive attitudes towards multilingualism, linguistic diversity and/or a particular language” (p. 27).

The enactment of policy is not a straightforward translation of text into action; its implementation is mediated by local sociolinguistic contexts, as well as the attitudes, agendas, and ideologies of communities, “[bringing] together contextual, historic and psychosocial dynamics into a relation with texts and imperatives to produce actions and activities” (Ball et al., 2012). One reason for this is that language planning and policy are “fundamentally ideological” (Reagan, 2006: 339). Policies are driven by a number of factors—political, religious, cultural, psychological, and bureaucratic (Spolsky, 2004)—each of which is ideologically imbued. This can give rise to “ideological dilemmas” (Wodak, 2006: 188) when agendas conflict. For example, the declaration of an official language, driven by a unifying nation-state ideology, might be at odds with a shared cultural value of linguistic diversity amongst members of the speech community. These discrepancies influence the way policy is put into practice (Spolsky, 2004). Another reason is that policies must be both “interpreted,” where those required to implement it make sense of the policy and its wording, and “translated,” whereby the policy is actually put into practice through specific initiatives (Ball et al., 2012). This process can produce variability in the way policy is enacted.

### *2.2.2. Linguistic normalization*

There is a fourth aspect of language planning that has emerged relatively recently in the history of language revitalization: linguistic normalization. The concept of linguistic normalization gained traction in the early 1980s when the presently autonomous communities of Spain regained their autonomy following the end of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. During Franco’s regime, regional languages were excluded from official public domains. As such, Catalan, the regional language of Catalonia, Euskara (Basque), the regional language of the Basque Country, and Galician, the regional language of Galicia, were restricted to domestic use, such as within the home. Following the reestablishment of autonomy, language planners in Catalonia began to campaign for the extension of the use of Catalan as a primary medium of communication to all domains, including oral and written forms, public and private contexts, and educational institutions. Language

planners in other autonomous communities in Spain, including the Basque country and Galicia, underwent similar campaigns to recover the status of their local tongues.

Although the term “normalization” has been ambiguously defined (Williams, 2013; Woolard, 2003), its broad aim is to make a language unmarked—that is, a primary means of communication, uninhibited by political or social repression (Woolard, 2003). Cobarrubias (1987), offers a more comprehensive definition:

Normalization consists of . . . three tasks . . . a) to empower minority languages in order to make it possible for [them] to satisfy the communicative needs of a modern society; b) to increase the number of speakers/users and increase the communicative competence of current users, and c) expand the geographic scope of the language within a given area. (p. 60)

In this definition, language normalization encompasses aspects of status and acquisition planning, and, depending on the specific normalization goals of the linguistic community, corpus planning. Therefore, the normalization of a minority language involves comprehensive organization, on both linguistic and political levels.

Catalonia has experienced considerable success in re-establishing both the status and widespread usage of Catalan, in many ways meeting its normalization goals. In 1983, Catalonia passed the “Law of Linguistic Normalization,” which legally extended the use of Catalan to official public contexts. In the same year, Catalan was introduced as a medium of instruction in schools, with a long-term plan to gradually increase instruction of Catalan in ensuing years. Public opinion campaigns were also launched, including Catalonia’s adoption of the slogan “Catalan is everyone’s,” which sought to extend ownership of the language to all residents of Catalonia, whether or not they considered themselves to be ethnically Catalan (Woolard, 2003)<sup>1</sup>. As a result of these efforts, Catalan has proliferated, and as of 2003 was spoken by nearly 76.7% of the population (Pujolar and Puigdevall, 2015). The Basque country enacted similar policies in the early 1980s, including its own “Law of Basque Normalization” and the adoption of three differentiated models of bilingual education in Basque schools. While the Basque language has been less

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<sup>1</sup> Soler-Carbonell et al. (2016) note that Catalan continues to be successfully adopted by “non-Catalan” ethnicities and nationalities, whose numbers continue to increase within Catalonia.

successfully normalized than Catalan (around one-third of Basque country inhabitants in the Basque regions of France and Spain, speak Basque), the linguistic landscape suggests a high level of support for the language (Onofri et al., 2013). Galicia, too, had its own “Law of Linguistic Normalization” in 1983, as well as a measure to introduce and expand Galician-medium education. Presently, the majority of Galician inhabitants speak Galician. There is evidence, however, that the number of Galician speakers is shrinking, largely because of the social and economic dominance of Castilian Spanish speakers in the region.

The term “linguistic normalization” has come to be strongly associated with the language revival efforts of Spanish autonomous communities. However, as Catalan stands as one of the most successful cases of language revitalization, the concept of normalization has been adopted by sociolinguists and language planners in the case of Wales as well. Williams (2000) identifies normalization, defined as “extending to optimum range of social situations” (p. 656) as one of the tiers in his five-tier model of language survival. Applied to Wales, “normalization” also refers to a “process of achieving coequality between English and Welsh within certain contexts and . . . as a psychological precept, whereby it is increasingly assumed that Welsh and English should be treated on the basis of equality” (Williams, 2013, p. 9). The Welsh government has used the concept of normalization throughout planning and policy documents. The Welsh language planning policy currently in place, *Iaith Fyw, Iaith Byw*, states as one of its aims the “normalization of the language in all areas” (Welsh Government, 2012, p. 21). The 2013–2014 Welsh Language Scheme Annual Report states that one of the challenges of the Welsh Language Division is to “normalize the language and its use across Wales in everyday life” (p. 5). The term “normalization” has come into day-to-day discourse on Welsh language issues as well, which will be demonstrated in Chapter 4.

### 2.2.3. *Language planning in educational contexts*

In many language planning strategies, education is viewed as a key domain (Fishman, 1991; Baker, 1992). Education plays a role in acquisition planning, of course, but also status planning, as integrating minority languages into publicly funded educational domains demonstrates institutional validation and support. The introduction of Navajo-English bilingual programs in the United States in the 1970s

and 80s helped to bolster and raise the profile of the language (Hinton, 2003). Similar attempts at language revitalization through education have been made with the Māori language in New Zealand (Smith, 1998), Basque in Spain (Urla, 2012), Quechua in Ecuador (King, 2000), and Irish in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland (Fishman, 2001) to varying degrees of success. While it is widely agreed that educational language programs are insufficient to revitalize a language on their own (Fishman, 1991), they can be instrumental in the process. Baker (2003) notes that “when there is a shortfall in the family reproduction of a minority language (family language transmission), the responsibility for maintaining numbers and densities of speakers falls on bilingual education” (p. 96).

One of the biggest challenges facing language planners is how to encourage students who have gone through educational language programs to transfer their language skills to community and family domains. This has been identified as a concern not only in Wales (Thomas & Roberts, 2005), but also in Ireland (Ó Riagáin, 2008) and New Zealand (Birnie, 2012). There is a danger that in promoting a minority language in a single domain, it can become part and parcel of that domain alone.

Baker (2003) cautions:

Thus the danger of bilingual education in a minority language is that the language becomes a language of school but not of play; a language of the content delivery of the curriculum but not of peer culture. Extending a minority language learned at school to use in the community is something that is difficult to engineer, difficult to plan, but nonetheless vital if the language is to live outside the school gates. (p. 101)

In part, the solution to this is to provide activities outside of school that interest young people. However, the provision of these opportunities alone is not sufficient, as evidenced by research on such programs (Ó Riagáin, 2008). Spolsky (1991) asserts that successful language revitalization depends not only on exposure of the language in formal and informal settings, but also on knowledge of the language by adult sources as well the social factors that account for adults’ and children’s attitudes. The last of these, often overlooked, can be key to their success. For example, in the case of Hebrew language revitalization, “it was not so much material conditions as the strength of motivation, arising from stronger ideological

commitment, that account[ed] for [its] initial success” (Spolsky, 1991, p. 153). It is therefore necessary for language planners to carefully examine the attitudes, ideologies, and motivations of young people, and to incorporate this knowledge into planning initiatives.

### *2.3. Language attitudes, ideologies, and motivation*

Sallabank (2014) asserts that “language attitudes, motivations and ideologies are of key importance, both when languages are declining and during attempts at language revitalization” (p. 61). Yet, in language planning, one or more of these aspects are frequently neglected, in practice if not in policy. This is particularly true in educational contexts, where language proficiency and normalization take precedence over other aims (Sallabank, 2014). Assumptions are made that positive attitudes will naturally emerge from high language learning achievement or hearing a language spoken in multiple realms, and that these attitudes will motivate pupils to perform desired behaviors; in this case, using their Welsh skills to communicate with family, friends, and community members outside the classroom. The relationship between attitude, motivation, and behavior, however, is not so straightforward.

Attitudes and motivations are multifaceted and situational, and may or may not lead to particular types of behavior (Ladegaard, 2000; Garrett, 2010). For example, even a high-achieving fluent Welsh speaker who enjoys learning the language in school may not speak it outside the classroom if English is the preferred medium of her social group (Morris, 2014). This is evidenced in data (cf. Jones and Martin-Jones, 2003, Price, 2010) showing that while Welsh-medium schools are producing fluent bilinguals in increasing numbers each year, a disproportional number are essentially monolingual English speakers outside the classroom. A further point of neglect in policymaking is examining the relationship between ideologies—in policy, in the community, and in the school setting—and attitudes. Prior to exploring how these are enacted in Welsh secondary schools, it is necessary to establish what is meant by each of these concepts and how they interact.

### *2.3.1. Attitude, ideology, and motivation: definitions and relationships*

The interrelatedness between attitude, ideology, and motivation has been underexplored in the literature. Austin and Sallabank (forthcoming) have conceptualized attitude, ideology, and motivation as points along a continuum, though they are unclear about where exactly they fall. Ager (2001) identifies three layers of social evaluation: attitudes, which lie at the surface; beliefs, which lie deeper; and values, which are most deeply embedded and therefore most difficult to access. He argues that ideologies are comprised of these deeper levels (beliefs and values) and thus condition attitudes. The link between attitude and motivation has been extensively theorized, and this has produced a large body of empirical research (Baker, 1992). The role of ideology in these constructs, however, has not been sufficiently explored. Citing Baker (1992), Garrett (2010) points out that these concepts originate from different theoretical traditions, and are thus difficult to interrelate. The concepts of attitude and motivation stem from social psychology, which is traditionally mentalist or cognitivist. Ideology, on the other hand, is rooted in sociology and has been heavily theorized in the field of linguistic anthropology, which is fundamentally rooted in social constructivism. The assumptions in the cognitivist and social constructivist paradigms are conflictive, and some scholars find them irreconcilable (Harder, 2012). In principle, cognitivists contend that meaning is made through the mental processes of cognition (Bower and Hilgard, 1981), while social constructivists believe that meaning is socially constructed in interaction and is thus contextually situated (Van Dijk, 1993). These assumptions give rise to vastly different definitions of concepts such as attitude and identity. Despite these paradigmatic discrepancies, the relationship between attitude, ideology, and motivation merits exploration. The first task, however, is to define these terms.

### *2.3.2. Attitude*

An attitude is generally understood to be “an evaluative orientation to a social object” (Garrett, 2010: 20). A historically popular conception of attitude in social psychology has been a tripartite model, wherein attitude has three distinctive aspects: cognitive, affective, and conative (Rosenburg & Hovland, 1960; Kretch,

Crutchfield, & Ballachy, 1962). The cognitive component refers to knowledge—or, more precisely, beliefs—about the social object; the affective component is comprised of one’s feelings about a particular object; and the conative component refers to how attitudes are manifested in behaviors. However, contemporary social psychological models of attitude are more nuanced than the tripartite model. Garrett (2010) regards attitudes as multifaceted and having multiple manifestations, which has been supported by a large body of research on all types of attitudes.

One point of controversy within social psychology has been the degree to which attitudes are stable. Historically, traditional cognitivist and mentalist paradigms have assumed attitudes to be stable entities (e.g. Allport, 1935; see Wilson & Hodges, 2013 for a full discussion) and some contemporary attitude theories continue to rely on this premise (cf. Wilson & Hodges, 2013). Most contemporary attitude scholars, however, believe this assumption to be overly simplistic. Constructivist paradigms deem social evaluations to be entirely variable and continuously constructed in interaction, and thus the communicative context in which the evaluation takes place is crucial. Soukup (2012) suggests that perhaps attitude should be recast as “locally situated evaluative ‘practice’ or ‘activity’” (p. 216). However, there is ample evidence that attitudes, in some regards, can maintain a degree of consistency over time, especially those acquired early in childhood (Garrett, 2010) and thus, while contextually situated, have stable aspects as well.

What is critical in reconciling these two viewpoints in light of attitude research is acknowledging that attitudes are both cognitive and interactional, and thus occur simultaneously and interdependently in the mind and in interaction (Van Dijk, 2008). The field of discursive psychology has been one of the few to theorize this relationship. Van Dijk (1993) explains that, in discursive psychology, “instead of considering ‘cognition’ as a collection of more or less technical entities and processes, the focus is on how mental phenomena are both constructed and oriented to in people’s practice” (p. 95). While Van Dijk and others (e.g. Potter & Wetherell, 1987) argue that attitudes are so variable and volatile that they can only be observed through discourse, Garrett et al. (2003) disagree. They assert that “even when social evaluations can be shown to be variable across or within social situations, this does not preclude the existence of stable subjective trends existing at higher levels” (p. 6). In light of this debate, the stance taken in this dissertation is that attitude can be

understood to be contextually situated and dynamic, but to have stable aspects as well.

Language attitudes, specifically, can be defined as “people’s processing of, and dispositions towards, various situated language and communicative behaviors and the subsequent treatment extended to the users of such forms” (Cargile et al., 1994). The study of language attitudes has explored attitudes toward language learning, speakers of specific languages, language preferences (Baker, 1992), language policy (Sallabank, 2014), and other areas. They can be directed toward whole languages, or toward specific grammatical, lexical, or phonological variables (Garrett, 2010). Language attitudes can have powerful social influence, as perceptions of others are conditioned, in no small part, by their language practices (Cargile et al., 1994). Attitudes toward language and the stereotypes that arise from them are integrated into both micro-social language practices, such as identity-building, social accommodation, and social differentiation (Garrett et al., 2003), and macro-social ones, such as institutional language support and language policy (Cargile et al., 1994). Teachers’ attitudes toward the language of their students can also have an influence on students’ academic achievement, employers’ language attitudes can affect the career prospects of potential employees (Garrett et al., 2003), and students’ language attitudes can influence their own achievement in language learning (Dörnyei and Schmidt, 2001).

#### *2.3.2.1. Attitude and language revitalization*

The link between attitude and language vitality has long been acknowledged by researchers of language shift (Fishman, 1964). Attitude has been identified as both a measure of current vitality of endangered languages, as well as a predictor of their future vitality (Baker, 1992), and “can play a key role in whether they survive, revive, reflower, or whether they die out” (Garrett, 2010, p. 11). This is especially true for minority languages, as “attitudes play a key role in their successful transmission, revitalisation and survival” (Loureiro-Rodriguez et al., 2012: 2) and “appear to be important in language preservation, restoration, decay or death” (Baker, 1992, p. 9). The systematic stigmatization of a minority language, accompanied by a collective sense of poor self-esteem and linguistic insecurity by its speakers (Labov, 1968) is an instrumental stage of linguistic demise (Sallabank,

2014). The decline of Welsh throughout the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, for example, was accompanied by widespread attitudes that the Welsh language was archaic, economically disadvantageous, and socially divisive (Carter, 2010). Minority languages in particular depend upon positive attitudes to support their maintenance.

Institutional support greatly aids in a minority language's chance for survival (Bourhis et al., 2007). Language planning and policymaking, along with financial support, are instrumental in ensuring that minority languages have the resources they need to thrive alongside majority languages. For this reason, the attitudes of *non*-speakers are just as important in many ways as attitudes of current or potential speakers (Sallabank, 2014). Therefore, garnering community support and positive attitudes toward minority languages is essential to the success of any language policy initiative. Lewis (1981) explains it this way:

In the long run, no policy will succeed which does not do one of three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy; or seek to remove the causes of the disagreement. (p. 262).

In this vein, Sallabank (2014) argues that in language planning, the “management of language attitudes is a pre-requisite for the success of other measures” (p. 206). This is because policies often require not only a substantial number of votes to pass, but also funding from taxes, which are applicable to minority and majority language speakers. Therefore, a buy-in by at least a sizeable majority of the language community is necessary.

### 2.3.3. *Ideology*

Language attitudes “can be viewed as being influenced by powerful ideological positions” (Garrett, 2010, p. 34). As discussed in Woolard & Schieffelin's (1994) comprehensive review of the study of language ideologies, the concept of ideology has been theorized by scholars in a wide variety of disciplines, including social psychology, linguistic anthropology, discursive psychology, and sociology, and as such has been defined in myriad ways by different scholars. Ideology has been described in terms of beliefs, for example, as “a system of widely shared beliefs,

patterned beliefs, guiding norms and values, and ideals accepted as truth by a particular group of people” (Steger, 2003, p. 93) or “the shared, fundamental and axiomatic beliefs of specific social groups” (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 65). It has also been portrayed as a systematizing force, which “organizes and enables all cultural beliefs and practices as well as the power relations that result from these” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2003: 379) or “organize[s] and control[s] the social representations of groups and their members” (Van Dijk, 2008, pp. 78–9). While definitions of ideology differ in some regards, such as in their relationship to the concepts of belief, values, and attitudes, there are three commonalities. First, ideologies are shared amongst members of a group; second, they are systematic, acting as filters through which the social world is viewed; and third, they are largely tacit, accepted as “common sense” or “common knowledge,” and thus have potent reproductive power. Given these foundations, an ideology can be broadly understood as “a patterned but naturalized set of assumptions and values about how the world works, a set which is associated with a particular social or cultural group” (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 34).

Applied to language, ideologies are “representations, whether implicit or explicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (Shieffelin et al., 1998). As with attitudes, ideologies exist around all types of language: whole languages, language varieties and dialects, appropriate domains, language education, language policy, etc. While many language ideologies are tacit, they are not benign; they can exert powerful influence upon political and social institutions and can reproduce social inequalities. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) provide these illustrations:

Examples from headlines of United States newspapers include bilingual policy and the official English movement; questions of free speech and harassment; the meaning of multiculturalism in schools and texts; the exclusion of jurors who might rely on their own native-speaker understanding of non-English testimony; and the question of journalists’ responsibilities and the truthful representation of direct speech. (p. 72)

Ideologies surrounding the Welsh and English languages in Wales are just as varied and equally complex. This dissertation, however, focuses on how language ideologies are reflected in both official and unofficial school language policies,

school ethos, and teachers' discourse; whether and how these ideologies are reflected in pupils' metalinguistic discourses, and what attitudes emerge from these ideological filters.

The relationship between attitude and ideology is complex and contested, primarily because of the different traditions from which these concepts originate. In relation to ideology, attitudes have been portrayed as constructs influenced by ideologies (Garrett, 2010), "overt manifestations of implicit ideologies" (Sallabank, 2014, p. 64), "socially derived intellectualized or behavioral ideology" (Woolard & Shieffelin, 1994, pp. 61-2), and "the socially shared, ideologically based opinions (normative beliefs) about specific social issues" (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 65). The relationship between attitude and ideology can be conceptualized this way: the knowledge, feelings and behaviors that comprise attitudes are products of multiple ideological filters; at the same time, they feed back into the ideological landscape, shaping, changing, or reproducing it through their manifestations in social interaction.

#### 2.3.4. *Motivation*

As with attitude and ideology, because of the variety of theoretical perspectives, "there simply does not exist an absolute, straightforward and unequivocal concept of motivation" (Dörnyei, 1998: 118), but it can be broadly defined as "*to be moved to do something*" (Ryan and Deci, 2000a: 54). The concept of motivation has been closely linked with attitude, and the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably. Baker (1992) notes that because they come from different theoretical traditions, there is no clear consensus on how they are distinguishable from one another. It is perhaps more useful to consider the *focus* of motivation. Motivation refers to "the factors that activate, direct, and sustain goal-directed behavior" (Nevid, 2011: 262), and is thus focused on the behavioral element of attitude. Motivation is critically important in the study of language revitalization for this reason. Acquisition planning, for example, requires an understanding of what motivates language learners (or their parents, as the case may be) to acquire and use the language. Furthermore, motivated individuals are needed to sustain an endangered or minority language by choosing to use it in non-compulsory settings, as motivation is "perhaps the critical variable in producing maintained change"

(Ryan and Deci, 2000b: 76). Motivation drives action, as articulated by Ryan & Deci (2000b):

In the real world, motivation is highly valued because of its consequences: motivation produces. It is therefore of preeminent concern to those in roles such as manager, teacher, religious leader, coach, health care provider and parent that involve mobilizing others to act. (p. 69)

In spite of this, while there has been considerable research about motivation in second language acquisition (cf. Gardner and Lambert, 1972, Cheng and Dörnyei, 2007, Dörnyei, 1994, Dörnyei, 1998, Dörnyei and Schmidt, 2001, Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009), there has been very little research on motivation for the practical use of endangered languages (Blackwood, 2013).

It is widely accepted that motivations, like attitudes, are multidimensional, as “people are moved to act by very different types of factors, with highly varied experiences and consequences” (Ryan & Deci, 2000b, p. 69; Dörnyei, 1998). The specific dimensions of motivation have been classified differently in different theoretical traditions. For a study on language attitudes, however, it is useful to consider research that specifically focuses on language. This is because, unlike other objects of motivation, language is communicative, socially organizing, and an integral component of identity (Dörnyei, 1998), and thus motivations for language use are unique. Perhaps the most influential theory of language learning motivation comes from Gardner and Lambert (1972). In their research on French language learning in Québec, Canada, they identified two types of language learning orientations, or goals, for language learning: instrumental and integrative. Instrumental orientation refers to a drive to learn for functional social or economic benefit, such as obtaining a job or gaining university admission. Integrative orientation, on the other hand, is based on a desire to be a part of the community of speakers of the language. Both orientation types have been linked with increased language proficiency (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2006; Dörnyei, 2006).

While the concepts of instrumental and integrative motivation have been established as valuable tools in the analysis of language learning motivation, many researchers believe that they fall short of pertaining to all forms of language

learning, and that individual motivators are often at play (Ellis, 2004). Researchers have identified a number of other motivators, including travel, friendships, prestige, and knowledge. One notable motivator that is particularly pertinent to language learners is linguistic self-confidence (Clement et al., 1994), defined by Noels et al. (1996) as “self-perceptions of communicative competence and concomitant low levels of anxiety in using the second language” (p. 248). Linguistic self-confidence has been found to positively correlate with motivation for language use, and is mediated by the quality and quantity of social contact with target language speakers or “considerable contact with the L2 culture through the media” (Dörnyei, 1998, p. 123).

Although second-language acquisition theories of motivation lend valuable insight into what drives language learners to acquire and use particular languages, they may have limited applicability to minority languages. This is because the sociolinguistic context of language use can vary greatly from one community to the next. King (2009) points out that second-language acquisition theories of motivation are typically based on empirical research of migrants learning dominant languages that are spoken by the majority of the population (e.g., English as a second language in the United States), which is “quite a different situation from that of people learning a minority language undergoing revitalization” (p. 98). Her qualitative study of Māori speakers, for example, indicated that cultural identity, a sense of responsibility toward the language, and the internal or external focus of one’s worldview were powerful motivators for the use of that language. King emphasizes that determining the most effective promotion strategies for a minority language relies on investigating the individual motivations of those in the language community, as these may vary contextually.

Sallabank (2014) emphasizes that “in all approaches to language planning for endangered languages, motivation is a key factor” (p. 206). Knowing what drives language choices and behaviors is essential in order to know how to market the language, to whom, and in what contexts. Aligning the goals of language policies with the motivations of individuals and communities is paramount to their success. Ager (2001) notes that it is important to question if “motives for public policy [are] related to the goals that ethnic, religious and linguistic communities adopt for their own language behaviors” (p. 2). Furthermore, because of the heavy investment in Welsh language learning in both Welsh-medium and English-medium contexts,

identifying motivations to learn, maintain, and use the language is critical to the success of all forms of Welsh language education. The question of what motivates adolescents to speak Welsh outside the classroom and to pass it on to their future children is currently one of the most pressing issues in Welsh language planning (Thomas, Apolloni, & Lewis, 2014), as evidenced by the ideology of the “living language” in *Iaith Fyw, Iaith Byw* (Welsh Government, 2012).

### 2.3.5. Adolescent attitudes and motivations

It is common for language planners to fix their focus on children, particularly adolescents, as a critical demographic for language revitalization. It has been said that “children with [ . . . ] positive attitudes will be tomorrow's leaders in language revitalization” (Hinton, 2001: 7). Through language learning in education, young people are a captive audience through which the language can be transmitted, unlike adults, who might not be motivated to invest the time and money necessary to adopt an additional language. Having learned a language in school, adolescents are also in a position to decide whether or not to continue their language learning and use past the statutory phase, which in Wales ends at age sixteen (Price, 2010). The attitudes they develop and the decisions they make at this stage can determine whether or not their own language skills are maintained and whether they ultimately choose to pass the language on to their children. Ó Riagáin and colleagues (2008) emphasize the importance of fostering positive attitudes during this phase:

The teenage years are a crucial period in the evolution of attitudes towards a minority language and the experience of young people at this stage can lead to either their continued use of the language or the erosion and eventual loss of language skills. (p. 1)

Likewise, Labov (1965) claimed that adolescence is a key stage in the development of language attitudes. In this way, adolescence can be considered a critical period for the development of attitudes toward an endangered language. Therefore, if this age group is to be depended upon to revitalize the language, there needs to be a better understanding of both their attitudes and motivations.

Importantly, the attitudes and motivations of adolescents can differ from those of young children or adults. Adolescent development is characterized by a shift from family-oriented to peer-oriented socialization, an increased desire for autonomy, and identity exploration (Erikson, 1968). This distinctive set of processes has an impact on how adolescents view, construct and negotiate their sociolinguistic identities. As Garrett, Coupland, and Williams (2003) point out:

Young people of about fifteen years of age are at a critical stage in their lives, moving away from family identity towards more individual and peer-group identity [ . . . ] such developments, and their impact on self-concept [ . . . ] are key influences in the rapid sensitization to sociolinguistic norms and re-appraisal of sociolinguistic identities that occur at this age. (p. 175)

Research has shown that adolescents generally tend to have more positive attitudes toward majority languages and dialects, although there are exceptions (Garrett et al., 2003). Adolescence is also marked as a period of intense social evaluation and negotiation, whereby innovative linguistic forms emerge to meet these needs (Eckert, 1994). Language is employed as an evaluative tool and is itself the object of social evaluation.

With regards to minority languages specifically, the period of middle adolescence (ages 13–16) is characterized by a decrease in their favorability. This has been attested by researchers in Wales (Jones, 1949, cf. Jones, 1950, Sharp et al., 1973) and researchers of other minority languages. In her research on Guernseiais, Sallabank (2014) found that speakers under age 12 felt positively about the language and were motivated by their parents' linguistic identities, participation in fun activities, and being able to do something their friends could not. However, in the 13–16 age bracket, attitudes were generally negative, as adolescents were reportedly motivated by peer pressure not to be “uncool” a desire to rebel against traditional values, and “general teenage disaffection” (p. 116). For respondents in the 17–25 age bracket, attitudes once again became increasingly positive, as peer pressure decreased, awareness increased, and the ability to form one's own opinion was better developed. A similar dip in attitudes was mentioned by many of the teachers interviewed at the Welsh-medium school in this study, who noted that in Years 9 and 10 especially, pupils' attitudes toward Welsh seemed to decline, but that there was a

noticeable rebound when pupils entered the sixth form, or perhaps later on when they returned from university.

The fact that this dip seems to occur during a critical period in adolescents' attitude development is concerning to language planners. While there does seem to be an attested attitude rebound in late adolescence and adulthood, there are several issues that may impede a resurgence of language use. First, negative language attitudes fostered in adolescence may linger into adulthood. For example, young second-language learners who do not feel they fit in the first-language Welsh-speaking community may not have reason to believe they belong in that community later in life. Second, as pupils transition to non-compulsory education, many have the choice, perhaps for the first time, to continue or abandon language study. At age sixteen, Welsh-medium school students are given the option to continue studies through the medium of Welsh in higher education colleges, and subsequently to attend Welsh-medium university programs, or to opt for English-medium alternatives. For pupils whose only interactions through the medium of Welsh are in the school setting, making a decision to continue through the medium of English may lead to attrition of their Welsh language skills. Even if their attitudes do shift positively later in life, they may lack the skills needed to use the language interactionally. Third, even if language skills do not deteriorate over time, confidence may, which could deter a young adult from using Welsh in the future. Anecdotal evidence suggests, in fact, that many parents of current Welsh-medium school students were educated through the medium of Welsh themselves, but did not personally maintain their Welsh skills. In this way, the cycle of second-language Welsh learning continues, essentially keeping the language on life support but failing to perpetuate it through family transmission.

#### *2.3.6. Attitude and behavior*

One of the most highly contested aspects in the study of attitude is its complex relationship to behavior. While it might seem logical that attitudes could be inferred by behavior—and vice versa—social psychological research shows that there is often a disconnect between the two (Garrett, 2010). There are many reasons why this might be the case. First, as discussed in section 2.2.2, attitudes are

multifaceted and contextually situated, and thus may vary substantially in their manifestations, such that “attitudes can be correlated with behavior only if both have been measured in relation to the same context” (Redinger, 2010, p. 56). Second, multiple attitudes and motivations may be in competition with one another, yielding different behaviors (Garrett et al., 2003). For example, a Welsh-English bilingual teenager who feels generally positive about the Welsh language might still opt to speak English with other bilingual friends if she feels it will help her gain acceptance into the peer group. Third, different behaviors require different levels of commitment to align with attitudes (Garrett et al., 2003). In the case of Wales, for example, there is a great deal of support for Welsh language learning, but a small proportion of adults who commit to acquiring the language themselves, as it requires a substantial amount of time (Baker et al., 2010). Fourth, there may be a discrepancy between privately held attitudes and public behavior, as people may be hesitant to act upon views that may offend others or alienate themselves (Garrett et al., 2003). All of these aspects are important to consider in methodological planning, analysis of attitude-behavior relationships and predictions of future behaviors based on measures of attitude.

### *2.3.7. Attitudes and language behavior*

While it has been assumed in some studies that linguistic behaviors are reflections of internal perceptions and subjectivities, Ladegaard (2000) argues that this assumption stems from a reductionist view of behavior. In his study of adolescents' attitudes toward a Danish dialect, Ladegaard compared the subjects' use of dialect features, as recorded during classroom observations and interviews, with results from two attitude measures: a self-report questionnaire and a verbal guise study<sup>2</sup>. He found that while the questionnaire revealed correlations between behavior and attitude, the verbal guise task did not. This brings into focus the importance of evaluating methodology in designing studies of this sort. Attitudes, he notes, are multi-faceted, yielding different results in different contexts. Additionally, the variables involved in students' production are extremely complex and thus general language behaviors are difficult to predict based on a single variable. Ladegaard also points out the impossibility of recording a person's entire verbal repertoire and

comparing it with his or her complex set of language attitudes. This final fact leads to the conclusion that studies of language attitudes may predict broad sociolinguistic behaviors, but cannot definitively link behavior and attitudes due to their psychosocial complexity. Likewise, attitudes and behavior must share the same level of generality; that is, an attitude toward a language in general cannot reliably predict a specific behavior regarding that language, since it is affected by multiple contextual factors. Broad behavioral patterns across multiple contexts, however, do tend to reflect general attitudes (Baker, 1992).

While the relationship between language attitudes and behaviors is extremely complex, and while it can be difficult to draw reliable conclusions, it is nonetheless an important line of inquiry to pursue. In language revitalization planning, the end goal is a change of behavior, namely to increase sustained use of the minority language in a variety of contexts. The success of planning efforts depends on examinations of how fostering positive attitudes can encourage specific behaviors. And while there are discrepancies between attitude and behavior, their relationship is not arbitrary; broad sociolinguistic behaviors can be predicted by language attitudes (Baker, 1992; Ladegaard, 2000). Furthermore, where attitudes and behaviors do diverge, there are underlying socio-psychological processes behind this divergence, and examining the apparent conflict can shed light on these processes (Garrett et al., 2003). For example, there is ample evidence that self-reported attitudes can be influenced by social desirability bias, the desire to respond in a way that the respondent believes will garner the approval of the researcher (Garrett, 2010). Therefore, behaviors might correlate more closely with implicit attitudes, especially those which are controversial.<sup>3</sup> In analyzing the attitude-behavior relationship, then, it is critical to bear context in mind and not overgeneralize behavioral predictions.

## *2.4. Attitudes and ideologies surrounding the Welsh language in Wales*

### *2.4.1. Attitudes toward the Welsh language*

Census data confirm that the events of the latter half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the 21st—the establishment of S4C and BBC Cymru, the 1988

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<sup>2</sup> For more information on this method, see section 3.4.1.1.

<sup>3</sup> This will be explored in more detail in Chapter 3.

Education Act, the Welsh Language Acts of 1967, 1993 and 2011—have resulted in a stabilization of the Welsh-speaking proportion of the population. The steady rise in institutional support, however, has also had a positive effect on national attitudes toward Welsh. Two institutions in particular—the government and the media—have been largely responsible.

There is a long history of research on attitudes toward the Welsh language. Some of the earliest research on attitudes toward Welsh found age effects amongst young people. In 1949 and 1950, W.R. Jones conducted a survey of 10-to-15-year-old learners of Welsh as a second language in Wales, using a 22-point Thurstone scale (Jones 1949, 1950). He found that as children got older, attitudes became more negative. Sharp and colleagues' (1973) survey of 10-, 12-, and 14-year-olds in English-medium and bilingual schools across Wales showed a similar pattern. Other early research focused on the relationship between Welsh language and identity. Bourhis, Giles & Tajfel (1973) conducted a matched-guise test (see section 3.4.1), where adult listeners (some bilingual, some Welsh learners, and some monolingual English speakers) were asked to rate the personalities of speakers of Welsh, Welsh-accented English, and Received Pronunciation (RP) English. Regardless of their own language abilities or affiliations with Welshness, participants rated Welsh speakers most positively on almost every trait (an exception was “self-confidence,” for which RP speakers were rated highest). Several years later, Bourhis and Giles (1976) conducted an innovative matched-guise experiment in which they asked theatregoers, in four different guises, to complete a survey: standard Welsh, strong South-Welsh-accented English, mild South-Welsh-accented English, and RP English. Their study found that monolingual English-speaking theatregoers were most willing to comply with the request to complete the survey when asked in RP English, while Welsh-speaking respondents were most likely to comply when asked in Welsh. Interestingly, however, the bilingual Welsh speakers responded more readily to Welsh-accented English than to RP-accented English. Bourhis and Giles (1976) concluded in their analysis that the Welsh language was the most salient marker of Welsh identity.

Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, interest grew in evaluating attitudes through the lens of perceived ethnolinguistic vitality (EV), a concept drawn from ethnolinguistic identity theory (see Giles & Johnson, 1987 for a full discussion). According to Giles and Johnson (1977), the vitality of a language can be determined

by three dimensions: demographic factors (e.g., number of speakers), institutional support (e.g., government support), and status factors (e.g., prestige in the media). However, there is evidence that the actions of individual group members are less dependent on actual ethnolinguistic vitality than on their perceptions of it (Giles & Johnson, 1987). That is, the higher the perception of ethnolinguistic vitality, the more likely individuals will be to identify with the ethnolinguistic group and use the language.

Perceived ethnolinguistic vitality has continued to be explored in recent years. Coupland et al. (2005) conducted a large-scale survey of teenaged pupils in four secondary schools across Wales: a Welsh-medium school in Gwynedd, where there is a high concentration of Welsh speakers; a dual-stream bilingual school in Powys, a mostly English-speaking rural town in mid-Wales; an English-medium school in Vale of Glamorgan, a largely English-speaking suburb of Cardiff; and an English-medium school in Pembrokeshire, a highly anglicized area in southwest Wales. Their questionnaire examined ethnic affiliation, cultural engagement, and perceived ethnolinguistic vitality. The data showed that participants generally felt very Welsh, but had mixed levels of engagement with the Welsh language. Self-assessed language competence was significantly correlated with opinions about the importance of using language in social interaction, as well as their reported engagement in Welsh cultural life. With regards to perceived ethnolinguistic vitality, ratings were generally low. Pupils in Pembrokeshire displayed the lowest perceptions in all four dimensions of ethnolinguistic vitality (demography, status, institutional support, and future), while Gwynedd displayed the highest perception of status-based vitality. Overall, high levels of ethnic affiliation were expressed on the surveys, but cultural engagement was low. The researchers concluded that overall, students seem to be persuaded of the value of symbolic uses of the Welsh language, such as in ceremonies and naming practices, but are less convinced of its usefulness in day-to-day interaction. Price (2010) did a similar survey of 16-to-18-year-old further education students in the South Wales valleys. His findings mirrored those of Coupland et al. (2005). The data showed high levels of ethnic affiliation, but low levels of engagement, perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality, and the value and efficacy of the Welsh language in schools. These two studies problematize the presumed connection between the Welsh language and Welshness and highlight the complex role of attitude in language revitalization.

There are several other studies that have shed light on attitudes toward the Welsh language and motivations for its use. Robert (2009) examined attitudes toward first- and second-language Welsh speakers using a matched-guise test. Respondents, who were drawn from public-sector and media organizations in south Wales as well as the National Eisteddfod in Caernarfon in northwest Wales, rated second-language Welsh speakers, particularly those who showed higher levels of English interference, lower on the prestige dimension. Native Welsh speakers were also rated higher on a Welsh ethnicity dimension, suggesting that speaking Welsh as a first language is correlated with perceptions of authentic Welshness. There was also a positive correlation between social attractiveness and status as an L1 speaker. Robert's data points to a purist attitude toward the Welsh language, which, as Welsh-medium education continues to expand, has critical implications for the acceptance of new speakers of Welsh into the Welsh-speaking community.

Williams (2009) explored attitudes in Caernarfon, a town in the northwest where 87.6% of the population speaks Welsh. Attitudes were assessed in two ways. First, three recent news events where the Welsh language plays a central role are discussed, on the assumption that behavior is indicative of attitude. In one instance a caravan was painted with the phrase "SPEAK OUR LANGUAGE" in English and Welsh. It was subsequently overturned, then set on fire. In a second episode, the secretary of the local football league was denied by the Football Association of Wales the right to address meetings in Welsh. The English-only policy was later repealed under pressure from the media and the Welsh Assembly. In the third instance, a car park attendant began charging double the price for customers who addressed him in English, causing a national media frenzy. However, local support for the gesture was, anecdotally, unanimous. In the second portion of the study, six subjects in their late thirties to late fifties were interviewed on their views on their town, the Welsh language, and their Welsh identity. Several key beliefs emerged from this investigation. It was widely agreed upon that the Welsh language was in danger of being encroached upon by English. While affective attitudes toward the language were generally very positive, none of the speakers interviewed regarded speaking Welsh as being a necessary qualification for being truly Welsh. Language use was also prioritized over language as symbol, in contrast to Coupland et al.'s (2005) findings. Finally, there was a clear expression of English "otherness" that emerged from the data and a prevailing fear of being impinged upon by English culture.

As numbers of Welsh speakers from non-Welsh-speaking homes have proliferated in recent years, there has been some exploration of whether these “new” speakers differ in their language attitudes and use than those who reside in primarily Welsh-speaking environments. There is some evidence that students educated through the medium of Welsh who come from non-Welsh-speaking homes or who live in primarily English-speaking regions of Wales are less likely to use the language outside the classroom than those from primarily Welsh-speaking families or communities (Jones, 2008). Using both qualitative and quantitative measures, Morris (2014) compared the attitudes of adolescent speakers from northwest Wales, a predominantly Welsh-speaking area, with speakers from northeast Wales, a primarily English-speaking region. He found that although attitudes toward the Welsh language were generally positive in both regions, speakers from English-speaking homes in both regions felt less confident about their language abilities and were less likely to use the language outside the classroom. Of those who came from Welsh-speaking families, use of Welsh was lower amongst those who resided in the northeast. Morris attributed these patterns to the preferred language of the peer group; whilst there were some peer groups in the northeast who preferred to speak Welsh, all of the peer groups in the northwest preferred to speak English. The implications of this study on a community like Cardiff, where the majority of Welsh speakers come from English-speaking homes, and which is a predominantly English-speaking community, are clear.

#### *2.4.2. Attitudes toward code alternation*

Because virtually all Welsh speakers have some level of competency in English, alternation between codes—languages or language varieties—is common. Scholars refer to this phenomenon with various terms: code alternation, code mixing, tag-switching, and codeswitching, the last of which is sometimes subdivided into “intersentential” and “intrasentential” forms (Boztepe, 2003). Sridhar & Sridhar (1980) distinguish between *code-mixing*, “the transference of linguistic units . . . within the same situation and within the same sentence” and *codeswitching*, which occurs inter-sententially and often contain sequences longer than single words. Code-mixing has the additional distinction of having one code as the “host” (i.e., the main language of the discourse) and another as the “guest” (the language whose

elements are inserted into the discourse).<sup>4</sup> While *code-alternation* is sometimes used as a hyponym for code-switching (e.g. Auer, 1995) and as a subset of codeswitching in which the code shifts halfway through a sentence (Boztepe, 2003), it has also been commonly used as a cover term for both code-switching and code-mixing (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980), and will be used similarly here.

Linguists have demonstrated that alternating between codes can indicate a high level of linguistic competency in both languages (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). For example, Poplack (1980) found that speakers with higher proficiency levels were more likely to strategically employ code alternation. Despite these findings, however, code alternation is often viewed as a deficiency in one or both languages, rather than an advantageous skill. Lawson and Sachdev (2000) found that those who code-switched tended to under-report their competency levels, suggesting a lack of confidence in their language abilities. Woolard (1994) notes that “language mixing, codeswitching, and creoles are often evaluated as indicating less than full linguistic capabilities, revealing assumptions about the nature of language implicitly based in literate standards and a pervasive tenet that equates language with decay” (Woolard, 1994, p. 63). Furthermore, code alternation is associated with language deterioration and obsolescence, since the coexistence of a majority and a minority language can indicate an early phase of language shift (Fishman, 1991).

There has been very little research on attitudes toward Welsh-English code alternation, although there has been some exploration of ideologies surrounding Welsh-English bilingualism (see section 2.3.3). Within the context of largely monolingual Welsh spaces, however (such as Welsh-medium schools), attitudes toward code alternation emerge in political discourse, journalism, policy, and day-to-day interactions. While it is widely considered to be ‘natural’ for bilinguals to alternate codes, there are contexts in which the practice is perceived to compromise the integrity of the language, as giving in to the rising tide of globalization, or as a threat to the future of the language itself (Deuchar & Davies, 2009). These attitudes bear on speaker confidence, perceptions of linguistic competence, and the enactment of language policies, all of which have a potential influence on the future vitality of Welsh.

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<sup>4</sup> Sridhar & Sridhar’s (1980) “host” language has also been referred to as a “matrix” (Myers-Scotton, 1998; Deuchar & Davies, 2009).

### 2.4.3. *Language ideologies in Wales*

As the socio-political climate of Wales has shifted, there has been an emerging body of work on language ideologies in the country (Musk, 2006, 2010; Selleck, 2012, 2015; Sayers, 2009, 2014). There are two studies that are particularly relevant to this investigation. The first is Musk's (2010) analysis of code-alternating talk in a focus group setting in a bilingual secondary school in mid-Wales. He addresses the debate as to whether bilinguals are able to effectively maintain distinctions between two discrete languages, which has implications for academic success and bilingual pedagogy. To address this question, Musk looks at whether code alternation is random, a sign that language boundaries are not maintained, or whether it is utilized meaningfully, a sign of communicative competence. He found that code alternation was indeed used to create meaning within an interaction, for instance, to provide emphasis or to signal a quotation, and asserts that this type of code alternation entails the capacity to maintain discrete language boundaries. Metalinguistic commentary, however, suggests that despite this ability, the school maintains a monolingual ideology that upholds the value of language separation and linguistic purism, especially in formally written and spoken forms. Moreover, this ideology is "rigorously enforced" (p. 95) by a minority of pupils as well.

Similarly, Selleck (2012) examined the ideologies of bilingualism in one Welsh-medium and one English-medium secondary school in southwest Wales. Her study, which utilized metalinguistic commentary from focus group conversations, focused on how the notion of choice in national language policy (e.g., *Iaith Pawb*) was enacted in the two secondary school contexts. Given that these schools existed within the same community and national socio-political context, it was striking how ideologies surrounding bilingualism appear to differ drastically between the two schools. In the bilingual school, conversations among students suggested ideologies of monolingualism and "separate bilingualisms" (cf. Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2011) within the classroom. Students reported being sanctioned defying the authority of the institution by speaking English. Some reported divisions of Welsh-speaking and English-speaking friendship groups outside the classroom as well. In the English-medium school, students' metalinguistic commentary suggested that the school promoted an ideology of "flexible bilingualism" (cf. Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese & Blackledge,

2011), whereby language boundaries were not enforced. Students in general viewed bilingualism as a strong asset, but as they were not required to speak Welsh outside of their Welsh classes, they had a freedom of linguistic choice that the pupils at the Welsh-medium school did not have. Pupils experimented with their Welsh outside the classroom and felt that code-switching (“Wenglish”) could help them learn new words. Selleck argues that this autonomy is more closely aligned with the ideology of choice in *Iaith Pawb*, and concludes that there is a need to consider whether this more flexible ideology might be beneficial for language revitalization in Wales.

#### *2.4.3.1. Language ideologies and attitudes toward the Welsh language in Cardiff*

Given that Cardiff has seen tremendous growth in the number of Welsh speakers and the steady expansion of Welsh-medium education, it is surprising that little recent sociolinguistic and social psychological research has been done there. An exception is Garrett, Coupland and Williams’s (2003) study of teenagers’ and teachers’ attitudes toward Welsh-English dialects, which included participants from all over Wales (including Cardiff), who in turn evaluated dialects from six regions of the country. While the focus of this study was not on the Welsh language, it shed light on teenagers’ and teachers’ identity dynamics, linguistic stereotypes, and language ideologies in various communities and contexts. Undoubtedly, the wealth of Welsh-language community resources and the number of Welsh-speaking residents make Cardiff a potential site for the expansion of the Welsh language. However, there is a need for deeper investigation into the language attitudes of this unique population and the ideologies that underlie them in order to harness that potential.

#### *2.4.4. Attitudes toward the Welsh language and Welshness*

The role of the Welsh language in Welsh ethnolinguistic identity is a subject of intense ideological debate, and is pertinent to this investigation of language attitudes. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to delve into the complexities of identity construction, it is impossible to discuss attitudes toward the Welsh language without addressing its role in *identification* with Welshness—that is, calling oneself “Welsh.”

For many, the Welsh language evokes a particular kind of Welshness, associated with history, traditional cultural practices (such as choral music and poetry), and nationalism (Carter, 2010; Coupland et al., 2006). However, considering that over 80% of the population do not speak Welsh (ONS, 2011), there are many for whom the Welsh language is not considered to be an essential criteria for Welshness (Carter, 2010; Livingstone et al., 2009). Other identity resources, such as location, regional accent (Carter, 2010), family links, or affiliation with Welsh sports (Coupland et al., 2005), are deployed as markers of Welsh identity. For others, the Welsh language is considered to be a symbol of Welsh identity, even if it is not used communicatively (Coupland et al., 2003). Coupland et al. (2005) found positive orientations toward symbolic and ceremonial uses toward Welsh amongst Welsh and non-Welsh speakers alike, even if attitudes toward its interactional value were negative. There is evidence of high levels of support for—or general good will toward—the Welsh language and Welsh-medium education from all sectors of Welsh society, including monolingual English speakers (Carter, 2010; Coupland, 2010; Hodges, 2010; May, 2000).

The relationship between affiliation with Welshness and Welsh language use or proficiency, however, is far from clear-cut. Despite the political rhetoric of “one Wales,” there is wide recognition that there is no singular, unifying version of Welshness (Carter, 2010; Coupland et al., 2006; Livingstone et al., 2009, 2011). Attempts have been made to subdivide Welsh culture into various language-based and regional categories, but they have been challenged and found to oversimplify the complexities inherent in national identification (Coupland et al., 2006). Broad trends indicate that there are generally high levels of identification with Welshness in Wales, even amongst non-Welsh speakers and in primarily English-speaking regions (Carter, 2010; Coupland et al., 2005; Price, 2010). That is, speaking Welsh does not necessarily entail a heightened sense of Welshness. There have been indications, however, that Welsh language competency does correlate positively with affiliation with Welshness, particularly amongst school-aged children (Coupland et al., 2005; Livingstone et al., 2011).

## *2.5. Historical and political context of the Welsh language in Wales*

Welsh is one of six Celtic languages that were once spoken in Britain, alongside Scots Gaelic, Irish Gaelic, Manx, Cornish, and Breton (Deuchar, 2005). In Britain, these languages can be traced back to 600 B.C., when there were two language groups: Goidelic and Brythonic. Following the Roman invasion in 48 A.D., the Brythonic languages were spoken alongside Latin. Old English became the dominant language in Britain during the Anglo-Saxon invasion between 500 and 700 A.D., relegating the Brythonic languages to the non-Anglo-Saxon regions of the north, west, and southwest. Here Brythonic split into three languages: Cumbric in the north, Welsh in the west, and Cornish in the southwest (Deuchar, 2005). In 1066, the Normans invaded, establishing French as the language of the English court, and some Welsh rulers used French alongside Welsh (Carter, 2010). In 1284, Wales, which was divided into independent princedoms, came under English rule when a lack of political unity left these princedoms vulnerable to subjugation. After two-and-a-half centuries, this subjugation was made official by the Act of Union of 1536 under Henry VIII. It was under this act, passed by an all-English parliament, that Wales was completely assimilated into the English political and religious systems and officials forced to abstain entirely from speaking Welsh in public office, with the ultimate intention of eliminating the language altogether. The intent of these enactments was to purge Wales of its ethnic and cultural distinctiveness, thus unifying the British Isles (Carter, 2010).

Despite this overt political hegemony, however, the Welsh people continued to maintain their language vigorously on a domestic level. This was largely due to the availability of the Bible, liturgy, and hymns in the Welsh language. The Bible was translated into Welsh in 1588, in the belief that souls would be best saved through the vernacular. Inadvertently, this provided a literary standard for Welsh and was instrumental in preserving the Welsh language during a time of English language dominance in Britain.

During the Industrial Revolution of the mid-18th to mid-19th centuries, Wales experienced tremendous economic growth through its iron and coal industries (cf. Carter, 2010). Despite a sizeable growth in the population, however, the proportion of Welsh speakers dropped from 80% to 67% in the first half of the 19th century (Davies, 1993; cited in Deuchar, 2005). During this period, the Welsh

government conducted a study to investigate the role of the Welsh language in education, and determined that it was holding the country back from moral and economic progress. In 1870, the government passed the Education Act, in which it was determined that English would be the language of education, and that Welsh would be explicitly forbidden in school (Deuchar, 2005). In some schools, corporal punishment was used. Children who spoke Welsh in school might receive the now-infamous Welsh Not, which was a wooden block hung from the neck. In addition to bearing the humiliation of wearing the Welsh Not, whichever child ended up with it at the end of the day would be beaten (Edwards and Newcombe, 2005).

Due to both immigration and emigration, Wales experienced a steep decline in the proportion of Welsh speakers in the early twentieth century, from 50% in 1901 to 37% by 1931 (Deuchar, 2005). This was followed by a decline in industry following World War II, as well as a gradual secularization of the population, meaning that fewer people attended church, one of the traditional strongholds of the Welsh language (Edwards & Newcombe, 2005). Despite efforts at language revitalization by *Plaid Cymru* and other groups, the number and proportion of Welsh speakers continued to decrease throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

The catalyst for the reversal of Welsh language shift is often attributed to a famous 1962 BBC broadcast entitled “The Fate of the Language” (Lewis, 1962). In this speech, which followed the announcement that the percentage of Welsh speakers had dropped from 37% in 1931 to 26% in 1961, Welsh poet and political activist Saunders Lewis cautioned that if nothing were done to intervene, the Welsh language would disappear by the end of the century (Edwards & Newcombe, 2005). He urged his supporters to demand that business and government be conducted through the medium of Welsh (Deuchar, 2005). Shortly thereafter came the formation of the *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Welsh Language Society), which launched a series of campaigns and non-violent protests in favor of Welsh language equality with English. In 1967, the Welsh Language Act was passed, which required that more government forms be available in Welsh, as well as established the right to use Welsh in the court, though the court’s official language was still English (Deuchar, 2005). In 1982, after a member of *Plaid Cymru* in Parliament threatened to go on hunger strike, a Welsh-medium television station, S4C (*Sianel Pedwar Cymru*—Channel Four Wales), was established (Edwards & Newcombe, 2005). Other

operations, like the campaign for bilingual street signs, continued throughout the 1980s (Bentahila and Davies, 1993).

1988 marked a victory for Welsh language revival in the educational sector. The 1988 Education Reform Act mandated, for the first time, that all children attending state schools in Wales learn Welsh in school as either a first or second language throughout their statutory education, with a compulsory examination to take place at the end of Year 11 (Van den Broeck et al., 2010: 981). Welsh-medium state schools had existed prior to this. The Education Act of 1944, which allowed Local Education Authorities to open Welsh-medium schools, paved the way for the first Welsh-medium primary school in Llanelli in 1947 and the first secondary in Rhyl in 1956 (Edwards & Newcombe, 2005), though they lacked consistent institutional support, and the majority of attendees were from Welsh-speaking homes (Carter, 2010). The 1988 Education Reform Act was the impetus behind a surge of growth in Welsh-medium education; there was a 31% increase in the number of Welsh-medium schools between 1989 and 2009 (Musk, 2010), and these numbers continue to rise on a yearly basis.

Five years later, the 1993 Welsh Language Act, much more potent than its 1967 predecessor, was established (Carter, 2010). For the first time since the Act of Union in 1536, Welsh was given equal status with English in the public sector. The Act had three main functions: first, provision of services in Welsh upon request was made compulsory for all public sector institutions; second, Welsh became an administrative language of the court; and third, the Welsh Language Board an independent but government-funded body charged with promoting and facilitating the use of the Welsh language, was established (Edwards & Newcombe, 2005). In a further step to legitimize Wales as a semiautonomous nation, the Welsh Assembly was established in 1999, giving Wales partial devolution (Deuchar, 2005; Carter, 2010).

In 2003, the Welsh Language Board introduced a language plan, entitled *Iaith Pawb* (“Everyone’s Language”): *A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales* (WAG, 2003). This publication put forth a rigorous strategy for raising the status of the Welsh language, establishing partnerships between Welsh-medium organizations, and increasing the overall number of Welsh speakers. In the foreword, the authors describe their vision for

*a truly bilingual Wales*, by which we mean a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength *to us all*. (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, p. 1; my emphases)

This document was, and continues to be, a touchstone for language planning initiatives, including the current *Welsh-Medium Education Strategy* (Welsh Government, 2010), which explicitly draws on the foundations of the document.

In 2011, the Welsh Language (Wales) measure was established, replacing the 1993 Welsh Language Act. In addition to replacing the Welsh Language Board with a newly appointed Welsh Language Commissioner and setting new national standards for Welsh-English language equality, the Measure designated Welsh as an official language for the first time in the country's nearly one thousand-year history. This legislation was symbolic as well as functional, serving to formally integrate the Welsh language into the national conception of Wales as well as continuing to legally legitimize its use alongside English in the public sector. A new Welsh language plan, entitled *Iaith Fyw, Iaith Byw* was published in 2012 to replace *Iaith Pawb*, expanding Welsh-language services, increasing the provision of Welsh-medium activities for young people, supporting use of the language in families, and strengthening language infrastructure (Welsh Government, 2012).

### *2.5.1. Welsh language in modern-day Wales: demographic trends*

The release of the 2001 Census data marked yet another victory in the Welsh language revitalization movement. Following a period of steady decline from 1901 to 1991, the percentage of Welsh speakers rose from 18.5% to 20.1% between 1991 and 2001. This reversal of language decline was largely met with cautious optimism by the media, language planners (Williams, 2014), and sociolinguists (Higgs et al., 2004). It was “seen as a rare instance of reversed minority language shift” (Coupland et al., 2005), and the language “[appeared] to be no longer under serious threat” (Coupland et al., 2006: 352). Williams (2004) declared that “the demolinguistic future of Welsh is brighter than at any other time in recent history” (p. 560). This growth was particularly strong in the young demographic; 31% of those who reported they could speak Welsh were between the ages of 3 and 15. The overall rise

in speakership was due in large part to the proliferation of Welsh-medium schools (Aitchison and Carter, 2004), though it has been suggested that the teaching of Welsh in English-medium schools may have contributed as well (Price, 2010).

Others cautioned that the 2001 Census numbers might be misleading, and that a number of factors indicated that the upswing might not be sustained in the future (Aitchison & Carter, 2004). One issue was that while there was a substantial rise in speakership in traditionally Anglicized areas, such as the Southeast, the traditional “heartland” areas—Carmarthenshire, Ynys Môn, Gwynedd, and Ceredigion—experienced a decrease in the percentage of Welsh speakers (Aitchison & Carter, 2004). This was attributed to a demographic shift from rural areas to urban, particularly Cardiff, where a proliferation of Welsh-speaking jobs in the service and media sectors, largely as a result of the requirements of the 1993 Welsh Language Act, arose during the 1990s and 2000s. Thus, while the overall percentage of Welsh speakers rose, the percentage in heartland Welsh speaking areas, where over half of the population is Welsh-speaking and where Welsh is spoken in the domains of family and community (Aitchison & Carter, 2004), was diminished. This was cause for great concern, as these areas are critical sites of intergenerational language transmission (Fishman, 1991).

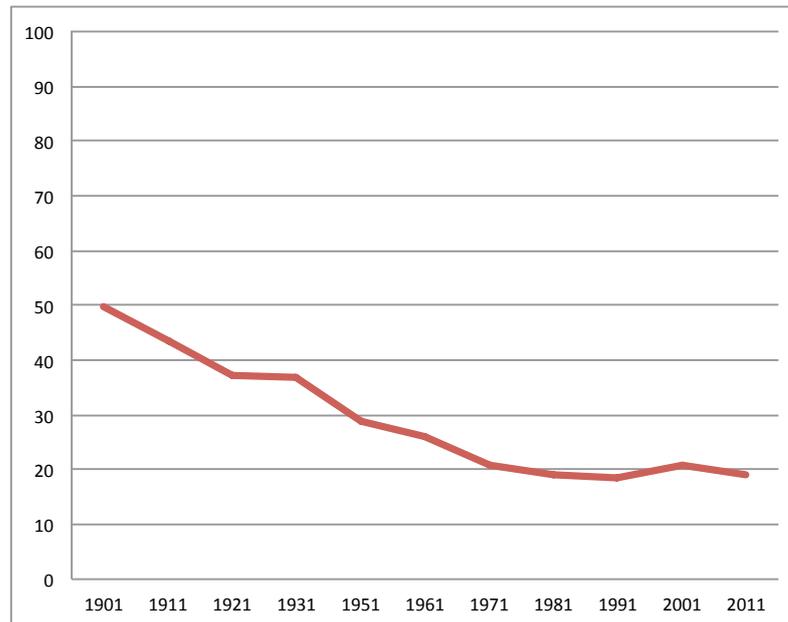
A second reason to temper the optimism of the 2001 Census statistics was the lack of information about actual language use, especially amongst younger speakers. While the 3–15 age bracket experienced the largest increase in speakership, there was—and continues to be—evidence that children were reluctant to use the language outside the classroom. In other words, the Census data offered an indication of language *ability* but not of language *use*. Data from a number of qualitative and quantitative studies show that the Welsh language is viewed as a “language of school,” and that its use, especially by second-language speakers, is confined to the classroom (Baker, 2003, Edwards and Newcombe, 2005, Hodges, 2009, Jones and Martin-Jones, 2003). There are many pupils who attend Welsh-medium primary schools but go on to attend English-medium secondary schools (Edwards & Newcombe, 2005). In 2013, 13.6% of pupils who had been assessed in Welsh in Year 6, the final year of primary school, were not assessed in Welsh in Year 9, the third year of secondary school (Welsh Government, 2014). Only very few—5.9% in 2013—do A-level First Language Welsh, a precursor to Welsh language university study (Welsh Government, 2014). From a language revitalization standpoint, this is

cause for concern. Language planners depend on these new Welsh speakers not only to learn Welsh themselves, but to maintain their skills, pass the language on to their children, and use it as a language of the home. If pupils do not use the language outside of school and do not preserve their language ability, this vital step in the revitalization process is lost.

In line with these less optimistic predictions, the 2011 Census showed a decline in the number of Welsh speakers from 20.5% in 2001 to 19% in 2011 (ONS, 2011; see Table 2.1). All of the four heartland areas (Carmarthenshire, Ynys Môn, Gwynedd, and Ceredigion) experienced decreases in speakership; in Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion, the percentage of Welsh speakers fell below 50% (43.9% and 47.3%, respectively). Notably, the only regions to experience gains in speakership were Cardiff, which increased modestly from 11% in 2001 to 11.1% in 2011, and Monmouthshire, another community in southeast Wales, which increased from 9.3% to 9.9%. These statistics show the same demographic trend as was seen between 2001 and 2011, with the concentrations of Welsh speakers thinning in the heartland areas and condensing in the urban south-east. One point of assurance is that while numbers of speakers in the 3–15 age bracket decreased slightly, they still comprised around 30% of all Welsh speakers, suggesting that the Welsh-medium education system is continuing to produce fluent speakers, although again, these numbers have no bearing on language use. At present, UNESCO classifies Welsh as a “vulnerable” language (Moseley, 2010).

	<b>Number of Welsh speakers</b>	<b>% of Welsh speakers</b>
<b>1901</b>	929,800	49.9
<b>1911</b>	977,400	43.5
<b>1921</b>	922,100	37.1
<b>1931</b>	909,300	36.8
<b>1951</b>	714,700	28.9
<b>1961</b>	656,000	26.0
<b>1971</b>	542,400	20.8
<b>1981</b>	508,200	18.9
<b>1991</b>	500,000	18.5
<b>2001</b>	582,400	20.8
<b>2011</b>	562,000	19.0

*Table 2.1: Number and percentage of Welsh speakers, 1901-2011 (ONS, 2011)*



*Figure 2.1. Percentage of Welsh speakers in Wales, 1901-1911 (ONS, 2011)*

Although the highest concentrations of Welsh speakers are still in north and west Wales there is an upward trend in speakership in the urban southeast of Wales. Furthermore, throughout the country, even within the north and west, there are

higher percentages of Welsh speakers in urban wards than in rural (Aitchison & Carter, 2004). Reactions to this shift have varied. There is no doubt that the loss of speakers in the heartland areas, and thus the decline in children learning Welsh as a first language, is a serious setback to revitalization. Jones and Martin-Jones (2004) write:

As a result of the continued expansion of the immersion programs of the more anglicized areas of Wales and the teaching of Welsh as a second language, the number of second-language Welsh speakers appears set to increase still further during coming years. There is little comfort, however, if this is achieved whilst first-language Welsh speakers in Welsh heartland areas are increasingly caught up in a tide of anglicization. (p. 55)

There is, however, disagreement as to where resources should be focused, and how to best harness the abilities of second-language Welsh speakers in the south-east, where English is by far the dominant tongue. To some, the shift away from these Welsh-language strongholds is seen as the beginning of the end (Jenkins, 2001). Aitchison & Carter (2004), however, posit that “in pure quantitative terms [ . . . ] it is in the more densely-settled centres of population that the future strength of the language lies” (p. 80). Coupland et al. (2005) seem to concur, suggesting that “there may be sociopsychological forces at work in low-density environments for Welsh which are unsuspected sources of support for a revitalised Welsh language” (p. 2). Indeed, Cardiff has experienced a growth in the number of Welsh speakers from 18,071 (6.7% of the total population) in 1991 to 37,194 (11.1%) in 2011—a significant increase. It is pertinent, therefore, to carefully examine the sociolinguistic climate of this area in future language planning endeavors.

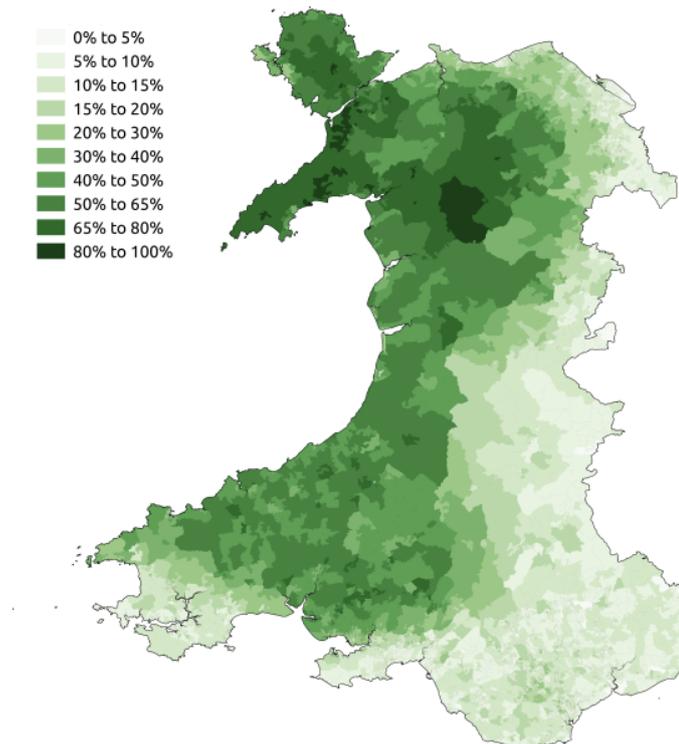


Figure 2.2. Percentage of Welsh speakers, 2011 Census (Wikimedia Commons, 2012)

#### 2.5.1.1. Welsh language in Cardiff

Cardiff is the capital of Wales and its largest city at 346,100 residents. 11.1% of the population is Welsh-speaking, compared to the national average of 19% (ONS, 2011). Cardiff differs from the rest of Wales in a number of regards. First, it has a distinctive status as the largest urban center in Wales, drawing a diverse population from all over the world. 15.6% of the population of Cardiff belongs to an ethnic minority group, as compared to 4.4% in Wales as a whole (ONS, 2011).<sup>5</sup> Additionally, 9.4% of households in Cardiff have at least one speaker of a main language other than English or Welsh, as compared to 4.4% of Wales. Figure 2.2 shows this linguistic distribution and demonstrates that in some areas of the city, over 40% of households have speakers of other main languages (ONS, 2011). This ethnolinguistic diversity introduces a level of complexity in orientation toward Welsh and Welshness that has been underexplored by language planners and sociolinguists (Williams, 2005). Secondly, Cardiff houses the central offices of some of the country's most prominent Welsh-language institutions, including BBC Radio

<sup>5</sup> At 95.6%, Wales has a larger proportion of white residents than any single county in England (ONS, 2011).

Cymru, S4C, the Welsh Assembly Government, and Cardiff University, making it a hub of influence for language policy and planning. Thirdly, the city continues to experience economic growth, which draws Welsh speakers from all over Wales as well as non-Welsh speakers from around the world.

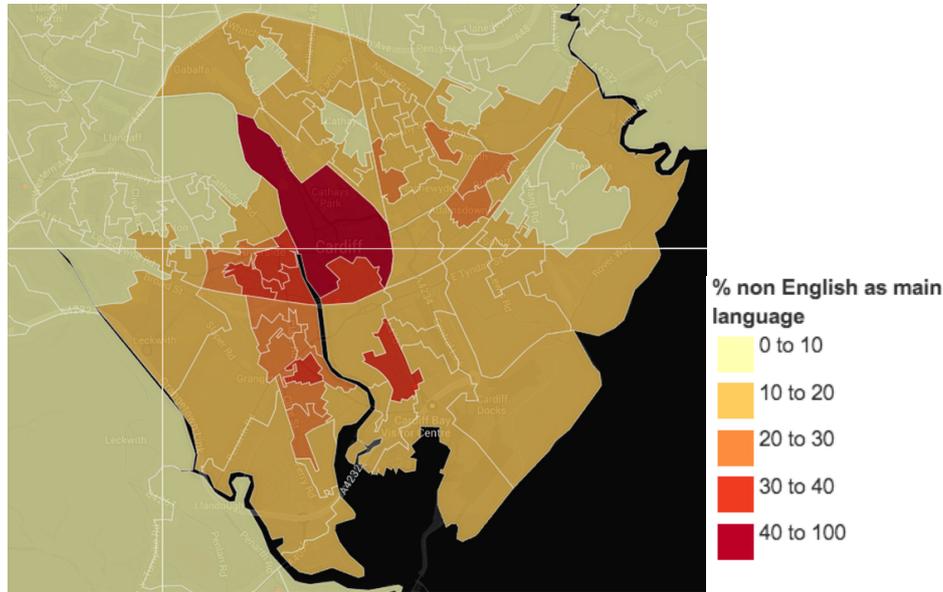


Figure 2.3. Percentage of Cardiff population with a main language other than English, 2011. (*The Guardian*, 2013)

#### 2.5.1.2. *Welsh in the community*

The increase in the number of Welsh speakers in Cardiff over the past two decades has been met with an eager response from Welsh-language community organizations. There are two organizations in particular that offer opportunities for young people to socialize in Welsh within the city: Urdd Gobiaith and Menter Caerdydd. Urdd, a national Welsh-medium youth organization with a Cardiff branch, caters to school-aged children as well as young adults. It is well known for hosting a national youth *eisteddfod*, a cultural event that includes competitions in traditional Welsh arts such as choral singing, instrumental music, poetry recitation, drama, and clog dancing. Throughout the year, Urdd offers a variety of other activities for Welsh speakers, including overnight residential camps, sports, after-school clubs, day trips, and workshops. These activities are mainly intended for ages 5–16; sixth formers are encouraged to volunteer to work with younger children. For young adults over the age of 18, Urdd does not organize formal activities, but does

provide resources to students at Cardiff University who are interested in organizing their own Welsh-medium activities. Urdd works closely with the Welsh-medium schools in the area, and has also been involved, albeit to a much lesser degree, with providing programs to Welsh learners in English-medium schools, including after-school clubs and a residential program.

The other organization is *Menter Caerdydd*, which is the local branch of the *Mentrau Iaith*, a national Welsh-medium community organization. Menter Caerdydd has been in existence since 1998, “with the aim of promoting and expanding the use of the Welsh language in Cardiff by creating opportunities for the city’s residents to use the language outside work hours and the school gates” (*Menter Caerdydd*, 2014). Menter Caerdydd caters to all ages, from preschool-aged children to adults, providing a variety of Welsh-medium programs, including swimming and gymnastics classes, a drama group, fitness classes, and social activities. They also organize an annual Welsh language and cultural festival called *Tafwyl* at Cardiff Castle. While the organization is popular with adults and younger children, it is much less so with middle adolescents, with whom uptake has been low. Since all of the activities take place entirely through the medium of Welsh, Menter Caerdydd is primarily geared toward Cardiff residents who already speak Welsh, such as children from Welsh-medium schools, though there are social events for older Welsh learners. Therefore, Menter does not liaise with English-medium schools, but, like Urdd, works closely with Welsh-medium schools.

#### 2.5.1.3. *Welsh in the media*

The Welsh language is present in Cardiff through the media as well. The Welsh-language television station, S4C, was established in 1982 after years of political campaigning throughout the 1970s (Price, 2013). Initially, S4C provided Welsh-only programming during peak hours and bilingual programming during off-peak hours. Several years later, they added a Welsh-only digital television channel called S4C Digidol. Since the national switchover from analog to digital in 2010, however, S4C Digidol became the sole S4C channel, and all of its programming is in Welsh, though English subtitles are available. There is a wide range of programs offered, including a soap opera, animated children’s programs, news, and some Welsh versions of English programs. While the provision of a Welsh-language

channel has been a victory for Welsh language revitalization (Carter, 2010), it has a reputation for being “old-fashioned and parochial in its content” (Aldridge, 2007. p. 133). Many of the students and teachers I spoke to mentioned that while there were excellent programs for young children and older adults, there was a dearth of quality programming for adolescents and younger adults. They attributed this to lack of funding (S4C is funded partially by advertisers and partially by grants), as well as the belief S4C’s programming cannot compete with the wide variety offered by English-language channels.

A second media outlet in Cardiff is BBC Radio Cymru (Welsh Radio). Radio Cymru was established in 1977 and now broadcasts all over Wales. Like S4C, Radio Cymru “[has] to try to cater for all ages and tastes” (Ellis, 2000: 190) but has historically attracted older audiences, as with other forms of radio (Ellis, 2000). Radio Cymru, however, does have programming for teenagers. During the primetime hours of 7–10 P.M. on weekdays, Radio Cymru has a program called C2 that plays a variety of popular music in Welsh and in English. The uptake has been slow amongst youth, however. During my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to informally interview one of the announcers of C2, who had come to the school to do a radio industry workshop with the students. She told me that although teenagers did tend to like the music on the program, the bands—mainly local musicians—did not have the name recognition of American or British pop stars. Furthermore, she added, teenagers are not particularly interested in listening to the radio in the first place. When she surveyed the class, few of them had listened to the station, and none knew of any of the bands that she talked about during the session.

A third, and increasingly important, venue for Welsh language information and communication is the internet. Online social networking has become hugely popular amongst adolescents in Wales, opening up new opportunities for out-of-school socialization through the medium of Welsh (Ellis, 2000). Cunliffe et al. (2013) found that some adolescents did use social networking sites (in this case, Facebook) to communicate through the medium of Welsh and called it “a relative success story for the language” (p. 20). They also found, however, that the language of information technology was widely perceived to be English, which might limit the demand for other Welsh-medium internet media. Some are also hesitant to use Welsh in social networking because it potentially excludes non-Welsh speakers. One

teacher I interviewed described the frustration he feels when he is pressured by another Welsh speaker to post status updates on Facebook in Welsh:

And we've got people who, who sort of try and give us guilt complexes. Like I've got a Facebook friend who always has these rants every, sort of every month: "Why do all these Welsh speakers put up their statuses in, in, in English?" You know? And you think, well, because my friends in Norway don't speak Welsh or whatever, you know?

*Extract 2.1:* Interview with Mr. Clark, teacher, YGG

As far as other uses of the internet in Welsh, including other social networking sites, there is little data available (Cunliffe et al., 2013), as this is a relatively new area of study.

## *2.6. Welsh in education*

The relative stability of the Welsh language over the last three decades can be attributed in large part to the proliferation of Welsh language education in Wales (Price, 2010). The term "Welsh language education" has two main manifestations. Around 80% of secondary school pupils attend English-medium schools, where Welsh is offered as a second language. About 20% attend Welsh-medium or bilingual schools, where the majority of the curriculum is taught in Welsh, and where fluency is the target outcome (Welsh Assembly Government, 2013). Both forms of Welsh language education have grown since the 1988 Welsh Language Act, which granted Welsh the status of a core subject for Welsh-medium schools and a foundation subject in English-medium schools in the National Curriculum.<sup>6</sup> Wales has seen a dramatic expansion in Welsh-medium education at both the primary and secondary levels, and community demand continues to increase. As of January 2012, there were 56 Welsh-medium secondary schools, comprising about a quarter of secondary schools in the country. The increase in the availability and uptake of Welsh-medium education was clearly reflected in the 2011 Census, which showed

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<sup>6</sup> In practice, this means pupils in Welsh-medium schools are assessed in Welsh, while pupils in English-medium schools are required to take courses in Welsh from ages 5–16, but are not required to complete GCSE exams in Welsh.

that children ages 5–14 comprise the largest percentage of Welsh speakers in Wales at 24% (ONS, 2011).

The two forms of Welsh language education differ dramatically in their target outcomes. The goal of Welsh-medium education is to produce fluent Welsh-English bilinguals who will, ideally, pass the language on to their children and thus perpetuate its vitality. This is achieved by providing “as much provision through the medium of Welsh as is necessary for learners to achieve fluency in two languages” (Welsh Government, 2010, p. 9). The goal in English-medium schools, however, is for learners to “[benefit] from opportunities to develop language skills which enrich their experience of living in a bilingual country” (Welsh Government, 2010, p. 9). Because Welsh learners receive only a maximum of a few hours per week of Welsh language instruction<sup>7</sup> throughout their statutory education, they are unlikely to become fluent speakers, but rather gain basic language skills such as one might acquire in a secondary-level foreign language course.

### *2.5.1. Models of bilingual education in Wales*

Not all Welsh-medium schools in Wales operate in the same way, and they fall into a number of categories. It is generally accepted that in order to be called a Welsh-medium school, at least 70% of the curriculum must be taught through the medium of Welsh (WAG, 2010). Some Welsh-medium schools teach all subjects, apart from English, in Welsh; others teach math and sciences in English, since these subjects have a great deal of technical terminology. In some areas of Wales, there are also “dual-stream” schools, where Welsh-medium and English-medium courses are taught within the same school. In some of these, pupils may take some courses in Welsh and some in English; in others, they must choose a stream and take all or most of their classes through one medium or the other. There are also some schools that offer only a few courses in Welsh. All of these school types can be called bilingual schools (WAG, 2010). The type of school or schools available in any community depends on the needs of that community. In many communities, parents have the option of sending their children to a Welsh-medium or an English-medium

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<sup>7</sup> Since Welsh has been designated a foundation subject, it is up to the individual school to decide how many hours are dedicated to Welsh instruction, which in practice ranges from 30 minutes to three hours per week. Additionally, the school determines whether pupils are required to sit GCSE exams in Welsh.

school; Welsh-medium schools in this area are called “designated schools.” In regions with very high concentrations of Welsh speakers, all students must attend their local Welsh-medium school; these are called “traditional schools” (Jones & Martin-Jones, 2004).

### 2.5.2. *Welsh as a second language in English-medium schools*

In English-medium schools, there are two main forms of Welsh language provision. The first is the statutory requirement for all students in Years 1–11 (ages 5–16) to learn Welsh as a second language. Standards for Welsh learning are established by the Welsh Assembly government in the National Curriculum. The second pertains to the visual and auditory presence of the Welsh language throughout the school, as recommended by Estyn, an independent but government-funded school inspection organization. Teachers are asked to use “incidental Welsh”, short words or phrases that are either conversational (e.g., *bore da*, “good morning”) or pertain to classroom routines (e.g., asking students to respond with *yma*, “here,” when calling the register). Schools are also expected to display bilingual signs, such as on notice boards. There is no statutory requirement for this second category, but it is consequential nonetheless. Estyn considers the presence of bilingual signage and the use of incidental Welsh in the classroom to be “good practice” (Dafydd, I., 2014, personal communication, 27 November), and are thus part of their evaluative criteria. Therefore, while English-medium schools are not bound by law to comply with the latter two recommendations, failure to do so could result in lowered Estyn ratings for the school, which could impact enrollment. An Estyn representative explained the rationale for the criteria this way:

Both bilingual signage and use of incidental Welsh help to raise the profile of Welsh, especially amongst pupils attending English-medium schools in predominantly English-speaking areas. Use of “Incidental Welsh” provides pupils with opportunities to use what they have learnt in Welsh lessons and become increasingly confident. (Dafydd, I., 2014, personal communication, 27 November)

Because of the lack of specific criteria for meeting this recommendation, its implementation may vary across schools, but many English-medium schools take them—and their impact on inspection ratings—very seriously.

Of all aspects of language planning in Wales, Welsh second-language instruction in English-medium schools has arguably been the most neglected. It is unclear where Welsh as a second language fits into the broader language planning goals of language revitalization and equality. While Welsh-medium education is heavily integrated into *Iaith Fyw, Iaith Byw*, there is no mention of English-medium education within this document. Even the current *Welsh-Medium Education Strategy* (Welsh Government, 2010), which is meant to pertain to all Welsh language education in Wales, gives Welsh in English-medium schools only a single passing mention, stating that “an additional aim of this Strategy is to see all learners in English-medium settings benefiting from opportunities to develop language skills which enrich their experience of living in a bilingual country” (9). In general, as a foundation (rather than a core) subject, Welsh second language receives relatively low priority within English-medium schools, and achievement across Wales in the subject is low. In the 2013 *Review of Welsh Second Language in Keystages 3 and 4* (ages 11–16), the Welsh Government wrote the following:

It is undeniably the eleventh hour for Welsh second language. Although there are many wonderful teachers working in the field, and some individual examples of exemplary teaching, Estyn reports show that the overall standard has fallen annually; in fact, pupil attainment levels are lower than in any other subject. Had this been said of Mathematics, or English, a revolution would undoubtedly have ensued. But low attainment in Welsh second language has been accepted as the norm. If we are serious about developing Welsh speakers, and about seeing the Welsh language thrive, a change of direction is urgently required before it is too late. (Welsh Government 2013, p. 1)

Furthermore, while there is a wealth of opportunities for community language use amongst pupils in Welsh-medium schools, there are very, very few for those in English-medium schools. In an interview, a representative from the Welsh in Education unit of the Welsh Assembly Government said that English-medium schools were not truly viewed as a point of revitalization. As a statutory requirement borne out of the 1988 Education Act, however, it was arguably intended to be. There are two questions that arise from this. First, if compulsory Welsh second language is not an integral part of the language strategy, what is its purpose? Second, are language planners in Wales missing opportunities to use Welsh second language in

English-medium schools to revitalize the language, for example through systematically fostering positive attitudes? These questions will be addressed in the chapters that follow.

## 3 Methodology

### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the various research methods employed within this dissertation. The study of language attitudes, ideologies, and identities is inherently multidisciplinary, and as such calls for a mixed-methods approach drawn from social psychology, sociolinguistics, sociology of language, and linguistic anthropology. Section 3.2 will provide a theoretical basis for the measurement techniques selected. Sections 3.3 and 3.4 will describe data collection procedures and instrument design. Finally, sections 3.5 and 3.6 will provide information about the research context, including details of the fieldwork, participant selection, and the individual school sites where the research took place.

#### 3.1.1. Mixed-methods research

Mixed-methods research, generally speaking, refers to that which utilizes both qualitative and quantitative methods (Dörnyei, 2007). However, in this study, the definition is expanded to include research that utilizes both direct and indirect approaches. There are two reasons that a mixed-methods approach is most appropriate for the present research. The first is that the objects of study—attitudes, ideologies, and identities surrounding the Welsh and English languages—span multiple disciplinary traditions, including social psychology, sociology, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, language policy and planning, and education. While crossing disciplinary boundaries can be a challenge, it is necessary for building new theories, considering new conceptual relationships, and finding new lenses through which to look at complex problems. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, attitudes, the study of ideologies and identities is not theoretically bound to a single disciplines, and as such, a wide variety of methods are employed. On one hand, this complicates the issue of finding a suitable methodology. On the other, it opens up a wide repertoire of methods with which to address the research questions.

The second justification for a mixed-methods approach is triangulation, “approaching the data from different perspectives in order to get a ‘fix’ on them” (Richards et al., 2012, p. 350), thereby increasing the validity of the findings

(Dörnyei, 2007). Triangulation is hugely beneficial because there are “potentially severe limitations of *all* footings for sociolinguistic research” (Jaworski et al., 2004). Questionnaire survey data lacks depth, ethnographic data can lack generalizability, interviews and focus groups are prone to social desirability bias, and so on. With principled consideration, using different types of data and looking at them from different angles attenuates the potential weaknesses of each method while amplifying the strengths (Dörnyei, 2007). The data here will produce a composite picture of language attitudes, ideologies, and identities among adolescents in Welsh secondary schools.

### *3.2. Examining attitude and ideology: theoretical foundations and rationale*

The question of how to measure or describe attitudes and ideologies is deeply rooted in the assumptions about these concepts within various fields. As discussed in section 2.3.1, the concept of attitude originates from social psychology but has been applied across numerous fields, each of which has had to grapple with its meaning within particular contexts and theoretical traditions. Traditional social psychological attitude literature has theorized attitudes as relatively stable mental representations (Vogel and Wanke, 2016), while constructivists have contended that attitude is situational, context-dependent, and emergent in interaction (Soukup, 2012). This distinction has important implications for the nature of attitude, including, for example, its capacity for stability across various contexts. While purist views do abide on both sides, many contemporary social psychological perspectives allow for an integrated approach, wherein attitude is considered to have both evaluative and representational aspects (Vogel and Wanke, 2016). This perspective aids in the interpretation of empirical data in cases where there is evidence of both attitudinal stability and contextual instability.

The theoretical position adopted here—though not the methodological approach—is sociocognitive, drawn from discursive psychology (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Van Dijk, 2008), which rejects a purely mentalist paradigm, but accepts cognition as a critical element of social constructionism. Therefore, “instead of considering “cognition” as a collection of more or less technical inner entities and processes, the focus is on how mental phenomena are both constructed and oriented to in people’s practices” (Edwards and Potter, 2001: 95). However, the notion within

discursive psychology that there is no pre-existing “attitude”, and that, therefore, all analysis of socio-cognitive language processes must come from “situated discourse” (Van Dijk, 2008) is rejected here. As Coupland and Jaworski (2004) note, “social interaction *is*, as well as *contextualising*, *contextualised* by prior expectations and assumptions, which must be carried cognitively” (p. 26, original emphasis). In other words, while attitudes, ideologies, and identities are undoubtedly dynamic, past socio-cognitive experiences shape present social interactions. Furthermore, from a methodological standpoint, experimental approaches allow the examination of attitudinal information that may be obscured in ethnographic methods. Campbell-Kibler (2010) points out that while experimental approaches do “[come] at the cost of ecological validity” (p. 37), they allow for a level of control that ethnomethodological approaches preclude, allowing specific hypotheses to be tested and comparisons to be made between groups. Implicit experimental methods in particular shed light on automatic cognitive processes (Campbell-Kibler, 2010) that may not be perceivable through discourse analytic means.

The methods used in this study were chosen to examine various facets of attitude, ideology, and identity, thus providing a multidimensional depiction. The depth and breadth of the study are made possible by an interdisciplinary, mixed-methods approach. There are five complementary methods employed throughout this dissertation: a closed-ended questionnaire; a matched-guise test; an Implicit Association Test; interviews with teachers, headteachers, and members of Welsh-medium community institutions; and focus groups with pupils, with a focus on metalinguistic discourse. These methods were selected to work in tandem to establish a balance between direct and indirect, as well as quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The various benefits and drawbacks of each method as well as their specific suitability for this research will be discussed in sections 3.3 to 3.5.

Prior to designing data collection methods, pilot interviews were conducted (Appendix G). Five participants between the ages of 18 and 25 were interviewed. All were originally from and had attended secondary schools in Wales, and four of them were studying at universities in the North East of England (the fifth was a university employee.) Four had attended Welsh-medium schools in various regions of Wales, and one had attended an English-medium school. A semi-structured format was used to allow for flexibility and probing (Richards et al., 2012). The interviews were centered around the secondary school experience with regards to

language, Welsh identity, and community. Interviews were recorded using a Sony ICD-P520 audio recorder, and ranged in length from 38 to 60 minutes. The content of these interviews was instrumental in designing each subsequent phase of the data collection, including questionnaire items, matched-guise characteristics, Implicit Association Test attributes, teacher interview questions, and focus group questions. Furthermore, several interviewees helped pilot subsequent phases of the study, including the questionnaire, the Implicit Association Test, and the matched-guise test.

### 3.3. *Data collection: direct measures*

One way to assess attitudes to language is to simply ask participants to report on them. A direct measure of attitude includes any method where participants are aware of the object of study and that requires conscious attention (Garrett, 2010). This can include quantitative measures, such as self-report questionnaires, or qualitative ones, such as narratives, journals, interviews, open-ended questionnaires, and focus groups. Direct approaches have historically comprised the majority of empirical attitude research (Garrett, 2010; Maio and Haddock, 2009). As such, common methods—particularly questionnaires—have the benefit of decades of scrutiny and testing for reliability, validity, statistical robustness, etc. Moreover, quantitative direct measures in particular are conducive to the collection of large data sets, inter-group comparison, and statistical measurement. Qualitative direct measures provide more detailed insights and shed light on the motivation and reasoning behind particular attitudes, as well as the underlying ideologies that shape (and are shaped by) them.

There are, however, considerable drawbacks to direct measures of attitude. First, it has been hypothesized that participants may not be consciously aware of their underlying attitudes (Nosek et al., 2007). Second, the way questions are presented can have a substantial effect on attitude reports (Maio and Haddock, 2009). Third, there is a tendency inherent in direct methods for respondents to report what they believe the researchers, or society at large, would find appropriate or acceptable. This is known as self-presentation (Greenwald et al., 1998), impression management (Maio and Haddock, 2009), or social desirability bias (Garrett, 2010). Controversial or sensitive topics, such as race, ethnicity, and religion, are particularly

susceptible to this effect. While researchers can take measures to ensure that respondents feel comfortable responding honestly (such as promising confidentiality and wording questions as neutrally as possible), direct measures will always be vulnerable to this tendency. Garrett (2010) notes that this may be especially true in focus group situations, where complete anonymity is not possible. One way to address these limitations is to counterbalance direct methods with indirect ones, which is what has been done in this study.

### 3.3.1. *Questionnaire design*

Self-report questionnaire surveys are by far the most commonly used methods in language attitudes research (Garrett, 2010). Using this method, respondents are asked to rate their cognitive and affective orientations toward an object of study on an ordinal scale, such as Likert or semantic differential scales (Richards et al., 2012). (These will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3.1.1.) Survey methods are appealing to researchers because surveys are relatively easy to create and administer, allow for large quantities of data to be collected in a reasonably short period of time, and the data collected can be used to test specific hypotheses in a systematic way (Dörnyei, 2007). While questionnaires are usually quantitative, they may include open-ended questions as well, allowing for some degree of qualitative analysis (Dörnyei, 2007).

There are several important considerations in questionnaire design. First, questionnaires are designed to elicit data that is representative of a larger population, and as such, sampling technique is important to the methodology and to its interpretation (Dörnyei, 2007). The quality of the sample is critical in determining the generalizability of the findings.<sup>8</sup> Second, the wording of the questions is of paramount importance in obtaining quality data. Some potential problems with question formulations are hypothetical questions, where respondents are asked how they would react in a given situation, which have been shown to be poor predictors of behavior (Garrett, 2010); loaded questions, which lead participants to respond in a particular way (Dörnyei, 2007); “double-barreled” questions, in which the survey item contains more than one question (Dörnyei, 2007; Garrett, 2010); and negative

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<sup>8</sup> The specific sampling techniques used in this study are discussed in sections 3.5.1 and 3.7.

constructions, which might confuse respondents as to the meaning of their response (Dörnyei, 2007). Taking care to avoid these common issues yields more valid and reliable data.

In this study, the questionnaire serves the purpose of broadly gauging various aspects of attitudes to Welsh and English in various domains of language behavior. The data elicited, while broad rather than deep in scope, is conducive to drawing general comparisons between school types (Welsh-medium and English-medium) and subsectors of the population (e.g., those with a Welsh-speaking parent and those without). This method also allows for relationships between variables to be explored to test specific hypotheses (e.g., self-reported proficiency and language use outside the classroom). Furthermore, the questionnaire method allows a relatively large number of participants to take part (in this case, the sample comprised over 25% of the target population of pupils in Years 9 and 10), supporting the generalizability of the findings to the general target population. As a direct, quantitative method, the questionnaire data in this study will also be used to triangulate data from direct qualitative measures as well as indirect measures.

The questionnaire developed for this study is entitled “Language Attitude and Use Questionnaire” (see Appendices A and B). The development of questions was informed by pilot interviews, previous language attitude and use surveys, and initial research questions. First, pilot interviews were transcribed, and emergent themes were noted. These themes aided in the development of questions that would be relevant to the sample population. Next, previous studies utilizing language attitude and use questionnaire instruments were examined for both structure and content (e.g., Coupland et al., 2005; Hickey, 2009; Musk, 2006; Price, 2010). Subsequently, the revised questionnaire was made available online using the web application SurveyExpression.com (Outside Software Inc., 2013), and completed by six pilot participants. The feedback from this stage was used to develop the final version of the questionnaire. Special care was taken throughout the process to avoid questions that might bias the results, such as those described above. Finally, the questionnaire was translated into Welsh by a native Welsh speaker. This final step allowed participants to choose to complete the questionnaire in either Welsh or English, thus helping to prevent potential bias caused by the medium of the instrument (Redinger, 2010). Additionally, providing this choice allowed for an examination of possible correlations between language attitudes and questionnaire language choice,

exploring the link between attitude and certain types of language behavior (Redinger, 2010).

One addendum was made to the questionnaire before it was distributed (Appendix C). This consisted of four questions on the perceived strength of the Welsh language in Wales as a whole and in Cardiff, at present and ten years in the future. These questions dealt with perceived ethnolinguistic identity, a component of ethnolinguistic identity theory. Developed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), ethnolinguistic vitality theory (EV) originated in social psychology as an indicator of the strength of a language, and has been applied frequently to studies of language shift. It consists of three factors: institutional support, demographic variables, and status. Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) (Bourhis et al., 1981) is a measure of the *perception* of the strength of a language, based on these same factors, and has been found to align to a certain degree with objective ethnolinguistic vitality. Shortly before this study, questions on perceived ethnolinguistic identity were added to the questionnaire to allow for potential comparability with other SEV-based language attitude studies. However, in the end, the decision was made not to include these in the analysis, as they were not comprehensive enough in scope to be compared with previous research, and EV is not a theoretical foundation for this study. Though it would indeed be productive to compare perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality between Welsh- and English-medium schools in future research, this question is beyond the scope of the current study. Therefore, these questions were excluded from the analysis.

The final questionnaire consisted of 52 questions and was divided into three sections: Part I elicited demographic information, including age, sex, time living in Wales, first and home languages, self-rated language proficiency, family language proficiency, nationality, and strength of identification with Welsh identity.<sup>9</sup> Part II asked participants to report on language use with specific individuals, and in domains such as school (inside and outside the classroom), the community, home, and cultural events, as well as engagement with Welsh-language media and literature. Part III focused on attitudes to language, and asked students to rate their level of agreement with statements about the following: code alternation; importance

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<sup>9</sup> While this question is not demographic information in a strict sense, it fit best in this category as it did not deal explicitly with language attitudes or use.

of ceremonial language uses, such as *eisteddfodau*; importance of use in the community, family, and outside the classroom (though still specifically in school); “coolness”; commitment to future language use; enjoyment of language learning; importance of the Welsh language to Welshness; and, as mentioned above, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality.

Part III utilized Likert scales. Originally developed to assess attitudes toward social issues, a Likert scale consists of a continuum, usually numbered with scale points, and labeled at each pole (e.g. “disagree” on one end and “agree” on the other) (Busch, 1993). One important consideration when using Likert scales is deciding on the number of ratings, or scale points, to include. To begin, a decision must be made whether to use even or odd numbers of scale points. An odd number of points is assumed to allow respondents to indicate a neutral response, while an even number of points forces a choice in one direction (Busch, 1993). However, the assumption of neutrality must be treated cautiously, as participants also use a midpoint rating to indicate uncertainty, or that the question does not apply to them personally (Garrett et al., 2003). Nonetheless, a Likert scale with an odd number of points is generally preferred by researchers, as it does not force participants to commit to one side of the scale or another (Garrett et al., 2003).

While Likert scales can range in number of scale points from two to eleven, the optimum scale length for reliability is between five and seven (Johns, 2010). While having fewer points simplifies the rating task for respondents, a larger number of points provides more choice in strength of opinion (Johns, 2010), as well as providing more variability for statistical analysis (Busch, 1993). To allow for a reliable but sufficiently sensitive measurement of attitude, a seven-point scale was used, labeled with anchors at each extreme, where a rating of 1 was labeled “strongly disagree” and a rating of 7 was labeled “strongly agree”. This also allowed respondents to indicate a neutral response to avoid forcing a decision and risking data quality (Johns, 2010).

Ratings for some demographic information (personal and family language proficiency and perceived strength of Welsh national identity) in Part I used seven-point semantic differential scales. Similar to Likert scales, semantic differential scales place opposite adjectives (or adjectival phrases) at either end of a continuum (e.g. “no knowledge of Welsh” and “fluent”). For the language use section in Part II, less instrument sensitivity was required. Therefore, three- and five- point Likert-type

frequency scales (e.g., “sometimes”, “often”, and “never”) were used to allow for simpler categorization in subsequent analysis.

### *3.3.2. Questionnaire procedure*

At EMS, questionnaires were distributed to students during their Welsh class periods. I delivered the instructions for the questionnaire (in English), and then made myself available for questions. At YGG, in order to minimize the impact on the school day, questionnaires were distributed by form teachers during students’ registration period at the beginning of the school day. In this case, I emailed form teachers with instructions for administering the questionnaire, as well as provided them with a printout of the instructions and the names of participants. Teachers were directed to offer the questionnaire in English or in Welsh, and to have students select a pseudonym in lieu of their real names to protect confidentiality. During the administration, I checked in with each classroom to answer any questions, ensure correct administration, and sort out any issues. The questionnaire took 15–25 minutes to complete, in line with Dörnyei’s (2007) recommendations. In the days following the initial administration, absent students were asked to complete the questionnaire in the school office in order to maximize the number of responses.

### *3.3.3. Community interviews*

Through connections made during my fieldwork, I also had the opportunity to speak with various members of Welsh-medium institutions, each involved with adolescent activities in Cardiff. I interviewed a development officer from the Cardiff branch of Urdd (see section 2.5.1.2.); an administrator for Menter Caerdydd; and the head of the Welsh Planning Branch, Welsh in Education, for the Welsh government. The content of the interviews varied, but they were semi-structured, and focused on organizational structures, target demographics, mission, funding, activities, and future plans. I also had the opportunity to informally interview a radio DJ from Radio Cymru during a school visit, and because it was spontaneous, there was no interview schedule. Since the goal of these interviews was to obtain information, rather than to examine attitudes or ideologies, they will be reported in terms of

content rather than metalanguage, and will be referenced in various sections of the dissertation.

#### 3.3.4. *Metalanguage*

How people talk, think about, and evaluate language—*with* language—is a crucial aspect in the development of language attitudes, ideologies, and identities, as well as language practices themselves. The reflexive concept of *metalanguage*, defined as “a set of social and cognitive processes ‘alongside’ or ‘about’ the forms and substances of speech, writing or other symbolic material” (Jaworski and Coupland, 2004, p. 4), has been utilized most frequently in metapragmatics and linguistic anthropology (Silverstein, 1993), but has also played a substantial role in studies of social psychological language attitudes (Giles and Coupland, 1991), folklinguistics (Preston, 1999), language awareness (Fairclough, 1992), and language learning pedagogy (Hawkins, 1984). At its heart, metalanguage serves as evidence that language is continually socially evaluated, interpreted, and changed, and is thus “responsible for creating ideologies of language and participants’ identities in talk” (Jaworski and Coupland, 2004 p. 12). By virtue of being an integral aspect of discourse, metalanguage is useful in identifying assumptions, norms, and attitudes about language.

As metalanguage is not tied to any particular theoretical tradition, there is no uniform methodology for its analysis, which is an asset for mixed-methods design. Metalanguage can lend itself to quantitative content analysis, such as counting the frequency of keywords (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2004); a mix of quantitative and qualitative analyses, combining frequency counts with analysis of specific conversational extracts (Jaworski and Sachdev, 2004); purely qualitative, but content-oriented, discourse analysis (Preston, 2004); or conversation analysis (Laihonen, 2008). Likewise, it has been utilized to examine many types of data, including language in print media (Galasiński, 2004), television media (Meinhof, 2004), political rhetoric (Wilson, 2004), and interviews (De Bres, 2014).

Because metalanguage is fundamentally discursive, what these approaches have in common is their use of some form of discourse analysis. In general terms, discourse analysis “emphasizes the role of language in the construction of social reality” (Talja, 1999, p. 2), and is thus based on a social constructionist epistemology

(section 2.3.1). “Discourse analysis”, and indeed the term “discourse” itself, however, encompass a vast variety of meanings within different disciplines, including social psychology, discursive psychology, artificial intelligence, and others (Schiffrin et al., 2008). Within sociolinguistics, the two dominant paradigms have been conversation analysis (CA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Van Dijk, 1999). Conversation analysis, based on the premise that ordinary conversations construct social realities (Litosseliti, 2010), is concerned with defining orderliness in talk-in-interaction. CA analyses aim to examine the data as objectively as possible—that is, apart from content not present in the interaction itself—by looking at aspects such as turn-taking, prosody, and other paralinguistic cues (Litosseliti, 2010). CDA, on the other hand, views discourse as not only a social, but also an ideological, practice. Methodologically, CDA contextualizes textual features within larger social frameworks (Litosseliti, 2010). Theoretically, it is concerned with how power structures construct social identities and reproduce inequalities through text (Van Dijk, 2008).

It is not surprising, then, that “metalinguistic discourse analysis” is approached differently by different researchers. King and Ganuza (2005) equate it with “content-oriented discourse analysis”, or folklinguistics (Preston, 1994), in which speakers construct identities through their overt knowledge of and beliefs about language. Similarly, Laihonen (2008) characterizes it as the analysis of ideologically laden “explicit talk about language” (p. 670). What sets metalinguistic discourse analysis apart from, for example, content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005) is that content-oriented or explicit metalinguistic discourse analysis deals with more than just *what* is said. In other words, “talk is not merely *about* actions, events and situations, it is also a *constitutive part* of those actions, events and situations” (Potter and Wetherall, 1987). Discourse is not taken for granted as “a direct index of subjects’ feelings and meanings” (Litosseliti, 2010) but is constructive as well as reflective.

There are two data types in this section: interviews, which were conducted with teachers and headteachers, and focus groups, which were conducted with students. For the current study, an explicit metalinguistic discourse analytic approach (cf. De Bres, 2014; King and Ganuza, 2005) has been deemed most appropriate for several reasons. First and foremost, this approach is conducive to revealing both overt attitudes and covert language ideologies, both of which are central to the

investigation. This is because, like other forms of discourse, “metalanguage does not only introduce the reporting speaker’s point of view on the utterance surface [ . . . but is . . . ] also subject to carrying an ideology-laden set of assumptions” (Galasiński, 2004, p. 132). Second, the data collection methods in this section—focus groups and interviews—were intentionally selected in order to provide a qualitative counterpart to quantitative data, as well as an explicit counterpart to implicit data. Finally, the structured, non-ethnographic nature of the data lends itself well to a content-based approach.

### 3.3.5. *Staff interviews*

Interviews have been used extensively in social science research, and are a common component of mixed-methods designs. Interviews have the benefit of being versatile and flexible, and can thus be applied across a multitude of topics to produce different kinds of data (Richards et al., 2012). Structured interviews, those which rely stringently on a standardized interview schedule, produce data that is relatively superficial, but can be compared across groups, much like questionnaire data (Dörnyei, 2007). Unstructured interviews, where no detailed interview guide is prepared in advance, are generally exploratory in nature, and allow participants to control the topic of conversation and level of depth, though the interviewer may probe further (Dörnyei, 2007). This may also produce narrative data (cf. Fischer and Goblrirsch, 2006). Semi-structured interviews strike a balance between these; the interviewer provides guidance, using an interview schedule, but the interviewee is encouraged to elaborate (Dörnyei, 2007). The focus, design and structure of the interview are dependent upon the type of data the researcher requires, as well as how it will be analyzed (Richards et al., 2012).

The purpose of the teacher and headteacher interviews in this study is fourfold. First, the overarching aim is to gain insight into language ideologies present in the school setting. Teachers’ own attitudes to language, language policy, and orientations to Welsh identity, as examined through metalinguistic discourse, reveal ideological undercurrents that contribute to the collective ethos of the school. Information about teachers’ personal backgrounds, such as birthplace, family language, and past employment, also contributes to this understanding. The second purpose is to gauge teachers’ perceptions of the attitudes, motivations and behaviors

surrounding their students' language practices. Teachers' beliefs about their students shape their expectations of them (Brophy, 1983), and thus their communicative interactions, as well as explicit policymaking. The third objective is to gain information about organization, policies, and history surrounding the school contexts. The fourth purpose is exploratory in nature: what insights do teachers have about future directions for language policy? What experiences have contributed to their understanding of Welsh identity? In order to meet these four aims, I adopted a semi-structured interview format (see Appendices E and F). This allowed me to investigate my research questions, gain contextual information, and explore emerging themes.

#### *3.3.5.1. Procedure for staff interviews*

Interviews took place throughout the months of May and June of 2013. An email was sent to all teaching staff at each school outlining the general aims of the study and inviting teachers to participate. Several teachers responded and interviews were scheduled. On occasion, I also invited participants in person, and in several cases was referred to others who might be interested. The interviews took place in either the staff rooms or the teachers' individual classrooms within each school in order to minimize inconvenience, and were audio-recorded on a Sony ICD-P520 recorder. The format was semi-structured; in some cases, although there was an interview schedule interviewees themselves guided the content of the interview. One informant, for example, had overheard an interview with his colleague and was inspired to share an experience of his own, in which he led a school trip to the Basque country in Spain. Another had helped to draft legislation for the Welsh Language Board, which led to a discussion on national language policy. Thus, while I did ask many of the same questions to participants, the content of the interviews varied substantially.

Following the interview process, I listened to all of the audio data, making notes of preliminary observations. Subsequently, I broadly transcribed the data (see Appendix H for transcription conventions used in this dissertation). For a content-based approach, a broad transcription was deemed sufficient. I then coded the data using the qualitative analysis web application Dedoose (v. 5.0.11, SocioCultural Research Consultants, LLC, 2014). Throughout the process, 24 codes and 100 sub-

codes were established (see Appendix I), and were based on preliminary research questions, initial notes from the recordings, and emergent themes in the data. These codes were not predetermined, but were rather used to loosely and flexibly categorize data, and were not intended for quantitative analysis. While a formal content analysis was not employed, the coding process did bring to light both the empirical and exploratory values of the interview data. While expected themes, such as code alternation, nationality, and school language policies, appeared frequently, additional themes emerged as well. Ethnic identity, class, and languages other than English or Welsh, for example, came up in several interviews, despite the absence of questions on these topics on the question sheet. The coding process also allowed for a general comparison between schools and between teachers and students, as well as co-occurrence of codes. For example, it can be seen that the codes “language enforcement” and “rebellion” occurred within the same extract 28 times, which helps to draw attention to overlapping and interactive themes. Finally, relevant extracts were selected for analysis.

### 3.3.6. *Focus Groups*

A focus group is a type of orchestrated group discussion. Originating in sociology, but popularized by the market research industry, focus groups have become increasingly prevalent in mixed-methods social science research (Smithson, 2000). Traditionally, a focus group consists of a moderator, who is similar to an interviewer, and a small number of participants who are presumed to be “peers” in some way—that is, they share some common frame of reference (Kidd and Parshall, 2000). Focus groups have often been portrayed as a subtype of individual interviews (Dörnyei, 2004), but the interactional nature of focus groups creates a similarly interactional environment that can differ dramatically from a one-on-one interview. Opinions, motives, and beliefs can be challenged and negotiated between interlocutors (Kidd and Parshall, 2000), thus cultivating a unique discursive dynamic. In the case of the present research, the focus group is best characterized as a planned, discursive social interaction. By overtly asking participants to reflect on their language practices, as well as those of their peers and teachers, we can gain insight into individual language attitudes, group language norms, and ideological underpinnings.

Dörnyei (2007) points out that one drawback of the focus group setting is that it gives rise to the possibility of social desirability bias. In this case, however, the negotiation process itself sheds light onto precisely what *is* considered to be socially acceptable to a particular group, such as the dominant ideologies that underlie talk about language and the way these ideologies are accepted or challenged in interaction. This involves “[identifying] areas of agreement and controversy to better understand how perspectives arise and are modified in a group” (Kidd and Parshall, 2000, p. 300). Kidd and Parshall (2000) caution that there is a need to “assess the extent to which responses may have arisen from conformance or censoring” (p. 294) in order to improve the reliability of the data. However, conformance to peer views and censoring can be seen as performative social acts in and of themselves, and are therefore constituents of the analysis.

From a discourse analytic standpoint, the biggest drawback to the focus group setting is its presumed artificiality. By virtue of taking place in a controlled setting and directly or indirectly involving the researcher, the discourse generated during a focus group session is detached from what could be called “natural” social interaction, and thus may not be applicable to other settings (Millward, 1995). Discourse produced under these conditions, however, is no less valid—it is a meaningful communicative event (Smithson, 2000). Furthermore, the control of topic afforded by the method allows for specific research questions to be addressed and for triangulation to take place. While metalinguistic talk about Welsh and Welshness undoubtedly takes place in naturalistic settings among the participants in this study—as evidenced by references to such discussions by focus group participants—it would be methodologically unmanageable to record such talk without a long-term ethnographic study. What is critical, however, is to acknowledge the social setting and contextualize the analysis. Focus groups “should not be analyzed as if they are naturally occurring discussions, but as discussions occurring in a specific, controlled setting” (Smithson, 2000, p. 104). The physical setting, the expectations of the researcher, the relationship of the interlocutors, and the questions themselves all work to frame the interaction, and are thus integral to the data analysis.

### 3.3.6.1. Procedure for focus groups

The procedure for the focus group sessions was modeled after that of Musk (2006) in his doctoral dissertation on code-switching practices in Wales. Rather than acting as a moderator, as is standard practice in focus group interviews, I elected to have the focus group members moderate themselves by not being present in the room myself. This was a strategic decision for a number of reasons. First, I felt that my physical presence in the room might preclude participants from expressing opinions they thought I might disagree with, particularly because of my unfamiliarity with the students. Second, although I set the general agenda for the discussion, I wanted to allow participants to address each topic at their own pace, rather than my own. Third, as an American researcher (and a non-Welsh, American English speaker), I was clearly not a member of the ingroup, which may have had a substantial influence on the discussions. Finally, my aim was to observe the co-construction of meaning *between* participants without interfering with the social dynamic. This is not to say that my presence was not influential; the fact that the sessions were recorded meant that I was a participant in the discourse as a listener. (In fact, at times pupils directly addressed the camera to suggest that I censor certain sections or to apologize for fellow classmates' choice of words.) However, my absence in the room allowed debates to take place without my interference, which shed light on their peer-to-peer communicative negotiation strategies.

There were fifteen focus group questions, covering topics such as students' enjoyment of their school, their use of (and opinions on) code-switching, their perceptions of school language policies, and their plans for the future (Appendices J and K). At the start of the session, participants were given this list of questions and asked to choose a moderator to read them aloud and keep the conversation on track. They were also told that their opinions would be kept confidential, that they should feel free to disagree with one another (i.e., they did not need to reach a consensus as a group), and that they could take all the time they needed. Students at YGG were instructed to speak in English, but were permitted to use Welsh words as needed. Audio and video recorders were then set, and the researcher left. At YGG, focus group sessions took place during their lunch period in closed rooms in the library. At EMS, the sessions took place in a classroom that adjoined their Welsh classroom. In both cases, the researcher, as well as a teacher or administrator, were directly outside

the room for safety and ethics purposes, where students could be supervised but where specific content could not be overheard.

Upon completion of data collection, focus group recordings were transcribed. Video recordings were used to differentiate between distinct voices, but these were supplemented with higher-quality audio recordings where necessary. This process provided a written record of focus group discussions, which facilitated the coding and extraction process. Additionally, the transcription process itself served as a preliminary analysis of the data, as I had to listen closely to each recording multiple times to ensure accuracy and to transcribe overlap. The transcription conventions used were the same as with the teacher and community interviews except that, in the case of the focus groups, overlapping speech was transcribed. Finally, data were coded using Dedoose (v. 5.0.11, SocioCultural Research Consultants, LLC, 2014), using the same coding scheme as the interviews.

#### *3.4. Data collection: indirect measures*

Indirect approaches have played a role in language attitude research for nearly six decades. Social psychologist Lambert's matched-guise test, devised in the 1950s to examine attitudes toward French and English in Canada, created an avenue to elicit privately held views of language, and has been by far the most prevalent indirect measure in language attitude research. Psychological priming, the use of a stimulus to implicitly influence a subsequent behavior, has been used in sociolinguistics to examine unconscious associations with various language varieties (Bourhis and Giles, 1976; Hay and Drager, 2010). For example, Hay and Drager (2010) demonstrated that speaker of New Zealand English perceived vowels to sound more Australian when they were first exposed to a stuffed koala or a kangaroo toy, and more New Zealand when first exposed to a kiwi toy. In 1998, Greenwald and colleagues pioneered the Implicit Association Test, an instrument designed to investigate non-conscious attitudes and associations with target concepts using a high-speed categorization task. While it has been used extensively to study racial bias, it is relatively new in sociolinguistics, and has been used by only a handful of researchers (Babel, 2010; Campbell-Kibler, 2012; Pantos and Perkins, 2012; Redinger, 2010).

As discussed in section 3.3.1, indirect measures have the distinct advantage of precluding participants from giving specific responses on the basis of what they believe will please the researcher, and are believed to elicit privately held beliefs. Additionally, as Garrett (2010) points out, “in some contexts . . . people may operate with two value systems (or two sets of attitudes) alongside each other, while only being conscious of one of them” (p. 43). This fits the conception of attitudes as multidimensional. As such, complementing the direct measures described above with indirect measures is expected to provide a more comprehensive depiction of the construction of attitudes. Two indirect measures are utilized: the matched-guise technique (Lambert et al., 1960) and the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald et al., 1998). To date, this is the first study to use these measures with the same participants, in order to examine multiple implicit attitudinal dimensions.

#### *3.4.1. Matched-guise test*

The matched-guise technique, or matched-guise test (MGT), pioneered by social psychologists Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum (1960), involves having participants listen to various audio-recorded voices and judge them on various characteristics. Listener “judges” are told that each recording has been done by a different speaker. In reality, however, some of the same speakers are recorded using different “guises”, i.e., speaking in various accents or languages. This technique ensures that voice quality remains relatively constant while the object of study, i.e. language variety, is isolated<sup>10</sup>. For example, in Lambert et al.’s (1960) study, bilinguals in Quebec were recorded reading passages in both French and English. French-speaking and English-speaking listeners were then asked to evaluate each speaker on fourteen personality characteristics. Contrary to expectations, both the French-speaking and English-speaking listeners judged the English guises more favorably than the French guises, suggesting that the minority francophone listeners were taking on the stereotyped values of the majority Anglophone population (Garrett, 2010).

The primary benefit of the matched-guise test, as with other indirect methods, is its ability to indirectly access information about attitude, associations,

and stereotypes that may be difficult to elicit through more direct methods. Because of its prevalence in language attitude research, however, the matched-guise technique has drawn various criticisms, and has thus undergone numerous adaptations (for a full discussion, see Garrett, 2010). One concern is the “neutrality” of the reading passage. While efforts are made to choose reading passages that are not ideologically laden, it is not possible to ensure complete neutrality. Another concern is the authenticity of the linguistic variable. When one speaker is using various languages or language varieties, their accuracy is likely to be reduced, rendering a recording that might sound a bit ‘off’. Some researchers have dealt with this issue by using an alternative to the matched-guise test: the verbal-guise test. This method employs different speakers, each native speakers of the language variety that is the object of study. Although this helps solve the issue of authenticity, it introduces a variety of other variables, such as the tone and pitch of different speakers, that must be controlled or accounted for in some way. Finally, some researchers have found that the matched-guise technique is not conducive to the object of study, and thus must be modified. For example, Robert (2009) conducted a study comparing perceptions of L1 and L2 speakers of Welsh. As a reading passage would have hidden L2 errors and prevented L1 speakers from code-switching, Robert opted to use a caption-less comic strip instead. While this clearly introduced additional variables that could not be controlled, Robert accounted for these in the analysis and limited the generalizability of the findings.

#### *3.4.1.1. Matched-guise test and behavior*

Considering the longevity of the matched-guise technique, there has been little research on the correlation between MGT responses and language behavior. Ladegaard (2000) addressed this question by collecting behavioral data from audio-recorded classroom interactions and comparing it to both a verbal guise test and an attitudes questionnaire. While the attitudes questionnaire revealed correlations between behavior and attitude, the verbal guise task did not. He points out that attitudes are multi-faceted and dynamic, yielding different results in different contexts. It is also important to note that variables involved in students' production

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<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that while this is often an assumption of the matched guise, voice quality can

are extremely complex and thus difficult to predict based on a single variable. It is also impossible to record a person's entire verbal repertoire and compare it with his or her language attitudes. This final fact leads Ladegaard to conclude that studies of language attitudes may predict broad sociolinguistic behaviors, but cannot definitively link behavior and attitudes, due to their psychosocial complexity.

Lawson and Sachdev (2004) conducted a similar experiment to examine attitudes toward and use of code-switching practices. Matched-guise test ratings were compared to self-report of language use from a language diary, as well the results of a field experiment in which participants' responses to requests for directions in either French or Tunisian Arabic were recorded. Despite conveying negative attitudes toward code-switching in the MGT, Tunisians frequently code-switched, particularly when speaking to Tunisian Arabic speakers. The researchers found that neither self-reported nor observed code-switching behavior correlated with matched-guise test ratings, indicating a divergence between implicit attitudes and overt language behaviors.

As Soukup (2012) and Lawson and Sachdev (2004) point out, the discrepancy between matched-guise test ratings and behavior is reflective of the discrepancy between the contexts in which these evaluations take place, that is, a matched-guise test that is situated in, for example, a university setting, will not be likely to predict behaviors in a different setting, such as casual encounters on the street. Therefore, as with any method, one must bear in mind the limitations of the matched-guise test. Rather than predicting specific behaviors, the MGT is designed to elicit social stereotypes (Soukup, 2012). While it can detect a degree of multidimensionality in attitudes, e.g., toward competence or social attractiveness (Garrett, 2010) it is nevertheless a relatively blunt instrument. Examining these social stereotypes, however, can lend critical insight into individual perceptions as well as broader ideological undercurrents. Moreover, stereotypes can work to galvanize social categories and reproduce social inequalities (Bucholtz, 2004), which has important implications for the current and future status of Welsh.

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vary depending on the language variety.

#### 3.4.1.2. Procedure for matched-guise test

For this study, in order to seek evaluative reactions to code alternation, it was necessary to produce an audio recording where natural-sounding code alternation took place. Using a reading passage has the advantage of holding the content constant, which helps to ensure that the language variety is the only evaluative object (Garrett, 2010). However, code alternation occurs most frequently in spontaneous conversational speech, and is not commonly found in written form. Thus, finding or creating a written text in which code-switching occurred was difficult, and using such a text would run the risk of sounding contrived. Alternatively, an open-ended picture description, such as the blank comic strip used in Robert's (2009) matched-guise study, would allow the recorded speaker to code-switch more naturally, but would produce varied content between speakers and guises. With these constraints in mind, the decision was made to present both types of stimuli to listeners, and to bear in mind the advantages and disadvantages of each in the analysis.<sup>11</sup>

Two speakers, one male and one female, were selected to record the matched-guise stimuli. Both speakers were nineteen years old, attended universities in North-East England, and came from towns in North Wales where Welsh was a dominant language in the community.<sup>12</sup> Both were first-language Welsh speakers, but were fluent in English as well. The speakers were asked to read a passage<sup>13</sup> aloud in English, in Welsh, and in Welsh with a few English words. The speakers used their own discretion on which words to code alternate to sound 'natural', and included both cognates (e.g. 'cloak' and '*cloc*') and some English words with Welsh morphemes (e.g. '*wrapio*'). The resulting text included both code-mixed and code-switched utterances (see section 2.3.3 for the distinction). Each speaker was asked to read the passage three times, at three different speeds, in each of the three guises, for a total of nine recordings per speaker. Audio recordings of the same approximate pace were chosen as stimuli. Next, the speakers were shown a picture of a scene with

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<sup>11</sup> In piloting, all of the code-switching recordings were judged to be natural-sounding, by Welsh and non-Welsh speakers alike.

<sup>12</sup> The speakers were selected based on availability; that they were both from the North East was coincidental.

<sup>13</sup> The passage used was the children's fable, "The North Wind", which has been used frequently in sociophonetic research.

no text<sup>14</sup> and asked to describe it in English, in Welsh, and in Welsh with occasional code-switches into English. Four ‘dummy guises’—in four different varieties of English—were also recorded using both procedures in the: a British female from a town in Mid-West England on the border with Wales; a female from Yorkshire, a male from North-East England, and a male from the Midwestern United States. Stimuli were audio recorded using a Zoom H4n External 4 Channel Sound Recorder and edited for length and noise reduction using Audacity (R) version 2.0.3 (2013) audio editing software.

Participants at both schools completed the matched-guise test immediately following the Implicit Association Test, in their respective IT labs. All participants were told that they would be listening to a series of voices and judging them on various aspects. I told participants to think of a time they heard a voice on the radio and had a mental picture of what that person might be like in order to guide them to focus on the voice rather than the language. At YGG, I also informed participants that they could choose to complete the MGT in Welsh or in English, and instructed them on how to choose the appropriate file. Participants were also reminded that their responses would remain anonymous. At both schools, an IT specialist remained in the room in case of technical issues. At YGG, an administrator was also present but remained at the side of the room.

### *3.4.2. Implicit Association Test*

The Implicit Association Test has its roots in social psychology, and was first developed by Greenwald et al. (1998) to examine social stereotypes. Its purpose is to indirectly measure the strength of associations between target concepts and diametrically opposed positive or negative attributes. This information is obtained via a computer-based categorization task in which participants match dichotomous attributes (i.e., “friendly” and “mean”) to a target concept representing “positive” or “negative”, and textual or pictorial exemplars (i.e., a picture of a man and a picture of a woman) to the target concepts being assessed (e.g. “male” and “female”). In three of the trial blocks, only one target concept is shown in each corner of the

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<sup>14</sup> The picture used was “Cookie Theft” (Goodglass & Kaplan, 1983), a picture commonly used in testing for speech and language disorders. The only words to appear in the picture —“cookie jar” — were digitally erased. See Appendix L.

screen, which serves to familiarize the participant with the task. In two pairs of trial blocks, however, attribute and exemplar stimuli are mixed, and all four target concepts appear at once, where one target concept is matched with “positive” and the other is matched with ‘negative’ (i.e., “MALE OR POSITIVE” on the left side, “FEMALE OR NEGATIVE” on the right side). The target concepts are then reversed (i.e., “FEMALE OR POSITIVE” on the left side and “MALE OR NEGATIVE” on the right.). The difference in reaction times between these two block pairs indicates the strength of the association, where a faster mean reaction time and fewer errors indicate an easier categorization and thus a stronger association<sup>15</sup>.

The primary benefit of the Implicit Association Test is its ability to indirectly access information about attitudes, associations, and stereotypes that may be difficult to elicit through more direct methods. For example, social desirability bias, which is inaccuracy arising from the desire to avoid embarrassment or disapproval, may impede a participant from answering a questionnaire item honestly (Garrett, 2010). The IAT has been tested extensively for “fakeability” and found to be far more resistant to dishonest manipulation than self-report (Nosek et al., 2007). Additionally, the IAT may reveal associations of which the participant is not consciously aware (Nosek et al., 2007). Like other indirect measures that have been used in sociolinguistics, such as the matched-guise test (Lambert et al., 1960) and priming (Bourhis and Giles, 1976; Hay and Drager, 2010), the IAT is a valuable complement to more direct elicitation techniques. This is the first study to use the IAT to examine attitudes toward the Welsh language, and the first to compare implicit associations with two different languages on a large scale.<sup>16</sup>

#### 3.4.2.1. *The IAT and “attitude”*

There has been some debate as to whether the IAT measures “attitude” in the same way that an explicit instrument, such as a questionnaire, might. Karpinski and Hinton’s (2001) study showed that data from their IAT and from an explicit task behaved independently of one another. Because of this, they assert that the IAT

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<sup>15</sup> This procedure will be explained in greater detail in section 3.4.2.4.

detects “the associations the person has been exposed to in his or her environment, not that individual’s level of endorsement regarding the attitude object” (p. 786). Uhlmann et al. (2012) argue that while there may be discrepancies between explicitly endorsed views and automatic associations, they are not totally independent entities. Cultural and environmental factors have an effect on people’s orientations toward evaluative objects whether they are explicitly endorsed or not, which may in turn affect behavior. They maintain that “implicit attitudes reveal the power of cultures to reproduce themselves in individual minds and the futility of conscious protests to the contrary” (p. 250). Though this assumes a rather deterministic view of the relationship between culture, attitude, and behavior, it does acknowledge the permeability of those aspects.

Although it is necessary to be cautious in making claims about what the IAT actually does measure, the data it provides is valuable in any case. For this study, participants’ environmental exposure is particularly relevant, since it is concerned with examining the relationship between attitudes and ideologies in different educational contexts. Therefore, regardless of whether the associations measured by the IAT reflect environmental influences or personal subjectivities, they provide information about ideological frameworks. For analytical purposes in this portion of the study, the term “implicit attitude” will be defined by the strength of association between positive or negative attributes and the target concepts.

#### *3.4.2.2. The IAT and behavior*

Evidence regarding whether implicit attitudes correlate with specific behaviors is sketchy. The inconsistency in the relationship between behavior and attitude has long been a problem in all types of attitude research (Garrett, 2010; Ladegaard, 2000). Incongruent attitude-behavior relationships may be due to conflicts between intention and actual commitment, competition between multiple attitudes, and/or an inability to control one’s behavior. The IAT has faced similar problems, and has performed inconsistently in correlations with behaviors, particularly for stigmatized topics (Swanson et al., 2001). However, there is evidence

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<sup>16</sup> In his doctoral dissertation, Redinger (2010) did a pilot IAT study using two languages, Luxembourgish and French. Since his study was exploratory in nature, however, it involved only five participants.

that the IAT does outperform explicit self-report in predicting behavior, especially for socially sensitive subjects where social desirability bias is a factor. In a meta-analysis of 122 IAT reports, Greenwald et al. (2009) found that while both implicit and explicit measures were able to predict behavior to some degree, there was far less variability in effect size for implicit measures. Furthermore, the predictive validity of IAT measures on behavior outperformed that of explicit measures in studies involving black-white interracial behavior. For this reason, the IAT is a useful instrument for studies involving attitudes toward controversial topics, including aspects of language and culture.

#### 3.4.2.3. *The IAT in sociolinguistic research*

Despite its popularity in social psychology, the IAT has been adopted only recently by sociolinguists. The majority of these studies have examined attitudes toward specific linguistic groups. In her study on New Zealanders' degree of accommodation to Australian English, Babel (2010) found that attitude toward Australia in general, as measured by IAT *D* score, was a significant predictor of phonetic convergence. Redinger (2010) piloted a small-scale IAT as part of a comprehensive study on language attitudes in Luxembourg and found that his participants associated Luxembourgish with more positive attributes than French. Pantos et al. (2012) conducted an IAT in which linguistics students were asked to align American-accented and Korean-accented English speech with "GOOD" and "BAD", and found a pro-American-accented English bias, which contradicted participants' questionnaire responses. Recently, Campbell-Kibler (2012) used the IAT to investigate sociolinguistic and sociophonetic variability. Her data revealed associations between the American English variable (ING) and Northern/Southern states, blue-collar/white-collar professions, and country singers/news anchors. Using audio files, she also tested associations between (ING) and region, [ay] monophthongization, and [t]-release. The data showed that there was indeed an association between region and the socially enregistered [ay] monophthongization, but not the less enregistered [t]-release. Finally, she correlated her IAT data with two more explicit measures, and found little correlation for individual speakers. Nonetheless, she regarded the IAT as a promising tool for the study of sociolinguistic cognition.

#### 3.4.2.4. *Implicit Association Test procedure*

The IAT was designed and run using the Python-based experimental software PsychoPy (Peirce, 2007). The task was completed on iMac 21 Core II Duo computers at YGG and on Dell PCs at EMS. Due to teachers' scheduling preferences, I administered the IAT over four sessions of thirty pupils each. Four students at EMS were missing from their session and completed their test several days later. Pupils at YGG were given the choice to perform the IAT in English or in Welsh. Since it was determined that the level of Welsh language in the Welsh IAT was too advanced for the pupils at EMS, all pupils from that school performed the IAT in English.

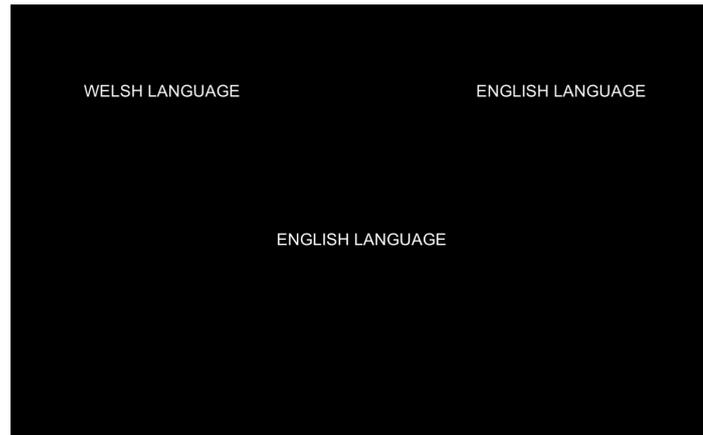
I selected five attribute pairs for the IAT. Four of the pairs were selected based on salience and relevance to Welsh- and English-medium secondary school students, based on pilot interview data. These included INTELLIGENT / UNINTELLIGENT, USEFUL / IMPRACTICAL, COOL / UNCOOL, and HARDWORKING / LAZY. I included the fifth set of attributes, WEAK / STRONG, to incorporate an element of ethnolinguistic vitality perception, which has appeared frequently in explicit Welsh language attitude studies (Coupland et al., 2005; Giles and Johnson, 1987). I piloted the IAT with five five Welsh-English bilingual participants before the main study and the attribute stimuli were judged to be appropriate.

The order in which attribute stimuli appeared was randomized within PsychoPy. Additionally, I counterbalanced the order in which the judgment attributes occurred, such that half the participants saw "WELSH LANGUAGE OR POSITIVE" in Blocks 3 and 4 and "WELSH LANGUAGE OR NEGATIVE" in Blocks 6 and 7, while the other half saw "WELSH LANGUAGE OR NEGATIVE" in Blocks 3 and 4 and "WELSH LANGUAGE OR POSITIVE" in Blocks 6 and 7.

The IAT consisted of seven trial blocks, including five practice blocks and two test blocks. Blocks 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 consisted of 20 trials each, while Blocks 4 and 7 each had 40 trials. Participants were instructed to match the terms that appeared in the center of the screen with the terms on the right- and left-hand corners of the screen by pressing the "D" or "K" keys. If the answer was correct, the subsequent screen immediately appeared. If the answer was incorrect, a red "X"

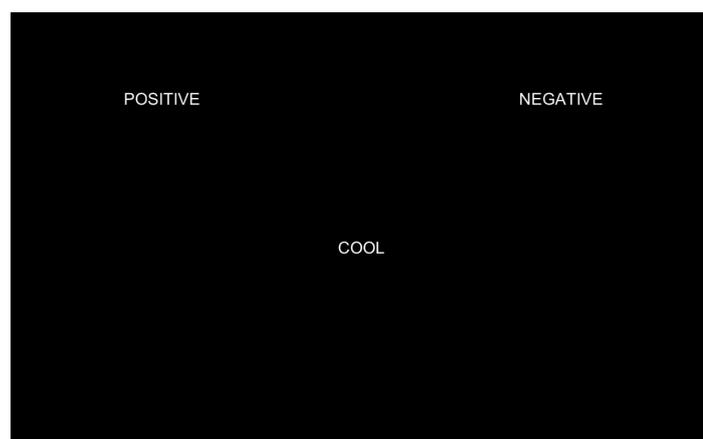
would appear and participants would have four seconds to correct their responses before the next stimulus item appeared.

In Block 1, the target concepts “WELSH LANGUAGE” and “ENGLISH LANGUAGE” appeared in the upper right- and left-hand corners of the screen, respectively, as shown in Figure 1. In the center of the screen, the same words appeared as exemplars.<sup>17</sup>



*Figure 3.1. IAT Block 1*

In Block 2, the words “POSITIVE” and “NEGATIVE” appeared on the upper left- and right-hand corners of the screen, while adjectives representing positive and negative attributes appeared one a time in the center, as shown in Figure 2.

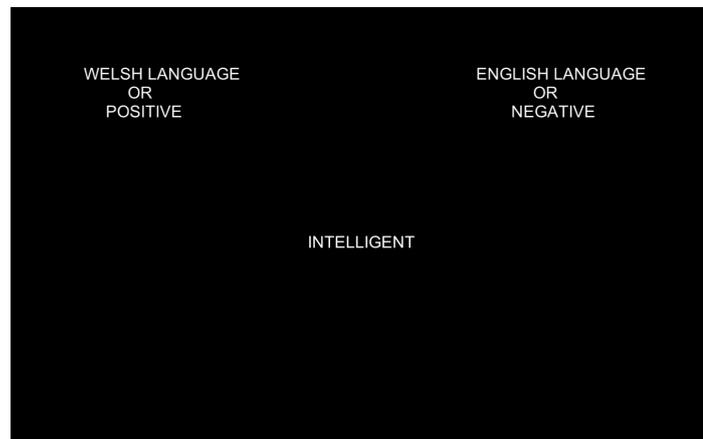


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<sup>17</sup> Traditionally, the terms appearing in the center during this block would be images or words that are objectively associated with the target concepts. However, because there was no means of representing the two languages with words or images without conflating them with their associated countries (i.e., Wales and England), using identical terms was determined to be the most appropriate alternative to the conventional design.

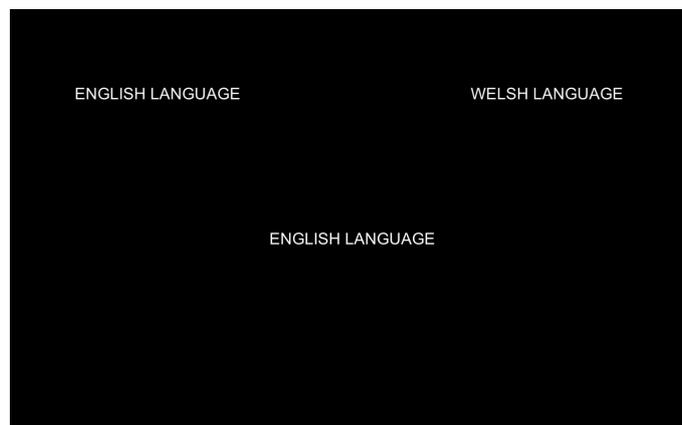
*Figure 3.2. IAT Block 2*

In Block 3, all four target concepts appeared at one time, so that “WELSH LANGUAGE OR POSITIVE” appeared in the upper left-hand corner and “ENGLISH LANGUAGE OR NEGATIVE” appeared in the upper right-hand corner, as shown in Figure 3. The exemplar terms “WELSH LANGUAGE” and “ENGLISH LANGUAGE” randomly alternated with positive and negative attributes in the center of the screen. Block 4 was identical to Block 3, but with 40 trials.



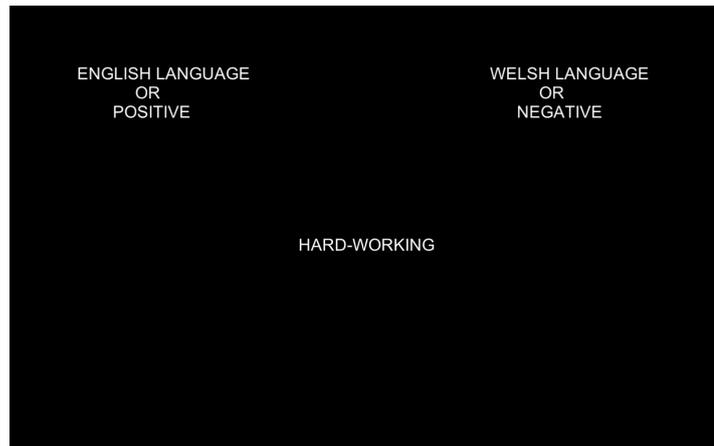
*Figure 3.3. IAT Blocks 3 and 4*

In Block 5, the side of the screen on which the target concepts “WELSH LANGUAGE” and “ENGLISH LANGUAGE” appeared was reversed, as shown in Figure 4. Participants practiced the new configuration during 20 trials.



*Figure 3.4. IAT Block 5*

In Block 6, the upper left corner now read “ENGLISH LANGUAGE OR POSITIVE” and the upper right “WELSH LANGAUGE OR NEGATIVE”, as shown in Figure 5. Again, the exemplar terms “WELSH LANGUAGE” and “ENGLISH LANGUAGE” alternated randomly with positive and negative attributes in the center of the screen. Block 7 was identical to Block 6, only with 40 trials instead of 20. The entire test took about seven minutes to complete.



*Figure 3.5. IAT Blocks 6 and 7*

Table 3.1 shows the full content and structure of the IAT, organized by trial block.

<b>BLOCK</b>	<b>TARGET CONCEPTS (L-R)</b>		<b>STIMULI (RANDOMIZED)</b>	<b>NUMBER OF TRIALS</b>
1	WELSH LANGUAGE/ ENGLISH LANGUAGE		WELSH LANGUAGE/ENGLISH LANGUAGE	20
2	POSITIVE/NEGATIVE		COOL/UNCOOL INTELLIGENT/UNINTELLIGENT USEFUL/IMPRACTICAL HARDWORKING/LAZY WEAK/STRONG	20
3	WELSH LANGUAGE OR POSITIVE	ENGLISH LANGUAGE OR NEGATIVE	WELSH LANGUAGE/ENGLISH LANGUAGE COOL/UNCOOL INTELLIGENT/UNINTELLIGENT USEFUL/IMPRACTICAL HARDWORKING/LAZY WEAK/STRONG	20
4	WELSH LANGUAGE OR POSITIVE	ENGLISH LANGUAGE OR NEGATIVE	WELSH LANGUAGE/ENGLISH LANGUAGE COOL/UNCOOL INTELLIGENT/UNINTELLIGENT USEFUL/IMPRACTICAL HARDWORKING/LAZY WEAK/STRONG	40
5	ENGLISH LANGUAGE / WELSH LANGUAGE		WELSH LANGUAGE/ENGLISH LANGUAGE	20
6	ENGLISH LANGUAGE OR POSITIVE	WELSH LANGUAGE OR NEGATIVE	WELSH LANGUAGE/ENGLISH LANGUAGE COOL/UNCOOL INTELLIGENT/UNINTELLIGENT USEFUL/IMPRACTICAL HARDWORKING/LAZY WEAK/STRONG	20
7	ENGLISH LANGUAGE OR POSITIVE	WELSH LANGUAGE OR NEGATIVE	WELSH LANGUAGE/ENGLISH LANGUAGE COOL/UNCOOL INTELLIGENT/UNINTELLIGENT USEFUL/IMPRACTICAL HARDWORKING/LAZY WEAK/STRONG	40

*Table 3.1.* IAT design, by trial block

Participants at both schools completed the IAT in their respective IT labs. I instructed them to try complete the task as quickly as possible, and to correct their answers if they were shown to be incorrect by a red “X”. I also instructed participants on how to press the “D” key to select a response on the left side and the “F” key to select a response on the right side. At YGG, I told pupils that they could complete the task in Welsh or in English, and told them how to access the appropriate file.

#### 3.4.2.5. *D Score Calculation*

The strength of associations was quantified using *D* scores, which are calculated using an algorithm (for a full discussion, see Nosek et. al, 2007). Data from Blocks 3, 4, 6, and 7 were included in the calculation. Trial latencies less than 300 milliseconds were eliminated. For trials where the first answer was incorrect, the time of the corrected keypress was used. For trials where no answer was provided within 4000ms, the average block mean was used with an added 600ms penalty.<sup>18</sup> The combined means from Blocks 3 and 6 and from Blocks 6 and 7 were divided by their respective standard deviations, and the two resulting quotients were averaged. The end result is a *D* score between -2 and +2. A positive *D* measure indicates a positive implicit attitude toward a target concept, while a negative *D* score indicates a negative implicit attitude. Since *D* scores are designed to show relative association strengths, there is no definitive scale of association strength. However, as a frame of reference for this study I will refer to the break points of .15 (slight), .35 (moderate), and .65 (strong) delineated by Harvard’s Project Implicit (*Project Implicit*, 2013).

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<sup>18</sup> Nosek et. al (2007) provide two nearly identical algorithms: one for IATs where respondents can correct their responses and one where it is not possible to make corrections. In this IAT, respondents were instructed to correct their responses, but due to technical issues, the following stimulus would appear after 4000ms of nonresponse. To account for this, procedures from both algorithms were used for calculating means for trials with errors.

### 3.5. *Research context*

#### 3.5.1. *Fieldwork*

The fieldwork took place in two secondary schools—one Welsh-medium (hereby called by the pseudonym, “YGG”), and one English-medium (hereby called by the pseudonym “EMS”)—in Cardiff during May and June of 2013. The criteria for choosing the schools were based on pilot interviews, preliminary research into language attitudes in Wales, and a review of demographic data in Cardiff. Reports from Estyn, an independent but government-funded school inspection organization, were used initially to screen schools within the city for these criteria. It was determined that the research sites should have similar proportions of non-White students and/or speakers of languages other than English or Welsh, and that the majority of students at the Welsh-medium school should be learning Welsh as an additional language. Socioeconomic status was also taken into consideration initially; however, due to the low response rate of the schools contacted, and because it was not a primary focus of this study, this criterion was excluded. The researcher was referred by a friend to a teacher at a Welsh-medium school who described the school as having a “very diverse background”<sup>19</sup> and pupils whose home languages varied with “Welsh, English, Urdu, French, German and Spanish as their mother tongue” (personal communication, 2013). This teacher put me in touch with the headteacher, who coordinated fieldwork arrangements. The English-medium school was chosen on the basis of the 2007 Estyn report (section 2.6.2)<sup>20</sup>, which described the school as having “a diverse pupil intake”, where “approximately 27% of pupils come from minority ethnic heritages” (Estyn, 2007). I contacted the headteacher via e-mail, who put me in touch with the head of the Welsh department to arrange data collection.

I received a high level of organizational support from both schools throughout the data collection process. The headteacher at YGG organized assemblies for Years 9 and 10, where he explained my project and invited me to speak about it. He subsequently disseminated a letter to parents explaining my

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<sup>19</sup> This was confirmed by the Estyn report.

<sup>20</sup> This was the most recent Estyn report at the time; a new inspection report, from March 2013, came out in May 2013; this report will be referred to later on.

research and inviting them to have their children participate. Additionally, I was invited to a staff meeting, where I was given the opportunity to introduce myself to teachers and staff. The head of Keystage 3 was assigned to coordinate the practical aspects of the data collection and to accompany me when students were present to comply with ethics requirements. At EMS, the head of the Welsh department briefly explained my project to her pupils, distributed consent forms, scheduled each stage of the research, and provided classroom time and space. The technology directors at both schools were instrumental in setting up the experimental software in the IT labs, a process which took hours. This level of support communicated to pupils that the research was important, and also that it was institutionally sanctioned.

On the whole, I took a hands-off approach, whereby I was a nonparticipant observer rather than a participant-observer throughout the research (Dörnyei, 2007). I took this stance for two reasons. First, from a practical perspective, it would have been challenging for me as a non-Welsh speaker to interact with pupils and teachers in the school setting. While I could have chosen to speak to students in English, this would have conflicted with the school policy and thus put me at risk for disrupting a positive relationship with site staff. While participant-observation would have been viable at the English-medium school, my aim was to use similar methods at each school to allow for comparison. Second, the time allocated for my fieldwork was two months, which is well below the recommended time needed for ethnographic participant-observation (Dörnyei, 2007).

However, I did, on occasion, interact with both students and teachers on a casual basis, and was thus not purely non-participatory. I was welcomed to use the staff rooms at both schools, and while I mainly used the space to work, I did occasionally engage in casual conversation with teachers. I observed several Welsh lessons at the English-medium school, and spoke to students about what they were doing during that time. There were also situations where I had a chance to chat with students informally, for example when I picked up consent forms or waited with students before their focus group sessions. In addition the time spent at each school, I attended the *Urdd Eisteddfod* with a group of Welsh-medium school teachers and students, where I was able to talk to both students and teachers about their experiences throughout the day. Finally, living in Cardiff allowed me to observe the linguistic landscape and language practices of the city, and this provided interactions with the public.

Dörnyei (2007) points out that “the researcher needs to remain sensitive to how he or she is seen by others because this may affect behavior and will certainly influence the sorts of responses made” (p. 73). Certain aspects of this perception were out of my control. To begin, as a non-Welsh speaker with an American English accent, I immediately received an ‘outsider’ status, particularly within the Welsh-medium school. While this certainly had disadvantages, it did allow me to maintain some degree of distance from the Welsh, English, or British identities that are the focus of the study. My accent also gave me a degree of credibility, or at least exoticism, to students, who, in casual conversation, frequently told me how ‘cool’ it was. Other aspects, including my speech, dress, and behavior, were more deliberate. I dressed casually, chose to speak informally to pupils, even during classes or assemblies, and emphasized my role as a student to build rapport. Nonetheless, because of the need for constant coordination with school staff, and perhaps because of the time I spent in the staff rooms, I was likely associated with the teachers. Because I did not directly interview students, however (see section 3.3.1.4), the influence this might have had on student responses was reduced.

YGG is one of three designated Welsh-medium secondary schools in the city.<sup>21</sup> It is a comprehensive secondary school, serving students from years 7–13 (ages 11–18). In 2013, the school’s enrolment was around 850, a number which has increased steadily since the school’s opening. Due to its large catchment area, YGG has a diverse student population from a wide range of ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Approximately 20% of the pupils come from homes where the predominant language spoken is Welsh; other home languages include Urdu, Punjabi, Korean, Spanish, French, German, and others, although nearly all pupils’ primary language is English. At YGG, all courses except English are taught through the medium of Welsh, and pupils sit all exams, including GCSEs, in Welsh.<sup>22</sup> For this reason, pupils are expected to speak Welsh at all times throughout the school day and face sanctions if they do not. In practice, however, it is well acknowledged by staff that most pupils primarily speak English outside the classroom, even on school grounds.

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<sup>21</sup> The third Welsh-medium school opened in 2012 to keep up with community demands for Welsh-medium education.

<sup>22</sup> Foreign language courses are taught primarily through the medium of the target language; however, certain concepts are explained in Welsh.

YGG provides a wide variety of Welsh-medium activities outside the classroom as well. A variety of clubs and societies, held either during lunch breaks or after school, are available, including a chess club, a library club, a peer intervention club, and revision groups. Pupils can also take part in sports, music, or drama through the medium of Welsh. Additionally, a large number of pupils compete in the Urdd Eisteddfod (section 2.5.1.2) each year. YGG also organizes school trips so that students can engage with the Welsh language in the community. Year 7 pupils take part in a residential course in West Wales, where Welsh is the sole language spoken for several days. In addition, the school closely liaises with both Urdd and Menter Caerdydd, providing communications, organization, and physical space for extracurricular activities and classes for both children and adults within the community.

EMS also caters to students from Years 7–13, and is larger than YGG at approximately 1,500 pupils. EMS is situated in a relatively affluent area of the city, but is ethnically and linguistically diverse. 37% of the pupils come from minority ethnic backgrounds, and many speak languages other than English at home, including Czech, Polish, Cantonese, Bengali, Cebuano, Hindi, and Spanish, to name a few. Only 1% of pupils speak Welsh as a first language. At EMS, as in all English-medium secondary schools in Wales, pupils are required to take Welsh as a second language from ages 5–16. In Keystages 3 and 4, pupils have two hours of Welsh instruction per week, and complete the long course, culminating in a compulsory Welsh GCSE. EMS also offers A-Level Welsh in the sixth form, where pupils receive nine hours of instruction per fortnight. Although pupils are encouraged to speak as much Welsh as they can inside the Welsh classroom, they are allowed to speak English as needed, and are permitted to speak whatever language they like outside the classroom. In practice, as at YGG, the preferred language is almost always English.

The Welsh program at EMS is robust, due, by several accounts, to the efforts of the head of the Welsh department. The Estyn report declared standards in Welsh second language at EMS to be good, and cites higher-than-average performance, with an increase in proficiency between 2008 and 2013 (Estyn, 2013). Welsh-language GCSE pass rates are also above the national average. In addition to regular Welsh instruction, there are various opportunities to use Welsh outside the classroom. Pupils from EMS compete annually in the Urdd Eisteddfod in the Welsh

learners' division, and students from the school have won top prizes several years in a row, including the Welsh Learners Medal, for their performances. There is also an on-site after-school Welsh club run in conjunction with Urdd; school trips to Welsh-medium theatre performances and St David's Day celebrations; and Welsh-medium residential courses designed for Welsh learners. The head of Welsh has also trained teachers to comply with the incidental Welsh requirement at the school, by creating bilingual 'cheat-sheets'; arranging Welsh lessons for interested teachers, taught by sixth formers; and making herself available for consultation. Finally, the school holds its own Eisteddfod, a large proportion of which is done through the medium of Welsh.

### *3.6. Participants*

#### *3.6.1. Pupil participants*

All pupils from Years 9 and 10 (ages 13–15) at each school were invited to participate in the research. In order to maximize the number of participants, opportunity sampling was employed (Dornyei, 2003); all pupils who submitted consent forms signed by their parents were permitted to participate. A total of 262 participants—112 from EMS and 150 from YGG—took part in the research. There were slightly more females ( $n = 149$ ) than males ( $n = 113$ ). Gender was relatively balanced at EMS (59 males and 53 females), but there were substantially more female than male participants at YGG (54 males and 81 females). During the first phase of the study, 60 participants, balanced for gender and year in school, were chosen to take part in the two indirect experiments, the matched-guise test (MGT) and the Implicit Association Test (IAT). These participants were selected by a staff member at each school, each of whom was told to choose participants from a wide range of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and to balance for gender.<sup>23</sup> For the IAT, data from one pupil at each school were discarded due to user error that interfered

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<sup>23</sup> At the time of the IAT and MGT, personal information such as home language and ethnicity had not yet been collected. This information was gathered during the questionnaire phase of the larger study. In order to reduce the possibility of biasing IAT results with explicit consideration of language attitudes, the IAT was intentionally conducted prior to the questionnaire. Therefore, due to school policies on confidentiality, only the staff had access to personal information, and I thus had to rely upon their discretion for sample selection. This is recognized as a limitation of the reliability of the sample.

with the recording of reaction times, leaving a total of 118 participants. For the MGT, data from one pupil at YGG were discarded, again due to user error, leaving a total of 119 participants. In the second phase, all 262 participants completed the written questionnaire, which asked them to indicate whether or not they would be willing to participate in a focus group, and, if so, to name a few friends who might also be willing to participate. Participants at YGG were selected on this basis. Due to scheduling constraints, however, at EMS, students were asked during their Welsh class if they would like to volunteer, and groups of 3-4 were selected from this pool. In all, there were 5 focus groups (18 participants total) at YGG and 8 (31 participants total) at EMS.

	Welsh-Medium School			English-Medium School			TOTAL		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
<b>Questionnaire</b>	54	81	150	59	53	112	149	113	262
<b>MGT</b>	29	30	59	29	30	59	58	60	119
<b>IAT</b>	29	29	59	30	30	60	59	60	118
<b>Focus Groups</b>	8	10	18	17	14	31	25	24	49

*Table 3.2.* Number of participants for each method, by school and gender

### *3.6.2 Teacher and staff participants*

Sixteen teachers and staff were interviewed for this study. Six teachers from EMS and nine teachers from YGG, plus the headteacher, took part in interviews. Though he was fully supportive of my research, the headteacher from EMS declined my request for an interview. Interviews took place on the school sites and were audio recorded, and there were several follow-up e-mail exchanges. Several other teachers were interviewed informally, and field notes, rather than recordings, were used to document data. Table 3.3 shows a brief profile of each teacher interviewed; more detailed descriptions of these participants can be found in Appendix D.

Pseudonym	School	Origin	Welsh speaker? (Y/N)
<b>Mr. Morris</b>	EMS	South-East Wales	N
<b>Ms. Jones</b>	EMS	West Wales	Y
<b>Mr. Davies</b>	EMS	West Wales	Y
<b>Mrs. Smith</b>	EMS	South-East Wales	N
<b>Mr. Spears</b>	EMS	South Africa	N
<b>Mr. Burke</b>	EMS	London	N
<b>Mr. Thomas</b>	YGG	Wales (unknown region)	Y
<b>Mr. Campbell</b>	YGG	North Wales	Y
<b>Ms. Lowell</b>	YGG	West Wales	Y
<b>Mr. Clark</b>	YGG	West Wales	Y
<b>Mr. Lopez</b>	YGG	Wales (unknown region)	Y
<b>Mr. Thule</b>	YGG	North Wales	Y
<b>Mr. Connor</b>	YGG	Mid-West Wales	Y
<b>Mr. Hughes</b>	YGG	Mid-West Wales	Y
<b>Ms. Wilson</b>	YGG	West Wales	Y

*Table 3.3: Teacher school, origin, and language ability*

### *3.6.3. Community participants*

Three members of community institutions agreed to be formerly interviewed as well: a development officer from the Cardiff branch of Urdd; an administrator for Menter Caerdydd; and the head of the Welsh Planning Branch, Welsh in Education, for the Welsh government. The former two were recorded using Sony ICD-P520; the latter interview was documented in field notes, as the recording device malfunctioned. A radio DJ from BBC Radio 4 Cymru also agreed to an informal interview, documented in field notes, during a visit to the YGG school site.

### *3.7. Ethical considerations*

Working with human subjects, and young people in particular, demands particular care to ensure that vulnerable populations are treated ethically and fairly. The Social Sciences Ethics Committee at the University of York has laid out specific guidelines and a rigorous application procedure to ensure that these are met. Prior to

beginning fieldwork, and after gaining ethical approval, a consent form and information sheet were drafted and translated into Welsh. These, which were in Welsh and English, were distributed to all pupils in Years 9 and 10 at both schools. Parents were also provided with my and my supervisor's contact information and were invited to ask any questions prior to the data collection. In addition, I obtained clearance from the Criminal Records Bureau to work with minors in a research capacity. All school names, student names, and teacher names are pseudonyms.

For this study in particular, there were three ethical issues to be addressed. First, because I was working with minors, it was determined that an adult should be present with me any time I was working with students. For this reason, during each phase of the study, an administrator, teacher, or IT technician was present in the room. While the presence of an authority figure may have had an effect on the data, it was considered to be a necessary precaution. Second, focus groups needed to be both audio recorded with a high-quality recording device and video recorded in order to accurately transcribe multiple voices. Participants and their parents had to agree to this on the consent forms, and, additionally, had the option to opt out of video and audio recorded portions of the study while still participating in the non-recorded aspects of the experiment. The third issue was that the matched-guise test required participants to be temporarily deceived in order to preserve the integrity of the research instrument. To address this, all MGT participants were provided with a debriefing notice immediately following data collection.

### *3.8. Conclusion*

This chapter has demonstrated how a principled mixed-methods approach can produce a multifaceted depiction of language ideologies, attitudes, and identities in Welsh educational contents. The methods chosen for this research are reflective of the multidisciplinary inherent in these concepts. By examining the theoretical assumptions and methodological traditions that underlie them, I have demonstrated that the particular methods used here are complementary, and are thus able to examine broad constructs from a variety of perspectives.

## 4 Attitudes and Ideologies in the School

### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the first part of Research Question 1:

What language ideologies are espoused by Welsh- and English-medium secondary schools in Wales, and to what extent are they reflected in pupils' language attitudes?

Ideologies have myriad manifestations, and there are many angles from which to examine them. This chapter will focus on how Welsh and English are institutionalized through policy in Welsh-medium and English-medium schools in Cardiff; how these policies are put into practice in each setting; how staff within each school orient to language, identity, and language policy in the school setting; and which language ideologies are reflected, reproduced, rejected, and reconstructed in these policies, practices, and attitudes. These issues will be explored from various angles. In section 4.2, I will examine how each school defines its ethos. In section 4.3, I will look at official and unofficial language policies, as well as how teachers and administrators orient to them. In section 4.4, I will examine staff attitudes through analysis of data from interviews with the teachers at each school and with the headteacher at the Welsh-medium school.

#### 4.1.1. *What is the "school"?*

In order to explore institutionalized language ideologies in the school, it is necessary to define what "school" means in this context. The school could be viewed as consisting of the roles, responsibilities, and practices of all individuals within it (e.g., administrators, teachers, support staff, pupils, etc.), as well as outside parties involved with it (such as parents, community organizations, and other stakeholders). The focus of this research question, however, is the ideologies which are held by those in authority within the school. For the sake of clarity, I will call the first concept—surrounding the individuals within the school—the school "institution" and the second—those outside of the school—the school "community." As an

institution, the school is organized and constrained by rules, regulations, standards, and policy; managed and led by figures of authority, such as administrators, teachers, and support staff; and mediated by prescribed or implicit goals, values, and ideologies. While the ideologies of those within the school community undoubtedly contribute to the ideological landscape, the interest here is on institutionalized ideologies, that is, those that are codified in policy and ascribed to by institutional leaders.

#### *4.2. School ethos*

The tacit nature of ideologies means that they often go unspoken (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994), but the school organization can take an explicit ideological stance through a declaration of ethos. Glover and Coleman (2005) define ethos as “the subjective values and principles underpinning policy and practice” (p. 266). The term “ethos,” sometimes used interchangeably with “culture” or “climate,” is normally conceptualized in one of two ways. “Ethos” can be used to describe the prescribed values or beliefs of an institution (e.g., a school or business), which are established by those in authority within an organization (Glover and Coleman, 2005). In this description, all members of the organization are expected to modify their behavior and attitudes to fit its ethos, maintaining a unified culture that reflects the ideological aims of the institution. “Ethos” can also be used to describe the co-constructed values, attitudes, and behaviors of all members within an organization, including, for example, pupils (Smith, 2003a). In this conception, ethos is co-created; agency is shared amongst all participants of the community.

At YGG and EMS, ethos is manifested as a prescribed aim, deliberately established to promote a particular collective value system. Pupils, staff, and parents are generally made aware of the school’s ethos directly, through verbal or written communications. For example, YGG includes a statement of ethos in its school prospectus, while EMS includes its ethos statement on the school’s website. The concept of ethos is highly salient to teachers, and was mentioned in interviews at both schools, despite there being no explicit mention of ethos by the interviewer. For parents, the choice of school—Welsh-medium or English-medium—entails an acceptance of, and accommodation to, the established ethos of the respective organization.

Corson (1998) emphasizes the influence of the educational institution “to promote and disseminate certain ideas about the appropriateness about language, whether to do with standard or nonstandard varieties, minority or majority languages, gender speech styles and forms, high status forms and structures” (p. 18). These ideas, driven by language ideologies, can have explicit and implicit elements. For example, a school may lack an official language policy, but might informally manage pupils’ language use by discouraging the use of nonstandard forms in the classroom. The establishment of an official ethos is one way to make an institutional language ideology explicit. According to data from interviews and policy documents, language plays a pivotal role in the ethos of the schools in this study, though this role differs substantially between the two schools.

#### 4.2.1. *Ethos at YGG*

The ethos of YGG is defined in its school prospectus:

A brief statement on the school’s ethos and values

[YGG’s] aim is excellence. This is achieved through maintaining an innovative community based on respect; *being Welsh in its language and culture*; disciplined in its approach; having a broad outlook on the world; nurturing the skills of its learners and placing an equal value on every individual within it. (School Prospectus, 2014–15, my emphasis)

Here, the school is described as “being Welsh in its language and culture” (line 4). This statement signals an ideology in which the Welsh language is inseparable from Welsh culture. Edwards (2009) asserts that “in any group in which the language of daily use is also the ancestral language, intangible symbolic aspects are also intertwined with the instrumental function” (p. 55). It is made clear that these symbolic aspects—cultural Welshness—are fundamental to the value system of YGG. That is, Welsh is not only the functional language of the school, but is inextricably linked to a Welsh culture in which language falls at the center. While establishing this relationship may seem natural for a Welsh-medium school, the connection between Welsh language and Welshness in Wales as a whole is highly contested (Carter, 2010). Apart from the Welsh language, it is not made explicit here what “Welsh culture” entails, or what it might mean to embrace this ethos.

Interview data reveal that there is a clear and explicit connection between the articulated school ethos and language policy. For example, one teacher explains the difficulty of rewarding pupils for following the school rule by speaking Welsh, rather than imposing consequences for failing to do so:

1                                    So it's part of the school ethos, it's a school rule. It's hard to reward it  
2                                    because it's an expected behavior.

*Extract 4.1: Interview with Mr. Rhys, teacher, YGG*

Mr. Rhys explains that speaking Welsh is expected not only because it is a rule, but because it is part of the ethos of the school, which underpins the policy. Mr. Connor, the head teacher at YGG, explains the reasoning behind enforcing the Welsh-only policy in terms of ethos as well:

1                                    We are a Welsh-medium school. And it's not conforming to school rules. So  
2                                    once you look at it like that, that actually you're undermining school rules,  
3                                    and you're actually breaking the school rule, then, actually then it becomes  
4                                    a discipline issue because it's a lack of respect. You're not respecting the  
5                                    climate of the school, the ethos of the school, the reason why you're here.  
6                                    And very often that leads to conversations with mums and dads in terms of,  
7                                    you know, we don't necessarily have to go down this route if, if your son or  
8                                    daughter is finding it difficult to speak Eng—speak Welsh at all times, then,  
9                                    have you considered moving them to an English-medium school where this  
10                                    wouldn't be an issue?

*Extract 4.2: Interview with Mr. Connor, head teacher, YGG*

Mr. Connor begins by explaining that speaking English is contrary to school rules (i.e., language policy) and is thus disrespectful. He then goes on to explain that this behavior runs contrary not only to the policy, but to the values and principles that underlie the policy and that define the school (i.e., ethos). Furthermore, the school ethos is considered to be part of the established identity of the school, and is thus fixed. Therefore, when parents choose to send their children to a Welsh-medium school, rather than to an English-medium school, they are choosing not only a

school, but a set of ideological principles as well. Likewise, pupils are expected to accept and embrace the ethos, despite the fact that, in most cases, they themselves have not chosen which school to attend.

#### 4.2.2. *Ethos at EMS*

Although EMS does not define its ethos in its prospectus, it is declared on its school website. Though there is no explicit mention of language in the ethos, it does make reference to the school motto, which is in Welsh (and translated into English).<sup>24</sup> The selection of a Welsh-language motto indicates that the school institution values the Welsh language as a cultural symbol. Welsh is not used communicatively here, but symbolically. Unlike at YGG, the value placed on the Welsh language in the ethos is implicit; there is no explicit commitment to the Welsh language or an associated culture. To unpack this, it is useful to draw upon two functions of language identified by Edwards (2009): language-as-communication and language-as-symbol, where the former refers to the instrumental role of language and the latter to its identity or cultural role. Edwards argues that while language-as-communication and language-as-symbol are often intertwined, they can be separated, particularly “when we examine language use and attitudes in language groups undergoing (or having undergone) language shift within majority, other-language-speaking populations” (p. 56). He cites the example of the Irish language in Ireland, where less than 3% of the population use the language regularly, but where the language “continues to occupy some place in the constitution of the current Irish identity” (p. 56). While Edwards does not frame these functions as ideologies, an emphasis on the implicit values and beliefs inherent in these functions is indeed ideological. In the ethos of EMS, the emblematic but noncommittal use of Welsh indicates an ideology of language-as-symbol, insofar as the symbolic function of language is valued, and where it is believed that language can carry symbolic or ceremonial value without necessarily being ingrained into everyday practice.

In interviews at EMS, the role of language in school ethos is discussed in terms of specific language norms—namely, incidental Welsh—rather than in terms

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<sup>24</sup> For the purposes of confidentiality and anonymity, the motto and the relevant portion of the ethos has not been included here.

of “values and principles” (Glover and Coleman, 2005, p. 266). One teacher described the school ethos this way:

- 1                   The school ethos, really, is that we are, you know, we are increasingly using
- 2                   Welsh for greetings, short commands, phrases, um, praise, stuff like that. So
- 3                   it should—we are really meant to—it is meant to be woven in with English-
- 4                   speaking lessons.

*Extract 4.3:* Interview with Ms. Smith, teacher, EMS

Ms. Smith describes the ethos in terms of what is done—or what should be done—regarding language within the school. Thus the policy, and the implementation thereof, is portrayed as shaping and defining the ethos. This differs from YGG, where the ethos is portrayed as the driving force behind the policy. Interestingly, at EMS, the language policy is framed as bleeding into school culture to the point where it is no longer consciously contemplated. Speaking about how he implemented incidental Welsh in his classroom, one teacher reflected:

- 1                   To be honest, I don’t really think about it that, that much. [ . . . ] it’s so much
- 2                   become part of this, the culture of the school, you know, I mean it—it’s only, it’s
- 3                   eh—if you’re not considering something, it’s just part and parcel of your life then,
- 4                   isn’t it? It’s part and parcel of the everyday experience.

*Extract 4.4:* Interview with Mr. Morris, teacher, EMS

The unconscious nature of the implementation of incidental Welsh demonstrates that the policy has shifted the ethos to the point where incidental Welsh is ingrained into everyday practice. Mr. Morris’s observation sheds light on the close relationship between policy and ethos.

At YGG and EMS, ethos is perceived as originating “from above”. It is linked with school policy, which is determined by school administration, government-level educational language policy, and Estyn (section 2.6.2), and is carried out by members of staff. In this way, ethos can be seen as a reflection of institutionalized ideologies. Ethos does not in itself depict the entirety of the

ideological assumptions that drive the language policies in these two settings, since many of these are tacit. It does, however, point to the ideologies that the schools as institutions intend to establish, maintain, and instill. The nature of these ideologies, as well as others within the ideological landscape, will be discussed further in the following sections.

### *4.3. Language policy*

#### *4.3.1. Policy and ideology*

Language policies, whether written or unwritten, are ideologically imbued (Tollefson and Tsui, 2003). Language policy can stem from the existing language ideologies of a community, or it can be intended to modify them and effect ideological change (Spolsky, 2004). Tensions or “ideological dilemmas” (Wodak, 2006: 188) can arise when existing ideologies within a community conflict with those that underpin policies. It has been argued that successful language policymaking and implementation is contingent upon understanding the complexity of language ideologies in local communities and aligning policy accordingly (Sallabank, 2014). The agendas of local communities also determine how policies are translated and put into practice. Within the schools examined in this study, there is evidence of both ideological alignment and misalignment in terms of local and national language policies.

Language policy in individual Welsh- and English-medium schools must be understood in the context of broader language planning measures in Wales. As discussed in section 2.5, education “has an explicit role in the intended revitalization of Welsh, namely that of capacity building, developing people who can function in Welsh beyond the confines of education, in other settings (business, industry, etc.) and who might therefore enable Wales to function as a ‘truly bilingual nation’” (Selleck, 2012: 3). The *Welsh-Medium Education Strategy* (WMES) (Welsh Government, 2010) is the foundational educational language planning document in Wales. Drafted by the Welsh Government, it outlines a vision for Welsh language education, the principles on which the document is based, its strategic aims and objectives, an implementation program, and a plan for measuring outcomes. Despite what the title implies, the Strategy applies to the teaching of Welsh as a second

language in English-medium schools in addition to Welsh-medium or bilingual educational contexts. Outcomes from the WMES are measured each year and published in an annual report.

Though the language planning document in place at the time of writing is *Iaith Fyw, Iaith Byw*, the WMES was published in 2010, and thus draws on the principles of the previous language planning document, *Iaith Pawb* (WAG, 2003) (section 2.5). In its foreword, the foundations of the WMES are laid out:

The vision of *Iaith Pawb* in 2003 was to create a bilingual Wales, that is, a Wales where ‘people may choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all’. This Strategy builds on the overview provided in *Iaith Pawb*, by focusing on developing Welsh-medium education and training for the future. (WAG, 2010, p. 1)

According to this declaration, the WMES is built on two ideological principles from *Iaith Pawb*. The first is an ideology of national bilingualism. This ideology conceives of Wales as country of two languages that share equal communicative and cultural value. Inherent in this ideology is the notion of choice, where the existence of and support for two languages entails the freedom to decide between them (Selleck, 2012). The second, represented in the phrase “where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all,” is an ideology of national language ownership. That is, the Welsh language is a national icon, and thus belongs to every citizen in Wales, regardless of whether those citizens speak the language or not. Although Welsh language advocacy has sometimes been perceived as exclusionary and divisive (Brooks, 2009), this ideological stance focuses on the inclusionary capacity of language as a cultural symbol, a binding force for a unified Wales.

#### 4.3.2. Policy at YGG

The official language policy of YGG is as follows:

As the declaration of aims suggests, we hope to work towards the creation of multi-lingual and multi-talented citizens who can be part of a civilised world. Welsh will be the social and administrative language of the school. The lessons will be in Welsh, and we expect every pupil to support the parents' commitment to Welsh medium education. It is essential that our pupils use their Welsh – after all, their examinations will be in Welsh. We would be disappointed to succeed in our other aims but to see the Welsh language die within the school.

*Extract 4.5: YGG language policy (YGG School Prospectus, 2014–15, p. 26)*

The language policy reflects a multilingual ideology, which runs counter to the dominant political discourses (for example, those represented in *Iaith Pawb*) on language in Wales, which focuses primarily on *bilingualism*. However, the prospectus emphasizes that “Welsh will be the social and administrative language of the school,” shifting focus from multilingualism to monolingualism through the Welsh-only policy at the school, implying a link between a monolingual policy in the school and the development of multilingualism in the “civilised world.” The supposition, then, is that the skills gained through using Welsh in a monolingual setting will be transferrable to a global setting at some future date, but that the practice of multilingualism is not sanctioned within the school.

This contrast represents what Creese and Blackledge (2011) call “an institutional ideology of ‘separate’ bilingualism” (1201), where languages or language varieties are practiced discretely in separate settings, and where categorical boundaries between languages are maintained. This ideology, according to Creese and Blackledge (2011), is common in settings where language is the academic focus, particularly in cases where language maintenance is a central aim of the academic program. Behind this ideology lie both pedagogical and cultural assumptions about bilingualism and language revitalization. There is a prevailing belief, for example, that the presence of a first language in a language learning environment interferes with second language acquisition (Cook, 2001). In his study on code alternation in a bilingual school in Wales, Musk (2010) observed that “the ideologically legitimised ability to keep languages apart is closely associated with academic success” (p. 180). The separation of languages also allows for control of cultural resources, where mainstream, hegemonic views of minority language and culture can be challenged and redefined (Creese and Blackledge, 2011). Drawing on the concept of separate

bilingualism, YGG’s language policy can be seen to reflect an ideology of separate *multilingualism*, where the presence and value of multiple languages is acknowledged, but where, within the confines of the school setting, the use of a single language is valued over the use of many.

The policy outlines a practical rationale for monolingualism, which is for pupils to be able to perform well on their examinations by maximizing time spent practicing Welsh. The *Welsh-Medium Education Strategy* (WAG, 2010) makes a case for this type of monolingual immersion, particularly for pupils from non-Welsh-speaking homes:

Where learners’ linguistic skills in Welsh are not reinforced by family or community, they are unlikely to achieve full fluency and confidence in Welsh when learning in a bilingual setting. Bilingual provision, therefore, does not always ensure that an individual becomes a bilingual speaker. . . Bilingual settings should aim to provide as much provision through the medium of Welsh as is necessary for learners to achieve fluency in two languages. (Welsh Government, 2010, p. 9)

According to this view, speakers from non-Welsh-speaking homes need to maximally practice their Welsh skills, which means refraining from speaking their first language throughout the school day. This belief not only prevails in policy, but is widely supported by teachers, as evidenced by the following comment by one YGG teacher:

1           What we find here and what we remind the pupils of is unless they use Welsh uh, on  
2           the corridors of whatever, they’re going to find their exams more difficult. All their  
3           exams are sat through Welsh. So they need to be practicing all the time so that the  
4           skills of Welsh actually improve constantly. And it’s not going to improve unless  
5           they practice.

*Extract 4.6:* Interview with Mr. Rhys, teacher, YGG

In addition to the pragmatic aim of improving academic achievement, there is a clear ideological aim within the policy—to prevent the Welsh language from “[dying] within the school” (YGG School Prospectus, 2014–15, p. 26). It is unclear whether this means that the language might fall into total disuse within the school, or

whether it could remain confined to the school setting if not used beyond the school walls, but either way, this phrase projects the Welsh language as being under threat and in need of protection. In Wales, the discourse of language death is associated with a nationalist political ideology, signaling the school's role in Welsh language revitalization (cf. Selleck, 2012). Responsibility is placed on pupils to "use their Welsh" (YGG School Prospectus, 2014-15, p. 26) not only for their own academic benefit, but to support the ideological cause of the institution. Notably, there is an explicit acknowledgement that the choice of language, integral to the ideological foundations of *Iaith Pawb*, does not fall to the pupils but to the parents; pupils are expected to "support the parents' commitment to Welsh medium education" (p. 26). For pupils, the medium of communication and its ideological underpinnings are an expectation rather than a choice.

#### 4.3.2.1. Policy in practice: official and unofficial implementation

The language policy at YGG is supported by an official implementation system, which teachers call '*Galwad 200*' ('call 200'), a reference to the internal phone number of the heads of Keystages 3 or 4, to whose offices pupils are sent if they are asked to leave the classroom. If a pupil speaks English in front of a teacher in the classroom, the teacher will place a white card on the desk that reads: *Rhybudd cyntaf - Ymdrecha nawr i ddefnyddio'r Gymraeg* ("First warning – Make an effort to speak Welsh"). If this occurs a second time, the teacher will replace the white card with a yellow card that reads: *Dyma'r 2il rybudd - I osgoi galwad 200 defnyddia'r Gymraeg* ("Second warning - To avoid the 200 call, please speak Welsh"), which serves as a final warning. The third time this occurs, the teacher takes out a red card reading "*Galwad 200*" indicating that he or she will be calling the Keystage administrator and sending the pupil out of the room. Being repeatedly sent from the room may also lead to a conference with the parents, where a discussion of whether or not the child should remain in a Welsh-medium school or transfer to an English-medium school may take place.

While the language policy clearly states that pupils are expected to speak Welsh at all times throughout the school day, it is clear that pupils not only speak English frequently during school hours, especially outside the classroom, but that teachers have varying levels of tolerance for English in the school setting. There is,

however, a surprising degree of consensus as to what constitutes a violation of the Welsh-only policy. All teachers who spoke about this explained that using a single English word within a Welsh frame—what might be called *code-mixing*—is acceptable, while using a full English sentence, or *code-switching* (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1980), is not<sup>25</sup>. The former is considered to be a natural characteristic of Welsh speakers, while the latter is considered to be overtly disrespectful. This consensus constitutes an unofficial implementation of the official language policy:

- 1 Well we have these, uh, the card system where you give them a warning. So if, if,
- 2 it's you hear *an entire sentence in English*, then you give them a warning. And then
- 3 another sentence, you give them a second warning, and then the third sentence if
- 4 they c—if they persist, then, then you tell them to leave the classroom.

*Extract 4.7:* Interview with Mr. Thule, teacher, YGG (my emphasis)

There is a perception among teachers that code-mixing is acceptable because it is a natural characteristic of bilingual speakers. The teachers at YGG, being bilinguals themselves, recognize that code-mixing is common practice:

- 1 I mean, even, we all do it, the staff do it. Everybody just chucks in some English
- 2 words. And I think if you speak two languages, you do it anyway.

*Extract 4.8:* Interview with Mr. Lopez, teacher, YGG

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<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, the sociolinguist Uriel Weinreich (1963) once wrote that the "ideal bilingual" is someone "who switches from one language the other according to appropriate changes in/the speech situation [ . . . ] but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence" (73; cited in Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980).

It should be mentioned that this distinction is not in line with sociolinguistic research on code-switching. A wide breadth of research indicates that code alternation—including code-mixing *and* code-switching—is highly prevalent amongst bilinguals and multilinguals; they are both natural characteristics of speakers of more than one language (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1980). Indeed, for many bilinguals, code alternation is the default medium of expression (cf. Musk, 2010). Despite indicating high levels of competence in more than one language, however, (Roy and Galiev, 2011), code alternation is generally negatively evaluated by code alternators and non-code-alternators alike (Lawson and Sachdev, 2004). It is often viewed as a deficiency in one or both languages, rather than an advantageous skill. Lawson and Sachdev (2004) found that those who code-switched tended to under-report their competency levels, suggesting a lack of confidence in their language abilities. Negative attitudes toward code-switching can also contribute to negative self-identity in bilinguals (Roy and Galiev, 2011). Furthermore, code alternation is associated with language deterioration and obsolescence, since the co-presence of a majority and a minority language can indicate an early phase of language shift (Fishman, 1991)<sup>26</sup>. Woolard (1994) notes that “language mixing, codeswitching, and creoles are often evaluated as indicating less than full linguistic capabilities, revealing assumptions about the nature of language implicitly based in literate standards and a pervasive tenet that equates language with decay” (p. 63).

The purist view that code alternation could lead to language decay was not prevalent in the interview data. Most teachers expressed views similar to those of Mr. Lopez above, that code alternation—or at least code-mixing—was a natural and acceptable way to speak Welsh. An ideology of linguistic purism was represented in one teacher’s commentary, however. In the following extract, Ms. Wilson expresses concern that Welsh-English code alternation—commonly referred to as “Wenglish”—was a contributing factor to Welsh language deterioration:

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<sup>26</sup> A recent study indicates that Welsh-English code alternation does not appear to be leading to language shift. Deuchar & Davies (2009) found that the Welsh grammatical matrix was preserved during code-switching in their sample; that is, Welsh served as the “frame” in code-switched speech, with English insertions. This is considered to be an indicator of stable bilingualism (Myers-Scotton, 1998).

1 Do you know if they kept it on going, and spoke it at home and practiced, and, you  
2 know, helped their little kids or whatever, the, the standard of the language, the  
3 spoken language would be much, much better, you know. That's the way you're  
4 getting standard [out of them], isn't it? [. . .] spoken Welsh, um, you know, not so  
5 much Wenglish maybe, you know, not so many English words in, in, in the  
6 sentences, um, not too much slang and um . . . I think yeah, the, you know, the s—  
7 yeah, the, the Welsh vocabulary. If they used it more, they'd . . . it would be a better  
8 standard of Welsh instead of slang and Wenglish [. . .] to be honest with you, I  
9 think it's deteriorated already.

*Extract 4.9: Interview with Ms. Wilson, teacher, YGG*

The fact that Wenglish is identified as non-standard is indicative of a negative attitude toward Welsh-English code alternation, suggesting that English code-mixing is not only a barrier to “correct” Welsh, but has contributed to the degradation of the language as a whole. This is in line with Robert's (2009) study, which indicated that listeners in a matched-guise test rated speakers who code-switched lower on competence than those who made grammatical errors but spoke only in Welsh.

It is possible that the distinction made by teachers between code-switching and code-mixing is not ideological, but rather practical; drawing the line between the sentence and the word allows the monolingual standard to be upheld with a minor degree of flexibility for both the teacher and the pupil. For example, while there are available Welsh terms for most lexical items, some are very uncommonly used, particularly words related to technology, such as *gliniadur*, “laptop”. However, sanctioning one type of code alternation over another communicates that a hierarchy of acceptability exists which, particularly for second-language Welsh learners, may be transferred beyond the school setting.

#### *4.3.2.2. Language policy, conflict, and rebellion*

At YGG, as in many other monolingual immersion schools, language is tightly linked with discipline. Establishing a school-wide linguistic norm ties language use to respect for authority and conformity to school rules and ethos. In the same way that wearing a uniform demonstrates that a pupil accepts and follows the

rules of a particular school, use of the “language of school” indexes compliance. Conversely, thwarting the school’s language regulation signals rebellion; pupils at YGG can choose to demonstrate overt disrespect by choosing to speak English in school, particularly in front of their teachers. Mr. Hughes, a teacher at YGG, explains how the language policy establishes an environment in which language is an object of conflict:

1           The language causes conflict in school, and the fact that the pupils, if we were  
2           teaching them in an English-medium school, we wouldn’t fall out with them. But  
3           because they speak English, the rule in [YGG] is “you’ve got to speak Welsh.” So  
4           they’re breaking a rule. So it causes conflict there. So they, I think a lot of them, not  
5           everyone but a lot of them see, see it as something that causes conflict.

*Extract 4.10:* Interview with Mr. Hughes, teacher, YGG

Mr. Thule, who had taught previously at an English-medium school, compares the disobedience of language norms to the failure to wear proper school attire:

1           Whereas as at my old school it was always, um, “Where’s your tie?” “Tuck your  
2           shirt in” um, here it’s um, constantly reminding them to speak Welsh. So I think at  
3           any school, pupils will push the boundary um, of, of whatever rule is given to them.

*Extract 4.11:* Interview with Mr. Thule, teacher, YGG

Mr. Hughes and Mr. Thule both make the point that by putting a language regulation in place, language choice becomes a way for pupils to rebel, in a way that does not reflect the world outside the school setting.

Many teachers felt that the majority of pupils who used English in school were not intending to be overtly rebellious, but rather naturally reverted to their first language due to fatigue. They acknowledged that the level of effort needed to speak Welsh at all times varies depending on first language and family language support. As a result, some pupils have to work harder than others to follow the rule. Nonetheless, the consequences remain the same regardless of the motivation behind breaking the rule; for the sake of consistency, pupils must be held to the same

expectations. This presents a difficulty for teachers, who don't want to be viewed as being unfair:

- 1           It's a difficult one to tackle really, because you need to be careful as regards to
- 2           punishing people 'cause [ . . . ] you can't be discriminating against somebody, but [ .
- 3           . . . ] it's something that we do try and push with the pupils that they, that you have to
- 4           speak Welsh all the time.

*Extract 4.12: Interview with Mr. Rhys, teacher, YGG*

Because language choice is part of both policy and ethos at YGG, both Welsh and English adopt a symbolism that differs from that outside the school walls. Speaking Welsh outside of school in Cardiff might index a Welsh-speaking upbringing and a strong affiliation with Welsh-speaking Welsh culture, and perhaps Welsh nationalism (Pitchford, 2001). Inside the school walls, however, speaking Welsh can also index conformity to school rules and affiliation with school culture. Conversely, speaking English in school could index an English-speaking upbringing, but could also index non-conformity to school rules, an affiliation with non-Welsh-speaking Welsh culture, or even a rejection of Welsh culture. While there is evidence that many young people view Welsh as “the language of school,” restricting its use in other domains (Baker, 2003; WAG, 2003), it remains to be seen to what extent these associations with speaking Welsh endure beyond compulsory schooling.

#### *4.3.2.3. Policy enforcement*

At the time of data collection, teachers and administrators at YGG seemed to be conflicted about how to handle the conflict brought on by the language policy.

- 1           It's not a bad situation. It could be definitely improved. You know, do we go along
- 2           the route of, do you punish people for not speaking Welsh? Uh, which has its own
- 3           problems, and like uh, whe—whether or not it's correct to do that, or. . . or do you
- 4           kind of try and reward the ones that do speak Welsh? And it's trying to get a balance
- 5           in between the two. We're—we're not sure where we stand at the minute.

*Extract 4.13: Interview with Mr Rhys, teacher, YGG*

While the *Galwad 200* system was perceived as being effective in curbing the use of English inside the classroom, some staff members were concerned about the effects of negative reinforcement on attitudes, and consequently on pupils' future commitments to the language. One teacher, Mr. Thomas, attests that he had known pupils whose decision to pursue English-medium sixth-form education was directly influenced by negative attitudes toward Welsh caused by the language policy. For this reason, though he follows the current protocol, he expresses firm opposition to the strategy of negative reinforcement:

1 I'm fundamentally against the idea of, um, punishing for not using a language. Um,  
2 because I think the major thing you can do to use the language is to market it  
3 positively. And if—with our kids in school, um all they're getting when they're not  
4 speaking Welsh is, "Speak Welsh!", or <unclear> Um, that is going to turn them  
5 against the language. And they're going to reach a point when they're fifteen or  
6 sixteen and say, "When I leave school—can't be bothered." And it happens. Some  
7 of them, because they've had such a bad experience in school, they just can't wait to  
8 get out, um, before dropping it.

*Extract 4.14:* Mr. Thomas, teacher, YGG

Mr. Thomas expresses a belief that disciplining pupils too harshly for speaking English could have a lasting negative effect on their future language choices, and that the cost seemed too great.

Mr. Connor, the headteacher of YGG, expresses similar concern over the disciplinary procedures of the language policy, favoring instead a system of positive rewards, encouragement, and education on how speaking Welsh benefits them:

1 You know, I'm a firm believer that we should be encouraging children to speak, um,  
2 Welsh and actually commending them for it, rather than turning it into something  
3 negative. I think we are in danger if we become, um, if we go down the route of  
4 disciplining children too much, then we're in danger of going back to, you know,  
5 the—the Welsh Not years ago in Wales, and suddenly we're being. . . you know we  
6 could be accused of being too . . . Victorian, if you like in, in our disciplinary  
7 procedures. We'd far better encourage children to speak and actually educate them

8 in why it's important to practice the language constantly. It's worth—it's, it's within  
9 their best interests if they do it.

*Extract 4.15: Interview with Mr. Connor, headteacher, YGG*

In his reference to the Welsh Not, Mr. Connor draws a comparison between the enforcement of the monolingual language policy at YGG with the English-only policy in Welsh schools in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He acknowledges the need not only to reward pupils for speaking Welsh by “commending them for it” (line 2), but to develop an intrinsic motivation to speak Welsh by educating them on why it is “within their best interests” (lines 7–8).

The conflict in how to enforce the policy stems from an acknowledgment that the school has a powerful influence, not only on pupils' academic proficiency in Welsh, but also on their attitudes. There is a recognition that negative reinforcement, while perhaps furthering the aim of linguistic achievement, has the potential to create a negative attitudinal effect that has consequences for pupils' pursuit of future language study.

#### *4.3.3. Policy at EMS*

In the EMS prospectus, there is no mention of an explicit spoken language policy, and no explicit restrictions about which languages can be spoken in the school setting, although English is the normal medium of instruction in all non-foreign-language classes. There are, however, government mandates that the school must follow with regards to language. As mentioned in section 2.3, the Education Reform Act of 1988 requires all state schools in Wales to provide a Welsh first or second language course at the primary and secondary levels. The Education Act of 2002 designates Welsh second language as a foundation course, which means that, though statutory, the amount of time allocated to Welsh second language instruction is determined by the individual school. Furthermore, schools have the option of varying the quantity of Welsh language curriculum covered by offering a “short course” GCSE or a more comprehensive “long course,” and in some schools, pupils may choose between courses. EMS has opted for the long course, which is a requirement for all pupils.

As mentioned in section 2.6.2, a second component of language policy is Estyn's recommendation to incorporate bilingual signage, and for teachers and pupils to use "incidental Welsh" in the classroom. While this is not officially codified into policy or mandated by the Welsh Assembly Government, it does impact inspection ratings. These ratings were the impetus for a campaign at EMS to increase the amount of incidental Welsh and bilingual signage in 2007 following an Estyn inspection. While the evaluators rated the school highly on most aspects, including Welsh second language, the report stated that "insufficient use of Welsh is made, and bilingual skills are underdeveloped," and that "opportunities for promoting learners' bilingual skills across the curriculum are limited" (Estyn, 2007: 16). School administrators, in tandem with the head of the Welsh department, devised a variety of measures to increase Welsh language use in the school, including training teachers in incidental Welsh, offering print resources (such as a mouse pad with Welsh classroom phrases), and requiring notice boards to include Welsh as well as English text. As a result, these initiatives are now standard practice within the school. The 2013 Estyn report noted a substantial difference, stating that "subject departments receive very good support in using incidental Welsh" and "bilingual signs and displays are very evident across the school" (Estyn, 2013, p. 6). It is clear from this evidence that Estyn's recommendations have been firmly adopted, treated as policy, and enacted.

#### *4.3.3.1. EMS teachers' orientations to policy*

Teachers at EMS generally agreed that the purpose of the Estyn recommendations was language normalization (see section 2.2.2 for a full discussion). By seeing and hearing Welsh throughout the school, pupils are meant to view Welsh as not only having some prestige within the school, but also as being ubiquitous and used in many contexts by many types of people, rather than solely in the Welsh second language classroom. Ms. Jones, a teacher at EMS, explains it this way:

- 1 I think it makes it, "Oh, it is, therefore widely spoken." It's not this that only
- 2 happens in the Welsh department. And I think that's pretty good [ . . . ] So therefore,
- 3 if they just hear a little bit all the time, that it is used therefore. And even if those
- 4 people come from England or Scotland or South Africa, wherever our staff come

5 from, that they have to have this little bit of Welsh whatever they do. And I think  
6 that's good.

*Extract 4.16: Interview with Ms. Jones, teacher, EMS*

Ms. Jones suggests that in addition to aiding in language normalization, having a “little bit of Welsh” (line 4) is intrinsically valuable to the staff that use it. In saying this, she seems to align with the ideology of language-as-symbol (Edwards, 2009), suggesting that fluent communicative competency is not necessary for cultural benefit.

Another teacher, Mr. Spears, compares the use of Welsh within the school to other types of language normalization outside of school:

1 I think if they . . . if the adolescents saw that using Welsh was pretty normal, so if  
2 they saw it [ . . . ] on television and that sort of thing, it would then be a bit more,  
3 sort of, acceptable, whereas, as opposed to being compartmentalized. That's what  
4 happens in school. They hear it elsewhere. So if they, you know . . . so it's—it's  
5 going to be reinforced, really.

*Extract 4.17: Interview with Mr. Spears, teacher, EMS*

Mr. Spears portrays incidental Welsh in school as a small-scale version of broad language normalization, in which the language is used in multiple realms rather than being “compartmentalized” (line 3). He feels that using incidental Welsh in multiple spaces in the school reinforces the perception that Welsh is widely used, having a similar impact as, for example, hearing Welsh on television.

Although most teachers were able to articulate the purpose of the Estyn recommendations, indicating that they understood it as part of a greater, deliberate language planning effort, not all felt that it was positive or successful in its aims. For example, Mr. Burke expressed his doubts as to the efficacy of the policy:

1 Well—obviously, um, obviously it’s in order to raise the profile of the language on a  
2 general level, isn’t it? That’s why it’s being done. But um . . . I—I—I d—honestly  
3 don’t think it has much of an effect.

*Extract 4.17: Interview with Mr. Burke, teacher, EMS*

There is some doubt as to whether the aims of language normalization are met through the use incidental Welsh and bilingual signage. If it is indeed true that “language normalisation programmes can only be said to have succeeded when the language in question is used normally in every situation” (Miller and Miller, 1996, p. 123), then the limited use of Welsh in non-Welsh classes, restricted to basic commands and classroom routines, may not effectively give the impression that Welsh is widely used. Furthermore, the teachers’ own attitudes toward the policy have an effect on both how it is implemented and how it is perceived. Negative attitudes, such as the one expressed by Mr. Burke, may undermine the positive perceptions the policy is meant to imbue. As will be seen in chapter 6, pupils are aware of their teachers’ attitudes toward the policy, and these are often reflected in their own attitudes.

Although teachers are generally committed to following the Estyn recommendations, many are not fully convinced of its value. Perhaps because of the clear reactionary nature of the implementation of the incidental Welsh policy in response to the 2007 Estyn rating, several teachers felt that the practice amounted to “box-ticking,” fulfilling an external requirement without aim or purpose. For example, prior to the 2013 inspection, teachers were observed by administrators to ensure, among other criteria, that teachers were employing incidental Welsh. One EMS teacher, Mr. Morris, explains how it was the internal review process that motivates him to comply with the policy:

1 I call the register in Welsh. I ask the date in Welsh in my class. Um, we are meant  
2 to, you know, give praise in Welsh, “*da iawn*” and, um, talk about classwork using  
3 Welsh terms, so there is there is a big push. Uh, and when we have internal reviews  
4 in school, that—that is part of the success criteria, so if—if I didn’t speak Welsh  
5 when I was—‘cause, uh, one of the assistant head, uh, one of the assistant heads [ . .

6 . ] saw me and she did tick that I used Welsh. Which is still a very cursory manner,  
7 uh, but the school does do it.

*Extract 4.18: Interview with Mr. Morris, teacher, EMS*

Mr. Morris notes that an administrator “did tick that [he] used Welsh” (line 5), indicating that he met the minimum incidental Welsh requirement in a rote fashion. It is clear from this extract that the policy is externally mandated, and that teachers are “meant to” (line 1) comply. He suggests that the policy is superficial, describing its enactment as “cursory” (line 6). Later on in the interview, he expands on why he feels this way:

1 Uh—well, honestly, I—I do think it’s, it’s tokenistic a—a lot of the time. Uh,  
2 whether they’re learning it as a Welsh phrase or whether they’re use—learning it  
3 within the context of a trigger word within the classroom. It’s different to, to  
4 whether they’re going to go out and use it or if it’s just something they associate  
5 with school. Associate with the classroom. I—if I’m using are they thinking, “oh  
6 that’s—that’s the Welsh for ‘ready’ or <unclear> the word he, he uses to make us be  
7 quiet. *Barod*.” [ . . . ] And it just becomes a . . . a kind of rote way of saying it.  
8 “*Yma*.” That’s—that’s my feeling on it. You know?

*Extract 4.19: Interview with Mr. Morris, teacher, EMS*

Mr. Morris notes that associating a few Welsh phrases with the classroom setting is not the same as using the language outside the classroom. This suggests that he feels that the conditions of normalization are not effectively met by the restricted domain in which the Welsh language is used. The use of the words “tokenistic” (line 1) and “rote” (line 6) highlight his impression that there is not an ideological purpose behind the policy.

Finally, Ms. Smith describes her stance on the other Estyn recommendation, the use of bilingual signage:

1 It does, it does feel a little bit like box-ticking really, because I don’t know—  
2 because I think naturally, your eyes, anybody’s eyes will go to the language that  
3 they speak, won’t they? I mean, if you’re looking for the train station or the toilet,

4           you're going to read the English, if that's your native tongue, aren't you? So I  
5           probably see the same signs every day, they're bilingual, and I couldn't tell you  
6           what the other half says 'cause my eyes will go to . . . my bit, won't they? Because,  
7           yeah. Unless you're actively learning a language, you know, if you actively want to  
8           take that language on board, in which case you go, "Oh! That's how you say 'train  
9           station' in—in Welsh" you'll um . . . yeah.

*Extract 4.20: Interview with Ms. Smith, teacher, EMS*

Like incidental Welsh for Mr. Morris, for Ms. Smith, the use of bilingual signage lacks purpose. She argues that, because the school population is English-speaking, the presence of the Welsh text is not likely to aid in learning of the Welsh language. For this reason, she feels that the practice “does feel a bit like box-ticking” (line 1). Notably, however, Ms. Smith does not mention what Estyn states is the primary goal of bilingual signage: “to help to raise the profile of Welsh” (Dafydd, I., 2014, personal communication, 27 November). This suggests that there is some disconnect between the purpose of the policy and the perception of its value.

The perception of incidental Welsh and bilingual signage as tokenistic is not only present amongst teachers and, as will be seen in chapter 6, pupils; Estyn itself is aware that the recommendations have the potential to be superficial in their implementation. In an email, a representative informed me that Estyn “have advised schools that the use of the term ‘incidental Welsh’ is somewhat misleading and we have come across instances where it is tokenistic and does little to help pupils in their Welsh language development” (Dafydd, I., 2014, personal communication, 27 November). As a response, in its evaluations Estyn has begun to examine what it considers to be more meaningful and effective normalization strategies, such as in registration periods and in extra-curricular activities.

In spite of negative perceptions about the intrinsic value of the policy, there was very little resistance to it by teachers at EMS. Most teachers felt that the recommendations were fair and unobtrusive to their daily routines. Some did report that there was initial resistance, but at the time of data collection, it was a well-established practice, as teachers realized that it took little additional effort. Mr. Davies, an EMS teacher, compares the incidental Welsh policy to the pupils' compulsory Welsh requirement:

1           By using incidental Welsh, it's, you haven't got the um . . . when the pupils have  
2           been forced to study Welsh as an, um, as a subject. They could say, "Oh, it's a waste  
3           of time, I could be studying something else." If you're using it on an incidental  
4           basis, that argument doesn't apply at all. Because you're not wasting any—  
5           anybody's time by doing it.

*Extract 4.21: Interview with Mr. Davies, teacher, EMS*

Mr. Davies points out that unlike taking a full Welsh course, which requires additional time and effort, incidental Welsh is built into the pre-existing program, replacing routines that were once conducted in English. In this regard, incidental Welsh does fit the definition of normalization (section 2.2.2). Mr. Davies' choice of the phrase "not wasting anybody's time" (line 4) points to the opposition to compulsory Welsh second language by some English-speaking communities, but also expresses a passive acquiescence to incidental Welsh. Mr. Burke echoes this attitude:

1           Obviously, it's limited what you can do in a [ . . . ] lesson, but they do make an  
2           effort and I think that's fine. I've got—I've got nothing against it, it's—it's okay,  
3           like, you know.

*Extract 4.22: Interview with Mr. Burke, teacher, EMS*

Mr. Burke indicates a neutral stance toward following the policy. Although it is clear from Extract 4.17 that he does not perceive it to have a positive effect, he is passively compliant. Mr. Morris articulates a similar attitude:

1           I've found it easier than I thought I would've, being a non-Welsh-speaker. I found it  
2           easier to do it. And in fairness, I don't think it's too much to ask, you know. To  
3           do—to try and do a, a bit of that. I mean, we are in Wales.

1

*Extract 4.23: Interview with Mr. Morris, teacher, EMS*

Mr. Morris expresses that it requires little additional effort on his behalf and is thus an acceptable practice. He backs this up by saying, “I mean, we are in Wales” (line 3), indicating a belief that the Welsh language is naturally bound to the country of Wales.

Finally, Ms. Smith explains why she supports the Estyn recommendations:

1 I think . . . if it’s not promoted in the schools then it’s going to die out, isn’t it? It’s  
2 go—you know, it’s—it’s—it’s going to go. Because y—you don’t get it in shops.  
3 You don’t get it in—in supermarkets. Well you do, I mean, you might see . . .  
4 ‘bread’ in Welsh and on the—on the aisle, but you know . . . that’s just . . .  
5 government policy as well. But yeah, I—I think so. There’s no harm in them having  
6 that language, I don’t think.

*Extract 4.24: Interview with Ms. Smith, teacher, EMS*

1

Although Ms. Smith expresses a similar passivity, she does demonstrate a belief that, though they might be minimal in impact, incidental Welsh and bilingual signage are necessary to aid in language maintenance. While she does not articulate a particular benefit, she seems to perceive that there is some value in the presence of Welsh within the school, and therefore, within Wales.

The prevailing attitude toward the language policy at EMS is passive compliance. Although teachers are cooperative in following the recommendations put forth by Estyn by using incidental Welsh and including Welsh text alongside English on walls and notice boards, many feel that the policy is tokenistic, not particularly effective in achieving language normalization, and does little to improve Welsh language skills. None of the teachers interviewed, however, felt that the policy was harmful in any way. Some teachers—particularly Ms. Jones in Extract 4.16 and Mr. Morris in Extract 4.23—alluded to the ideology of language-as-symbol reflected in the school ethos, suggesting a belief that the Welsh language has cultural value to Wales (albeit iconically rather than communicatively). Interestingly, only Ms. Smith, in Extract 4.24, draws an explicit connection between government policy, school policy, and language revitalization. While the policy has become an integral part of the school ethos, for many, its underlying purpose has been lost.

#### 4.4. *Teacher and headteacher interviews*

School leaders' attitudes and beliefs about language not only have a bearing on how policies are interpreted and implemented (see section 4.3), but also contribute to the way in which ideologies are institutionalized and sanctioned. By virtue of their authoritative roles, teachers and administrators have the ability to communicate powerful messages about language, including its correctness, appropriateness, and role in identity expression (Corson, 1998). In this section, teachers' individual attitudes toward language are examined in view of their alignment with or contestation of national or local (school) language ideologies.

Although many topics were discussed in interviews with teachers, due in part to their semi-structured nature, this section will focus not on individual interview questions, but rather on themes that ran throughout the discourse. At both schools, the relationship between Welsh language and identity emerged as the most prevalent of these themes. At YGG, there was also substantial discussion of pupils' responsibility toward the Welsh language, and the absence of a "battle mentality" regarding language preservation amongst pupils. At EMS, the multicultural nature of Cardiff frequently arose as a topic of discussion.

##### 4.4.1. *YGG teachers' attitudes toward Welsh language and identity*

In section 2.4.4, the contested relationship between the Welsh language and Welsh identity was discussed. It has been demonstrated in the literature that there is no singular Welsh identity within Wales; "Welshness" carries a milieu of meanings and interpretations. Though the complexity of the relationship between the Welsh language and Welsh identity is evident in the data, there were some cohesive patterns that emerged. One of these was a concept of Welshness in which a particular set of criteria was defined. In this extract, Mr. Rhys describes a negotiation with some university friends about what "counts" as authentic Welshness:

- 1           We always used to have a, a bit of a debate amongst the Welsh lads in uni.
- 2           Probably—not many of them spoke Welsh, it was maybe only one or two other, uh,
- 3           people up in university that, that s—spoke Welsh. Uh, but um . . . uh, we'd always
- 4           like have deba—the debate would be who was the most Welsh. So yeah, because

5           having an English mother uh, did, did that, uh, kind of, lose points for me in the  
6           Welsh kind of, status, even though I spoke Welsh. Part of my argument was, I was  
7           always, I'm not, I'm more Welsh than you, I—I speak Welsh. I was born in Wales,  
8           I—I'm Welsh, and then, “Yeah, but your mum's English!”, I'd go like “Yeah, but  
9           you don't speak Welsh. You're not Welsh.” Uh, and it's a constant argument for  
10          three years with the same lads like that. It'd be back and forth most nights, you  
11          know um, who was the most or the least Welsh.

*Extract 4.25: Interview with Mr. Rhys, teacher, YGG*

In lines 4–5, Mr. Rhys explains that having an English mother “did lose points” for him, indicating that his parents' national identity influenced his own. Speaking Welsh offered him more credibility as a Welsh person (line 5), as did being born in Wales (line 6). While it is clear that this debate was jocular, it does shed light on what might be considered the necessary conditions of Welshness; in this case, parents' national identity, language, and birthplace all constituted “points” (line 5) toward Welshness. Furthermore, there is a value weighting of these criteria; for Mr. Rhys, being able to speak Welsh carried more weight in his Welsh identity than the national identity of his mother. By framing the debate as “who was the most or the least Welsh” (line 9), Mr. Rhys implies that a sort of continuum of Welshness existed for him and his university friends, where the strength of Welsh authenticity was contingent upon how many—and which—of these criteria were met.

A second conceptualization of Welshness that arose in the data was the idea that being Welsh entailed an ownership of the Welsh language, whether the Welsh person could speak it or not. Mr. Thomas explains how he thinks about the role of the Welsh language in Welsh identity:

1           I think the fact that the language exists is an essential part of any Welsh  
2           person's identity. Um, that's not to say I feel that everybody . . . that if you  
3           don't speak Welsh, you're not Welsh. Yeah, you know I . . . there, there are  
4           people who think that, that in order to be fully Welsh, you need to be, speak  
5           Welsh. Um . . . not, I don't—I disagree with that. But it is part of the  
6           cultural tapestry that makes somebody Welsh. You know, if you looked at

7                    those elements, you know, what is being Welsh, then the fact that the  
8                    language is there is a part of it.

*Extract 4:26: Interview with Mr. Thomas, teacher, YGG*

Although he is a Welsh speaker himself, Mr. Thomas rejects the notion that the Welsh identity is dependent upon Welsh language proficiency or use. He does, however, feel that the Welsh language is part of Welshness by virtue of its very existence. This point of view is inclusive in nature; the Welsh language belongs to all Welsh people. While the “cultural tapestry” (line 5) metaphor evokes a sense of “unity in diversity” (Selleck 2012, p. 2), it assumes a homogeneous set of shared cultural norms, of which the Welsh language is a core component. Mr. Thomas’s depiction of Welsh identity reflects both the ideology of language-as-symbol (Edwards, 2009) prevalent in the data of the English-medium school and the ideology of national language ownership present in *Iaith Pawb*.

#### *4.4.1.1. Cultural distinctiveness*

At YGG, there was a prevailing view that the Welsh language is essential to Welshness because it is “the only obvious remaining symbol of Welsh difference and identity” (Carter, 2010, p. 94). Mr. Clark expresses a belief that the Welsh language serves as the last clear indicator of a Welsh identity:

1                    Like if you look at non-Welsh-speaking culture in Wales, it’s not dif—that different  
2                    from Yorkshire. Do you know what I mean, it’s like “ah, you know, the mines.”  
3                    What mines? You know, you can say, okay, we’ve got, we’ve got our, our rugby  
4                    team, we’ve got our, uh um, uh, our um, our football team. What else is there to  
5                    show that we’re different? Uh, you know, or, or to unite us as a nation even? You  
6                    could say that if you look at non-Welsh, non-Welsh-language culture. There’s  
7                    nothing that unites the north and the south. Um, you know, and, and, and possibly  
8                    the only thing that will show, shows that we’re Welsh is that we’re not English.

*Extract 4:27: Interview with Mr. Clark, teacher, YGG*

Mr. Clark mentions the now obsolete coal mining industry, which transformed Welsh culture throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries, leaving “substantial and enduring imprints on cultural values and identities” (Coupland and Coupland, 2014, p. 498). Once a salient symbol of South Welsh identity, he believes that it no longer serves as a relevant cultural icon<sup>27</sup>.

Welsh rugby and football, which are frequent objects of national pride, are unsatisfactory to him in terms of uniqueness. He feels that, apart from the language, cultural distinction is derived solely from opposition to England. Notably, Mr. Clark draws a distinction between Welsh-speaking and non-Welsh-language culture (line 1). He does not explain what elements, apart from the language, comprise this culture, but it is clear that he perceives non-Welsh-speakers in Wales as having a distinct culture from his own.

Mr. Clark expresses a struggle similar to the one detailed by Carter (2010), who states that, in defining Welsh identity, “attempts at the identification of associated, crucial traits provide but vague answers” (p. 108). Part of the reason for this vagueness is the lack of what Mr. Rhys calls an “international brand” (line 1):

- 1           Everybody knows Ireland. Uh, they have like a big international brand, or whatever,
- 2           as regards to you ass—you’d associate drinking with being Irish. You’d associate
- 3           maybe, playing the harp being Irish, boxing and things like that, you’d associate
- 4           with being Irish. Whereas if you go abroad, probably, not many people know much
- 5           about Wales.

*Extract 4.28: Interview with Mr. Rhys, teacher, YGG*

While expressing a national identity is not dependent upon having a “brand” that is identifiable to tourists, the lack of what Carter (2010) calls the “equivalents of Bannockburn and tartan” (108) is reflective of a broader uncertainty as to what unifies Wales as a nation. For many of the YGG teachers, having a distinctive language—and its associated “Welsh-speaking culture”—provides such a culturally distinctive unity.

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<sup>27</sup> Wales’s coal mining past is still drawn upon to some extent as an identity resource, as evidenced by the lumps of coal sold to tourists in souvenir shops.

#### 4.4.1.2. Teachers' perceptions of pupils' Welsh identities

In addition to asking teachers how they oriented to their own Welsh identities, I asked them to describe how they thought the Welsh language fit into the identities of the pupils at YGG. Given how strongly many teachers felt about the importance of the language to their own senses of Welshness, there was a surprising divergence amongst teachers as to what it might (or perhaps should) mean to pupils. Mr. Thule felt that for many pupils, the Welsh language did feature prominently in their own senses of Welsh identity because being able to speak the language provided them with access to the aforementioned “Welsh-speaking Welsh culture”:

- 1 I think a lot of pupils here do find the, the Welsh language is part of their
- 2 Welshness, and I think part of their Welsh identity is deeply rooted in, in Welsh
- 3 language and culture. Um, and of course they, they access sort of Welsh TV, Welsh
- 4 radio stations, and they can access, um, the Eisteddfod quite easily. I know the
- 5 Eisteddfod is open to Welsh learners but they are considered a separate category.

*Extract 4.29:* Interview with Mr. Thule, teacher, YGG

In this extract, Mr. Thule offers a clue as to what “Welsh-speaking Welsh culture” might entail. He mentions two elements in particular: Welsh language media and the Eisteddfod. He argues that this culture is unavailable to non-Welsh speakers, as the language barrier limits their engagement with it. Even the Eisteddfod, which has served as a national cultural symbol for much of the country’s history, is conducted through the medium of Welsh<sup>28</sup>. It is suggested that being a fluent Welsh speaker offers opportunities to engage in a specific set of cultural practices, setting Welsh-speaking Welsh culture apart from non-Welsh-speaking Welsh culture. Therefore, the language not only serves as a cultural icon in and of itself, but carries with it a set of cultural criteria.

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<sup>28</sup> To clarify, the Eisteddfod being discussed here is the Urdd Eisteddfod, the national cultural festival for youth. There is also a national Eisteddfod, which is conducted through the medium of Welsh, and an international Eisteddfod with participants from all over the world, which is conducted primarily through the medium of English.

Some teachers felt that pupils should incorporate the Welsh language into their Welsh identities, but that many did not. Ms. Wilson describes a frustration she frequently feels with her pupils:

- 1           It's be—you're gonna be a small minority of people who'll be able to speak this
- 2           language, speak it with . . . your friends or some of your peers that you know, and
- 3           ugh, it's just instilling, instilling that identity and then I think, okay, come on, you're
- 4           Welsh, this is . . . well, we fought for this language you know, for—tooth and nail,
- 5           and you're willing to let all this go now?

*Extract 4.30:* Interview with Ms. Wilson, teacher, YGG

Ms. Wilson's own passion for the language is evident here. She expresses a responsibility to “[instill] that identity” (lines 2–3) in her pupils. She does not make explicit what “that identity” entails, but she implies that having a strong Welsh identity is linked to their motivation to keep the language alive. She suggests that part of her role as a teacher is to foster a sense of Welshness with the Welsh language at its center.

Mr. Hughes, another YGG teacher, disagrees. Although he feels strongly about the role of Welsh in his own identity, he views the value of the language in the school setting as primarily instrumental:

- 1           It's just an ability. It doesn't have to define them. [ . . . ] I think the ability to speak
- 2           Welsh, um, um, what skill that gives them, is more important.

*Extract 4.31:* Interview with Mr. Hughes, teacher, YGG

Unlike Ms. Wilson, Mr. Hughes does not believe that speaking Welsh entails appropriating a particular identity or culture, but can have worth in its function of language-as-communication (Edwards, 2009). He contests the view that language and culture are necessarily interwoven, and thus does not feel that pupils should be obligated to adopt a particular identity.

#### 4.4.1.3. Responsibility

It has been noted throughout this chapter that pupils at YGG face a certain set of expectations with respect to language; they are expected to speak Welsh at all times throughout the school day, with perhaps the allowance of occasional code-mixing. Following a certain set of linguistic norms is not uncommon within any school setting, as each school determines what constitutes an acceptable medium of expression (Corson, 1998). There is a second, implicit expectation, however, that is present in many Welsh-medium schools. As the school is an instrument of language revitalization, pupils are often expected to play a role in carrying the language forward. Like many teachers whom I interviewed, Mr. Connor, the headteacher, takes this view:

- 1 I think an—any child going through Welsh-medium education has to understand
- 2 they have a responsibility towards the Welsh language. But it's down to us, then, to
- 3 actually . . . show them that and for them to understand that.

*Extract 4.31:* Interview with Mr. Connor, headteacher, YGG

Mr. Connor emphasizes that the responsibility lies with not only “any child going through Welsh-medium education” (line 1), but with the members of staff, who have a responsibility to help students understand the obligation.

Given the motivations of many of the parents in the school to send their children through Welsh-medium education, the expectation that pupils have a responsibility toward the Welsh language is interesting. Hodges (2012) found that while most parents in her Rhymni Valley study chose to send their children to Welsh-medium schools for cultural reasons, parents also had educational and economic motivations for their choices. While there was no similar survey of parents' motivations at YGG, Mr. Connor as well as several teachers and pupils explained that many parents send their children to Welsh-medium schools in Cardiff simply because the alternative English-medium school (not the school in this study) has poorer academic performance and more disciplinary issues, findings supported by Hodges's (2012) data. Furthermore, like in the Rhymney Valley, many parents in Cardiff make this choice to open up opportunities for employment and academic

advancement. There are parents in Cardiff, of course, who choose Welsh-medium education for their children for cultural reasons, but for many, motivations are more instrumental. The expectation that pupils will take responsibility for carrying the Welsh language forward, in line with YGG's language ideologies, may not be in line with their own—or their parents'—ideological stances.

Although most teachers felt that pupils did have some obligation toward the Welsh language, this expectation was contested. Mr. Hughes shared this opinion:

- 1 I think it's a lot to put on a child when they haven't made the decision, if you get
- 2 what I mean, it's . . . I can't, I don't like it when they say, "Ah, you're the future of
- 3 the Welsh language, it's down to you." I—I don't like it when I hear that. But
- 4 because it is, it's unfamiliar for a lot, a lot of them so I think it's unfair to put that on
- 5 a thirt—a thirteen-year old.

*Extract 4.32: Interview with Mr. Hughes, teacher, YGG*

Mr. Hughes points out that many pupils have not chosen Welsh-medium education for themselves, and therefore have not chosen the responsibility that is laid upon them as the next generation of Welsh speakers. Therefore, particularly for those who come from non-Welsh-speaking homes, he feels that charging pupils with being “the future of the Welsh language” (line 2) is unfair.

A common theme that emerged throughout discussions of responsibility toward Welsh was the idea of battle. Compared with other endangered languages, the Welsh language has particularly strong institutional support, a wide availability of services, media programming, education, and considerable prestige, particularly in Cardiff. Although there are always conflicts to be resolved, the political struggles of the 1960s through the 1990s have largely dissolved. While these gains are undoubtedly beneficial for the Welsh language, many teachers expressed a frustration that the wide availability of Welsh language resources has fostered an attitude of complacency in the younger generation. Mr. Connor recalls:

- 1 And, you know, years ago, um, it would have been slightly easier in terms of . . .
- 2 there were *protests*, there were *fight*s, there—there was something to hang on to.
- 3 You could—you could—you know, the Welsh language could be used as, uh, you

4 know, a . . . a tool to drive momentum in terms of . . . there was a *battle*. There was  
5 a *challenge*. There was something to *protest* against. [ . . . ] Whereas now, it's there.  
6 It's—it—we've come to a point where, you know, in Cardiff, for example, the  
7 authority over the years have been, have been good in providing Welsh-medium  
8 education, so children, particularly in this generation coming through, haven't  
9 realised that there are people who have *fought* with it a lot and who have had to, you  
10 know, *sacrifice* a lot for the Welsh language. They don't see it. Because it's there, it  
11 was an easy choice for Mum or Dad to make, was a Welsh—English-medium or  
12 Welsh-medium. They didn't have to demand it. They didn't have to *fight* for it. And  
13 I think that's—that's a factor, where they, they—they don't appreciate what people  
14 over the years have had to *sacrifice* for them to be able to sat—sit in, you know, an  
15 assembly in [YGG], not having to think about, “Oh, you know, we—we're lucky to  
16 be where we are.” So that's a constant challenge, in, in encouraging them and  
17 educating them about the long history of the *battles* for the Welsh-medium language  
18 to *survive*. Uh, but then to realize actually, we're still in a very fragile state and if we  
19 leave it go and if we don't continue the *battle*, then who knows, in a hundred years'  
20 time what, you know, what health will the Welsh language be, be in?

*Extract 4.33: Interview with Mr. Connor, headteacher, YGG (my emphases)*

Mr. Connor uses the language of battle, exemplified by the italicized text in this extract, to express his feeling that the successes of the Welsh language revitalization movement (particularly Welsh-medium education) are taken for granted by pupils. The political fight has largely dissipated, and with it the impetus to defend and protect the Welsh language. Without this motivation, pupils are viewed by many teachers as complacent. The fear, expressed in lines 16–18, is that without continuing to fight, the vitality of the Welsh language will deteriorate. As a result, he feels that the school has a responsibility to motivate pupils by reminding them of the historical struggles that have allowed the language to survive (lines 14–15).

Having had to battle in another way as a child, Mr. Clark also expresses frustration with this type of complacency:

1 But they've, yeah, they've never, they've never had to battle for their, for their  
2 language or anything, you know? Uh, um . . . I, I've completely lost it with some

3 classes in the past and give, given them a sort of a, a lecture where I've . . . 'cause I,  
4 I, I was brought up in a non-Welsh-speaking part of Wales, in the, in, in mid-Wales.  
5 And, not bullied, but you know, sort of taunted for being a Welsh speaker and stuff  
6 like that. Um, and I've told, you know, I've told the kids, you know, you have no  
7 idea, you have no idea what it is to, and to, to sort of, to fight for their, for their  
8 rights to speak Welsh. And, and, [ . . . ] lots of these kids aren't actually that  
9 bothered because it's actually been their parents' decision.

*Extract 4.34: Interview with Mr. Clark, teacher, YGG*

Mr. Clark's battle as a Welsh speaker is personal, rather than political. Having lived through a period of time in which harassment for speaking Welsh in an English-speaking part of Wales was common, he sees his pupils' attitudes as apathetic toward the current relative prestige of Welsh. Like Mr. Connor, he sometimes takes the opportunity to lecture pupils on what it means to "fight for their [ . . . ] rights to speak Welsh" (lines 6–7).

On the whole, interview data indicate that many teachers' individual attitudes toward the Welsh language align closely with the language ideologies reflected in YGG's ethos and language policy, although they are contested. The integration of Welsh language and culture is prevalent throughout teachers' discourse, as is the belief that there is a need for both themselves and their pupils to defend and protect the language. The potential influence on pupils' attitudes can be seen in the fact that some teachers claim to make explicit efforts to align pupils' attitudes to the language ideologies espoused by the school, for example, by educating pupils on the historical struggle to keep the Welsh language alive, or by "instilling" (Extract 4.30, line 2) a particular Welsh identity. Others, however, hold their own attitudes and beliefs more privately, even when they do align with the school's ideological positions.

#### *4.4.2. EMS teachers' attitudes toward Welsh language and identity*

At EMS, beliefs and attitudes about the role of the Welsh language in Welsh culture were varied. While all of the teachers interviewed at YGG were first-language Welsh speakers, only two from EMS—Mr. Davies and Ms. Jones—had

grown up speaking Welsh. As a result, there are perspectives from both Welsh- and non-Welsh-speaking teachers in the interview data.

Although Mr. Davies has lived in Cardiff since the early 1970s, he was raised in a Welsh-speaking region of west Wales. Although he does not speak Welsh regularly, he does have the ability, and feels that it is incorporated into his Welsh identity.

1           No, I think it—I think [the language] is very important to me, I’m very proud of  
2           being Welsh [ . . . ] I think it makes me—hmm, I don’t know, don’t know whether I  
3           should say that, I think it makes me a better person. I think it adds value to me as a  
4           person, the fact that I have got, um, that Welsh background. Um, as to somebody  
5           who’d been brought up in Wales without it. Um . . . so . . . and I think probably  
6           people who have been brought up in Wales but without Welsh background and the  
7           culture that goes with it, um . . . probably, um, aren’t able to fit in as well anywhere  
8           in the country as I would. [ . . . ] And you know, if it, if you’re just having a  
9           conversation with somebody, you bump into somebody somewhere, and, um, you  
10          know, if it gives us so, so much more in common.

*Extract 4.35: Interview with Mr. Davies, teacher, EMS*

Though Mr. Davies does not claim that speaking Welsh makes him feel more or less Welsh, he feels that being a Welsh speaker “adds value to [him] as a person” (line 3). Like many of the teachers at YGG, he talks about the “Welsh background and the culture that goes with it” (lines 5–6), alluding to the division between Welsh-speaking and non-Welsh-speaking cultural groups. In his view, the ability to speak Welsh allows him to “fit in [ . . . ] anywhere in the country” (lines 6–7), allowing him access to cultural resources from multiple sub-cultures of Wales.

Ms. Jones, who also grew up in a Welsh-speaking area of west Wales, explicitly contests the notion that speaking Welsh is a necessary condition of Welshness:

1           I don’t think that it is a necessity to speak Welsh to be Welsh. Um . . . I think a lot in  
2           Wales do think that. I think, as I said, it, it gives you much more insight, but you  
3           know, I wouldn’t go up to the Valleys in Merthyr going, “You’re not proper Welsh”

4           just because they don't speak Welsh. I think it does help, um, and I think that in  
5           some areas you could feel isolated if you couldn't.

*Extract 4.36: Interview with Ms. Jones, teacher, EMS*

Like Mr. Davies, however, Ms. Jones touches on the idea of access. Although she argues that speaking Welsh isn't necessary for being "proper Welsh" (line 3), she concedes that "in some areas you could feel isolated if you couldn't" (line 4). She implies that in regions of Wales where Welsh is the dominant language, being able to speak Welsh provides a means of cultural belonging that is unavailable to non-Welsh speakers.

Mrs. Smith, a non-Welsh-speaking teacher, describes how she thinks the Welsh language fits into Welsh culture:

1           It is our culture at the end of the day, isn't it? It is—it is a language and I think it  
2           would be . . . I feel a bit hypocritical because whilst I don't do anything to promote  
3           Welsh language apart from the bits in, in the classroom. I think it would be really  
4           sad for the language to die out as well, because I think Welsh people actually are  
5           very proud of the fact that they've got their own language, even when they can't  
6           speak it. There's just something about it. Like, you know, especially on rugby days,  
7           when we, I mean, and you know the—the words to the Welsh anthem. I think  
8           there's a lot of pride in having your own language.

*Extract 4.37: Interview with Mrs. Smith, teacher, EMS*

Mrs. Smith's portrayal of the relationship between Welsh language and culture concurrently reflects the ideologies of 'national language ownership' in *Iaith Pawb* and 'language-as symbol', prevalent in the ethos of EMS. She is conflicted by her attitude, however, acknowledging that the symbolic use of Welsh is not sufficient to sustain it. She recognizes that "the symbolic associations which mean a continuing importance for a language no longer spoken are unlikely to carry on forever—they can last a long time, obviously, but their ultimate fate is in little doubt" (Edwards, 2010, p. 60).

#### 4.4.2.1. Cultural uniqueness

In Extract 4.27, Mr. Clark expresses his feeling that the Welsh language was perhaps the only salient marker of a distinctive Welsh identity. He argues that non-Welsh-speaking culture in Wales is “no different from Yorkshire” (lines 1–2). Yet many non-Welsh speakers do feel strongly about their Welsh identities and are indeed able to express their Welshness (Carter, 2010). Defining the non-linguistic cultural elements that define Welshness, however, is complex and contested. At EMS, a wide variety of attitudes and beliefs about Welshness arose in interview data. Mr. Spears, who moved to Wales from South Africa in 2004, describes his perceptions, as an outsider, of Welshness:

- 1 But I find there’s certain things that most Welsh people can do. So they’ll be able to
- 2 sing the national anthem. And they’ll always say things like, if they’re talking about
- 3 being Welsh, they’ll say, “Whose coat is that jacket?” Stuff like that. [ . . . ] so I—I
- 4 think it’s—it’s also, being Welsh is a sort of cultural thing. It isn’t necessarily linked
- 5 to language. It may originally have been, but um . . . I guess, because the culture’s
- 6 always evolving and developing, some things have got roots and other things are
- 7 just . . . just there.

*Extract 4.38:* Interview with Mr. Spears, teacher, EMS

In this extract, Mr. Spears points to two linguistic resources that are drawn upon by the majority of Welsh people. The first is the national anthem, which is sung in Welsh. The chorus to the anthem is well known to most Welsh people, and can thus be used to express a Welsh identity. The second resource is regional dialect, such as in the phrase “whose coat is that jacket?” (line 3), a uniquely Welsh expression that can be deployed to index Welshness. Mr. Spears contends, however, that being Welsh “isn’t necessarily linked to language” (line 4), suggesting that Welsh culture is evolving away from a language-based identity.

The contested nature of non-Welsh-speaking Welsh culture is evident in the following statement by Mr. Burke:

1           Unfortunately, I think what happens is that the media define culture on very sort of,  
2           um, basic terms, and, which creates these stereotypes of, you know, the rugby, and  
3           uh, you know, the, the mines and it's, y—you know, people still got this, you—you  
4           go to the center of town, you know, the sort of souvenir shops still selling lumps of  
5           coal. There's still pictures of coal [ . . . ] like that, you know and it's like sort of this  
6           whole, you know, sheep, coal, and rugby thing that's . . . it's still . . . and to some  
7           extent I think it's something that's got to be broken, you know.

*Extract 4.39: Interview with Mr. Burke, teacher, EMS*

Mr. Burke problematizes the reductionism of Welsh culture in the media and in the tourist industry. He believes that the cultural stereotypes of “sheep, coal, and rugby” (line 5) oversimplify the complexity of Welshness, and argues that the stereotypical representations of Welshness have “got to be broken” (line 6) to make room for new means of cultural identification. To Mr. Burke, what makes Wales—and Cardiff in particular—unique is not having a unifying, essentialist “brand,” but cultural heterogeneity.

1           I don't think it's any more unique than, uh . . . Newcastle is. Than Birmingham is.  
2           Than Manchester is. Than Leeds is. Than the Lake District is. You know, I've been,  
3           spent time in Newcastle and culturally, it's as different from London as Cardiff is  
4           from London. There—there is a Welsh, there is a unique, uh, uniqueness to the  
5           Welsh culture [ . . . ] within Wales you've probably got about fifty different  
6           cultures. And in Cardiff, you've got twenty different cultures, right so yeah, there is  
7           a uniqueness, but it's not—I don't think it's a Welsh uniqueness. I think it's just an .  
8           . . . a geographical uniqueness that you get everywhere.

*Extract 4.40: Interview with Mr. Burke, teacher, EMS*

Mr. Burke compares Welsh culture to various cities of England, whose regional identities are salient throughout the UK. In his view, Wales is not inherently distinct from these places, but is made distinct only by virtue of cultural diversity. His implication is that there are no unifying criteria that define Welshness, but rather a cultural hybridity that typifies the national identity.

Ms. Smith also highlights the cultural heterogeneity that characterizes Wales (again, particularly Cardiff):

1 I think as well, with Wales, in particular, we are, um, I mean it's not—we are, a  
2 mixed nation, you know, we are mul—especially in Cardiff, multicultural. Um . . . but you,  
3 you know, we—we—my family and I use a, an Indian takeaway called the “Indo Cymru.”  
4 And, you know, they, they've embedded themselves into the community they've put their—  
5 they've put our—our c—our name on their shop, really, haven't they, the Indo Cymru. We  
6 are the—we are the Welsh Indian restaurant. Good for them! So, you—anybody can be  
7 Welsh, providing you buy into that sense of national pride. And so I just think it's ni—it's a  
8 nice thing. I think it's a very positive, happy thing.

*Extract 4.41:* Interview with Ms. Smith, teacher, EMS

Ms. Smith's example of Indo Cymru demonstrates an ideology of cultural and linguistic hybridity and flexibility. The name of the restaurant is employed as a symbolic resource to express alignment with both English- and Welsh-speaking Welsh cultures, but also retains a distinctive Indian identity. Coupland (2012) characterizes this type of cultural and linguistic hybridity as “laconic metacultural celebration,” a succinct expression of an “ideologically open and flexible bilingual and multilingual culture” (p. 22). In expressing that this type of practice is “a very positive, happy thing” (lines 7–8) Ms. Smith demonstrates that she embraces this ideology.



*Image 4.1.* Photograph of Indo Cymru, an Indian restaurant in Cardiff

This ideology of flexible multilingualism is endorsed by Mr. Spears as well. When asked how he thought the Welsh language might be more integrated into Welsh national identity, he responded as follows:

I think in a sense, um . . . some Welsh people, they'll automatically switch to English. Um, whereas if they, you know, put a bit more Welsh into, well, in—into expressing themselves, throwing more Welsh words in. Um, whereas in South Africa, you—you have a lot of, uh, foreign, well—wouldn't say foreign, but . . . y—um, sort of [ . . . ] assimilated words from, from other languages. So you would use Afrikaans words to express things. What—what—what happens is, often you—you find the best word and you'd use that word. In—in the different languages that—that are spoken. Um . . . 'cause it's just . . . it just sounds better, you know.

*Extract 4.42: Interview with Mr. Spears, teacher, EMS*

Mr. Spears describes the prevalence of code alternation in South African speech, where it is common to use more than one language as a communicative resource; in his words, “you find the best word and you'd use that word [ . . . ] In the different languages [ . . . ] that are spoken” (lines 6–7). He perceives that in Wales, linguistic boundaries are firm, and he implies that the Welsh might benefit from permeating those boundaries through code alternation.

The perception of multiculturalism in Wales that feeds into the ideologies of flexible multilingualism and multiculturalism are interesting because of the demographic reality that Wales as a whole is not particularly culturally diverse. Wales is 96.6% white; Cardiff, by contrast, has a substantial ethnic minority population of 15% and continues a diversifying trend (ONS, 2012). Several teachers at EMS, however, seem to draw upon the heterogeneity of the local demography as an expression of a more widespread Welsh national identity. Particularly for those who do not speak Welsh, Welsh identity is expressed through some traditional means, such as the symbolic use of Welsh in the national anthem or in supporting the Welsh rugby team, but also in embracing an emergent multiculturalism (cf., Williams, 2005) in which the indicators of Welsh identity are constantly evolving. It

is not clear from the data here, however, how the perception of multiculturalism is appropriated as a cultural resource.

#### 4.5. Conclusion

It must be acknowledged that the ideologies discussed throughout this chapter do not go uncontested even within each institution. The school is in a position to take a specific ideological stance on language, which can be codified in various ways (e.g., policy). This institutionalization does not, however, guarantee a unified stance within the school. Like all other ideologies, institutionalized language ideologies exist within a larger ecosystem, comprised of larger political systems, local sociocultural realities, and the attitudes and ideologies of individuals within the organization. Interview data make it clear that some ideological tensions exist between policymakers and those who enact policy, which in turn influences the way policy is implemented. The ideological visions of *Iaith Pawb* and *Iaith Fyw*, drawn upon by government language planners, educational policymakers, the school inspection agency Estyn, and individual school administrations, may not harmonize with the ideologies reflected on the ground. Examining how a single ideology (e.g., “national language ownership”) is filtered through two ideologically dissimilar school types illuminates just how difficult it is attempt to persuade a nation to adopt a unified stance on language.

This chapter has examined some of the institutionalized ideologies that underpin ethos, language policy, staff attitudes, and textual display within each school. It has been established that language ideologies both reflect and help shape broader social and political contexts, and that they can have a powerful influence over attitudes (section 2.2.3). This brings us to the second part of Research Question 1: to what extent are these language ideologies reflected in pupils’ attitudes? More specifically, do pupils’ attitudes toward language reflect an acceptance of the ideologies espoused by their respective schools, or is there evidence that these are contested? Are they mediated by other factors, such as linguistic competence and family background? The next two chapters will explore these questions, shifting the focus from the school as an institution to the attitudes of its pupils.

## **5 Pupils' attitudes to language: quantitative data**

### *5.1. Introduction*

Thus far, this dissertation has focused on the policies, ideologies, and attitudes of school organizations and their leaders. In this chapter, focus is drawn to the pupils who attend those institutions. Specifically, this chapter is dedicated to examining pupils' explicit and implicit attitudes toward the Welsh language, as well as their self-reported engagement in Welsh-medium interaction, using various quantitative methods (see sections 3.3 and 3.4 for a full discussion of the quantitative methodologies employed here). The following research questions will be addressed:

- RQ1. To what extent are the language ideologies espoused by Welsh- and English-medium schools reflected in pupils' attitudes toward the Welsh language?
  
- RQ2. What is the relationship between pupils' attitudes toward Welsh, their self-reported language behaviours, and their commitment to future language use?

Baker (1992) argues that “schools can, in themselves, affect attitudes to language, be it a majority or minority language” (p. 43). In Cardiff and throughout Wales, it is clear that Welsh-medium education has had a tremendous impact on the number of young people able to speak Welsh fluently, and this number continues to grow. In addition Welsh-medium schools connect pupils with a wide range of opportunities to use the language, through campus clubs, sports teams, festivals, musical events, drama groups, and other community institutions. Comparatively, pupils in English-medium schools are limited in both the language skills they acquire and in the opportunities they have to practice those skills. It can therefore be expected that pupils from Welsh-medium schools would have more positive attitudes toward the instrumental, cultural, and social values of the language than those who attend English-medium schools.

In addition to developing linguistic proficiency and providing opportunities for language use, Baker (1992) posits that educational institutions may influence attitudes in other ways as well. Citing a study by Catrin Roberts (1987), Baker

asserts that Welsh-medium (or bilingual) school teachers' commitment to the Welsh language and Welsh cultural activities can have a positive effect on pupils' integrative attitudes. Conversely, in schools where there may be covert anti-Welsh sentiment, attitudes may be adversely affected. The formal or hidden curriculum can also have such an impact. However, Baker outlines the complications of examining the effects of school on attitude:

Designated bilingual schools have tended to attract dedicated and committed teachers (Roberts, 1985). Is this a major influence on favourable attitudes to Welsh? Or is the influence more abstract, such as the ethos or overall effectiveness of the school? To complicate further, there may be an important interaction between school factors (e.g. teachers, ethos) and out of school factors (e.g. parental attitudes, community pressures). (pp. 43–44)

Because so many social factors interact both inside and outside the educational setting, it may not be possible to establish with certainty a cause-and-effect relationship between the policies, attitudes, and ideologies of school leadership on one hand, and the attitudes of pupils on the other. Nonetheless, similarities and differences between the two school types can be examined, with an eye on the primary factors that have been shown to influence language attitudes apart from school, including, for example, home language, proficiency, and identification with Welsh ethnicity. Disentangling these variables in various ways and exploring how they interact with the school environment can shed light on the unique impact of school on pupils' attitudes toward Welsh.

In section 5.2, self-reported attitudes toward various aspects of the Welsh language and code alternation, as well as interaction through the medium of Welsh, will be explored through the language attitude and use questionnaire (section 3.3.1; Appendices A and B). Section 5.3 will focus on the results of the Implicit Association Test, an instrument designed to indirectly elicit attitudes and associations toward social objects (section 3.4.2). Finally, in section 5.4, the results of another indirect measure, the matched-guise test (section 3.4.1), will be reported and discussed.

## 5.2. Questionnaire

The primary purpose of the questionnaire in this study is to get a broad sense of attitudinal orientations toward various facets of the Welsh language and engagement in its use. It is exploratory in nature; that is, the various dimensions to be explored were extracted using an exploratory factor analysis, and no specific hypotheses were tested. This approach allows for the investigation of latent variables that are relevant to the sample population studied, and that may not have arisen in previous research. This statistical method precludes the researcher from basing analyses on *a priori* assumptions about the relevant aspects of language attitudes and use (Baker, 1992).

### 5.2.1. Identifying the independent variables

The following five independent variables were identified for analysis of pupils' attitudes toward the Welsh language: home language (based on the response to question 2); school (Welsh-medium or English-medium); proficiency (self-rated, based on the response to question 6); Welshness (self-rated identification with Welshness, based on the response to question 9); and parental proficiency (whether or not they had a parent with a rating of 5 or above on the scale in questions 10–13). The selection was based on previous language attitude research in Wales (e.g., Coupland et al., 2005; Morris, 2014; Price, 2010; Robert, 2009;), as well as pilot interview data<sup>29</sup>.

Home language has been shown to correlate strongly with engagement with the Welsh language. Drawing upon a 2004 Welsh Language Use survey conducted by the Welsh Language Board, 2001 Census statistics and other statistical sources, Jones (2008) found that those who lived in a home where all household members spoke Welsh were nearly two and a half times more likely to speak Welsh daily than

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<sup>29</sup> First language (whether pupils considered Welsh to be one of their “first languages”) and confidence (based on the response to question 7, “How comfortable do you feel speaking Welsh to a native Welsh speaker?”) were initially included as independent variables. However, first language and home language were highly correlated, as were confidence and proficiency, so the decision was made to exclude these variables. Information was also collected on gender, but as gender has not been shown to be significantly correlated with language attitudes in Wales (Coupland et al., 2005; Robert, 2009), this also was excluded. An exploratory analysis confirmed that this variable did not contribute to the stepwise regression model for any of the dimensions.

those who did not. Morris (2014) also found that home language was highly correlated with Welsh language use, especially when combined with living in a Welsh-speaking community. It is expected that home language will play a substantial role in Welsh language engagement in this data as well.

Figure 5.1 shows the percentage of Welsh and non-Welsh home languages spoken for each school. At EMS, 91% (n = 101) of pupils come from homes where English is the primary language; 5% (n = 6) speak English and another language at home, and 4% (n = 4) speak another language at home. (One participant declined to answer.) While some pupils have parents who can speak Welsh (see Figure 5.2), no EMS pupil comes from a home where Welsh is a primary language. At YGG, English is the main home language for 70% (n = 97) of pupils, Welsh is the main home language for 20% (n = 28), and both are main home languages for 8% (n = 11). A small percentage (1%) (n = 1) speak another language alongside English at home, or another language altogether (1%) (n = 1).

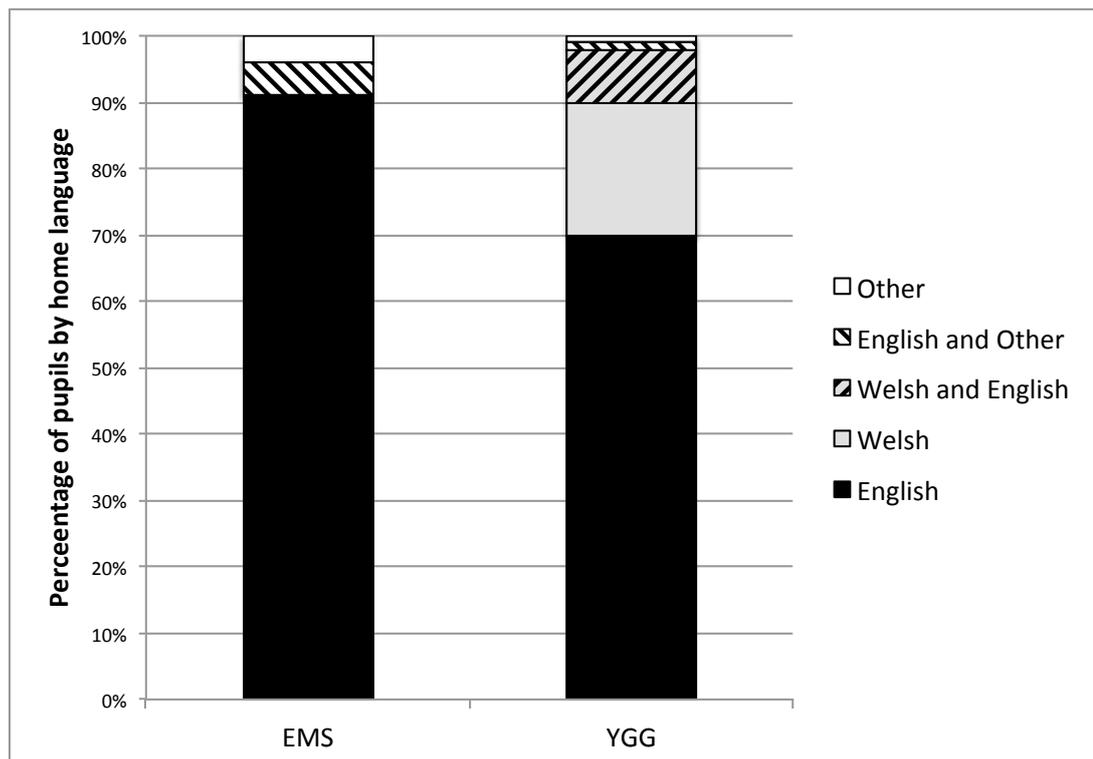


Figure 5.1: Percentage of Welsh and non-Welsh main home languages by school

There are many pupils at YGG and a few at EMS who have at least one parent who can speak Welsh, even if it is not necessarily spoken as a primary language at home. Parents who can speak Welsh owe their competence to a variety

of factors: some will have attended Welsh-medium schools; some have acquired it through a family member; others will have taken courses as adults for their job or for personal enrichment; and some will have learned the language to be able to communicate in Welsh with their children who attend Welsh-medium schools or with a spouse (Baker et al., 2011).<sup>30</sup> Figure 5.2 shows the percentage of pupils who have a parent who can speak Welsh at a level of 5 or above on a scale of 1 to 7, as reported by pupils. At EMS, 7% (n = 8) of pupils had at least one Welsh-speaking parent. At YGG, 55% (n = 77) had at least one Welsh-speaking parent.

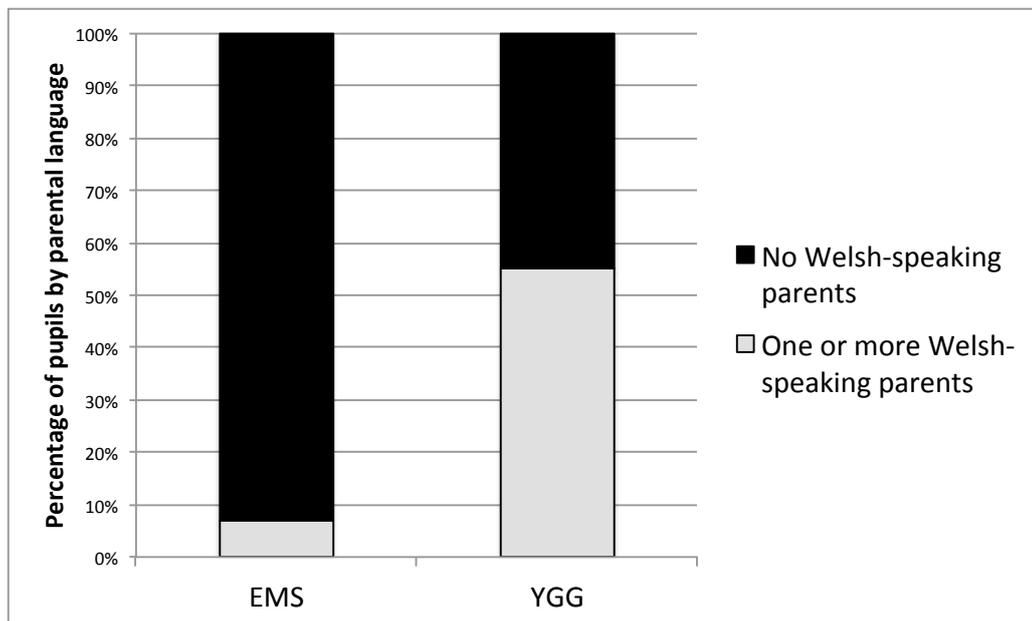


Figure 5.2: Percentage of pupils with at least one Welsh-speaking parent, by school

The effect of having a Welsh-speaking parent varies, depending on a variety of factors that are beyond the scope of this study. De Houwer’s (1999) review of research on parental influence on early bilingualism demonstrates that children’s language practices are impacted by the attitudes and language behaviours of their parents; for example, how frequently parents communicate in each language with their child or spouse. Having a Welsh-speaking parent could influence pupils’ attitudes and engagement in other ways as well. Depending on their particular motivations, those parents who have voluntarily acquired Welsh as adults are likely to have positive attitudes toward certain aspects of Welsh. For example, a parent

<sup>30</sup> According to one teacher at YGG, this is not common. At one point, YGG offered a Welsh course for parents, but the uptake was so low, it had to be cancelled.

who took a Welsh course for a job may experience an instrumental benefit of having an additional language, and a parent who did so for personal enrichment may experience an affective benefit. In addition, children with a Welsh-speaking parent may have more opportunities to engage with the language, perhaps by practicing their language skills with that parent. While data on parents' attitudes, motivations, and language behaviours were not gathered for the present study, it is worth exploring, as a starting point, whether or not the presence of a Welsh-speaking parent in the home is related to pupils' attitudes toward the Welsh language.

There is a robust and persistent relationship between attitudes toward language and proficiency (Gardner, 1985; Baker, 1992). Baker (1992) describes this as a cyclical relationship, wherein a predisposed negative attitude can adversely affect second language acquisition, and a low degree of language proficiency can produce a negative attitude toward that language. Proficiency, logically, is also linked to engagement. Jones (2008) found that being able to speak Welsh fluently increased the likelihood of using the language daily by a factor of nine. It is important to acknowledge that it is not only proficiency that influences attitude and behaviour, but *perceived* proficiency and confidence (Baker, 1992; Price, 2013). Morris (2014) found that even by the sixth form, pupils in his study who were from English-speaking homes and had attended Welsh-medium schools did not feel that their command of Welsh equalled their command of English. He attributes this to an issue with confidence, which has a direct effect on Welsh language engagement. Likewise, Price (2013) notes that "pupils have extensively varying perceptions of their individual linguistic resources" (p. 260). In the present study, having pupils rate their own proficiency gives some indication of their confidence in their linguistic abilities. In fact, it could be argued that self-rated proficiency is a better measure of confidence than of actual competence.

Figure 5.3 shows the self-rated proficiency of pupils at each school. The differences in perceived proficiency roughly reflect the level of actual expected language attainment at each school; EMS students are expected to have moderate knowledge of Welsh, but nowhere near fluency, while YGG students should be fluent. The majority of pupils at YGG (87%) rated their abilities above the midpoint, while most pupils at EMS rated their abilities at the midpoint (53%) or below (30%), with a small percentage rating their proficiency just above the midpoint (17%). It is somewhat surprising, however, that only 35% of pupils at YGG consider themselves

to be fluent<sup>31</sup>. In interviews, teachers and the headteacher at YGG considered their Year 9 and 10 pupils to be fluent.<sup>32</sup> This suggests that there is a lack of confidence amongst many pupils at YGG.

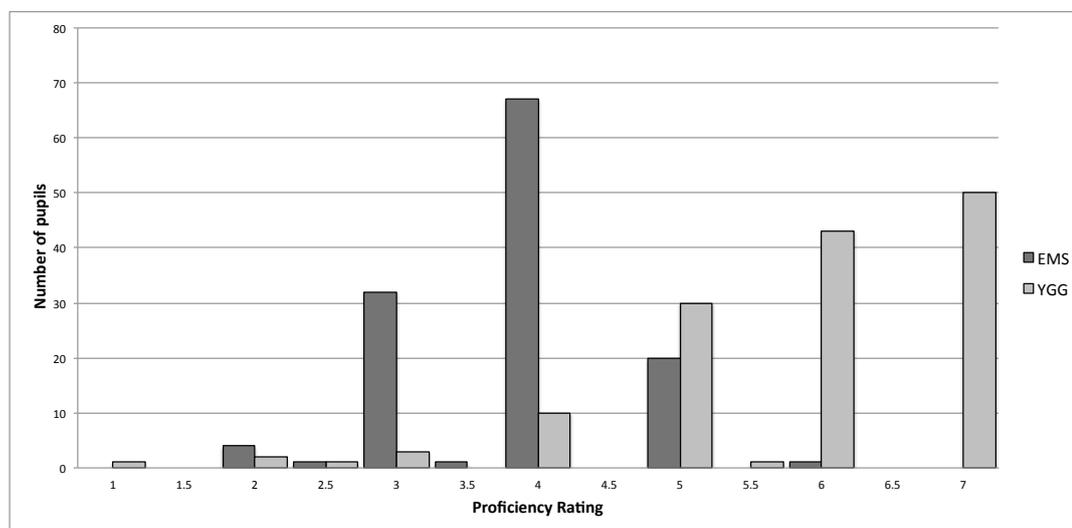


Figure 5.3: Self-rated proficiency by school

In addition to confidence in one’s linguistic abilities, Price (2013) identifies a second type of confidence: that with regards to using the language. Figure 5.4 shows pupils’ confidence ratings, as indicated by responses to Question 7 (“How comfortable do you feel speaking Welsh to a native speaker?”). At EMS, more than three quarters (76%) of pupils rated their confidence below the midpoint, indicating an overwhelming lack of assurance in their ability to carry on a conversation with a native speaker. While confidence at YGG is much higher—85% rated their confidence above the midpoint—only a third of pupils (33%) gave a rating of 7 (“very comfortable”). This is surprising, given that pupils at YGG converse with native-speaking teachers and classmates on a daily basis. This indicates that many pupils, at both schools, experience some level of insecurity in using their Welsh language skills.

<sup>31</sup> Recall that 7 on the Likert scale was labeled “fluent”; 1 was labeled “no knowledge of Welsh” (3.3.1).

<sup>32</sup> Interestingly, nearly half (44%) of participants who rated themselves as “fluent” did not speak Welsh as a home language.

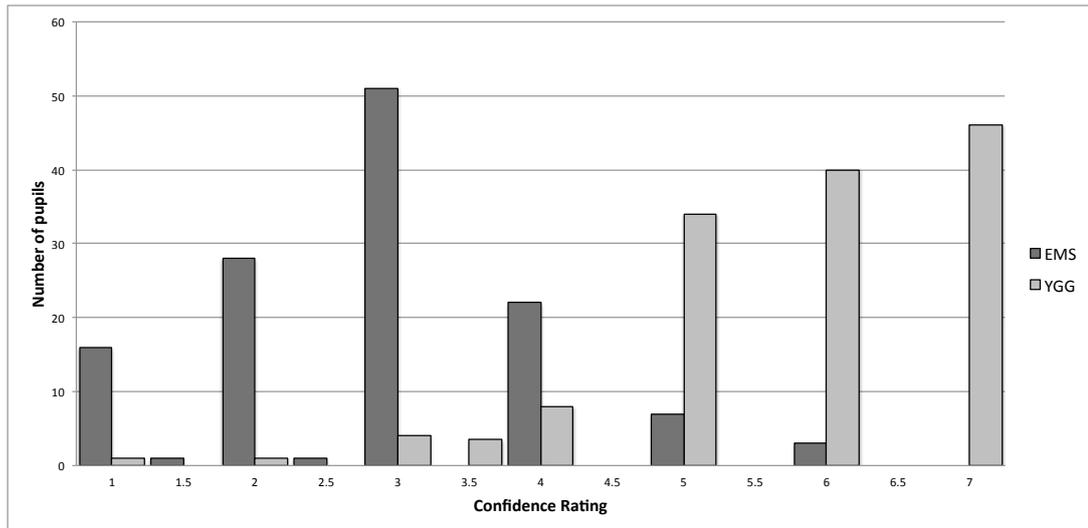


Figure 5.4: Confidence in speaking to a native Welsh speaker by school

While these trends are striking, it was decided in the end to exclude confidence as an independent variable because confidence and proficiency were very highly correlated ( $r = .858, p < .001$ ). It is logical that those who feel they are more proficient in Welsh would feel more comfortable speaking Welsh to a native speaker. It also suggests that these two variables are probably measuring the same underlying aspect—confidence.

Although it has been established that the role of the Welsh language in Welshness is disputed, it is clear that many Welsh speakers (and some non-Welsh speakers) draw upon the Welsh language as a resource for ethnic identification. Several studies have looked at how Welshness is perceived by various speaker types (e.g., Garrett et al., 2003; Robert, 2009). Robert’s (2009) study, for example, indicated that first-language (L1) Welsh speakers are judged to be more ethnically Welsh than second-language (L2) speakers by L1 and L2 speakers alike, regardless of actual Welsh language competence. An additional consideration, however, is how one’s affiliation with Welshness correlates with attitude toward the language. In other words, does feeling more Welsh correspond to a more positive attitude toward the language? Coupland et al. (2005) found that regardless of school (region) or competence, the pupils in their study felt a strong affiliation with cultural Welshness. Attitudes toward symbolic and ceremonial uses of Welsh were also positive across groups. Engagement with Welsh-speaking culture, however, largely depended upon both school and competence. In other words, while many pupils felt a strong affinity

with cultural Welshness, it was not necessarily expressed through the Welsh language.

Pupils' ratings of identification with Welshness in the present study (Q9: "How strongly do you feel about your Welsh identity?", 1 being "not Welsh at all" and 7 being "very Welsh") demonstrate substantial differences between schools. 68% of pupils from YGG gave a rating of 6 or 7, compared with 20.6% at EMS:

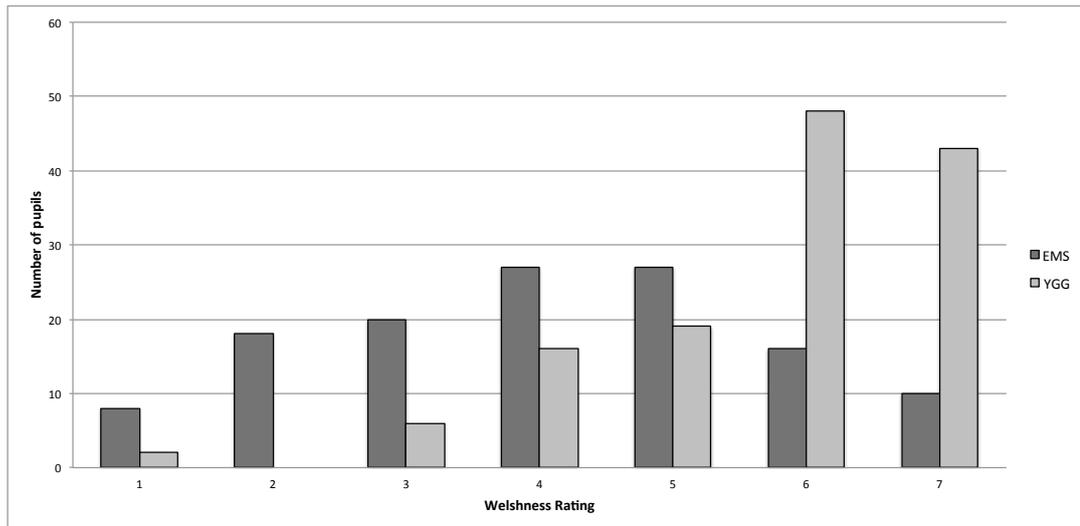


Figure 5.5: Pupils' identification with Welshness at YGG and EMS

Of course, Welshness is not the only dimension on which adolescents orient to their national or ethnic identities. On Q8 of the questionnaire, pupils were given the opportunity to answer the open-ended question, "How do you usually describe your nationality?" The responses to this question are shown in Figure 5.6.

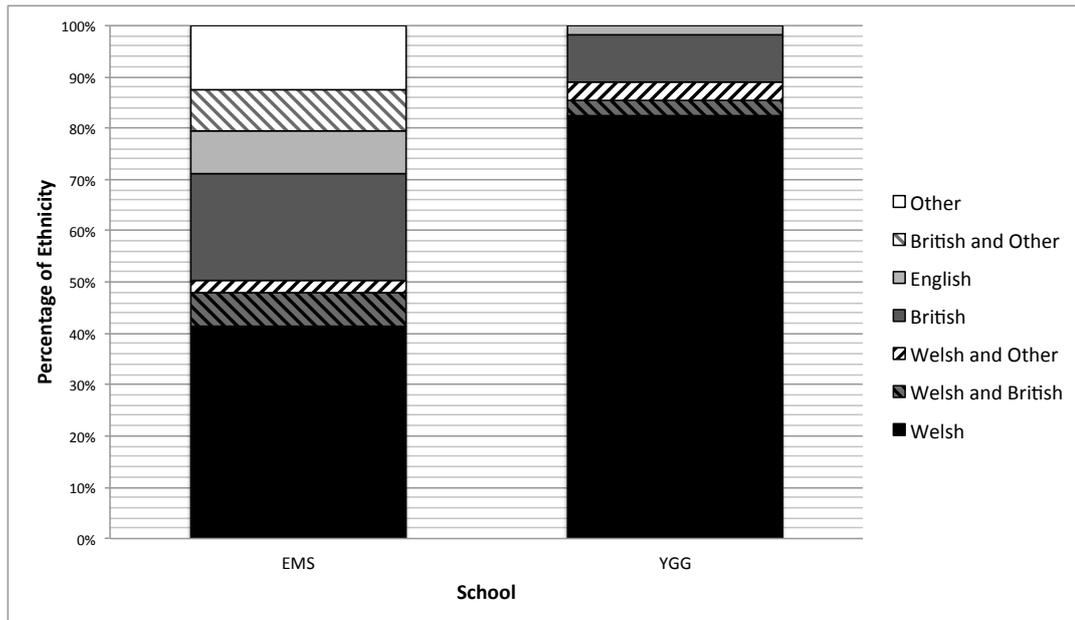


Figure 5.6: Ethnic self-categorization, by school

This figure does not show the gradations of Welshness felt by pupils, but rather a broad self-categorization of nationality. Because the question was open-ended, pupils could include any number of nationalities. One pupil wrote, for example, “British, Malaysian, Kiwi, Welsh/mainly British.” The data were then organized into the seven categories featured in Figure 5.6 above.<sup>33</sup> A comparison of the two columns in Figure 5.6 shows a vast difference in the percentage of pupils who consider themselves Welsh, whether alongside another nationality or not. While nearly 90% of pupils at YGG classified themselves as Welsh (with or without another nationality), only about half of pupils at EMS did. This may be due in part to the fact that a larger proportion of EMS pupils come from ethnic minority backgrounds than those at YGG (37% versus roughly 20%, respectively), and this discrepancy could be even larger in this sample. However, as a citizen of Wales and of Great Britain, a pupil could conceivably call him or herself Welsh or British. The choice of a nationality label in an open-ended survey seems to say more about one’s orientation to a particular ethnic identity than to national citizenship. Both Figures 5.5 and 5.6 indicate that a much larger percentage of pupils at YGG consider themselves to be Welsh compared with EMS, indicating a difference in ethnic identification that may be related in some degree to language.

<sup>33</sup> See Appendix M for a comprehensive list of nationalities reported on the questionnaire.

It is important to note that there is a moderately high degree of correlation between independent variables, especially between school and proficiency (see Appendix N for a correlation matrix). Because of this, it can be difficult to tease apart the effects of individual predictors. For example, there is a very high likelihood that a pupil who has a high proficiency self-rating attends a Welsh-medium school, and vice versa. A multiple regression analysis addresses this issue by isolating the independent variables and showing how much variance is uniquely explained by each one. This type of analysis sheds light on the specific contributions of individual explanatory variables. The results of this statistical analysis will be discussed in section 5.2.3.

#### *5.2.2. Selecting the dependent variables: Principle components analysis*

In order to explore the underlying dimensions in the questionnaire data, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted. Principle components analysis (PCA) allows a large dataset to be reduced by grouping variables into a smaller set of factors, each of which are assumed to measure aspects of the same underlying dimension, or latent variable (Baker, 1992; Field, 2009). Of the 43 questions in Parts II and III of the questionnaire, six were initially removed from the analysis. First, the questions on code alternation (14–17) were omitted, as they were intended to measure attitudes toward a specific linguistic phenomenon rather than the Welsh language itself. These will be examined separately in section 5.2.5. Second, the questions on language learning were omitted, as they did not ultimately pertain to the research questions. Questions about Welsh language use with stepparents were initially included in the PCA; however, because of the extremely small number of responses, they were removed from the final analysis.

A principle components factor analysis was conducted on the remaining 31 items with orthogonal (varimax) rotation. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis,  $KMO = .95$ , which is “superb” (Hutcheson and Sofroniou, 1999; cited in Field, 2009). Bartlett’s test of sphericity,  $\chi^2(465) = 5151.033, p < .001$ , indicated that correlations between items were sufficiently large for principal components analysis. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each component in the data. Five components had eigenvalues greater than Kaiser’s criterion of 1. These five components, which were supported

by the scree plot and met Kaiser's criterion, and were also empirically justifiable, were retained. Combined, these explained 67.6% of the variance. Each of these five factors was shown to have acceptable to excellent reliability according to Cronbach's alpha (George and Mallery, 2003). The factor loadings after rotation can be found in Appendix P.

The sum scores method was used in the current study, with a cut-off value of .40, which is considered to be substantive (Field, 2009). The raw scores of all items with factor loading at or above this value were summed to create five distinct factors. Therefore, some items fit into more than one category. Appendix O displays the five factors, the question items that pertain to each factor, and the Cronbach's alpha reliability analysis.

The factor loadings suggest the following underlying factors.

*Factor 1: Active engagement with the Welsh language*

This accounted for 47.8% of the variance in the sample. The items that loaded more heavily on this factor than any others (questions 14–15, 18–20, 21a–e, 29–31, and 35; see Appendices A and B) pertained to Welsh language use in the school, in the family, and in the community (e.g., “How often do you speak Welsh with extended family members?”), as well as items about how important these uses were (e.g., “It is important to speak Welsh in Welsh class.”). Items which loaded above the cut-off point onto Factor 1, but were more heavily loaded onto other factors, included the use of Welsh in social media (Q28), in academic or organised Welsh-medium activities (Q21b, c, e, Q30), and plans to continue using Welsh after A-levels (Q37). On average, active engagement with the Welsh language was just below the midpoint of the 7-point scale at YGG ( $M = 3.97$ ,  $SD = .97$ ) and very low at EMS ( $M = 2.08$ ,  $SD = .45$ )<sup>34</sup>.

*Factor 2: Commitment to future Welsh language use*

This accounted for 7.8% of the variance in the sample. The items that loaded more heavily on this factor than any others (Q32–33, 36–39, 47) pertained to both

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<sup>34</sup> All means standardized to a 7-point scale.

future potential instrumental uses of Welsh, (e.g., “knowing Welsh could help me get a good job”), future plans for Welsh language use (e.g., “I plan to attend a Welsh-medium university”), and responsibility for future use (e.g., “I am responsible for helping to carry the Welsh language forward”). A belief in the importance of using Welsh in school outside the classroom (Q30) was also most heavily loaded onto this factor, though actual engagement with Welsh outside the classroom (21d) was not. Q47 (“Speaking Welsh is cool”) is somewhat of an anomaly, as it does not seem to relate to future plans or commitments; however, it was loaded most heavily onto Factor 2, suggesting it pertains to the same latent variable, and was thus included in this category. Items which loaded above the cut-off point onto Factor 2, but were more heavily loaded onto other factors, included the use of Welsh in school (Q21c), a belief in the importance of using Welsh in the family (Q31), and feeling that speaking Welsh led to feeling more Welsh (Q46). On average, commitment was moderate at YGG ( $M = 4.98$ ,  $SD = .73$ ) and quite low at EMS ( $M = 2.90$ ,  $SD = .85$ ).

#### *Factor 3: Receptive engagement with the Welsh language*

This factor accounted for 5.1% of the variance. The items in this category (22–28) pertained to uses of Welsh that involved listening and reading, but not necessarily interaction (i.e., speaking and writing); for example, “How often do you watch Welsh-language television?” Q27, “How often do you use social media (such as Facebook or Twitter) in Welsh?”, could potentially involve some active interaction, such as posting status updates; however, Welsh-language social media use could also mean having one’s language set to display content in Welsh. Texting (Q29) was more heavily loaded onto Factor 1, but was also above the cut-off point on Factor 3. Like social media, texting in Welsh could involve sending (active engagement) and/or receiving (receptive engagement) messages. On average, receptive engagement with the Welsh language was moderately low at YGG ( $M = 3.50$ ,  $SD = .37$ ) and quite low at EMS ( $M = 2.66$ ,  $SD = .32$ ).

#### *Factor 4: Structured engagement with the Welsh language*

This factor accounted for 3.7% of the variance. The items in this category pertained to organised or planned uses of Welsh, in school (Q21a–c) or outside of

school, such as in organised Welsh-medium activities (Q20, 21e). On average, structured engagement with the Welsh language was moderate at YGG ( $M = 4.62$ ,  $SD = .55$ ), and again, quite low at EMS ( $M = 2.66$ ,  $SD = .91$ ).

#### *Factor 5: Symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language*

This factor accounted for 3.4% of the variance. The items in this category (Q46, 48, 34) pertained to symbolic appreciation or affiliation with the Welsh language (e.g., “speaking Welsh makes me feel more Welsh”). The perceived importance of using Welsh in the community (Q35) loaded very slightly more heavily on Factor 1, but was also above the cut-off value for Factor 5. On average, symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language was moderately high at YGG ( $M = 5.37$ ,  $SD = .97$ ) but just above the midpoint at EMS ( $M = 4.18$ ,  $SD = 1.36$ ).

#### *5.2.3. Multiple regression results*

A multiple linear regression was used to analyse the correlation of each independent variable with each factor described above. Home language, school, Welshness, proficiency, and parental proficiency were used in a stepwise multiple regression analysis to predict attitudes toward the Welsh language for each of the five factors. A stepwise regression enters predictor variables into the regression model one at a time, assessing at each step which variable contributes most to increasing the multiple correlation ( $R$ ). Predictor variables that do not contribute statistically to the model are excluded. Therefore, the stepwise regression builds a model with a subset of independent variables that best predict the dependent variable.

There are several ways to interpret the output of a multiple regression model, depending on the research question. In this case, the unique variance explained by each independent variable, when all other variables are held constant, is the question of interest. Beta weights, which show the expected difference in the dependent variable score for each independent variable, are frequently used to answer this question. Nathans et al. (2012) caution, however, that beta weights alone are only reliable to assess variable importance when the independent variables are uncorrelated (Nathans et al., 2012). As the independent variables in this study are all

significantly correlated, beta scores must be supplemented with other measures. One such measure is the squared semipartial correlation. This tells how much variance an independent variable contributes to a regression that is not shared with other independent variables, and can thus predict a variable's unique effect (Nathans et al., 2012). A second measure is a structure coefficient. Structure coefficients measure a variable's direct effect by showing the correlation of an independent variable with  $\hat{Y}$ , "the predicted estimate of the outcome variable based on the synthesis of all the predictors in regression equation" (Kraha et al., 2012, p. 3), giving information about the relationship between an independent variable and the effect observed ( $R^2$ ) without the influence of other independent variables in the model. They demonstrate the strength of individual predictors in predicting the latent variable (factor) in the model. Because of the collinearity between independent variables, both of these measures will be examined alongside the beta score.

*Factor 1: Active engagement with the Welsh language*

The prediction model contained all five predictors and was reached in five steps with no variables removed. The model was statistically significant,  $F(5, 249) = 178.113, p < .001$ , and accounted for approximately 78% of the variance ( $R^2 = .781$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .777$ ). Active engagement with the Welsh language was predicted by higher degrees of proficiency and Welshness, having Welsh as a home language, having a Welsh-speaking parent, and attending the Welsh-medium school. The raw and standardized regression coefficients of the predictors, together with their correlations with active engagement with Welsh, their squared semi-partial correlations, and their structure coefficients are shown in Table 5.1.

Predictor	<i>b</i>	<i>SE-b</i>	$\beta$	$sr^2$	structure coefficient
<b>(Constant)</b>	6.549	2.383			
Proficiency	2.710	.590	.237***	.018	.844
Home Language	17.320	1.630	.396***	.099	.809
School	7.534	1.548	.239***	.021	.805
Welshness	1.566	.333	.170***	.019	.671
Welsh-speaking parent	2.826	1.280	.085*	.004	.680

Note:  $R^2 = .781$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .777$ .  $sr^2$  is the squared semipartial correlation. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 5.1: Active engagement with the Welsh language

Home language received the strongest beta weight in the model, followed by school, proficiency, and identification with Welshness. Having a Welsh-speaking parent received the lowest weight in the model. The unique variance explained by each of the predictors was relatively low; home language uniquely accounted for 9.9% of the variance in active engagement with Welsh; proficiency, school and identification with Welshness each uniquely accounted for around 2% of the variance; and having a Welsh-speaking parent uniquely accounted for less than 0.5% of the variance. The structure coefficients suggest that proficiency, home language, and school were strong indicators of active engagement with Welsh, and identification with Welshness and having a Welsh-speaking parent were moderate indicators.

*Factor 2: Commitment to future Welsh language use*

The prediction model contained four of the five predictors and was reached in four steps with no variables removed. The model was statistically significant,  $F(4, 250) = 120.226, p < .001$ , and accounted for approximately 65% of the variance ( $R^2 = .658$ , Adjusted  $R^2 = .652$ ). Higher levels of commitment to future Welsh language use were predicted by higher degrees of proficiency and Welshness, attending the Welsh-medium school, and having a Welsh-speaking parent. The raw and standardized regression coefficients of the predictors together with their correlations with commitment to future Welsh language use, their squared semi-partial correlations, and their structure coefficients are shown in Table 5.2.

<b>Predictor</b>	<b><i>b</i></b>	<b><i>SE-b</i></b>	<b><math>\beta</math></b>	<b><math>sr^2</math></b>	<b>structure coefficient</b>
<b>(Constant)</b>	3.910	3.069			
Proficiency	3.819	.759	.324***	.035	.904
Welshness	3.013	.429	.317***	.068	.803
School	6.924	1.954	.213***	.017	.836
Home Language	6.360	1.917	.141**	.015	.613

Note:  $R^2 = .658$ ., adjusted  $R^2 = .652$ .  $sr^2$  is the squared semipartial correlation. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

*Table 5.2: Commitment to Welsh language use*

Proficiency received the highest weight in the model, followed by identification with Welshness, school, and home language. The unique variance explained by each of the predictors was relatively low; identification with Welshness

uniquely accounted for approximately 6.8% of the variance in commitment; proficiency accounted for around 3%; and school and home language each accounted for less than 2%. Inspection of the structure coefficients suggests that proficiency was a very strong indicator of commitment to future Welsh language use; school and identification with Welshness were strong indicators; and home language was a moderate indicator.

*Factor 3: Receptive engagement with the Welsh language*

The prediction model contained two of the five predictors and was reached in two steps with no variables removed.<sup>35</sup> The model was statistically significant,  $F(2, 252) = 68.598, p < .001$ , and accounted for approximately 35% of the variance ( $R^2 = .353$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .347$ ).<sup>36</sup> Receptive engagement with the Welsh language was predicted by higher degrees of proficiency and having Welsh as a home language. The raw and standardized regression coefficients of the predictors, together with their correlations with receptive engagement with Welsh, their squared semi-partial correlations, and their structure coefficients are shown in Table 5.3.

Predictor	<i>b</i>	<i>SE-b</i>	$\beta$	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	structure coefficient
<b>(Constant)</b>	.788	.024			
Proficiency	.030	.005	.354	.097	.952
Home language	.109	.019	.338	.088	.850

Note:  $R^2 = .582$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .579$ . *sr*<sup>2</sup> is the squared semipartial correlation. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 5.3: Receptive engagement with the Welsh language

Table 5.3 shows that proficiency received the strongest beta weight in the model, followed closely by home language. Proficiency uniquely accounted for 9.7% of the variance, while home language uniquely accounted for 8.8%. Examination of the structure coefficients suggests that proficiency was a very strong indicator of receptive engagement with the Welsh language; home language was a strong indicator as well.

<sup>35</sup> Values for this factor were transformed to a logarithmic scale to remedy heteroskedasticity (unequal variability for a variable across the range of values of a second variable that predicts it).

<sup>36</sup> This is fairly low; however, it is relatively common in social science research for  $R^2$  values to fall below .5, since social phenomena are complex and human behavior can be unpredictable.

*Factor 4: Structured engagement with the Welsh language*

The prediction model contained four of the five predictors and was reached in four steps with no variables removed. The model was statistically significant,  $F(4, 249) = 87.789, p < .001$ , and accounted for about 58% of the variance ( $R^2 = .585$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .578$ ). A higher degree of structured engagement with Welsh was predicted by higher degrees of proficiency and identification with Welshness, by having Welsh as a home language, and by attending the Welsh-medium school.

Predictor	<i>b</i>	<i>SE-b</i>	$\beta$	$sr^2$	structure coefficient
<b>(Constant)</b>	2.949	.938			
Proficiency	.846	.232	.259***	.022	.902
Home Language	2.889	.586	.231***	.040	.697
School	2.794	.599	.310***	.036	.885
Welshness	.371	.131	.141**	.013	.678

Note:  $R^2 = .585$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .578$ .  $sr^2$  is the squared semipartial correlation. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 5.4: Structured engagement with the Welsh language

Table 5.4 shows that school received the strongest beta weight in the model, followed by proficiency, home language, and Welshness. Once again, the unique variance explained by each of the predictors was relatively low; home language and school each uniquely accounted for around 4% of the variance, proficiency accounted for around 2%, and Welshness accounted for around 1%. The structure coefficients suggest that both proficiency and school were strong indicators of structured engagement with Welsh, while home language and Welshness were moderate indicators.

*Factor 5: Symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language*

The prediction model contained three of the five predictors and was reached in three steps with no variables removed. The model was statistically significant,  $F(3, 251) = 51.248, p < .001$ , and accounted for about 38% of the variance ( $R^2 = .380$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .372$ ). Higher symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language was predicted by higher degrees of proficiency, stronger identification with ethnic Welshness, and having Welsh as a home language.

Predictor	<i>b</i>	<i>SE-b</i>	$\beta$	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	structure coefficient
(Constant)	8.167	1.149			
Proficiency	1.379	.254	.346***	.073	.904
Welshness	.772	.194	.240***	.039	.799
Home Language	2.548	.870	.167**	.021	.677

Note:  $R^2 = .380$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .372$ .  $sr^2$  is the squared semipartial correlation. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 5.5: Symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language

Table 5.5 demonstrates that proficiency received the strongest weight in the model, followed by identification with Welshness and home language. Proficiency, Welshness, and home language uniquely accounted for approximately 7%, 4%, and 2% of the variance, respectively. Examination of the structure coefficients suggests that proficiency was a very strong indicator of symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language, identification with Welshness was a strong indicator, and home language was a moderate indicator.

#### 5.2.4. Discussion

It is clear from the data that active engagement with the Welsh language depends on a number of factors. All of the independent variables explored here—proficiency, home language, self-rated identification with Welshness, school, and having a Welsh-speaking parent—are significant predictors of this type of engagement. Not surprisingly, having Welsh as a home language appears to be the strongest predictor, echoing Coupland et al.’s (2005) and Morris’s (2014) findings. Most adolescents who speak Welsh at home have ample opportunity to use their Welsh across a variety of domains. Many Welsh-speaking families regularly engage in Welsh-medium activities in Cardiff, such as attending Welsh chapels, visiting Welsh pubs, or attending Welsh-language social events. Proficiency was also a strong predictor of active engagement, supporting Coupland et al.’s (2005) findings, which demonstrated a link between Welsh language competence and participation in Welsh cultural functions. Having at least one Welsh-speaking parent also predicted this type of engagement, albeit to a lesser extent; even if Welsh is not a main home language, those who have a Welsh-speaking parent could have more opportunities to

engage with Welsh than those who do not. Additionally, parents who speak Welsh themselves may have more positive attitudes toward the language, which they might instil in their children (Roberts, 1987).

The role of school in this kind of engagement is interesting as well. While the type of school has a straightforward influence on Welsh language proficiency, it seems to play an additional role as well; even when all other independent variables are held constant, attending the Welsh-medium school correlates with more active engagement with Welsh, and more positive attitudes toward that engagement, than the English-medium school. Recall, too, that this factor comprises primarily *non-academic, non-structured* engagement with Welsh, such as use (and attitude toward that use) in the family, with peers, or in the community. Though it is difficult to specify the nature of its role from this data, the school attended does seem to uniquely predict whether or not pupils are likely to actively engage with Welsh outside the classroom. It may be that the school's commitment to Welsh-language interaction has an attitudinal impact on pupils beyond the school setting. It could also be, however, that pupils who attend YGG are more likely than pupils at EMS to come from families who are themselves engaged with the Welsh language, and thus influence their children to do the same. As YGG parents have chosen to send their children to a Welsh-medium school, their attitudes may also be more positive, which could influence the attitudes of their children (Bartram, 2006). While parental attitudes and motivations for sending their children to Welsh-medium schools are beyond the scope of the present study, previous research indicates that many parents choose these schools for cultural reasons (Hodges, 2012). Furthermore, there is evidence that many parents once attended Welsh-medium schools themselves, and, regretting not having maintained their own skills, decided to enroll their children in Welsh-medium schools. This issue will be further explored through focus group data in Chapter 6.

It is notable as well that self-reported identification with Welshness predicts active engagement with the Welsh language. The data suggest that those who feel more Welsh are more likely to interact socially through the medium of Welsh and to have more positive attitudes toward that interaction. There is no clear cause and effect here. Actively engaging with Welsh may increase feelings of Welshness, or pupils who feel more Welsh may be more motivated to use the language as an expression of identity; indeed, the relationship may be more reciprocal than

unidirectional. This issue deserves special attention because of the discrepancy in identification with Welshness between schools: a much higher proportion of pupils at YGG include Welsh in descriptions of their nationalities than those at EMS (see Figure 5.6), and their average rating of identification with Welshness is higher as well (see Figure 5.5). It appears that pupils at YGG are more engaged with the Welsh language, not only because they have the ability and opportunity to engage, but because it is a part of their expression of Welshness.

Receptive engagement, on the other hand, seems to rely on just two factors: proficiency and home language. It appears that those who do receptively engage do so either through their home environments—perhaps watching S4C or listening to Radio Cymru with their parents—or because they feel more comfortable listening or reading in Welsh than those with lower proficiency levels. Notably, proficiency emerged as a predictor independent from home language, suggesting that school does play an indirect role in fostering receptive engagement through the development of proficient Welsh speakers. However, while this is encouraging from a language revitalization perspective, receptive engagement with any type of Welsh media was very low at EMS, and lower than might be expected at YGG. As discussed in section 2.5.1.3, adolescents' apparent lack of interest in Welsh-language media has been a subject of concern amongst language planners (Price and Tamburelli, 2016). While some consider the media (especially social media) to be a potential source of minority language use for young Welsh speakers (Honeycutt and Cunliffe, 2009; Cunliffe et al., 2013), these data confirm that in Cardiff, English continues to be the overwhelmingly preferred medium for media consumption, even for fluent bilinguals.

Structured engagement with Welsh is predicted by many of the same variables as active engagement: school, home language, proficiency, and identification with Welshness. It is logical that school should carry the strongest weight in the model, as those who attend the Welsh-medium school are much more likely to use Welsh in multiple organised spaces, such as in Welsh-medium extracurricular activities and, for example, in math or science classes, than those who attend the English-medium school. Those with Welsh as a home language and those with higher proficiency might also be expected to speak Welsh during organised activities, as they likely possess the skills and confidence to do so. Interestingly, like with active engagement, identification with being ethnically or nationally Welsh is a

unique predictor of structured engagement, not only in whether pupils participate in these activities but in whether they speak Welsh (or believe Welsh should be spoken) during that participation. It could be that the pupils in this study who identify with cultural Welshness are more likely to value the Welsh-speaking Welsh culture (section 4.4.1) that is purposefully established by schools and other organizations in these spaces. This will be explored further through the focus group study in Chapter 6.

Commitment to future Welsh language use was predicted by the same set of variables: school, home language, proficiency, and identification with Welshness. However, in this case, proficiency appears to be the most important factor in predicting commitment. It is probable that those with higher Welsh language proficiency can better envision themselves using the language successfully in the future, and are therefore more willing to take on the responsibility. Identification with Welshness was a strong indicator as well; those who felt more Welsh expressed higher levels of commitment to using the Welsh language than those who did not. Once again, the incorporation of the Welsh language into a conceptual sense of Welshness is supported here. Surprisingly, school appears to be a stronger predictor of commitment than home language. Research overwhelmingly indicates that family transmission is the most important factor in future language use (Fishman, 1991; Thomas and Roberts, 2005). The data suggest, however, that YGG may play a substantial part in fostering a desire, and perhaps a responsibility, in its pupils to carry the Welsh language forward. This is a promising finding, as this type of encouragement is essential for successful language revitalization. It must be remembered, however, that commitments, plans, and attitudes do not constitute actual future behaviour (Armitage and Conner, 1999). While YGG might inspire some pupils to use Welsh later in life, the intentions of other pupils may not come to fruition after they leave school. In the absence of longitudinal data, it is difficult to predict how this sense of commitment may shape future behaviour.

Finally, symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language is predicted by three variables: Welshness, proficiency, and home language. There is a demonstrable link in the data between identification with Welsh nationality and high levels of symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language. The stronger one feels about his or her Welsh identity, the more positive his or her attitudes toward the symbolic and cultural functions of Welsh. Home language predicted symbolic affiliation with Welsh as

well, though to a lesser extent. Proficiency was also a significant predictor, which seems to indicate that for those who are confident in their Welsh language abilities, Welsh is deployed to some extent as an expression of cultural identity. Those less proficient in Welsh, even those who identify strongly with Welshness, may rely instead upon other cultural resources to express their ethnic identities, such as regional accent, emblematic displays, or sport affiliations (cf. Coupland et al., 2005). Notably, proficiency not only predicts symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language independently from home language, but is a much stronger predictor. This is a critical point, as the majority of pupils from YGG, and nearly all pupils from EMS, come from non-Welsh-speaking homes. These data suggest that having a higher level of competence in the language, and/or confidence in one's abilities, has a close relationship with one's appreciation of the cultural and ceremonial values of Welsh, even when Welsh is acquired in school rather than in the home.

The mean values indicate that symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language was higher at both schools than either engagement (factors 1–3) or commitment to using it in the future (factor 4). Once again, this echoes Coupland et al.'s (2005) and Price's (2010) findings that young people are more committed to ceremonial and symbolic uses of Welsh than to its interactional use. This, of course, has important implications for the future of Welsh as a living language (Welsh Government, 2012) (see section 2.3). While there is a level of appreciation for the symbolic importance of Welsh to Wales, this attitude does not seem to necessarily carry over to interactional engagement or commitment.

Furthermore, while previous studies have found that young people's attitudes toward Welsh have been generally positive regardless of linguistic background (Coupland et al. 2005; Morris, 2014), the data here are less encouraging, especially for those from the English-medium school. The average symbolic affiliation score hovers near the midpoint at EMS. While these studies are not directly comparable due to differing methodologies and metrics, the general pattern does not indicate strongly positive attitudes toward the language by English-medium school pupils, even as a cultural symbol. Pupils at YGG, by comparison, do demonstrate a strongly positive symbolic affiliation with Welsh.

### 5.2.5. Attitudes toward code alternation

Statistically speaking, attitudes toward code alternation proved difficult to analyse. In an initial exploratory principal components factor analysis, code alternation items did not group into a single factor. Based on an *a priori* theoretical belief that these items should group together, a reliability analysis was conducted on codeswitching items as a group. Cronbach's alpha was .428, demonstrating rather poor reliability (Tavakol and Dennick, 2011). While this may be due in part to the low number of question items in this category (Tavakol and Dennick, 2011), it could also indicate that, like other types of attitude, attitudes toward codeswitching are complex and multidimensional. Furthermore, in an exploratory multiple regression analysis, a model that included these question items explained less than 6% of the variation ( $R^2 = .056$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .052$ ). Individual question items yielded similarly low variance.

A *t*-test of individual question items revealed, however, that while pupils from YGG demonstrated significantly more positive attitudes toward Welsh in general, attitudes toward some of the code-alternation items were more negative than at EMS. This deserves exploration, as code alternation is prominent amongst bilinguals, and because these attitudes have been shown to impact speakers' sense of confidence, identity, and adequacy (see section 2.3.3). For this reason, individual question items were examined, with a focus on how pupils from different schools judged various aspects of codeswitching. An independent-samples *t*-test was conducted on each question item, comparing responses from YGG with those from EMS.

*Q40: It is natural for people to use some English words when speaking Welsh.*

The *t*-test indicated that pupils at YGG were significantly more likely to agree with the above statement than those at EMS,  $t(246.074) = -3.64$ ,  $p < .001$ . The mean rating for this item was 4.97 (SD = 1.66) at EMS, compared with 5.67 at YGG (SD = 1.41). These results indicate that those who attend the Welsh-medium school have a stronger belief that code alternation is normal than those at the English-medium school, although participants at both schools agree that it is at least

somewhat natural. Because pupils at YGG are fluent bilinguals, it is very likely that code alternation factors into their daily practice, and thus they have an experiential understanding. While EMS pupils do mix English and Welsh frequently in their Welsh classes, as learners they may not feel confident in judging the naturalness of the phenomenon. Furthermore, they have less general exposure to fluent Welsh speech, in which they would be likely to hear frequent code alternation.

*Q41: Listening to people mix Welsh and English can help you learn some Welsh words.*

The *t*-test indicated that there was no significant difference between schools for the above statement,  $t(259.340) = 6.296, p = .341$ . The mean ratings were slightly above the midpoint ( $M = 4.56, SD = 1.62$  at YGG;  $M = 4.37, SD = 1.64$  at EMS). Generally, this seems to indicate that neither participants at EMS nor at YGG have strong beliefs about the value of code alternation for language learning. While research has shown that some pupils find acquiring new vocabulary to be a benefit of code alternation (Selleck, 2012), this has not been shown to be particularly relevant to the present population.

*Q42: People use English words when speaking Welsh because they are lazy.*

The *t*-test indicated that pupils at YGG were more likely to agree with the above statement than pupils at EMS,  $t(260) = -6.296, p < .001$ . While the mean rating at EMS is well below the scalar midpoint ( $M = 2.96, SD = 1.72$ ), the mean rating at YGG is just above the midpoint ( $M = 4.34, SD = 1.84$ ), indicating an ambivalent or slightly negative attitude toward this aspect of code alternation. Although YGG's mean rating is not explicitly negative, the difference in attitude between EMS and YGG pupils is remarkable. The evidence suggests that EMS pupils have markedly more positive attitudes toward code-mixing than pupils at YGG. This could be a reflection of YGG's school culture, wherein code-mixing is seen to index lower academic performance as well as rebellion against school authority. It appears that some YGG pupils are generalizing the linguistic norms of the school with broader standards of linguistic acceptability. This finding may also indicate a sense of linguistic insecurity, since, as bilinguals, YGG pupils frequently code-mix themselves.

*Q43: Mixing English and Welsh words could eventually cause the Welsh language to die out.*

The *t*-test showed that pupils at YGG were significantly more likely to agree with this statement than those at EMS,  $t(257.049) = -2.064, p < .05$ . While the mean rating at EMS was very slightly below the midpoint value ( $M = 3.91, SD = 1.74$ ), the mean rating at YGG was just above ( $M = 4.35, SD = 1.66$ ). Once again, YGG's mean rating indicates at most a weak agreement with this statement. However, there is once again a statistically significant difference between the attitudes at YGG and those at EMS, where EMS pupils are less likely to express a belief that code-mixing leads to language death. It is likely that this issue is simply more salient to YGG pupils, as their curriculum addresses issues of Welsh language history, revitalization, and the threat of obsolescence. However, it is also possible that some pupils share a purist view of Welsh in which code-mixing contributed to language degradation (see Extract 4.9).

### *5.3. The Implicit Association Test*

Prior to the administration of the questionnaire, a subset of the participants<sup>37</sup> took part in an Implicit Association Test (IAT) in order to examine Welsh- and English-medium secondary school pupils' implicit associations with the Welsh and English languages. As discussed in section 3.4.2, the IAT is an experimental instrument designed to measure underlying, non-conscious associations with social objects (Greenwald et al., 1998). The present study employs the IAT for the first time in the Welsh context. By exploring how associations with the Welsh language diverge within different educational contexts, this portion of the study contributes to an understanding of the role of the school in fostering positive or negative attitudes.

The following hypotheses were tested:

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<sup>37</sup> It is noted that because this subset of participants subsequently completed the questionnaire, while others did not, there may have been an influence on questionnaire data due to mere-exposure effects. Although measures were taken to reduce this (e.g., having participants complete the questionnaire several days later and not revealing the purpose of the study until the end of data collection), there may have been a priming confound.

- a. Participants who attend the Welsh-medium school will demonstrate more positive implicit associations with the Welsh language than participants who attend the English-medium school
- b. Participants at the Welsh-medium school whose first language is a language other than Welsh will have more positive attitudes toward the Welsh language than will participants at the English-medium school whose first language is a language other than Welsh.
- c. Participants at the Welsh-medium school who have no Welsh-speaking parents will demonstrate more positive implicit associations toward the Welsh language than will participants at the English-medium school who have no Welsh-speaking parents.
- d. Self-rated proficiency will be positively correlated with implicit attitude toward Welsh.
- e. Those at the Welsh-medium school who choose to complete the questionnaire in Welsh will show more positive associations with the Welsh language than those who choose to complete the questionnaire in English.

### 5.3.1. IAT Results

An independent-samples *t*-test showed that on average, participants at YGG had stronger positive associations with the Welsh language ( $D = 0.302$ ,  $SE = 0.05$ ) than did participants at EMS ( $D = -0.195$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ). This difference was highly significant ( $t(105.891) = 5.872$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ,  $r = 0.50$ ). The mean *D* scores in Table 5.6 show that YGG pupils demonstrated a weakly positive association while EMS pupils showed a weakly negative association with the Welsh language.

School	Mean <i>D</i> score	N
YGG	.302	59
EMS	-.195	59

Table 5.6: *D* scores, all participants

Excluding participants whose first language was Welsh revealed a similar pattern. Participants at YGG demonstrated more positive associations with the Welsh language ( $D = 0.125$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ) than participants at EMS ( $D = -0.195$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ). The difference was highly significant ( $t(82) = 2.836$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ,  $r = 0.30$ ). The strength of positive associations at YGG was attenuated by this exclusion.

School	Mean <i>D</i> score	N
YGG	.125	26
EMS	-.204	58

Table 5.7: *D* scores, participants with first languages other than Welsh

The same discrepancy emerged when participants with one or more parents proficient in Welsh were excluded from the analysis. Participants at the Welsh-medium school demonstrated more strongly positive associations with the Welsh language ( $D = 0.144$ ,  $SE = 0.09$ ) than those at the English-medium school ( $D = -0.214$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ). The difference was highly significant ( $t(76) = 2.904$ ,  $p < 0.005$ ,  $r = 0.32$ ). Once again, mean *D* scores for both schools went in opposite directions, and again the exclusion of children with Welsh-speaking parents in the home attenuated the strength of the positive association.

School	Mean <i>D</i> score	N
YGG	.144	23
EMS	-.214	55

Table 5.8: *D* scores, participants with no Welsh-speaking parents

A Pearson correlation showed that among participants in the Welsh-medium school, self-rated proficiency was positively correlated with *D* score ( $r = 0.364$ ,  $p$  (one-tailed)  $< 0.01$ ), which supported hypothesis (d). For the English-medium school, however, no such correlation was found ( $r = 0.007$ ,  $p$  (one-tailed)  $= 0.96$ ). This result did not support hypothesis (d).

The choice of IAT language at YGG was a significant predictor of *D* score; those who completed the IAT in Welsh had stronger positive associations with the Welsh language ( $D = 0.452$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ) than those who completed it in English ( $D = 0.206$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ). The difference was significant ( $t(57) = 2.523$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ,  $r = 0.32$ ). Moreover, those who chose to complete the task in Welsh showed a moderately positive association with the Welsh language, while those who chose to complete the task in English showed a weakly positive association with Welsh.

Language	Mean <i>D</i> score	N
Welsh	.452	23
English	.206	36

Table 5.9: *D* scores by IAT language choice

### 5.3.2. Discussion

The difference between implicit associations at the two schools was substantial. The large discrepancy in *D* scores in Table 3 might be attributed to participants' home language, since there were no participants who spoke Welsh as a home language in the English-medium school.<sup>38</sup> While bilinguals do not necessarily regard both of their languages with equal esteem (Baker, 2011), Welsh-English bilinguals are very likely to have come from home environments where use of the Welsh language is overtly and/or covertly encouraged. In Wales, it is quite common to have families with one Welsh-speaking and one English-speaking parent. Often in these cases, the default language of the home is English, since that is regarded as the

<sup>38</sup> Notably, only one pupil in all of the pupil population of EMS in Years 9 and 10 spoke Welsh as a first language. This pupil did not take part in the study.

“language of inclusion” (Thomas and Gathercole, 2011, p. 92). Thus, children who grow up speaking Welsh in the home are likely to have grown up either with two Welsh-speaking parents or caregivers, or with one Welsh-speaking parent or caregiver who is highly committed to passing the language on. In this environment, it could reasonably be assumed that children grow up with more positive associations toward the Welsh language than do those whose come from homes where Welsh is not spoken.

It might also be assumed that the difference in *D* scores is due to other influences from the home environment, as YGG had more participants with one or more Welsh-speaking parents than EMS. It might be expected that having a Welsh-speaking parent would foster more positive associations with the Welsh language, even if Welsh was not acquired as a first language in the home.<sup>39</sup> Some parents are first-language Welsh speakers themselves; others have learned Welsh as a second language to improve their employability, to communicate with their children, for personal enrichment, or to reconnect with their own Welsh identities. The linguistic identities and behaviours of parents could serve to promote positive associations with the Welsh language among their children. On the other hand, parents who choose to speak Welsh only outside the home may have little influence on their children’s attitudes, and some of those who speak Welsh as a first language but choose not to speak it to their children may do so because they hold negative attitudes of their own.

Despite the differences in their linguistic home environments, the pupils from YGG and EMS have multiple broader social contexts in common. Both groups reside in Cardiff, a metropolitan, multicultural, and multilingual city. Both come from schools with culturally and socioeconomically diverse pupil populations. English is the dominant language in which pupils at both schools communicate with their peers and interact with the media. And importantly, both groups fall within an age demographic that is characterised by self-exploration and identity formation, which is often manifested in rebellion against parental attitudes and expectations (Erikson, 1968). For example, in their large-scale questionnaire study of 12,000 10-to-15-year-olds in Wales, Sharp et al. (1973) found the oldest group of pupils they

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<sup>39</sup> On the questionnaire, information was gathered on whether pupils had a Welsh-speaking parent. However, no information was elicited on whether these parents communicated with their children through the medium of Welsh.

surveyed (14–15 years of age) to have the least positive attitudes toward the Welsh language, regardless of the school attended.<sup>40</sup> During adolescence, linguistic values may be tested and called into question, and parental authority might lose its potency relative to that of peer influence. Given these commonalities, it is clear that the primary dividing factors of the participants in this study are family language behaviour and the type of school attended.<sup>41</sup> If the former is controlled for, it can be determined whether the latter is a plausible influence on language attitudes.

Due to the differences in the linguistic backgrounds of the participants in the two schools, it is not possible to entirely isolate the school as a factor in comparing language attitudes. However, if first language and having a Welsh-speaking parent are eliminated as variables, the school emerges as a likely influence. Table 5.7 shows the comparative *D* scores of pupils at YGG and EMS, eliminating pupils who speak Welsh as a first language. As predicted, participants at YGG had more strongly positive implicit associations with Welsh than those at EMS. Moreover, *D* scores at YGG were positive, while those at EMS were negative. Given that no participant in this analysis was a first-language Welsh speaker, it seems likely that the school environment was influential in fostering these associations.

Table 5.8 shows the comparison of *D* scores between the two schools when participants with one or more Welsh-speaking parents were factored out of the analysis (logically, this also eliminated all first-language Welsh speakers). Once again, there is a significant difference in *D* scores between the two schools, where YGG shows a positive implicit association with the Welsh language, and EMS a negative association. Again, this is notable, as all of the pupils in this sample came from homes where neither parent spoke Welsh. It is reasonable to assume from the data that the school plays a role in nurturing these associations.

Surprisingly, the two schools differ with respect to the correlation between self-rated proficiency and implicit attitude. While there is a significant moderate correlation between self-rated proficiency and *D* score among participants at YGG, no such pattern appears among participants at EMS. The correlation at YGG is in accordance with previous research on proficiency and language attitudes (Baker,

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<sup>40</sup> It should be noted that pupils from bilingual schools did have more positive attitudes than their counterparts who attended English-medium schools in all age groups. However, the apparent decline was evident among Sharp et al.'s pupils in both school types.

<sup>41</sup> Individual social and linguistic experiences are also influential (Garrett, 2010); however, these cannot be accounted for on a group level.

1992). This connection, however, has been found in both monolingual and bilingual schools, and thus a similar pattern would have been expected at EMS. The discrepancy might be attributed to the fact that in the Welsh-medium school, the Welsh language is a central focus of the school curriculum, and emphasis on performing well in Welsh is far greater than it is in the English-medium school. This increased pressure may have a strong attitudinal effect on learners at YGG. It could also be the case that YGG and EMS pupils based their proficiency evaluations on different criteria. The emphasis on Welsh language competence at YGG may have led YGG pupils to overestimate their proficiency or align it with their attitudes on the questionnaire, in which case a correlation with implicit attitude would be expected. Finally, as has been suggested by Karpinski and Hinton (2001), it is possible that the IAT is indeed measuring factors other than attitude—such as environmental and cultural influences—that are not necessarily correlated with proficiency for all pupils. Further research is needed to determine whether such a correlation exists in other populations of Welsh language learners.

Remarkably, more than a third of participants at YGG chose to complete the IAT in Welsh. This was surprising for a number of reasons. First, in interviews with staff, it was frequently attested that the pupils at YGG spoke English the majority of the time in recreational spaces at school, even though they are strongly discouraged from doing so. Several teachers at the school attributed this pattern to ease of communication, especially for non-first-language Welsh speakers, to peer pressure, and in some cases to rebellion against school norms. Although the IAT was conducted in an IT lab at the school site during school hours, it was clearly stated that participants were welcome to complete the test in either language, and that their data would not be shared with anyone. Additionally, these instructions were delivered in English by myself, an American English speaker. Second, about one-quarter of those who chose to complete the IAT in Welsh were first-language English speakers (and non-first-language Welsh speakers), who would presumably have been more comfortable completing the task in English. It is quite possible that the academic setting and the presence of a school administrator were major influences on language choice. Since this was a confidential individual task, however, it is also possible that given the freedom to choose a language in the absence of peer pressure, pupils freely chose to use Welsh.

Table 5.9 shows that those at YGG who chose to complete the IAT in Welsh had significantly more positive *D* scores than those who chose to complete it in English. The data establish a tenable link between implicit associations and behavior. This is similar to Redinger's (2010) finding that attitudes toward Luxembourgish were most positive on the affective, instrumental, and integrative dimensions among participants who elected to complete a self-report questionnaire in Luxembourgish. While the data here cannot establish a causal relationship between language choice and implicit attitude, they do suggest that those with more positive implicit associations with Welsh are more likely to use the Welsh language (or vice versa), at least in certain contexts. Further investigation is needed to determine to what extent this pattern extends to other types of language behavior.

### *5.3.3. Summary and discussion*

The IAT data show that implicit associations with the Welsh language among pupils in the Welsh- and English-medium schools differ quite dramatically, even when accounting for the effects of first language, home language, and parental proficiency. The data indicate that non-first-language Welsh speakers at a Welsh-medium school have significantly more positive associations with the Welsh language than their English-medium-school counterparts. While other influences may be at play, there are strong indications that the school environments factor heavily into implicit attitudes. As pupils in Wales spend roughly 40 hours per week in school, educational institutions make up a substantial portion of their social and cultural environments. Through official policies, language display, and discourse about language inside and outside of the classroom, schools communicate both overt and covert ideologies to pupils about the value and usefulness of the languages they speak. It appears that the Welsh-medium school in this study is fostering an environment that is conducive to forming positive associations with Welsh, which may go a long way in promoting Welsh language revitalization.

### *5.4. Matched-Guise Test*

Like the IAT, the matched-guise technique is a useful tool for examining privately held beliefs and attitudes (see section 3.4.1). Compared with the IAT, the

MGT provides a more fine-grained depiction of attitudes, as it allows the researcher to examine multiple attitudinal dimensions at once. In this section, attitudes toward four dimensions of the Welsh language (as represented by Welsh speakers) will be explored: Welshness, social attractiveness, prestige, and competence. Broadly speaking, the purpose of this MGT is to investigate: how Welsh, code-mixed, and English guises are perceived along each dimension; whether there are significant differences between the guises in terms of listener judgments; and whether the schools differ in their speaker evaluations. The answers to these questions will shed light on how pupils at Welsh- and English-medium schools perceive the Welsh and English languages.

#### *Dimension 1: Welshness*

As discussed in section 2.4.4, Welshness (Welsh ethnicity or nationality) is both complex and contested. According to Garrett et al. (2003), it is also highly perceptually salient in Wales, making it a “productive resource for sociolinguistic stereotyping” (p. 139). It is clear that there is no consensus as to the specific role that the Welsh and English languages play in the construction and perception of Welshness. The teacher interviews in chapter 4 lent some insight into some of the popular conceptualizations of Welshness. While no interviewee went so far as to say that speaking Welsh made a person more Welsh (in fact, several denied that this was the case), there were indications that Welshness was sometimes assessed along a continuum (see Extract 4.25) or that certain criteria, including speaking Welsh, could tie a person closer to Welsh culture<sup>42</sup> (see Extract 4.29). This “grading” of Welshness was evident in Garrett et al.’s (2003) data as well; in an open-ended labelling task, participants rated different areas of Wales according to various degrees of Welshness, rather than making a categorical “Welsh/non-Welsh” distinction.

It is expected that Welshness will be similarly graded in this study, where speakers in the Welsh guise will be perceived as more ethnically Welsh than speakers in the English guise. As previous research has found that for L1 speakers, “perception of ethnicity is independent of expression or correctness of language”

(Robert, 2009, p. 112), including interference from English, it is unlikely that the Welsh and code-mixed guises will be rated differently for Welshness. This evidence gives rise to the following hypotheses:

- a. The Welsh guise and the code-mixed guise will be rated higher than the English guise at both schools.
- b. There will be no difference in the Welsh and code-mixed guises at either school.
- c. There will be no significant difference between schools for any of the individual guises.

#### *Dimension 2: Social attractiveness*

In speaker evaluation studies, there is a well-documented tendency for listeners to judge their own language varieties as more socially attractive than outgroup varieties, with the exception of high-status standard varieties. For example, in Giles's (1970) matched-guise study of sixteen different accented varieties of English, listeners rated accents identical to their own higher on social attractiveness than all other varieties except Received Pronunciation. A 2005 questionnaire study based on the BBC Voices project yielded similar results; participants rated speakers of their own variety as more socially attractive than all varieties except Standard English and Queen's English (see Garrett, 2010 for a full discussion and comparison of these studies). The same has been found for one's ingroup language. In Woolard's (1990) MGT study of adolescent attitudes toward Catalan and Castilian, participants rated their own linguistic ingroups higher on a solidarity (similar to social attractiveness) dimension than those speaking the outgroup language. Listeners of Welsh and English in Wales may exhibit a similar preference for those speaking in the primary language of their ingroup.

It is not easy, however, to define ethnolinguistic ingroups and outgroups, particularly at YGG. All YGG pupils are at least bilingual in Welsh and English, so could claim linguistic identification with a Welsh or an English speaker. However, this is complicated by the fact that the pupil population is comprised of a minority of L1 Welsh speakers and a majority of L2 (or L3 or L4) speakers, whose families

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<sup>42</sup> The controversial nature of Welshness, and the apparent internal tensions surrounding beliefs about Welsh language and culture, make the matched-guise test a particularly appropriate tool for this study (3.3).

differ in their linguistic backgrounds. Furthermore, it is clear that for the majority of pupils, English is the preferred medium of communication, and is the primary language of engagement with popular culture. Having multiple claims to ethnolinguistic identity means that pupils may shift their ingroup memberships depending on the social context. This multiplicity of ethnolinguistic identifications also exists at EMS, of course; however, as there are no fluent Welsh speakers in the sample for this study, and because most participants speak English as their primary language, it is expected that no participant at that school will identify ethnolinguistically with the speaker in the Welsh guise. Therefore, the following is hypothesized:

- a. The English guise will be rated higher than the Welsh or code-switched guises at both schools.
- b. There will be no difference between the Welsh and the code-mixed guises at either school.
- c. The Welsh guise will be rated higher at YGG than at EMS, and the English guise will be rated higher at EMS than at YGG.

### *Dimension 3: Prestige*

Typically, minority languages and non-standard language varieties are perceived to have less prestige than majority languages and standard language varieties on social evaluation tasks (Burns et al., 2001). In many cases, this reflects the systematically imbued status placed on them by wider social structures, for example, in their exclusion from state education and government. As a minority language, Welsh has to compete for prestige with English, a globalized majority language with international status. Compared with many other minority languages, however, Welsh enjoys a relatively high degree of prestige within Wales. The language receives strong institutional support through the Welsh Assembly Government. Welsh-medium educational institutions, once considered second-tier, “now tend to be considered part of the elite sector” (Coupland and Aldridge, 2009, p. 5). This is certainly the case in Cardiff, where the two largest Welsh-medium secondary schools consistently rate highly on academic performance, outperforming their alternative English-medium schools. Additionally, many fluent Welsh speakers

are employed by the Welsh-medium media outlets S4C and Radio Cymru, and comprise a Welsh-speaking, upper-middle-class media sector in the city. All of this contributes to Coupland and Aldridge's (2009) contention that "the status of Welsh in contemporary Wales is undoubtedly high" (p. 5). On this basis, the following predictions can be made:

- a. The Welsh guise will be rated higher than the English guise at both schools.
- b. There will be no significant difference between the Welsh and the code-mixed guises.
- c. The code-mixed guise will be rated higher than the English guise at both schools.
- d. There will be no significant difference between schools for any of the three individual guises.

#### *Dimension 4: Competence*

There is a general tendency in language attitude research for minority language speakers to be downgraded with respect to competence (i.e., intelligence, communicative capacity, and academic attainment), even by users themselves (Burns et al., 2001). However, because of the high academic performance of Welsh-medium schools in Cardiff, and because being a Welsh speaker often indexes the attainment of L2 fluency (particularly in regions with relatively low concentrations of L1 Welsh speakers), it seems unlikely that Welsh speakers would be downgraded in this way. Given that the competence dimension is drawn from question items about intelligence and academic attainment, it is possible that in this context, Welsh speakers might actually be *upgraded* on this dimension in relation to English speakers.

Code alternation, on the other hand, is often viewed as a sign of incompetence or incomplete language mastery (section 2.3.3). In Robert's (2009) matched-guise study, Welsh-speaking listeners downgraded L2 speakers of Welsh for competence compared to L1 speakers. Accompanying free-response comments indicated that this was directly related to their employment of code-mixing, "testify[ing] to the view among the Welsh-speaking community that the use of English in Welsh speech is a symptom of lacking competence in Welsh" (p. 108).

Because code alternation is strongly discouraged at YGG, it is likely that pupils there have a more acute sensitivity to the perception of incorrectness associated with code-mixing. For a pupil at EMS, however, code-mixing still points to bilingual fluency, and likely to attendance at a high-performing school. Based on this evidence, the following is hypothesized:

- a. The Welsh guise and the code-mixed guise will be rated significantly higher than the English guise at both schools.
- b. At YGG, the Welsh guise will be rated higher than the code-mixed guise.
- c. At EMS, there will be no significant difference between the Welsh and the code-mixed guise.

#### 5.4.1. Descriptive data

Table 5.10 shows the mean matched-guise ratings with their standard deviations for each dimension by participants at YGG. The descriptive data indicate generally positive orientations toward all three guises; all fall above the scalar midpoint of 4.00. An initial examination of the data seems to indicate that the Welsh guise is rated highest and the English guise lowest on all dimensions. Figure 5.7 displays these ratings graphically.

	Welshness	Social Attractiveness	Prestige	Competence
<b>English guise</b>	4.61 (1.3)	4.16 (.90)	4.19 (.85)	4.28 (.88)
<b>Code-mixed guise</b>	6.08 (.96)	4.66 (.77)	4.81 (.91)	4.87 (.98)
<b>Welsh guise</b>	6.38 (1.1)	4.78 (.77)	5.11 (.87)	5.36 (.83)

Table 5.10: Mean matched-guise ratings (with st. dev.), YGG

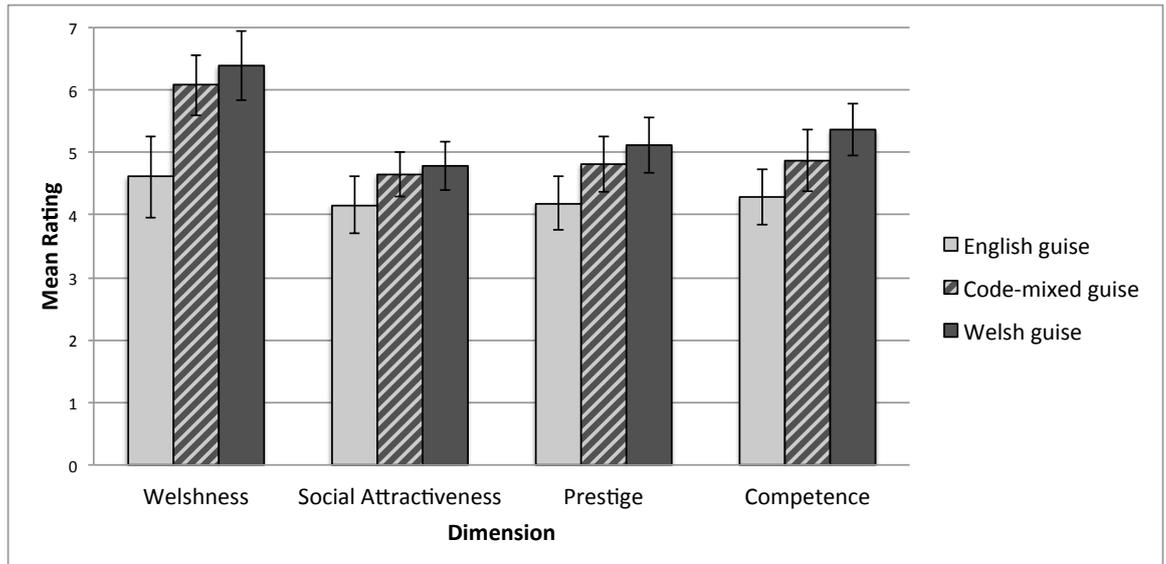


Figure 5.7: Mean matched-guise ratings (with st. dev. error bars), YGG

Table 5.11 shows the mean matched-guise ratings with their standard deviations for each dimension by participants at EMS. Again, the descriptive data indicate generally positive orientations toward all three guises; all fall above the scalar midpoint of 4.00. Like at YGG, an initial examination of the data seems to indicate that the Welsh guise is rated highest and the English guise lowest on all dimensions. Figure 5.8 displays these ratings graphically.

	Welshness	Social Attractiveness	Prestige	Competence
<b>English guise</b>	4.169 (1.4)	3.986 (.86)	3.987 (.89)	4.072 (.90)
<b>Code-mixed guise</b>	6.424 (1.0)	4.175 (.78)	4.568 (.81)	4.784 (.78)
<b>Welsh guise</b>	6.576 (.67)	4.254 (.68)	4.831 (.86)	5.042 (.68)

Table 5.11: Mean matched-guise ratings (with st. dev.), EMS

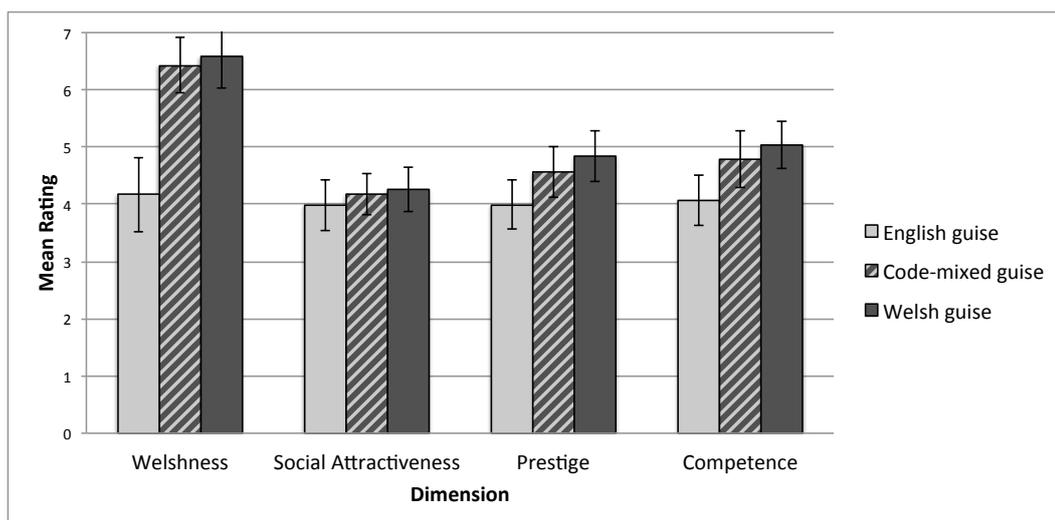


Figure 5.8: Mean matched-guise ratings (with st. dev. error bars), EMS

#### 5.4.2. ANOVA results

A repeated-measures ANOVA was carried out on the matched-guise data. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated for the main effects of dimension,  $\chi^2(5) = 82.87, p < .001$ , and guise,  $\chi^2(2) = 52.10, p < .001$ . Therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser corrected degrees of sphericity ( $\epsilon = .70$  for the main effect of dimension and  $.73$  for the main effect of guise).

There was a significant main effect of dimension on speaker ratings,  $F(2.11, 246.9) = 128.7, p < .001$ . This indicates that ignoring all other variables, ratings were significantly different for each dimension. There was also a significant main effect of guise on speaker ratings,  $F(1.47, 171.83) = 153.77, p < .001$ , indicating that ratings were significantly different for English, code-mixed, and Welsh guises.

Finally, there was a significant interaction effect between dimension and guise,  $F(2.91, 340.11) = 58.2, p < .001$ , indicating that the ratings across each guise were different depending on the dimension. Therefore, simple effects analysis was carried out for each dimension to break down this interaction. There was also a significant three-way interaction between guise, dimension, and school, indicating that the effect of guise on dimension differed by school. For this reason, an additional simple effects analysis was carried out to examine the differences in this effect by school. Pairwise comparison tables for these interactions can be found in Appendices R and S.

#### 5.4.3. Simple effects analysis results

##### *Dimension 1: Welshness*

The simple effects analysis revealed that at both schools, the Welsh guise was rated higher on Welshness than the English guise (MD = 1.775,  $p < .001$  at YGG; MD = 2.407,  $p < .001$  at EMS), as was the code-mixed guise (MD = 1.467,  $p < .001$  at YGG; MD = 2.254,  $p < .001$  at EMS), which confirms hypothesis 1a. At EMS, there was no significant difference in ratings between the Welsh and the code-mixed guises ( $p = .276$ ), which supports hypothesis 1b. At YGG, however, the Welsh guise was rated significantly higher than the code-mixed guise (MD = .308,  $p < .001$ ).

##### *Dimension 2: Social Attractiveness*

Contrary to hypothesis 2a, the simple effects analysis showed that there was no significant difference in ratings of the Welsh and English guises for social attractiveness at EMS ( $p = .103$ ), but at YGG, the Welsh guise was rated higher than the English (MD = .620,  $p < .001$ ). There was no significant difference in mean ratings between the Welsh and code-mixed guises at EMS or YGG ( $p = .425$ ,  $p = 1.001$  respectively), supporting hypothesis 2b. As predicted in hypothesis 2c, participants at YGG rated the Welsh guise significantly higher on social attractiveness than did participants at EMS (MD = .524  $p < .001$ ). The same was true for the codeswitched guise (MD = .481,  $p < .01$ ). Contrary to hypothesis 2d, however, there was no significant difference in English guise ratings between schools ( $p = .290$ ).

##### *Dimension 3: Prestige*

As predicted by hypotheses 3a and 3c, at both schools, the Welsh guise was rated higher than the English guise (MD = .925,  $p < .001$  at YGG; MD = .821,  $p < .001$  at EMS), as was the code-mixed guise (MD = .300,  $p < .01$  at YGG; MD = .263,  $p < .01$ ). Contrary to hypothesis 3b, however, the Welsh guise was rated significantly higher for prestige than the code-switched guise at both schools (MD = .625,  $p < .001$  at YGG; MD = .581,  $p < .001$  at EMS).

#### *Dimension 4: Competence*

As predicted by hypothesis 4a, the Welsh guise was rated higher than the English guise for competence at both schools (MD = 1.079,  $p < .001$  at YGG; MD = .970,  $p < .001$  at EMS), as was the code-mixed guise (MD = .592,  $p < .001$  at YGG; MD = .712,  $p < .001$  at EMS). As predicted in hypothesis 4b, the Welsh guise was rated significantly higher than the code-mixed guise at YGG (MD = .488,  $p < .001$ ). Contrary to hypothesis 4c, however, the same was true at EMS (MD = .258,  $p < .05$ ). Finally, the Welsh guise was judged to be significantly more competent at YGG than at EMS (MD = .316,  $p < .05$ ).

#### *5.4.4. Discussion*

On the dimension of Welshness, both the Welsh and the code-switched guises were rated significantly higher than the English guise. This seems to suggest that the Welsh language is perceived as a stronger, or perhaps more salient, marker of Welsh identity than Welsh-accented English. This perception evokes the continuum of Welshness described in section 4.4.1 (Mr. Rhys's conversation with his university friends about who was the "most or least Welsh"). In this version of the continuum, those who speak "pure" (non-code-mixed) Welsh are perceived to be the most Welsh, followed by those who speak Welsh code-mixed with English. Welsh-accented English speakers are perceived as the least Welsh. In fact, at both schools, the English guise was rated only slightly above the midpoint (M = 4.6 at YGG and 4.2 at EMS). One possible explanation is that the task itself could have implicitly guided participants to rank speakers comparatively. Having rated a speaker in the Welsh guise and then in an English guise, participants may have felt the need to differentiate ratings between speakers. Given that language (and accent, in the case of the dummy guises) were the only differentiating criteria, participants may have employed a ranking system rather than comparing individual speakers to a baseline conceptualization of Welshness. Because Welsh guises were always followed by either English or code-switched guises, due to the design of the experiment<sup>43</sup>, the contrast between codes may have been made salient to listeners.

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<sup>43</sup> The order in which the voices occurred in the MGT was chosen in order to maximally separate each speaker's guises, to make it less likely for listeners to detect that some speakers spoke in multiple guises. Because there were six Welsh or code-switched guises, it was necessary for English voices to

It is notable that at YGG, a significant distinction is made between Welsh and code-switched guises, while at EMS, they are perceived as equally Welsh. This may point to a perception that for pupils at YGG, code-mixing indexes a lower degree of competence, and thus a lower degree of Welshness. In Robert's (2009) study, L2 speakers were judged to be less Welsh than L1 speakers, and were further downgraded for having lower perceived competence, including using English in their Welsh speech. Although the speakers in the current study spoke Welsh as a first language, a similar perceptual continuum, where Welsh language competence is tied to Welsh ethnic identity, may be at play here. At EMS, however, although there was a perceived difference in competence between the Welsh and the code-switched guises (see discussion on the competence dimension below), there seems to be a less fine-grained relationship between competence and Welshness.

The Welsh and code-switched guises were judged to be significantly more socially attractive than the English guise at YGG. This is in line with previous research, which shows that while minority languages and varieties may be downgraded on status, power, and prestige, they are often judged positively on traits such as solidarity, pleasantness, dynamism, and social attractiveness (Burns et al., 2001). But there may be a methodological issue as well. While the focus of this investigation is language, there is no socially neutral English, Welsh, or code-mixed accent, and therefore, accent must play a role in speaker judgments. Perceptions of different varieties of Welsh-accented English vary depending on various regional and social factors (Garrett et al., 2003). In other words, a less favorable judgment of the English guise might indicate an attitude toward north Welsh English—an outgroup variety—rather than English as a language.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, Garrett et al.'s (2003) matched-guise study demonstrated that teachers from south Wales rated north Welsh English speakers moderately low (below the scalar midpoint) on the dimension of pleasantness. Though Garrett et al.'s (2003) study had no similar comparison with a

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follow Welsh voices. While this may have affected the reliability of the results, I deemed the alternatives to be less desirable. Counterbalancing the order without risking detection of same-speaker guises would have required a greater number of guises, potentially leading to fatigue effects.

<sup>44</sup> The influence of the north Welsh accent on speaker judgments might have been attenuated by using speakers from the participants' own region; however, in Garrett et al.'s (2003) study, southeast Welsh English was judged by southern Welsh listeners to be even less pleasant than the northwest Welsh variety, so ratings for the English guise might have been even lower.

Welsh guise, the data indicate that there may be somewhat negative perceptions of this particular Welsh English accent in terms of social attractiveness.

At first glance, the findings here seem to concur with Price et al.'s (1983), wherein participants downgraded a Welsh English guise on personality (comparable to the social attractiveness category) compared to both Welsh language and RP. At the same time, it contradicts Bourhis et al.'s (1973) findings, wherein Welsh English and the Welsh language were judged to be equally socially attractive. However, it is difficult to draw comparisons with these studies for various reasons. First, the judges and/or the speakers on the matched-guise recordings were from different regions than the current study. In Price et al.'s (1983) study, participants were from southwest Wales and listened to a west Welsh English guise; in Bourhis et al.'s (1973) participants were from southeast Wales and listened to a south Welsh English guise (perhaps similar to their own). Second, these studies differ in their methodology, including in the judgment traits selected, and thus are difficult to compare. Finally, with shifting linguistic demographics in Wales, the sociolinguistic climate has changed substantially over the decades since these studies were published.

It is interesting that at EMS, the three guises were rated roughly equally on social attractiveness. There is no evidence of ingroup preference. In fact, there is no strong attitudinal orientation in either direction; ratings for all three guises hover near the midpoint. While this doesn't necessarily entail a neutral stance (section 3.3.1), it may mean that pupils at EMS did not align themselves socially with the Welsh speaker or the English speaker, perhaps because of the north Welsh accent. There does seem to be some degree of ingroup alignment at YGG, however, as the Welsh and code-mixed guises were rated higher there than at EMS.

In terms of prestige, there seems to be a clear grading based on both language and language "purity": the Welsh guise was rated highest, followed by the code-mixed guise, and finally the English. The perceived prestige difference between the Welsh and code-mixed guises is somewhat surprising. In addition to being statistically significant, these mean differences were quite large at over half a point on the scale at both schools. While one might expect to find perceived prestige differences between formal (non-code-mixed) and informal (code-mixed) Welsh guises, the picture description task prompted an informal register in both guises. This suggests an attitude of linguistic purism, wherein a Welsh speaker might be

downgraded in terms of status for code-mixing with English. Furthermore, this attitude seems to extend beyond the Welsh-speaking community, as participants at the English-medium school made similar judgments. As code-mixing is the default medium for many Welsh-English bilinguals (Musk, 2010), this attitude is cause for concern. Welsh speakers, particularly L2 speakers, may feel insecure about speaking code-mixed Welsh, and therefore choose to speak English instead.

The English guise, once again, is ranked lowest on the prestige scale, with a rating just below the midpoint at EMS and just above it at YGG. As north Welsh English has previously been judged to be a relatively low-prestige variety within Wales (for example, in Garrett et al.'s (2003) study) and because the Welsh language enjoys considerable prestige in Cardiff, this is an expected finding. With regards to Welsh language revitalization, this is encouraging. Minority languages depend on social status for their survival within diglossic contexts, and the Welsh language appears to be strongly associated with prestige in Cardiff amongst both Welsh- and non-Welsh-speakers. Indeed, this is supported by the fact that parental demand for Welsh-medium education continues to grow in the region, which has led to increasing enrollment and the construction of new Welsh-medium schools in recent years.

This same gradation emerged on the dimension of competence, with the Welsh guise rated highest, followed by the code-switched and English guises. This was an expected finding, as Welsh is strongly associated with the educational sector in Cardiff. Again, this is somewhat encouraging. The association of Welsh speakers with intelligence and being well-educated is positive, and this type of attitude is needed to sustain the success of Welsh-medium education. The discrepancy in competence ratings between the Welsh and code-mixed guises, however, is somewhat concerning; at YGG, the mean difference in ratings is higher than at EMS ( $M = .488$  and  $.258$ , respectively). The attitude that code-mixing signals a lesser degree of language competence reflects the findings of other studies on code alternation (Lawson and Sachdev, 2004; Roy and Galiev, 2011). It may be that in this context, code-mixing is associated with L2 learners, who may be more likely to “fall back” on English whilst speaking Welsh, and are thus viewed as less competent than L1 speakers. Moreover, by discouraging the use of English in Welsh speech, the monolingual language policy at YGG implies that non-code-mixed Welsh is more correct than the code-mixed version, at least in formal contexts (section 4.3.2).

### 5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has examined Welsh- and English-medium school pupils' attitudes toward the Welsh language, positive and negative associations with Welsh and English, and self-reported engagement from three distinct perspectives. Direct and indirect methods have shed light on pupils' orientations toward various dimensions of the language and its use. In each analysis, the attitudes of pupils at the Welsh-medium school are appreciably more positive than those at the English-medium school. This is unsurprising, as many of the pupils at YGG come from homes where Welsh is spoken, and therefore, have positive attitudinal influences from a variety of sources outside of school. Upon closer examination, however, there is considerable evidence that pupils from non-Welsh-speaking homes who attend YGG have more positive attitudes toward many aspects of Welsh than those who attend EMS. As language planners' attention is increasingly focused on these "new speakers" (Robert, 2009) who have acquired the language through Welsh-medium education, this issue deserves further consideration.

The data from these three analyses elucidate the various ways the school environment can influence attitudes toward (and associations with) the Welsh language. As mentioned in section 5.1, it has long been acknowledged that Welsh-medium schools have been successful both in developing proficient Welsh speakers and, to some extent, providing opportunities for Welsh language use. The data confirm previous findings (e.g., Baker, 1992; Coupland et al., 2005) that proficiency is indeed linked to attitudes toward language. In this way, YGG in particular appears to have an indirectly positive impact on language attitudes by developing highly competent Welsh speakers. Pupils' questionnaire responses also suggest, however, that confidence is not commensurate with actual proficiency levels at YGG<sup>45</sup>, and is quite low in general at EMS. Where confidence is lacking, there is an impact not only on attitudes, but on actual engagement as well. The present data support Morris's (2014) assertion that the issue of confidence merits further investigation.

Another striking finding is that pupils at the Welsh-medium school seem to identify to a much greater extent with ethnic and/or national Welshness than those at the English-medium school (section 5.2.1), and pupils at both schools seem to

associate Welsh speakers with higher degrees of Welshness than English speakers (sections 5.4.2, 5.4.4). This is important because self-perceptions of Welshness are strongly correlated with several aspects of attitudes toward Welsh, including active and structured engagement, commitment to future use, and symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language (section 5.2.3). While other studies (e.g., Coupland et al., 2005; Price, 2010) have found a generally strong sense of affinity with Welsh culture (although low levels of engagement) amongst adolescent pupils, findings from the present study suggest many pupils at EMS align with other ethnic and national identities (section 5.2.1). For the large proportion of pupils who do not consider themselves Welsh, it is all the more challenging to find a suitable motivation to support the language.

Evidence that the Welsh-medium school pupils seem to feel more Welsh than the English-medium school pupils must be treated with some caution, as it has not been proven here that YGG *influences* pupils' senses of Welshness; it could be that YGG attracts families who already have a strong feelings of Welshness.<sup>45</sup> However, given the anecdotal evidence that many parents in Cardiff choose to send their children to YGG because of its strong academic reputation, good discipline, and economic opportunities rather than for cultural reasons, it seems plausible that pupils' senses of Welshness are due, to some extent, to the influence of the school. This proposition is supported by the evidence presented in section 4.2.1 that YGG is heavily invested in cultivating an environment in which Welsh culture, and the Welsh language that embodies it, are highly valued.

The focus of the analysis thus far has been centered on the role of the Welsh-medium school in fostering particular attitudes. But it is important to consider that English-medium schools have a potentially powerful influence on attitudes as well. While it is beyond the scope of an English-medium school's educational aims to develop fluent Welsh speakers, it does have the capacity to influence other factors shown here to correlate with attitudes toward Welsh, such as confidence. Furthermore, though this is not the case at EMS, there have been serious concerns about the attainment levels in Welsh second language throughout the country; not

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<sup>45</sup> While there was no measure taken of actual proficiency, teachers and the headteacher at YGG attested in interviews that nearly all of their pupils could be considered fluent by Year 9.

<sup>46</sup> Indeed, Hodges (2012) found that parents in the Rhymney Valley were more motivated by integrative incentives (such as the cultural value of learning Welsh) than instrumental incentives to send their children to Welsh-medium schools.

only are pupils not fluent in Welsh, but many are not meeting the minimum standards established by the Welsh Government (section 2.6.2). Among other consequences, these poor attainment levels may have negative impacts on attitudes, precluding pupils from continuing their Welsh education beyond the statutory phase. Like Welsh-medium schools, English-medium schools also have environmental influences, including the expressed attitudes of teachers and staff, and language policies (see Chapter 4).

By all accounts, the Welsh programme at EMS is exemplary; pupils have attainment levels that are higher than the national average, have opportunities to participate in Welsh extra-curricular activities, attend residential programmes, and have won top awards at the Urdd Eisteddfod competitions. School inspectors have noted that pupils appear to have positive attitudes and high levels of participation in the Welsh classroom (Estyn, 2013). Staff in the department are highly motivated and competent speakers. Despite these successes, however, attitudes toward the language amongst pupils at EMS appear to be fairly negative, particularly with regards to engagement and commitment (section 5.2.3). Pupils' implicit associations with Welsh were negative as well (section 5.3.1). Though there does seem to be general goodwill toward the Welsh language amongst teachers at the school and clear efforts to raise its profile, it is clear that, on the whole, pupils are not convinced of the integrative or instrumental values of the Welsh language.

One bright spot, from a language revitalization perspective, is the data from the matched-guise test (section 5.4). Pupils at both schools seem to associate the Welsh language with competence (defined by intelligence, work ethic, and education), prestige (defined by social class), and, for YGG pupils, social attractiveness (defined by attractiveness, friendliness, and coolness). While the Welsh guise was not viewed as more socially attractive than the English guise at EMS, it was rated equally with the English guise. Positive public perceptions toward these aspects are critical for minority language survival (Fishman, 1991; Sallabank, 2014) and it is encouraging that both Welsh- and English-medium school pupils seem to share them. It appears that language planners have been somewhat successful in cultivating and maintaining a positive image of the Welsh speaker in Cardiff. It is likely that the high standard of Welsh-medium schools in the region, as well as the prestige of Welsh-language media institutions, have shaped these perceptions. It is possible, too, that the school has played a role in fostering these

attitudes. Albeit to vastly different degrees, both YGG and EMS have made intentional efforts to raise the profile of Welsh within their respective school settings (see Chapter 4) and pupils may be responding to those efforts with positive attitudes.

Finally, some consideration must be given to attitudes toward code alternation. There is evidence in both the questionnaire and in the matched-guise test that code alternation is viewed in a negative light by pupils at both schools, but especially at YGG. Although pupils (and teachers—see section 4.3.2.1) acknowledge that code-mixing is a natural characteristic of bilingual speakers, it is associated with laziness, language death, and lower competence (see section 5.4). In addition to triggering linguistic insecurity in the large number of pupils who code-mix and code-switch on a regular basis (Lawson and Sachdev, 2004), negative attitudes toward code alternation could inhibit pupils from using their Welsh language skills entirely for fear of being judged to possess these negative traits. Furthermore, Welsh language learners may experience anxiety in trying to communicate without the option of code-switching, which may be a barrier to both confidence and language acquisition (Cook, 2001; Pollard, 2002). As a great deal of effort has been put forth to encourage young speakers to use their Welsh, it is worth questioning whether such attitudes toward code alternation could be having a negative impact.

This chapter has examined attitudes toward the Welsh language from many angles, delving into the implicit and explicit attitudes of pupils in different educational institutions. Up to this point, relationships between independent variables and attitudinal data have been presented and analysed, and there has been some speculation as to the foundations of particular attitudes. The next step is to explore these attitudes in depth by examining the quantitative data here alongside the qualitative data obtained through focus group sessions with pupils. This will be the focus of the following chapter.

## 6 Pupil Focus Group Data

### 6.1. Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2, while motivations for language learning and use are often subdivided into broad binary categories (e.g., intrinsic and extrinsic, instrumental and integrative), there are a milieu of individual motivators that may be at play that do not fit into these clear-cut categories. The open-ended nature of the focus group context makes it conducive to nuanced discussions of motivation for language use (section 3.3.6), and is therefore an effective method for examining these issues.

It should be noted that some of the questions were specifically designed to encourage pupils to reflect on their personal motivations for Welsh language use. Others, while not explicitly focused on this area, shed light on motivation in a way that a closed-ended questionnaire could not. Furthermore, because of the distinct sociolinguistic contexts of each school environment, the motivators relevant to YGG and EMS differed. To effectively examine these school-specific attitudes and motivations, they will be analyzed on an individual basis instead of being compared between schools.

This chapter will address the following research questions:

- RQ1. What language ideologies are espoused by Welsh- and English-medium secondary schools in Wales, and to what extent are they reflected in pupils' language attitudes?
- RQ2. To what extent do pupils perceive their Welsh ethnolinguistic identities to rely on Welsh language ability?

The data presented in the following sections is drawn from focus group sessions conducted with Year 9 and 10 pupils in June of 2013 (see section 3.3.6.1 for full discussion on procedure).

## 6.2. *Attitudes at the Welsh-medium school*

### 6.2.1. *Attitudes toward Welsh ethnolinguistic identity*

YGG, which self-identifies as “Welsh in its language and culture” (section 4.2.1), aims to create an immersive Welsh-medium space in which pupils take part in both linguistically and culturally Welsh activities. The language policy at the school reinforces these values by maintaining a monolingual environment, in which pupils are expected to conduct their academic and social interactions entirely through the medium of Welsh throughout the school day. The school also facilitates opportunities for extra-curricular Welsh-medium activities.

Interviews with teachers and the headteacher revealed that individual attitudes toward the relationship between the Welsh language and Welsh culture varied to an extent, but they did harmonize on several points. While no teacher expressed a belief that speaking Welsh was a necessary condition of Welshness, several expressed that the Welsh language served as a crucial marker of a *distinctive* Welsh identity. The dissonance created by the coexistence of these two beliefs was resolved somewhat by the suggestion that there are two types of Welsh culture: Welsh-speaking and non-Welsh-speaking. There were also multiple references to a conception of Welshness as a continuum or hierarchy, with various degrees of Welshness (section 4.4.1; Extract 4.25) determined by qualifications such as language, parents’ national identity, and birthplace. This same ideology was evidenced in matched-guise data, where YGG pupils rated Welsh speakers as more Welsh than code-mixers or English speakers.

In questionnaire data, calling oneself “Welsh” was associated with more positive attitudes toward the language, in an affective and an active (motivational) sense. Indeed, YGG pupils on the whole seem to feel very Welsh: nearly 90% of YGG pupils identified their ethnicity as Welsh, and 68% classified themselves as feeling very strongly (6 or 7 on a 7-point scale) about their Welsh identities. It is clear from this data that the majority of pupils feel Welsh, but there yet remains a disconnect between felt affiliation with Welshness and actual language use outside the classroom. What accounts for this?

One aim of the present investigation is to better understand how pupils view the role of the Welsh language in their own Welsh identities, and how these



Rhys in Extract 4.25. AK links use of the Welsh language to showing “enthusiasm and interest in Welsh culture” (line 5), reiterating the ideology of the inextricable link between the Welsh language and Welsh culture.

In their response to the question as originally written, Focus Group 4 expresses a similar view:

- 1 AN: It makes me feel more Welsh.  
2 BL: You're more in tune to it, in a way, so  
3 AN: I think when I hear like people that don't know how to speak Welsh, like the  
4 people that go to the English schools  
5 BL: Mm.  
6 AN: I do feel a bit like they're a bit [less Welsh ]  
7 BL: [not as Welsh ]  
8 SR: Yeah.  
9 AN: because they, you know, they're not involved in like the Eisteddfod and  
10 those kind of things  
11 BL: Mm hm.  
12 AN: that are very predominantly—and they feel, like Welsh and representing  
13 Wales.

*Extract 6.2: Focus Group 4 (AN, BL, SR)*

AN and BL simultaneously agree that non-Welsh-speakers, such as their English-medium school peers, are “less Welsh” (line 5) or “not as Welsh” (line 6), again reinforcing the idea that degrees of Welshness exist. AN attributes this to the fact that pupils from English-medium schools are “not involved in like the Eisteddfod and those kind of things” (line 8) that “feel, like Welsh and representing Wales” (line 10). There are two important points to be made here. First, AN’s statement touches on the point made by Mr. Thule in Extract 4.29 (section 4.4.1.2) that non-Welsh speakers have less access to engagement with specific Welsh cultural practices. By not being a part of these aspects of Welsh culture, non-Welsh speakers are perceived here as lacking multiple criteria of Welshness. The second point is that English-medium school pupils *do* speak Welsh, albeit to a limited extent, and yet they are characterized here as “people that don’t know how to speak Welsh” (line 3). Furthermore, some of these pupils *do* engage in traditional Welsh cultural activities,

including the Eisteddfod, although, as Mr. Thule pointed out in Extract 4.29, “they are a separate category” (lines 4–5). That this is not acknowledged signifies that either the participation of English-medium school pupils goes unnoticed, or perhaps that their participation is considered to be a less authentic expression of Welshness.

Later on, participants in Focus Group 4 return to the topic of the relationship between the Welsh language and Welsh identity:

- 1 AN: But whenever you hear someone, or like, the people in the other schools  
2 BL: Mm.  
3 AN: That, like the English schools, they—maybe the reason that they don’t seem  
4 to do as well is because like they don’t seem as Welsh, like, patriotic, really  
5 BL: Yeah.  
6 AN: [because]  
7 SR: [Yeah ]  
8 AN: they kind of, they don’t speak the language so it seems almost like . . . they  
9 definitely seem less Welsh to me [because they’re not]  
10 SR: [when you hear like ] other people speak  
11 Welsh, you automatically think, [Oh ], they’re Welsh.  
12 AN: [Yeah. ]  
13 BL: Oh, yeah, yeah.  
14 SR: [When you hear them speak it.]  
15 BL: [For instance, when I ] if I spoke English now, like what we’re  
16 doing now <laughter>  
17 SR: Yeah.  
18 BL: You, you wouldn’t think I’m Welsh [just] ‘cause I don’t have an [accent.]  
19 AN: [No.]  
20 SR: [No. ]  
21 AN: ‘Cause I feel like if people think I’m English, I do kinda get offended,  
22 ‘cause it’s like, ‘Well no, I’m not English, I’m [Welsh’]  
23 SR: [Yeah. ]  
24 BL: [Yeah. ]  
25 AN: ‘Cause I feel like I’ve been neglected, forgotten about. But then when pe—  
26 other people, like Welsh people that don’t speak Welsh, I feel like they’ve  
27 kind of neglected us too, ‘cause they feel like they don’t want to be thought  
28 of as Welsh, they just want to be British.

*Extract 6.3: Focus Group 4 (AN, BL, SR)*

In line 4, AN suggests pupils at the English-medium schools identify less with being Welsh than their Welsh-medium school counterparts. In line 11, SR says that for her, the Welsh language “automatically” indexes a Welsh identity. BL points out that if not for her ability to speak Welsh, she would not be identifiable as Welsh, as she “[doesn’t] have an accent” (line 18). The implication is that a Welsh accent is an index of Welsh identity, but that the Cardiff accent (shared by her English-medium school peers) is not sufficiently distinctive to set one apart from an English person. AN describes the experience of being mistaken for an English person as a feeling of being “neglected, forgotten about” (line 25). Strikingly, she expresses that in choosing not to be identified as Welsh, but rather British, non-Welsh-speaking Welsh people have “neglected us too” (line 26)—“us” presumably referring to the Welsh-speaking Welsh.

The attitudes expressed in this interaction shed light on how pupils at YGG orient to the question of authenticity and cultural distinctiveness. For these participants, the Welsh language is a clear-cut, direct index of Welsh identity in a way that Cardiff English is not. AN’s discourse also indicates a feeling of betrayal and opposition between the Welsh-speaking and non-Welsh-speaking Welsh, who are perceived as rejecting the Welsh identity altogether. AN’s statements imply a sense of agency for Welsh citizens, and characterize identifying with Welshness as a choice. While this sentiment is shared by others, it oversimplifies the inherent complexity of constructing identity. AN does not acknowledge that her perception of her non-Welsh-speaking Welsh peers could have an effect on their perceptions of themselves, potentially causing them to distance themselves from this identity.

In Extract 6.4, Focus Group 3 shares the attitude that the Welsh language indexes a Welsh identity. But there is some debate as to how essential it is to authentic Welshness:

- 1 BB: Do you think that speaking Welsh makes you more Welsh? Why or why
- 2 not?
- 3 HB: I think it does.
- 4 JM: I think it does.
- 5 BB: I think it’s a sense of identity.

- 6 JM: But then [again ]
- 7 WW: [I used to think]
- 8 JM: It's like you know in <unclear Welsh> in religious, uh, [studies.]
- 9 HB: [studies ]
- 10 JM: We're doing, um, about how the clothes, you know, the clothes in the
- 11 religion and how, do you necessarily need this whole outfit to prove your
- 12 religion? I don't think you necessarily need the Welsh language to prove
- 13 you're Welsh.
- 14 HB: Yeah, I think
- 15 JM: [Do you know] what I mean?
- 16 BB: [Yeah. ]
- 17 HB: I completely agree. I think that's really [clever. ]
- 18 BB: [And if] you feel Welsh
- 19 JM: I think you feel definitely Welsher but
- 20 HB: If you speak Welsh.
- 21 JM: if you speak Welsh, but I don't think it makes you less of a Welsh

*Extract 6.4: Focus Group 3 (BB, WW, JM, HB)*

As in Extract 6.1, the question is again misread as, “Do you think that speaking Welsh makes you more ‘Welsh?’” JM initially agrees, but then reconsiders. She makes a poignant connection between the outward demonstration of religious identity through the wearing of religious garments, and the use of the Welsh language to index Welshness, stating, “I don't think you necessarily need the Welsh language to prove you're Welsh” (lines 10–11). In line 16, BB implies that felt affiliation is a credible criteria for being Welsh. JM adds that speaking Welsh does make her *feel* more Welsh (thus answering the originally intended question), but that not speaking Welsh does not make a person “less of a Welsh” (line 19). Thus, the participants seem to question the role of language within the continuum of Welshness. While Focus Groups 1 and 4 seem to maintain a consensus about the role of the Welsh language in Welsh ethnolinguistic identity, Focus Group 3 struggles with how the language of their school plays into their relationship with their ethnicity and nationality.

Further along in their discussion, HB begins to express frustration at what she perceives to be the school's stance on its Welsh identity:

- 1 HB: They push language. Um, and I do feel that's, push that, um, WE ARE  
2 WELSH! WE SPEAK WELSH! Not  
3 BB: Yeah.  
4 HB: We are Welsh. AND we can speak [Welsh].  
5 BB: [Welsh] yeah.  
6 JM: It's just [our <unclear>]  
7 BB: [Some people ] are Welsh, but they don't speak Welsh.  
8 JM: Doesn't make them less of a Welsh person.  
9

*Extract 6.5: Focus Group 3 (BB, WW, JM, HB)*

HB's characterization of the school's ideological stance and agenda is reminiscent of Extract 4.30, in which Ms. Wilson expresses her intent to “[instill] that identity” (lines 2–3) in her pupils. Like JM in Extract 6.4, HB rejects the notion that speaking Welsh makes a person more Welsh, asserting that language and culture can be independent. BB and JM agree, arguing that a person can be equally Welsh without speaking Welsh.

YGG pupils vary in their conceptions of Welsh identity and the role of the Welsh language. While some believe that Welsh is an essential component to authentic Welshness, others contend that there is a Welshness apart from the Welsh language, although neither of these positions are clear-cut. From these discussions, there is no way to measure the influence of the school's ideological stances on pupils' own attitudes. There are, however, hints to pupils' perceptions of their school's ideology. This is particularly explicit in Extract 6.5, where some participants portray their YGG teachers as actively promoting a Welshness that is tied to the Welsh language.

### *6.2.2. Motivations for Welsh language use*

Four primary issues with a clear impact on motivation emerged from the discourse. The first, and perhaps the most frequently mentioned, dealt with pupils' self-perceptions of their proficiency and anxiety about speaking imperfect Welsh. In light of the questionnaire data, this is unsurprising. Second, pupils discussed

integrative motivations, i.e., the ways in which they felt connected (or desired to feel connected) with other Welsh speakers. Third, participants identified a “secret code” function of Welsh that allowed them to hold private conversations in the presence of non-Welsh speakers. Finally, pupils evaluated their personal responsibility toward the language and their perception of the expectations of their behavior from their teachers.

#### 6.2.2.1. Proficiency and confidence

Confidence in one’s linguistic abilities can be a powerful motivator for acquiring and using a second language (Clément et al., 1980; Dörnyei, 2005). On the language attitude and use questionnaire (section 3.3.1), pupils revealed lower self-rated proficiency and confidence levels than might be expected from advanced Welsh language learners in a Welsh-medium school. This has important consequences for both language attitudes and engagement with the Welsh language, particularly outside of school, where pupils can freely choose which language to speak.

One YGG teacher explained that, while she felt that while pupils did not speak perfectly, they nevertheless possessed a strong capacity to communicate in Welsh, but were held back by their lack of confidence:

1           Oh, they’re able to talk, yes, no problem! [ . . . ] you know, okay, they’re not  
2           brilliant. But they’re able to hold a conversation [ . . . ] and give their opinions and,  
3           you know, have an argument through the medium of Welsh. [ . . . ] You know, as I  
4           say, I’m not expecting you to, you know, have this fantastic language and be able to  
5           <unclear> every--you know, I’m not expecting perfection. I try to tell them that. [ . .  
6           . ]But just be able to have that confidence and that fluency that you’ll be able to  
7           have that conversation with other people

*Extract 6.6:* Interview with Ms. Wilson, teacher, YGG

Some pupils confirmed this lack of linguistic confidence. In the following extract, pupils in Focus Group 5 addressed the question, “When you leave school, do you think you will use the Welsh you’ve learned?”:

- 1 NG: If I was . . . if I was to speak [with my]  
 2 DS: [Mm. ]  
 3 NG: children, um, I don't think I'd be speaking Welsh, 'cause I find it really—  
 4 I—I have to be really confident in the language to speak. Sometimes I  
 5 stutter—not stutter, sometimes I mumble when I'm speaking Welsh,  
 6 ['cause it's]  
 7 CT: [Yeah. ]  
 8 NG: I find it hard to find the words, and that doesn't make me confident in the  
 9 [Welsh] language.  
 10 DS: [Yeah. ]  
 11 NG: So why should I use it? [I sometimes feel.]  
 12 DS: [Yeah. ] My parents, they learnt Welsh,  
 13 both of them, t—before they got me and my sisters. So I think because I was  
 14 taught Welsh as a first language I'll probably pass it down.  
 15 NG: Yeah. I will pass it down, definitely. I'll t—I'll give my—well, I don't  
 16 know. I—I'll send my children to Welsh school, maybe.

*Extract 6.7: Focus Group 5 (NG, DS, CT, JN)*

NG explains how his perceived linguistic deficiencies affect his desire and commitment to speak Welsh, particularly with his future children. He claims to demonstrate a notable lack of confidence, and attributes his uneasiness to vocabulary difficulties (line 7), explaining that this demotivates him to use Welsh, even with his future family. After DS shares his plans to pass the language on, however, NG changes his mind, saying he too will “pass it down, definitely” (line 14)—but not by speaking it in the home. He plans instead to send his children to a Welsh-medium school.

The tension between linguistic self-confidence and the desire to commit to propagating the Welsh language is evident in NG's statement. The multiple regression analysis of questionnaire data in section 5.2.3 showed that self-rated proficiency, interpreted as linguistic self-confidence, was a very strong indicator of commitment to one's personal use of the Welsh language. The qualitative data support this, but also reveal nuance in the nature and degree of commitment pupils are willing to take on. While DS and NG both express a desire to pass on the

language, only DS plans to pass it on personally, through his family. Because of his lack of linguistic self-confidence, NG commits only to passing on the language through the Welsh-medium education system.

Other non-first-language Welsh speakers expressed anxiety speaking with first-language Welsh speakers, such as the parents of their peers:

- 1 BL: Yeah, well you feel kind of forced in a way, [just ] ‘cause like when you  
2 get  
3 AN: [Yeah]  
4 BL: like, some people’s parents, like in their houses  
5 AN: yeah  
6 BL: really force you to speak Welsh [with them]  
7 AN: [But then ] you feel quite, like sometimes  
8 when you’re not expecting to speak Welsh, I feel more awkward speaking  
9 Welsh.  
10 BL: Oh, definitely, if, if [if there’s]  
11 SR: [Yeah. ]  
12 BL: if ‘cause they’re, they might be like speaking twenty—Welsh twenty-four  
13 seven, [so there’s so much ]  
14 AN: [Especially with like ] all the rules, you feel like, oh, am I saying the  
15 right thing, are they gonna judge me about how I’m saying it? [Like]  
16 BL: [Mm.]  
17 AN: *Treigladau* and stuff.  
18 SR: Mm hm.  
19 BL: Yeah, but then like when you go to people’s houses, you feel forced, just  
20 because they’re [so much]  
21 AN: [Mm. ]  
22 BL: it’s always learning Welsh, and like you don’t feel very comfortable speaking  
23 Welsh to them, just because [um ]  
24 SR: [make] mistakes and stuff.  
25 BL: Yeah, [mutations, you know, you, you ]  
26 SR: [you don’t want them to correct you and]  
27 BL: Oh yeah, some parents might correct you. <laughter>

*Extract 6.8: Focus Group 4 (BL, SR, AN)*

The discomfort articulated here stems from two sources. The first is being asked (or “forced,” as BL puts it in line 17) to converse in Welsh outside of school, “when you’re not expecting to” (line 7). This confirms the concern of some language planners that young people associate Welsh with a singular domain, the “language of school” (Baker, 1993), and not as normalized throughout multiple domains. The second is a fear of being judged by a first-language speaker for speaking imperfect Welsh (lines 12–13). SR expresses fear that she might “make mistakes and stuff” (line 22), and that parents might correct errors (line 24). BL agrees, stating that “some parents [might] correct you” (line 25).

Welsh language planners have taken note of pupils’ lack of self-confidence as an impediment to language use. In his foreword to *Iaith Fyw, Iaith Byw*, Minister for Education and Skills Leighton Andrews advocated for a flexible attitude toward the skills of Welsh learners (Welsh Government, 2012). He writes, “we must also ensure that we are encouraging people to use the language skills that they have—and not to contribute to a climate in which they feel that less than perfect Welsh language skills are a barrier to participation” (p. 2). The interactions presented above confirm that feelings of linguistic inadequacy do indeed pose a (self-imposed) “barrier to participation” for some young people.

For YGG, the conflict seems to arise in the bridge between academic and non-academic settings. On one hand, the school has a responsibility to develop a high standard of linguistic proficiency in its pupils, who, on exams, will be judged on their lexical and grammatical proficiency. On the other, the school aims to provide an immersive Welsh-medium environment in which pupils use the language informally to communicate with their peers. The hope is that these skills will not only contribute to overall language proficiency, but will be used beyond the school setting as well. In this way, the dual roles of language educator and language promoter can be conflictive; in fulfilling the responsibility of teaching pupils to use grammatically correct Welsh, with proper mutations and sophisticated vocabulary, the school can inadvertently foster a sense of linguistic inadequacy that impedes pupils from wanting to use their Welsh in non-academic settings.

In one large-scale qualitative study on social uses of Welsh in Welsh-medium schools, Price (2013) found that some pupils felt a lack of confidence because they believed they were being constantly tested by their teachers, even

outside the classroom. She worries that the emphasis on grammatical accuracy may come “at the expense of ensuring that pupils have the ability and confidence to use the language in informal contexts” (p. 261). She argues that Welsh-medium schools need to develop both skill and confidence so that pupils will be comfortable using the language in multiple contexts:

If the Welsh-medium education system is to continue to be the main vehicle for creating a truly bilingual country, where everyday use of the language becomes increasingly common across all areas, then it has a specific and vital role to equip pupils with the necessary *skill* and *confidence* to use the language for both formal and informal purposes. (p. 265; my emphases)

The balance of these two priorities is critical to the project of normalizing Welsh (i.e., increasing its use across all domains; see section 2.2.2).

Thomas (2006) points out that in higher education settings, even fluent Welsh speakers often choose to study through the medium of English because of lack of confidence in their written Welsh. This is because vernacular spoken Welsh, which is often code-mixed with English, is viewed by linguistic purists as improper. Thomas asserts that pupils often feel that their Welsh is inadequate for this reason, even if they are proficient in written academic Welsh. He argues that whilst academic institutions are responsible for developing strong Welsh language skills, they also need to avoid being overly critical so pupils will choose to pursue Welsh-medium education at the higher levels. He implores institutions to “not compromise their standards because of [low linguistic self-confidence]; they must continue to expect good use of Welsh in the same way as they expect good use of English, but they must also not judge the Welsh pupil too harshly” (Thomas, 2006, p. 179).

Thomas’ (2006) study demonstrates that linguistic self-confidence can impact not only one’s current use of a language in multiple domains, but also commitment to use the language in the future. This concurs with the questionnaire data in the present study (section 5.2.3), which showed that proficiency was a very strong indicator of future commitment to Welsh language use. This has important implications for revitalized languages, whose survival depends on sustained use and transmission.





my emphasis). This feeling of belonging to the linguistic community seems to be a strong motivator for her.

### 6.2.2.3. The “secret code” motivator

Just as speaking in a particular code can grant access to a community, it can serve an exclusionary purpose as well by allowing speakers to communicate in public without being understood by others. The ability to speak in a secret code has high value for some, particularly for adolescents who desire to communicate with their peer group without being understood by their parents or other outgroup members:

- 1           DN: I think a good, uh, time to speak Welsh outside is in social . . .
- 2           RH: [Yeah]
- 3           CM: [Yeah] if, if, if you’ve got, if there’s someone, if there’s someone who’s
- 4                   being incredibly rude, or is doing something that you don’t like
- 5                   [and you would, and you would ]
- 6           RH: [You can just insult them in Welsh] and they’ll be like, what are you
- 7                   saying?
- 8           CM: Yeah, yeah. They, and then, they’re like, oh, what, what did you just say?
- 9                   Then you
- 10          BP: [That actually, that actually]
- 11          RH: [That you look very nice! ]

#### *Extract 6.12: Focus Group 2 (CM, BP, RH, DN)*

CM posits a scenario in which Welsh could be used to confront rude behavior without the normal consequences of such direct confrontation. RH explains that Welsh could be used to retaliate against the offending party without their knowledge.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Earlier in the discourse, members of this focus group discussed the problem of bullying in their school, which lends some insight into why they might be drawn to the secret code function as a defense strategy.

Informants from Focus Group 5 expressed a similar attraction to the secret code function of Welsh:

- 1 CT: But the thing is— [It's always cool to speak] Welsh  
2 NG: [It's cool to speak ]  
3 CT: when you're in a different country=  
4 NG: =Yeah.=  
5 CT: ='Cause you can always say, oh, look at that person's dress or something,  
6 but they wouldn't know you were talking about them because you're saying  
7 it in Welsh

*Extract 6.13: Focus Group 5 (NG, DS, CT, JN)*

CT and NG agree that speaking Welsh is “cool” (lines 1–2) in contexts where it is unlikely to be understood by those around them.

For young people, speaking Welsh can also provide a strategic advantage when communicating in front of parents:

- 1 AK: And I think the best advantage of being able to speak another language is  
2 that when you go on family outings or if you [<unclear>]  
3 SM: [Yeah ]  
4 AK: have a disagreement you can just speak about them in Welsh [to your]  
5 SM: [Yeah ]  
6 AK: sister or your brothers. <laughter>  
7 ES: [I do that. ]  
8 SM: [Me and my] sisters speak Welsh all the time to my parents and they're like,  
9 what are you talking about?

*Extract 6.14: Focus Group 1 (AK, ES, SM)*

While it may seem trivial, the secret code function of Welsh as a minority language may be an overlooked motivator for some to use the language beyond the school gates. For adolescents, the ability to communicate while excluding outgroup members, particularly parents, carries high value. As nearly eighty percent of pupils at YGG come from non-Welsh-speaking families, using Welsh as a secret code offers an incentive for using the language outside the classroom.

The secret code motivation of minority and revitalized languages, particularly for adolescents, has been underexplored. While this function of language arises frequently in qualitative studies of minority languages (cf. Dyers, 2008; Gérin-Lajoie, 2005), it is rarely given much attention. This may be due to the fact that, unlike family transmission, the secret code function of language seems unlikely to lead to long-term language sustenance, especially because it seems to appeal primarily to adolescents. However, it is precisely because of its appeal to young people that the secret code motivation merits further investigation.

#### 6.2.2.4. *Responsibility*

One of the primary ideological aims of YGG is to preserve and protect the Welsh language by inspiring pupils to use their Welsh beyond the classroom. As stated in the YGG prospectus, “we would be disappointed to succeed in our other aims but to see the Welsh language die within the school” (p. 26). Several teachers and the headteacher expressed a belief that, in attending a Welsh-medium school, pupils had a responsibility to carry the language forward (section 4.4.1.3). In turn, according to the headteacher, the school has a responsibility to instill this sense of responsibility in its pupils (extract 4.31). The general perception of staff, however, was that pupils did not feel that sense of responsibility, lacking the “battle mentality” that characterized earlier generations of Welsh speakers (extracts 4.33, 4.34). The interviews revealed a perceived misalignment between the ideological goals of the school as an institution and the beliefs and intentions of pupils.

To examine whether this ideological dissonance indeed exists, focus groups were asked, “Do you think it’s your responsibility to speak Welsh to make sure it survives? Why or why not?” In Extract 6.15, Focus Group 5 addresses this question:

- 1 DS: Yeah but  
 2 NG: Not just our responsibility. [Everybody in Wales. ]  
 3 DS: [It’s not . . . just . . . ]  
 4 CT: Yeah, everybody [who can speak Welsh. ]  
 5 JN: [Everyone who can speak ] [Welsh ]  
 6 DS: [Speak Welsh].  
 7 JM: It’s their responsibility to [try and] make them, uh

8 DS: [Yeah. ]

1

*Extract 6.15: Focus Group 5 (NG, DS, CT, JN)*

Participants in Focus Group 5 shift the responsibility from themselves to all who have Welsh language ability (lines 4–6). Focus Group 2 initially responds to this question with a clear consensus:

1 CM: [Yeah,] yeah.

2 BP: [Yeah ]

3 CM: I'm s—I'm sorry, but yes. If, if I, if I could—if I had, if I have children

4 RH: [<unclear> ]

5 BP: [<unclear> ]

6 DN: [Yeah]

7 CM: [I will] not hesitate to try and find [a Welsh]-speaking

8 school

9 DN: [Yeah. ]

10 CM: [for them] to [go to.]

11 DN: ['Cause]

12

13 RH: [Well, ] one thing is, I see it as important as, um, what, a  
14 responsibility for community, but not for each individual

*Extract 6.16: Focus Group 2 (DN, RH, CM, BP)*

CM and BP agree, without hesitation, that it is their responsibility to use the language to ensure its survival (lines 1–2). CM explains that he will fulfill this role by sending his children to a Welsh-medium school (line 7), which would require a committed action on his part, though interestingly, he does not commit to “[speaking] the language,” as addressed in the question. RH, who at this point has not responded to the original question, states his position that while a responsibility toward the language is important, it is the role of the “community, but not for each individual” (line 14). Like NG in line 2 of Extract 6.14, RH partially absolves himself of responsibility by focusing it on a larger societal structure.

Focus Group 1 discusses the same question:

- 1 ES: I think we have a responsibility to move the language on, ‘cause if we don’t,  
 2 you know, there would probably be less speakers, so it, [I ]  
 3 SM: [Yeah. ]  
 4 ES: want my child to go to a Welsh school because, you know, it’s better,  
 5 [in my]  
 6 AK: [and ] then  
 7 ES: opinion.  
 8 SM: [If I still lived in]  
 9 ES: [we would lose ] our culture

*Extract 6.17: Focus Group 1 (AK, SM, ES)*

ES concedes that she and her peers should “move the language on” (line 1) and, like CM, she plans to send her children to a Welsh-medium school. Importantly, her rationale is that if nothing were done, “we would lose our culture” (line 9). This statement mirrors the inseparable integration of Welsh language and Welsh culture inherent in the ideology of YGG.

SM, however, disagrees that he has any obligation to carry the Welsh language forward:

- 1 SM: I don’t think it is because I think if the language is going to die out . . . well,  
 2 you could say it’s worth fighting for, but I don’t think it is, because it’ll  
 3 happen if it’s going to happen, I guess.  
 4 AK: No, I don’t think so, just like with animals. If they get, if they go, if  
 5 something is going to be extinct, they try to breed them in captivity, so I  
 6 think . . . I’m not saying we should breed [us, then ]  
 7 SM: [Yes, but] it’s different, ‘cause  
 8 it’s=  
 9 AK: No, it isn’t!

*Extract 6.18: Focus Group 1 (AK, SM, ES)*

SM denies personal responsibility for carrying the Welsh language forward. He justifies this by taking an existentialist stance on language shift—“it’ll happen if



Focus group 4 shares a similar opinion:

- 1 BL: Um, do you think it's your responsibility to speak Welsh to make sure it,  
2 um, it survives? Why or why not?  
3 AN: I think it is in a way, 'cause like if we stop  
4 BL: Oh yeah.  
5 AN: it will—[but then again I think it's]  
6 BL: [unclear], isn't it? ]  
7 AN: quite . . . when people say that, it's quite full-on because like, well, I'm not  
8 the only one.  
9 BL: Yeah.  
10 AN: And I do think they make us feel quite guilty [when ] they don't really  
11 SR: [Yeah.]  
12 AN: [have to.]  
13 BL: [It, it could], it, you could blame it on them in a wa—in a wa—in a way,  
14 just because they're forcing it on us. Um . . .  
15 AN: If you force it, you're just gonna push away.

*Extract 6.20: Focus Group 4 (BL, SR, AN)*

AN initially accepts responsibility, though like NG (Extract 6.15) and RH (Extract 6.16), she denies that the responsibility is hers alone (lines 3, 7). However, she reconsiders her position (line 5), stating that, in instilling that sense of responsibility, “they do make us feel quite guilty” (line 10). BL argues that the blame should perhaps be placed on those who apply the pressure. AN agrees, adding that the consequence of “forcing it” (line 14) is that the recipients of the pressure “push away” (line 15).

A similar attitude is expressed by Focus Group 1 when asked, “What would make you want to speak Welsh outside the classroom?”

- 1 SM: If they didn't nag us so much.  
2 ES: Mm. [If they didn't tell us so ]  
3 SM: [and if they didn't ] pressure you so much and say, it's  
4 an endangered language or whatever.

*Extract 6.21: Focus Group 1 (AK, SM, ES)*

The negative reaction of pupils to the pressure to speak Welsh to maintain the language is shared by members of Focus Group 3:

- 1 BB: Um, do you think it's your responsibility to speak Welsh to make sure it  
2 survives?  
3 WW: No.  
4 HB: [No! ]  
5 BB: [Why] or why not?  
6 HB: Sometimes=  
7 JM: =I feel we're pressured, I feel we're so pressured to [keep it going.]  
8 HB: [Yeah, I agree ]  
9 I feel pressured, but [that ] deters me.  
10 JM: [No. ]  
11 HB: I think, well, why should it be my responsibility?  
12 BB: I feel, I feel that it's [someone's responsibility. ]  
13 JM: [<unclear> the next generation.]  
14 HB: Yeah. But not mine.  
15 BB: But not mine. Is d—is that terrible? But  
16 HB: No.  
17 JM: No.  
18 BB: It's just almost because like, I've been forced to speak Welsh. Therefore I  
19 speak it.  
20 JM: Yeah.  
21 BB: But the moment that the pressure to speak it is no longer on me, that's it.  
22 You know?

*Extract 6.22: Focus Group 3 (BB, WW, JM, HB)*

In response to HB's repeated denial of responsibility, BB counters that someone should be responsible, though not herself, and questions the morality of her statement (line 15). She concludes in line 16, "it's just almost because, like, I've been forced to speak Welsh. Therefore I speak it," conceding that, in a way, the pressure encourages, rather than deters, her to speak Welsh. But she goes on to say,

“the moment that the pressure to speak it is no longer on me, that’s it” (line 21), indicating that the pressure is only a temporary impetus for her behavior.

With respect to language behavior, the pupils in the extracts above are largely speaking hypothetically. Smith (2003) warns that answers to hypothetical questions do not reliably predict behavior, and therefore, conclusions cannot be drawn about the future language choices of these pupils. They do indicate, however, that many pupils experience negative emotions surrounding the topic of their role in Welsh language revitalization. While a few pupils do seem to feel a sense of obligation toward the language, most do not express a sense of personal responsibility, but rather feelings of guilt, blame, and pressure to solve a problem they do not see as their own. These emotions may contribute to negative attitudes toward or associations with Welsh that extend beyond the end of school.

### *6.2.3. Attitudes toward language policies*

At YGG, as in other Welsh-medium schools, the language policy is an inherent source of conflict (section 4.3.2.2; Selleck, 2012; Musk, 2010). Because speaking Welsh is directly linked with conformity to school norms, deliberately speaking English (or being perceived as deliberately speaking English) entails rebellion against the policy. In general, teachers seem to support the policy and do their best to uphold it (see section 4.3.2.2 for a full discussion), although they are keenly aware of the conflicts that arise in its execution.

Throughout focus group conversations, however, YGG pupils voiced opinions about school language policies in response to a variety of questions. For instance, when asked “Do your teachers encourage you to speak Welsh outside the classroom? How do you feel about that?”, Focus Group 5 expressed strong opinions about the policy:

- 1 NG: =That’s all they do
- 2 JN: [That’s—that’s—definite.]
- 3 CT: [They definitely do. ] <makes robot motions with arms>
- 4 NG: [<unclear> ]
- 5 CT: [Speak Welsh!] Speak Welsh! <laughter>
- 6 DS: [It’s like robots programmed to tell you off. ]

7 JN: [So like, if you speak one—if you, if they hear you] or possibly think that  
8 you're speaking English, then they're just like, right, you speak Welsh.  
9 <pointing index finger>  
10 CT: [Or they—or—or they—]  
11 JN: [It's like really ] pushing you to speak Welsh and like=  
12 CT: =Yeah.  
13 JN: And then some of them go sarcastic  
14 [going like, This is a, this is a, this isn't] is this an English school?  
15 CT: [And then they go, go on . . . ]  
16 NG: [Ugh. Sarcasm gets on my nerves. ] [When teachers are sarcastic.]  
17 CT: [And sometimes you know ]  
18 when they go, um, Oh, you know, you can just go down the road to  
19 <<alternative English-medium school>>  
20 DS: Yeah.  
21 CT: where they speak English. That's an English school. You can go there. And  
22 they say it to you IN English as well. It's [really rude. ] <eye roll>  
23 DS: [Or like, Oh ] next term, oh, you  
24 could just go, change schools. It's no—it's no hassle for us.

*Extract 6.23: Focus Group 5 (NG, DS, CT, JN)*

The discourse here is focused not so much on the Welsh-only rule itself, but on how students perceive it to be enforced, to which all participants demonstrate a negative attitude.

Focus Group 2 responds to the question, “how do you feel about your school's rules about using only Welsh?”

1 BP: Uh, [it's a good rule.]  
2 RH: [It's stupid ], especially in English lessons.  
3 BP: [It's a good, no, no ]  
4 DN: [It's not in English ] lessons  
5 BP: It, it's, it's a good rule, it's just—  
6 CM: [they enforce it wrong.]  
7 DN: [I think, I think ] yeah.  
8 CM: They enforce it wrong.

In focus group conversations, there were three aspects of language policy that were frequently mentioned by pupils. The first was the relationship between language choice, perceptions of strictness, and rebellion. The second was a perception of unequal treatment given to first- and second-language Welsh speakers. The third was teachers' tolerance of code alternation and enforcement of the "Welsh only" rule. Participants' attitudes toward each of these aspects will be explored in the following three subsections.

#### 6.2.3.1. *Choice and rebellion*

In interviews, several teachers noted that pupils sometimes used English as a tool for rebellion. Most staff members supported the primary aim of the monolingual policy, which is to increase proficiency and confidence by maximizing the time pupils spend speaking Welsh. Many felt, however, that one unintended consequence of the rule was the typical adolescent tendency to distance themselves from adult norms in order to better fit in with their peers (Erikson, 1968). Because Welsh is associated with school policy, it becomes an object of resistance. At the time of my fieldwork, several teachers and the headteacher were struggling to strike a balance between providing positive encouragement and using negative reinforcement (such as *Galwad 200*; see section 4.3.2.1) in order to reduce these unintended effects and foster positive attitudes (section 4.25).

While none of the focus group questions focused specifically on rebellion, the topic arose frequently in focus group discussions, signaling that the issue is salient to pupils. Participants from Focus Group 1 explain their strategy for flouting the rule while avoiding punishment:

- 1           AK:    <laughter> Yeah, w-we have, we have yeah, code words, a code word  
2                    because sometimes we feel the need to speak English, and um, we use code  
3                    names. So we'd use *caws* which is cheese in Welsh, <laughter> as, as a  
4                    code name for when a teacher's coming round, and when we say *caws*, that  
5                    means we have to switch the conversation from English to Welsh.  
6           ES:    <laughter> It's pretty good.





*Extract 6.27: Focus Group 1 (AK, SM, ES)*

All three participants concur that choice is a powerful motivator; once language restrictions are lifted, these pupils apparently feel free to speak Welsh. In a way, this interaction stands in contrast to Extract 6.25, where the same focus group discusses using a code word to avoid speaking Welsh. In the earlier extract, pupils speak Welsh when they have pressure on them to do so (in this case, because a teacher is nearby). In the second, they are motivated by a sense of autonomy and choice.

The question of choice is important because these pupils are at a point where they will soon be making personal choices about how they will use their language. Where prior language learning commitments have been made largely by their parents (Selleck, 2012; Musk, 2010; Hodges, 2012), once pupils complete year 10, they will decide on A-level courses, followed by decisions about university, employment, and family transmission. When teenagers leave the compulsory phase of school, there must be a motivation beyond educational pressures to ensure that adolescents want to speak Welsh. While it is a positive sign that the participants in Focus Group 1 claim to use their Welsh when not required to do so, there is a need for further consideration of how flexible language choices can be employed within the school setting as well, to develop a sense of autonomy and intrinsic motivation to speak Welsh (Ryan and Deci, 2000) that will carry over beyond the school setting.

Price and Tamburelli (2016) note that an additional consequence of linguistic obligation from educational institutions is compartmentalization of language; Welsh becomes associated with compulsory education. As a result, they argue, “a speakers’ departure from compulsory Welsh-medium education signals the disappearance of perceived appropriate domains of Welsh use” (p. 16). Like the participants here, the pupils in their study explicitly expressed being deterred by the top-down pressures of their school, associating Welsh with formal school subjects rather than with the informal activities of daily life. This has clear and important consequences for young people’s willingness to engage with the language outside of school.

*6.2.3.2. First-language speaker favoritism*

While none of the focus group questions explicitly addressed favoritism, it

came up several times during focus group conversations, suggesting that it is a salient issue amongst pupils.

- 1 SR: Also some teachers aren't great, are they?  
2 [there's some teachers, yeah ]  
3 BL: [Oh, no, no. Some teachers, ] um, like, <laughter>  
4 SR: [<laughter> Don't name names.]  
5 BL: some Welsh teachers. <laughter>  
6 AN: They, they can be quite . . . a lot of them can be quite favor—they  
7 do a lot of favoritism

*Extract 6.28: Focus Group 4 (BL, SR, AN)*

As discussed in section 4.3.2.2, YGG teachers acknowledge that when pupils disregard the monolingual Welsh policy, it is not always an act of rebellion. As nearly four-fifths of pupils speak English as their main language, many revert to English because it comes more naturally to them than Welsh. This presents a challenge in terms of language policy enforcement; although the rule applies to all pupils, it is arguably easier to follow for those who speak Welsh as a main language at home.

Furthermore, in some ways the policy was designed for those who do not speak Welsh at home, the argument being that these pupils will be exposed to English in all other areas of their lives, and thus benefit from maximizing the time spent in a Welsh-medium environment (see Welsh Government, 2010, p. 9). Thus, extra attention may be focused on these individuals with respect to enforcing the policy to ensure that they are practicing their Welsh.

- 1 HB: I feel, going back to the prejudice, I feel that if I were to speak half and half  
2 to a teacher, they wouldn't mind. If someone else were  
3 WW: Yeah.  
4 HB: if someone else did that, [they] would mind.  
5 JM: [yeah]  
6 HB: and but, [if I <unclear> ]  
7 JM: [Yeah, depending on] [depending on what their language is.]

- 8 BB: [Yeah. Because, because they go ] Make  
 9 an effort to speak Welsh, But for <HB>, it's  
 10 [just the way that speaks ]  
 11 HB: [They wouldn't say it, I don't think, to me.]  
 12 BB: because you are so used to speaking Welsh in casual contact.

*Extract 6.29: Focus Group 3 (BB, WW, JM, HB)*

It is notable that, in this focus group, the perception that first-language Welsh speakers are under less pressure from teachers to follow the “Welsh only” rule is shared by the first-language and non-first-language Welsh speakers alike.

This interaction highlights a tension between the pragmatic and symbolic elements of language policy. From a practical standpoint, allowing first-language Welsh speakers to code-switch makes sense; if Welsh is spoken at home, these pupils have a greater degree of engagement with the Welsh language than their non-Welsh-first-language peers, and most are accustomed to code-switching outside the classroom. However, because of the diverse mix of language abilities, extending this flexibility to some pupils and not others conveys an inconsistent message, one that could have lasting effects on attitudes toward Welsh. Furthermore, allowing some first-language Welsh-speaking pupils to code-switch entails a preferential exemption from school norms, in a way disenfranchising second-language Welsh speakers by holding them to a stricter standard.

It is important to note that the fact that pupils perceive favoritism does not necessarily mean that it occurs in the way they describe. The aim of the present research is to examine attitudes toward language and policy, rather than to observe how policy is enacted (although teachers' and pupils' accounts lend some insight into how this might occur). The feelings and perceptions described by pupils here are important nonetheless. Although they comprise the majority of pupils in Welsh-medium education, L2 speakers are vulnerable to being viewed as less competent, less intelligent, and even less Welsh than L1 speakers, as evidenced by Robert's (2009) matched-guise study (section 2.4.3). While these particular attitudes were not explored here, there is evidence that some L2 speakers feel that their teachers view them as needing more regulation in their language practices than their L1 peers. This may have consequences for L2 speakers' confidence, and perhaps for their



7                   that, a few teachers are quite lenient, they'll sort of,  
 8   [you know]  
 9           HB:                   [My        ]  
 10          BB:    if you want to throw an English word in there, they won't suddenly go,  
 11   right, that's it.

*Extract 6.30: Focus Group 3 (BB, WW, JM, HB)*

Some teachers are perceived to be less lenient than others, however, as discussed later:

1           WW:    I don't like the . . . I don't like the way that teachers, some teachers, are very  
 2   much—even if they hear you say one English word, they'll go, *Siarad*  
 3   *Cymraeg!!* like at the top of their voices.  
 4           HB:    Yeah. [It's embarrassing.]  
 5           WW:           [And it's, it's        ] and it's patroniz—some of them do it in a  
 6   patron—  
 7           HB:    I feel  
 8           WW:    [patronizing way.]  
 9           BB:    [I feel like I'm    ] doing poor.

*Extract 6.31: Focus Group 3 (BB, WW, JM, HB)*

Focus group 5 also testifies to policy enforcement at the word level:

1           JN:    It's good that we have the rule, but sometimes they go too strict about it.  
 2           CT:    Yeah.  
 3           DS:    Yeah. [They are strict.        ] <unclear>  
 4           NG:           [Yeah, it can get quite—]  
 5           CT:           [Yeah there's teach—    ] But there's teachers, they can like—you'll  
 6   be caught by saying one w—English        [word ]  
 7           NG:   [Yeah.]  
 8           DS:    Yeah.  
 9           CT:           [But they think—]  
 10          NG:           [You can't        ] think of it.  
 11          CT:   [You-uh—so then they think that you've been speaking]

- 12 DS: [‘cause they think it’s the whole sentence. ]  
 13 CT: English the whole time.

*Extract 6.32: Focus Group 5 (NG, DS, CT, JN)*

Focus Group 4 shares this perception:

- 1 BL: So what would you change about your school?  
 2 AN: Um  
 3 SR: Rules.  
 4 BL: [Yeah, the policies ]  
 5 AN: [Yeah, they’re really strict ], like if you say, if they hear you say like one  
 6 word of English they just, they’re really

*Extract 6.33: Focus Group 4 (BL, AN, SR)*

It is apparent that teachers make an effort to strike a balance between upholding the language policy (for the sake of maximizing Welsh instruction) and acknowledging that code alternation, to some extent, is a natural occurrence for bilinguals. This interaction highlights the difficulty of drawing clear boundaries between word-level and sentence-level code alternation. Despite the near unanimity amongst teachers in interviews as to how they interpret the policy, pupils perceive that there is intolerance even of word-level code alternation. Moreover, pupils across the board hold negative attitudes toward the perceived inflexibility in their school’s language policy enforcement.

#### *6.2.3.4. Attitudes toward code alternation as a communicative practice*

While pupils disagree on whether the policy is necessary or helpful for their linguistic development, they do appear to agree that code alternation is natural, as evidenced by questionnaire data (section 5.2.5), as well as focus group data:

- 1 WW: I think Wenglish is my language. Even though I’m speaking  
 2 Yeah. Even if I’m [speaking to some] uh, to someone.  
 3 JM: [dansio ]





code alternation as not only anti-normative, but also as both harmful and unethical.

In Extract 6.37 below, JN characterizes code alternation (Wenglish) as a problem:

- 1 JN: That's the—that's the problem in this school, Wenglish.  
2 CT: [Wenglish. ]  
3 NG: [Yeah, Wenglish.]  
4 DS: [Wenglish!] <said in a high-pitched sing-song voice>  
5 JN: [Wenglish ] annoys me.

*Extract 6.37: Focus Group 5 (NG, DS, CT, JN)*

The notion that code alternation is lazy was also represented in Focus Group 5's discussion:

- 1 JN: Yeah, 'cause also this big problem I've realized is people aren't bothered to  
2 think of the Welsh word. Where you can find it out, for example,  
3 [um ]  
4 NG: [in dictionaries]  
5 JN: Uh . . . uh, 'I'm going to drink this cup' and then you say that in Welsh but  
6 then instead of saying cup in Welsh you say 'cup', like in English.  
7 NG: [Yeah. ]  
8 CT: [Like you] wouldn't say—  
9 JN: And then people are—people know it's *copan* [but ]  
10 DS: [Yeah]  
11 JN: they're just not bothered to say it, which is pathetic.

*Extract 6.38: Focus Group 5 (NG, DS, CT, JN)*

JN's discourse reflects the view that code alternation is equated with incompetence, and that it is a problem to be remedied. This supports the matched-guise data, in which a code-alternated guise was judged to be less competent than a Welsh guise (section 5.4.4), as well as the slightly positive correlation of Welsh with laziness in the questionnaire (section 5.2.5).



- 10 MY: You—it's just a place <unclear>.  
11 EV: Yeah. <unclear>

*Extract 6.39: Focus Group 7 (BY, MY, LL, EV)*

Throughout this brief interaction, participants negotiate the criteria for an authentic Welsh identity, debating whether the Welsh language is an essential criteria. In response to the same question, Focus Group 12 expresses a similar attitude:

- 1 AX: It—it does a bit.  
2 MG: A little [bit. ]  
3 AX: [Like ] when we went to the Eisteddfod, and um,  
4 [everyone there speaks ]  
5 MG: [You get your <unclear>] <unclear>  
6 AX: <laughter> Everyone's speaking Welsh. Yeah, you f—you feel a bit  
7 more Welsh. Apart from when someone asks you a question that's  
8 yes or no. And then you realize how little you know and you just  
9 go, yeah or nah.

*Extract 6.40: Focus Group 12 (MG, AX, DF, WT)*

Participants of Focus Group 12 return to the topic later in the conversation:

- 1 MG: I think it does when you're among non-Welsh people and doesn't when you  
2 are among actual bona fide Welsh people.  
3 AX: If you're singing and everybody—everybody knows the words, and . . .  
4 there's no chance that you're going to mess up, ['cause you] know what  
5 you're doing  
6 MG: [Yeah. ]  
7 AX: Then yeah, that makes me feel a bit more Welsh.  
8 MG: Yeah. But when you're around a bunch of people who are speaking Welsh  
9 fluently, and you're like, getting the fifth word  
10 AX: <laughter> Yeah.  
11 MG: And you're like, okay, I'm out of here.





interviews, teachers at YGG (section 4.4.1) and EMS (section 4.4.2) discussed the Welsh language through this ideological lens.

The ideology of national language ownership is present at EMS in multiple ways. The display of Welsh language text around the school site as well as the use of incidental Welsh in the classroom establishes an environment in which Welsh is incorporated into nearly every space throughout the school. The message is that Welsh is a part of Wales, and thus an integral part of all schools in Wales as well. This sense of ownership is not always embraced, however.

In the following extract, participants address the question of whether they feel they hold personal responsibility for carrying the Welsh language forward.

- 1           AA:    No, I think m—  
2           GT:    [Well, I     ]  
3           GM:    [Not really, ] I’m Arabian.  
4           AA:                I think [people have to ] encourage you to do it.  
5           GT:                    [I—I d—I don’t] I don’t really want to be   learning it  
6                                anyway.  
7           JE:    [I don’t mind. I don’t mind.]  
8           GM:    [I’m Arabian and Indian, so] I don’t think it’s really anything to do with me.  
9           <<Skipped 8:31-8:46>> *Talked about how confusing learning multiple languages*  
10                               *can be*  
11          GM:    So generally, overall, I don’t feel, I don’t feel like it’s my responsibility  
12                               because I have no Welsh roots whatsoever.

*Extract 6.44: Focus Group 8 (JE, GT, GM, AA)*

GM, who was born in Saudi Arabia but has lived in Wales since he was five years old, distances himself from a Welsh identity (line 12) and thus from ownership of the Welsh language. Notably, where his friends argue that they are either not motivated (line 4) or not particularly interested in learning the language (lines 5–6), responses that commonly occur throughout the focus group data, the explicit reason cited by GM is his self-perceived non-Welsh identity. While it is unclear whether “Arabian and Indian” refers to race, ethnicity, birthplace, or a combination of the three, it is clear that GM does not feel Welsh, and thus does not claim the Welsh language as his own.

A weakness of the national language ownership ideology is that it essentializes identity as a fixed, inherent, and categorical construct. From a social constructionist perspective, “identities encompass (a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles” (Bucholtz and Hall 2003, p. 592). The national language ownership ideology operates only on this first level, where a homogeneous Welsh national identity is assumed, by virtue of one’s living in Wales. In practice, there is no simple relationship between country of residence and affiliation with cultural Welshness, much less with the Welsh language. In Extract 6.45, pupils discuss whether speaking Welsh makes them feel more Welsh:

- 1 GM: So, does speaking Welsh make you feel more Welsh?
- 2 AA: No, I—I tell people I’m English. [If they ask me.]
- 3 GT: [ I—I w—I ] was born in England [and
- 4 then]
- 5 AA: [No,
- 6 I ] was born here, [but my parents ] were English, so ]
- 7 GM: [ I was <unclear>. ]
- 8 JE: [Well if I go to Germ][any, I say Welsh. ]
- 9 GM: [I was born in Saudi Arabia.]
- 10 JE: If I go, um, if I’m here, then I say I’m Turkish.
- 11 GM: I usually always say I’m Indian [or Arabian. ] I always say that.
- 12 GT: [Uh—uh, I— ]
- 13 [Like]
- 14 AA: [I ] say I’m English.
- 15 GT: I—I was born in England and I moved here, like, I don’t know,
- 16 [when I was four]
- 17 AA: [I’ve lived here ] for all my life but
- 18 [I still say I’m English because of my parents.]
- 19 GM: [ Yeah I—I moved here when I was ] about five I think. So yeah,
- 20 I’ve only lived—I’ve lived here [for <unclear> time.]
- 21 GT: [So . . . ] not being here, it—it
- 22 doesn’t really
- 23 AA: No.
- 24 GT: Not—not being from here, [sort of]

- 25 AA: [It ] doesn't make me feel more Welsh.  
26 GT: Yeah. [It depends on where you've been born.]  
27 GM: Yeah, [it doesn't really make me feel like that.]

*Extract 6.45: Focus Group 8 (JE, GT, GM, AA)*

This extract demonstrates how distinct identities are engaged in different social contexts. The participants address the question of whether speaking Welsh makes them feel more Welsh by orienting to Welshness itself. Most interestingly, JE, who was born in Wales to Turkish parents, claims two national identities: Welsh when he is outside of Wales (line 7) and Turkish when he is in Wales (line 9). He therefore aligns himself with Welshness only in contexts where the designation sets him apart from the dominant nationality or ethnicity. None of the participants in this group claim to feel more Welsh when speaking Welsh.

It is striking that on the questionnaire, AA calls himself Welsh, not English, as he does in this interaction; GT identifies himself as “British, Malaysian, Kiwi, and Welsh/Mostly British”, not English, as he implies by saying, “it depends on where you've been born” (line 25); and JE calls himself Welsh, with no mention of his Turkish identity. Only GM is consistent in identifying as Turkish and Arabian on the questionnaire and during the focus group. This is illustrative of the fact that identities are fluid as well as hybrid, and that, critically, they “[emerge] from the specific conditions of linguistic interaction” (Bucholtz and Hall 2003, p. 588). For many participants, macro-social demographic categories, such as those reflected on the questionnaire, differ from those that emerge locally in this interaction, as well as those which might be enacted in other sociocultural contexts, such as outside the UK, as seen in line 7.

In his study on the rhetoric and policy of national bilingualism in Canada, Ricento (2013) poses an important question: “in linguistically and culturally diverse immigrant societies . . . that usually bestow official language status on only one or two languages, how can this principle operate in a way that respects linguistic and cultural diversity?” (p485). A second question is posed by Carter (2010): given the “added complexity brought into the definition of identity by the processes of recent in-migration . . . can one identity be formed out of many cultures?” (p. 117). As the population of Cardiff and of Wales as a whole continue to diversify ethnically and

linguistically, as is the demographic trend (ONS 2011), language planners must contend with the discourse of unification through a shared language and culture.

### *6.3.2. Motivations for Welsh language use*

While pupils at EMS and YGG were provided the same set of questions to discuss during their focus group conversations, a distinct set of themes emerged during EMS's session. Like at YGG, pupils frequently discussed Welsh language proficiency and lack of linguistic confidence with respect to their motivation to speak Welsh, even though none of the focus group questions addressed this issue directly. Also similar to focus groups at YGG, EMS participants talked about integrativeness with Welsh speakers. They also addressed instrumental motivations for learning Welsh, such as for employment or university admission. How these issues affect pupils' motivation to speak Welsh, particularly outside the classroom, will be analyzed in the sections that follow.

#### *6.3.2.1. Proficiency, confidence, and anxiety*

One of the greatest concerns amongst language planners in Wales is the conspicuous discrepancy between the number of young people who *can* speak Welsh and the number who *do*, particularly outside the classroom (section 1.1). The 2012–2017 Welsh Language Strategy, *Iaith Fyw, Iaith Byw* (Welsh Government, 2012), is centrally focused on encouraging the use of the language in daily life, in the home, in the workplace, and in the community. As has been demonstrated, however, for many pupils, the domain of Welsh language use is limited to the school or the Welsh classroom.

Within *Iaith Fyw*, there is an acknowledgment that not all of those who can speak Welsh consider themselves to be fluent (Welsh Government, 2012). The document cites a 2004–2006 language use survey commissioned by the Welsh Language Board, which revealed that only 58% of those who said they could speak Welsh counted themselves as fluent. The challenge for language planners, therefore, is to encourage speakers with a wide range of proficiency levels to use their Welsh regularly. The writers of *Iaith Fyw* acknowledge that “the challenge we face is to provide the opportunities for all Welsh speakers, whatever their fluency level, to use

the language in every sphere of life and to encourage them to do so” (Welsh Government, 2010, p. 8).

The 58% of fluent speakers referenced above, of course, is only drawn from those who said they were able to speak Welsh. It is likely, as will be seen in the sections that follow, that those with limited knowledge of Welsh would not claim to be able to speak it at all. This raises a question: what is a Welsh speaker? What level of proficiency is necessary for someone to be called a Welsh speaker? In a 1998 keynote address, the Welsh popular linguist David Crystal claimed that while very few Welsh people speak no Welsh at all—most Welsh people fall somewhere along a continuum of proficiency—there is a widespread sense of linguistic insecurity, such that many people struggle with how to answer the question of whether they speak Welsh.

To explore pupils’ motivations for using Welsh outside the classroom, focus group participants were asked, “Do your teachers encourage you to speak Welsh outside the classroom? If so, how do you feel about that?” Although none of the questions directly addressed proficiency or confidence, the issue came up frequently in focus group discussions. In Extract 6.46, pupils discuss why, although they are encouraged by some of their teachers, they do not speak Welsh outside of school.

- 1 CL: Uh, yeah, what would make you want to speak Welsh?  
2 BT: [Not much. ]  
3 CL: [I don’t know,] I’m not really good enough to speak it.

*Extract 6.46: Focus Group 13 (SW, BT, PP, CL)*

CL’s assertion that she is demotivated by a lack of linguistic confidence (line 3) echoes SP, from Focus Group 10:

- 1 SP: I wouldn’t feel confident.  
2 BN: [Yeah, exactly. ]  
3 KY: [I wouldn’t say ] [anyone]  
4 SP: [it feels] really awkward.  
5 KY: I wouldn’t say anyone at the school would go out of their way to speak  
6 Welsh.

*Extract 6.47: Focus Group 10 (SP, BN, KY , BS)*

Later in the conversation, when asked, “What would make you want to speak Welsh outside the classroom?”, the response is similar:

- 1            SP:    If I felt confident, [I would,] probably.  
2            BN:                            [and— ] if I could have a conversation with somebody,  
3    then yeah, I would. But, I can’t really.

*Extract 6.48: Focus Group 10 (SP, BN, KY, BS)*

Participants in Focus Group 14 echo this lack of confidence:

- 1            KL:    I wouldn’t be able to have a conversation  
2    [in Welsh outside of the classroom.]  
3            KD:    [No, I’d be—I’d— ]  
4            KL:    I wouldn’t be able to get across what I was trying [to say. ]  
5            KD:    [I’d, like,] be too scared  
6    in case I got something wrong. ’Cause you know, like, some people can  
7    easily spot something wrong. If you say something wrong, it means, like,  
8    something  
9    [totally different.]  
10          KL:    [Well, um            ] all I can say without, like, knowing or have, the—like,  
11    my book is *dw’in hoffi*.  
12          KD:    Or *bore da*.

*Extract 6.49: Focus Group 14 (KL, KD, DA, DJ)*

While some pupils do indeed struggle with Welsh language attainment, there seems to be a degree of hyperbole in focus group participants’ assessments of their abilities. In terms of actual competency, pupils at Keystage 3 (years 8–9) are expected to “communicate clearly and confidently,” to “develop their awareness of the social conventions of conversation,” and to “discuss perceptively and extensively and move a discussion forward.” At Keystage 4 (years 10–11), they are expected to “become effective and confident oral communicators” (Welsh Government, 2015, p.

30). At the time of data collection, Welsh pupils at EMS had a Welsh GCSE success rate that was far higher than the national average, so presumably, most pupils do attain the oral skills that would allow them to engage in conversation with a Welsh speaker, albeit at a relatively basic level. Pupils' perceptions of linguistic inadequacy seem to ignore this, indicating a low level of confidence.

The interactions above demonstrate that lack of confidence in one's linguistic abilities is highly demotivating for pupils at EMS. Though some say they might use Welsh if they felt more confident or competent, there is a clear sense of the linguistic insecurity described by Crystal (1998).

#### *6.3.2.2. Instrumental motivation*

The Welsh Language Act of 1993, which required all public services to be made available through the medium of Welsh, has been hugely successful in raising the status of the language (Coupland, et al., 2003) and in creating job opportunities for Welsh speakers. Public sector organizations are held legally responsible for recruiting a bilingual workforce, and as such, the demand for Welsh-speaking employees is relatively high (Cann, 2004). According to Williams (2000), the provision of these opportunities partially constitutes institutionalization, a critical step in language revitalization. Importantly, Welsh-speaking employment facilitates regular, sustained use of Welsh beyond the classroom. For example, Hodges (2009) found that, while overall engagement amongst former Welsh-medium school pupils was low, those who had obtained employment in a Welsh-speaking role continued to use Welsh daily.

In both English- and Welsh-medium schools, instrumental benefits—particularly employment opportunities—are often touted as reasons to pursue Welsh language study. Some parents also cite employment opportunities as a motivation to send their children to Welsh-medium schools (O'Hanlon, 2012). It is less clear, however, to what extent pupils themselves are instrumentally motivated. In their study of pupils aged 8–11 from Welsh- and English-medium schools, Scourfield et al. (2006) found that “commodity” (instrumental) uses of Welsh, including employment and the capacity to learn other languages, were cited much more frequently than “identity” (integrative) uses as motivations for learning Welsh. For the pupils in the present study who may not identify strongly as Welsh (section





- 14 KY: [Mandarin.]  
 15 SP: [Mandarin.]

*Extract 6.52: Focus Group 10 (SP, BN, BS, KY)*

A similar theme arises in Focus Group 8, when asked “What would make you want to speak Welsh outside the classroom?”

- 1 GT: I—I—I actually  
 2 [don't ] have a motive for speaking Welsh outside the classroom  
 3 GM: [Yeah.]  
 4 GT: So there's not a lot of point.  
 5 AA: And more people speak like French and German [so there] is more  
 6 GT: [Yeah. ]  
 7 JE: Yeah, they do.  
 8 AA: Reason.

*Extract 6.53: Focus Group 8 (JE, GT, GM, AA)*

Unlike most of the focus group participants, GT explicitly states that he has no motive or purpose for speaking Welsh outside the classroom. GM agrees, and AA, like the participants in Focus Group 10, that there is “more reason” (lines 5, 8) to speak a more commonly spoken language like French or German.

The data presented here indicate that while EMS pupils are cognizant of the potential instrumental benefits to learning Welsh (particularly employment and university admittance), there is no evidence of strong instrumental motivation to use Welsh outside the classroom. In fact, some pupils are demotivated by their perception that Welsh is only useful within Wales. Some perceive that learning Welsh at the expense of learning more commonly spoken world languages might put them at an economic disadvantage, as pupils do not see Welsh as being valued—or legitimized—outside of Wales.

While the promise of economic advantage seems like it would be a strong motivator for young people planning their further education and careers, EMS pupils do not seem convinced. For those who intend to seek employment or university admission outside of Wales, the instrumental value is greatly diminished, and may

even be a disincentive. This is a crucial point, because there has been a marked increase (19% between 2010 and 2014) in Welsh pupils applying for English universities. That same time period saw a fall of 9.5% in Welsh pupils' applications to Welsh universities (Livingstone, 2014). This trend for pupils to move outside of Wales<sup>50</sup> raises the question of to what extent instrumental benefits of Welsh can be made relevant outside of Wales.

The weak levels of commitment expressed here support the questionnaire data (section 5.2.3) and offer some insight into why anticipated use is so low. However, it is important to note that hypothetical commitment does not necessarily predict future behavior (Garrett, 2010). Many pupils who attend universities outside Wales will return to Wales to seek employment, and thus may be instrumentally motivated in the future.<sup>51</sup> At present, however, this type of motivation appears to be weak.

#### 6.3.2.3. *Integrative motivation*

Focus group data indicates that integrativeness was a motivator for some pupils at YGG, particularly for those who were involved in Welsh-medium activities, such as Welsh choir and *eisteddfodau* (Extracts 6.2, 6.4). Several participants expressed a sense of pride and connectedness with the Welsh-speaking community when speaking Welsh. Pupils at EMS, however, have much lower engagement with these activities and, because of their limited proficiency, fewer opportunities to speak Welsh in organized activities outside of school.

Nonetheless, integrative motivation can arise by other means. Using Welsh in a symbolic context, such as singing the national anthem at a rugby match, can bring about a sense of pride, connectedness, and national identity (see interview with Ms. Smith, extract 4.37). EMS embraces a language-as-symbol ideology by promoting the use of incidental Welsh and bilingual signage throughout the school, and therefore pupils frequently use Welsh in symbolic contexts. The question arises, then: although pupils at EMS are not fluent in Welsh, are there ways in which they

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<sup>50</sup> Indeed, Plaid Cymru is proposing a tuition incentive plan to encourage young people to return to Wales to work after attending university (Evans, 2016).

are integratively motivated to speak Welsh? In other words, do EMS pupils feel more connected to their Welshness or to other Welsh speakers when they use the language?

To explore these questions, pupils were asked, “Does speaking Welsh make you feel more ‘Welsh’?” Focus Group 7 responded affirmatively:

- 1 MY: Yes.  
2 BY: Yes.  
3 MY: It makes you feel like you’re actually part of it.

*Extract 6.54: Focus Group 7 (BY, MY, LL, EV)*

MY’s statement that it makes her feel like she’s “actually part of it” (line 3) is vague, but it does indicate two important points. First, “it” (line 3) presumes a community of some sort. Second, the choice of the word “actually” suggests that she does not always have access to that community. Third, for MY, speaking Welsh produces a feeling of connectedness with that community. On one hand, MY’s discourse is similar to HB’s, who also talks about being “a part of it” (Extract 6.11, line 13). In contrast, however, HB also refers to the community of Welsh speakers as “us” (Extract 6.11, line 7), which is absent from the discourse here.

Focus Group 10 expresses a similar feeling when asked directly about their motivations for speaking Welsh. In Extract 6.55 below, participants answer the question, “What would make you want to speak Welsh outside the classroom?”:

- 1 SP: If everyone else was speaking it. [That’s all I can think of.]  
2 BS: [If—if I could— ]=  
3 KY: =Sheep! <points at SP>  
4 BS: A couple of [things. ]  
5 SP: [No. ]  
6 KY: [Follower!]  
7 SP: [<unclear>]  
8 BS: [If—if other people were speaking it]  
9 BN: [That’s a sheep. ]  
10 KY: That’s not all I’m thinking [of. ]  
11 SP: [You] feel left out?





6 AA: [Yeah.] That's true.

*Extract 6.57: Focus Group 12 (MG, AX, DF, WT)*

Broadly speaking, pupils' attitudes toward the use of incidental Welsh within non-Welsh classrooms were less positive than those of their teachers. Whereas teachers expressed that using incidental Welsh was unobtrusive and even possibly beneficial, many pupils expressed feelings of annoyance.

In Extract 6.58, participants in Focus Group 14 discuss their school's Welsh policy, which, in addition to using incidental Welsh, requires pupils to write the date and heading in Welsh:

- 1 DA: I know, and they make you say *yma* which is just irrelevant  
2 DJ: [I—I would just like— ]  
3 DA: ['cause I'm ] not really  
4 [gonna get] what it [means in Welsh.]  
5 KL: [I try— ] [Yeah. ] I try to say  
6 the least Welsh I could speak.  
7 DA: Yeah.  
8 KL: And I never write the Welsh date. I always write the English.  
9 DJ: [Yeah,] same.  
10 DA: [Yeah.]  
11 KL: I don't see the point of writing down the date [at all. ]  
12 DJ: [And—] wh—I always write  
13 "classwork" rather than ["*gwaith . . . dos—*" ]  
14 DA: [Yeah, "*gwaith dosbarth*". ]  
15 KL: [Yeah, ]No, I—I just never  
16 write  
17 ["*gwaith dosbarth*". I don't see the point.]  
18 DA: [I never write it <unclear>. I write ] ["classwork." ]  
19 KD: [I used to and ] [then I—]  
20 KL: [Yeah. ]  
21 KD: I just stopped doing it.  
22 KL: Yeah, I just don't see the point.  
23 DJ: You know, they all try, but . . .  
24 DA: [<unclear> ]

25 KD: [It's just annoying, like— ] when, like, some people don't even now how  
 26 to say, like,  
 27 KL: Yeah, [what's]  
 28 KD: [like ] *bore da* [and it's like ]  
 29 DA: [And they like] count down in  
 30 Welsh, they're like, [you know,] *un, dau, tri*=  
 31 KD: [Yeah. ]  
 32 KL: =Yeah, [what's the— ]  
 33 KD: [Yeah, and they] [like, switch from like Welsh] to  
 34 German or something.  
 35 DA [unclear ]  
 36 KL: Yeah, but what's the point in, like, trying to figure out what the Welsh date  
 37 is, when we could just put it in English?  
 38 DA: There's no point I see.

*Extract 6.58: Focus Group 14 (KL, KD, DA, DJ)*

In this brief interaction, KL reiterates four times that she doesn't see “the point” of incidental Welsh (lines 11, 16, 22, 36), a statement with which DA agrees (line 38). The participants in this group miss the aim of the language policy at EMS—to normalize the language—and focus instead on the communicative purpose of language choice, which renders Welsh irrelevant for them.

Focus groups were also asked how they respond when teachers speak to them in Welsh. Participants in focus group 6 agreed that while they will answer the register with “*yma*” (“present”), they do not otherwise respond in Welsh:

1 SD: Yeah, and they, they always, in the register we always say, *yma*.  
 2 DX: Oh, we say, *yma*. And they make us do the date in Welsh.  
 3 SD: [Yeah. ]  
 4 JL: [Do we] answer in Welsh though?  
 5 SD: Um  
 6 DX: No.  
 7 SD: [No.]  
 8 JL: [No.]

*Extract 6.59: Focus Group 6 (JL, DX , SD, PS)*

Focus Group 7 answered this question similarly, though more strongly negatively than Focus Group 6:

- 1 EV: [We ] [don't [speak] Welsh back. Never. Ever. ]  
2 LL: [No.]  
3 MY: No. [Never,] ever, ever, ever. ]  
4 BY: [No. ]

*Extract 6.60: Focus Group 7 (BY, MY, LL, EV)*

Apart from feeling that speaking incidental Welsh lacked a purpose, as evidenced in Extract 6.57, most groups did not discuss their motivation for responding in English when their teachers spoke to them in Welsh. The following extract, however, lends some insight into another possible motivation: a lack of confidence:

- AX: You—you'd like [respond in English, though.]  
WT: [unclear> ]  
MG: Yeah.  
AX: Becau—especially if they ask a question [because]  
MG: [Yeah. ]  
AX: there's so many words for yes in Welsh. [I don't—] I can't remember  
MG: Yeah.  
AX: which one to use.  
MG: Yes.

*Extract 6.61: Focus Group 12 (MG, AX, DF, WT)*

The attitudes evident in the above extracts are clearly more negative than the attitudes expressed by staff members in Chapter 4. While teachers generally felt that the policy was fair, not inconvenient, and possibly even beneficial for the school and for the Welsh language, several pupils expressed annoyance and antipathy toward the policy. Furthermore, while teachers seem to be carrying out the policy in the

school, pupils' participation is very low, even at the most basic level. It appears that while staff members understand the goals of the policy, pupils do not, and are therefore not motivated to participate. Notably, pupils seem to be very cognizant of the fact that teachers are *required* to speak Welsh with them in order to comply with Estyn's expectations. As a result, there is an impression that teachers are not motivated intrinsically to speak the language, which may actually be having a demotivating effect on young people.

#### 6.4. Summary and discussion

The wide discrepancy between YGG and EMS with respect to those who identified as Welsh on the questionnaire and those who did not was strongly reflected in focus group data. While YGG pupils grappled with the question of how the Welsh language fits into their taken-for-granted Welshness, some EMS pupils contested the notion that they were Welsh at all. This was particularly pronounced amongst pupils with what they perceived to be non-Welsh cultural backgrounds. EMS pupils identified a variety of criteria for determining Welshness, including parents' nationality, birthplace, and language. Furthermore, these ethnic identifications were shown to be flexible, negotiable, and context-dependent. Participants described claiming different ethnic identifications whilst traveling abroad, for example, and some participants recorded different identifications on their questionnaires than in their focus groups. The fact that not all Welsh citizens consider themselves Welsh is highly problematic for language planners' ideological rhetoric of national language ownership (e.g., *Iaith Pawb*), which presumes acceptance of a certain Welshness which some do not find compatible with their other identities.

While it may have been an innocuous error, it seems significant that several of the focus groups misread the question, "Does speaking Welsh make you *feel* more Welsh?" as "Does speaking Welsh *make you* more Welsh?" Unlike the staff members at their schools, none of whom expressed that the Welsh language was *essential* for Welshness, pupils from both YGG and EMS expressed that speaking Welsh does strengthen one's Welsh identity. At YGG, Mr. Rhys's conception of the continuum of Welshness appeared in numerous interactions (Extract 4.25), as did the dichotomy of a Welsh-speaking Welsh culture and a non-Welsh-speaking Welsh

culture. Interestingly, some participants split these two cultures along school-type lines, where English-medium school pupils were perceived by Welsh-medium school pupils to be less Welsh than themselves. Attitudes toward the role of the Welsh language in Welsh identity fell along a full spectrum, with one pupil expressing that those who didn't speak Welsh "definitely seem less Welsh" (Extract 6.3), another stating that "it doesn't make them less of a Welsh [person]" (section 6.5), and varying opinions in between. At EMS, the same range emerged.

While the similarity in attitudes at the two schools toward the role of the Welsh language in Welsh ethnic identity is notable, a qualitative difference arose with respect to the role of proficiency. The ideology of language-as-symbol promoted by EMS entails that using even very limited Welsh provides access to a shared Welsh identity. The data suggest, however, that pupils do not embrace this ideology to the extent that most of their teachers do. Far from making adolescents feel connected to their fluent Welsh-speaking peers, speaking limited Welsh made some pupils feel distanced from a Welsh identity as they became aware of their perceived linguistic shortcomings. Overwhelmingly, authentic Welshness is associated not only with Welsh language use, but with fluency. This may shed light on why so many EMS pupils reject a Welsh identity altogether; their language skills preclude them.

Perhaps the most prevalent finding from the focus group data was how Welsh language proficiency and confidence permeated so many aspects of motivation to use the language. At YGG, this was manifest in young people's hesitation to speak Welsh with fluent speakers for fear of being corrected, despite being immersed for years in a Welsh-medium environment. Participants cited linguistic insecurity as a demotivating factor not only in using the language in the present, but in commitment to pass it on through their families. As family transmission is the most effective way to propagate a minority language, this is an important finding. At EMS, linguistic insecurity was cited as a central demotivating factor not only for speaking Welsh outside the classroom, but for using incidental Welsh within the school. Lack of perceived proficiency also had a profound effect on pupils' integrative motivation to speak Welsh. For most participants, speaking limited Welsh with fluent speakers made them feel more distant from their Welsh-speaking peers, rather than making them feel united in a common Welsh identity.

At the Welsh-medium school, there was some evidence of integrative motivation for speaking Welsh, particularly for those who were engaged in Welsh-medium activities outside of school. As school is the primary domain of Welsh language use for these pupils, connecting to a broader community of Welsh speakers can be an identity-affirming experience. The focus group data suggests that these kinds of activities may provide an impetus for young people to speak Welsh outside the classroom. This raises the issue of engagement, particularly for non-first-language Welsh speakers. In informal conversations, some YGG teachers expressed concerns that the majority of pupils who participate in extracurricular Welsh-medium activities are first-language Welsh speakers. This was confirmed by Geraint Scott, a development officer for Urdd Caerdydd (section 2.5.1.2), who estimated that 80% of participants in the Urdd Eisteddfod are first-language Welsh speakers. He estimated equal participation amongst first- and non-first-language Welsh speakers in local activities, but considering that four-fifths of pupils at YGG do not come from Welsh-speaking homes, engagement amongst these pupils is relatively low. The reason for this discrepancy merits some consideration, as improving this type of engagement could lead to increased integrative motivation for young people.

One unanticipated motivation at YGG was what I have called a secret code motivator. As most parents of YGG pupils do not speak Welsh (nor do the majority of people in Cardiff), speaking the language allows pupils to communicate openly without being understood. Particularly for adolescents, who are peer-oriented and negotiating independence, this benefit of having a second language carries high value. While it may not appear to be a long-term motivator, it could be an “unsuspected source of [support] for a revitalised Welsh language” (Coupland et al., 2005, p. 2) and could deliver positive attitudinal benefits during a critical period, particularly for non-first-language Welsh speakers.

In interviews, most—but not all—staff members at YGG, as well as the headteacher, expressed a belief that this generation of Welsh speakers was responsible for carrying the Welsh language forward. Focus group discussions confirmed that staff members do try to instill this sense of duty in their pupils. Participants varied in their beliefs about their responsibility, but generally, pupils felt that the onus was not on them as individuals, but on the complete body of Welsh speakers. For those who did feel a sense of individual responsibility, commitment for future use tended to focus on sending future children to a Welsh-medium school,

rather than personally speaking Welsh to them. For many participants, the sense of responsibility was *demotivating*. Several expressed feelings of guilt, blame, and obligation toward a problem they felt was not their fault.

At EMS, pupils are clearly aware of the potential instrumental benefits of learning Welsh, such as job prospects and university admission. It is likely that these issues are touted to pupils as reasons to continue their Welsh language studies and to value the language they have. But focus group data showed that, on the whole, pupils are not convinced that they are likely to benefit personally from these advantages. Several participants expressed a desire to move or attend university outside of Wales, obviating the need for Welsh language skills. Others discounted Welsh as less credible than more widely spoken, so-called international languages, such as Spanish, German, or Mandarin. Of those who did anticipate speaking Welsh beyond school, they expected to use the language minimally, if at all. EMS pupils' discourse illuminated a limitation to instrumental motivation for speaking Welsh, namely that the language is confined to Wales. For the many young people with an ambition to leave Wales (see Extract 6.51), instrumental motivation is unlikely.

Because the language policy at YGG is more prominent in the daily experience of its pupils, participants had much more to say about it than their EMS counterparts. One aspect of policy which was particularly salient to pupils was the notion of choice, accountability, and rebellion. Like some teachers (Extracts 4.10, 4.11), several pupils noted that the compulsory nature of the Welsh language policy invited rebellion, manifested in the use of English, especially when enforcement was perceived as strict. Some pupils said that they were more likely to speak Welsh when they were no longer compelled by the rule. The idea that pupils are motivated by autonomy and choice is logical from a developmental standpoint, as the adolescent period is characterized by the desire for independence (Erikson, 1968); but it is at the same time at odds with a fundamental ideology of the school, which seeks to be thoroughly "Welsh in its language and culture" (section 4.2.1). Like the secret code motivator, the demotivating effect of compulsory Welsh is temporary; once pupils leave school, they will be free to choose whichever language they like. But if the negative association with compulsory Welsh persists, the motivation afforded by that freedom may be limited.

Two other issues pertaining to language policy generated considerable discussion at YGG. First, there was a perception on the part of some pupils that

favoritism was given to first-language Welsh speakers. Some participants felt that because speaking Welsh was natural for first-language speakers, teachers tended to be more strict with non-first language Welsh speakers. Second, pupils demonstrated consistently negative attitudes toward the enforcement of their school's Welsh-only policy. While several felt that the policy was just, most pupils agreed that the policy was too strict and inconsistent. In terms of flexibility and tolerance for code alternation, teachers demarcated a clear (though unwritten) boundary between word-level code-mixing, which was deemed acceptable, and sentence-level codeswitching, which was not (section 4.3.2.1). Several pupils, however, contradicted this, claiming that some teachers did not tolerate single-word code mixing (Extract 6.33). It is difficult to assess the long-term effects of prohibiting code alternation within the classroom, as there is little research on this issue in the context of immersion programs. There is evidence, however, of a link between attitudes toward codeswitching and codeswitching behavior (Couto et al., 2015), suggesting that the attitudes that develop within the classroom may have an influence on behaviors. The implications of these findings will be explored further in Chapter 7.

Pupils' attitudes toward EMS's Welsh policy were broadly negative. Unlike their teachers, pupils expressed opinions that the policy was pointless and annoying. Many reported ignoring the policy altogether, and participants in multiple focus groups unanimously agreed that when their teachers spoke to them in Welsh, they responded in English due to a perceived lack of purpose as well as linguistic insecurity. While there was acknowledgement that teachers made a "token effort" (Extract 6.56) to speak incidental Welsh, even outside the classroom, pupils also perceived that they were only doing so because they felt compelled by the Estyn inspection. It is interesting that the more salient aspect of their teachers' attitudes toward the policy was their sense of obligation rather than their general goodwill. This indicates that there is a discrepancy between how teachers perceive their own attitudes, as evidenced in interviews, and how they are expressed to and perceived by pupils.

This raises an issue with a top-down approach to linguistic normalization. Normalization in the Welsh context, as described by Williams (2013), has two components: "achieving coequality between English and Welsh within certain contexts and . . . as a psychological precept, whereby it is increasingly assumed that Welsh and English should be treated on the basis of equality" (p. 9). While EMS,

under Estyn's guidance, has taken steps to achieve the first component, the second has yet to be realized within the school. At its heart, linguistic normalization is designed to change attitudes through policy, but its success, arguably, relies upon the positive attitudes of those employing the policy on the ground. Haarmann (1990) argues that prestige planning—fostering positive attitudes toward planning measures themselves—is critical to the success of any planning initiative. While the ideological motives of language planners center around the preservation of Welsh culture through revitalization of the Welsh language, the attitudes and motives of those implementing the policy vary, from political incentives to personal identity. In the case of EMS, teachers are incentivized by Estyn ratings, a fact which has not escaped the notice of pupils, and which appears to have an ensuing demotivating effect. It may be that a deficiency of prestige planning throughout all levels of implementation is responsible.

#### *6.5. Conclusion*

This chapter has addressed pupils' attitudes toward educational language policies, motivations for using Welsh outside the classroom, and orientations toward Welsh ethnolinguistic identity, and has examined the attitudes demonstrated in Chapter 5 in greater relief. Metalinguistic analysis of discourse drawn from focus group data has also shed light on how pupils reflect, accept or contest the language ideologies espoused by their schools. In the following chapter, connections will be drawn between the qualitative and quantitative data presented in Chapters 4–6. In response to these empirical analyses, recommendations for future policy initiatives will also be offered.

## 7 **Synthesis**

### *7.1. Introduction*

This dissertation has set out to examine how language ideologies differ between Welsh-medium and English-medium school contexts, how these ideologies are reflected in attitudes toward and associations with the Welsh language, and the implications for Welsh-in-education policies in Wales. Drawing on the understanding that attitudes and ideologies have a weighty bearing on the success of language revitalization efforts, sociolinguists have produced a number of empirical studies on various aspects of attitudes toward Welsh (cf. Coupland et al., 2005; Price, 2010; Robert, 2009; Morris, 2014) and language ideologies (cf. Coupland, 2010, 12; Musk, 2006, 2010; Selleck, 2012, 2016). The present study makes a significant contribution to that body of knowledge by drawing connections between ideology and attitude with respect to Welsh, requiring steps across disciplinary boundaries. Changing attitudes—by promoting instrumental benefits, instilling a national identity, and effecting ideological change—is a critical component of the language planning agenda. Examining language attitudes in educational contexts helps to shed light on how official, government-sanctioned language ideologies are manifested on the ground.

The following sections will explore both the theoretical contributions of this research as well as potential applications for future language planning and policy. Section 7.2 will examine how the expression of attitudes reveals ideological tensions, as evidenced by the language attitude and use questionnaire, teacher interviews, pupil focus groups, the matched-guise test, and the Implicit Association Test. It will be demonstrated that many of these tensions align with similar research on language ideologies in educational contexts in Wales. In section 7.3, I will discuss potential applications of this research for future language policy and planning, with a focus on improving attitudes and increasing motivation for language use outside the classroom.

## *7.2. Ideological tensions*

This thesis has drawn attention to the ideological tensions that arise in the implementation of national language planning initiatives through local educational institutions and adds to the growing body of research about these issues. Selleck (2016) argues that “the view of Wales as a particularly successful example of language planning misses the fact that impressive ambitious policy moves are giving rise to lay ideological tensions that we need to be more aware of” (p. 19). Indeed, in both the Welsh-medium and English-medium schools in the present study, such conflict was evident. The attitudinal data from various methods used in this study draw attention to the fact that top-down language planning measures do not neatly trickle down through the various levels of enactment, nor do the ideologies that underlie them. At each stratum, policies are interpreted, contextualized, and negotiated through individuals, institutions, and communities, each with their own ideological agendas and assumptions. Therefore, the adaptation—or contestation—of institutionally promoted ideologies in pupils’ attitudes is bound to be complex. In his study of code alternation amongst Welsh youth, Musk (2006) noted that his participants had “not simply embraced and reproduced the values of the school and society at large in their discourse. Indeed, they [had] displayed a range of responses from consent, to acquiescence, to resistance, to contestation, and on occasion they [had] contested these values vociferously” (p. 382). Pupils at YGG and EMS have expressed a similar range of responses, confirming that the relationship between prescribed ideology and attitude is far from straightforward.

### *7.2.1. Ideological tensions at YGG*

#### *7.2.1.1. Integration of Welsh language and traditional Welsh culture*

At YGG, one source of tension is the inseparable integration of Welsh language and traditional Welsh culture (section 4.2.1). YGG, in its statement of ethos, identifies itself as “Welsh in its language and culture” (section 4.2.1). This characterization is problematic, in that in order to be employed as a unifying

principle, Welsh culture must be delimited, as must the role of the Welsh language within it. This “one language, one culture” ethos runs counter to the plurality of Welsh identities that have been shown to exist within Wales. Welshness is not neatly divisible by language (Brentnall et al., 2009; Carter, 2010; Coupland et al., 2005; Coupland, 2006; Price, 2010), nor by region (see Coupland’s (2006) critique of Balsom’s (1985) “three Wales” model), nor even by birthplace, as evidenced by pupils’ identifications with Welshness in the present study. In this dissertation, the contestation of such a unified identity has been made evident. YGG teachers, who comprise the school and thus act as representatives of its ideology (Corson, 1998), did not convey a unified interpretation of Welsh culture, but rather expressed a range of ideologies about the relationship between the Welsh language and Welshness. Neither did they agree on the role that Welsh identity should play in the lives of the young people they taught: one took responsibility for instilling a Welsh identity in her pupils (Extract 4.30), another believed that the Welsh language was innately part of any child’s Welshness by virtue of its existence (Extract 4.26), and a third expressed a belief that Welsh could be employed as an ability without entering into one’s identity (Extract 4.31).

Despite this range of attitudes and beliefs, however, teacher interview data at both schools indicated that there does exist a prevailing view that Welshness is perceptually subdivided into a binary Welsh-speaking Welsh culture and non-Welsh-speaking Welsh culture, the latter of which lacks cultural distinctiveness entirely (section 4.4.1.1). This was reflected in focus group data as well (section 6.1; Extract 6.26). The hierarchy or continuum of Welshness, described somewhat facetiously in Extract 4.25, wherein Welshness was defined by essential characteristics such as language, birthplace, and parents’ national or ethnic origins, was also echoed in focus group discussions at both schools (Extracts 6.4, 6.39). What unifies the multitude of beliefs about Welshness is not the ideology of inseparable integration of language and culture espoused by YGG, nor is it the language-as-symbol or national language ownership ideologies promoted by EMS; it is the acceptance, in terms of identity, that there are tacit and ingrained divisions between Welsh- and non-Welsh speakers, as well as gradations of perceived authenticity within these categories.

For pupils at YGG, the fact that Welsh culture is central to the school’s ethos is

a multi-faceted issue, not only because of the ambiguous definition of Welsh culture, but because it must be accepted alongside the language by pupils who have not necessarily chosen to be at the school. Pupils are not only learning a language; they are taking on a set of cultural norms and practices anchored to the language, as well as the expectation that they will use them, commit to them, and transmit them to the next generation. The responsibility of the school as a government-sanctioned protector of Welsh is passed on to pupils. The fact that (in most cases) it is the parents, rather than the pupils, who choose Welsh-medium education (Hodges, 2012) raises the question of motivation for pupils. First, parents' choice of a Welsh-medium school may or may not be culturally (or integratively) motivated; particularly for non-Welsh-speaking families, motivations for school choice are wide-ranging (Hodges, 2012). It is increasingly the case that Welsh-medium school pupils, many of whom are Welsh by nationality but who have no personal or familial connection to traditional forms of Welsh culture, come from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This raises the question of how other cultures fit in to the identity of the school, as well as how the Welsh language can be interpreted as a part of the identities of young people from multicultural backgrounds. Is the preservation of an “adopted” culture enough to motivate pupils to use the language they learn in school?

These ideological tensions are reflected in attitudes in complex ways. On one hand, pupils at YGG—even those from non-Welsh-speaking homes—were much more likely than pupils at EMS to identify as Welsh (section 5.2.1). This does not mean that their perceptions of what it means to be Welsh were alike; indeed, focus group data confirmed that there was a range of possible definitions of Welshness at YGG (see Extracts 6.4, 6.42). However, it does seem likely, given the contrast with EMS, that YGG's focus on Welsh identity-building within the school has had some impact on how pupils view and categorize themselves. The questionnaire data indicated that this sense of Welshness has a measurable impact on both language attitudes and engagement with the Welsh language. Stronger identification with Welshness was an indicator of active (i.e., use in the family and community) and structured (i.e., in organized Welsh-medium activities) engagement with Welsh, commitment to using Welsh in the future, and a positive attitude toward symbolic

functions of Welsh (section 5.2.3). It would appear that fostering a sense of Welshness does contribute to positive orientations toward the Welsh language.

On the other hand, pupils vociferously objected to the responsibility placed upon them as stewards of Welsh language and culture. Despite the conviction of many of their teachers (and the headteacher) that pupils have a responsibility to carry the Welsh language forward by virtue of attending a Welsh-medium school (section 4.4.1.3), the young people in this study did not feel that the obligation was theirs. Those who expressed a belief that Welsh speakers are responsible for ensuring the continuance of the language were careful to call it a societal—not a personal—obligation (Extracts 6.15, 6.16). Like in Price and Tamburelli's (2016) study (section 7.2.1.1), the sense of obligation gave rise to negative attitudes amongst some participants, who expressed feelings of guilt (Extract 6.20), pressure (Extracts 6.21, 6.22), and blame (Extract 6.19). Some participants explicitly cited the levying of this responsibility as a demotivating factor for using Welsh, stating that feeling “forced” acts as a deterrent (Extracts 6.20, 6.21, 6.22). To be clear, for the most part, pupils are not contesting the ideology of language as an important cultural symbol (Edwards, 2009). Participants stated that they wanted the language to continue, felt it was important to Welsh culture and identity (Extracts 6.1, 6.17), and were happy to do their part by sending their future children to Welsh-medium schools (Extracts 6.7, 6.17). What they challenge is their place in the school's role as an instrument of language revitalization in Wales. There is an apparent clash between the belief, epitomized in *Iaith Pawb*, that all Welsh speakers “must respect [their] inheritance and work to ensure that it is not lost for future generations” (WAG, 2003, p. 1) and a perception amongst young people that they alone bear both the blame and the responsibility for the state of the Welsh language, a pressure which begets guilt and defiance. The potential implications of this conflict on long-term attitudes needs to be explored.

#### *7.2.1.2. Ideology of separate multilingualism*

In the Welsh-medium school where her study took place, Selleck (2012) noted a discrepancy between the ideology of language choice put forth in *Iaith Pawb* and

the ideology of separate bilingualism (Creese and Blackledge, 2011) implemented through school policy. In her view, the choices offered to pupils are highly constrained by the norms established by their schools, as well as the fact that parents, not pupils, generally decide on their children's medium of instruction. In contrast, the English-medium school in her study adhered more closely to the ideology of *Iaith Pawb* by promoting both Welsh and English without constraining students' language choices on an institutional level. Selleck questions whether the ideology of flexible bilingualism (Blackledge and Creese, 2011) might be more conducive to successful language revitalization than the protectionist separate bilingualism ideology of the Welsh-medium school.

In the present study, a similar ideology, characterizable as separate multilingualism (section 4.3.2), was embraced by YGG, wherein the use of many languages was valued in spaces outside the school, but where Welsh was considered the only acceptable medium of communication within the school, with the exception of English and foreign language classes. This was evidenced in the school's official language policies and in its stated ethos. There is somewhat of an internal tension because, by all accounts, YGG is an internationally oriented school. The language policy declares as one of its goals to "work toward the creation of multi-lingual and multi-talented citizens who can be part of a civilised world" (YGG School Prospectus, 2014-15, p. 26), suggesting that the school aims to prepare pupils to use their (multiple) language skills in the world beyond school. YGG pupils have visited the Basque country to learn about Basque language revitalization, have hosted Breton speakers from France, and have ongoing partnerships with schools abroad. Flags from several world nations fly in front of the school. Pupils take foreign language courses and learn about the cultures of Spanish- and German-speaking countries. But as the "social and administrative language of school" (YGG School Prospectus, 2014-15, p. 26), and owing to the fact that the school is "Welsh in its language and culture," Welsh is the only allowable form of communication within the school walls, running counter to the multilingual, multicultural aspects of its ethos. As such, as in Selleck's (2012) study, language choices are highly constrained by policy.

Tensions are evident between the separate multilingual ideology and pupils'

lived experiences of communicating in Welsh. The monolingual environment at school does not reflect the language of social spaces outside of school, even those where Welsh is spoken. The informal, conversational Welsh register is naturally imbued with code alternation, including both code-mixing and code-switching (Musk, 2006). This practice, while viewed as normal by both pupils (sections 5.2.5; 6.2.3.4) and teachers (section 4.3.2.1), stands at odds with the ethos maintained within school walls. Musk (2006) calls this dissonance “a dichotomy between the everyday practice of bilingualism and the ideal, which is performatively held in place by the implicit censorship of the monolingual norm” (p. 408). This gap is concerning because it reinforces language ideological boundaries between school and social life, serving to compartmentalize Welsh as a “language of school and not of play” (Baker, 2003, p. 101). L1 Welsh speakers are likely to be able to style-shift confidently, code-alternating outside of school and maintaining language boundaries in the classroom (Musk, 2006; 2010). L2 speakers whose exposure is mainly limited to formal Welsh, however, may lack the confidence or experience to use the language in informal contexts. Price and Tamburelli (2016) found that their informants “[lacked] an informal domain in which to acquire these features and [did] not believe that they [had] the opportunity or permission to do so within school” (p. 201). This is a major concern for language revitalization, as Welsh use in social interaction is disconcertingly low (Thomas and Roberts, 2011).

On principle, the monolingual ideal was embraced by some pupils and rejected by others. Some felt that the policy was beneficial (Extracts 6.24, 6.32) while others disagreed (Extracts 6.24, 6.33). Attitudes toward the *enactment* of the policy, however, were overwhelmingly negative. Pupils felt that the policy was too strict (Extracts 6.26, 6.32, 6.33), tempted rebellion (Extract 6.26), was embarrassing (Extract 6.31), and did little to deter pupils from using English when teachers were not present (Extract 6.25). It is clear that the informants in this study reject the notion that languages should be kept strictly separate in school, and moreover, have developed some very negative associations with their Welsh language use. The extent to which these associations will endure beyond school is unknown; however, these attitudes may lend insight into the steep drop-offs in Welsh language engagement following compulsory education (Baker, 2003; Jones and Martin-Jones,

2004; Edwards and Newcombe, 2005; Hodges, 2009), particularly for those whose engagement is already limited to the educational domain.

### 7.2.2. *Ideological tensions at EMS*

Two main sources of ideological tension at EMS have been identified. First is the school's institutionalized ideology of language-as-symbol, which is linked to the ideology of national language ownership. These ideologies reflect the discourse of the two most recent national language planning documents issued by the Welsh Assembly Government. *Iaith Pawb* characterizes the Welsh language as “an essential and enduring component in the history, culture, and social fabric of our nation” (WAG, 2003, p. 1), where the “presence of both languages is a source of pride and strength to us all” (p. 1). Similarly, the more recent planning document, *Iaith Fyw, Iaith Byw* asserts that “the language is important to all of us in Wales” (Welsh Government, 2012, p. 2). Within this ideology lies the belief that the Welsh language is part and parcel of national Welsh identity, whether or not it is spoken communicatively. It is clear, however, that these ideologies are not necessarily accepted and embodied by the young people who are expected to carry the language on, as demonstrated in the attitudes expressed throughout this study.

The Welsh language is made present at EMS in a variety of ways, including bilingual signage, the choice of a Welsh-language motto, and the use of incidental Welsh throughout the school (section 4.3.3). Amongst school staff, the ideology of national language ownership was embraced by some (Extracts 4.35, 4.37) and contested by others (Extract 4.36). While staff members were generally accepting of the language-as-symbol ethos and amenable to carrying it out within the school, on a personal level, some challenged the ideology's essence, expressing wide-ranging beliefs on the role of the Welsh language in Welsh identity. Pupils, too, expressed a range of views on the role of Welsh as a symbol of Welsh identity; where some felt that speaking Welsh did make them feel more Welsh (Extract 6.39), others felt that one could be very Welsh without engaging with the language (Extract 6.42), and some felt that speaking Welsh with fluent speakers actually made them feel *less* Welsh, as they were made aware of their own linguistic deficiencies (Extracts 6.40,

6.41).

Symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language—the attitude that Welsh is important for Welsh culture, is valuable in ceremonial uses, and made participants feel more Welsh—can be seen as one reflection of the language-as-symbol ideology. At EMS, ratings for symbolic affiliation fell just above the midpoint (section 5.2.2), indicating, at most, a weakly positive attitude. Like in Coupland et al.'s (2005) study, symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language (similar to ceremonial use in the aforementioned study) was predicted most strongly by proficiency. Notably, however, identification with Welshness also emerged as a strong predictor, suggesting that those who feel Welsh (or claim a Welsh identity) feel positively about its symbolic role in Welsh culture.

This raises an important question: how do the ideologies of language-as-symbol and national language ownership apply to those who do not see themselves as Welsh in the first place? Both of these ideologies are predicated on an assumption of felt affiliation with Welshness; that is, if a person is Welsh (as *Iaith Fyw* phrases it, “all of us in Wales” (Welsh Government, 2012, p. 2)), the language belongs to him or her. Contrary to the findings of Coupland et al. (2005) and Price (2010), affiliation with Welshness was not high amongst pupils at EMS; half of the pupils surveyed did not identify as Welsh at all. Therefore, while not challenging the right of ownership of the Welsh language for Welsh people, they distanced themselves from the language by virtue of contesting their own Welsh identities (section 6.44). Those who do not speak Welsh fluently, instead of embracing alternative conceptions of Welshness (such as those in which a token knowledge of the Welsh language is a legitimate expression of Welshness) may remove themselves from Welsh identity altogether, aligning instead with other available national or ethnic identities.

Smith (2015) notes a similar phenomenon in his study of the efficacy of the *Curriculum Cymreig*<sup>52</sup> to help pupils develop a personal sense of Welshness. Like the present study, he found evidence of hierarchies of Welshness (p. 214; see section 4.4.1) in the foundations of the curriculum, tying Welshness to essential

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<sup>52</sup> The *Curriculum Cymreig* is a cross-disciplinary program designed to “incorporate Wales-oriented themes in pupils’ everyday school experiences” (Smith, 2015, 202).

characteristics such as language and ancestry. He argues that rather than meeting their goals of drawing pupils into an inclusive conception of national identity, the criteria for Welshness supported by the *Curriculum* instead create a gap between those who fit the criteria and those who do not. He argues that “pupils who inhabit non-regular orientations to dominant discourses of Welshness [experience] greater levels of disassociation with Welshness and Wales” (p. 214). For example, non-white, non-Welsh-speaking pupils in his study were far more likely to report that the *Curriculum* had not helped them to develop a sense of Welshness than white, Welsh-speaking pupils.

The present study mirrors Smith’s (2015) findings. Just as EMS pupils self-identify as less Welsh than their YGG counterparts, some YGG pupils also feel that English-medium school pupils are less Welsh. Recall AN from YGG, who expressed that English-medium school pupils “definitely seem less Welsh” (to the agreement of the others in Focus Group 4), not only because they do not speak the language, but because not speaking the language precludes them from participating in activities which are “predominantly . . . Welsh and representing Wales” (Extract 6.2, line 12). They therefore seem less patriotic (Extract 6.3, line 4). Furthermore, AN states that “they don’t want to be thought of as Welsh” (line 27), an observation which leads her to feel neglected (line 25). Another indicator that non-Welsh-speakers are perceived as less Welsh than Welsh speakers emerged on the matched-guise test, where EMS and YGG pupils alike rated Welsh and code-switched guises as significantly more Welsh than an English guise (section 5.4.2). AN does not draw a connection between her perception of English-medium-school pupils as less Welsh and their perceptions of themselves; it could be that perceptions like AN’s contribute to English-medium school pupils’ dissociation with Welshness and Wales (Smith, 2015, p. 214). Citing Wareing and Thomas (1999), Roy and Galiev (2011) point out that “in addition to being self-determined, social identity is also determined by others’ perceptions” (p. 369). That is, group membership is reliant not only upon social actors accommodating to the group, but also upon acceptance by ingroup members.

In terms of employing a language planning strategy for pupils in English-medium schools, the opposition between the language-as-symbol and national language ownership ideologies and pupils’ perceptions of themselves as non-Welsh

is problematic. The presumptions of the current strategy—that everyone in Wales is Welsh, and therefore have ownership of the language—fail to take this into account. The patriotic, traditional Welshness that is associated with the Welsh language seems irrelevant and unrelatable to many Welsh second language<sup>53</sup> learners. Where does the language fit in for someone with an “Arabian and Indian” identity, like GZ in extract 6.44, or for those who are more interested in popular culture than in the Welsh choral music or poetry recitation of the Eisteddfod? If new, diverse speakers are to be included amongst Welsh speakers, these questions need to be addressed.

The way these ideologies are manifested in policy also produces tensions at EMS. The symbolic uses of Welsh through bilingual language display and incidental Welsh, intended to normalize the language (sections 2.2.2; 4.3.3.1), are not perceived as symbolically valuable by EMS pupils. Rather, pupils perceive the use of the Welsh language in their English-medium school as unnatural and contrived. While some teachers feel it is integrated into the ethos of the school—essentially normalized within the school—pupils seem to reject both its authenticity and its purpose. Pupils are aware of its top-down nature, not only in terms of their educational institution, but in terms of the school inspectors and the Welsh Government itself. Measures to normalize the language by including it in multiple domains within the school are seen by pupils as superficial, inconvenient, and needless, and appear to do little to foster a sense of language ownership or cultural importance. This raises the question of the efficacy of this particular top-down normalization effort in changing attitudes, and, what’s more, introduces the potential of mandatory incidental Welsh to turn adolescents off from the language. Unlike their teachers, whose attitudes ranged from ambivalence to optimism, pupils’ attitudes toward the language policy were negative across the board (section 6.2.3). For young people whose primary exposure to Welsh is at school, some of these measures may cause more harm than good and may lead to negative long-term associations with the language.

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<sup>53</sup> Regardless of which or how many languages are spoken by Welsh language learners, “Welsh second language” refers to Welsh taught as a non-core subject in English-medium schools, while

### 7.2.3. *Confidence and competence*

This study also contributes to a better understanding of the relationship between language proficiency, confidence, and various aspects of attitude. The interaction between language proficiency and attitude has been well attested in language attitude research (Baker, 1992). For example, both Coupland et al. (2005) and Price (2010) found that high language competence predicted higher levels of engagement with Welsh-language activities and affiliation with Welshness. Traditionally, for practical reasons, proficiency is measured on a self-report basis, as it has been in this thesis. This gives rise to the question of *what* is being measured with respect to language competence—actual proficiency or perceived proficiency? And if it is the latter, is it a valid dimension on which to measure attitude?

Baker (1992) points out that “measurement of a bilingual’s competence can only be achieved by examining total language repertoire enacted in varying domains” (p. 79), which is methodologically challenging. He argues, however, that it may be confidence (or perceived proficiency), rather than actual proficiency, which influences attitude. Indeed, second language acquisition research has shown this to be the case (Clément et al., 1980; Dörnyei, 2005). While actual and perceived proficiency are related (Baker, 1992), there is mounting evidence that there are discrepancies between what pupils *can* do and what they *believe* they can do. In their study on children in a Welsh-medium primary school, Thomas, Apolloni and Lewis (2014) found that children, particularly L2 speakers, were highly aware of their shortcomings, particularly with respect to mutations and vocabulary. Their observations of children’s speech in a focus group setting, however, revealed that all speakers in the study, although less fluent than their L1 peers, were able to express themselves effectively in Welsh. Their study revealed that while most pupils felt they had sufficient opportunity to speak Welsh, some were hesitant to do so because of these anxieties.

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to quantitatively compare perceived competence to actual proficiency, there is qualitative evidence that teachers perceive pupils’ abilities to be higher than pupils themselves do (Extract 6.6). While

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“Welsh first language” refers to Welsh taught in Welsh-medium schools.

confidence ratings were relatively high on questionnaires at YGG, only a third of pupils said that they were very comfortable speaking to an L1 speaker, despite doing so on a daily basis during school. At EMS, self-rated proficiency and confidence were overwhelmingly low, with more than three quarters of pupils rating their confidence in speaking with a native speaker below the midpoint (see figure 5.4). Focus group data at YGG revealed that some pupils felt that their Welsh abilities were insufficient, particularly regarding mutations (extract 6.8) and vocabulary (Extracts 6.32, 6.61), which concurs with Thomas, Apolloni, and Lewis's (2014) research.

While language planners appear to be aware of a lack of confidence, especially amongst L2 Welsh speakers, its effect on attitude toward revitalized languages has only recently begun to be borne out in sociolinguistic research (see Price, 2013; Morris, 2014). The present study contributes to this body of research by examining the relationship between perceived language proficiency—as measured by pupils' self-perceptions of linguistic ability as well as their confidence in speaking with an L1 Welsh speaker—and attitudes towards Welsh and Welshness. Analysis of questionnaire data revealed that perceived proficiency strongly predicted active and structured engagement with the Welsh language, and very strongly predicted receptive engagement (section 5.2.2). Of the aspects examined, self-rated proficiency was also the strongest predictor of symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language, even outweighing identification with Welshness. This suggests that speakers who feel confident in their language skills are embracing Welsh as an identity resource, while those who feel that their Welsh language skills are insufficient are reaching for other indexes of Welshness (section 6.26), or distancing themselves from Welshness altogether (section 6.29). This was supported by focus group data, particularly at EMS, where some pupils expressed that speaking Welsh amongst fluent Welsh speakers made them feel *less* Welsh because of their self-perceived inadequacies (section 6.25).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, perceived proficiency was found to be the strongest indicator of commitment to future Welsh language use (section 5.2.2). While there is a relatively high degree of institutional language planning commitment in Wales, language planning efforts are unlikely to succeed without the personal commitment

of individuals to pass the language on. Family transmission is especially important, as it is by far the most effective means of sustained language revitalization (Fishman, 1991; Edwards and Newcombe, 2005). Therefore, there is a need to dig deeper into the apparent relationship between confidence and commitment. Focus group discussions in the present study provided some insight into this connection, although with the limited sample size, it might be best considered a case study. The most explicit connection drawn between perceived proficiency and commitment was made by the participant called NG in Extract 6.7. NG, a non-first-language Welsh speaker, stated that although he wanted his future children to learn Welsh, he did not anticipate speaking Welsh with them at home because of insecurities with Welsh vocabulary. Instead, he expressed a desire to send his children to a Welsh-medium school.

The commitment to send children to a Welsh-medium school expressed by NG and others (Extracts 6.16, 6.17) is undoubtedly a positive sign of support for Welsh-medium education and for the Welsh language. There is concern, however, that this contributes to an over-reliance on education for language revitalization. Edwards and Newcombe (2005) warn that “without the active involvement of the family, schools will inevitably find themselves in a frustrating struggle against the tide, with each new generation starting at the same point as the previous one” (p. 299). In his study of sixth-form pupils in Wales, Evas (1997) found that of the 80% of pupils who said they wanted to send their children to a Welsh-medium school, only half intended to speak it with them at home, which he partially attributes to lack of speaker confidence. Evas (1997) posits that this so-called “language donation” (p. 4) contributes to a “vicious circle causing many a headache for language planners” (p. 5). In informal conversations, YGG teachers mentioned this phenomenon as well, wherein children attend Welsh-medium schools, cease speaking the language after leaving school, experience a renewed desire to re-engage with the Welsh language as adults, and send their children to Welsh-medium schools (teachers mentioned several current YGG parents for whom this was the case). It concerned Evas (1997) that, similar to the present data, by the teenage years, at the height of their Welsh language engagement, some pupils have already decided that they will not take an active role in passing the language on. Without the confidence to speak the language

beyond school, positive attitudes will not necessarily lead to sustainable language transmission.

#### *7.2.4. Attitudes toward code alternation*

Finally, the present research draws a connection between attitudes toward code alternation and school language policy, which is underpinned by a separate multilingualism ideology (section 4.3.2). There is evidence that this ideology, wherein multilingualism is valued outside the school setting but disallowed within the school gates, may have unintended consequences for attitudes toward Welsh and Welsh language use. For example, disallowing code alternation in school may inadvertently foster negative attitudes toward the practice in general. As mentioned in section 2.4.2, the association of code alternation with ineptitude is well-attested (cf. Musk, 2006; Wei, 2007; Roy and Galiev, 2011). Indeed, questionnaire data revealed that YGG pupils were more likely than EMS pupils to agree that code alternation is lazy (section 5.2.5), a finding which was supported by a focus group discussion in which one pupil assessed her peers' use of code alternation as "not bothered" and "pathetic" (Extract 6.38). Furthermore, in the matched-guise study, pupils judged the code-switched guise to be less competent, less prestigious, and, notably, less Welsh than the "pure" Welsh guise. This perception may have negative consequences for pupils' attitudes toward their own linguistic practices, not only for Welsh learners, but for L1 bilinguals who are accustomed to code-switching as a part of their regular linguistic repertoire (see Extract 6.34). First, because it is anti-normative, code-alternating in school is also associated with guilt (see Extract 6.36). Roy and Galiev (2011) argue that "denigration of code-switching can [ . . . ] contribute to negative self-identity in bilinguals so that, in a bid to preserve the 'purity' of languages, bilinguals may run the risk of marginalizing their own bilingual experience" (p. 366). In addition, there is evidence that code-alternators are less confident of their competency (Lawson and Sachdev, 2000).

Second, there are some indications, as Roy and Galiev (2011) suggest, that negative associations with code alternation "gradually [lead] to the avoidance of code-switching by bilinguals" (p. 366). In an effort to maintain boundaries between

languages, as is the norm in the classroom, pupils may avoid code-alternated interactions in other settings. While there is some uncertainty as to the relationship between attitudes toward code alternation and code-alternating behavior, some have found a tenable link. In the only such study to take place on Welsh, Couto and Deuchar (2015) found that those who felt strongly that language boundaries should be maintained were less likely to code-switch in their own interactions. In educational contexts where pupils are learning a majority language, such as English, this attitude can lead to the attrition of a pupil's first (minority) language (Roy and Galiev, 2011). In the context of L1 English speakers learning a minority language as an L2, however, anxiety surrounding code alternation may give pupils an incentive to fall back on their main language—English—at the expense of their second language—in this case, Welsh. As code alternation is an informal practice (Musk, 2006), avoiding code-switching might also mean avoiding informal opportunities for minority language use, an area of language use which desperately needs growth among adolescents in Wales.

A third potential consequence is the unintended disenfranchisement of L2 speakers in the form of favoritism toward L1 speakers, particularly with respect to enforcing the monolingual language policy. In focus groups, several pupils expressed that they felt that the policy was applied more stringently to L2 speakers, which felt unfair (section 6.2.3). While the extent to which this actually occurred is unknown, the perception of partiality was shared by L1 and L2 speakers alike. In fairness, the linguistic needs of L1 speakers do differ from those of L2 speakers (Hickey, 2007), and there may be a well-intended pedagogical motivation for the discrepancy, if it indeed exists. However, there appear to be negative attitudes that arise from this perception and an awareness that L1 and L2 speakers are viewed differently by their teachers. According to Robert (2009), if L2 speakers perceive that they are judged to be less competent, they may develop negative attitudes toward the Welsh language and decreased integrative motivation to use it.

### *7.3. Considerations for language policy and planning*

In addition to contributing to the complex theoretical relationships between attitude, ideology, and motivation, and their implications for educational language policy, the research presented in this thesis is intended to be applied. In the following sections, recommendations for future language policy and planning moves will be explored, with a focus on improving young people's attitudes and increasing motivation for using Welsh outside the classroom. Because of the differences in aims and ideology between the Welsh-medium and the English-medium schools in this study, these two contexts will be considered separately. However, in order to be effective, any policy initiative requires a concerted effort amongst language planning stakeholders, including schools, community organizations, and national language planners. Therefore, the potential roles of each of these constituents will be examined.

#### *7.3.1. Considerations for Welsh-medium education*

First and foremost, it should be acknowledged that many successes have been observed throughout this study with respect to positive attitudes toward (and associations with) the Welsh language at YGG. In nearly all aspects examined here, attitudes toward the Welsh language are measurably more positive at YGG than at EMS. Notably, this was shown to be the case even for pupils who came from non-Welsh-speaking homes (sections 5.2.2; 5.3.1), suggesting that the school likely plays a role in fostering positive attitudes toward Welsh. This is supported by the fact that in the regression analysis, school was found to be a strong predictor of active and structured engagement with Welsh, as well as commitment to use of Welsh in the future (both of which were rated more positively by pupils at YGG than at EMS). Furthermore, whether they came from Welsh-speaking families or not, pupils at YGG demonstrated appreciably stronger identifications with Welshness than EMS pupils, which may contribute to an integrative motivation to learn and use Welsh.

Negative attitudes did emerge, however, and in many cases these attitudes were tied to reported language use and commitment to using Welsh in the future. It has

been demonstrated, for example, that some pupils at YGG are demotivated by linguistic insecurity (section 6.3.2.1), feelings of guilt and/or obligation (Extracts 6.19, 6.20, 6.21, 6.22), and a belief that language policies are overly strict (extracts 6.26, 6.32, 6.33) and partial to L1 speakers (section 6.2.3.2). In some cases, pupils explicitly reported avoiding using Welsh (or planning to avoid using Welsh) as a direct result of these attitudes. In others, the implications for language behavior are less direct. It is not known, for example, the extent to which these attitudes will persist beyond leaving school, as attitudes can change over time, nor is the relationship between language attitudes and behavior necessarily straightforward (Garrett, 2010). However, if these attitudes can be presumed to partially explain current language behaviors outside the classroom, as attested by pupils, they are worth considering in light of the fact that language use in multiple domains is critical for its survival (Hickey, 2007). Reconsidering the school's language policy with respect to this data may shed light on some opportunities for reform.

In light of the data, two recommendations are proposed: 1) to allow flexibility or to create flexible spaces where code alternation is allowed and encouraged; and 2) to reformulate discussions of responsibility, lessening emphasis on blame, language death, and perceived generational apathy.

*Recommendation 1: Allow flexibility in code alternation.*

While the monolingual language policy at YGG aims to provide maximum exposure to the Welsh language, thereby allowing pupils sufficient opportunities to practice their skills, it has been shown that there are unintended attitudinal consequences that may have lasting effects on future language use (section 7.2.3). One proposed solution is to allow more flexibility with respect to the use of English (or other languages) in the classroom. This would entail not only focusing on positive rather than negative reinforcement for the use of Welsh (see Extracts 4.12, 4.13), but strategically allowing the use of other languages, including in the form of codeswitching. This would introduce a greater level of autonomy, addressing some of the issues of pressure and guilt inherent in the monolingual language policy and potentially increasing intrinsic motivation to use Welsh. Allowing for code-switched interactions between L1 and L2 Welsh speakers would also more closely mirror the

sociolinguistic context outside the classroom, in which code-alternation is commonplace, easing the diglossic boundaries between school-based and social interactions. Furthermore, it would serve to further the school's mission to "work towards the creation of multi-lingual and multi-talented citizens who can be a part of a civilised world" (YGG School Prospectus, 2013–2014) by acknowledging pupils' distinct cultural and linguistic backgrounds (cf. Selleck, 2012).

To say that there needs to be space for more than one language is not to ignore the pedagogical concerns. There is a need to balance the aims of developing competent Welsh speakers (pedagogy) and ensuring that pupils will want to use the language (language revitalization) (Baker, 2010). Although specific language learning pedagogies are beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth mentioning that there is growing evidence that allowing a pupil's first language into the classroom can be an asset rather than a liability. One of the first to examine this issue, Cook (2001) argues that the L1 should be "deliberately and systematically used in the classroom" (p. 418), rather than eschewed as a barrier to language learning. In a review of empirical bilingual education research, he found evidence of many positive L1 uses, including linking L1 and L2 knowledge in learners' minds, creating meaningful teacher-student connections, and preparing pupils for authentic uses outside the classroom, which naturally include code alternation. Since Cook's (2001) work was published, many others have found empirical evidence for the benefits of L1 usage in the L2 classroom (e.g., Hall, Graham, and Cook, G., 2012; Williams, 2011; Cen Williams, 1994; 1996, Redinger, 2010). In classrooms where pupils are mixed in terms of linguistic ability, such as the present context, Baker (2010) argues that a dual-language methodology may be essential, as it allows all learners to develop skills in their weaker language.

In addition to being advantageous for language learning, classroom code alternation is also often employed by teachers to build positive relationships with pupils, which can serve to foster positive attitudes toward the learning experience. Cook (2001) and Roy and Galiev (2011) cite examples of teachers employing codeswitching to connect with pupils on a personal level, with the aim of "[creating] and [sustaining] students' positive attitudes toward bilingualism" (Roy and Galiev, 2011, p. 368). Code alternation also provides a means for personal and group

identity performance in bi- or multilinguals (Musk, 2006; Creese and Blackledge, 2010), helping pupils develop positive views of themselves (Roy and Galiev, 2011). The strategic use of code alternation in the classroom also helps to alleviate associations with guilt (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Cook, 2001; see also Extracts 6.19, 6.20, 6.21, 6.22), allowing pupils to express themselves in a manner similar to the way they would do so outside of the classroom. Creese and Blackledge (2010) assert the need to “[ease] the burden of guilt associated with translanguaging in educational contexts” (p. 113), encouraging pupils to view their bi- or multilingualism as an asset rather than a source of shame.

Finally, and perhaps most critically in light of the present research, classroom code alternation has been found to have value for speaker confidence (Creese and Blackledge, 2011; Butzkamm and Caldwell, 2009; Cook, 2010). Likewise, Cummins (2007) contends that the use of L1 in a classroom may “promote identities of competence” (p. 238), reversing the stigma of ineptness commonly attributed to code alternators, and, in turn, increasing speaker confidence. Creating spaces in which it is permissible to strategically employ pupils’ L1 languages may be a step toward solving the issue identified by Thomas, Apolloni and Lewis (2014) and Robert (2009), namely that, due to their code alternation practices, pupils who are clearly adept at communicating in Welsh are perceived by themselves and others to be less than competent. Given the impact of confidence on language attitudes, use, and commitment demonstrated in the present study, the potential impact of employing a flexible language policy on speaker confidence merits serious consideration for the establishment of these spaces. Rather than focusing consistently on using “pure” or “correct” Welsh, Thomas, Apolloni, and Lewis (2014) argue that “schools should focus on strategies to increase pupils’ abilities whilst reducing L2 speakers’ misperceptions about their linguistic abilities” (p. 356).

Because the separate monolingualism ideology is so entrenched in language immersion contexts (Lin, 2013), there are few examples of programs where use of an L1 is permitted or explicitly encouraged, although in practice, it is normal for teachers and pupils to use their linguistic resources to some extent in spite of monolingual policies (Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; Helot and Young, 2002), as has been reported at YGG. Creese and Blackledge (2011), Blackledge and Creese (2010), and

Wei and Martin (2009) have identified teachers who employ flexible language practices in several complementary schools<sup>54</sup> in the United Kingdom, including using bilingual texts, utilizing strategic translation, and allowing pupils to use their L1 as needed to accomplish tasks. However, as Baker (2010) points out, there remains very little research on the pedagogical benefits of concurrent language use in the classroom, especially in the Welsh context. But considering the potential implications for attitude, confidence, and motivation, this research is greatly needed (Creese and Blackledge, 2011).

*Recommendation 2: Reformulate the notion of responsibility*

As discussed in section 7.3.1, several pupils mentioned feeling demotivated by feelings of guilt, pressure, and blame with respect to the responsibility placed on them for maintaining the Welsh language. As HB phrased it in Extract 6.22, “I feel pressured, but that deters me” (lines 8–9). In Extract 6.21, SM says he would speak more Welsh if he wasn’t constantly reminded that “it’s an endangered language or whatever” (lines 3–4). WW reports feeling blamed (Extract 6.19, lines 1–2). AN and BL report feeling “forced” (Extract 6.20, line 10), a fact which AN claims is a deterrent (line 15). It is evident that the ideological stance that all Welsh speakers are responsible for carrying the Welsh language forward not only fails to be adopted by the most of the young people at YGG (section 6.2.2.4), but is met with negativity in terms of both attitude and reported motivation. Price and Tamburelli (2016), who heard similar reports amongst the pupils in their study, point out that this may produce “long-standing associative consequences, such as reported feelings of guilt for using English” (8–9). They argue that top-down pressure to speak Welsh achieves the opposite of its aim, acting instead as a deterrent.

It is clear from the interviews that many teachers’ personal experiences with Welsh differ greatly from those of their pupils. Several staff members described their experience with Welsh as a battle (Extracts 4.33, 4.34), and for many, the fear of language loss is personal and real in memory. An unforeseen consequence of the success of the Welsh language revitalization movement, as reported by several

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<sup>54</sup> These are supplementary language programs, usually undertaken outside of school. Their focus is generally on mother-tongue acquisition.

teachers, is the loss of this battle mentality amongst young people of this generation, which is a source of frustration for many. There is a fundamental mismatch between the motivations of young people and the motivations of the generation that preceded them. As the headteacher put it, it would have been easier in the past, when the Welsh language could be used as “a tool to drive momentum” (Extract 4.33).

According to the headteacher, “encouraging [pupils] and educating them about the long history of the battles for the Welsh-medium language to survive” (Extract 4.33) is part of the curriculum. Educating pupils on the fraught history and fragile state of the Welsh language is critical to their understanding of language endangerment as well as the culture significance of language. I would argue, however, that laying the heavy task of saving the language on young people in a way that makes them feel blame, guilt, and pressure is counterproductive from a motivational standpoint, no matter how well-intentioned. What is needed is to continue the work of examining what *does* motivate this generation. The writers of *Iaith Fyw, Iaith Byw* (Welsh Government, 2012) recognize that “it is important that we explore with young people themselves exactly what appeals to them, and what types of activities young people feel they would wish to undertake through the medium of Welsh” (Welsh Government, 2013, p. 30). This requires involving young people in the process, gathering empirical evidence on how they use Welsh within their social circles outside of school, as has been explored in recent years (cf. Morris, 2014; Selleck, 2015).

This is not to say that Welsh learners should not be educated on the struggles, both historical and current, of the language. What is suggested here is a reformulation of the discourse, such that pupils and teachers are engaged in dialogic discussions of language, identity, and responsibility (Smith, 2015). This would help balance the often excessively top-down nature of conversations about language obsolescence identified by Price and Tamburelli (2016), opening opportunities for critical debate and restoring a sense of linguistic autonomy to Welsh learners, which may bolster motivation.

There is no question that Welsh-medium educators face an incredible challenge in balancing the critical tasks of ensuring academic achievement, instilling confidence, motivating pupils, and fostering positive attitudes that will promote and

sustain Welsh language use outside the classroom. Often these aims, and the ideologies that underpin them, clash to such a degree that they seem incompatible. While there is no easy solution, there is an urgent need to rethink, reformulate and re-prioritize these aims. A policy in which learners feel positively about a language but lack the skills and opportunities to use it has limited value; a program in which pupils emerge fluent but are unwilling to *use* the language is equally inadequate. Evidence would suggest that the scales are currently tipped toward the latter.

### 7.3.2. Considerations for Welsh second language education

The requirement of Welsh second language instruction and the *Curriculum Cymreig*<sup>55</sup> in Wales was undoubtedly a move to raise the status of the Welsh language and to engage all Welsh citizens in the linguistic and cultural history of Wales. However, it is fair to say that in terms of language planning, the English-medium sector has been largely neglected. The 2010 *Welsh-Medium Education Strategy*, a document which sets out as one of its aims “to see all learners in English-medium settings benefiting from opportunities to develop language skills which enrich their experience of living in a bilingual country” (WAG, 2010, p. 9), scarcely mentions Welsh as a second language, apart from a general call for improvements.

Over the past several years, increased attention has been drawn to the deficiencies in the provision and attainment of Welsh in English-medium schools. In 2012, the Welsh Government commissioned a review of Welsh second language in English-medium schools. The ensuing report, entitled *One Language for All*, painted a dismal picture of the state of the Welsh language in English-medium schools, stating in its foreword that “it is undeniably the eleventh hour for Welsh second language” (WAG, 2013, p. 1). The report states that attainment levels in Welsh are lower than in any other subject and that, in most schools, there are few opportunities to use the language. Furthermore, the report addresses a lack of motivation similar to that demonstrated throughout the present study:

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<sup>55</sup> See Smith, 2015 for a full discussion and critique.

According to the evidence, [learning Welsh] is a very tedious experience for large numbers of them – they do not regard the subject as being relevant or of any value to them. They are not confident enough to use Welsh outside the classroom – the opportunities to do so are actually very limited – and there is no incentive therefore to learn the language. (1)

In response to this evaluation, some changes are on the horizon. In March 2016, the Welsh Government published a document outlining the next steps for Welsh-medium and Welsh second language education. In support of one of its primary aims, to “ensure that our young people are confident to use their Welsh language skills in all walks of life” (Welsh Government, 2016, p. 4), the Welsh Government has committed to changing the current Welsh second language curriculum in favor of a single continuum of Welsh language learning across school types. This means that academic standards for Welsh learning would be the same in Welsh-medium, English-medium, and bilingual schools, with the aim of easing transitions between key stages and avoiding “too much repetition of linguistic patterns” (Welsh Government, 2013, p. 7). Apart from this provision, a clear action plan has not yet been established to address the other recommendations of the 2014 report, although there has been discussion of a curricular overhaul, and there are plans to revise the strategy over the next year (Welsh Government, 2016).

While the Welsh Government does appear to be taking measures to improve language attainment, the evidence presented in this study suggests that there are other areas in need of particular attention. The first is the issue of motivation. Pupils at EMS appeared to be demotivated by four factors: lack of confidence (sections 5.21; 5.23; 6.3.2.1); lack of identification with Welshness; lack of belief in the instrumental value of Welsh, particularly outside of Wales (section 6.3.2.2); and lack of opportunities to socialize in Welsh (section 2.6.2). Based on these observations, I would make the following recommendations.

*Recommendation 1: Build confidence by increasing social opportunities for non-fluent speakers to have authentic, successful interactions in Welsh.*

This aspect is increasingly recognized as the most essential—as well as the most difficult—task for motivating young people to use their Welsh language skills

(Morris, 2014). At the time of my fieldwork, the head of the Welsh department at EMS was actively partnering with Urdd to facilitate Welsh-medium extracurricular activities, including a Welsh club, a retreat, and participation in the Welsh Second Language division of the Urdd Eisteddfod. These activities are a step in the right direction, but opportunities for second-language Welsh learners to use the language in authentic, successful interactions remain limited.<sup>56</sup> There are two issues at hand. The first is that few resources are allocated toward social activities for non-fluent speakers. The second is that Welsh language activities for youth from Welsh-medium and English-medium schools are kept separate. For example, although Welsh- and English-medium schools can participate in the Urdd Eisteddfod, participants compete separately. Organized recreational opportunities, too, are kept separate. In an interview with a representative from Menter Caerdydd (section 2.3.1.2), I asked whether activities were available for second-language Welsh learners:

No. No, because they're Welsh-medium. If their Welsh is good enough to take part in Welsh, yes. But we are committed to supporting the children who are in Welsh-medium education. Not bilingual. Not English-language schools. They have activities in English. I mean, the Council provides youth clubs and so on in English. We provide them in Welsh for the children who are in Welsh-medium education. If there are children in the English-language sector who have learnt enough Welsh to take part in Welsh, they'd be welcome. But it's not, uh, bilingual, in any sense at all, totally.

*Extract 7.1:* Interview with representative from Menter Caerdydd

This representative made it clear that Menter spaces are meant to be monolingual enclaves where fluent Welsh speakers can use their Welsh. As for non-fluent speakers, “they have activities in English” (line 6). This is in line with the ideology of language choice represented in *Iaith Pawb*, wherein “people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English” (WAG, 2003, p.

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<sup>56</sup> Urdd has reportedly begun to work more closely with English-medium schools to provide informal

1). It also reflects an ideology of parallel bilingualism (Coupland, 2010; 2012) that reinforces not only the discrete separation of languages, but potentially the separation of Welsh-speaking Welsh culture and non-Welsh-speaking Welsh culture (section 4.4.1.2) as well. Coupland (2012) cautions that the frame of choice of discrete codes, rather than hybridity and complementarity, may lead to Wales “being a non-community where Welsh people, confronted with the ‘choice’ of leading their lives through Welsh or English, align themselves with different, parallel conceptions of being Welsh” (p. 99). The contrasts in identification with Welshness presented in this thesis certainly support this notion.

On one hand, preserving spaces where Welsh speakers can communicate freely in Welsh is important because it allows them access to their language of choice, a long fought-for right. There are practical reasons as well, of course; different levels of proficiency present communicative challenges, and there is a worry that bilinguals would revert to English. On the other hand, if all Welsh-medium and Welsh-learner spaces are kept separate, opportunities for non-fluent speakers to engage in authentic interactions would be extremely limited. Socializing in Welsh is only so relevant if there are no fluent Welsh speakers involved. Furthermore, the opportunities afforded by taking part in activities where language is not the focus but rather the normal medium of communication are missed when learners are excluded. A teenager who is interested in swimming—one of the most popular activities Menter Caerdydd provides—could benefit a great deal from taking a swimming class in Welsh alongside Welsh-speaking friends.

At present, opportunities for EMS pupils to use their Welsh are limited to the classroom, and a few activities designated for them. Interactions with fluent speakers are limited to an imagined future, in which learners voluntarily attain a level of fluency that qualifies them to work in a Welsh-medium environment. As evidenced by the focus group discussions on the instrumental value of Welsh, this is not motivating for young people. There need to be spaces where learners can interact with fluent speakers in relevant social contexts, and can experience success in those interactions. This, of course, requires promoting a culture of flexibility and tolerance for imperfect Welsh. Ideally, this would occur from the bottom up; for example, as a

student-led youth club. But existing organizations like the Urdd and Menter Caerdydd have the potential to create these opportunities as well. It is also important, as asserted in *Iaith Fyw*, to involve young people in the process to explore “exactly what appeals to them and what types of activities young people feel they would wish to undertake through the medium of Welsh” (Welsh Government, 2013, p. 30).

*Recommendation 2: Explore the role of Welsh in a multilingual, multicultural context within the classroom.*

It is clear that many pupils at EMS do not relate to the conceptions of Welsh identity that are traditionally linked to the Welsh language. Focus group data indicated that many pupils felt detached from the Welsh language, and indeed from Welsh identity in general. Although learning about Welsh cultural heritage and history are important facets of the Welsh Second Language curriculum and of the *Curriculum Cymreig* (Smith, 2015), there has been some criticism of the narrow approaches to Welsh cultural education and its deficiencies in exploring multiple conceptions of Welshness (Smith, 2015; Welsh Government, 2013). This has potentially detrimental effects on pupils’ integrative motivation to learn Welsh. While this issue is relevant to all in Wales, it is especially pertinent to Cardiff, which is continuously diversifying. At the time of data collection, 37% of pupils belonged to an ethnic minority group, and many spoke languages other than English or Welsh (section 3.5.1). Critically engaging with Welsh national identity in the context of ethnicity and globalization is growing ever more important.

On a positive note, it seems that measures are currently being taken to address these issues. In recent years, increased attention has been drawn to these issues within the context of Welsh second language instruction. The Welsh Government has recognized that “schools should develop approaches that support the ethnic and cultural identities of all learners and reflect a range of perspectives, to engage learners and prepare them for life as global citizens” (Welsh Government, 2015a). Part of the impending restructuring of the curriculum includes incorporating an international focus (Welsh Government, 2015b), though a concrete plan for this has yet to emerge.

*Recommendation 3: Improve the relevance of the curriculum.*

Focus group discussions revealed that many pupils were not convinced of the instrumental value of Welsh. On the language attitude and use questionnaire, ratings on the commitment factor—which incorporated the perceived instrumental value of Welsh—were very low ( $M = 2.90$ ; see section 5.2.2). Moreover, while some pupils acknowledged a vague possibility of using their Welsh, many felt that there was little instrumental value, particularly in international contexts (section 6.3.2.2). Part of the issue is that promotion of the usefulness of Welsh is focused on the future, particularly for employment. For an adolescent, these theoretical future uses of Welsh do not appear to be motivating enough; Welsh needs to be perceived as useful in the present. The current curriculum, which focuses on contexts not perceived as relevant or immediately applicable (see Appendix Q) does little to convince pupils that their Welsh can be used in social contexts. Many pupils reported that they didn't believe they could carry on a basic conversation. In terms of perceiving the language as useful, this skill is fundamental.

There is recognition that this is an issue. In their *Review of Welsh Second Language*, the Welsh Government recommended that “more emphasis . . . be given to developing language patterns and their use across various everyday contexts . . . there should be a concerted effort to move away from teaching traditional contexts which may not facilitate the use of Welsh outside the classroom” (Welsh Government, 2014, p. 30). The Welsh Government has also recognized the need for more emphasis on oral skills, as these are more likely to be utilized than written Welsh (Welsh Government, 2015). There are also plans to increase emphasis on workplace applications, based on research on local needs. However, this emphasis must be treated with caution. Over-reliance on touting benefits for employment does not address the issue of those who intend to leave Wales, nor does it provide in-the-moment applied experiences. It may be beneficial to expose young people to Welsh-medium work environments earlier on, for example through volunteer projects or work experience, to engage them firsthand in using the language communicatively.

To be clear, the recommendations offered in the previous two sections are not

intended to be concrete, standalone solutions. Considerations of attitude and ideology must be balanced with the political, social, and economic needs of the community. These proposals are based on the insight gleaned from the current research study, as well as related sociolinguistic research. The effectiveness of policy change is maximized when research from multiple fields is employed. Pedagogical research on bilingual education is particularly pertinent for the educational contexts studied here. That said, when considered alongside other relevant research, the recommendations offered here provide valuable avenues for future educational language policy reform.

## 8 Conclusion

The overall aim of this dissertation was to investigate the discrepancy between steady growth in Welsh-medium education over the past three decades and low engagement with the Welsh language outside of school, even amongst many fluent Welsh speakers. To explore this question, this dissertation has examined the relationship between language ideologies and language policies in Welsh- and English-medium secondary schools in Wales and the potential influence of these ideologies on adolescents' attitudes toward Welsh and motivations for using the language outside the classroom. The following research questions were addressed:

- RQ1. What language ideologies are espoused by Welsh- and English-medium secondary schools in Wales, and to what extent are they reflected in pupils' language attitudes?
- RQ2. What is the relationship between pupils' attitudes toward Welsh, their self-reported behaviors, and their commitment to future language use?
- RQ3. To what extent do pupils perceive their Welsh ethnolinguistic identities to rely on Welsh language ability?
- RQ4. How effectively do codified language policies and unofficial institutional language practices coordinate with young people's motivations to speak particular languages?

The various methods employed in this study have provided complementary empirical evidence that allows the following conclusions to be drawn. First, language ideologies at YGG and at EMS differ substantially. YGG's statement of ethos reflected an institutionalized belief in the inextricable integration of Welsh language and culture, encompassing the ideologies of language-as-symbol and language-as-communication (Edwards, 2009). This ideology was reflected by policy, wherein pupils were expected to speak Welsh at all times and engage in Welsh cultural practices. YGG's ethos and policies also revealed an ideology of separate multilingualism, which can be compared to Creese and Blackledge's (2011) separate bilingualism, wherein multilingual abilities are valued outside the school setting, but

discreet language boundaries are maintained within it. This is evidenced by a “Welsh only” policy, which required pupils to speak only Welsh at all times during the school day. While some teachers purported to tolerate word-level code-mixing, sentential codeswitching was consistently disallowed.

Individual teachers varied in their orientations toward the school’s ideologies. Some expressed, for example, that Welsh could serve a communicative function without being embedded into one’s identity, while others believed it to be inherent to all Welsh identities to some extent (e.g., Extract 4.26). Although no teacher expressed that speaking Welsh was a necessary criterion for Welshness, some discourse evoked a continuum of Welsh identity, with Welshness at one end and Englishness at the other, where one’s degree of Welshness was determined by essential criteria such as Welsh language use, birthplace, and parental origin. Teachers also commonly conveyed that knowledge of Welsh allowed access into a more distinct and well-defined Welshness—a Welsh-speaking Welsh culture. By contrast, the alternative non-Welsh-speaking Welsh culture was seen to be indistinct, perhaps no different from English culture. This belief aligned somewhat with the school’s ideology of the inextricable integration of language and culture.

At EMS, the prevailing language ideology was of language-as-symbol (Edwards, 2009). The school’s use of incidental Welsh and bilingual signage, while intended to normalize Welsh, in practice served more of a symbolic than a communicative function, serving to acknowledge the Welsh language as a shared cultural icon. The school’s Welsh-language motto reflected this ideology as well. Interviews with teachers also indicated an ideology of flexible multilingualism and multiculturalism. Code-alternation was viewed by teacher participants in a positive light, and was considered by some to indicate a metropolitan, modern Welshness. As most of the teachers interviewed were monolingual English speakers, however, evidence of flexible multilingual practice, e.g., code-alternating behavior (as in Selleck’s (2012) study), was not found.

The language attitude and use questionnaire, the Implicit Association Test, and the matched-guise test served to shed light on broad attitudinal patterns, including school- and non-school-related factors that predicted language attitudes, associations, and use. Triangulation using direct and indirect methods not only

improved the validity of the results, but allowed various facets of attitudes toward language to be examined. As expected, demographic data from the language attitude and use questionnaire revealed differences in the linguistic and ethnic profiles of the two school populations. However, what was more striking was the discrepancy between how pupils from Welsh- and English-medium schools chose to describe their nationalities. When given an open-ended question about their nationality, nearly 90% of pupils from the Welsh-medium school identified themselves Welsh, compared with only about half of pupils from the English-medium school. This is notable, as Welshness turned out to be an important predictor of attitude and engagement on the questionnaire. The questionnaire data also revealed a pattern of linguistic insecurity at both schools: only a third of YGG pupils rated themselves as very comfortable speaking to a native Welsh speaker, despite their doing so on a daily basis in school. At EMS, more than three quarters of pupils rated their confidence below the midpoint, indicating that the vast majority did not feel confident speaking to a first-language Welsh speaker.

Unsurprisingly, in all five categories assessed (section 5.2.2), pupils from YGG demonstrated significantly higher levels of engagement with Welsh and more positive attitudes toward the language than pupils at EMS. A multiple regression analysis showed that self-identified Welshness was a moderate indicator of active and structured engagement with Welsh, and was a strong indicator of commitment to future Welsh language use, independent of home language, school, parental languages, and proficiency. This suggests that those who consider themselves Welsh are not only more likely to interact through the medium of Welsh, but are committed to speaking Welsh into the future. Welshness was also a strong predictor of symbolic affiliation with the Welsh language, suggesting that those who feel more Welsh also have more positive attitudes toward its symbolic functions. While it is unclear from these correlations whether speaking Welsh strengthens a sense of Welsh identity, feeling more Welsh inspires a desire to speak Welsh, or some reciprocal relationship between the two, it is notable in light of differences in national identification between YGG and EMS.

The language attitude and use questionnaire also shed light on the role of the school in fostering attitudes toward and engagement with Welsh. Interestingly,

attending the Welsh-medium school not only independently predicted levels of active and structured engagement with Welsh, as might be expected, but was a stronger predictor of commitment to future Welsh language use than home language. Given that the majority of YGG pupils come from non-Welsh-speaking homes, this is an important and promising finding from the perspective of language revitalization. The data imply that YGG may have a positive influence on pupils' desires to continue using Welsh into the future. While this may be cause for optimism, it should be treated with caution, as intended behavior does not necessarily reflect actual future behavior (Garrett, 2010).

Data obtained from the questionnaire also shed light on the roles of proficiency and confidence in attitude and engagement. Of all of the independent variables examined, self-rated proficiency proved to be the most consistent predictor of positive attitudes toward and strong engagement with Welsh. Most remarkably, proficiency strongly predicted symbolic affiliation with Welsh, suggesting that for those who feel confident about their Welsh language abilities, Welsh is deployed as an expression of cultural identity. Those who lack proficiency—or feel less confident in their skills—may derive their sense of Welshness from alternative sources, such as Welsh-accented English, emblematic displays, or sport affiliations (Coupland et al., 2005).

Finally, the questionnaire data confirmed the broader trends described throughout this dissertation: for both schools, attitude ratings for symbolic affiliation with Welsh were much higher than rates of engagement or commitment. This suggests that positive attitudes toward the symbolic and cultural functions of Welsh do not necessarily lead to interactional language use, which supports findings from Coupland et al. (2005) and Price (2010). The difficulties faced by the government in promoting Welsh as a “language for living” (Welsh Government, 2011) are made evident here. Furthermore, while symbolic affiliation with Welsh at YGG was moderately high, ratings at EMS were lower than might be expected from previous studies (e.g., Coupland et al., 2005; Morris, 2014), hovering just above the midpoint rating. While further research is needed to examine what motivates these attitudes, there is evidence throughout this dissertation that young non-Welsh-speaking Welsh

people in Cardiff are exploring alternative non-Welsh identities in which the Welsh language plays little or no role (section 7.2.2).

Analysis of attitudes toward code alternation, as reported on the questionnaire, indicated some notable differences between the two schools (section 5.2.5). While both schools agreed that agree that code alternation is natural, YGG informants were significantly more likely to do so than those at EMS. This is likely due to YGG pupils' personal experiences with bilingualism and contact with other bilinguals, in contrast with the secondhand experiences of most EMS pupils. Notably, however, participants at YGG were also significantly more likely to agree that code alternation is lazy, reiterating a long-standing stigma (section 2.3.3), but also perhaps reflecting the ideals of their school, where monolingual Welsh usage is an indicator of good citizenship and high academic achievement. Finally, although they displayed only neutral-to-mild ratings, YGG participants were significantly more apt to agree that code alternation can lead to language death. This suggests that some pupils may feel that code alternation contributes to the decline of Welsh (as expressed by Ms. Wilson in Extract 4.8), although it is also possible that YGG pupils simply have a keener awareness of language death in general than their EMS counterparts, and thus hold stronger views.

The Implicit Association Test (section 5.3) also revealed substantial differences between the two schools. Overall, YGG pupils demonstrated a weakly positive implicit association with the Welsh language, while EMS pupils showed a weakly negative implicit association. This was an expected finding, as many YGG pupils come from Welsh-speaking homes. However, strikingly, this pattern held true when first-language Welsh speakers, and participants with at least one Welsh-speaking parent, were excluded from the analysis, though the strength of YGG participants' positive associations was attenuated. While other (non-linguistic) factors may be at play, given the demographic similarities between participants at the two schools, there is strong evidence that the school environment has played a role in fostering these associations. This suggests that YGG's efforts to promote Welsh through school culture and ethos may be having a positive effect on pupils' associations with the Welsh language, which is an encouraging finding from a language revitalization perspective.

More than other measures mentioned here, the matched-guise test (5.4) showed evidence of some positive attitudes toward Welsh. At both schools, participants rated both Welsh and code-switched guises higher than a north Welsh-accented English guise on dimensions of competence (intelligence, work ethic, and education), and prestige (social class). YGG pupils also rated the Welsh guise higher on the social attractiveness dimension (attractiveness, friendliness, coolness). Community perceptions of minority languages are critical for their successful revitalization, and it appears that pupils from Welsh- and English-medium schools share these positive perceptions.

For both schools, the code-switched guise was rated lower than the Welsh guise on the dimensions of competence and prestige, which suggests an attitude of linguistic purism and is in line with previous research (section 2.4.2). Notably, however, although participants at both schools rated the Welsh guise as significantly more Welsh than the English guise, only participants at YGG judged the code-switched guise to be less Welsh than the Welsh guise. This suggests that for YGG pupils, codeswitching is a salient index of a less “pure” Welshness. This attitude aligns with teachers’ descriptions of varying degrees of Welshness (section 4.4.1).

Data drawn from focus groups with pupils help fine-tune our understanding of these attitudes, examine motivations for Welsh language use outside the classroom, and explore young people’s perceptions of the Welsh language’s role in their ethnolinguistic identities. Focus group data revealed wide discrepancies in this latter issue. While participants at YGG expressed a range of beliefs about how the Welsh language factored into their taken-for-granted Welshness, several participants at EMS contested whether they were Welsh at all. This clearly reflected the self-reported ethnicity data collected in the questionnaire. EMS participants cited various reasons for rejecting a Welsh identification, including birthplace, language, and parents’ ethnic origins, suggesting that the ideology of national language ownership promoted in *Iaith Pawb* and *Iaith Fyw* did not successfully permeate these adolescents’ self-perceptions.

Linguistic insecurity emerged as a demotivating factor for using the language outside the classroom at both schools. At YGG, participants expressed hesitation in speaking to first-language Welsh speakers (such as their friends’ parents) for fear of

being corrected. Additionally, some participants stated that they would not pass the language onto their future children for lack of confidence, even though they were supportive of their children learning Welsh in school (Extract 6.7). At EMS, participants claimed that their lack of confidence precluded them from any sort of engagement with Welsh outside of school (section 6.3.2.1). In addition, some said that interactions with fluent Welsh speakers, far from providing them with integrative motivation, made them feel not only less confident but less Welsh as well (Extract 6.25). These findings once again supported the questionnaire data.

With respect to positive motivators, some YGG pupils reported experiencing a sense of connectedness when engaging in Welsh-medium activities outside of school. Others were purportedly motivated by using Welsh as a secret code, allowing them to communicate surreptitiously in front of non-Welsh speakers. Aside from linguistic insecurity, YGG pupils claimed to be deterred by the strict policies within their school, which, in their view, produced a lack of freedom and a sense of obligation that led to a desire to rebel. EMS pupils, on the other hand, expressed little motivation to speak Welsh at all. These pupils were generally unconvinced by the instrumental values of Welsh, felt intimidated to communicate with fluent Welsh speakers, and felt that EMS's use of incidental Welsh was contrived and purposeless. These data point to a need for better ways to make Welsh relevant, interesting and valuable to young people.

This study has examined the social psychological and ideological drivers of secondary school pupils' attitudes toward Welsh, and has explored the implications of these attitudes on future language behaviors. It has also contributed to the theoretical understanding of how language ideologies and policies in secondary schools interact to contribute to pupils' orientations toward language and national identity. Further empirical research is needed, however, particularly with respect to the particular motivations of adolescents in Cardiff and throughout Wales. Though it has long been acknowledged that young people play a pivotal role in language revitalization (Fishman, 1991; Baker, 1992), and that bilingual education alone is not enough to sustain the language long-term (Edwards and Newcombe, 2005), top-down language planning efforts to reach this demographic have often been disjointed. Providing opportunities to socialize in Welsh is insufficient if those

opportunities are not interesting or relevant, if adolescents feel overly compelled, or if participants lack the confidence to use their skills. While attitudes toward Welsh and other minority languages continue to be of interest to researchers, there is a conspicuous dearth of research on motivation for learning and using minority languages. In addition, further study is needed on Cardiff. As Wales' capital continues to attract Welsh speakers to high-prestige government and media jobs (Carter, 2010), and as it continues to diversify ethnically and linguistically, it is critical to tailor local language planning efforts to this particular sociolinguistic context. And, most critically, the success of the ongoing revitalization of the Welsh language depends on continuous collaboration between policymakers, grassroots organizers, and researchers on the ground.

## LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND USE QUESTIONNAIRE

### **Before you begin:**

- Please answer all of the questions as completely and honestly as possible.
- Know that your personal information will be kept totally confidential.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Pseudonym: \_\_\_\_\_

### **PART I:** For this section, please answer each question according to the directions.

1. What is your first language? (Tick ✓one)

Welsh  
 English  
 I learned Welsh and English at the same time  
 Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

2. Which language do you speak most often at home?

Welsh  
 English  
 Welsh and English equally  
 Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

3. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

4. What is your gender? (Tick ✓one)

Male  
 Female  
 Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

5. About how long have you lived in Wales? \_\_\_\_\_ years \_\_\_\_\_ months

6. On a scale of 1-7, how proficient do you feel you are in Welsh? (Circle one.)

No knowledge of Welsh

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

Fluent

7. On a scale of 1-7, how comfortable do you feel speaking Welsh to a native Welsh speaker? (Circle one.)

*Not comfortable at all*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Very comfortable*

8. How do you usually describe your nationality? \_\_\_\_\_

9. How strongly do you feel about your Welsh identity? (Circle one.)

*Not at all Welsh*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Very Welsh*

10. How proficient is your mother in Welsh? (Circle one.)

*No knowledge of Welsh*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Fluent*

**OR**

Not applicable (I do not have this family member)

11. How proficient is your father in Welsh? (Circle one.)

*No knowledge of Welsh*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Fluent*

**OR**

Not applicable (I do not have this family member)

12. How proficient is your stepmother in Welsh? (Circle one.)

*No knowledge of Welsh*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Fluent*

**OR**

Not applicable (I do not have this family member)

13. How proficient is your stepfather in Welsh? (Circle one.)

*No knowledge of Welsh*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Fluent*

**OR**

Not applicable (I do not have this family member)

**PART II:** For this section, please tick the box that best describes your experience. **Please tick only ONE box for each question.**

14. How often do you speak Welsh with your mother?

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always
- Not Applicable

15. How often do you speak Welsh with your father?

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always
- Not Applicable

16. How often do you speak Welsh with your stepmother?

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always
- Not Applicable

17. How often do you speak Welsh with your stepfather?

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always
- Not Applicable

18. How often do you speak Welsh with one or more of your siblings?

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always
- Not Applicable

19. How often do you speak Welsh with someone in your extended family (grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins)?

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always
- Not Applicable

20. Which *Welsh-medium* activities do you participate in?

- Playing sports
- Going to sporting events
- Cultural activities (such as Eisteddfod)
- Youth Clubs
- Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
- I do not participate in any *Welsh-medium* activities.

21. How often do you speak Welsh with friends?

21a. In Welsh class:

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always

21b. In other classes:

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always

21c. In school, but *outside of class*:

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always

21d. Outside of school when just hanging out:

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always

- 21e. Outside of school in organised Welsh-medium activities:
- Never  
 Rarely  
 Sometimes  
 Usually  
 Always
22. How often do you watch Welsh-language television?
- Never  
 Sometimes  
 Often
23. How often do you listen to Welsh-language radio?
- Never  
 Sometimes  
 Often
24. How often do you listen to Welsh-language music?
- Never  
 Sometimes  
 Often
25. How often do you read the news in Welsh?
- Never  
 Sometimes  
 Often
26. How often do you read books and magazines in Welsh for fun?
- Never  
 Sometimes  
 Often
27. How often do you use social media (such as Facebook or Twitter) in Welsh?
- Never  
 Sometimes  
 Often
28. How often do you send text messages in Welsh?
- Never  
 Sometimes  
 Often
29. How often do you use Welsh when out in the community (shopping, going to the cinema, ordering food, etc.)
- Never  
 Sometimes  
 Often

**PART III.** For the next section, you are asked to rate your agreement with each statement on a scale of 1-7, where '7' means you **STRONGLY AGREE**, and '1' means you **DO NOT AGREE AT ALL**. Circle the number that best describes your opinion.

30. It is important to speak Welsh in school, outside of class.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

31. It is important to speak Welsh with family members.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

32. Knowing Welsh could help me get into a good university.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

33. Knowing Welsh could help me to get a good job.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

34. It is important to know Welsh when participating in Welsh ceremonies and traditions, such as *eisteddfodau*.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

35. It is important to speak Welsh in the community (such as shopping, ordering food, etc.)

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

36. If I have children, I want them to learn Welsh. (If you do not plan to have children, skip this question and go on to question 37.)

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

37. I plan to continue using Welsh after I finish my A-levels. (If you do not plan to do A-levels, skip this question and go on to question 38.)

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

38. I plan to attend a Welsh-medium university. (If you do not plan to attend any university, skip this question and go on to question 39.)

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

39. I am responsible for helping to carry the Welsh language forward.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

40. It is natural for people to use some English words when speaking Welsh.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

41. Listening to people mix Welsh and English can help you learn some Welsh words.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

42. People use English words when speaking Welsh because they are lazy.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

43. Mixing English and Welsh words could eventually cause the Welsh language to die out.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

44. I enjoy learning languages in general.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

45. I enjoy learning Welsh.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

46. Speaking Welsh makes me feel more 'Welsh'.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

47. Speaking Welsh is cool.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

48. The Welsh language is an important part of Welsh culture.

*Strongly*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*disagree Strongly agree*

Would you be willing to take part in a focus group conversation with a group of friends? This would involve a conversation with a small group of people about various topics, and would take about 45 minutes to an hour.

- YES
- NO

If **YES**, please write down the names of three or four friends who you would be willing to chat with.

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for completing this questionnaire! 😊



## HOLIADUR AGWEDDAU TUAG AT IAITH A DEFNYDD O IAITH

### Cyn cychwyn:

- Atebwch yr holl gwestiynau yn llawn ac yn onest.
- Cedwir manylion personol yn hollol gyfniachol.

Enw: \_\_\_\_\_

Ffugenw: \_\_\_\_\_

### RHAN I: Atebwch bob cwestiwn yn ôl y cyfarwyddiadau.

1. Beth yw eich iaith gyntaf? (Dewiswch un ✓)
- Cymraeg
  - Saesneg
  - Dysgais Gymraeg a Saesneg ar y cyd
  - Arall (nodwch fanylion): \_\_\_\_\_

2. Pa iaith ydych chi'n siarad amlaf yn y cartref? (Dewiswch un ✓)
- Cymraeg
  - Saesneg
  - Cymraeg a Saesneg yn gyfartal
  - Arall (nodwch fanylion): \_\_\_\_\_

3. Beth yw eich oed? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Beth yw eich rhyw? (Dewiswch un ✓)
- Gwryw
  - Benyw
  - Arall (nodwch fanylion): \_\_\_\_\_

5. Pa mor hir ydych wedi byw yng Nghymru? \_\_\_\_\_ blwyddyn \_\_\_\_\_ mis

6. Ar raddfa o 1-7, pa mor rhugl ydych chi'n teimlo wrth siarad Cymraeg? (Amgylchwch un.)

Dim dealltwriaeth o'r Gymraeg

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Rhugl

7. Ar raddfa o 1-7, ydych chi'n gyffyrddus pan yn siarad gyda siaradwr/wraig Cymraeg iaith gyntaf? (Amgylchwch un.)

*Ddim yn gyffyrddus o gwbl*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Cyffyrddus iawn*

8. Sut ydych chi fel arfer yn disgrifio eich cenedligrwydd? \_\_\_\_\_

9. Pa mor gryf yw eich teimladau am eich hunaniaeth Gymreig? (Amgylchwch un.)

*Dim Cymreictod o gwbl*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Cymreig iawn*

**RHAN II.** Yn y rhan hon, dewiswch y blwch sydd yn disgrifio eich profiad orau.  
**Dewiswch UN blwch yn unig ym mhob cwestiwn.**

10. Pa mor rhugl yw eich mam yn y Gymraeg?

*Dim dealltwriaeth o'r Gymraeg*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Rhugl*

**NEU**

- Ddim yn berthnasol (Nid oes gennyf berthynas o'r math yma)

11. Pa mor rhugl yw eich tad yn y Gymraeg?

*Dim dealltwriaeth o'r Gymraeg*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Rhugl*

**NEU**

- Ddim yn berthnasol (Nid oes gennyf berthynas o'r math yma)

12. Pa mor rhugl yw eich llysfam yn y Gymraeg?

*Dim dealltwriaeth o'r Gymraeg*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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*Rhugl*

**NEU**

- Ddim yn berthnasol (Nid oes gennyf berthynas o'r math yma)

13. Pa mor rhugl yw eich llystad yn y Gymraeg?

Dim dealltwriaeth o'r Gymraeg

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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Rhugl

**NEU**

- Ddim yn berthnasol (Nid oes gennyf berthynas o'r math yma)

14. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg gyda'ch mam?

- Byth
- Anaml
- Weithiau
- Fel arfer
- Pob amser
- Ddim yn berthnasol

15. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg gyda'ch tad?

- Byth
- Anaml
- Weithiau
- Fel arfer
- Pob amser
- Ddim yn berthnasol

16. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg gyda'ch llysfam?

- Byth
- Anaml
- Weithiau
- Fel arfer
- Pob amser
- Ddim yn berthnasol

17. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg gyda'ch llystad?

- Byth
- Anaml
- Weithiau
- Fel arfer
- Pob amser
- Ddim yn berthnasol

18. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg gydag un neu fwy o'ch brodyr neu chwiorydd?

- Byth
- Anaml
- Weithiau
- Fel arfer
- Pob amser
- Ddim yn berthnasol

19. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg gyda rhywyn yn eich teulu (teidiau/neiniau/modrybau/ewythrod/cefndryd/cyfnithe rod?)

- Byth
- Anaml
- Weithiau
- Fel arfer
- Pob amser
- Ddim yn berthnasol

20. Ym mha weithgareddau ydych chi'n cymryd rhan trwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg?

- Chwaraeon
- Cystadlaethau chwaraeon
- Gweithgareddau diwylliannol (e.e. Eisteddfod)
- Clwb ieuenctid
- Arall (nodwch fanylion)\_\_\_\_\_
- Nid wyf yn cymryd rhan mewn gweithgareddau trwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg.

21. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg gyda ffrindiau?

21a. Mewn gwersi Cymraeg:

- Byth
- Anaml
- Weithiau
- Fel arfer
- Pob amser

21b. Mewn gwersi eraill:

- Byth
- Anaml
- Weithiau
- Fel arfer
- Pob amser

21c. Yn yr ysgol, ond tu allan i wersi:

- Byth
- Anaml
- Weithiau
- Fel arfer
- Pob amser

- 21d. Tu allan i'r ysgol  
mewn sefyllfa  
anffurfiol:
- Byth  
 Anaml  
 Weithiau  
 Fel arfer  
 Pob amser
- 21e. Mewn  
gweithgareddau sydd  
wedi eu trefnu, tu  
allan i'r ysgol, trwy  
gyfrwng y Gymraeg:
- Byth  
 Anaml  
 Weithiau  
 Fel arfer  
 Pob amser
22. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n gwyllo teledu Cymraeg?
- Byth  
 Weithiau  
 Yn aml
23. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n gwrando ar y radio yn y  
Gymraeg?
- Byth  
 Weithiau  
 Yn aml
24. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n gwrando ar gerddoriaeth  
iaith Gymraeg?
- Byth  
 Weithiau  
 Yn aml
25. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n darllen y newyddion yn y  
Gymraeg?
- Byth  
 Weithiau  
 Yn aml
26. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n darllen llyfrau neu  
gylchgronnau yn y Gymraeg yn eich amser hamdden?
- Byth  
 Weithiau  
 Yn aml
27. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n defnyddio cyfryngau  
cymdeithasol (e.e. Facebook/Trydar) yn y Gymraeg?
- Byth  
 Weithiau  
 Yn aml
28. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n anfon negesau testun yn y  
Gymraeg?
- Byth  
 Weithiau  
 Yn aml
29. Pa mor aml ydych chi'n defnyddio'r Gymraeg yn y  
gymuned (siopa, mynd i'r sinema, archebu bwyd  
a.y.yb.)
- Byth  
 Weithiau  
 Yn aml

**RHAN III.** Yn y rhan yma, mae gofyn dangos eich cytundeb gyda phob datganiad ar raddfa o 1-7. Mae 7 yn cyfateb i **CYTUNO’N GRYF**, ac mae ‘1’ yn cyfateb i **ANGHYTUNO’N GRYF**. Amgylchwch y rhif sydd yn disgrifio eith ymateb chi orau.

30. Mae hi’n bwysig siarad Cymraeg yn yr ysgol, tu allan i’r dosbarth.

Anghytuno’n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno’n gryf

31. Mae hi’n bwysig siarad Cymraeg gydag aelodau o’r teulu.

Anghytuno’n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno’n gryf

32. Mae medru Cymraeg yn debygol o roi cyfle i mi fynd i brifysgol well.

Anghytuno’n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno’n gryf

33. Mae medru Cymraeg yn debygol i’m cynorthwyo gael swydd well.

Anghytuno’n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno’n gryf

34. Mae hi’n bwysig medru Cymraeg wrth gymryd rhan mewn seremonïau a thraddodiadau, megis Eisteddfodau.

Anghytuno’n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno’n gryf

35. Mae hi'n bwysig siarad Cymraeg yn y gymuned (e.e. Siopa, archebu bwyd a.y.yb.)

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

36. Os byddaf yn cael plant, rydw i eisiau iddynt ddysgu Cymraeg. (Os nad ydych yn bwriadu cael plant, symudwch i gwestiwn 37.)

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

37. 'Rwyf yn bwriadu dal ymlaen i ddefnyddio'r Gymraeg ar ôl gorffen Lefel A. (Os nad ydych yn bwriadu gwneud Lefel A, symydwch i gwestiwn 38.)

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

38. 'Rwyf yn bwriadu mynychu prifysgol cyfrwng Cymraeg. (Os nad ydych yn bwriadu mynd i'r brifysgol, symydwch ymlaen i gwestiwn 39.)

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

39. Mae hi'n ddyletswydd arnaf i ddal ymlaen gyda'r iaith Gymraeg er mwyn ei dyfodol.

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

40. Mae hi'n naturiol i bobl ddefnyddio rhai geiriau Saesneg wrth siarad Cymraeg.

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

41. Mae gwranddo ar bobl yn defnyddio cymysgedd o Gymraeg a Saesneg yn cynorthwyo dysgu rhai geiriau Cymraeg.

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

42. Mae pobl yn defnyddio geiriau Saesneg wrth siarad Cymraeg oherwydd eu bod yn ddiog.

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

43. Mae'n bosib bod cymysgu geiriau Saesneg a Chymraeg yn debygol o achosi marwolaeth yr iaith Gymraeg.

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

44. Yn gyffredinnol, 'rwyf yn mwynhau ieithoedd.

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

45. 'Rwyf yn mwynhau dysgu Cymraeg.

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

46. Mae siarad Cymraeg yn gwneud i mi deimlo'n fwy Cymreig.

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

47. Mae siarad Cymraeg yn cŵl.

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

48. Mae'r iaith Gymraeg yn rhan bwysig o ddiwylliant Cymru.

Anghytuno'n 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 gryf Cytuno'n gryf

A fuasech chi'n fodlon cymryd rhan mewn sgws grŵp ffocws gyda ffrindiau?  
Buasai hyn yn golygu sgwsr gyda grŵp bach o bobl yn ymdrîn ag amryw o bynciau,  
ac yn para rhwng 45 munud ac awr.

- BUASWN
- NA FUASWN

Os mai BUASWN yw eich ateb, ysgrifennwch enwau tri neu bedwar o ffrindiau y  
buasech chi'n fodlon sgwsrio â nhw.

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

Diolch am gwblhau'r holiadur hwn.





Appendix C: Language Attitude and Use Questionnaire Addendum

49. How strong do you think the Welsh language is in Cardiff at this moment?

Very 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 weak Very strong

50. In ten years' time, how strong do you think the Welsh language will be in Cardiff?

Very 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 weak Very strong

51. How strong do you think the Welsh language is in Wales at this moment?

Very 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 weak Very strong

52. In ten years' time, how strong do you think the Welsh language will be in Wales?

Very 

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 weak Very strong

## Appendix D: Teacher Profiles

### Teacher Profiles

#### **YGG:**

**Ms. Wilson** has been a teacher at YGG since 1998. She grew up in West Wales, and was brought up in a Welsh-speaking family. Before coming to YGG, she taught Welsh at a Welsh-medium school in West Wales. Her first language is Welsh, and she is more comfortable speaking Welsh than she is speaking English. When she was younger, she considered herself to be very nationalistic when it came to the Welsh language, but she says she has “mellowed out” over the years.

**Mr. Thule** has been a teacher at YGG since 2011. He has taught in both Welsh-medium and English-medium schools, and, in fact, taught at EMS before coming to YGG in 2011. He grew up in Anglesey, North Wales, but has lived in Cardiff since 2001, which he prefers for its urban environment. Mr. Thule’s parents were fluent Welsh speakers, but while they spoke Welsh to him and his siblings, they spoke English to one another. Because of this dynamic, he feels equally confident in both languages, but does not feel a strong “root to the Welsh identity”, and feels Welsh is more of a communicative medium than a part of his identity.

**Mr. Hughes** has been a teacher at YGG since 1998. He grew up in Aberystwyth in a Welsh-speaking home, and as such feels more confident speaking Welsh than speaking English. His partner is also Welsh-speaking, and his children attend a Welsh-medium school, so he speaks Welsh at home as well as at school.

**Mr. Clark** is a foreign language teacher at YGG. He was raised in a Welsh-speaking home in a relatively non-Welsh-speaking part of mid-Wales. He recalls being teased by his peers when he was young for being a Welsh speaker. Mr Clark has been involved in school trips to the Basque country, where he has had the opportunity to observe another minority language dynamic.

**Ms. Lowell** has been a teacher at YGG since 1998. She grew up in a rural, Welsh-speaking community in West Wales. Her first language is Welsh, and she does almost all of her socialising through the medium of Welsh. She also feels that it is easier for her to speak Welsh than to speak English. She is part of a committee at YGG that is strategizing ways to encourage pupils to speak Welsh outside the classroom.

**Mr. Rhys** has been teaching at YGG since 2006, and prior to that, taught at a Welsh-medium school in the Valleys. He is originally from a Welsh-speaking area of North Wales, but his family moved to Cardiff when he was fourteen, where he attended a Welsh-medium secondary school (not YGG). His father is a “hard-core Welsh nationalist” and a well-known Welsh author, but his mother is English, so he was raised speaking Welsh with his father and English with his mother. His wife is Irish, and Mr. Rhys is beginning to teach their young son some Welsh words, but is not sure in what language he will be raised. He is also part of the committee to encourage the use of Welsh outside the classroom.

**Mr. Lopez** has been teaching at YGG since 2011. He wanted to teach at a Welsh-medium school because he believes in the Welsh language cause and because he wanted to be a part of a Welsh-speaking community. His father is Welsh-speaking, and passionate about the Welsh language. His mother is English-speaking, but she decided to learn Welsh when Mr. Lopez was young, so he grew up bilingually. He attended Welsh-medium schools until university, when he went to study in England. His time in England made him more aware of his Welsh identity and increased his desire to be a part of a Welsh-speaking community, so he decided to return to Cardiff. Mr. Lopez has also been involved in school trips to the Basque country.

**Mr. Thomas** has been a teacher at YGG since 2001. His mother was a Welsh speaker, but his father was not, so he grew up bilingually. His partner is English-speaking, so his sons are bilingual as well. In the early 1990s, he was part of the Welsh Office, and served on a committee charged with seeing the Welsh Language

Act through parliament. In 1995, he joined the Welsh Language Board, where he helped interpret the Act and ensure it was put into practice.

**Mr. Connor** has been the headteacher at YGG since 1998. He was born into a Welsh-speaking family in Aberystwyth, in mid-Wales, and prefers to speak Welsh. He came to Cardiff in 1988 to take up his first teaching post. He played a large part in the founding of the school, and thus helped to develop school policy, including language policy.

**EMS:**

**Mr. Burke** is a teacher at EMS. He grew up in North London, but moved to Cardiff in 1973 to attend university, and has lived there ever since. English is his first language, but he has learnt a few Welsh words and phrases during his time in Wales.

**Mr. Davies** has been a teacher at EMS since 1978. He grew up in a Welsh-speaking area of West Wales to a Welsh-speaking family. He came to Cardiff to attend university and has lived there since. He feels that being able to speak Welsh adds value to him as a person, but he does not consider himself to be very political, and disagreed with some of the more extreme tactics used to revitalise the Welsh language in the 1970s and 80s.

**Ms. Jones** is a Welsh teacher at EMS. She has been a teacher since 1991, and has taught at schools in West Wales, North Wales, and Cardiff. She grew up in West Wales, and attended Bangor University in North Wales, where she studied Welsh language, culture, and history. She is a first language Welsh speaker, attends a Welsh-medium church, and her daughter attends a Welsh-medium school. This is the first time in her teaching career that she is teaching Welsh as a second language.

**Mr. Spears** has been a teacher at EMS since 2007. He is originally from South Africa, and has lived in Cardiff for nine years. He grew up speaking English and

Afrikaans. He enjoys living in Wales and has learnt a bit of conversational Welsh since he has lived there.

**Ms. Smith** has been a teacher at EMS since 2011. She grew up in South Wales, near Cardiff, and is a monolingual English speaker. She strongly disliked learning Welsh in the English-medium school she attended, but she now wishes she could speak a bit more.

**Mr. Morris** is a teacher at EMS and has lived in Cardiff since 2006. He grew up in an English-speaking area of South Wales and is a monolingual English speaker. He learned Welsh in school, but was not required to do a GCSE in the subject, so remembers very little. He has, however, learned a small amount of Welsh due to the language policy at EMS.

Appendix E: Interview Schedule, Teachers and Staff at EMS

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: TEACHERS AND STAFF (EMS)**

How long have you been teaching at Cardiff?

What made you want to teach here?

Do you speak Welsh?

How does the Welsh language fit into your own identity?

Do you ever encourage your students to speak Welsh? How?

Do you ever speak Welsh in the classroom?

What do you feel your responsibility is with regards to the Welsh language? What is your students' responsibility?

What do you think motivates students to speak Welsh outside of school?

Do your students ever use Welsh in your classroom?

Appendix F: Interview Schedule, Teachers and Staff at YGG

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: TEACHERS AND STAFF (YGG)**

How long have you been teaching at [YGG]?

What made you want to teach here?

Have you faced any challenges teaching in a Welsh-medium school?

How does the Welsh language fit into your own identity?

Do you encourage your students to speak Welsh outside the classroom? How? Do you think it's working?

What do you feel your responsibility is with regards to the Welsh language? What is your students' responsibility?

What do you think motivates students to speak Welsh outside of school?

Do your students ever use English in your classroom?

Appendix G: Interview Schedule, Pilot Interviews

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

How long have you been in Newcastle/Durham/York? What are you studying? Are you enjoying your program?

Where are you from in Wales?

Welsh-Medium	English-Medium	
How proficient are you in Welsh?	Do you speak Welsh?	
	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
Did you do GCSEs or A-levels in Welsh?	How proficient are you? Did you do GCSEs or A-levels in Welsh?	Did you ever want to?  Did anyone at home or at school ever encourage you to speak Welsh?
Does anyone in your family speak Welsh?	Does anyone in your family speak Welsh?	Did you have any Welsh-speaking friends or family?
Were you encouraged to speak Welsh at home?		
In class, when you were working with small groups of students, did you tend to speak Welsh, English, or both?	When you lived in Wales, where did you tend to speak Welsh, and where did you tend to speak English?	
Outside of the classroom, which language(s) did you prefer to speak?	Did your teachers ever speak to you in Welsh?	
Did your teachers always speak to you in Welsh?	Were you ever involved in any Welsh-speaking activities outside of school, such as youth clubs or sports teams? Are you involved in anything like that now?	
Did you always feel comfortable using Welsh at school? Were there times when it was okay to use English as well?	Do you have opportunities in England to speak Welsh?	
Were you ever involved in any Welsh-speaking activities outside of school, such as youth clubs or sports teams?		

Are you involved in anything like that now?		
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What type of secondary did you attend in Wales? Primary school?

Do you think it's important for Welsh people to speak Welsh? Why or why not?

Can you think of any advantages or disadvantages to attending the school you attended (rather than the alternative)?

What words have you heard people use to describe the Welsh language?

Can you think of any stereotypes about people that speak Welsh? What about people that speak English in Wales?

Is there anything else you'd like to talk about?

## Appendix H: Transcription Conventions

### Transcription Conventions

Adapted from those developed by Gail Jefferson (2004), my data transcriptions employ the following conventions:

=	No break or gap between adjacent lines of speech
[	Start of overlapping utterance
]	End of overlapping utterance
< <i>unclear</i> >	Speech that is incomprehensible to the transcriber
< <i>unclear Welsh</i> >	Welsh speech that is incomprehensible to the transcriber
–	Sharp cut-off of the prior sound or word
.	Falling inflection (does not necessarily indicate the end of a sentence).
?	Rising inflection (does not necessarily indicate a question.)
!	Stressed final word of utterance (does not necessarily indicate an exclamation)
< >	Indicates transcriber's description of a non-speech sound or non-verbal gesture
<< >>	Transcriber's note; not part of recorded speech

## Appendix I: Coding Scheme for Interview and Focus Group Data

### Coding Scheme

Note: a '0' indicates a parent code; a '1' indicates a sub-code; a '2' indicates a sub-sub-code

0	Questions
0	Motivation
1	Extrinsic
2	Employment
2	Communication with community
2	University
2	Secondary School Performance
2	Financial incentives
2	General Advantage
2	Helpful for learning other languages
2	Cognitive development
2	School inspection/"box ticking"
1	Intrinsic
2	Fun
2	Enjoyment in learning languages
2	Humour
2	"Secret code"
2	Respect and Reputation
2	Guilt
2	Ingroup membership
2	Family
2	Media
2	Being impressive
2	Patriotism
0	Residence (future)
0	Residence (current)
0	Encouragement from teachers
0	Ideologies
1	Monolingualism
2	English Monolingualism
2	Welsh Monolingualism
1	Inclusivity
1	Exclusivity
1	Protectionism
1	Purism
1	hiraith/longing
1	Ethics/Morals
1	Language dominance
1	Exoticism
1	Battle, bombardment, war

1 Multilingualism  
 1 Language rights  
 0 Family Transmission  
 0 Identity  
 1 Nationality  
 1 Birthplace  
 1 Feeling' Welsh  
 1 Language ownership  
 1 Pride  
 1 Culture  
 1 Adequation and Distinction  
 1 Community  
 1 Sport

0 Language Use  
 1 Incidental Welsh  
 1 Welsh outside the classroom  
 1 Language enforcement  
 1 Code-Mixing  
 1 Code-Switching  
 1 Domain  
 1 Natural  
 1 Person  
 1 Wenglish  
 1 Texting  
 1 Facebook  
 1 "Other" languages  
 1 Teacher Use  
 1 Family  
 1 Eisteddfod/Cultural uses  
 1 Extracurricular activities  
 1 Language choice  
 1 Media/Technology  
 1 Cardiff  
 1 Parent proficiency  
 1 Student use  
 1 Compulsory Welsh  
 1 Signage  
 0 Attitudes  
 1 Proficiency/Anxiety  
 1 Rebellion  
 1 Interest in Language  
 1 Cultural Importance, Identity  
 1 Usefulness  
 1 Complacency

1 Difficulty/effort  
 1 Teacher Favouritism  
 1 Fairness  
 1 Additive bilingualism  
 1 Subtractive bilingualism  
 1 Embarrassment  
 1 Annoying  
 1 Strict  
 1 Coolness/peer pressure  
 1 Boring  
 1 "no one speaks Welsh"  
 1 Comfort  
 1 Unpleasant  
 1 Disappointment  
 1 Old, outdated, local, global  
 0 Obsolescence, death  
 1 Responsibility  
 1 Pressure  
 1 Blame  
 1 English hegemony  
 1 Sadness  
 1 Natural  
 0 University Choice  
 0 Parental Influence  
 0 School choice  
 1 School quality/performance  
 0 Class  
 0 Past and future  
 0 Accent  
 0 Language policy (national)  
 1 Institutional support  
 0 Attitude "dip"  
 0 Normalisation  
 0 Access  
 1 Multiculturalism  
 2 Race  
 0 Choice/Autonomy  
 0 Ethnolinguistic vitality (perceived)  
 0 Conflict  
 1 Welsh-English divide

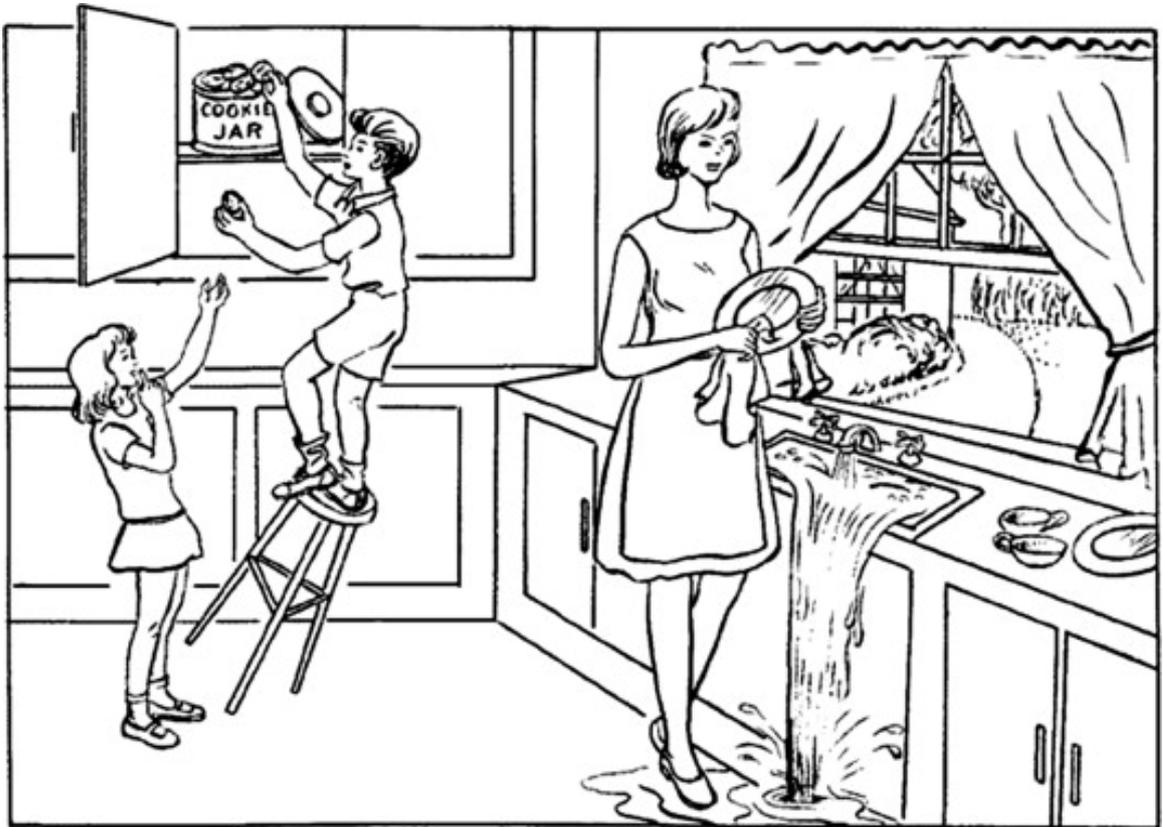
## Appendix J: Focus Group Questions, EMS

1. What do you like about your school?
2. What would you change about your school?
3. Did you have the option to attend a Welsh-medium school? If so, why did you choose [the English-medium school]?
4. Do you ever use English in your Welsh class? If so, how does your teacher react?
5. Do you ever use a few English words when you're speaking Welsh?
6. Does your Welsh teacher ever use English words when they're speaking Welsh?
7. Do your other teachers ever talk to you in Welsh? If so, when and who? Do you talk back to them in Welsh or English?
8. What language (or languages) do you usually speak in the corridors or at lunchtime? Why?
9. What would make you want to speak Welsh outside of the classroom?
10. When you leave school, do you think you will use the Welsh you've learned? In what situations?
11. Do your teachers encourage you to speak Welsh outside the classroom? How do you feel about that?
12. Is it cool to speak Welsh?
13. Do feel like it's your responsibility to speak Welsh to make sure it survives? Why or why not?
14. Do you think speaking Welsh makes you more 'Welsh'? Why or why not?

### FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS (YGG)

1. What do you like about your school?
2. What would you change about your school?
3. Can you think of any advantages to attending a Welsh-medium school?
4. Can you think of any disadvantages?
5. How do you feel about your school's rules about using Welsh only in the classroom?
6. Do you ever use English in the classroom?
7. Do you ever use English words when you're speaking Welsh?
8. Do your teachers ever use English words when they're speaking Welsh?
9. What language (or languages) do you usually speak in the corridors or at lunchtime? Why?
10. What would make you want to speak Welsh outside of the classroom?
11. When you leave school, do you think you will use the Welsh you've learned?  
In what situations?
12. Do your teachers encourage you to speak Welsh outside the classroom?  
How do you feel about that?
13. Is it cool to speak Welsh?
14. Do feel like it's your responsibility to speak Welsh to make sure it survives?  
Why or why not?
15. Do you think speaking Welsh makes you more 'Welsh'? Why or why not?

Appendix L: "Cookie Theft" Image (Goodglass and Kaplan, 1983)



Appendix M: Participants' nationalities (full list)

NATIONALITIES AT EMS	N	NATIONALITIES AT YGG	N
WELSH	45	WELSH	94
BRITISH	21	BRITISH	13
ENGLISH	9	ENGLISH	2
BRITISH ASIAN	4	BRITISH ASIAN	1
WELSH/BRITISH	3	WELSH/BRITISH	2
BRITISH/WELSH	2	BRITISH/WELSH	2
CHINESE	2		
BRITISH/PAKISTANI	2		
CHINESE/CANADIAN	1		
POLISH	1		
WELSH/GREEK	1		
BANGLADESHI	1		
EUROPEAN	1		
WELSH OR BRITISH	1		
THE NETHERLANDS	1		
PARENTS ARE FROM SOUTH KOREA BUT I WAS BORN HERE	1		
BANGLADESHI BRITISH	1	BANGLADESHI BRITISH	1
INDIAN	1		
TURKISH	1		
WELSH/GERMAN	1		
INDIAN/ARABIAN	1		
BRITISH, MALAYSIAN, KIWI, WELSH/MAINLY BRITISH	1		
WELSH, ENGLISH	1		

CZECH	1		
		WHITE WELSH	2
		HALF WELSH, HALF CARIBBEAN	1
		WELSH-JAMAICAN	1
		NORWEGIAN	1
		ENGLISH, WELSH, IRISH, CARIBBEAN	1
		PART WELSH/PART IRISH	1
		LATIN	1
		BORN IN WALES	1
		BRITISH OTHER	1
		ENGLISH/WELSH	1
		UNITED KINGDOM	1

Appendix N, Independent Variable Correlation Matrix

**Correlations**

		SCHOOL	HomeLang	Proficiency	ParentProf	Welshness
SCHOOL	Pearson Correlation	1	-.229**	.770**	.510**	.492**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	262	261	262	261	261
HomeLang	Pearson Correlation	-.229**	1	-.287**	-.259**	-.268**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000
	N	261	261	261	260	260
Proficiency	Pearson Correlation	.770**	-.287**	1	.487**	.545**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.000
	N	262	261	262	261	261
ParentProf	Pearson Correlation	.510**	-.259**	.487**	1	.373**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000
	N	261	260	261	261	260
Welshness	Pearson Correlation	.492**	-.268**	.545**	.373**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	
	N	261	260	261	260	261

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix O: Factors from Principal Components Analysis, with item numbers and Cronbach's alpha reliability analysis

FACTOR	QUESTION ITEMS*	CRONBACH'S ALPHA
<p>1: Active engagement with the Welsh language</p>	<p><b>14. How often do you speak Welsh with your mother?</b>  <b>15. How often do you speak Welsh with your father?</b>  <b>18. How often do you speak Welsh with one or more of your siblings?</b>  <b>19. How often do you speak Welsh with someone in your extended family (grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins)?</b>            20. Which <i>Welsh-medium</i> activities do you participate in? **            21. How often do you speak Welsh with friends?                21b. In other classes:                21c. In school, but <i>outside</i> of class:  <b>21d. Outside of school when just hanging out:</b>                21e. Outside of school in organised Welsh-medium activities:            27. How often do you use social media (such as Facebook or Twitter) in Welsh?  <b>28. How often do you send text messages in Welsh?</b>  <b>29. How often do you use Welsh when out in the community (shopping, going to the cinema, ordering food, etc.)</b>            30. It is important to speak Welsh in school, outside of class.  <b>31. It is important to speak Welsh with family members.</b>            35. It is important to speak Welsh in the community (such as shopping, ordering food, etc.)            37. I plan to continue using Welsh after I finish my A-levels.</p>	<p>.942</p>

<p>2: <i>Commitment to future Welsh language use</i></p>	<p>21. How often do you speak Welsh with friends: 21b. In other classes?</p> <p>30. It is important to speak Welsh in school, outside of class.</p> <p>31. It is important to speak Welsh with family members.</p> <p><b>32. Knowing Welsh could help me get into a good university.</b></p> <p><b>33. Knowing Welsh could help me to get a good job.</b></p> <p><b>36. If I have children, I want them to learn Welsh.</b></p> <p><b>37. I plan to continue using Welsh after I finish my A-levels.</b></p> <p><b>38. I plan to attend a Welsh-medium university.</b></p> <p><b>39. I am responsible for helping to carry the Welsh language forward.</b></p> <p>46. Speaking Welsh makes me feel more 'Welsh'.</p> <p><b>47. Speaking Welsh is cool.</b></p>	<p>.941</p>
<p>3: <i>Receptive engagement with the Welsh language</i></p>	<p><b>22. How often do you watch Welsh-language television?</b></p> <p><b>23. How often do you listen to Welsh-language radio?</b></p> <p><b>24. How often do you listen to Welsh-language music?</b></p> <p><b>25. How often do you read the news in Welsh?</b></p> <p><b>26. How often do you read books and magazines in Welsh for fun?</b></p> <p><b>27. How often do you use social media (such as Facebook or Twitter) in Welsh?</b></p> <p>28. How often do you send text messages in Welsh?</p>	<p>.846</p>

<p>4: Organised engagement with the Welsh language</p>	<p><b>20. Which Welsh-medium activities do you participate in? **</b>  <b>21. How often do you speak Welsh with friends:</b>  <b>21a. In Welsh class?</b>  <b>21b. In other classes?</b>  <b>21c. In school, but outside of class?</b>  <b>21e. Outside of school in organised Welsh-medium activities?</b>  <b>30. It is important to speak Welsh in school, outside of class.</b></p>	<p>.864</p>
<p>5: Affective orientation to the Welsh language</p>	<p><b>34. It is important to know Welsh when participating in Welsh ceremonies and traditions, such as eisteddfodau.</b>  35. It is important to speak Welsh in the community (such as shopping, ordering food, etc.)  <b>46. Speaking Welsh makes me feel more ‘Welsh’.</b>  <b>48. The Welsh language is an important part of Welsh culture.</b></p>	<p>.808</p>

\*Items loaded on a factor at .40 or above. Those which loaded most heavily onto a factor are in bold typeface.

\*\* Recoded as binary (0 = no participation in Welsh-medium activities; 1 = participation in Welsh-medium activities)

Appendix P: Factor loadings, varimax rotation

Rotated Component Matrix<sup>a</sup>

	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
SpeakMom	.793				
SpeakDad	.697				
SpeakSib	.573				
SeakExtFam	.752				
WelshMedAct				.606	
SpeakWelshWelshClass				.692	
SpeakWelshOtherClass	.430	.403		.663	
SpeakWelshSchool	.531			.604	
SpeakWelshOutsideSchool	.700				
SpeakWelshWelshMedAct	.443			.634	
TV			.646		
Radio			.554		
Music			.708		
News			.749		
Books			.809		
SocMed	.418		.561		
Text	.583		.422		
Community	.557				
InSchoolOutClass	.432	.579			
Family	.677	.440			
ImportUni		.851			
Job		.808			
Ceremony					.804
ImportCommunity	.475				.470
Children		.678			
PostAlev	.438	.682			
Uni		.660			
Responsible		.653			
FeeWelsh		.452			.622
Cool		.515			
Culture					.713

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.  
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

Appendix Q: Extract, Focus Group 6 (JL, DE, SD, PS)

JL: We should learn [better things. ]

DE: [We should learn ] [like common like]

SD: [actual <unclear> conversations ]

JL: And in German as well. [I think. 'Cause I'm not gonna go to Germany.]

DE: [Yeah. 'Cause we learn <unclear> subjects. ]

SD: [ Yeah. It's not like, you, it's not like ] you're gonna go up  
to a random person and go

DE: 'What's your favorite TV show?'

SD: Yeah. [If we bump into ] them we need to say 'sorry' or

JL: [Exactly. ]

DE: [Or like, or like say we're—]

SD: ['Excuse me' but we don't ] learn that.

Appendix R: Pairwise Comparisons, Dimension x School x Guise

Note: shading indicates significance at  $p < .05$

Dimension	School	Guise	Guise2	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Significance
Welshness	YGG	English	Code-Mixed	-1.467	0.2	.000
			Welsh	-1.775	0.197	.000
		Code-mixed	English	1.467	0.2	.000
			Welsh	-0.308	0.089	.002
		Welsh	English	1.775	0.197	.000
			Code-mixed	0.308	0.089	.002
	EMS	English	Code-Mixed	-2.254	0.201	.000
			Welsh	-2.407	0.198	.000
		Code-mixed	English	2.254	0.201	.000
			Welsh	-0.153	0.09	.276
		Welsh	English	2.407	0.198	.000
			Code-mixed	0.153	0.09	.276
Social Attractiveness	YGG	English	Code-Mixed	-0.498	0.118	.000
			Welsh	-0.62	0.124	.000
		Code-mixed	English	0.498	0.118	.000
			Welsh	-0.122	0.082	.425
		Welsh	English	0.62	0.124	.000
			Code-mixed	0.122	0.082	.425
	EMS	English	Code-Mixed	-0.189	0.119	.346
			Welsh	-0.268	0.125	.103
		Code-mixed	English	0.189	0.119	.346
			Welsh	-0.079	0.083	1.000
		Welsh	English	0.268	0.125	.103
			Code-mixed	0.079	0.083	1.000
Prestige	YGG	English	Code-Mixed	-0.625	0.118	.000
			Welsh	-0.925	0.121	.000
		Code-mixed	English	0.625	0.118	.000
			Welsh	-0.3	0.086	.002
		Welsh	English	0.925	0.121	.000
			Code-mixed	0.3	0.086	.002
	EMS	English	Code-Mixed	-0.581	0.119	.000
			Welsh	-0.843	0.122	.000
		Code-mixed	English	0.581	0.119	.000
			Welsh	-0.263	0.087	.009

		Welsh	English	0.843	0.122	.000
			Code-mixed	0.263	0.087	.009
<b>Competence</b>	YGG	English	Code-Mixed	-0.592	0.141	.000
			Welsh	-1.079	0.126	.000
		Code-mixed	English	0.592	0.141	.000
			Welsh	-0.488	0.095	.000
		Welsh	English	1.079	0.126	.000
			Code-mixed	0.488	0.095	.000
	EMS	English	Code-Mixed	-0.712	0.143	.000
			Welsh	-0.97	0.127	.000
		Code-mixed	English	0.712	0.143	.000
			Welsh	-0.258	0.096	.024
Welsh	English	0.97	0.127	.000		
	Code-mixed	0.258	0.096	.024		

Appendix S: Pairwise Comparisons, Dimension x School x Guise

Note: shading indicates significance at  $p < .05$

Guise	Dimension	School	School2	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Significance
English	Welshness	YGG	EMS	0.439	0.439	.082
		EMS	YGG	-0.439	-0.439	.082
	Social Attractiveness	YGG	EMS	0.172	0.172	.290
		EMS	YGG	-0.172	-0.172	.290
	Prestige	YGG	EMS	0.2	0.2	.213
		EMS	YGG	-0.2	-0.2	.213
	Competence	YGG	EMS	0.207	0.207	.207
		EMS	YGG	-0.207	-0.207	.207
Code-mixed	Welshness	YGG	EMS	-0.349	-0.349	.059
		EMS	YGG	0.349	0.349	.059
	Social Attractiveness	YGG	EMS	0.481	0.481	.001
		EMS	YGG	-0.481	-0.481	.001
	Prestige	YGG	EMS	0.245	0.245	.123
		EMS	YGG	-0.245	-0.245	.123
	Competence	YGG	EMS	0.087	0.087	.594
		EMS	YGG	-0.087	-0.087	.594
Welsh	Welshness	YGG	EMS	-0.193	-0.193	.239
		EMS	YGG	0.193	0.193	.239
	Social Attractiveness	YGG	EMS	0.524	0.524	.000
		EMS	YGG	-0.524	-0.524	.000
	Prestige	YGG	EMS	0.282	0.282	.078
		EMS	YGG	-0.282	-0.282	.078
	Competence	YGG	EMS	0.316	0.316	.025
		EMS	YGG	-0.316	-0.316	.025

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