Bangor University

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Is inverted diglossia coming to Wales? Domain use and language attitudes among Welsh-speaking youth.

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Award date:
2021

Awarding institution:
Bangor University

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Is inverted diglossia coming to Wales?

Domain use and language attitudes among Welsh-speaking youth.

Abigail Ruth Price

Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Prifysgol Bangor University

2020

Declaration of authorship

I confirm that this thesis has been composed solely by myself, and that the work contained within it has not been submitted for another degree elsewhere.

A R Price

Abstract

This thesis explores the link between domain specificity and the resulting attitudes towards Welsh and English among young speakers in Wales. The domain specificity refers to Welsh and English being compartmentalised for function (i.e. Welsh transmitted through the school domain). In order to investigate this link, this thesis investigates the attitudes of three separate cohorts of school pupils across Wales who receive daily contact with the Welsh language through the school environment. The education system plays a crucial role as a main agent of Welsh language reproduction, transmission and shift throughout Wales, particularly important in both the development of 'new' speakers in predominantly Anglophone areas (Williams, 1992) and in providing the language with a niche domain of transmission for 'traditional' speakers (May, 2000). Young people have been identified as the crucial demographic in language revitalisation (Fishman, 1991), thus the three studies composing this thesis consider speakers at post-16, mid-adolescence and transition stages. The growth in WME in anglicised areas of Wales has raised hopes for a revival (Williams, 2003:7; Coupland et al. 2005:2) although, as almost two thirds of primary pupils come from English-speaking homes, pupils' Welsh language use beyond the classroom may be severely impaired (Edwards and Newcome, 2005:303).

As education is pertinent to the revival and maintenance of the Welsh language, we must understand the attitudes which exist among speakers – particularly L2 learners (i.e. L2 learners/ 'new speakers') as they are a major focus of Government planning efforts to increase speaker numbers through WME. This is the focus of the first study of the thesis, exploring the extent to which compartmentalisation impacts speakers' attitudes and behavioural output (i.e. Welsh and English viewed as functionally separate). From this, this thesis proposes the resulting diglossic relationship between Welsh and English among these speaker communities (i.e. Welsh transmitted through the school domain impacts use and application of Welsh in the informal communicative domains).

While some negative attitudes exist among L2 learners relating to how Welsh is perceived in the school environment, negative attitudes have not been previously reported in L1 cohorts. However, the literature reports that both L1 and L2 cohorts demonstrate decreased use of Welsh in interpersonal social communication. There

is mounting evidence which demonstrates that many pupils – both L2 and L1 fluent native speakers – seldom use Welsh beyond the classroom (Jenkins, 2001; Jones and Martin-Jones, 2004; Thomas and Roberts, 2011) with a marked decrease in Welsh use as children become older (Baker, 2003; Edwards and Newcombe, 2005; Hodges, 2009). As existing L1 reseach has measured attitudes overtly, it is possible existing research has not measured attitudes accurately, thus the discrepancy between seemingly 'positive L1 attitudes' yet tendency to use English over Welsh in informal contexts as reported in the literature. Thus the second study explores L1 covert attitudes towards Welsh and English.

Crucially, if there is a perceived domain specificity between the languages, we would expect notable gender differences in speaker attitudes. Female speakers consistently hold more positive views towards the language of the formal domains (Eckert, 1989, 1990, 1998), whereas male speakers demonstrate less favourability towards overtly prestigious language varieties (Wang and Ladegaard, 2008). As such, investigating language attitudes and gender may provide crucial information regarding how Welsh and English are viewed, providing broader understanding as to why speakers may converge or diverge from certain language varieties depending on domain specificity.

The three studies of this thesis differ in their approach and scope – in the research methodologies and the cohorts investigated. The principal research questions of the three studies are thus as follows:

Q1: What attitudes exist towards the Welsh language among WM-educated L2 males in an Anglo-context?

Q2: What attitudes exist towards Welsh and English among WM-educated L1 adolescents in an L1 Welsh community context?

Q3: Which activities can promote Welsh transmission from the formalised school domain into the informal communicative domains?

The first study explores the attitudes of Welsh-medium educated males towards Welsh. Methodologically, the study employs the qualitative focus group (FG) method in one Cardiff secondary school. Here, I introduce the concept of 'inverted diglossia', and analyse the results with reference to this theoretical approach. The results suggest that there is compartmentalisation of Welsh and English, with participants associating the former with formality and the latter with informality. These results highlight a diglossic relationship in this speaker community insofar as

domain specificity reportedly impacts upon speaker attitudes and domain of application i.e. Welsh seen as the language of formality and is not transferrable into informal contexts.

Moving forward from this, the second study explores covert attitudes towards Welsh and English among adolescents in an L1 Welsh community school. The methodology comprises a quantitative study as an adaptation of the matched-guise technique (MGT). The results indicate that English is rated more positively than Welsh, particularly evident among male participants as similarly reported in the speech community of the first study.

The third study provides a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Through this study, I provide an assessment of attitudes towards intervention approach (i.e. Forest School (FS) through semi-structured interviews with school staff and FGs with pupils). The third study provides design, implementation and measure of an intervention aimed at facilitating Welsh use among speakers in informal communicative contexts. Qualitatively, staff and students perceive the FS component positively as a means of transmitting Welsh into the informal domain. The pre- and post- intervention FG recordings provide the basis for the quantitative assessment. The results demonstrate increase in Welsh use in the post-intervention FG. It is argued that a third domain such as this provides an alternative (informal) domain of transmission for Welsh, thus circumnavigating the diglossic relationship which has developed through existing domain specificity.

The results of these studies are discussed with reference to curriculum developments in Wales and minority language maintenance efforts in the international arena.

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First and foremost, my heartfelt thanks to the Bangor University 125th Anniversary Scholarship for funding this project. I am extremely grateful to my supervisors, Dr Marco Tamburelli and Dr Peredur Webb-Davies for the opportunity to undertake this essential research project. I am especially grateful to MT, whose friendship, support and guidance has kept me buoyant, directed and steady over the years. Marco – thank you for your great mind and understanding. I am grateful for the continual reflection and confidence I have gained through our strong working dynamic. My thanks also to both internal and external examiners Enlli Môn Thomas and Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin whose insightful comments and recommendations challenged and strengthened me in unforeseen ways.

Acknowledgements to fellow research and teaching colleagues within the School of Linguistics and English Language at Bangor; to the individual research assistants for their roles within each study; and huge thanks to Rachael and Voltaire-family for providing home-from-home, haven and constant reminder.

My deepest gratitude to my family – Mum, Dad, Laura, Andrea, and those who have sadly left us during this time of transition. Thank you for supporting me with your love, understanding and laughter. To my husband, Jordan, for everything; to our second baby on the way, for what you inspire. Finally, I dedicate the most special acknowledgement to my daughter, Raya, who has taught me countless lessons in patience, perseverance and seeing the unimaginable through to completion.

"The air is silent as I walk,
cloaking fog permits the rain
Stillness drops on my resolve
as soft-bound chapters come to close"
16/04/18

And it's done
15/06/20

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1:   Theme of Thesis

1.2:   The context

1.3:   Revitalisation

1.4:   Thesis structure

The field of minority language revitalisation has developed considerably in the last three decades; in the present socio-political arena, minority language representatives, organisations and bodies are charged with maintaining the well-being of their respective languages. This poses numerous political and cultural challenges (i.e. Magga and Skutnabb-Kangas 2001:26 on the Saami Language Act, 1992), more recently evident in the matter of bilingual / immersive minority language education (Baker & Griffith 1983; Baker & García, 2007; Baker 1992, 2007, 2011). Bilingual education is at the forefront of language planning and revitalisation initiatives (Ferguson, 2006) and yet – as this thesis will discuss with regards to the Welsh context – minority language transmission through the formal domain is not without challenges and pitfalls.

The proceeding sections introduce the overarching thesis theme and structure, wherein I will discuss chapter content. There are three prominent themes in this thesis namely that of domain, attitude and gender. Throughout Section 1.3, I will present the particulars of the structure of the present thesis.

Section 1.1: Theme of Thesis

This thesis examines young Welsh speakers' attitudes towards and use of Welsh in the school and home domains, as impacted by their contact with the language through the formal school domain. Once individuals leave school whereby they have received all or the majority of their daily contact with the Welsh language, obtainable data on their use and continued relationship with Welsh post education is effectively 'over and done with' (Fishman, 2001b:470). The studies of this thesis obtain insights from L1 and L2 Welsh-medium educated (WME) pupils at three points during compulsory education: namely post-16, mid-adolescence, and transition. Pointedly, the opening chapters theorise a diglossic relationship between Welsh and English in contemporary Wales. The papers are presented in a concept-based principled manner, providing a holistic view of the current situation in Wales.

Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods, I provide an assessment of the core, overarching question among language planners, language activists and linguists, namely: why are young people disengaging with Welsh beyond the school environment? This question will be tackled through three research studies and associated literatures, sectioned into the following three areas of investigation: (1) Does Welsh show features typical of a compartmentalised language? (2) Do female and male adolescents hold different language attitudes towards Welsh and English? (3) What impact does Welsh-medium Forest School have on informal Welsh language transmission? Specifically, the research areas concern diglossia, attitudes and communication.

The literature review of this thesis (Chapter 2) raises the possibility that Inverted diglossia may be at play: the theorisation that English and Welsh are perceived as fulfilling roles that are to some extent separate. As Welsh-medium

education is pertinent to the revival and maintenance of the Welsh language and school-aged 'new speakers' (L2 speakers) are a focal demographic in the effort to increase Welsh speaker numbers, exploration of L2 speaker attitudes is critical. Thus the first study explores the language attitudes of L2 adolescent speakers in an anglicised area of Wales.

As evidenced by the findings of the first study, negative attitudes exist among L2 speakers relating to how Welsh is perceived in the school environment (Chapter 4). This echoes findings previously reported in the literature. The results of this study provide evidence for Inverted diglossia – namely that Welsh and English are perceived among young WM-educated L2 speakers as fulfilling roles that are to some extent separate. These results offer an explanation as to why young people are turning away from the Welsh language beyond the school domain despite the Government's thorough commitment to increase numbers of Welsh speakers in Wales.

However, while studies have shown that L1 speakers also demonstrate preference towards English in peer-to-peer social communication (Morris, 2014), negative attitudes have not been reported among this cohort in the literature. Here, the matter of methodology is explored; namely, what if the existing literature has simply not measured L1 atttiudes with the most appropriate methodology and thus not unveiled existing negative attitudes? Here, Study 2 (Chapter 6) employs a matched-guise technique in order to measure covert attitudes among L1 adolescents and to provide an accurate representation of speaker attitudes, rather than over/direct measures which have been evident in the literature thus far. As hypothesised, the second study of this thesis provides evidence for negative covert atttiudes among L1 speakers.

I collected the attitudinal data from these studies between September 2014 and December 2015. The first study uses a Focus Group (FG) methodology working with L2 adolescents, the second study uses a Matched-Guise methodology (MG) working with L1 adolescents and the third study uses a combination of FG, semi-structured interview and utterance quantifying methodology with L1 and L2 primary school children. I evaluate responses to the attitudinal task through both thematic and statistical analysis to investigate the relationship between variables (e.g. participant gender and attitude). I discuss the results with reference to extensive research literatures. For instance, bilingual education, language, culture and identity, language revitalisation both in Wales and in the international context and use of the Arts in and beyond education. I discuss the results in relation to the limitations of WME to its perceived impact on Welsh-language maintenance and opportunities for capitalisation of WME as a vehicle for sustainable, continued maintenance both in and beyond the classroom.

The first section – Section 1.1 – of this introductory chapter will introduce the current sociolinguistic climate in Wales, with particular attention to North West Wales. This relates to the historical decline of Welsh and the revitalisation efforts of language maintenance, with particular emphasis on the education sector. Section 1.2 then progresses to introduce and conceptualise current ideas on language revitalisation, using Joshua Fishman's seminal work as a foundation. In Section 1.3, I will provide the overarching structure of this thesis and its principal themes, namely bilingualism in education, minority language revitalisation, sociolinguistic attitudes, gender and motivation theory.

Section 1.2: The context

The Welsh language is transmitted primarily through two distinct domains in Wales. Either via Welsh-medium/bilingual education or through home transmission (Jones, 1990; May, 2000). This section will discuss current records of speaker numbers in both environments of transmission.

In terms of school transmission of Welsh, education has been described in Wales as having been arguably "the most important influence" in Welsh language revitalisation during the 20th Century (Newcome, 2007:5). Indeed, a key focus of Welsh language policy Iaith Fyw ('A Living Language') is to support learners in WME to attain fluency (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010) and Welsh remains a compulsory subject up to the age of 16. As of 2017, the number of pupils enrolled in Welsh-medium schools stands at 105,845. There are 420 WM primary schools and 49 WM secondary schools with a respective 66,612 primary school pupils and 34,986 secondary school students (Statistics for Wales, 2017). There has been a notable decline of secondary school pupils (e.g. down from 37,692 pupils in 2013 to 34,986 in 2017). Interestingly among this cohort, interactional use of Welsh among Welsh-speaking teenagers declines over time, especially when Welsh is not the language of home transmission (Baker, 1992; Coupland et al., 2005:16; Edwards and Newcombe, 2005:300). To provide context, the 2011 census reported 23.3 per cent of the population of Wales over the age of 3 as able to speak Welsh. This presented a 20,000 fall in the total number of Welsh speakers to 562,000 compared to the 2001 Census (Statistics for Wales, 2014:15).

The 2011 Census reported that 40% of 5-15 year olds in Wales could speak

Welsh; this demonstrates that the largest proportion of any age group to speak Welsh are of school age (Statistics for Wales, 2014:15), although 40% of WME primary pupils are reported to progress into English-medium secondary education (Statistics for Wales, 2013:5). In terms of home transmission, the 2011 Census displayed a notable increase in the numbers of 3 – 4 year olds able to speak Welsh, rising from 13,329 (18.8 per cent in 2001) to 16,495 (23.3 per cent in 2011) although the figures are not transparent enough to understand whether the development of Government programmes[1] in the intervening decade are the catalyst of growth. When considering where a sample of speakers may acquire Welsh, the Welsh Language Use Survey (2015) provides an interesting trend. The findings of the survey demonstrates a shift in domains of language acquisition throughout speaker generations. For instance, 21 percent of young people aged 3 – 15 acquired Welsh at home as a young child, contrasted to 79 per cent of respondents aged 65 and over. While the sample provided by the Language Use Survey (2015) may demonstrate a higher percentage reported than what is representative of the nation (i.e. Census data), the patterns of language acquisition and use across groups provides us with an essential insight. Namely that younger informants have a markedly higher percentage of acquisition through the education domain than previous generations due to changes in the Welsh education sector of the last half a century (i.e. increase in WM schools). Crucially, the survey reported that speakers who acquire Welsh at home as a child are more likely to be fluent in Welsh than those who acquire Welsh through school (Language Use Surveys, 2015).

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[1] For instance, Cylchoedd Meithrin, the Welsh-medium childcare units provide Welsh-only exposure to children aged between 2-6 years with the aim of providing children with a Welsh-medium foundation before entering schooling.

Section 1.3: Revitalisation

'Bilingual competence' is expressed as the ability to use the target languages 'effectively and appropriately' for authentic personal, education, social and/or work related purposes (Genesee, 1987). The bilingual profile – the degree to which bilinguals retain and use either language – is not static (Butler, 2013: 116) and the nature of bilingualism in speakers who acquire the minority language in the informal communicative environment or those who do so through the educational setting is itself markedly different (Edwards, 2013:14). The international platform for bilingual immersion programmes is regarded as highly effective in its role of producing competent bilinguals (Johnstone, 2001).

Minority language immersion programmes were established at the beginning of the last century (e.g. Baker, 2011:239), with the most widely acclaimed model of immersion schooling – or 'language bath' – researched by Lambert and Tucker (Anglophone children in St. Lambert near Montreal, Canada, 1972:225). In this instance, pre-existing [English and French-medium] provision of the 1960s was viewed by parents as insufficient, thus leading to the establishment of a primary education with the sole aim of leading to bilingualism, at no detriment to the mother tongue (Lambert & Tucker 1972: 231). Characterised by absolute French immersion initially, then English-medium instruction introduced later, the St Lambert model gradually increased to meet a 50:50 balance at later grades. Through its success, French immersion schooling expanded throughout Canada, with over 5% of Canadian pupils enrolled on the scheme in 2011 (Baker, 2011: 240). The high acclaim afforded to the model has led to replication internationally, as with the Welsh

context. Bilingual education programmes may differ in their pedagogical approaches, but the goal is a shared one: providing competent bilinguals. This is characterised by bilingual teachers integrating the target language as a medium of academic instruction. In notably Anglicised areas [of low or no contact with the Welsh language], the domain of education has afforded a live arena to the growth of a 'second revival of Welsh' (e.g. Williams, 1994: 183) by transmitting Welsh to 'new' speakers. However, as is the issue to be addressed by this thesis, considerable exposure does not equate to communicative competence language i.e. uptake, full acquisition, day-to-day interaction (Swaine, 1995; Gathercole and Thomas, 2007; 2009; Hymes 1972; Canale and Swaine, 1980). Indeed, "[p]otential does not necessarily lead to production; skill does not ensure street speech" (Baker, 2011: 265). There are evident discrepancies in attainment of productive skills (speaking and writing) and receptive skills (reading and listening) (Johnstone, 2001). For instance, L2 receptive skills may be of a native-like competency following immersion schooling, yet speakers may be unsuccessful in the acquisition and application of productive skills (Swain, 1997; Swain and Johnson, 1997). To this effect, Canadian French immersion students have been shown to demonstrate receptive fluency within lessons, yet lack the mastery of grammatical fluency necessary for interactions beyond the classroom context (Harley and Swain, 1984). This has been explored in a number of neighbouring minority language contexts; for instance, where Catalan is the language of educational instruction, it exerts little influence in pupils' use of Catalan for peer-to-peer social interaction (Trenchs-Parera and Newman, 2015). I explore this dichotomy throughout Chapter 2, drawing on the literature to highlight the discrepancy between received Welsh-language input and actualised language production by speakers in contemporary Wales.

The 'success' of bilingual education depends on a number of interrelated factors, such as the quality of delivered instruction (e.g. teachers, structure) and provision (e.g. materials). It is well-documented, for instance, that L2 acquisition is enhanced when students are afforded extended opportunities to apply the L2 in interactive discourse (Richards, 2015). This becomes all the more salient in the minority context, where English permeates every domain of societal usage, even in minority language strongholds (e.g. Ó hlfearnáin, 2013:355). Crucially, minority language research increasingly reports low social use of target languages among peers where there is a lack of social identification with the language (e.g. Potowski, 2007; Dressler, 2012). Such studies explore speaker's cultural and social identification (e.g. German in Alberta). This cultural identification proves significant in the success of bilingual immersion programmes, arguably aiding the establishment of a secure linguistic identity among speakers (Baker, 2011: 250). I will explore the discrepancy between language input and language production with reference to speakers' cultural engagement (i.e. 'extended opportunities', Richards, 2015); I contribute to this debate with reference to social identification and extended opportunities predominantly in Chapters 4 and 8.

Section 1.4: Thesis structure

In the following chapters, I contextualise the studies within the wider fields of research and theoretical literature of sociolinguistics. The thesis hybridises structure between the traditional thesis format and the contemporary 'three paper' model. The three research papers of this thesis are either published, accepted or ready for submission. The thesis provides three investigations into different school-orientation

groups as is common in sociolinguistic research (e.g. Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams, 1999; Eckert, 2000; Stenstrom, Andersen and Hasund, 2002). The first paper presented in this thesis (Chapter 4) was accepted with minor corrections and published with the Journal of Language, Culture and Curriculum (February, 2016). This paper was developed from previously unpublished, independent data obtained during the MA dissertation period." The second paper (Chapter 6) was accepted with major revisions and published by The International Journal of Applied Linguistics (online ahead of print, 2019). The third paper is currently being prepared for submission to Language Planning and Language Problems; Chapter 8 shows the final paper ready for submission.

In terms of content of the thesis, I discuss domains of transmission, presenting a case of functional separation in the Welsh-English context throughout Chapter 2. I then take this core notion of domain of use into subsequent chapters whereby domain is discussed in relation to attitude and motivation throughout Chapters 3, providing the theoretical underpinnings for the first study of this thesis (Chapter 4). This first study explores attitudes among an L2 male cohort in south Wales; as the Welsh Government are committed to increasing speaker numbers through WME and L2 speakers are a major way in which Welsh speaker numbers can be increased through the education domain, an assessment of their attitudes is vital in understanding grass-roots aspects of policy realisation. Here, I discuss the relationship between the domain of language transmission with speaker attitude towards Welsh; I then relate this to the social phenomena of diglossia, whereby two language varieties are functionally differentiated by speakers for domain of use. Building on the review of literature, I examine the phenomenon of diglossia with

relation to the fields of bilingual education and language ideologies. In Chapter 5, I outline the core sociolinguistic literature on attitude and gender in order to provide theoretical underpinnings for the next empirical study of the thesis.

The second study of this thesis explores language attitudes towards Welsh and English among L1 adolescent speakers in the heartland area of north-west Wales; this is achieved by quantitative analysis of informants' covert attitudes towards guises of Welsh and English. Crucially, the methodological approach elicits covert attitudes – these results show the perceived negative connotations with the Welsh language, which I theorise provides explainatory power behind the low levels of Welsh use in the informal domains among young people. The findings generated from the research studies provided in both Chapters 4 and 6 suffuse Chapter 7, where I argue that the H domain-specificity of schooling impedes transmission of Welsh into the L domain. From this, I explore the role of language policy in education in Chapter 7, before moving on to the final study of the thesis.

The final study implements pre- and post- intervention testing in Key Stage 2 pupils (primary schooling delivered to 7 – 11 year olds). This demographic was identified as the precursory age-group before speakers' attitudes become influenced by the peer-group (Taylor, 2000; Dörnyei, 2001). The study employs mixed methods including focus groups, semi-structured interviews, observations and qualitative analysis to explore participant and teachers' reported views towards extra-curricular Welsh-medium provision, and the language output generated by such provision. In this final empirical study, I propose an original method of minority language transmission. I close this thesis in Chapter 9, where I draw together conclusions from the three research investigations of this thesis with reference to supporting theoretical literature, to current policy and contemporary curriculum developments in

Wales. Finally, novel contributions and recommendations are discussed.

I will now introduce the central argument of the thesis – namely that of inverted diglossia. The next chapter provides a thorough review of literature relating to the diglossic concept. I will discuss the relationship between domain of transmission and speaker use before discussing the concept of diglossia in relation to minority language education and speaker attitudes.

Chapter 2: Diglossia, a review of literature

2.1   Introducing Diglossia

    2.1.1   Functional Seperation

    2.1.2   Prestige and further conditions of diglossia

2.2   Extended Diglossia

    2.2.1   Rationalising contemporary use of the diglossic paradigm

2.3   Diglossia and Wales

    2.3.1   Attitudes towards Welsh

    2.3.2   Revitalisation: context, planning and institutional leverage

    2.3.3   Welsh education development and language ideology

2.4   Prestige

    2.4.1   Linguistic purism

    2.4.2   Features of H and L Welsh

2.5   The model of Inverted Diglossia

    2.5.1   The role of attitudes in Inverted Diglossia

    2.5.2   Introducing language and gender

2.6   Prestige stereotyping

2.7   Conclusive remarks

Observing the sociolinguistic landscape of Wales, a consistent trend presents itself in the literature whereby Welsh-medium educated bilinguals are turning to English in informal communicative exchanges. That in and of itself may not seem remarkable, yet taking into account that the Welsh-medium education sector has succeeded the home environment as the primary agent of Welsh language transmission in Wales, this trend should be of interest to agents involved at each stage language planning, maintenance and transmission.

This chapter presents the theory of Inverted Diglossia, a language phenomenon present in the Welsh minority language context of advanced revitalisation. In brief, this phenomenon presents the former ascribed High (H) linguistic variety as operational in L and H domains while the former Low (L) variety has become increasingly confined to the H domain. Specifically, this process is reported in an educational-based context of diglossia, as described throughout this thesis. This thesis argues that Inverted Diglossia is an unforeseen corollary of top-down language planning and policy in the minority language context. The model of Inverted Diglossia provides explanatory power behind the observable trend of Welsh-language disuse in the social domains among Welsh-English school-aged speakers. In building this argument, a thorough treatment of diglossia is presented before mapping this onto the Welsh-English context. Finally, a model of Inverted Diglossia is presented and its implication and application in the consequent studies of the thesis.

Firstly, Section 2.1 deals with the general conceptual framework of diglossia and its variations. Crucially, I advance the discussion in Section 2.2 by introducing

Fishman's extended diglossia paradigm and rationalisation of its use in the context of this thesis. Section 2.3 provides a discussion of diglossia in the Welsh-English context of Wales before detailing language prestige in Section 2.4. Finally, the model of Inverted Diglossia is presented in Section 2.5; the discussion of Inverted Diglossia relates to both an adapted model of diglossia and the secondary (sociolinguistic) framework of attitudes, considering the negative impact upon the maintenance of Welsh among adolescent speakers. The sections included in this chapter cover essential ground for the subsequent chapters of this thesis; from this theoretical standpoint, I then colligate this information to set-out the forthcoming studies (Chapters 4, 6 and 8). These studies investigate Inverted Diglossia in contemporary Wales. Pointedly, this chapter provides explanatory power behind the long-debated question of why young people are abandoning the Welsh language in favour of English. Namely, that the combination of Welsh language purism and High-domain compartmentalisation has resulted in a lack of Welsh-language application among younger generations. Specifically through this lens of inverted diglossia, I suggest throughout this thesis that the school system (the H domain) is adept at providing access to standardised Welsh for vast numbers of young people, rather than providing young people with a social medium suitable for use in the L domain. The impacts of this are discussed in the findings of the first and second studies (Chapters 4 and 6), and suggestions for combatting this are elucidated in the third study (Chapter 8).

2.1 Introducing Diglossia

Charles A. Ferguson (1959) is charged with the original, 'classic' conception

of the diglossic paradigm. References previous to Ferguson's description are available; for instance Mackey (1993) describes diglossia – as provided by Rhoidis' 1885 text – as a type of 'collective bilingualism'. The term was later advanced by Psichari in qualifying the relationship between two contemporary varieties of one language i.e. Greek – Dimotiki and Katharevusa. Here, diglossia describes the widespread existence of two distinctly divergent linguistic forms within society i.e. formal and informal varieties. Each of these varieties – Dimotiki and Katharevusa in this instance – are used in different social contexts, performing divergent functions. Dimotiki refers to the popular peoples' everyday medium of communication, while Katharevusa refers to the puristic standard form more reflective of Classical Greek and reserved for formal writings. Following Psichari's early observation, Marcais (1930) then extended the description to encompass bi-dialectalism in the [classic and vernacular] Arabic context of the 1930s (e.g. Mackey, 1993). At that time, an evident divergence persisted between spoken Arabic dialects and classical standard Arabic. However, owing to language shift, a third variety of standardised colloquial Arabic has persisted to serve as modern form for use in public discourse. Following these early observations, the term 'diglossia' was introduced into the Anglophonic academic audience by Ferguson (1959), whose work we will now consider.

Ferguson's original conception describes the use of two distinct varieties of the same language within intra-societal communication within society. Each of the two separate linguistic codes owe to their 'clearly defined' role[s] and particular domain of interaction (Ferguson, 1959:325; 1972:233). The two varieties of one language co-exist alongside each other throughout the community. To include Ferguson's description in its entirety:

"Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, high codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation" (Ferguson, 1959: 336)

Considered to reinforce social distinction, diglossia describes a societal phenomenon (rather than individual to the speaker) whereby two genetically related linguistic codes (or varieties) function for distinct purposes within a speech community (e.g. H-variety and L-variety). Each of these two co-existing varieties is compartmentalised to a specific communicative domain. While genetically closely related, the varieties differ in status, context of use and function. Among a variety of defining characteristics (see Table 1), diglossia possesses two salient properties – namely, functional separation and prestige. These are discussed below in reference to Ferguson's diglossia.

2.1.1 Functional Separation

Daubed the unchallenged 'heart and soul' of the diglossic concept (Fasold, 1984: 53), the two linguistic varieties of the speech community are characterised by total functional separation. The functional division between two linguistic varieties

marks each variety for a specific purpose, with neither overlapping for function. One variety is used for formal, prestigious 'high' ('H') activities while the other is associated with the informal and every-day low ('L') activities. The variety fulfilling a low function is ascribed to the dialectal and often colloquial form employed in the 'everyday' informal domains of familial interaction and common parlance, irrespective of interlocutor (Ferguson, 1972:246). The varieties are realised as that of context, not class (Ferguson, 1959: 325; Hudson, 2002; Stępkowska, 2012). For instance, the variety fulfilling the high function is appropriate for use in formal and official contexts such as religious ceremony, education and governance. The dichotomy exists whereby H is appropriate for use in H domains (where use of L is impermissible); likewise, use of H is unacceptable in the L context where the L variety is used. These high and low contexts will henceforth be referred to as 'domains'.

Romaine describes such domain ascription as the 'compartmentalisation of varieties' (Romain, 1994: 47), wherein speakers apply the most appropriate variety dependent on the contextual circumstance of interaction. As the two codes serve separate functions which remain distinct from those appropriate for the other, the maintenance of the two varieties is stable, not owing to displacement. Indeed, such stable arrangement may persist for several centuries (Ferguson, 1959:332).

2.1.2 Prestige and further conditions of diglossia

Crucial in the Fergusonian definition of diglossia, the L variety is acquired naturally in the home environment while the H variety – not being native to the community – is acquired later as a standard, usually via schooling (Stępkowska,

2012:200). By virtue of this, the superposed overtly prestigious H-variety is connoted with education, literacy and formality and is thus as the H-prestige variety (Ferguson, 1959), a factor with inherent attitudinal ties and an essential component of the diglossia model. Contrastively, the L-variety is connoted with informality and the social sphere of the 'everyday' and thus the imbued with covert – or Low – prestige. The H register is inapplicable for ordinary conversation among the speech community as it is a language of context, thus distinguishing this phenomenon from societal bilingualism (Keller, 1982:90; Hudson, 2002). There are fundamental differences between diglossia and societal bilingualism, which are not 'surface variants' of the same underlying phenomeon (Romain, 2006). Each differs in respect to social origins and 'evolutionary course of development' (ibid). Unlike diglossia, societal bilingualism or multilinguaism are relatively neutral and do not imply the hierarchy of social status, prestige and functional seperation as is inherent in diglossia. While bi- and multi- lingual individuals may use two (or more) languages in everyday life (Grosjean, 2001), diglossia is not something possessed by an individual speaker. Rather, it is a societal phenomenon where two language varieties exist throughout society, each playing a 'definite role' (Ferguson, 2002). Perhaps distinguishing diglossia from societal bilingualism most decidedly is the imbalance of power inherent in the diglossic construct (Musk, 2006). In diglossic communites, two language varieties differ in prestige and function, with the overtly prestigious form functioning in the H domains and the other functioning in the L domains. Here, one variety is a superimposed variety that is not a primary 'native' variety while one is learnt in addition to the native variety. A speaker may switch between each variety in mutually exclusive situations, but neither H nor L overlap for function. The prestige afforded to a language is symbolically significant, and may provide political, societal

or cultural agency (Lippi-Green, 1994); a number of factors influence the prestigious value assigned to a language variety (i.e. literary heritage, language modernisation, educational prominence (see Kloss, 1966)). The level of prestige afforded to domain of communication and the users of that variety then becomes transferred as an inherent quality of that variety (see Bauer, 1998). The covert and overt power relations manifest at both social and individual level (macro and micro). Informant reactions to linguistic varieties can reveal perceptions about the speaker who uses that variety (Edwards, 1985), thus evaluations are a product of informants' own experiences and further dependent on the interlocutor (Trudgill, 2002; Ihemere, 2006). Codes, social class and the manner in which groups are positioned by the school institution must be considered.

Furthermore, the conditions of diglossia are stable, as is exemplified in Ferguson's 1959 defining cases of French in Haiti (Standard French and Haitian Creole) and German in Switzerland (High Gerrman and Swiss German). As in the Swiss-German instance, personal, informal and 'comfortable' interactions are carried out in Swiss-German, with no reference group in Standard-German for conversational purposes. Parents use L in the home environment, with no natural manner of acquisition afforded to High-German- a stable, cyclical pattern spanning generations and even centuries (Hudson, 2002). The condition by which a context may be considered diglossic by Fergusonian criteria pertains to contextual, linguistic and temporal categories (see Table 1). For instance, function, prestige, literary heritage and standardisation pertain to contextual aspects, while grammar, lexicon and phonology pertain to linguistic aspects. Stability is temporal in nature. Hudson (2002:9) suggests that this list, as exemplified in Table 1, is an interdependent set of

features; the three categories are not random, and are inherently tied through social factors.

Table 1: Fergusonian criteria (as adapted from Leimgruber, 2013)

Fergusonian criteria	
A	Stability of the situation
B	L and H are dialects of the same language
C	Linguistic distance
D	Cofidication of H
E	H more complex
F	Literature in H
G	H used in another speech community
H	H learned formally
I	H used in writing
J	H used for formal speech
K	H not used for ordinary conversation

As discussed above, the most salient criteria defining Fergusson's diglossia are that of (i) two genetically related varieties which are totally functionally separate (criteria (a) – (f)) and (ii) L as the naturally acquired variety with H introduced formally (criteria (g) – (k)). In Ferguson's diglossia, speakers do not acquire the H-variety as a mother tongue, which is instead acquired through a secondary system.

Here, Ferguson's approach has been considered 'binary' and 'narrow' for its emphasis on criteria such as 'H never used in informal conversations' and 'all speakers using L as a mother tongue' insofar as few communities truly meet both

criteria (1) and (2) (Fasold, 1984:53; Scotton, 1986; Spolsky, 2011). It is not sufficient to cherry-pick the relevant criteria of this paradigm and disregard the other pertinent characteristics of Fergusonian diglossia, thus extended definitions of diglossia have been developed in order to better capture the phenomenon of a variety of functionally separate linguistic codes operating in speech communities worldwide.

Further observation on the diglossic concept by Joan Rubin (1960, 1972) presented the compartmentalisation between the linguistically unrelated Guaraní and Spanish in Paraguay. Socially, these varieties demonstrate a diglossic relationship as exemplified in Ferguson's diglossia, despite no genetic similarity. Here, Rubin demonstrates that diglossia is a socially enduring phenomenon, rather than inherently linguistic and thus expansions of diglossia were developed to include two genetically distant languages, rather than codes of the same language. Advancing from this point, 'broad' descriptions of diglossia are discussed before its application to the Welsh-English context.

2.2 Extended Diglossia

As will be discussed throughout this section, a number of theorists have introduced expansive definitions of the diglossic concept; most prominent in this regard is Joshua A. Fishman, whose work will be detailed below. Joshua A. Fishman conceptualised the diglossic nature of two language varieties used in functionally distinct manners inclusive of multilingual situations characterised by genetically unrelated or only distantly related varieties. Fishman is not the first scholar to

observe this; Kloss (1966:138) provides the terms 'in-diglossia' for closely related varieties and 'out-diglossia' for less or non- related varieties, hence it becomes apparent that two distinct strands of diglossia are possible and indeed commonly observed. This is distinguishable from Fergusson's earlier work which pertained to the spirit of 'in-diglossia' only.

Unlike Fergusson, Fishman's work pertains to the over-lapping disciplines of sociology, education and language maintenance. Fishman's modified and expanded definition of diglossia (Bilingualism with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without bilingualism, 1967) provides a broadened definition to encompass any two [or more] functionally distinguishable dialects, registers or languages, both with and without bilingualism. Fishman's combination of the concepts of bilingualism and diglossia offers the fourfold taxonomy shown in Figure 1. Such a taxonomy allows for classifications of bilingual speech communities, such as the historical case of genetically related yet distant Welsh and English, with extension of diglossia to the societal level.

A salient characteristic of the diglossic relationship is that of domain, the emphasis on which as a key explanatory category in the diglossic concept led to Fishman's 1965 'Who speaks what language to Whom and When?'. As with the clear distinction evident between the functions of both H and L, each variety is used in non-overlapping domains, with a main focus on the H variety accessing high domains. Fishman described diglossia as a characterisation of the 'social allocation of functions to different languages or varieties' (1971b:295), hence we may understand the essential characteristic of the diglossic relationship as clear, non-overlapping and distinct distinctions between H and L functions. As is the contention

of this thesis, there is an emerging relationship in contemporary Wales between Welsh and English as each language having distinct, compartmentalised functions in contemporary Wales. Before discussing this specific relationship further, we first turn to an elaboration of Fishman's full taxonomy (1980) of the linguistic relationships between High (H) and Low (L) varieties, as shown below. The following list of items coded (a) – (d) describes the varying degrees of relatedness and distinction permitted between linguistic varieties in a diglossic relationship.

a) H – classical, L – Vernacular: genetic relatedness.

For example, classical and vernacular Arabic; Sanscrit and Hindi, classical or classicized Greek (Katarevusa) and demotiki, Latin and French among francophone scholars and clergy in earlier centuries, classical and vernacular Tamil, classical and vernacular Sinhalese, Classical Mandarin and modern Pekinese.

b) H – classical, L – Vernacular: no genetic relatedness

For instance, textual Hebrew/ Aramaic (traditional literacy) and Yiddish (Fishman, 1976; Weinreich, 1980)Loshn koydesh (textual Hebrew/Aramaic) and Yiddish (Fishman, 1976). This expands to include one of the several dozen other non-semitic Jewish languages, as long as the latter serves a vernacular function rather an a traditional literary tradition (Weinreich, 1980).

c) H – written/ formal-spoken, L as Vernacular: no genetic relatedness

e.g. Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay (Rubin, 1972), English (or French) and

various vernaculars in post-colonial areas throughout the world (Schiffman, 1999).

d) H – written/ formal-spoken, L as vernacular: genetic relatedness

e.g. High German and Swiss German, standard spoken Pekinese [Putonghua] and Cantonese, Standard English and Caribbean Creole. (Fishman, 1980: 4).

Here, Fishman distinguishes between consensually different languages and genetically related forms. I would assert here that the Welsh-English context fits between Fishman's descriptions of (c) and (d); while Welsh and English are genetically related in the sense that they're both Indo-European, they are of different IE families and thus their relatedness is distant. Fishman's example of (c) Spanish and Guarani are unrelated and (d) High German and Swiss German are closely related. Thus the degree of relatedness between Welsh-English is placed between examples (c) and (d) in this description. As described above in the instance of (c) Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay (Rubin, 1972), both English and Welsh are genetically distant. Instance (c) is evident in post-colonial areas throughout the world, fitting to Fishman's 'Bilingualism with Diglossia' description (Figure 1: Quadrant 1) and instance (d) provides description of H in relation to a genetically-close vernacular L.

Crucially, Fishman's redefinition of diglossia allows for a broad degree of linguistic relatedness and is inclusive of more languages (in addition to historically related varieties as in Ferguson's conception). The extended notion of diglossia is described multilingual societies with several languages and also societies employing

separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties (1967:30). Where H and L are separate varieties, a dyadic relationship is given, with one dominant over the other. Rather than Fergusson's narrower approach to diglossia, Fishman's broad extension provides an appropriate model in cases of language contact, reversing language shift and minority/majority diglossic cases and will therefore be used in the present study. Crucially, the salient features of Fergusonian diglossia (functional separation and prestige) are essential conditions of Fishman's extended diglossia and thus the core features of the paradigm.

Fishman's taxonomy provides the framework explanatory of societal linguistic subjugation in language contact situations, again redolent of the complexities of the diglossic relationship i.e. domain analysis, interlocutors, place and topic (e.g. Fishman, 1972a). Fishman further allows for the possibility of 'narrow' diglossia to be replaced by 'broad' diglossia without overt awareness among the speech community, thus leading to the view that Fishman's diglossia is less 'stable' than the classic instance (Schiffman, 1999). The stability of the model has been challenged by Hudson (2002) who suggests that Fishman is over-inclusive by allowing for cases such as Dutch-Frisian to be categorised as diglossic. However, as I will detail throughout the proceeding sections, Fishman's approach is both elucidative and necessary in the minority language context. The two-by-two model (as given in Figure 1) categorises differing diglossic and bilingual situations as found in real-world contexts.

Figure1: The Relationships between Bilingualism and Diglossia, Fishman, 1967

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The Relationships between Bilingualism and Diglossia

	DIGLOSSIA	
	+	−
BILINGUALISM +	1. Both Diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia
−	3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

In Quadrant 1 'Both diglossia and bilingualism', Fishman describes bilingualism at the individual level whereby speakers use two languages for different social functions (e.g. Lombard and Standard Italian in Lombardy where Italian is socially dominant over Lombard). This description lends itself to the current situation in Wales, as is discussed further below. In Quadrant 2 'Bilingualism without diglossia', Fishman describes a situation of rapid social change, social unrest and a "widespread abandonment of prior norms" (Fishman, 1967:79) such as the dislocation of immigrants or newly industrialised nations (Fishman, 1972:35). As Fishman explains, since the formely compartmentalised roles of home, school and work are disrupted by the dislocation of norms and values through a mass social change such as immigration or industrialisation, the functions of each language become blurred. The language variety of the formerly H domains comes to be used in the L domain and thus varieties formerly kept apart begin to influence each other in a transitional manner. In Quadrant 3 'Diglossia without bilingualism', Fishman describes a situation whereby two language varieties are used for different social functions, without bilingualism at the individual level (e.g. French and Haitian Creole in Haiti).

In Quadrant 4 'Neither diglossia nor bilingualism', Fishman describes a hypothetical situation where no language variety dominants over another, and where there is an absence of linguistic variation. It could be considered that such would occur within small linguistic communities, but Fishman does not provide an instance of this.

The model is not without question, as Sebba (2011:451) argues that bilingualism cannot exist without Fishman's extended diglossia, as such a conception implies a situation in which two languages are regularly used in concurrent use for all functions, without significant status differentiation. Fishman's description of 'Bilingualism without diglossia' provides an instance of social change, which itself is not enduring, thus this status may therefore be considered as transient. Furthermore, a number of counterarguments have been presented in the literature which must be examined before asserting the basis for the use of the diglossia paradigm in the present Welsh-English context as detailed in this thesis.

2.2.1 Rationalising contemporary use of the diglossic paradigm:

Despite argument in favour of preserving, protecting and revitalising threatened languages in a variety of ways, the conditions to best support the survival and maintenance of linguistic diversity are not clear (Romain, 2006:442). Faced with increasing loss of linguistic diversity on a global scale, Romain calls for clarity on these issues not just for the sake of theory, but in the interest of providing valuable advice to the speech communities affected. The use of the diglossia paradigm has been thoroughly critiqued (e.g. Romaine, 2006) and these issues will be considered before moving forwards to give grounds for its use in the context of this thesis.

Romain (2006) identifies a number of 'fundamental problems' in the use of

diglossia as a frame of reference. One issue of the diglossia paradigm is in its perception of its utility as a language maintenance strategy (Martin-Jones, 1989:109) being embedded as a 'natural form of sociolinguistic order' which reinforces hierarchy (Romain, 2006). Diglossia should not therefore be 'the aim of language maintenance' (Romain, 2006:451) because the paradigm itself promotes inequality. Even when the power-balance appears stable, Eckert (1980) deems diglossia as a reflection of a transitory, unequal power play between dominant and minority. Calvet (1993 via Romain, 2006) suggests that a concept of diglossia presents the situation of domination as 'normal' while Williams (1992) criticises the 'consensual nature' of the paradigm. Furthering this point is Musk (2006) who claims that the 'apolitical consensus model' of Fishman's diglossia does not accurately nor sincerely represent conflict and power relations. Such criticisms relate to Fishman's apparent side-stepping of the dimensions of power and conflict which underpin the diglossic arrangement. Furthermore, Romain (2006) argues that the diglossic status in language communities is something to be overcome, rather than attained. The present thesis accords with this view in that, rather than a strategy for language maintenance, the application of the diglossia paradigm throughout this thesis is used as a descriptive tool in order to situate and contextualise the relationships between Welsh and English in contemporary Wales. Rather than ascribing power imbalances, overlooking, 'clouding' or normalising conflict (e.g. Calvet, 1993 via Romain, 2006; Williams, 1992) the model can be implemented as a constructive tool in describing the socio-political power play inherent in speech communities. Thus by stressing the dimensions of power and conflict which underlie such relations, the use of the diglossia paradigm highlights the hierarchical dynamic, bringing these issues to the fore. Such analytical tool allows for the investigating and application of therapeutic

intervention in order to overcome the 'prescribed' hierarchical constraints as modelled in the diglossic paradigm.

Indeed, as Musk (2006) cautions, modelling diglossia must acknowledge the political reality and tensions of the compartmentalisation of language varieties to L and H functions. Here, the simple binary distinction of 'H vs L' cannot accurately capture the range of possible situations or domains in which the language varieties operate. Crucially for the focus of this thesis, Musk (2006) calls for a domain analysis which takes into account real choices faced by speakers in navigating interactions thus an adapted framework of Fishmanian diglossia provides a widened scope in approaching diglossia in real-world situations. Here, the case for the originality of the application of the diglossia model in this context can be demonstrated. Heeding Musk (2006), the model presented in Section 2.5 provides an adaptation framework; based on a foundation of Fishman's diglossia, the model of inverted diglossia as presented in Section 2.5 accommodates the nuances of the Welsh-English situation in the educational domain. Taking this into account, the Welsh-English model of inverted diglossia is outlined in Section 2.5.

2.3 Diglossia and Wales

Crucial here in Fishman's extended diglossia is the societal power relationship between the two distantly related varieties whereby one variety functions for formality and the vernacular form functions in interpersonal communication. In the historical Welsh context, the diglossic relationship pertaints to Fishman's 'broad' extension of diglossia which is inclusive of unrelated or distantly-related languages (e.g. Welsh

and English) rather than Ferguson's 'narrow' notion of two codes of the same language. Societal power relations provide a necessary condition in keeping with the stability of diglossia; without separate, complementary values attached in maintaining functional separation, the variety associated with the 'predominant drift of social forces' shows tendency to displace the less-dominant variety (Fishman, 1967:36). This section will first detail the historical linguistic suppression of Welsh in Wales which led to the traditional diglossic relationship between Welsh and English in Wales.

Despite the strong oral and written tradition in Wales dating back to the 6th Century, a series of historical events in Wales ensured the denigrated status of Welsh i.e. 1282 conquest brining Wales under dominion of the English crown; English pronounced the official language of Wales (Act of Union, 1536), legally and formally expressing the inferiority of the Welsh language. As Morgan (1988) notes, the issue of potential language decline was familliar to scholars in the 16th Century (i.e. Gruffydd Robert of Milan). In accordance with Fishman's description, a diglossic relationship manifested between English and Welsh throughout the 16th century, with many Welsh people embracing the high mobility advantages afforded to them by the acquisition of English. With Welsh largely deemed as lesser than English, Welsh ceased as a language of administration. English became the language of law, the language of the elite, and a favour of social mobility. With the assimilation into the English political and class system, the Welsh language and its culture became increasingly associated with the peasantry – 'Y Werin' – and thus deemed of low value by both the Welsh elitists and the English political system (May, 2008:254). Here, Morgan (1988) notes that the 17th Century was a 'bleak period' of language

and literature decline, rather than one of consolidation. It was through this period that

the process of establishing schools began (Morgan, 1988). This development began

with the Welsh Trust schools (1674-81) before Griffith Jones developed Welsh-

medium Circulating Schools in Camarthenshire (1731 – 1779), teaching some

20,000 people to read the Bible throughout the county (Jones, 1995). Cocurrently

with the development of literacy in a religious context, anti-Welsh legislationgrew,

with socio-political factors throughout the 17th – 19th Century further contributing to

the limitation of domains of use, and the decline of the Welsh language (Institute of

Welsh Affairs, 2010). As the class distinction widened, social unrest heightened

among the urbanising Welsh working classes (i.e. Merthyr riots, 1831; Newport

rising, 1839; Rebecca Riots, 1839 – 1843). Consequently, negative connotations of

the Welsh as uncivilised and criminal were perpetuated from such political uprisings.

Further exacerbated throughout developments of religious non-conformism in Wales,

dissonance peaked in the 1840s, leading to a commons-led enquiry in 1846. The (a)

1847 'Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the State of Education in

Wales' led on to the (b) the 1870 Education Act (McCann, 1970). The analyses of

the enquiry – itself initially aimed to investigate the scarcity of schools in Wales and

the lack of Government support and provision for factory workers – were published in

three volumes as the Blue Books (y Llyfrau Gleision). The publication concluded

education in Wales to be inadequate, at the fault of the Welsh language, despite the

fact that the methodology employed for the report included classroom observations

and interviews (Price Jones, 1978). 80% of those educators being interviewed were

churchmen, and Anglo-Welsh individuals were used as 'translators'. Commissioners,

unfamiliar with teaching and with the Welsh language, interviewed through the

medium of English – a language in which a vast majority of informants lacked

proficiency. Despite this heavily biased approach to reporting, the Welsh language was concluded to be a 'vast drawback' to Wales and a barrier to moral progress and prosperity of the people of Wales (Evans, 1997). Such reports served to fuel The Education Act (1870). Having constructed a national education system in England, the Act firmly established compulsory English-medium elementary schooling in Wales for the Under 14s for the proceeding century; Welsh was thus largely deemed substratal, redolent of poverty and 'backwardness' (Morgan, 1988). Ultimately, Welsh was restricted to the low domain and confined from the H school domain (Khleif, 1979).

In order to confirm this division further, socio-political devices such as the 'Welsh NOT' were reportedly used in the school system to further separate the two languages and impress upon speakers a negative attitude towards the Welsh language (Jones, 1998). A wooden device known as the 'Welsh NOT' was given to the child heard speaking Welsh in order to identify them for punishment; such an object was to be passed subsequently to the next child heard speaking Welsh, with the remaining child [and often all of those heard throughout the school day] severely punished for the impertinent use of Welsh in the school domain (Jones, 1998). As was historically commonplace in language contact situations, minority language speakers have been punished for the use of their mother tongue e.g. native language speakers in a colonised America continued to receive punishment in schools until the 1950s (Crawford, 1989). Such practices were common, aimed at 'conforming' native peoples into English speakers by enforcing the use of the superposed 'prestigious' variety (English) in the H context. This demonstrates a direct reverse situation to the reported situation in Welsh-medium schools today whereby children are reportedly punished for the use of English (for further

discussion, see Section 2.3.3). To summarise, while Welsh retained in some community religious practices, English became the dominant language of education and governance, heightening the increasing functional separation between the languages. Through the weakened position and lowered status, Welsh was subordinated and compartmentalised to the L domains.

Fishman's model of diglossia provides a descriptive tool to categorise the socio-political linguistic landscape during this time in Wales. The written/formal variety – or H – is acquired and therefore understood through the schooling system (Fishman, 1980:4). Moreover, the power relationship inherent in diglossia manifests itself in one H-prestige form used in H-contexts, and a complementary L-variety. In the case of Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay (Fishman, 1980 (c); Rubin, 1972), the diglossic use of H or L signifies the formal/ informal power relations indicative of the social exchange. While Guarani is the indigenous language of Paraguay spoken as the first language, Spanish was the language of colonisation acquired later. Although Welsh and English are genetically related (albeit distantly) unlike Spanish and Guarani, similarities are present in the historical Welsh context, with Welsh becoming increasingly compartmentalised to the L domain and English that of social mobility and the H domain. Crucially for the topic of this thesis, English was the language of education and – throughout the beginning of the twentieth century – came to function in a H domain excluding Welsh i.e. as an instrument of governance and education. English is used in High functioning roles, with Welsh consigned to the familial domains at the beginning of the 20th century.

Fishman (1967:36) states such separate, complementary values are a necessary feature of the diglossic construct. The roles of each variety are clearly

differentiated here i.e. where, when and with whom the variety is permissible. Both diglossia and bilingualism are present (Fishman, 1967:32) in a vertical arrangement; compartmentalised roles are embedded in each respective variety with a range great enough so that one variety does not displace the other.

Fishman describes this as an 'enduring societal arrangement', which extends beyond three generations in these 'implanted functions' (1980:3). Within this arrangement, speakers engage in roles which are marked for territory by social institutions. Diglossia has often been noted as a factor in language shift, particularly in the hierarchical minority – majority contact situations (Fishman, 1967). As English became the language of upward mobility, a pattern of subtractive bilingualism emerged. The impact of this upon the number of Welsh speakers in Wales is presented in Figure 2 below; the percentage of Welsh speakers steadily declined throughout the 20th Century through a complex interplay of socioeconomic factors affecting Wales within the wider British context. From this point, we will now turn to discuss the role of language attitudes in transmission, uptake and reproduction of minority languages specifically in the diglossic construct.

Figure 2: Historical decline in percentage of Welsh speakers, 1891 – 2011 (sourced from The Open University, 2018)
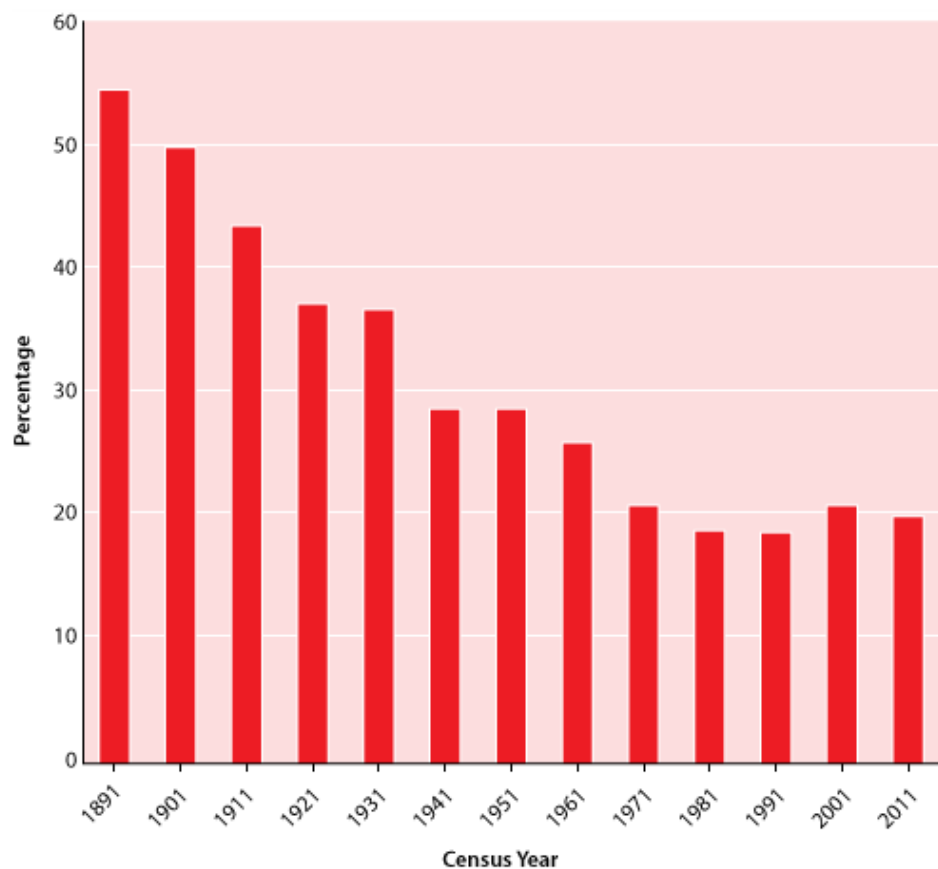
2.3.1 Attitudes towards Welsh

Throughout the chapter thus far, I have diglossia with reference to the Welsh-English context and the socio-political events which led to language which led to the diglossic relationship in Wales. Discussion will now turn to the role of language attitudes in transmission, uptake and reproduction of minority languages specifically in the diglossic construct. As is evident from Figure 2, a sharp decline in the percentage of Welsh speakers is evident the late 1800s- the period after which the Education Act (1870) came into effect. While Welsh was spoken as a first language

in the early 19th Century, Welsh-monolingualism dropped to only 8.7 per cent of the population by the 1911 Census at the point when English pervaded the high domains. Further salient in the defining of diglossia is the role of language prestige. The linguistic hierarchy from colonisation was evident, and a trend towards greater bilingual usage developed, akin to the Paraguay case (Rubin, 1968:529). The label of High prestige became attached to Spanish (Paraguay) just as with English (Wales), and "it was customary until a few decades ago to neglect or despise Guarani" (Rona, 1966:280). Closer to home, it is well reported that many Welsh-speaking caregivers spoke English to their children, in hope of providing their offspring with greater opportunities and social mobility (Jenkins, 2000:200). By understanding attitudes towards linguistic varieties, we are afforded an understanding of the factors motivating language choice. While language decline was explicitly catalysed by linguistic subjugation, the erosion of language and culture from within the speaker community cemented such trends.

The prevalent attitude towards Welsh was one of tolerance, which filtered down into L contexts, with detrimental consequences. Such led to English functioning in all domains, signalling a move away from the diglossic instance which had kept Welsh in the L domains from the 16th century through to the 20th century. Diglossia had been held for a number of centuries, with English being marked for elite function in Wales, and separate, complementary norms and values established to maintain the linguistic subjugation of Welsh. However, without such functional differentiation keeping association with characteristic and non-overlapping settings of application, language shift prevailed in favour of the majority (Fishman, 1967). As English began to function in all domains, Welsh became displaced and without a functionally separate context and thus the societal diglossic relationship developed

into an asymmetric bilingual situation.

In summary, the bilingualism which had endured through functional separation shifted to a subtractive bilingualism, whereby English replaced Welsh in almost all domains. The absence of an exclusive value-attachment to Welsh and the subsequent lack of functional separation allowed English to further pervade the L contexts in society at large. Speaker numbers fell dramatically; by the 1920s, the total recorded percentage of those able to speak Welsh was found to be at 37%, then again falling to 29% in 1951. By 1961, figures had fallen a further three percent before the trend eventually plateaued in 1980s. While a number of conditions had been favourable towards the Welsh language in retaining certain domains of use (i.e. Bibles translated into Welsh in the 16th Century, development of grammar and dictionary in the 17th century), such did not retain longevity (Jenkins, 2000), as persistent attitudes were in-favour of English.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the combination of socio-political factors such as language of education, conscription, industrialisation, in-migration and mortality rates played a combined role in creating what Hodges (2011) daubs the 'Lost Generation'- a generation of Welsh people unable to communicate through the medium of Welsh, found predominantly in the industrial South-East and contact border counties. While linguistic strongholds remained in the geographically isolated 'heartland' regions of Wales (North West, West and South West), major concerns developed as to the weakening abilities of the family and wider community to reproduce the Welsh language. Erosion of intergenerational transmission had taken hold, leading to a diminishing original speaker population.

2.3.2 Revitalisation: Context, planning and institutional leverage

In the following section, I will focus on the language revivalist movements in post-colonial Wales. Here, I discuss the socio-political movements of the mid-20th century which endeavoured to provide Welsh with a niche locus of transmission (i.e. reintroduction into the H domain), and the measures which were taken to create horizontal bilingualism in Wales. Horizontal bilingualism describes a situation in which two languages have equivalent status and representation in the official, cultural and family domains (Pohl, 1965; via Beatens Beardsmore, 1986). The sections of this chapter that follow will describe two main directions in achieving this: that of language purism and of the focus on Welsh in the H-domain.

Description of the revivalist change in the linguistic landscape of Wales must be viewed within the wider socio-political context. Welsh language revitalisation in Wales is highly applauded, providing a 'rare exception' to the oft seen pattern of minority language shift, decline and death (Coupland, 2010). It is important to note that, where the dichotomy of H and L exists, so does the notion of prestige. National pride is often represented and symbolised by the L variety (e.g. Kahane and Kahane, 1979:192); this is indeed true of Welsh in the early 20th Century. As in Paraguay, the subjugated indigenous language became considered a symbol of struggle against the majority-language speakers (e.g. Rona, 1966; Férére, 1977). A number of nationalist movements opposing the supremacy of English took place in the first half of the 20th century in the post-colonial Welsh revival. Organisations such as the Urdd Gobaith Cymru (1922) (Welsh League of Youth) were founded, with the role of promoting and encouraging the Welsh language in young people. Following this, and

in response to the vast number of Welshing war victims, the post-war National Party of Wales, Plaid Cymru was established to preserve Welsh culture.

The 1970s plateau of arrested language decline (Figure 2) can be attributed to a number of activist methods and peaceful protests (e.g. the Bealeys' eight year legal battle) and the advent of Welsh language media (e.g. Radio Cymru, 1977; S4C, 1982). Saunders Lewis' radio lecture Tynged yr Iaith (1962) – composed in reaction to the decline of Welsh speakers as documented on the 1961 Census – is frequently accredited with awakening a sense of Welsh identity and ownership among speakers. Lewis was at the forefront of Welsh activism and his seminal broadcast is cited as a catalyst for the advent of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg – a Welsh-language society composed of young people, students and political activists. Longstanding campaigning led by Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg forced Government recognition of the Welsh language, thus leading to reports which in turn developed the Welsh Language Act (1967), granting the right to testify in Welsh in Court and to translate official documents. The emergence of mass media and spread of officialdom steadily eroded the social prestige and H function of the elevated English variety, and thus signalled the gradual elimination of the diglossic relationship (e.g. Radhakrishna, 1980:238 on Telugu).

The Welsh Courts Act (1942) was the first instance of legislation in four centuries to change the status of the Welsh language, permitting use of Welsh in court proceedings. The examination board Welsh Joint Educational Committee (WJEC) formed in 1948. The successful re-establishment of Welsh in the H domains can be traced to a series of pivotal political agendas: the Welsh Language Act (1967, 1993), the education Reform Act (1988), the establishment of the Welsh Language

Board (1993 – 2012) and the Welsh Assembly (1999) (Morris, 2010).

While the previous Welsh Courts Act (1942) treated Welsh as an 'elsewhere case', the 1993 Act conceptualised 'equal validity' between Welsh and English resulting in Welsh-medium documentation and bilingual road signs. This emobodied institutional support and promotion of public sector use of Welsh. The Act achieved (i) granting the right to use Welsh in court proceedings, (ii) Welsh-English equality demonstrated with all public sector provisions and (iii) the establishment of the Welsh Language Board. The chief responsibility of the Welsh Language Board was that of promoting and facilitating the use of Welsh through bilingual design, working with a variety of companies and ensuring public bodies exercise relevant schemes (e.g. 'Investing in Wales'). Rights were afforded to speakers to use Welsh in court proceedings under all circumstances, with public sector organisations obligated to provide Welsh public services equal to those in English. Welsh language use is encouraged and supported by powerful social institutions and processes, with Welsh having been granted official status within Wales (The Welsh Language Measure, 2011). While the Measure does not contain Welsh-medium education specifics, it does allow for expansion on the pre-existing schemes laid out by the Welsh Language Act (1993).

2.3.3 Welsh education development and language ideology

Now internationally renowned, the Welsh education system is considered a central institution in Welsh language reproduction. In terms of provision in the early 20th century, the H.M.S.O report of 1927 recommended the use of Welsh in

education, and subsequently, the first Welsh language school opened in Aberystwyth (1939). Following this, the Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru (UCAC) formed in 1940 as a national union for Welsh language in teaching. The Education Act (1944) permitted local authorities to open WM schools, which led to a number of institutions opening e.g. Ysgol Dewi Sant, Llanelli (1947); Ysgol Glan Clwyd, Rhyl (1956). Welsh-medium education was developed with initial aims towards heritage communities in L1 Welsh and Welsh-speaking areas and succeeded in bringing the Welsh language into the prestigious H-domain. While the role of the Welsh language in education is relatively recent, the education sector has been viewed as providing the best domain of linguistic reproduction (Jones, 1998:21). Maximal effort has been put into Welsh through the education sector in aims of achieving horizontal bilingualism. This logically planned and highly acclaimed means of transmitting Welsh has proven a great success in providing complementary Welsh-medium education to those from Welsh-speaking homes.

Jaffe (1999) describes the 'diglossic mentality' as the manner in which compartmentalisation values reproduced and legitimate a formerly low-status minoritised language. On Corsican, strategies of revitalisation viewed a reversal of the traditional model of diglossia as a necessary step in the overcoming of French language practices which had dominated in practical and symbolic functions. Reversing Language Shift (RLS, Fishman 1991) thus involved 'tipping' the balance of power between Corsican and French in order to influence speaker attitudes and language practice (Jaffe, 1999:41). Similarly in the Welsh-English context, this was achieved in Corsica by implementing the Corsican language into from which domains it had once been excluded. 'Diglossia' traditionally describes the

hierarchical, oppositional socio-political, cultural and linguistic relationship between the minority and the majority whereby use of the minority is restricted to the informal and family domains and the majority dominates in education and public life. A reversal of this relationship can be noted in a number of revitalised minority language contexts e.g. Jaffe on Corsican 2011. Since its publication, Fishman's (1991) theoretical and empirical treatment on reversing language shift (RLS) has laid the foundations for a number of investigations in numerous minority language contexts. As the theoretical framework of this thesis takes influence from Fishman's work, a discussion of such developments also owing to RLS is important. Specifically, the influence from the diglossia/ reversed diglossia concept on contemporary works in a selection of neighbouring cases (i.e. postvernacularity; authority and competing authenticities) will be detailed. Here, we discuss neighbouring instances of minority languages becoming embedded in symbolic, high status contexts while the formerly H majority variety occupies the informal context.

In a number of cases of minority language revival, the discourse has been reframed from whether a language is 'dead' or 'dying' to instead focus on the changing way speakers relate to the language and culture (i.e. Shandler, 2004). Varieties which were seen as undergoing shift and decline (e.g. Yiddish) have been observed displaying new demographics of speakers, new avenues of transmission, new cultural movements (Moore, 2013); specifically in the case of postvernacularity, new speaker groups are driving this cultural change. As Hornsby (2017) notes, postvernacular use emerges from overt language ideologies; in language obsolescence, the conscious thrust to promote the minority or 'dying' language into modern acceptance and use involves a number of non-traditional practices and

proactive language engagements. This arrangement sees minority languages functioning in high status, symbolic contexts while the formerly H language occupies the informal domain. The foundations of postvernacularity are thus akin to the model of reverse diglossia (Fishman, 1991) whereby the previously displaced subjugated variety is expanded and established in a variety of new functions.

Postvernacular use is described as a model for understanding language use in the 'era of late modernity' (Hornsby, 2017; Shandler, 2006). Rather than presenting competition with the vernacular, postvernacular use is an interdependent response or a reaction to the vernacular variety of a language. Here, it may be viewed as an expanded use of the language, responsible for 'opening up' linguistic boundaries and enabling new avenues of enriched engagement (Shandler, 2006:194). Postvernacularity has been described in the linguistic practices of lesser-used languages (e.g. Costa on Occitan, 2015; Sallabank on Guernesiais, 2013) where languages are evolving function alongside existing community practices. Of course, such linguistic development is not without socio-political dispute. Hornsby (2017) provides an insightful examination of the shift and revitalisation of Breton. Here, he highlights the points of contestation associated with postvernacularity and 'new' speakers of Breton (i.e. authenticity). The use of Breton in postvernacular contexts by 'new' speakers is viewed as symbolic rather than communicative; in contrast, vernacular use among traditional dialectal Breton speakers is valued as the only legitimate, 'authentic' form of Breton while 'new' speakers are ostracised for their use of the standard modern variety (Hornsby, 2017). Similar findings have been reported in a number of minority language contexts (i.e. Galician in Galicia; Irish in Ireland) where 'new' speakers employ puristic language attitudes to regulate fellow speakers' 'authenticity' (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013). Specifically, McEwan-Fujita

(2010) observes widespread feeling among L2 Gaelic learners that they are deemed 'linguistically deficient' by L1 native speakers (see also Dunmore, 2017). This is echoed by Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2015) who report non-native speakers of Catalan turning to an increasingly cosmopolitan stance to resolve the issues of feeling unwelcomed by the nationalistic rhetoric in Catalonia.

While this is a different situation – with different origins – to the Welsh context, the tensions between puristic and illegitimate forms of language is nevertheless a common issue among contexts of minority language revival and maintenance. In Wales, for instance, the common standard of the H domain is viewed as the most legitimate form in opposition to the naturalistic L1 vernacular (deemed illegitimate), hence the 'inversion' aspect of the diglossic construct in the Welsh context. Authenticity, prestige and legitimacy is a matter of context.

With more uniform Welsh-language provisions available today than previously afforded throughout the Welsh public sphere, Welsh is afforded equal and often preferential status and rights to English. Thus, the goal of achieving Horizontal bilingualism – a 'truly bilingual Wales' (Iaith Pawb, 2003) has focussed on the public sector agencies- largely the educational sphere. The advent of the Welsh Language Act (1993) necessitated the treatment of Welsh and English on an 'equal basis' in the public sector. This was the first instance of statutory language obligation being bestowed unto the public sector (Jones, 1998), serving to enhance the validity of the language by granting further prestige and greater status. However, it is important to note the complexities of the Welsh education system in its classification. For instance, the following classification has been provided by the National Assembly for Wales (2016). Primary schools fall into the categories of Welsh-medium, dual

stream, transitional and English-medium, while Secondary schools comprise Welsh-medium, Bilingual, predominantly English-medium and English-medium schools.

The production of the national Welsh-medium Education Strategy (2009) aided definition and support, with a focus in ensuring learners become bilingual in Welsh and English, via immersion. The strategy raises six key points, namely:

1. Improvement of WM provision

2. Ensuring the continuous progression in Welsh learning

3. Ensuring each individual develops Welsh skills to their full potential

4. Ensuring sufficient Welsh-speaking teachers with correct teaching method training

5. Improvement of centralised support for WM teaching and training

6. Contribution in supporting Welsh skills in families, work place and community.

This sociolinguistic domain shift equipped Welsh with the H status which had previously been actively denied in Wales. Speakers now engage in a range of roles and have access to different facilities, with the language elevated in prestige and expanding its reach into all H-contexts. The factors driving this abrupt change are further detailed in Section 2.3.2.

Today, knowledge of Welsh is deemed an economical advantage, demonstrated in instances such as increasing numbers of firms enrolling staff into Welsh language courses (Jones, 1998). This is comparable to the Catalan situation where Catalan is regarded as an essential skill in public sector employment; the

impact of this has led to Catalan being regarded as a progression towards higher economic achievement (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015). Further to this point, language-use patterns may improve with economically advantageous opportunities to use Welsh, particularly in the public sector (Morris, 2010). Welsh language-specific career opportunities are increasing with Welsh deemed both desirable and necessary for many positions within the public sector (see Chapter 4 for further discussion). The exclusive application of the minority language to the work domain has been explored in the Scottish-Gaelic context (e.g. McEwan-Fujita, 2008).

Such manoeuvres of language maintenance have been viewed as both stabilising language decline and actively driving increased use (e.g. Deuchar and Davies, 2009). Higher Education is thriving in Wales, with many opportunities available post-16 into further Welsh-medium education. The Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol, for instance, was established by the Welsh Government in 2011 to develop Welsh-medium courses, resources, scholarship and research opportunities in universities in Wales. This of course supports the avenue of continued study through the medium of Welsh at degree and postgraduate level. Polarised to the situation in the previous century, Government support secured a visibly heightened prestige for the Welsh language. Thus we may note that Welsh has been recently engineered to function and thrive in the H domains, as contrastive to the former historical situation discussed in Section 2.3.

The socio-political measures taken in revitalising the Welsh language have motivated increased numbers of younger Welsh speakers, with general upward trends evident throughout the 1981, 1991 and 2001 censuses. The detectable increase in the 2001 Census has been attributed to the increased role of Welsh on

the National Curriculum as a core subject, and to the increasing popularity of Welsh-medium schooling. More recently, the figure of schools transmitting a significant level of Welsh in Wales stands at 496 (Welsh Government, 2018/19). Of this figure, 386 are Welsh-medium and 364 of these are Primary schools. Within the primary and secondary education sector, Welsh is transmitted through a number of differing channels, namely Welsh-medium, Dual stream, transitional, Bilingual or English-medium with significant Welsh.

While providing supplementary Welsh-medium education for those from L1 Welsh backgrounds, Welsh-medium education provides a sphere of transmission for children and adolescents who would not otherwise encounter a domain of acquisition nor application (Gruffudd, 2000), serving as an effective planning tool in transmitting the Welsh language in localities with low Welsh usage (Hodges 2009a, 2009b; Thomas 2007). The 1960s saw a dramatic increase in non-Welsh speaking parents sending children to WM schools, leading to significant increases in the number of young people able to speak Welsh in areas associated with low community use of Welsh. Following this, a trend developed whereby Welsh-medium education became viewed and treated as L2 immersive education (Baker, 1993; Hodges, 2011). This action led to the rapidly increasing demand for Welsh-medium schooling across post-industrial communities in South Wales (Williams, 2000; Williams and Morris, 2000), particularly in the more anglicised areas with low levels of community use (WLB, 2006:9-10; Hodges, 2011). Reportedly, this development can be at the expense of English-medium provision[2] (e.g. Coupland, 2006). Welsh-medium

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[2] Truly 'bilingual' education is difficult to define due to the variability with which the parameters of 'bilingual' are perceived. Due to this high level of variability (i.e. in that there is no 'one size fits all' solution), individual institutions are responsible for deciding how best to implement and achieve their bilingual policies as dictated by their individualised needs i.e. bilingual schools generally operate a dual-model of education, seeking to use both Welsh and English within the school (Williams, 2010). Each language may use separately for distinct subjects as to create a sense of compartmentalisation.

education equips a new generation with education through the medium of Welsh and while the loss of the original Welsh speaking population may be perceived to be 'more than compensated for' by an increase in new young speakers (Coupland et al., 2005), these young speakers are Welsh-medium educated in areas with historically low community use of Welsh. In this case, then, Welsh is a language of context i.e. the H domain. Government aspirations towards 'true bilingualism' appear to place this ideology above that of realistic bilingual usage; as Coupland (2010) rightly states, sociolinguistic accounts of existing bilingual situations rarely speak of complete functional equivalence between languages.

On school, society, authority and competing authenticities, Jaffe describes the school as the agent of both language revitalisation and social change which impacts both what the language is and how people think the target competencies [in Corsican] should be taught. She further discusses "for teachers, this translates into conflict, because the political and cultural framework of Corsican language education subjects them to competing imperatives" (2011:215). The discrepancy – or 'conflict' – here lies between 'naturalness' (authenticity) and uniformity (authority and linguistic coherence). Jaffe (2011) stresses that this is a difficult conflict to resolve due to the dichotomy of its construction (i.e. traditional vs modern, private vs public, spontaneous vs natural) where teachers' choices and practices are shaped by specific language policy. While the education sector is the most significant agent charged with Welsh language reproduction and maintenance to date, its maintenance relies on being functionally separate from the majority. Welsh-medium education provides a means to an end. The action (the 'means') of educating through Welsh from an early age has been carried out at a national scale with the

key purpose of achieving national bilingualism (the 'end' goal). However, as detailed throughout this thesis, the dependency on the H domain as a substitute for L-domain intergenerational language transmission (Jones and Morris, 2007; Hodges, 2011) leads to non-transferability of school-transmitted Welsh. Similarly, Dunmore (2017) reports that Gaelic language socialisation – both within and beyond Gaelic-medium education (GME) – is often limited both for school-aged speakers and adults after having left the school system, demonstrating that non-transferability is an issue in the context of minority language immersion schooling.

In the specific case of Wales, Jones (1998) states that Welsh-medium schools are now attended by an increasing number of second-language learners – often 'outnumbering' native-speakers in classrooms in the more anglicised areas of Wales (Jones, 1992:204; Jones, 1998) – contrary to the initial remit of Welsh-medium education. The school has replaced the family to a large extent as the vehicle of Welsh transmission today, with the education sector looked to as a strategy in safeguarding the Welsh language (see Dunmore, 2017 for similar themes in Scottish-Gaelic).

Contemporary demand for Welsh-medium education is evident in Rhondda, Cynon and Rhymni Valleys and in Cardiff where there is otherwise a relatively low community use of Welsh (Morris, 2010:82), thus the greatest increase in Welsh speakers has been achieved in areas where Welsh has traditionally been the weakest (Aitchison and Carter, 2004:2). Indeed, Lewis (2006:23) states that 98% of Welsh-medium pupils across South-East Wales hail from non-Welsh speaking homes. The demographics of Welsh use are by no means clear-cut, with census data notoriously difficult to interpret (e.g. Aitchison and Carter, 2004; Coupland,

2006); however, what is evident is that the 'new Welsh speakers' are young, Welsh-medium educated pupils (often in in the urbanised areas of Wales), marking what Coupland (2006) deems a 'major shift' away from the pattern of Welsh transmission in 'heartland' families in rural north- and south-west areas. The growth of revitalisation measures, large-scale immersion schooling and the extension of Welsh into new spheres are all largely untypical of an obsolescent language (Jones, 1998; Coupland, 2006). This marked significant change in the manner of use of Welsh, a language which had previously been consigned to the Low domains now being perpetuated in its new High position by speakers who do not apply Welsh in the Low contexts. While the education sector currently provides the primary domain of contemporary Welsh reproduction, there is grave concern that such substantial investments in Welsh-medium education will be fruitless without speakers seeking to use Welsh in other aspects of life (Fishman, 1991; O'Riagain, 2006).

With the reliance placed upon the schools to bring up children bilingually, Hodges (2009) reports parents viewing Welsh-medium education as a substitute for home transmission of Welsh. Incentives range from economic reasons to intrinsic, with informants of Hodges' study feeling their children should 'reclaim' an identity which they themselves feel they were denied i.e. the 'lost generation'. As in many cases of minority language revitalisation, parents may hold positive ideologies, turning to the school as the language preserver. Indeed, positive parental attitudes do not equate to the investment of time and resources into fostering language development (e.g. Velazquez, 2009; Ó hIfearnáin, 2013); consequently, a lack of language use is evident among the children. In his 1991 publication 'Reversing Language Shift' (RLS), Fishman warns of the dangers of relying too substantially on the school as the saviour of successful language revitalisation, stressing instead the

fundamental role of family and community. This is a central point of this thesis as a whole, as the language planning efforts which are currently taking place to reach the Welsh Government's projected 'one million speakers by 2050' which aim at creating successfully conversant speakers within the High domains. Without considerable 'societal reinforcement' from family and community, schools cannot *successfully* transmit either first or second language (Fishman, 1991:371). It is this lack of societal reinforcement which threatens to render Welsh-medium educated school-leavers unable to contribute to the revitalisation and thus unable to transmit the language to the next generation (Jones, 1998; O'Riagain, 2006). The school environment itself depends on the 'family-neighbourhood-community arena' in to support language transmission; without proper sequencing of events, the premature rush to applaud the obvious virtues of minority language education may ultimately be debilitating (Fishman, 1991; Williams, 1992). It is warned that the excessive focus placed on the merits of Welsh-medium education may lead to "severe difficulties and choices, unanticipated by Welsh language advocates" (Williams, 1992:312), and with recent speaker number decreases recorded on the 2011 Census, careful inspection is needed into the linguistic habits of school aged speakers. Therefore, Government policies designed to generate speaker numbers may actually contribute to the further compartmentalisation of Welsh unless measures can be adopted to promote transmission of the H-acquired Welsh into the L-domains (see Chapter 8). Doing so would need thorough consideration of appropriateness of the Welsh medium in its transmitted state with reference to both H and L domains. While it must be noted that affording High prestige to a minority language is a valuable and commendable achievement (Williams, 1992) Welsh use in the formal domains does not equate to Welsh use outside of school, and speakers are reported to abandon Welsh beyond

the classroom (Thomas and Roberts, 2009; Sebba, 2011).

Ultimately then, the presence or absence of the minority variety in the High domains perpetuates either linguistic preservation or decline (Brown, 2012); in the case of Welsh, such has perpetuated a domain-specific preservation. Fishman's core diglossic criteria of non-overlapping functional separation thus arises. In the sections below, I will introduce the diglossic notion of language prestige before describing the contemporary case of Inverted Diglossia in Wales.

2.4 Prestige

With Welsh-medium schools acting as a basic instrument for language revival and ethnic assertion (e.g. Khleif, 1976), Brown (2005:282) argues that the deliberate school-based introduction of a lesser-used language into the educational sphere instantiates a powerful transformation effort; state-funded, central civic institutions thus represent a "deliberate and planned environment" which provides the means of transmitting political ideologies (Brown, 2005:282). We are reminded here that the thrust towards Welsh-medium education developed as a Government response to anti-English protest and thus the system is deeply entrenched in the early nationalistic movement. The minority language in the school environment may either reinforce or disrupt language ideologies (e.g. Dagenais et al., 2008; Heller, 2006; Mor-Sommerfeld, 2009), with the use of Welsh in the school-scape being understood as a transformation of social and political ideologies into 'physical form' (Duncan and Duncan, 1988:126). In Wales, the Welsh Language Measure (2011) replaced the Welsh Language Act (1993), enshrining equal legal status of the Welsh language as with English, stipulating that the Welsh language is not to be treated less favourably

than English. The redraft of the regulations for the Welsh Language Measure 2011 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2017a) adds developments to the standards for official institutions, including Higher Education. The stipulations of the measure is of great interest, particularly in-light of the Welsh Assembly Government's broad aims for a 'truly bilingual Wales' (2013; 2016). While the goal of 'true' bilingualism and a 'truly bilingual Wales' reiterates the necessity for individuals to be able to choose to live through Welsh and/or English, and the commitment for a country to boast the shared presence and shared availability of both Welsh and English in everyday Wales, amendments to the Welsh Language Measure are such that ensure that the policy decision is concerned with the positive discrimination on opportunities for the use of Welsh only. The standards include advice for meeting and corresponding with individuals, such as asking the interlocutor whether Welsh is their preferred correspondence and stating that Welsh is to be seen or treated as no less favourably than English with additional guidelines given for social media specification (Standard 62). The idea that Welsh is to be treated 'no less' favourably than Welsh could imply that Welsh is to be viewed more favourably than English, as the measures make no mention to equality for English. As we understand, the occurance of two languages which are regularly used concurrently without significant separation is simply unrealistic (Sebba, 2011) and thus some level of differentiation is necessary if a bilingual relationship is to endure. To this effect, Standard 66 states that text and displayed signage must be displayed in a manner where Welsh is likely to be read before the English. The guise of a 'truly bilingual Wales' is perhaps better understood through the ideology of Welsh partiality. For instance, Standard 52 states that, upon producing separate Welsh language and English language versions of a document, the English language version must clearly state that the document is also available in

Welsh. However, the Welsh version is not required to offer availability of an English-language version (as expected by the nature of the 'Welsh language measure'). Without Welsh-medium documentation necessitating English translation, the measures themselves demonstrate an ingrained, necessary bias at the institutional level. This proliferates throughout the system; for instance, job vacancy advertising at S4C, Universities, Councils and Government level often display Welsh-medium documentation only, while public and private sector job vacancies advertised elsewhere must also include a Welsh version wherever English is present. Thus, while English is not a requirement for some posts, a number of public-sector roles demonstrate Welsh-language exclusivity. While the Welsh language must be treated 'equally or more than' the English language, English does not have to be afforded parity with Welsh. Such institutional bias provides a reasonable and expected adjustment for the Welsh language, in that it is a minority language of vulnerable status (European Parliament, 2017). Without such separate, complementary values establishing and maintaining a division between the two varieties, the minority language would otherwise be engulfed in language shift towards the majority medium (Fishman, 1967:36). Thus a situation has been engineered where there is greater weighting, favour and opportunities afforded to Welsh in the official domains, in order to safeguard the Welsh language and support its maintenance. However, the ideological 'fair advantage' for the Welsh language reportedly demonstrates itself as discrimination against the English language when individual educators – responsible for educating through the medium of Welsh – are also responsible for interpreting measures, potentially done so with a particular agenda (Selleck, 2013; Lee, 2016). Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2015) discuss systemic problems which arise from the contradictions between existing language policies of social integration

in Catalan and educators' provision of effective Catalan-medium instruction. Pointedly, teachers are often given only minimal training for teaching immigrant or L2 students who are developing linguistic competency in Catalan. This, Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2015) assert, risks compartmentalising Catalan to the H environment by restricting use to the classroom, impacts speaker perceptions of Catalan insofar as educational orientation becomes 'entangled' with language attitudes and ultimately limits L2 speakers' educational attainment. Unofficial bottom-up 'innovations' instigated at classroom-level have been an increasingly common address to this, although such attempts are diverse in character and content (Trenchs-Parera and Newman, 2015).

The Welsh-Medium Education Strategy states that "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 Assembly Government, 2010:9) and that such provision cannot ensure the facilitation of bilingual speakers if Welsh language skills are not reinforced. This approach requires thorough Welsh immersion throughout the school day in order to achieve communicative competency. Lee (2016) notes that this belief is widely supported by teaching staff in Welsh-medium schools, where teachers remind students that – in order to achieve in their exams – students must practice Welsh 'monolingualism' throughout the school day. In this instance, speaking English is viewed negatively, at odds with school language policy (Lee, 2016) thus further highlighting the compartmentalisation of Welsh as H and English as L. In terms of further views held by educators, trainee teacher surveys in Wales showed a majority of 'for' statements when asked whether legislation should protect the Welsh language and the limitation of English speakers

(May 2000:117; Williams, 2009:80). The results demonstrate an explicit ideological stance on the prohibited use of English within the school domain (Lee, 2016) and educators' evident support of maintaining a thorough transmission of the Welsh language in the school domain.

Jaffe (2011) examines the practices that reproduce dominant language ideologies in the educational setting i.e. the monolingual standard; 'purification' of Corsican-language spaces and practices in the school. Her data of bilingual Corsican schooling demonstrates that minority language education does not simply create more speakers, more use or heightened vitality, but plays a crucial and active role in defining sociolinguistic identities and communities of practice. Jaffe further asserts the direct relationship between the formal code and its impact on a collective cultural identity, noting the social and political nature of corpus planning and the boundaries it draws between 'good' and 'bad' usage (2011:216). Similar exploration has taken place in the Irish case

Such a stance is implicit in the maintenance of Welsh, as English-Welsh parity in the school environment would inevitably lead to language shift and thus failure to maintain bilingualism, given the difficulties faced in managing Welsh transmission in the informal domains beyond the school environment. By attaching a variety-specific value to Welsh (i.e. Welsh functions in a manner which English cannot – in the H domain), a policy-driven measure aimed at preventing language shift is upheld in favour of the minority language (Fishman, 1967). Without separate, complementary values attached in maintaining functional separation, the variety associated with the 'predominant drift of social forces' shows tendency to displace the less-dominant

variety (Fishman, 1967:36). Indeed, the case of Catalan's 'normalisation' (increasing domains and functions of use) consisted of publicity campaigns, promotion of Catalan-language media and requirements for the knowledge of Catalan as a prerequisite for public sector jobs (as comparable to the Welsh case). This widespread development and support for Catalan in schools has led to the knowledge that Catalan is regarded as a stepping-stone to better job prospects (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015). While this compartmentalisation of the minority into the H domains serves as an adroit measure in maintaining the language, it can have unforeseen consequences to in both the ideology of its transmission and how that filters down to speakers, as we will now discuss.

2.4.1 Linguistic purism

We may recall the most pertinent of Fishman's diglossic variables are those of Function and Prestige. As discussed throughout Section 2.1.1, functional differentiation provides the fundamental underpinning of the diglossic concept, with the compartmentalisation of H and L becoming stabilised by their function. As previously discussed, this functional separation enables the minority language to survive on the haunches of reserved function. Within the Welsh-medium classroom, Williams (2010) notes the maintained boundaries between the varieties to stave off 'undesirable' instances of Welsh-English code-switching on the part of either educator or student. A number of scholars express concern that the emergence of 'Wenglish' may indicate shift from Welsh towards English monolingualism (Williams, 2010:64), thus language separation in schools is supported and strengthened in a bid to maintain the 'purity and integrity' of the Welsh language (ibid). Selleck

explores this in her study of young people in south Wales, where students report awareness that English language practices are considered negatively when communicating with teachers. Selleck concludes that – due to the political salience of language contact in this context – the use of language practices pertaining to English are not considered 'good Welsh' (2013:20). This echoes the historical 'linguistic insecurity' of Catalan (Newman and Trencha-Parera, 2015) whereby educators charged with policy implementation fear active bilingualism as a shift towards the majority and a view that borrowings and calques reduce the integrity of the minority language. Further echoed by Jaffe (2011) where educators charged with transmitting and maintaining standards of Corsican explicitly prescribe the desirable 'good' standard practices from the undesirable 'bad' language practices. However, such fears nor implemented boundaries 'prevent' speakers from informally code-switching/ borrowing from the majority language in private conversations, nor in collaborative class tasks (Williams, 2010). This exemplifies politically produced and regulated diglossia as a necessary feature of advanced minority language revitalisation. The Welsh Language Board Youth Strategy (2006:9-10) notes the paradox between the relatively widespread use of Welsh in the education system in South Wales, yet the rare informal use of the language among young people in the community, particularly L2 speakers. While work is not lacking in terms of developing opportunities to participate in Welsh-medium events for those speakers (e.g. Edwards and Newcombe, 2005), how much of these provisions are reaching – or indeed appealing to – such a key demographic in a social capacity? We currently hold little account of the socialisation habits of young Welsh speakers, and in which domains the language is deemed appropriate for use. As the literature concurs, knowledge of Welsh does not *ensure* Welsh language use in young people; the

Assembly Government is acutely aware that if Welsh is to 'flourish', young people in particular need to develop a sense of ownership for the language – to see it as *their* language and not simply the language of school and culture (Iaith Pawb, 2003: 4.38). This applies to L2 speakers as well as L1 speakers. Again, as is the nature with language policy, such advice is delivered top-down and is not a conscious choice made by speakers.

There is substantial evidence that Welsh-medium school-leavers in South-East Wales do not speak the language beyond school (Hodges, 2006; 2009a; 2009b) due to a number of factors (e.g. lacking opportunities for use; Welsh not spoken in the community) although the actual number of young people using Welsh outside of school is currently unknown (Morris, 2010). With much of Wales' youth – particularly second language speakers – using Welsh in conjunction with the formal domains only, and English within the peer group, already a picture is emerging of factors associated with each variety. Fishman (1965b) strikes the issue of which language is being spoken to whom, and when: what circumstances are impacting upon the language choice of both the individual and the speech community? Language choices are related to the larger, stable setting; more information about the sociolinguistic relationship between Welsh and English can be gleaned by examining (i) domains of language behaviour, (ii) what is said between interlocutors and (iii) the role of relationships between the interlocutors (i.e. superior to interior, equal to equal) (Fishman, 1972a). Crucially, the distinction between top-down and bottom-up process of influence comes into the foreground (e.g. Gorter, 2006; Backhaus, 2007). While 'top-down' pertains to official requirements and institutional processes with clearly visible direct influence, 'bottom-up' initiatives pertain to non-official, promotional and marketing processes, tending to be less controlled and more

creative (Coupland, 2006). Transmission of the Welsh language is administered top-down, itself problematic when considering the reported interpretations of Welsh language policy by educators, as exemplified in Selleck's study (2013). She demonstrates the dichotomy between ideology and the everyday realities of Welsh language policy, concluding that students' experiences of bilingual policies at school ultimately affect students' language choices. Educators' top-down overt biases (i.e. praising Welsh use; denigrating English use) reportedly impact students' preference of English as a 'rebellion' of the schools' rules (see also Chapter 4 and Chapter 6). Specifically, English-Welsh mixing is reportedly viewed as characteristic of low academic achievement while 'pure' Welsh is regarded positively by educators (Selleck, 2013) despite the everyday reality of languages in contact beyond the classroom environment. Thus, while the positive discrimination in the Welsh-only domain of transmission is essential for language maintenance, the unanticipated outcome presents itself as negative connotations towards informal Welsh language practices (as impure) and negative connotations of the school's language (as overtly puristic). The issue is not with the concept of immersive education or with the domain itself, but the connotations of the H variety and the compartmentalisation of Welsh through the school domain.

As Holton expresses, the demand placed upon [minority] language learners and speakers to manipulate and recognise complex grammatical forms poses the risk of alienating and deterring 'new speakers' (2009:263). Selleck (2013) argues that the unrealistic 'monolingual ideal' of Welsh use promoted within the school system fails to recognise Welsh-speaking students' bilingualism and the wider linguistic landscape in which the speakers live. The long-standing contact situation between English and Welsh within Wales has led to a notable presence of English

borrowings in the Welsh lexicon (Robert, 2011). Despite this, there is a reported

compulsion among educators to avoid borrowings and maintain the purity of the H

variety within the H domain. However, and crucially, such an approach contrasts with

the objective of creating functional bilinguals (Selleck, 2013). Restriction of

naturalistic language practice (i.e. code-switching, borrowings) appears to encourage

and facilitate contestation among speakers (for in-depth discussion of this point, see

Chapters 3 and 4). Thus, Welsh as the H-fulfilling language has connotations of

rules, restriction and regulation whereas English, contrastively, provides an easily

accessible language of leisure.

The disconnect between ideology and actual language use among speakers

has been discussed with respect to linguistic ecology (e.g. Hornberger & Hult, 2008)

where linguistic forms must be seen in context with social implications (Muhlhausler,

2000). By using a holistic language ecology approach (i.e. taking into account all

aspects of speakers' social and cultural realities), Hornberger & Hult (2008) suggest

that analysis can demonstrate the extent which linguistic policy fosters linguistic

diversity, and thus whether such policies adequately acknowledge sociolinguistic

variables such as majority-minority bilingualism as presented in the minority

language context. Such acknowledgement is recommended where language policy

aims to guide and manage (e.g. Schiffman, 1996). Hornberger & Hult (2008)

emphasise that the ecological linguistic perspective enables the research community

to determine the extent to which the language policy and planning takes into account

the complexities of societal bilingualism (i.e. do Welsh-language policy documents

consider Welsh in a vacuum, or in the context of everyday language contact?).

Further questions emerge, such as whether language policies relate to individual

experience with language use, attitudes and beliefs; and whether language policies relate to sociolinguistic circumstances 'on the ground' (Hornberger & Hult, 2008: 285). At present, Welsh Government language policy takes a different stance to the ecological perspective insofar as Welsh partiality is reportedly demonstrated within educators' practice (Selleck, 2013; Lee, 2016). Anglesey Council recently explored such prevalence of Welsh-language partiality at institutional level in a recent planning meeting (Anglesey Council, 2017), discussing the role of preferential treatment of Welsh–speaking applicants in influencing councillors' decisions when approving planning applications. Such a stance is reportedly held among teachers in Welsh-medium and bilingual schools in Wales (see Lee, 2016). Thus there is perhaps an evident and understandable desire by educators and public-sector workers to as the notion of a 'Welsh-preferential' territory within H-domains. On this point, Urla (1995) notes that the enduring history of subjugation and marginalisation of the minority language requires speakers to establish both difference from and equivalence to the dominant language (i.e. by upholding a standard of Welsh in official domains with equivalent function to English); such factors provide clear logic to the activities which uphold rigorous standards of Welsh language and culture. However, language activists reportedly perceive the hybridising of dominant and minority language and culture as threatening to the linguistic heritage and integrity of the minority variety (e.g. Urla, 1995; Jaffe, 1993). This is illustrated by the overt Catalan language policies 1990s which saw media campaigns with a preteen language partisan modelling policy goals by speaking Catalan to Spanish speakers and correcting 'errors' in Catalan and Spanish (see Michael Newman and Mireia Trenchs-Parera, 2015).

Dorian (1994) views such conservative language 'purism' as the greatest barrier in sustaining minority language learning and use. As Holton (2009) identifies, puristic attitudes towards language change in *large* language communities has little effect on the adoption, borrowing and inevitable coalescence of words. Yet within smaller endangered or vulnerable language communities, the effect of puristic attitudes can be more severe, rather than leading to the desired outcome of preserving the language. Indeed, Newman and Trenchs-Parera (2015) claim that the institutionalisation of linguistic insecurity (i.e. puristic hypercorrection of Catalan, 'cleaning up' of castellanismes and colloquialisms) served to alienate both L1 and L2 speakers. Minority language purism in a bilingual language community can accelerate shift to the majority language, where the majority language provides a 'natural avenue' by which speakers circumvent the strictures of minority purism (Holton, 2009). Language purism then acts as an effective barrier in minority language revitalisation and/or maintenance: "purism effectively bars the language from the modern world by blocking the adoption of new word forms and borrowings from the dominant language" (Holton, 2009:246). In the case of Catalan, language purism faced pushback from scholars in the form of moving away from the obsession with correctness and higher registers and an overt acceptance of the 'unacceptable' common 'castellanismes' (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015). However, the strength of this opposition has gradually faded with the gathering of more non-native speakers who have been educated in Standard Catalan over the last generation. Fishman (1972b) claims that keeping up with the majority language is impossible without the minority carving out a niche for itself i.e. coinage and terminology development for serving in contemporary functions. In Wales, the heavy emphasis on corpus planning has provided a rich glossary appropriate for higher domain use.

The registers of Welsh with respect to formal and informal domains will be detailed below.

2.4.2 Features of H and L Welsh

This section provides a descriptive discussion of the features of H and L Welsh varieties. Here, the differences between formal and informal varieties of Welsh are detailed in terms of characteristic, speaker use of these varieties and the perception speakers have of these differences. From this, I will discuss the prestige carried by informal varieties of Welsh and English in the differing L1 and L2 Welsh/bilingual settings as investigated in this thesis i.e. the school context. First I will turn to the characteristics of formal and informal Welsh.

The registers of Welsh are significantly divergent (Fife, 1986) with a number of existing variations exist between the Welsh applied in 'formal' contexts and the Welsh of 'informal' discourse (Davies and Deuchar, 2014). There are a number of salient features which characterise the differences between informal conversational and formal spoken Welsh (Morris Jones, 2010) which Ball (1988) terms as pertaining to either 'common standard Welsh' or 'informal colloquial Welsh' – each found on a continuum (with 'informal Welsh' at one end of the continuum; the highly codified 'Literary' non-spoken, non-productive variety furthest from informal Welsh; and 'common standard Welsh' somewhere in-between). Croft (2000) argues that speakers select one of three options when speaking, particularly in instances of language contact: (i) using an established form "normal replication", (ii) using a new form "innovation" (iii) choosing a recently innovated form over an established form

"propagation". 'Normal replication' (or 'common standard') is the conservative choice and inhibits language change whereas 'propagated' innovative forms are found commonly in informal, conversational contexts. Ball (1988) notes that, while both standard and informal Welsh varieties are actively productive for speakers to apply in a range of contexts, common standard Welsh is not spoken socially for all functions whereas informal Welsh functions as a conversational, social medium between interlocutors.

In terms of the informal form of Welsh, externally motivated changes to language such as word order and morphology usually require bilingualism as a prerequisite (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). As Davies and Deuchar (2014) assert, all Welsh speakers in Wales today are bilingual in English to a varying degree; if changes to the standard form of the language require bilingualism (and thus knowledge of those changes) then upholding the 'untouched' conservative, 'puristic' variety of Welsh is a stylistic choice made by the speaker specifically for the formal setting (ibid). Difference between formal and informal speech in Welsh remains current and indicative of a healthy language status (Deuchar and Davies, 2009) although, as discussed in the literature (e.g. Prys, 2007; Robert, 2011) borrowings into Welsh from English and contact phenomena more generally are frowned upon by those who concern themselves with language standards (see Jaffe, 2011 on Corsican; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015 on Catalan).

Deuchar and Davies (2009) discuss the stylistic range of individuals when alternating between informal spoken and standard common Welsh. One such stylistic change is found in speakers' simplification of the mutation system in informal

spoken Welsh contrasting with the more complex mutation system as expressed

speakers' formal style e.g. there is a common pattern of replacing nasal mutation

(NM) with soft mutation (SM) after the preposition 'yn' (in) in informal speech. So, the

phrase 'in Bangor' would appear 'ym Fangor' (SM) in informal speech rather than the

grammatically correct 'ym Mangor' as considered more appropriate in formal

contexts. Indeed, formality has been shown to increase speaker application of nasal

mutation (e.g. Hatton, 1988). Findings from Roberts (2017) demonstrate that L1

adolescent Welsh speakers (11 – 13 years) acquire and consistently apply NM to the

same degree as adult speakers in formal reading tasks yet spoken use of this

pattern is largely dependent on the formality of the speech context (e.g. Deuchar and

Davies, 2009). Thus the use of either SM or NM in an utterance which usually

requires NM is a stylistic choice on behalf of the speaker depending on the formality

or informality of the speech setting. Furthermore, Roberts (2017) suggests that the

morphosyntactic environment in which NM occurs may have more formal

connotations e.g. the distinction between standard and informal spoken Welsh

varieties of the utterance 'my cat'.

	Common standard	Informal spoken
'my cat'	fy nghath [i]	cath fi

In common standard Welsh, the environment which triggers NM in this

instance is the singular first person pronoun 'fy' (my) – however, both 'fy' and NM

carry formal connotations among speakers (Deuchar and Davies, 2009; Roberts,

2017). Contrastively, NM does not occur in the informal spoken realisation 'cath fi'

which features the innovative form 'fi', predominantly used in this context among

younger speakers.

Additional stylistic differences between more and less formal speech forms are marked in a variety of ways. For instance, Davies and Deuchar (2014) analyse auxiliary verb deletion in the informal spoken Welsh of Welsh-English bilinguals – specifically, auxiliary verb in Welsh constructions with 2nd person singular subjects. Deletion of the initial finite auxiliary verb in periphrastic constructions occurs in informal spoken Welsh when the auxiliary is a form of bod 'be'. Specifically, the deletion of the present tense auxiliary 'wyt' was found to be highly frequent (ibid) and this process occurs commonly in informal spoken Welsh. Davies and Deuchar (2010) found auxiliary deletion in 57.66% of 222 subject-initial clauses which were classified as having Welsh as the main morphosyntactic frame or were monolingual Welsh. Occurrence of the auxiliary drop as characteristic of informal Welsh speech have been reported elsewhere (e.g. Roberts, 1988). For example, in comparing the utterances 'Wyt ti'n mynd?' (Are you going?) and 'Ti'n mynd?' (You going?), note the dropping of the second person auxiliary 'wyt' in the informal context. While not found in formal contexts, this is commonplace in the informal conversational speech of speakers below the age of 50 (Davies and Deuchar, 2014). This auxiliary deletion in informal speech impacts on surface word-order where VSO becomes SVO in informal clauses but remains as VSO in formal clauses (ibid). This echoed Jones and Thomas (1977) who highlight the choice of auxiliary retention or deletion as based on stylistic choice. This process is characteristic of periphrastic verb constructions; periphrastic constructions are generally preferred by Welsh speakers in informal speech (see Thomas, 1982; Deuchar, 2006) whereas synthetic constructions are used more commonly in formal speech (and do not feature this process) (King, 2003:135). To briefly illustrate the difference between periphrastic

(informal) constructions and synthetic (formal) constructions, Gareth King (2003)

provides the following:

(1) Periphrastic/ informal use

Mae 'r   hen ddyn   yn llosgi   sbwriel yn   yr ardd

be.3S.PRES DET   old man   PRT burn. NONFIN rubbish in   DET garden

(2) Synthetic/ formal use

Losgodd   yr hen ddyn   y sbwriel yn   yr ardd

burn.3S.PAST   DET old man   DET rubbish in   DET garden

In terms of features redolent of informal speech such as auxiliary deletion,

extensive analysis by Davies and Deuchar (2014) found statistical significance for

age insofar as speakers under the age of 50 are more likely to delete the auxiliary

than speakers over 50. The pattern clearly demonstrates that there is a sharp

increase in the production of overt auxiliaries in the older age groups and conversely,

deleting the auxiliary is more common in the speech of younger people. Phillips

(2007) analysed the occurrence of this among young Welsh speakers,

demonstrating a shift in Welsh main clause order from VSO to SVO in periphrastic

constructions. This language change feature provided one feature marking informal

and formal speech in the recordings of guises for the second study of this thesis e.g.

formal guises retained the auxiliary as standard whereas informal guises

demonstrated auxiliary deletion (see Chapter 6). This subtle change is able to

convey the formality of the speech, prestige and also the domain in which the

speech occurs e.g. auxiliary deletion commonly occurs in informal conversation

among speakers under the age of 50; auxiliary retention is redolent of a formal, conservative style. This is not simply a matter of English contact with Welsh; neighbouring Celtic languages have also demonstrated SVO surface word order in a VSO matrix through main/auxiliary verb deletion in colloquial speech (e.g. Timm, 1989 on contemporary Breton; Hickey, 1990 on contemporary spoken Irish). While Hickey (1990) finds this internal restructuring occurs in both children and adults with relatively low exposure to English, it is found predominantly in younger speakers.

Further differentiation between informal and formal spoken Welsh is evidenced by vocabulary choice of the speaker (see Ball, 1998) both through lexical choice within the Welsh language and with regards to English-contact forms. For example, an extensive number of establish words in common standard Welsh are reportedly connoted with overt prestige and perceived as the vocabulary of 'educated' speakers, with speakers instead preferring the use of English derivatives to signal informality e.g. 'darlledu' – 'brôdcastio' (broadcast), 'defnyddio' – 'iwsio' (to use) (Ball, 1988). While both 'darlledu' and 'defnyddio' are acceptable in common speech and in no way archaic, Ball (1988) notes that common everyday speakers prefer the use of the standard in formal contexts yet opt for more 'anglicised counterparts' in informal communication. Here, speakers' overt stylistic choice is once again nuanced by and indicative of speech setting formality. Similarly, Thomas (1987) identifies the use of loanwords and calquing of English phrasal verbs as characteristic of 'casual, colloquial' Welsh and distinct from 'standard, formal' Welsh. Here, Thomas (1987) claims that use of the standard variety is a practice indicative of 'educated' Welsh speakers and imbued with overt prestige. This is further supported by Jilg's (2003) results from a study in Bleaunau Ffestiniog north-west

Wales[3]. Using visual stimuli, Jilg elicited lexical items from two groups of L1

participants for a number of concepts. The results demonstrated that the group with

the higher level of Welsh education who were associated with cultural institutions

and activities (e.g. Eisteddfod) were more likely to respond with Welsh forms of the

concept than English forms, whereas the less institutionally distinguished

respondents tended to use English variants. Such findings support Thomas (1987)

who claims that more educated speakers are more likely to possess standard Welsh

words. This educated standard is often referred to deferentially as 'Cymraeg da'

(Good Welsh) or sometimes the more dismissive 'Cymraeg mawr' (Big/Grand Welsh)

(Ball, 1988).

Further supportive of these findings is Jones' (1998) analysis of casual

speech in two Welsh communities; Jones found that L1 school-aged speakers'

Welsh differed depending on whether they had attended WME or English-medium

education. L1 speakers attending English-medium education retained dialect

features whereas L1 speakers attending WME exhibited loss of dialect features in

favour of standard features. This trend was evident in both north-east and south-east

cohorts. Here, Jones (1998) infers that WME has a standardising effect on those

who receive it. This is echoed by Madoc-Jones et al. (2012) who find the use of the

overtly prestigious 'posh' forms of Welsh connoted with education through the

medium of Welsh among L1 speakers. Robert (2011) suggests that the use of

standard Welsh forms (rather than English borrowings) reflects language prestige,

value for social mobility and high esteem of the speakers themselves thus the

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[3] NB: this is the same geographical area in which the second study of this thesis (Chapter 6) took place with L1 adolescents

standard form transmitted to and acquired by speakers educated through Welsh-medium education (i.e. 'the school's language') carries with it connotations of correctness among Welsh speakers. In support of this, Roberts (2017) identifies features of speakers' stylistic choices in formal spoken Welsh as carrying overt prestige in Welsh.

Further to this point, Williams (1987) qualifies that extensive use of 'Welsh' forms (rather than borrowings) reflect high prestige, social mobility and education. Lexical elaboration in Welsh has been particularly heightened since the Welsh Language Act (1993) with terminology planners seeking to fill lexical gaps in order to make Welsh usable in the arenas of public administration, science and technology, business and industry (Prys, 2006; Robert, 2011). As Robert (2011) notes, bilingual English-Welsh glossaries have compiled and used in the public sector (i.e. teaching materials in subject areas such as history, music, mathematics and physics) with further development of thematic glossaries in the fields of finance and health (Prys, 2000). Crucially, Robert (2011) suggests that uniform lexical standardisation across public sectors is driven by language ideology that views English borrowings as 'illegitimate' for use in Welsh. Concurrent with this view, Jaffe (1999:41) describes the development of grammars, orthographies and dictionaries and H-domain texts in Corsican as 'game pieces in a war for symbolic territory'. Importantly, Robert (2011) suggests that terminology planning could be seen as reproducing a language ideology that creates restriction on speakers' linguistic expression, stigmatising the language practices of those who evidence borrowing from English in their use of Welsh. Thus it could be argued that rather than developing a usable, practical Welsh language (Welsh Language Board, 2005:36), lexical standardisation provides a uniform Welsh variety appropriate for use in the H public sector. Welsh speakers

who have no access to the standard form (i.e. speakers who were not educated through the Welsh-medium school system) are thus unable to access that domain (see Madoc-Jones et al., 2012). Here we may note that the school's language carries with it high prestige.

Similar themes of public sector compartmentalisation have been explored in the Scottish-Gaelic context; for instance, McEwan-Fujita (2008) describes '9 to 5 Gaelic' – a language compartmentalised for function in the work environment but not applicable for speakers' home use. Indeed, such perceptions of domain specificity are evident in Jones' (1998) findings from matched-guise experiments conducted in North-east and South-east Wales regarding the perception of formal and informal varieties of Welsh. In these studies, respondents judged pre-recorded samples of speakers reading near-identical texts, one in the local dialect and one in 'Standard Oral' Welsh as transmitted in the school domain. Participants were asked which of the guises they would be most likely to employ as a teacher, Welsh-language television (S4C) presenter and a care home assistant. In both locations, 'standard' guises were chosen more frequently for teacher and television presenter thus suggestive of a perception among young people that 'standard' variety is associated with education and broadcast media i.e. formal domains. While Jones (1998) does not define what constitutes 'standard oral Welsh' in her study, nor the linguistic differences between the guises, this detailing is found both Section 2.4.2 of this chapter and in the methodology of Chapter 6.

Similar findings are reported in the case of Irish, where young speakers' Irish is being influenced by standardised broadcast media, the education environment and non-native revivalist speakers (Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha, 2011:101). The discrepancy exists between the standard form acquired and relevant for high-domain

practice, and the dialect used among L1 speakers for low level domains. Welsh transmitted in the formal domain does not retain features of an informal speech variety, as highlighted with the distinction between L1 speakers who possess dialect, or WM-educated [L1 and L2] speakers whose dialect is standardised in favour of a uniform standard variety of the higher domains (Jones, 1998; Robert, 2011).

Regarding 'S4C Welsh', the register used in broadcasting has been noted as reportedly too distant from the language used by the 'everyday speaker' for speakers to follow (Fife, 1986). Welsh-language broadcaster S4C's guidelines advocate that producers pertain to 'correct' and 'standard' language whilst avoiding anglicised forms thus Welsh speakers who are not conversant with common standard forms (i.e. the language of the educated) are not served by formal-domain media. Roberts (2011) describes this a matter of language 'purity' insofar as the modern spoken Welsh of the formal domains (e.g. media, education) is an upheld contemporary standard of excellence free of contact forms from English (Ball, 1987). While L1 speakers demonstrate overt awareness regarding these distinctions which are 'used to the diglossic space their language occupies' (Hornsby, 2014), Fife (1986) notes that L2 speakers acquire a 'cross-dialectal standard' through the education setting. Thus WME has been reported to standardise both L1 speakers' Welsh, creating a more 'school appropriate' register (see Jones, 1998) and also transmitting a standard to L2 speakers who do not have access to an L domain of informal vernacular transmission elsewhere. Non-traditional forms of Welsh seemingly characterises the speech of pupils in immersion schooling across Wales (Robert, 2009:103-104). Here, Hornsby (2014) claims that such L2 speakers further enable the diglossic relationship between English and Welsh insofar as the use of Welsh can be heightened in status and resources in certain linguistic spaces (e.g. the

school environment) (Hornsby, 2014). In summary, the Welsh transmitted through the education domain is perceived as a prestige variety. This is evident among L1 speaker communities (e.g. Jilg, 2003; Jones, 1998; Madoc-Jones et al., 2012) and L2 speaker communities (e.g. Selleck, 2013; Lee, 2016); specifically, this is educationally contextualised. Here, WM-education – serving as official and institutional level – standardises speakers' language to the extent that colloquialisms are compromised. Along with minority language schooling often reported as maintaining a monolingual ideology (e.g. Jaffe, 2011), upholding the 'value of language separation and purism' (Lee, 2016:50). The message to speakers is clear: informal language practices are not 'correct enough' by the school's standards (Holton, 2009; Selleck, 2013). Concurrent with this view, Reaser and Adger (2008) assert that low register discrimination remains 'endemic' in education and societal systems the language ideology entrenched in that system is not obviously detectable. Jaffe (2011) maintains that educators' puristic language ideologies invisibly filter down to pupils. Linguistic discrimination is therefore part of the system which upholds and maintains language standards (see Lippi-Green, 1997).

If WM-educated L1 and L2 speakers have access to a standard of Welsh connoted with high prestige, developed to function in public sector roles (see Prys, 2006; 2007) and at the expense of an informal vernacular (Jones, 1998) then the absence of 'corrupt' informal forms – both in terms of the absence of their transmission and the inappropriateness of the L register in the H domain – may explain speakers' tendency to prefer English in the essential low social role. While L1 WM-educated speakers may have access to a heavily-English influenced vernacular form (see Madoc-Jones et al., 2012), it is a form which is reportedly condemned by educators, standardised by the system and not appropriate for school-aged

speakers' day-to-day use in the classroom. Alongside this, L2 WM-educated speakers have no access to a vernacular form as the form they receive through WM-instruction is the standard H variety of Welsh.

In summary, this section has provided a discussion of the difference between informal and formal spoken Welsh and speaker awareness of this distinction among speakers. More pointedly, the variety associated with formality and education – 'common standard' – carries heightened prestige of social mobility among speakers. This form connoted with education and 'the educated' is distinct from the 'impure' Welsh used in informal social interactions among speakers, confined to L domains. Studies demonstrating this have employed a variety of methods and taken place in a variety of settings (e.g. Jones' matched-guise in L1 speakers in North-East and South-East Wales; Jilg's lexical elicitation task in L1 speakers in North-West Wales) showing that – despite the very different speaker communities investigated – the perception of formal Welsh as connoted with the prestigious educational elite is widespread throughout Wales.

2.5 The model of Inverted Diglossia

'Inverted diglossia' provides a more accurate term for the educational-based context of diglossia which is being described throughout this thesis. Throughout this section, I contextualise the notion of 'inverted diglossia' with reference to the academic debates both on the nature of diglossia and with acknowledge to existing instances of the terms reverse/inverted diglossia in the literature. Following this, I demonstrate the distinct meaning of the novel use of the term throughout this thesis

and its implications in this linguistic context. Although the existing instances presented below do differ from the concept of 'inverted diglossia' used throughout this thesis, recognition of literature applying the diglossia paradigm is essential in any treatment of the diglossic construct. We will discuss both reference to existing instances of the terminology in the literature and also specific minority language contexts (e.g. Catalan) before the case for the originality of 'inverted diglossia' is made in the Welsh-English context.

The notion of reversing the power balance of diglossia is central to the theory and literature of 'normalisation' in Catalan and related to the reports on post-vernacularity in the context of language revival. The process of 'normalisation' begins with an effort by language planners to reverse language shift (RLS) following periods of linguistic repression; due to its nature as a form of language conflict theory in society, the concept shifting – or reversing – diglossia can be found commonly in literature regarding language shift and language planning (e.g. Catalan, French). Fishman (1991:312-313) describes a 'reverse diglossia' in discussing the reversal of roles of Spanish and Catalan in the Catalan education system. Pointedly, Fishman discusses the attainment of 'full' societal bilingualism whereby the use of Catalan became functional across all constituents of society and symbolism in the late 70s and early 80s. As reviewed by Newman and Trenchs-Parera (2015), Catalan 'normalisation' was designed to reinstate Catalan across society in domains from which it had previously been suppressed with the goal that Catalan would function at the same level as a 'normal' European language (recovering widespread use in all registers alongside the standard). Thus, 'normalisation' was a means of 'reinventing' Catalan as a nation-state language (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015). However, in reaching this goal, Fishman notes that a new 'reverse diglossia' must be

transitionally attained in both the immigrant and native population, with Catalan realised as the H variety and Spanish as the L variety. Here, Reversing Language Shift (RLS) in the context of Catalan maintenance are directly linked to the Fishmanian paradigm of diglossia; the concept is used as a basic analytical and descriptive tool, with the reversal of diglossia central to the theory of reversing language shift. Here, Romaine (2006) acknowledges reversal as a typical fate of the diglossia paradigm whereby the H variety becomes weakened through increasing power appointed to a previously marginalised community. Many scholars interpret this paradigm as a prescriptive measure and thus contentious in socio-political context of modelling language maintenance (see Section 2.2.1 for further discussion).

The term 'inverted diglossia' can be found in recent literature (e.g. Maher, 2015). Maher (2015) borrows from Fishman's extended diglossia (1967) to describe the diglossic relationship between literary (textual) Chinese and Japanese in Japan. As has been discussed in Section 2.2, Fishman's extended diglossia generally refers to the coexistence of two language varieties throughout a speech community – one form the prestige variety, one form the commonly spoken variety. In the Japanese context, knowledge of Kanbun (Chinese classics) has long been a revered 'prestige commodity' (Maher, 2015:162). In terms of cultural context, much of Japan's food, fashion, philosophy, poetry, religion and Arts derive in various degrees from China, and the impact of Chinese text upon Japan's literature and literacy has been so great that Kanbun has long been considered a 'higher' Japanese (rather than being read as a higher form of Chinese). Where Chinese as a spoken language is considered 'inferior' (Maher, 2015:163), the written form was regarded as the superior form. The

Chinese classics has formed the 'ideological underpinning' of Chinese-Japanese diglossia, beginning in the 17th Century where the motivation to study Chinese as a foreign language began through trade and commerce links. This relationship has prevailed to this day where the Chinese classics remain compulsory subjects in primary and secondary schools in Japan. Maher (2015) describes this 'paradoxical situation' as 'inverted diglossia' – a term he uses to describe the context in which the written version of [the usually perceived L variety of spoken] Chinese in Japan constitutes the H variety. The general notion of ascribing the previously perceived L variety as a H variety is certainly a common feature in the reversal of the diglossic construct (i.e. Fishman, 1991), although the conditions surrounding Maher's (2015) conception and realisations of language compartmentalisation differ substantially from the model of 'inverted diglossia' presented in this thesis.

In the Welsh context of diglossia, English traditionally became a symbol of modernity, urbanity, higher social status and as a language of development and freedom, rather than that of the oppressor. Contrastively, Welsh became minoritised and stigamatised through their contrastive association of crudity, rurality and tradition (Romaine, 2006). By embracing the dominant language, speakers' own vernaculars were limited to spheres of church, family and domestic life, owing to the present-day diglossic distribution of minority languages (Romain, 2006). The association of vernacular Welsh still evident among L1 speakers today, although standard Welsh now fulfils the High role in Wales. Madoc-Jones et al. (2012) who clearly identify a number of conditions which contribute to diglossia in Wales whereby a functional separation emerges.

"Bureaucratic use of a language, however, requires some form of language standardisation. Since the 1960s, 'Cymraeg Byw' (Living Welsh) has been the standard form of the spoken Welsh taught in schools and to Welsh learners in Wales. It is the higher prestige version of the Welsh language in Wales, but by dint of its development, it is a form of Welsh that is more familiar to those who do well at school and who are employed within the administrative bureaucracy in Wales."

In the Welsh context, English exists alongside two varieties of Welsh. Each of these varieties is compartmentalised for function among young people in Wales. Specifically, standard Welsh is seen as the highly codified, prestigious H language of the formal domains among both L1 and L2 speakers. This variety – imbued with high prestige – can only function in H domains of officialdom and is thus compartmentalised to the H domains. As Madoc-Jones et al. (2012) comment, while considerable attention has been given in addressing the historical diglossia between English (as H) and Welsh (as L), little attention has been paid to address the diglossia this then gives rise to within the Welsh language – the inverted diglossia as detailed within this thesis. Indeed, Romain (2006) highlights the frequent mistake made by activists attempting to reverse the diglossic hierarchy. This can be seen in the promotion of the minority language in the domains which are now dominated by the majority language. This results in the L (in this case, Welsh) forced to compete with the H in all domains. What we then see if a decrease in the use of L (i.e. vernacular Welsh) at home and in private domains where it previously had a niche foothold, and an increase of the newly elevated variety (i.e. standard Welsh) in

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formal civic domains such as education and governance.

Madoc-Jones et al. (2012) present an analysis of qualitative interview data investigating Welsh speakers' navigation and access of services in Wales. They conduct interviews with forty-two Welsh-speaking adults in North West Wales with community-wide access to Welsh. Two thirds of the sample were 'marginalised individuals' i.e. characterised by lower educational achievement, unemployment, substance misuse, family discord and imprisonment. Their findings identify diglossia as a frequent barrier in Welsh speakers accessing services insofar as the Welsh used in official contexts is viewed as unintelligible to native heartland speakers of the study. Thus respondents report having to turn to English in order to access services. This is not simply a clear matter of socioeconomic status in that the functional separation is not symptomatic of class. Rather, it is generated by the (H) domain i.e. Welsh-medium education.

Specifically, Madoc-Jones et al. (2012) report two forms of Welsh being identified – namely an 'official' H form of Welsh used by figures of authority and characterised by a lack of influence from English. The other form – the informal L form of Welsh – is reportedly characterised extensive English influence. Respondents report their own [informal vernacular] Welsh as informal due to heavily drawing on English. Here, Madoc-Jones et al. (2012) suggest that two forms of diglossia impact on the respondents of their study: first, historical diglossia between English and Welsh where English was introduced into the H domain to function in officialdom. As discussed in Section 2.3, following Laws in Wales acts of the 16th Century, the English language came to be used in formal public settings in Wales. As a result, it became the prestigious (H variety) language in Wales. Conversely,

because the Welsh language was confined to the home and to informal encounters, it became the less prestigious language (L variety) in Wales (Madoc-Jones et al. 2012). However, the contemporary 'inverted diglossia' as described throughout this chapter draws upon Fishman's (1967) extended diglossia whereby a state of diglossia may be created when two different language varieties become associated with different domains i.e. the prestigious H language is associated with the official domains and the less-prestigious L language is associated with the informal domains. Secondly, and pertinent to this thesis, Madoc-Jones et al. (2012) identify a contemporary diglossia whereby two forms/ varieties within the Welsh language are functionally separate (as with Fishman, 1967) with the H form being connoted with education and officialdom and the L form being connoted with informality. With no access to the L form of Welsh among L2 speakers, it is this second strand of diglossia which is drawn upon and detailed throughout this thesis. Unlike Madoc-Jones et al. (2012), I expand on this notion with specific reference to the education domain to encompass both L1 and L2 speakers in this paradigm.

While vernacular Welsh and English are both varieties of low prestige in Wales, depending on a variety of linguistic variables of the speaker community, English can function anywhere as the 'elsewhere case' (discussed below) while vernacular Welsh cannot function beyond the L domain and is compartmentalised. Here we have a dual system of diglossia operating among school-aged speakers in Wales. Specifically in the Welsh context, L2 speakers do not have access to informal Welsh vernacular as an L variety, only learning the H variety of Welsh – as is compartmentalised to the H domains. Thus for use in the L domains among L2 speakers, English is used. Among L1 speakers, vernacular Welsh is characterised

by heavy use of English calques, borrowing and noun phrases (see discussion Section 2.4.2) and becomes 'levelled out' among WM-educated speakers (Jones, 1998) while use of the prestigious standard H-form of Welsh is characterised by exclusive Welsh syntax vocabulary and connotations of education and high-class (Madoc-Jones et al., 2012). Thus, as with Fishmanian diglossia, the prestigious H variety functions exclusively in the H domain. Further to Fishman's categorisation of diglossia, Fasold (1984; 1987; 1990) developed the concept of diglossia to encompass multilingual communities which experience two H varieties and one L variety i.e. double-nested diglossia; linear polyglossia. In this instance, the lower H acts as both H and L language. Here we are presented with a formality/intimacy continuum applicable to bilingual and multilingual societies and arguably providing more depth of analysis than the binary Fishmanian model (Musk, 2006).

This advancement of Fishman's diglossia paradigm is useful when considering the historical and contemporary case of diglossia in Wales, as provided by Tables 2 and 3. Formal or official Welsh language was then positioned as the most prestigious form of the Welsh (L) language. It was accorded the highest prestige of all the varieties of the L language and was thereby positioned as the H variety of the L language. Finally, non-standard Welsh was positioned as the L language, that is, the form of language with the lowest associated level of prestige. However, in specific discussion of the education domain, two key points must be considered in the model of inverted diglossia. Firstly, the Welsh transmitted through the school domain (H-Welsh) cannot be applied among young people in informal communicative domains as it is imbued with overt prestige, 'purism' and connotations of high-class; secondly, the use of this variety would create divergence and distance between interlocutors (thus better suited to the teacher-pupil dynamic

than the peer-to-peer dynamic). Finally, H-Welsh is reportedly viewed as unintelligible among 'everyday' L1 speakers. Contrastively, the use of vernacular 'corrupt' Welsh (L-Welsh) could provide a potential avenue for cohesion and convergence between speakers in informal communication. However, L2 speakers have no access to the vernacular through WM-education and L1 speakers' Welsh is becoming increasingly standardised through WM-education. This arrangement can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 2: Traditional/ historical diglossia in Wales

Status/ prestige	Language	Context
H-only	English	Governance, officialdom
H	Formal official Welsh	Governance, officialdom
L	Non-standard Welsh	Home, family

Table 3: Inverted diglossia in Wales

Status/ prestige	Language variety	Speaker group	Domain
H only	Official, standard Welsh	WM-educated L1 and L2 speakers (not accessible without WM-education)	Formal domains e.g. school
L (can function as H in society)	English	WM-educated L1 and L2 speakers	Informal domains e.g. outside of the classroom
L only	Vernacular Welsh (heavily influenced by English)	L1 speakers only (standardised by WM-education)	Limited L1 informal domains (signalling in-group membership)

Here, Table 3 displays the Welsh transmitted through the school domain as compartmentalised to the H context. Understanding and enacting of this compartmentalisation is evident among L2 and L1 speakers, as explored in the attitude studies of Chapter 4 and Chapter 6. For WM-educated L2 speakers who receive standard Welsh through the school domain, English serves as the 'L' elsewhere case as they do not have access to vernacular Welsh practices (heavily loaned from English) through the school context. Among L1 speakers who attend WM-education, a separation is also apparent (i.e. absence of vernacular features

and increasing standardisation in the Welsh of L1 WM-educated speakers in North-east and South-east Wales, Jones, 1998). Vernacular Welsh features (L variety) are retained when L1 speakers do not attend Welsh-medium education (Jones, 1998). Here, standard Welsh is connoted with education among L1 speakers whereas non-standard vernacular forms (as heavily influenced from English) are still present among non-WM educated speakers. Indeed, Jilg (2013) echoed such findings in North-west Wales stronghold region where English borrowings and loanwords were perceived as the 'L' Welsh of the everyday people while standard Welsh words were perceived as the 'H' of educated Welsh speakers. This demonstrates an overt association among differing L1 communities between exclusive Welsh use and the H domain, and a more fluid informal English as characteristic of informal practices in the L domain.

As presented by Madoc-Jones et al. (2012), L1 Welsh speakers in the heartlands who were identified as having low socioeconomic status and low educational achievement (i.e. offenders, substance users and the unemployed) report preferring English over Welsh in a number of contexts; the findings demonstrate that adult service users who have not been schooled through the medium of Welsh are turning to English in order to access public-sector services which are commonly promoted as Welsh-medium and bilingual resources. The reasons for this can be categorised as follows: (1) because their [vernacular, English-characterised] Welsh isn't 'good enough' to use in Welsh-medium H domains and (2) they cannot understand the 'posh, official' Welsh of the formal domain as (i) it lacks English borrowings and (ii) respondents have not acquired this variety through schooling in the H domain. Despite being fluent native speakers of

Welsh, the H Welsh of the official domains is perceived as unintelligible and characterised by 'big words', thus in lieu of their vernacular, English serves as the mutually intelligible 'elsewhere case' among this cohort (Madoc-Jones et al., 2012). Here, respondents refer to their own informal Welsh used in the L domains as 'chip shop' Welsh and suggest the use of this variety in the presence of 'proper Welsh' would denote them as lacking education and being coarse. Despite owing to having 'everyday' Welsh as characterised by English borrowings and code-switching [as is typical of the local area], respondents perceive their own use of [informal] Welsh as unacceptable in official Welsh contexts and in wider society. These findings demonstrate a clear awareness of 'proper' educated Welsh as connoted with the H domain among the L1 speaking community of the heartland region and English serving as the 'elsewhere case'.

As the cohort investigated by Madoc-Jones et al. (2012) did not receive a high level of education in Welsh, H-domains are not accessible to them unless switching to use English. Here, English acts as the 'elsewhere case' in lieu of standard Welsh literacy and oracy skills. However, in speakers who receive instruction through the medium of Welsh, standard Welsh provides the H language. Among L1 speakers, their Welsh becomes increasingly standardised (see Jones, 1998) and thus functioning as a H; among L2 speakers, their only access of Welsh is the H form of Welsh and no access to vernacular Welsh. Thus, the diglossic construct is inverted insofar as Welsh becomes compartmentalised to the H-domain among Welsh-medium educated speakers.

Here, English functions as the L variety for L1 speakers (whose vernacular has become standardised and therefore connoted with H, characterised by 'big

words') and for L2 speakers whose only access to Welsh is the standard H variety. Welsh-accented English thus serves as a closest approximant to the vernacular among this community. Essentially, inverted diglossia describes an occurrence whereby the Welsh of school-aged speakers in Wales is functionally separate from that of English. Here, WM-educated young people in Wales use Welsh in the H domains and English in the L domains. This is of course a pertinent issue at present, as the Welsh Government aim to reach a goal of one million Welsh speakers by 2050 in Wales, primarily through the official domains. Specifically, such policies may succeed in creating one million speakers who can use compartmentalised standard Welsh functioning in the official H domains only.

On this point, Madoc-Jones et al. (2012) note the irony in language planning which unintentionally serves to heighten the diglossic relationship further. As Romain (2006) argues, many language communities implement strategies to stave off unwanted encroachment from English in the H domains. This is predominantly exercised increasing the status of the minoritised language through re-institutionalisation in the H domain (Romain, 2006). The issue of traditional diglossia between English and Welsh has been extensively addressed in the literature and considerable attention paid to promoting Welsh use in the H context, thus giving legitimacy to the Welsh in the H domain and challenging the historical/ traditional diglossia (i.e. Welsh confined to L, English used as H) ('reversing' or 'renegotiating' the diglossic construct (see Fishman, 1991; Romain, 2006). However, little attention has been paid to addressing the diglossia that this then gives rise to within the Welsh language, as explored throughout this section – the newly emergent 'inverted' diglossia. The summary here is twofold: firstly, L1 speakers' informal Welsh practices are deemed as illegitimate relative to the Welsh transmitted in the formal domains

thus their Welsh standardises for H domain use and secondly, L2 speakers are not equipped with an informal medium to use beyond the H domain, thus English serves as the L variety. Thus we have an emergent situation whereby the Welsh of Welsh-medium educated 'new' speakers is functionally compartmentalised to the H domain – thus English serves as the elsewhere case. Among L1 speakers, as their vernacular is ostracised and increasingly levelled out, Welsh becomes connoted with officialdom and thus English serves as the 'elsewhere case' among young people who receive instruction through the medium of Welsh.

2.5.1 The role of attitudes in Inverted Diglossia

Ultimately, the goal of increasing the number of Welsh speakers has been achieved by increasing institutional support in the public sector, HE and business domains. The university has grown in importance as a determinant of stratification, and formal education as a transmission platform, thus asserting a market value or 'supremacy' of Welsh within Wales (e.g. Brazeau, 1964). Revivalist attempts therefore, while being successful, are entrenched in nationalist movements, with the Welsh-speaking middle-class having emerged, post-industry, in the post-1945 intelligentsia (Khleif, 1977). As in the Quebec instance of the horizontal and vertical extension of French, a necessary public face of the Welsh language has been managed and maintained through the public sector. Welsh-medium education rests on the shoulders of a movement deemed 'internal decolonisation' (Khleif, 1977), where Welsh has developed as an instrument for social mobility. To afford Welsh its compartmentalised function within the high-functioning domains is to induce a

diglossic relationship, as a state of bilingualism *without* diglossia cannot be effectively sustained (Fishman, 1967). Thus both languages cannot be used to the same means if they are to be sustained (Sebba, 2011). However, as is the investigation of this thesis, a medium compartmentalised to the H domain may contribute to the disinclination to use Welsh in the informal environment. For instance, while opportunities to use Welsh informally are indeed less widespread than English, the future maintenance and transmission of Welsh is now largely dependent on the education sector as the key agent in reproduction. By definition, in order to sustain the position Welsh occupies and thus its maintenance, its functional seperateness into the high domain limits its transmission into the low down domain and thus its reproductiveness beyond that domain. As Fishman points to, we see an emergent radical, 'better organised' instance of diglossia wherein the variety previously connoted with home may become established in the school and work domains (1967:35). It is precisely this more radical organisation which has become evident in the Welsh situation, whereby language policy has secured the widespread transmission of Welsh in the formal 'H' domains of education, government and public sector services.

As has been discussed throughout Section 2.4 and 2.5, the present generation of school-aged speakers increasingly associate Welsh with the exclusive academic context. Welsh is deemed a language of circumstance, typically acquired later through the school environment and therefore of great prestige; the use of H in the 'L' domain is deemed unacceptable by members of the speech community, reserved for familial interaction (Fasold, 1984). Likewise, the use of the everyday, familial L variety within the H domain is deemed inappropriate [by the adolescent

speaker community]. Depending from which source attitudes are learned, stereotypes may be more of less resistant to change (Itakura, 2004:46). The school environment provides an important part of the everyday 'panorama of life' for pupils, teachers and parents (Havel, 1985:32) with pupils of all linguistic backgrounds subjected to powerful messages about language from both local and national authorities (Brown, 2005:282). With Welsh-medium schools a basic instrument for language revival and ethnic assertion (Khleif, 1976), the impact upon speaker attitudes is yet to be fully explored in relation to the issue of covert-overt prestige. Thus empirical study of speaker attitudes is crucial in investigating Inverted Diglossia. Separate cohorts of informants will be tested through three procedures – the focus group method, the matched guise test, and a pre- and post-intervention focus group (see Chapters 4, 6 and 8 for full Methodological description). Attitudes are a foundational issue in language maintenance, planning and –more generally – their use. In any model of diglossia, it is widely acknowledged that the L form manifests solidarity, reserved for the 'in-group' whilst the H form implies social distance and the interlocutor's superiority (see Brown and Gilman, 1960). In order to explore Welsh language abandonment in adolescents, we must consider aspects of adolescence- a time in which an individual's linguistic identity becomes set (Eckert, 1998; Gee et al., 2001).

2.5.2 Introducing language and gender

Adolescents have been found to be a particularly salient group in language attitude research (Coupland et al., 2005), with the rise of 'new speakers' representing a 'replacement' to the original speaker population (ibid). While

attitudinal aspects are usually approached in relation to the perceived prestige of the minority language and its appropriateness in formal contexts, the present study is concerned with the appropriateness of Welsh in the *in*formal contexts. The ethnoglossia of L and negative attitudes towards the overtly prestigious variety will be explored. The H variety typically enjoys superiority over the L variety in terms of heightened prestige, as the L variety is deemed inferior in a number of respects. Language and the social contexts experienced by speakers must be taken into consideration here. As adolescents' contact with the minority is taking place within the formal domain, the language is marginalised to the formal sectors and seldom used beyond the classroom (Gruffudd, 2000; O'Riagain, 2009). As such, the end of the school day – and the end of compulsory education – signals the end of compulsory Welsh-language contact and the applicability of H. The classroom environment provides the only connection with the Welsh language for many of Wales' adolescents while for many, the social sphere provides the main connection with the English language. This has led to a domain-specific medium which is hereby predicted to be inappropriate for use outside of the classroom, while the pervasive English medium provides a readily accessible 'go-to' low functioning medium for speakers. Here we must consider linguistic identity.

Identity forms a central pillar in minority language revitalisation (e.g. Giles and Johnson, 1981) and of course the issue of minority language maintenance in adolescents is laden with thorny issues. Youth as a social concept cannot be generalised, nor taken as a whole (Spence, 2005: 46; Maguire and Maguire, 1997) thus when working with adolescents, the individual and societal pressures encountered daily (particularly in the education domain) must be taken into consideration. From the offset, we must acknowledge that factors associated with

adolescence and thus within the school domain connote with pressures, stresses and anxieties from both external forces and from within (Erikson, 1968; Kerfoot and Butler, 1988; Eckert, 1989; Harris, 1995). Adolescence is a period of change and identity construction, with influence from peer cultures heightened at mid-adolescence (Eckert, 1989; Caldas, 2007). While family-influenced language practices are established early in infancy, peer-influenced practices are radically different (Caldas, 2008). Adolescents are shown to adopt and employ more innovative forms of language, while adults have been shown to be more conservative in their use of the standard (Eckert, 1997). The question therefore arises as to whether English represents the innovative variety and Welsh the standard (this will be investigated in-depth from Chapter 3 onwards). Additionally, as noted by Greimel, Bakos et al. (2018), adolescents respond differently to social reward and punishment; this notion of reward and punishment will be at the heart of the argument in Chapters 4.

Identity is not static, changing with different stages of adolescence. The two most significant events experience by young people in Wales are that of (i) the move from primary to secondary education, which may include moving from WM to English-medium education, and (ii) the end of compulsory education, where there is potential to progress into HE or the labour market (Cunliffe et al., 2013). Labov (2001:101) differentiates participants into age categories reflective of their use of linguistic norms, suggesting 10 –12 year olds reflect membership into the pre-adolescent peer group; that 13 – 16 year olds indicate developing sexual relations, and again, that 17 – 19 year olds are marked by the completion of compulsory education and the orientation into higher education or the workplace. Post-16 opportunities have been radically reshaped in Wales, with rising numbers of young

people now engaging in HE. Male adolescents show a stronger tendency to enter the labour market after school, while females tend to remain in higher education (Careers Wales, 2013). Here, we gain a gender-specific picture of post-16 pathways for Welsh adolescents.

2.6 Prestige stereotyping

The use of the H and L forms can have several social meanings for different social groups; in males for instance, the reciprocal use of L expresses solidarity while the reciprocal H varieties suggests social distance (Rubin, 1960). Granting socially prestigious status to a variety does not automatically grant feelings of solidarity within the speakers (Heinzmann, 2013). Such is particularly evident in adolescents, where Low-status indicates solidarity with in-group speakers identifying with 'youth culture' (El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001a). Expressive use of L may indicate in-group solidarity and may not be extended to those of superior or distant social positions (Brown and Gilman, 1960; Rubin, 1960). By the same token, H may be appropriate due the reserved solidarity function [of L] for in-group members. Within the Welsh-medium school environment, peer-groups are comprised of in-group members while teachers are viewed as out-group / superior / distant members. This is suggestive of an 'us and them' pattern of use. Additionally, with our knowledge of linguistic gender divisions, it is plausible that in-group signifies 'L' and therefore male speakers, while out-group signifies 'H' and therefore female speakers, or the 'high-achievers'. Gender is a necessary consideration in any sociolinguistic study and is a relevant feature in the Welsh context. For instance,

female informants were found to be markedly more active users of Welsh, particularly when discussing academic work (Morris, 2010; Hodges, 2009). The gender divide expands, with Thomas and Roberts (2011) discovering *in*-class peer-to-peer interaction to be through the medium of Welsh 91.7% of the time for female speakers, but only 69.4% of the time for male informants. Moreover, Thomas and Roberts (2011) identify the clear tendency in male adolescent speakers to use English beyond the Welsh-medium schooling environment. This tendency was markedly increased in second-language males; comparably, it is noted that female informants of the same study place more effort into language maintenance, reflecting well-established trends between male and female language use (Sachs, 1987; Burman et al., 2008). Labov (1990) describes this well-recognised phenomenon through, whereby female speakers tend to adopt prestige forms 'from above'. These forms 'from above' are perpetuated by the state and perceived as prestigiously higher, affording upward mobility (Labov, 1990:213-15). Expanding on this, female adolescents have been found to craft their identity characterised by intelligence, pertaining to the school's projection of 'moral' or 'good' students (Bucholtz, 1999). With emphasis placed upon the Welsh language as 'the school's language', as a route into Higher Education and towards public sector career prospects (Welsh Education Strategy, 2010), an inward-looking 'Welsh for Wales' perspective appears to be perpetuated by the functional elite. Crucially for the gender divide, female informants tend to view language maintenance as extrinsically beneficial for the future (Jones and Morris, 2007; Bangma and Riemersma, 2011) (see Chapters 5 and 6 for extensive discussion).

As discussed throughout this section, prestige constitutes one of the most

important features of diglossia, which depends on speaker attitudes. In the case of Inverted Diglossia, Welsh holds functional separation from English in the formal domain. A system of privilege and punishment has reportedly developed in a case study school in the urban South East of Wales (see Chapter 4). To conclude what has been discussed thus far, English provides the in-group language through its lack of contact in the school environment. Welsh is that of the out-group, from above, and thus to be actively avoided. What message is therefore being sent out to young speakers? School is often regarded the most influential environment for attitude change (Baker, 1992). How do stereotypes generated through the school environment impact upon young Welsh speakers' attitudes and application of Welsh? Accordingly, linguistic attitudes hold intrinsic linking with views of identity. Stereotype research identifies two fundamental dimensions underlying evaluation of – and behaviour towards – minority/majority language groups: those of solidarity (or 'warmth') and status (or 'competence'). By virtue of H's association with the school, Inverse Diglossia predicts Welsh to have become the status language of the territory-based 'Haves', of the overt functional elite in the school domain. Solidarity dimensions are more sought-after by in-group members, and therefore more predictive of language attitudes than the Status dimension (Heinzmann, 2013). High ratings of Solidarity may be indicative of Covert Prestige, while high ratings of Status are indicative of Overt Prestige.

In accordance with the empirically tested Stereotype Content Model (SCM), warmth and competence are viewed as two fundamental dimensions of social judgement along a sliding scale (Cuddy et al., 2008; 2009). Competence lends itself to high status (i.e. economical or educational success) while warmth may be

extended to non-competitive social groups. Warmth (solidarity) presents itself as a more accessible, sought-after quality. Consequently, evaluations of others [guises] will be influenced by solidarity features more so than those of competence (Heinzmann, 2013). Groups may be high on one function yet low in the other, and combinations of this elicit different attitudes and corresponding behaviours within the observer. Taken from Cuddy et al., (2008), these four combinations are that of:

1. Warm but incompetent: eliciting Active behaviour

2. Warm and Competent: eliciting Facilitative behaviour

3. Non-warm and Incompetent: eliciting Passive behaviour (emotion of disgust)

4. Non-warm and Competent: eliciting Harmful behaviour

The SCM predicts such elicited emotions and value judgements induce active, passive, facilitative or harmful behaviours in the observer (Uleman and Saribay, 2012). The behaviours elicited towards non-competitive members of Group 1 (i.e. the elderly/ low-status out-group members) are active, such as warmth, pity and help. Group 3 members elicit passive feelings of contempt and pity (i.e. welfare recipients), leading to a lack of engagement from the observer. The observer's in-group (Group 2) tend to be rated highly on both dimensions of warmth and competence, eliciting feelings of pride and admiration. Cuddy et al. (2009) note in-group favouritism to be distinctive to Western culture.

Facilitative behaviour develops from the observer's intrinsic link, leading to provision of assistance where necessitated; accordingly, this high solidarity dimension proves more predictive of language attitudes and motivation (i.e. WTC) than the status dimension (Heinzmann, 2013). Focussing on the features which bind

speakers together socially, social judgements of solidarity features are deemed predictive of behavioural reactions (Cuddy et al., 2008). Solidarity and status values reoccur in matched guise studies; while the seminal results of Lambert et al.'s study into Quebec French (1960) and the MG results of Loureiro-Rodriguez et al.'s (2012) study present residual stigmas attached to speaking a low-prestige variety in adolescents and pre-adolescents, Lieberman's indirect MG study into St Lucian bilinguals (1975), shows Patois (L) to gain higher ratings than English (H), despite questionnaire-elicited responses expressing English as *more prestigious* than Patois. This in-group affiliation and social-stratification can be further seen in the work of Gumperz (1971) who found prestige forms in India to be treated with irreverence. Furthermore, while participants can be seen to evaluate their own variety lower than the superposed variety, significant differences are apparent between ratings of 'school appropriate' variety and 'home context' (El-Dash and Tucker, 1972/5; Carranza and Ryan, 1976). These studies exemplify higher solidarity ratings in the less prestigious variety, thus the vernacular is suggested to 'manifest solidarity' (Mallinson, 2011). Further discrepancy is seen between participants' consciously elicited judgements and their inner-held beliefs; Ó Murchadha (2013) expresses the intimate link between the perception of linguistic varieties and the linguistic behaviour of teenagers in the Gaeltacht. Ó Murchadha (2013) notes that the matched-guise test offers a useful tool in accessing ideological language judgements which participants are not able to directly express through overt measures.

Such discrepancy is anticipated in the the results of the present study, with active harm elicited towards H, more evidently expressed by male speakers. Solidarity judgements elicit active, goal-directed behaviour therefore the abandonment of Welsh can be witnessed by solidarity groups (L) eliciting active

facilitation, with cold groups (H) eliciting active harm. Here, English has defaulted as the in-group language due to the high prestige placed upon Welsh in the educational environment as discussed in Section 2.3.4 and Section 2.4. If Welsh is seen as the 'school's language' (see Section 2.5) and thus the language of the outer-group for instance, then English provides that inner group affiliation. In-group affiliation of solidarity is necessary for the individual to feel competent, autonomous and a feeling of belonging (Ryan and Deci 2000:73-6). Such self-worth, characterised by in-group language is demonstrated in Doyle's study (1995). Doyle considers first generation Catalan teenagers who view the Catalan language as the clearest expression of Catalan identity; its use harbours a high integrative value even among those whose parents were born elsewhere in Spain. Here, the language serves as an overt socio-political device as the truest expression of Catalan identity, contrastive to the matched guise findings by Woolard and Gahng (1990).

In the present instance, the exclusion of the in-group variety (English) from the Welsh domain reinforces the diglossic situation (see Landry and Bourhis, 1997:28). Ultimately, Solidarity and Status (prestige) give the crucial features of diglossia, resting greatly on the attitude of the speakers within the diglossic communities (Stepkowska, 2012). The speech community hold beliefs regarding what constitutes 'good' and 'bad' in a language, part of the social conditions linked to the transmission and maintenance of the language (Schiffman, 1974:127) thus diglossia reflects the linguistic culture (i.e. where the language is used, how it is applied). It is not the language itself which can be characterised as diglossic, nor the speakers. It is the behaviour of the speech community which is considered to be diglossic, thus language attitudes and beliefs create the foundation of the linguistic culture. It is the set of beliefs which unites speakers in the speech community and

thus secures the status held by the speakers (Schiffman, 1974:127).

Relaying back to the final group [4] on the SCM (competitive, high-status, out-group members), members are subject to an envious stereotype accompanied by feelings of resentment. Harmful, negative behaviours are engaged against members of Group 4. It must be reiterated at this stage that English represents in-group membership and Welsh the highly-achieving, prestigious in-group membership. An instance of the notion of reviled prestige is evident in Giles (1987), wherein RP-English speakers are deemed highly competent (i.e. educated) yet score low on Solidarity features (i.e. friendliness, companionship). Such prestigious groups are seen to be treated with irreverence (e.g. Gumperz, 1971). Indeed, in the case of Welsh, I suggest that young male informants assess their own Welsh abilities in low favour (Chapter 4) against the aspired form. Welsh provides the model, target language of the H domain and thus Welsh is viewed as unfavourable in informal, peer-to-peer domains, redolent of high-achievement and therefore out-group membership.

2.7 Conclusive remarks

In conclusion, Fishman's model of extended diglossia has been adapted to describe the contemporary phenomenon of Inverted Diglossia in Wales today. This theory posits that, through modern maintenance efforts, Welsh has become compartmentalised to the H domain. Throughout Section 2.3, loss of intergenerational language transmission and revitalisation movements of the 20th century have been detailed. Specifically in Section 2.3.3, the discussion moves to

the rise of the Welsh-medium education system as an agent of language transmission. The increased High prestige of the Welsh language – both in perception and domain occupation – is detailed in Section 2.4. Throughout this section, the ideology and the puristic attitudes associated with the H domain have been discussed. To clarify, the emphasis on H-domain as the domain of Welsh transmission, coupled with minority language purism, has inverted the historical diglossic relationship to one in which now sees Welsh as compartmentalised into a formalised, high-functioning role at the expense of its previous informal communicative role. This impacts on speakers insofar as the variety transmitted by the school becomes compartmentalised in the H domain and therefore not applicable in L-domain usage.

In Section 2.5, the model of Inverse Diglossia is presented and described, providing a descriptive tool in understanding the current trend reported in the literature in the Welsh context i.e. young Welsh-medium educated speakers turning towards English in peer-to-peer communication. Contextually, this model provides explanatory power as to why young people are turning-away from Welsh insofar as Welsh has become increasingly realised as a language of (H) context. Here it must be noted that the dichotomy of 'standard vs spoken language varieties' is distinct from the inverted diglossia described here. The distinction here is that Welsh is seen as the H-code applicable in the H-domain i.e. a language of context, applicable as the 'school's language'. This, I suggest, provides an explanation as to why young people turn to use English as a social medium i.e. fulfilling the role of the L language in the L domain.

The theory rests on the twofold argument: that Welsh has been compartmentalised to the H domain, and that through this, Welsh has been afforded

a high prestige. Both of these factors combine in one direction – namely, the lack of appeal to young generations (particularly males). The diglossic relationship is at the point of inversion as, unlike traditional diglossic relationships where the mother tongue (i.e. minority vernacular) is held in low esteem and of low prestige, it is Welsh which has moved into the H role, with English displaced from the school environment and thus this specialisation of function between the two codes provides the 'existential feature' of diglossia (Stępkowska, 2012:201) inversed. Here, the question arises of what impact domain-specificity has had on speakers. In order to assess Inverted Diglossia in Wales, the studies of this thesis (Chapters 4, 6 and 8) provide investigation into the language attitudes of school-aged speakers in Wales. Speaker attitudes are "fundamental to the formation of a policy as well as to its success in its implementation" (EG Lewis, 1981:262 in C.Baker, 1992). A research project of this scope will prove particularly insightful to language policy and educationalists who may wish to understand, manage and potentially assuaged Welsh-language abandonment beyond the classroom.

Chapter 3: Language attitudes

3.1   Attitudes

    3.1.1   Facets of attitude

    3.1.2   Attitudes in language maintenance: covert and overt

    3.1.3   Uncovering attitudes in Wales

    3.1.4   Adolescence

3.2   Measuring attitudes

    3.2.1   Indirect methods

3.3   Conclusive remarks

This chapter a thorough discussion of attitudes in relation to minority language maintenance within the sociolinguistic frame. Throughout Section 3.1, I discuss the interplay between language provision, speaker attitude and speaker motivation, drawning on seminal psychological and sociolinguistic studies. In Section 3.1.1, I acknowledge attitude paradigms, focussing the discussion on the widely accepted and relevant ABC/CAC model. Section 3.1.2 provides a discussion of the 'outer' and 'inner' aspects of individual human attitude before honing-in on language attitudes in Wales with discussion of the relationship between sociolinguistic attitudes and age. Finally, Section 3.2 provides a discussion of the methodological tools employed in measuring attitudes, with particular emphasis on the methods favoured by this thesis.

3.1 Attitudes

Language attitudes play a pivotal role in the survival, revival, resurgence or death of minority languages (Garrett, 2010:11). Attitudes are of great significance in the "preservation, restoration, decay or death" of minority languages (Baker, 1992:9; Edwards, 2010) and their investigation – particularly where languages are under threat (i.e. minority language competing with majority language) provides information regarding into sociolinguistic realisations of the speech community. By accessing speaker attitudes towards a given linguistic variety, we can gauge and measure the impact of minority language revitalisation efforts at the grassroots level (Heinzmann, 2013), thus providing a greater understanding of the health and vitality of the minority language. This is particularly salient in the Welsh context, as with neighbouring European contexts, where minority language policy – or 'ethnolinguistic democracy' – has seen a vast resurgence in recent years (e.g. May, 2006:266). As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, there are two primary domains of Welsh transmission in contemporary Wales – the home and the school. The informal home domain is inclusive of community and grassroots level transmission, while the formal educational domain relates to policy-driven measures. Interrelated with domain of transmission, the domain of use and manner of use (i.e. frequency, type of interaction, quality of interaction) is the choice of the individual speaker which may be influenced by speech community members and the domain in which the variety is transmitted (Coulmas, 2013). In Welsh-language stronghold communities and households where Welsh is the 'everyday' language, a proliferation of visible opportunities for use is seen to promote Welsh use among speakers. However, in areas of weakened or scant opportunities of use, language provision offered through

formal channels may not be enough to encourage speaker application (Edwards and Newcombe, 2008). In this instance, speaker attitude towards the target variety becomes crucial in deepening affiliation and ensuring a degree of minority language use (Edwards and Newcombe, 2008). Speaker attitudes and motivations towards the target variety play a core role in dictating the behavioural reality of speakers' language choice (Csizér and Dörnyei, 2005). From this, I argue that language attitudes are a vital component of language vitality along the entire spectrum, among both L1 and L2 speaker communities. In order to fully appreciate the role of attitudes in the maintenance of minority languages, we must begin with a critical evaluation of theoretical approaches to attitudes.

Throughout empirical exploration in social psychology, attitude has been acknowledged as a core psychological and sociological experience in influencing human behavioural disposition; seminal literature posits attitudes understood as directly influencing social behaviour (Allport, 1954; Wicker, 1969) and thus used to explain attributes of human behaviour (Ajzen, 1991; Conner and Armitage, 1998). The term attitude is often used in reference to an individual's preferences, beliefs, expectations, judgements, vales and intentions (Bagozzi, 1994). Attitudes can be described as 'psychological tendencies' or 'summary evaluations' (Malhotra, 2005) which are expressed by "evaluating a particular *entity* with some degree of favour or disfavour" (Eagly and Chaiken; 1993:1). Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) stipulate that attitudes are formed and held from the individual's perception of and reaction to external stimuli. Rather than being passive, temporary or erratic in nature, these feelings, beliefs and behavioural tendencies tend to be retained by the individual (Baron and Byrne, 1984) and actively directed towards the specific stimulus 'objects'

in a neural or mental responsive state of readiness, as early literature firmly asserts (Allport, 1935). This perspective is still held in contemporary work (e.g. Hogg and Vaughan, 2005). These 'objects' include any mental representation held by the individual ranging from the abstract (i.e. organisations, policy, others' behaviour), to the concrete (i.e. people and products) (Bohner and Wanke, 2002), and tend to be socially significant objects such as groups, events or symbols (Hogg and Vaughan, 2005:150).

Further to the description of enduring psychological tendencies and beliefs (Eagly and Caiken, 1993; Hogg and Vaughan, 2005) I provide a stance in-keeping with Jung's expression (1971) that attitudes are states of the psyche soft-wired to act or react in certain ways. I consider attitudes in terms of a 'reactive state' or 'disposition of judgement' which arises as a psychological reflex based on an individual's association and orientation within their environmental experiences. Crucially, Jung (1971) argues that attitudes are dyadic, featuring one conscious component and one unconscious component. We will turn to this point in more detail in Section 3.1.1.

As outlined by Daniel Katz (1960), attitudes serve four functions for the individual which correspond to both the inner-self (Ego-expressive, Ego-defensive) and to the outer world (Knowledge, Adaptive). Considering first the outer world, Katz (1960) proposes that 'Knowledge' about an attitude can help to predict individual behaviour and the parameters of possibilities. The 'Adaptive' function relates to social group cohersion and social acceptance insofar as individuals seek others who share their attitudes and often converge to the attitudes of individuals they admire. Here we see that attitudes can provide the foundation for convergence or divergence

with the psychological attitude 'object' (Thurstone, 1931). Moving on to the inner world, attitudes held to communicate individual identity i.e. the 'ego-expressive' function. Our attitudes form part of our identity and awareness through expression of belief and values. We note here that attitudes can be non-verbal. Finally, the 'ego-defensive' function of attitude endeavours to reserve self-image in relation to our learned environment. The four functions of attitude can be expressed sequentially by one individual in relation to one object and also provide insight into influences upon behaviour, for example:

> Knowledge: *knowing that a Nora enjoys languages can predict that Nora may learn to speak another language*

> Adaptive: *Nora invites a French colleague for coffee*

> Ego-expressive: *Nora is taking a French night-class*

> Ego-defensive: *Nora's colleague requests that they use English – rather than French – to socialise; Nora loses interest in learning French and eventually stops attending her night-classes*

Katz (1960) claims that the functional approach enables individuals to mediate between inner and outer needs.

3.1.1 Facets of Attitude

Attitudes are multifaceted and have been illustrated through a number of models in the literature; one of the earlier models of attitude, the Expectancy-Value model comprises two elements – the *expectancy* of a belief, and the *intrinsic value* of that belief (Calder and Ross, 1972). Rosenberg (1956) recognises both the

perceived 'instrumentality' and the 'value' as separate components. Within this

model, it is proposed that one stimulus 'object' may generate multiple beliefs

(Fishbein, 1963; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). Here we may note that the Expectancy-

Value model distinguishes between an individual's perception of value, and

actualised value itself. Moving from this, the Vector Model also represents attitude as

a two-dimensional space (Calder and Lutz, 1972). This model presents an affective

component aligned with one dimension, and a cognitive component along the

second dimension. This model thus asserts that an individual's belief is plotted to a

value along two dimensions. Both the Vector Model and Expectancy-Value model

commonly recognise that an individual's belief is composed of two separate,

interrelated components.

In terms of the relevance and applicability, these models provide a means of

describing and deciphering specific psychosocial phenomena. Models of attitude

have been readily applied cross-disciplinarily; for instance, Davis (1989, 1993)

proposes the Technology Acceptance Model which theorises the likelihood of an

individual's use of a particular technology governed by attitude towards and

perceived utilitarian value; the model states that user acceptance is influenced by (i)

perceived practicality and (ii) perceived accessibility of the target technology

(Djamasbi et al., 2009). In the present instance, I focus my discussion on a widely

accepted and relevant paradigm for the study of language attitudes: the ABC/CAC

model. I use this model due to its relevance, applicability and familiarity of use within

psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic studies.

In the CAC model, attitudes are acknowledged along three dimensions i.e. the

tripartite model (Rosenberg and Hovland, 1960; Ostrom, 1969; Edwards, 1982;

Breckler, 1984; Spooncer, 1992). For consistency, I refer to the terminology of the 'CAC' model (Cognitive, Affective, Conative) (Schiffman and Kanuk, 2004), rather than the 'ABC/ACB' model of attitudes (Affect, Behaviour, Cognition) (Eagly and Chaiken, 1998). The CAC model comprises three facets, namely (i) Cognition (i.e. belief systems about the world) (ii) Affective attitudes (i.e. individual's emotion and feelings about the attitude object) which are systematically linked to (iii) Conative (i.e. individual's overt [re]action and behaviour towards the attitude object). It is understood that attitudes about an 'object' predispose us to act in particular manners e.g. to learn a language. In the Cognition facet of the CAC model, we refer to the mental state component which constitutes the individual's thought, belief and evaluation towards the stimulus object e.g 'I think learning Welsh will get me a better job'. However, an individual's attitude cannot be comprehensively determined by evaluation of the Cognition component as an individual's belief system about an attitude object does not determine an individual's feeling towards that object (Schiffman and Kanuk, 2004). As such, we must refer to the interaction with the Affective facet; specifically, we consider the neural emotional response which constitutes the individual's feelings towards the stimulus object e.g. 'The Welsh language is prestigious'. The Affective component is at the core of attitude research and is pertinent to the scope of this thesis. However, Cognitive and Affective components are not always consistently aligned in determining the Conative aspect. The Conative aspect of attitudes refers to an individual's behavioural readiness or action in response to the target stimulus. This behavioural tendency consists of observable, measurable actions in response to the object stimulus and demonstrates a degree of structure and predictability (Defleur and Westie, 1963). Here, the behavioural output could range from 'I am learning Welsh' to 'I actively avoid

speaking Welsh to my neighbours'. Table 4 considers the disparity between belief, feeling and behaviour. In this example, we see the belief that Welsh is instrumentally advantageous, and the emotional response of considering Welsh as prestigious; it would be reasonable to anticipate that the individual may subsequently demonstrate corresponding behaviour, such as actively engaging with others in the Welsh community. As displayed, the three components are not interdependent; the affective component determines attitude independent of the cognitive component (Mackie and Hamilton, 1993). As Garrett et al. (2003) exemplify, an individual is able to judge a linguistic variety as pleasant or unpleasant without having knowledge of the variety itself, thus attitudes tend to have a strong affective component (Perloff, 1993). It is upon the strength of these three components that attitudes have been utilised advantageously as a political device and in advertising (Garrett at el., 2003) i.e. consumers can make value-judgements about products which influences purchase. We will now turn to discuss research which demonstrates the active disconnect between the three tenets of attitude as theorised by the CAC model.

i. Pioneering research: LaPiere (1934)

LaPiere (1934) pioneered research into the relationship between attitudes and behaviour with a field study of racial discrimination in America. Visiting hotels and restaurants directly, LaPiere and his Chinese research subjects found they were only refused entry to one out of 251 establishments. Six months later, questionnaires were sent to all establishments asking whether Chinese guests were being accepted; the results indicated that, when contacted indirectly, 92% of restaurants and 91% of accommodation locations responded that they were not willing to

accomodate Chinese guests; the remaining percentages states that entrance would depend on individual circumstances. The study thus demonstrated that the overt cognitive and affective facets of attitudes (i.e. racial discrimination) do not predict and are not expressed in behaviour (e.g. still accepting Chinese custom) and thus exemplifies the 'weak link' between the overt attitudes people claim to possess and the behaviour that they demonstrate. Through this disconnect between overtly expressed views and actual behaviour, we can see that there is a different factor of attitude which governs behaviour. Thus, the questionnaire method of attaining attitudes is not indicative of social attitude or behaviour; an individual's behavioural output may alter depending on direct or indirect engagement with their attitude i.e. eliciting attitudes directly will provide overt attitudes; eliciting attitudes indirectly will provide covert attitudes.

When considering study design in eliciting attitudes, Breckler (1984) demonstrated that the three components of the CAC act independently. Through the presence and removal of an attitude object stimulus, the results of Breckler's study correlated to whether the attitude object was present or absent, thus demonstrating that the degree of alignment between CAC can vary according to the design and implementation of the studies. Furthermore, the study offers that there is merit in assessing CAC as three individual components rather than assuming alignment between the three facets, as had been proposed by Festinger (1957). By abnegating such a congruence between CAC, we are able to assess each component as an individual attitude facet. By assessing each component individually, we are able to explain the discrepancy in LaPiere's early study between directly elicited attitude (i.e. racism) and seemingly incompatible behaviour (i.e. accepting Chinese guests). Such explanatory power affords us clarity when considering how language policy plays-out

in everyday scenarios. Understanding each component of attitude therefore provides information on how perception and attitude relate to behaviour i.e. positive responses towards a language do not equate to language use. Understanding this crucial disconnect provides more instructive results for developing effective language policy, as we acknowledge that research potential must change focus to underlying feelings (i.e. Affective component) which drive speaker behaviour (i.e. Conative component), rather than simply focussing on speaker belief systems (i.e. Cognition component).

Table 4: CAC model with examples, as inspired by Garrett et al. (2003)

Cognition: *belief*	I think learning Welsh will get me a better job
Affective: *emotional reaction*	I feel that Welsh is a prestigious language
Conative: *behavioural action*	I am learning Welsh ⬇ I avoid speaking Welsh to others

As displayed above, the individual behaves in a manner that is logically opposed to their Cognitive and Affective attitudes. Believing X does not ensure that they will behave in accordance to X i.e. believing that learning Welsh will enhance career prospects does not equate to using Welsh in the workplace. A number of reasons may be impacting upon the discordance between the component outputs. We will now discuss these in turn with reference to language motivation and its intrinsic tie to

inner-held and outer-held attitudes.

3.1.2 Attitudes in language maintenance: covert and overt

Attitudes are shaped by and in-turn determine both grassroots intergroup discourse and top-down language policy, but due to both the complementary nature of the domains and the contrastive nature of the attitudes evident within those domains, language output may differ considerably between the two. The strength of those attitudes is reflected in personal relevance, which relates to self-interest, social identity and value; if an attitude exhibits a high degree of self-interest (e.g. the attitude is held by a group which the individual would like to become a member), then the attitude will be relevant in strongly influencing an individual's behaviour (Boninger, Krosnick and Berent, 1995) Furthermore, individuals are more likely to hold knowledge about a topic which interests them and thus hold a strong attitude (positive or negative) as a consequence (i.e. Evans and Durant, 1995). This is more likely when the attitude is based on direct experience (Peters, 2000); such experientially-influenced attitude as this provides a wealth of interest when considering language maintenance efforts in Wales. Linguistic forms, varieties and styles can trigger beliefs about an individual and their speaker group membership, leading to subsequent assumptions about attributes of those members, akin to LaPiere's instance of racial identity. Such categorisation of stereotypes arguable serves several functions to the individual (Katz, 1960; Tajfel, 1981). At the individual level, by holding such beliefs, we afford ourselves access to an orderly, more predictable social environment (Garrett et al., 2003). At the intergroup level, stereotyping can serve as social cohesion, or a social differentiation; the former

being the creation of like-for-like in-group ideologies, the latter creating and upholding distinctions between in-groups and out-groups (Garrett et al., 2003).

Attitudes have long been accepted as a measure of current linguistic vitality and a predictor of future vitality, pertinent in the case of minority languages (Fishman, 1964; Baker, 1992; UNESCO, 2013). The study of language attitudes is based along two theoretical approaches, namely the behaviourist approach and the mentalist approach. The behaviourist perspective upholds that attitudes are found in the responses individuals make to social stimuli (Fasold, 1984) which makes for accessible research as no self-reports or indirect inferences are needed – only observations and analysis of overt behaviour (Fasold, 1984: 147 – 148) – attitudes are just one kind of response to a social situation. However, as highlighted in Section 4.1.1, the discrepancy between attitude and behavioural output cannot be explained through the behaviourist perspective, and thus sociolinguistics is concerned with approaching language attitudes from the mentalist perspective (e.g. Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970). Under this strand, attitudes are considered internal, mental states which influence behavioural output (Ihemere, 2006). Throughout the thesis, my approach to attitudes is through an adoption of the mentalist perspective; this theoretical choice provides that crucial explanatory link from an individual's internal mental state and their behavioural output which makes this perspective highly applicable in the present investigation. An approach such as this can be used across disciplines to inform areas relevant to the present thesis i.e. language education (e.g. Ihemere, 2006), policymaking (Hornberger, 2006; McGroarty, 1996; Tollefson, 2006), campaign and programme design (Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech, 2015), advertising (Luna and Peracchio, 2005) and – more holistically – the ultimate ethnolinguistic

vitality of the language (Yamur, 2004). These areas are of key importance to the present thesis, and thus this theoretical choice is appropriate for the current endeavour. This choice also finds favour within language attitude research in general and is thus well documented (i.e. Appel & Muysken, 1987; Baker, 1992; Cargile & Giles, 1998; El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001; Gao & Zhou, 2000; Hoare, 2001; Hoare & Coveney, 2000; Moreau, 1990; Payne,Downing & Fleming, 2000; Thibault & Sankoff, 1999; Woolard & Gahng, 1990; Zhou, 1999).

To elaborate further, the sociolinguistic variable'speaker attitude' towards a particular language variety 'object' provide a predictor of speaker language *choice* (Kenji and D'Andrea, 1992). While other potential factors such as proficiency, confidence, fluency and market may holistically influence language choice (Kenji and D'Andrea, 1992; Thomas, 2019) the relationship between attitudes and speakers' language choice (i.e. behaviour) remains a central and relevant issue in minority language research. As discussed throughout this chapter, attitudes play a key role in the "successful transmission, revitalisation and survival" of minority languages (Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2012:1), and thus expectations of the long-term sustainability and success of maintenance programmes can be better managed if we are able to elicit speaker attitudes effectively.

Language attitudes permeate our daily lives (Garrett, 2010), intrinsically linked with identities of social and ethnic groups (Appel and Muysken, 1987). Those attitudes are acquired through observation of the behaviour within the social environment (Garrett, 2010) and are not innate (Allport, 1935); such observations shape our intrinsic learning, relating sources of learning to social group membership

(Garrett, 2010). Attitudes are not always outwardly articulated and often, we are not conscious of them. We may outwardly express behaviours which are at odds with our inner-held feelings, as with the CAC model discussed in Section 4.1.1, thus why this aspect of sociolinguistic research is so fundamental in policy implementation: outer-held beliefs do not necessarily dictate external behavioural output. Instead, behavioural output is governed by inner-held beliefs. Knowledge about speaker attitudes is thus fundamental in formulating and successfully implementing language policy; language policy, particularly in education, must take into account the attitude of those affected by such a policy (Lewis, 1981). Importantly, Lewis (1981) highlighted that language policy cannot succeed unless it takes into account the following:

 - conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved – i.e. speakers' overt attitudes
- persuade those who express negative attitudes of policy validity
- seek to remove the cause of disagreement

Failure to do so may result in speakers diverging from the target language variety. Crucially, Lewis' provision focusses on speakers' overt attitudes, without providing a distinction between overt and covert. Without such distinction, the concention of this chapter asserts that language policy may be ineffectual, as overt attitudes are not a reliable indication of inner-held beliefs (the latter of which is a greater predictor of speaker behaviour). Extending Lewis' guidelines, it is essential to gather an accurate picture of the attitudes held by the speaker community. However, accurately obtaining such attitudes can be problematic, particularly when considering the difference between individual's outer-held beliefs and inner-held beliefs.

3.1.3 Uncovering attitudes in Wales

Speaker attitudes comprise two orthogonal facets – an overt element and a covert element. The 'overt' element refers to the attitude output which is directly measurable and obvious – this may be expressed in the CAC model (Table 4) as the Cognition (belief) facet which neighbours with the Affective (emotional) facet. Such outer-held conscious beliefs can be accessed by direct elicitation, such as asking opinions, conscious topic choice, questionnaires. While not necessarily indicative of an individual's language behaviour, the elicitation of overt attitudes is often used in informing and directing language policy. Conversely, the 'covert' element refers to the attitude output which is arguably only measurable through indirect methods. Covert, inner-held attitude influences the Conative aspect – the behavioural output – and is often below the level of awareness. Indirect methods elicit inner-held beliefs (covert attitudes) predict language choices and ultimately provide a measure for the success and sustainability of language policy in practice. As highlighted by McKenzie and Gilmore (2017), the results of studies of unconsciously held evaluations confirm the divergence between implicitly and explicitly held attitudes. It is thus the uncovering of the implicitly held covert language attitudes, rather than the explicit overt attitudes, which provides an accurate predictor of the Conative (behavioural) component which displays itself in language use, trends and language behaviour of the speech community, group and/or individual.

i. Discrepancy in attitudes

This central issue can be seen heightened in language policy, where top-down practices in language planning and stated overt language policies of bilingual

environments often differ considerably from practical-level realisation (Schiffman, 1996). This can often mean that while one language variety finds favour at the formalised policy level, speakers may commonly employ the apparently 'disfavoured' variety in cultural practice (Sophocleous, 2011:267). The discrepancy between the attitudes and methods of elicitation is evident in Loureiro-Rodriguez, Boggess and Goldsmith's (2012) matched-guise study into high school students in Galicia; their findings suggest that attitudes towards Galician among young people are at odds with the results previously demonstrated in the Sociolinguistic Maps of Galicia (see also O'Rourke, 2011). Here we note that the ideologies held at policy level differ considerably from speakers' everyday reality. Similarly, the use of questionnaires in Catalonia found a significant relationship between participants' L1 and their overt language attitudes, namely that the nearer the family orientated to a particular language variety, the more positive the attitudes towards that variety (Huguet, 2007). However, family linguistic condition was not reported to tacitly influence informants' attitudes towards Catalan (Huguet and Llurda, 2001), thus indirect methods are required to better understand speakers' linguistic behaviour. In the Welsh case, Pearce (2015) demonstrates that – among pupils who self-report as *liking* Welsh 'a lot' and strongly supporting the learning, speaking and sustaining of the Welsh language – only 21.8% of those pupils engaged with the survey through the medium of Welsh. This is compared to 76.1% who engaged with the interactive survey through the medium of English. Pearce (2015) suggests that positive overt attitudes towards Welsh do not necessarily predict engagement with the Welsh language. For instance, higher numbers from all groups engaged with the survey in English. While Pearce's study required reading skills rather than oracy (i.e. online survey completed via interactive tablets), the pupils chose which language to engage with through the

process of completing the survey thus suggesting that a positive attitude towards Welsh does not guarantee informants' level of interaction with the language; from this, we may note that pupils' Cognitive attitudes (i.e. self-reporting as liking Welsh 'a lot') do not predict their individual Conative output (i.e language choice for survey completion). From this point, further studies have considered the discrepancy between positive language attitude and behavioural output. For instance, while educational channels provide and promote daily input of Welsh in formal domains, the language is not readily used between children informally and in the absence of an authority figure (Gathercole and Thomas, 2009; Thomas and Roberts, 2011). Welsh-speaking children have been observed as 'unwilling' to communicate in Welsh in low-domain interactions (Thomas and Roberts, 2011), increasing the previously reported trend for Welsh-medium educated pupils to avoid the use of Welsh in informal out-of-school communication (Baker, 2003). Thus, despite demonstrating overtly positive Cognitive and Affective attitudes towards the maintenance of Welsh, Conative output is not predicted or ensured (Pearce, 2015) and thus we may see Pearce's respondents' behaviour as preferential towards English rather than Welsh. Similar phenomena have also been observed in other immersion contexts, where immersion pupils are reported to use the immersion language for in-class exercises whereas they conduct wider community and peer-to-peer social interaction through the majority language (Cenoz 2008; Vila, 1996; Vila i Moreno 2008). Explanations behind the decreased Welsh language participation among young people has been attributed to low-levels of speaker confidence and perceived language competency (Thomas, Apolloni, and Lewis, 2014). However, language choice is largely governed by environment and environmental factors which contribute to language behaviour (for peer influence and divergence in minority languages, e.g. Hickey, 1997; 2001;

Vihman, 1998); through interview accounts in the classroom context, Tarone and Swain (1995) propose a sociolinguistic perspective on L2 French-immersion learners, highlighting that the academic input of the L2 classroom is not transferable for second-language speakers' output in the social environment. As it is the classroom environment through which the minority language is transmitted and peer influence is salient during adolescence, we will now move to consider this pivotal time during which young people receive minority language input through the immersion context.

3.1.4 Adolescence

An individual's age provides both contextual and linguistic information which in-turn impact upon language attitudes; study participants can be differentiated into age categories which reflect their use of linguistic norms, which in turn provides important information about the changing nature of language attitudes. Often, a single study will consider these varying age groups. For instance, Kerswill and Williams (2000) conducted attitude studies across ages 4, 8 and 12 in order to test age-grading theory. Age groups can be combined, depending on the parameters of the demographic. Here, Llamas (2006:98) combines adolescents (16-17 years) with young adults (19-22 years) to create the age category 'young person'. Labov (2001:101) suggests 10-12 year olds reflecting membership of the pre-adolescent peer group, 13-16 year olds indicative of sexual relations and 17-19 year olds marked by the completion of compulsory education and movement into higher education or the workplace, at which point teenagers can become disconnected with their social groups and language transmission loci (Cunliffe et al., 2013). This thesis

provides three snapshots of the normative life-stage of different school-orientation groups (see Eckert, 1996:156), rather than a diachronic study of speaker groups across time. The practice of using samples consisting of a single age group is not uncommon in sociolinguistics, with many studies focussing on adolescent cohorts only (e.g. Cheshire (1982) Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams (1999); Eckert (1989, 2000); Stenstrom, Andersen and Hasund (2002); Wolfram (1973)).

Adolescents' linguistic attitudes and behaviours in-particular play a central role in the wider social revitalisation of minority languages (Coupland et al, 2005). Adolescence provides a pivotal shift in the orientation of speakers' linguistic attitudes, whereby they move away from family influence and towards peer-group influence (Harmer, 1991; Taylor, 2000; Dörnyei, 2001). Gardner (1985) notes that during the transition from pre-adolescence to adolescence, peer group influence supersedes family influence in terms of shaping language attitudes, habitual language use and orientation. As such, facilitating positive attitudes among adolescents towards minority languages is particularly important, as young people develop the agency to either continue engagement or disengage with the minority language (Bo-Yuen Ngai, 2007; Jones & Uribe-Jongbloed, 2013; Ó Riagáin et al., 2008). Alongside this is the development of highly innovative language forms among adolescents, which diverge greatly from the more conservative, standard forms of adult speech (Eckert, 1997), thus the study of adolescent attitudes is of value for variationists, educators and policymakers. Age-grading changes in minority language contexts have been increasingly reported among autochthonous children's language preferences, where Spanish-Catalan bilingual children move increasingly towards exclusive use of Spanish (see Trenchs-Parera and Newman, 2015).

Eliciting attitudes from adolescents requires acknowledgment of the environmental pressure, stress and anxiety associated with the school domain (Kerfoot and Butler, 1988) and environment beyond education. Two significant events punctuate the lives of young people in Wales, namely (1) the move from primary to secondary education and (ii) the end of compulsory education (Cunliffe et al., 2013). There are gender trends which suggest that, at the point of ending compulsory education, male adolescents tend to enter the labour market post-16 whereas females tend to remain in Higher Education (Careers Wales, 2013) (see Chapter 5 on language and gender). By investigating attitudes whilst participants remain in full-time education, we can gain greater understanding of the contextual backdrop upon which the minority language policy in education operates. In turn, this elucidates our understanding of the success or shortcoming of such policies. For instance, gaining first-hand account of young peoples' experiences while they are immersed in the educational context provides clear information of their orientations towards Welsh, Welsh-education and the school sphere. This is opposed to reflective attitudes gathered post-education after which speakers have transitioned into another life phase (see Dunmore, 2014 for reflective accounts).

In the Welsh context, many adolescents display preferential peer-to-peer communication through the medium of English, particularly in regions with low densities of Welsh speakers and among L2 speakers (Lee, 2016). Conversely, it has been suggested that individuals living in areas with a high density of Welsh speakers and those from Welsh community backgrounds may be more likely to view Welsh favourably, both as a subject and in terms of language maintenance ideology (Pearce, 2015) thus an L1 – L2 dichotomy emerges (i.e. language of social context).

Background language exposure has been suggestively linked to language attitude and language behaviour; for instance, a survey commissioned by Gwynedd Council (2014) demonstrates a strong link between home language and language used by young people in the school setting. The survey suggests that young people are more likely to use Welsh in a social context if they have access to Welsh outside of school (Gwynedd Council, 2014). Furthermore, surveys which are completed through the medium of Welsh are generally done so by informants from North and West Welsh-speaking heartlands (Pearce, 2015) while informants with stronger English-language backgrounds tend to use less Welsh-language media (Price-Jones, 1982). This latter point is unsurprisingly, given that an L1 English speaker may not possess the language skills in order to engage with Welsh-medium provision. It may be argued conversely, that the stronger the Welsh-medium background of an individual, the more Welsh-language media is accessed. Conversely, Price-Jones (1982) demonstrates that both cohorts of 10 and 13 year olds access more English-medium media than Welsh-medium media across the board, irrespective of language background. However, the results from Price-Jones (1982) must be acknowledged in context, as that there is a wider provision of pre-adolescent and early-adolescent appropriate media through the medium of English than through the medium of Welsh, thus it can be anticipated that more English-medium media is accessed by default. A more extensive exploration of the relationship between language background and behaviour is provided by Pearce (2015) who reports that individuals with Welsh-language backgrounds do not necessarily use the Welsh language in scenarios where English and Welsh opportunities exist equally, thus Welsh-language background is not an accurate predictor language behaviour. Pearce (2015) demonstrates that, while 28.6% of Welsh-speaking participants from the Welsh

heartlands ('Y Fro Gymraeg') did complete the survey through the medium of Welsh, 69.8% of participants from Y Fro completed the survey through the medium of English. Thus, language background is not an accurate predictor of language behaviour. It would appear instead that situational use is much more telling; for instance, the 2014 research project commissioned by Gwynedd Council to ascertain young peoples' attitudes and use towards Welsh provided a summary of domains in which Welsh use can be predicted. The use of Welsh was at its strongest in formal situations, even within Gwynedd e.g. Welsh subject lessons, presence of teacher around the school. However, the study results show Welsh use to be at its weakest in informal situations e.g. pupil-pupil language beyond the classroom, on the schoolyard and on school trips. This echoes Morris' findings which demonstrate a relatively higher use of Welsh with teachers compared with a relatively much lower use of Welsh socially among friends (Morris, 2010:88).

Pearce's (2015) study in Wales looked at the overt language attitudes towards Welsh and self-reported fluency of Welsh among a sample of 849 secondary school pupils. 48% of her study cohort were Year 8 (aged 12 – 13) while 51.5% of the study cohort were from Year 10 (aged 14-15). While the study is cross-sectional and not repeated, we are not given information about longitudinal change between the groups; however, the differences between independent year 8 and year 10 snapshot groups are still comment-worthy. Percentage of pupils who are fluent increases from year 8 to year 10 (43.7% – 56.3%), while percentage of non-fluency reduces as participants become older (51.4% – 48.6%). However, while higher percentages of fluent students are evident in older age groups, language attitudes are more positive among year 8 cohorts than year 10 cohorts (Pearce, 2015), suggesting that as

students become older, attitudes towards Welsh become increasingly positive, irrespective of language ability. These results echo previous findings by Price-Jones (1982), who recorded considerable language attitude change in participants between ages of 10 and 13; participants' attitudes towards English became more favourable as they grew older, while their attitudes towards Welsh become less favourable. This is of obvious importance to language planners, as the goal of increasing Welsh speakers is dependent upon the success of the Welsh education system as creating and sustaining new speakers.

An increasing body of research examines young peoples' attitudes towards Welsh, using a variety of methods (see section 4.2). These studies contribute to the understanding of attitudes towards Welsh and the motivations behind language choice, although interestingly do not consider motivations towards opting towards English. As the existing studies report from a Welsh-focussed standpoint, the attitude studies provided in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 explore participants' views both qualitatively and quantitatively towards English as well as towards Welsh, both group and individual. For instance, respondents' individual attitudes are collected through a group setting in Study 1 (Chapter 4). The school domain itself is comprised of social groups where language use among peers is largely dependent upon the attitudes expressed by individuals among a group (i.e. in-group membership between two interlocutors or more signalled by use of X variety). However, it is recognised that the in-group mentality itself may trigger stereotyping behaviour (Thomas, 2018). As presented by Garrett et al. (2003), stereotyping at the intergroup level can serve as social cohesion between group members, upholding distinctions between in-groups and out-groups. The attitudes of L2 social group members who are known to each other – rather than individuals who do not socialise together – in WME are

particularly useful in the context of this thesis as it is these attitudes which play a key role in successful minority language transmission, revitalisation and survival (Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2012). Thus the expectation of long-term maintenance success of social use of language among all speakers is dependent on understanding the views held between social groups, as well as the individual. Through this, a more holistic picture of the true state of contemporary Welsh maintenance is accessible. Some difficult questions remain concerning the role of the educational environment in fostering certain attitudes in young people, in addition to an assessment of whether language planners have the capacity to improve language attitudes (see Chapter 8). We can conclude that language attitudes are complex, dynamic and contextually situated (Lee, 2015). As such, a creative approach to methodology is warranted in investigating the language attitudes of young people in Wales.

We have discussed the general role of attitude in language maintenance. To review, we acknowledge attitude as a psychological tendency (Malhotra, 2005) which attributes favour or disfavour to an attitude object (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993). This favourable or unfavourable attitude then directly influences the individual's social behaviour (i.e. Ajzen, 1991; Conner and Armitage, 1998). We then discussed how the three attitude orientations act independently (i.e. Breckler, 1984) rather than demonstrating congruence between components of the CAC. From this, it becomes evident that we must approach each component of attitude as an individual facet i.e. Cognition, Affective and Conative requiring separate treatments. Such approach explains the often illogical relationship between what an individual beliefs, feels and how they act (i.e. as pioneered by LaPiere, 1934). Finally, we discussed the overt-covert dichotomy, whereby overt attitudes (i.e. provided directly through self-reports or outer-expressed views) are not indicative of behaviour, while covert attitudes (i.e.

provided indirectly though anecdotes or judgements) provide a more likely

determinant of how the individual reacts (see Section 3.2.1 for further discussion of

indirect attitudes). Covert attitudes predict language choice, and thus covert attitudes

– rather than overt attitudes – will be the focus of investigation throughout this thesis;

these views ultimately provide us with greater knowledge about trends and real-time

language use.

3.2 Measuring attitudes

There is an extensive body of research examining various aspects of

language and attitude e.g. the commitment measure (Fishman in Puerto Rico, 1971),

the impact of language on persuasion (Fishman, Cooper and Ma's 1971

Hebrew/Arabic bilinguals in Jericho), teachers' evaluations of pupils' speech

(Williams, 1976). When embarking on attitude elicitation, one must consider which

measure is best suited for the purpose of the study, working to the parameters of

eliciting 'favour or disfavour' from the participant. Language attitude studies can

inform the research community about differences and similarities that exist within

and across speaker communities and in order to acquire such data, researchers can

utilise either direct or indirect methods of elicitation. It is necessary to note here that,

while widely applied in sociolinguistic research, the mentalist approach of language

attitudes (rather than behaviourist i.e. Fasold, 1984) poses issues insofar as internal,

mental states cannot be directly observed (Appel and Muysken, 2006); despite this,

self-reports, questionnaires and interview methods are readily used in exploring

language attitudes. Arguably, closed-question questionnaires serve as an indirect

method of eliciting language attitudes, as discussed in sub-section 4.2.1 below

(Appel and Muysken, 2006).

Direct methods of attitude elicitation such as self-reports and closed-question surveys have been applied in language attitude research (i.e. Gal's use of direct questioning in the German-Hungarian context of Austria, 1979) and have been readily applied in the Welsh context in recent years, both from academic and media sources. BBC One corroborated Williams' (2010) language attitude survey in a production investigating why Welsh-educated children turn to English beyond the classroom. Following this, BBC Radio Cymru commissioned a large-scale attitude survey in 2012 before jointly commissioning a further research study with S4C and the Welsh Assembly Government in 2013 (Beaufort Research, 2013). It is commonly accepted that attitude surveys provide a social indicator of speech communities' beliefs and language preferences, which can be informative for policy development and implementation (Baker, 1992). However, such media-driven surveys remain limited in methodological approach (i.e. direct surveys) and tend to result in overtly positive attitudes towards Welsh. While such large-scale surveys as with the BBC, Welsh Government and S4C have the ability to comprehensively explore the question of why Welsh speakers turn towards English, such media-driven mentioned studies miss the opportunity to draw on well-established sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic theory and are scant on sociolinguistic analysis as a consequence (Lee, 2015). Additionally, and crucially with such large-scale studies, interviewees are known to provide superficial evaluative judgements in front of a given audience who hold known views about a subject (Prislin and Wood, 2005). These superficial judgements given by the interviewee are provided with the goal of pleasing the audience members (i.e. Welsh language researchers with known views on the Welsh

language). And thus, given results from studies of this nature may not be indicative of speakers' genuine evaluative judgements.

In an academic capacity, attitudinal research in Wales has been largely observational and direct in approach, lacking in indirect complementary methods (e.g. Sharp, Thomas, Price, Francis & Davies, 1973; Thomas and Roberts, 2011). One such example of direct attitudinal research in Wales is Price-Jones (1982). The study used repeated cross-sectional sample with children aged 10 and later, the same children aged 13, to uncover media usage in bilingual children in the Welsh heartland. Information such as language choice in accessing media among bilingual populations can yield a wealth of information on consumer language atttitudes; the study used questionnaires and self-reported media usage where participants recorded details of their television viewing over a one week period. As numerous studies have demonstrated, the choice to engage with a certain language media can be manipulated at both the conscious (Simonson, 2008) and subconscious level (Poehlman, Dhar and Bargh, 2015; Iancu, 2018). Style and language code choice is adapted for audience, auditors and overhearers (Bell, 1984). Empirical evidence from a wide range of questionnaires has demonstrated that consumers associate English, for instance, with globalness, internationalism, sophistication and modernisation (Hsu, 2008; Krishna and Ahluwalia, 2008; Lin and Wang, 2016). English language use in global advertising and media can be seen as symbolic of modernisation and internationalism (Bhatia, 1992; James and Hill, 1991; Piller, 2003), dynamic youth culture (Gerritsen et al., 2000) and technology advancements (Martin, 2002). Thus ascertaining young speakers' engagement with Welsh-medium media is useful in providing further understanding of viewers' language associations

and the ongoing ethnolinguistic vitality of the language.

On the topic of language affiliation and usage, both Coupland et al. (2005) and Price (2010) use questionnaire data to demonstrate cultural affiliation and engagement with Welsh among young people. A two year study by Morris (2010) on the social network and language use of adolescents across Wales reported a 'sharp difference' between young peoples' use of Welsh with a teacher in the classroom setting contrasted with friends outside the formal education setting (2010:88). This decrease is evident across all areas of Wales - both L1 strongholds and predominantly anglicised areas. More recently, Pearce (2015) has used direct methods to collect data from 849 school pupils in Wales through a web-browser and self-completed surveys on tablet computers. Of the Year 8 and Year 10 pupils taking part, 24.0% self-reported as fluent speakers, 27.7% as non-fluent speakers, 38.0% as token phrase speakers and 10.3% as non-speakers. The cross-sectional survey asked pupils overt closed questions such as "How important is it for you to speak Welsh?" and "How important is it for Welsh to remain a living language?", in addition to questions about frequency and context of Welsh-language engagement. Of 835 pupils, 28.0% reported enjoying Welsh as a subject, 39.5% were indifferent and 32.5% did not enjoy Welsh as a subject. Of 843 pupils surveyed, 30.7% felt that it is very important to learn Welsh, 33.8% felt it to be important, 27.9% felt it not very important and 7.6% felt that learning Welsh is of no importance. Pearce (2015) found that pupils in bilingual school settings had more affiliation to Welsh, with positive orientation coming from pupils in 'Y fro Gymraeg' (the Welsh heartlands). Participants who self-reported as liking Welsh 'a lot' were more likely to think it important to speak Welsh and for it to remain a living language. The issue with

Peace's data is evident (i.e. disconnect between participants' reports and actual behaviour) when we consider the direct, closed nature of the questions. Such discrepancy can be understood through the CAC model of attitude (see Section 4.1.1) where overt, outer-held beliefs are often at-odds with individuals' covert, inner-held feelings. It is the covert attitudes which influence behavioural output, although studies often elicit overtly expressed attitudes which – as previously discussed – are not indicative of behaviour (see Section 4.1.2).

i. Further methodological issues

A further methodological issue is evident when we consider that pupils are not provided with a neutral response option and are instead obliged to 'round-up' or 'round-down' their responses i.e. even-numbered Likert scales. Previous psychometric research customarily accepts that medial response provision may increase the likelihood of neutral or nonresponse, or acquiescence bias (Kalton, Roberts and Holt, 1980; Johns, 2005) due to participant ambivalence and social desirability bias. While survey and questionnaire response scales could be polarised in order to seemingly circumvent this, the inclusion of a mid-value allows for participants to rate neutrality, rather than a 'forced-choice' scale which itself could encourage bias (Nadler, Weston and Voyles, 2015). Commonly in studies, this is achieved by providing respondents with equal-numbered four or six-point Likert scales so that responses fall into one of the following exemplary categories: 'Strongly Disagree', 'Disagree', 'Agree', 'Strongly Agree', as opposed to being afforded a neutral mid-point response. Despite this, Edwards and Smith (2014) demonstrate that participants responding to sensitive and personal questions on a five-point scale provided significantly more extreme responses than participants responding on a six-

point scale; this is the methodological stance adopted in this thesis. When provided with a neutral response option present on uneven point scales, participants are shown to be more likely to report strong feelings towards the attitude object, while provision of even-point scales appeared to generate less accurate responses (Edwards and Smith, 2014). As we know language to be intrinsically tied to speaker identity, it is surprising then that such commendable quantitative efforts as Pearce's (2015) study provide polarised response scales, thus unwittingly undermining the potential academic depth offered by such data collection. Edwards and Smith (2014) conclude that the removal of a neutral response option may result in participants providing near-medial responses on sensitive and personal issues where they may otherwise provide more 'extreme' judgements if provided with a five-point scale, rather than four or six-point; I would add that the omission of a neutral option invokes positive or negative responses from participants who may actually feel indifferent and respond as such, given the choice. As previously discussed, individuals' attitudes may be positive, negative or neutral, expressed by the individual with a degree of favour, disfavour or ambivalence (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Walley et al., 2009). Nurtrality itself is as valid an attitude as favour or disfavour, particularly in the field of minority language research. When determining the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language through exploration of speaker attitudes, Cowell (2016) notes the precarious situation when language varieties are viewed with ambivalence. Absence of a strong emotive response – either positive or negative – may itself be an indication that the revitalisation of that particular language variety is fraught with difficulty (ibid) which may itself lead to the quiet demise of that language. With this in mind, the results from Pearce's closed-question Likert scales must be either accepted with prudence, or revisited with curiosity. This is particularly noteworthy

when considering the question "How important is it for you to speak Welsh". 28.0% reported as 'very important', 31.5% reported as 'important, 32.9% as 'not very important' and 7.6% 'not at all important. Where the respective 31.5 % - 32.9% of pupils' responses are placed along the mid-value continuum of 'important – not very important', the absence of a neutral option denies the academic community the exploration of whether these figures have the potential to mask participants' more extreme – or indifferent – value judgements (Edwards and Smith, 2014).

ii. Choosing the right method

It is resolutely acknowledged that quantitative results can be explored to a greater depth by implementing a complementary mixed-method approach (i.e. Creswell and Plano-Clark, 2011). Although quantitative method can vary across the covert/overt dimension, coupling quantitative methods (i.e. questionnaire) with follow-up qualitative methods (i.e. interviews) can provide rich results in minority language study (e.g. Dunmore, 2014). While strongly encouraged (Creswell, 2013; Denscombe, 2008; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004) the mixed-method approach is not universally adhered to and many attitude studies advocate the use of either quantitative or qualitative methods. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) are a proponent of a segregate approach, asserting that the use of mixed-methods tends to prioritise the quantitative aspect, which consequently leads to the degradation of the qualitative component. While I acknowledge the strength in mixed-methods and the contemporary research supporting this stance (i.e. Dunmore, 2014), I contend that the merits of singular qualitative research should not be dismissed, particularly in minority language attitude research. In support of this view, Hodges (2009) provides contextually rich results through use of the qualitative interview method in Wales.

Through thematic analysis, Hodges (2009) explores parental motivations behind enrolling their English L1 children into Welsh-medium education. Hodges finds that parents view WME as representative of their own 'lost' culture, with secondary incentives of educational, economic, personal and integrative motives governing parental choice. The study serves to highlight predominant factors stimulating the recent rise in demand for WME, particularly in L1-English dominant regions. Her study provides an academically-sound complement to existing quantitative data held by educational authorities (i.e. Welsh Assembly Government's 'My Local School'; Estyn). The focus on the qualitative component here could provide an example for further research in Wales and in neighbouring minority language contexts; as is the contention of this study, the use of qualitative and indirect methods can accurately facilitate 'pupil voice'. The use of first-hand accounts such as 'pupil voice' provides a valuable contribution in shaping education initiatives and policy (Arts Council of Wales, 2015) and can be facilitated by methods such as the Focus Group (see Section 4.2.1). The merits of the method are found in the interaction between participants (Paul, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick, 2008) where participants' contributions are acknowledged, providing invaluable insights into localised perspectives of speaker communities (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest and Namey, 2005). Furthermore, the culturally specific and contextually rich data produced by the FG method would in-turn lead to a more comprehensive understanding of why young people are consistently turning to English in peer-to-peer interactions; otherwise, holistic treatment of socio-behavioural factors such as identity trends, gender and cultural norms is lacking in the academic arena (Mack et al., 2005).

As exemplified above, use of direct quantitative methods is liable to negate

the purpose of research i.e. fail to reveal participants' covert language attitudes. This may be through participants becoming consciously aware of the purpose of the study (i.e. Labov's Observers Paradox, as contextualised in section 6.1.1.ii) whereby the presence of moderators and investigators carrying out the research influences results. Furthermore, participants may consciously provide incorrect results due to socio-political factors (on bilingual Ikwerre speakers, see Ihemere, 2006) or simply due to direct methods being inappropriate for ascertaining unconsciously held attitudes. Consequently, large-scale studies (e.g. BBC Radio Cymru and Welsh Assembly Government studies 2012-2013) may risk providing results which lack comprehension in terms of speaker attitudes and linguistic behaviours, instead providing attitudes which bare little relation to unconsciously held attitudes which influence speaker behaviour. Chiefly, sociolinguistic sources advise that the researcher utilise indirect methods to circumvent such issues as only the use of indirect methods can reveal unconsciously held attitudes (cf. Cohen, 1974; Ferrer and Sankoff, 2003; Lieberman, 1975; Woolard, 1992; Woolard and Gahng, 1990). We will now turn to discuss indirect methods.

3.2.1 Indirect Methods

A substantial body of research has established that attitudes operate at two distinct levels i.e. evaluations based on deliberate processes have been starkly distinguished from evaluations operating outside of conscious awareness (Fazio and Olson, 2003). As Devos (2010) notes, research on implicit (covert) attitudes examines feelings that cannot be consciously controlled. While overt self-reports do not always provide an accurate assessment of true evaluations or feelings, covert

inner-held beliefs are understood to provide a truer reflection of participants' feelings. I adopt the stance that attraction towards or distaste of certain speech forms are due to the social connotations of that speech variety i.e. the 'imposed norm hypothesis' (i.e. Giles and Powesland, 1975) rather than the speech form's inherent sound quality (i.e. inherent value hypothesis). Language carries with it environmentally-embedded social meaning, which can induce a variety of attitudinal reactions towards the linguistic variety; these reactions are related to the social stereotypes associated with that particular language variety. Stereotypes can be understood in terms of 'pictures in the head' (Lippmann, 1922) regarding a response to a particular attitude object, thus listeners' reactions towards linguistic varieties can be understood as a reaction towards the perceived speech community who employ that variety. For this reason, indirect methods are essential in exploring language attitudes. Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell and Kardes (1986) pioneered a method – the Implicit Association Test (IAT) – of ascertaining implicitly held beliefs as reflective of inner-held feelings. The IAT is based on the assumption that participants' association between two pairs of concepts can be evidenced by the ease with which participants discriminate. In this method, strength of associations between targets and associated social stereotypes can be measured. Fazio et al. (1986) adapted a priming technique to measure the extent to which associated evaluations are activated from memory. Here, the prime is the attitude object (e.g. language X) followed by positive or negative adjectives, for which participants provide an evaluation. The technique is based on the assumption that if the mention of language X activates a negative evaluation, response to negative target adjectives will be facilitated (Devos, 2010). Fasio et al. (1986) demonstrated affective priming is facilitated when the [positive or negatively associated target] is preceded by a prime

word which is overtly positive or negative. For instance, Devos and Banaji (2005) used the IAT to measure American participants' covert attitudes towards the object 'American'. It was found that participants performed the task more quickly when American symbols were combined with positive adjectives; this is suggestive of the concept 'American' eliciting more positive attitudes. The Implicit Association Test (IAT) has gained credence among sociolinguistic researchers in recent years (most notably, Lee, 2015). The IAT indirectly measures the strength of associations between targets and diametrically opposed concepts (e.g positive – negative attributes) although does not provide further information regarding participants' linguistic behaviour. The IAT has been one of the few means of inferring what individuals are unable to consciously self-report (Draine & Greenwald, 1998; Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell, & Kardes, 1986; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

Further in sociolinguistic research, greater depth of understanding and contextualisation is often obtained through the focus group method (Davies and Trystan, 2011; Musk, 2006; 2010). The focus group (FG) is a favoured indirect qualitative method used cross-disciplinarily since the early 20th century (see Bogardus, 1926) to access opinions and attitudes. I provide a more specific discussion of this method in Chapter 4. The method became popularised in the social sciences by Merton at al. in the 1940s in order to provide scope on social issues (Merton at al., 1990), which then provided impetus behind the development of market research (Morgan 1996). Focus groups usually comprise a group who are known to each other or have some commonality, of which provides topic of conversation. During the focus group, participants contribute their thoughts and opinions in a conversational style alongside a moderator, whose interaction (i.e

confirmation, reinforcement, contradiction) guides and facilitates topical discussion amongst the group (Kitzinger, 1995; Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999). The moderator – who is often not the primary researcher (Carey, 1994) – uses tailored open-ended sequential elicitation questions (e.g. main questions, follow-up questions, probes and prompts) (Krueger, 2002) and avoids the use of direct, leading questions (e.g. Morgan, 2001). The moderator creates a comfortable communicative environment in which participants are encouraged to share opinions (Basch, 1987; Richardson and Rabiee, 2001) and allows for natural topic-shift.

The method's inherent focus on in-group discussion has the ability to generate large quantities of 'rich experiential data' (Asbury, 1995; 414) by exploring attitudes, ideas and experiences which would be difficult to obtain through other methods (i.e. interview, questionnaire) (Kitzinger, 1995; 299). By indirectly eliciting attitudes through a group dynamic, FGs encourage within-group interaction, drawing on the personal experiences which have influenced participant attitudes and the social realities of the group; by enabling participants to reflect of the sociocultural realisations of the group, the method elicits covertly held beliefs about the attitude object which would not be reliably accessible by the use of questions, such as with an Interview method.

The use of the focus group is popular within Western market research (Webb and Kevern, 2000) as it enables participants to express 'direct from source' views and options about an attitude object. In terms of applying this method in the field, Milward (1995) recommends that the researcher recruit several different focus groups – an optimum total number of four focus groups – in order to ensure that

enough data has been obtained and also to avoid superfluous data collection[4] (Krueger, 1994; Milward, 1995). Most notably in sociolinguistic research, the matched-guise test has been favoured in garnering language attitudes. Surprisingly, this method has been used sparingly in the Welsh case. I will turn to discuss this method fully in Chapter 6, where I report on the use of the matched-guise method for the purpose of the specific study of that chapter. Greater detail is also provided on the focus group methodology in Chapter 4, where I present a thorough discussion of this method and its merits in the study of language attitudes.

Section 3.3 Conclusive remarks

This chapter has detailed the conceptual underpinnings of attitude, theoretical interpretations and applications. As discussed throughout Section 3.1, the study of attitude holds significance in directing the preservation, restoration and maintenance of minority languages (i.e. Baker, 1992; Edwards, 2010). Speaker attitudes were discussed in reference to measuring ethnolinguistic vitality from the level of speaker community (i.e. Heinxmann, 2013) i.e. investigating speakers' linguistic attitude provides crucial information regarding the health and effective maintenance of the linguistic variety. Details of this nature are essential as a contribution to sustainable language planning and maintenance efforts.

Discussion on the function and tripartite structure of speaker attitude was provided in Section 3.1.1. By deconstructing attitude in this manner, an individual's belief system and behavioural output can be referenced to the overt and covert

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[4] Recommendations vary in terms of total participants per group (e.g. Fern, 1982; Greenbaum, 1988; Kitzinger, 1996; Twin, 1998) depending on data yield and demand on moderator resources (Carey, 1994; Morgan, 1996).

functions of attitude (i.e. LaPiere, 1934; Garrett et al., 2003) and the discrepancy between inner-held and outer-expressed views. Section 3.1.4 detailed the importance of ascertaining adolescents' linguistic attitudes and behaviours in effectively revitalisation minority languages (Coupland et al., 2005); this changes from transition between pre-adolescence to adolescence as the locus of influence shifts from family to peer (see Dörnyei, 2001; Gardner, 1985). This point is crucial for the strength of this thesis, as the attitude studies of this thesis sequentially range from post-16 cohort (Chapter 4), to adolescent participants (Chapter 6) before finally exploring pre-adolescent groups (Chapter 8).

In the latter sections of this chapter, direct and indirect methods of eliciting overt and covert attitudes were discussed (Section 3.2); specifically, the importance of aligning speaker attitude and method of elicitation (e.g. Loureiro-Rodriguez et al., 2012) where the use of quantitative/ qualitative methodology and direct/ indirect methodology impacts upon the attitude elicited. Conclusively, indirect methods are required to elicit covert attitudes. Eliciting covert attitudes is necessary in better understanding speakers' linguistic behavioural output. Direct methods do not serve the aim of this thesis due to the fact that direct methods tend to elicit overt atttiudes which are at-odds with speaker behaviour (e.g. Pearce, 2015). Instead, indirect methods are more greatly aligned with the scope of this thesis (as discussed in their entirety in Chapters 4 and 6). Such methodologies facilitate a yield of candid respondent data as more accurately reflecting inner-held beliefs. Using this thorough discussion as our point of departure, we will now turn to the elicitation of covert attitudes through the Focus Group method in the following chapter. This will be the first study in this thesis which considers speakers' attitudes towards Welsh and

English from a bottom-up perspective.

Chapter 4: Paper entitled 'Minority language abandonment in Welsh-medium educated L2 adolescents: classroom, not chatroom'

Disclosure of my contribution

The present chapter was published in the Journal of Language, Culture and Curriculum in February, 2016. The article appeared as a co-authored paper, with myself as the primary author and my supervisor, Dr Marco Tamburelli, as the second author. I devised the concept myself following an internship with an animation company in the summer of 2013; I personally developed the theoretical argument, methodology, data collection, analysis and discussion. After having submitted a full text to my supervisor, we met for a number of supervisory meetings where Dr Tamburelli provided insightful and constructive comments regarding structure, fluency and theoretical considerations. Following a number of email exchanges with Dr Tamburelli, the manuscript was developed between late 2014 through to the summer of 2015, when it was then submitted for peer-review. Comments were received from the reviewers (see Appendix I) which were then incorporated into the paper, where appropriate. As the paper was accepted with minor corrections, the manuscript remained largely unchanged from its original submission.

This paper provides the first of three studies which comprise the thesis. Considering Welsh-medium educated adolescent males in an English-majority community (i.e Cardiff), the paper explores attitudes towards Welsh and English, and how these attitudes impact upon language use among the study cohort.

Minority language abandonment in Welsh-medium educated L2 male adolescents: classroom, not chatroom

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ABSTRACT

The education system has played a crucial role in Welsh language maintenance, with Welsh-medium education providing a central locus of language transmission. However, language transmission through education is not without pitfalls. This paper discusses the impact of top-down minority language transmission and the growing issue of formal domain dependency in Wales. We present results of 4 focus groups, undertaken with 19 male adolescent L2 speakers of Welsh. The key findings indicate that top-down formal-domain transmission has amplified the view of Welsh as a language limited to formal, 'high' domains, thus inhibiting language application among male adolescents. The inherent association of Welsh with formality as well as tradition and patriotism has led to cultural disengagement among the target group.

Introduction

Education is a vital feature of the contemporary Welsh revival, but it can lead to severe difficulties and choices, unanticipated by Welsh-language advocates.

Williams (1992, p. 312)

Throughout its history, the Welsh language has seen a significant reduction in speaker numbers. An Anglo-centric bias contributed to the development of a diglossic situation (e.g. Fishman, 1967), which largely restricted the use of Welsh to informal domains, consequently designating it with a Low (L) status.

Today's recognition and legislated officialdom has been the result of persistent campaigning throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, including Saunders Lewis' seminal radio broadcast Tynged yr Iaith, the establishment of media platforms such as BBC Radio Cymru and S4C, and culminating in various

government Acts such as the Welsh Language Act (WLA) (1967), Education Reform Act (1988), Welsh Language Act (1993) and Welsh Language (Wales) Measure (2011). These events signalled the increased recognition of Welsh and its equal status to English within Wales' official domains, in an attempt to broaden the use of Welsh and to extend the language beyond the 'low' domains with which it had come to be associated.

To date, the education system plays a crucial role in the transmission of Welsh, with bilingual schooling having arguably been the principle agent of language reproduction (Williams, 1992). However, while the merits of officialdom should not be disregarded, with top-down Government support constituting a key component in minority language maintenance (e.g. Baker, 2003a; Fishman, 1991), the bilingual and Welsh-medium education systems themselves have limitations which are too infrequently addressed. With the onus of minority language transmission shifting towards formal education, we would like to suggest that Welsh is increasingly being associated with formal domains, with some potentially negative impact on Welsh language sustainability in successive generations. While we recognise the importance of minority language education in general and Welsh-medium education in particular, we also recognise that education-based trans-mission on this scale is a relatively new development in the context of minority languages (currently co-occurring with only few other European cases, notably in Catalonia and the Basque Country), and as such it likely raises new and possibly unanticipated issues. Indeed, more than two decades ago, Williams (1992) made a similar point, as he urged for an analysis of the factors influencing Welsh reproduction relative to the developing socio-economic climate. Taking this as our point of departure, we will consider the

key agent in Welsh language reproduction in Wales at present, and the day-to-day reality of Welsh-medium educated L2 speakers, with particular focus on the pitfalls of formal-domain dependency and the consequent reduction in reproduction, which has resulted throughout the past two decades.

Subject and rationale

This study was prompted by two factors: the results of the 2011 Census, and the instigative observations noting young speakers' reluctance to use Welsh in 'interpersonal inter-actions' (Thomas & Roberts, 2011).

The 2011 Census reported a 1.75% fall in Welsh speakers – nearly 7 percentage points short of the Government's target (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003). This has been attributed to various factors, including inward migration, overestimations of speaker proficiency on previous censuses, and inconsistencies across the census questions (for comparative variations between census data and other available statistical sources, see Haselden, 2003). Findings from Language Use Surveys commissioned by the Welsh Language Board (2008) showed that 75% of fluent 16–29-year-old Welsh speakers make use of Welsh in day-to-day life; among non-fluent speakers, this figure is significantly less (17%). Urdd Gobaith Cymru's (2011) study of early adolescents reported that, while 98% of informants have contact with Welsh within school, only 24% of these speakers use Welsh outside of school. Indeed, reluctance to use the minority language in informal communicative domains has often been reported in the literature (Baker, 2003b; Gruffudd, 2000; Sebba, 2011) particularly among adolescents (Morris, 2010; Welsh

Language Board, 2008) and more specifically among L2 males (Hodges, 2011; Thomas & Roberts, 2011; Thomas, Lewis, & Apolloni, 2012). While the drawbacks of formal domain dependency have been discussed in the literature (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Romaine, 2007; Williams, 1992), the potentially negative impact of educational sector reliance upon speaker attitudes has not been fully explored.

Linguistic institutionalisation

The obvious advantages which have been 'accrued in the expansion of W[elsh] M[edium] E[ducation]' are frequently applauded (Williams, 1992, p. 312), and it is well known that minority language confinement to the family, church and community domains accelerates its downfall (Baker, 2003a; Kenesei, 2009). As noted by Williams (1992), Welsh contact through the educational sector serves as a 'vital feature of the contemporary Welsh revival' (, p. 312). Baker (2003b) also views bilingual education as playing a key role in the reversal of minority language shift. These measures have indeed shown some success, particularly among the early learners (3–4 years) (Welsh Assembly Government, 2012a), with Jones and Martin-Jones (2004) noting the higher demand for Welsh-medium education provisions at infancy and elementary level. However, the pitfalls of relying too heavily on the educational sector for minority language transmission are also well known and have often been high-lighted in the literature (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Gruffudd, 2000; Hodges, 2009, 2011; Ó Riagáin, Williams, & Moreno, 2008; Williams, 1992). In addition, researchers have often pointed out how the establishment of language transmission in the family domain is essential to successful minority language maintenance (Fishman, 1991; Kenesei, 2009). In the current situation, however, Hodges (2011) suggests that Welsh-medium education has become a substitute for

home-learning, with parents viewing interrupted family transmission as having been addressed within the classroom. As a consequence of this shift, the majority of Welsh speakers are found among those in compulsory education, particularly in the primary years, with a negative trend apparent in post-16 onwards (Welsh Assembly Government, 2012a). As Thomas and Roberts (2011) put it, many Welsh-educated children are 'unwilling to allow Welsh to become their natural language of conversation when speaking to another Welsh-speaker', with English assuming the role of the playground. In line with this, Baker (2003b) reported that Welsh-medium pupils make little use of Welsh in informal communication outside of school (see Ó Riagáin et al., 2008 for comparable trends with Irish), while Hodges' (2011) male informants reportedly avoided using Welsh during sporting activities.

Thomas and Roberts (2011) address this contextual imbalance by suggesting that the passive engagement typical of a school-transmitted language hinders the confidence of the speaker to utilise that language as a social tool. While we recognise that passive engagement might have a role to play, we intend to explore the possibility that the negative trend in the language habits of Welsh-medium adolescents might be due to their associating Welsh with formal domains, thus viewing it through connotations of school life and as a reminder of the formalities of the education system. This process is reminiscent of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959), in that it tacitly encourages functional separation or compartmentalisation (Fishman, 1967) between the two languages. However, unlike traditional diglossia, the language that becomes associated with formality is – paradoxically – the language that traditionally filled the L(ow) role. Through overreliance on formal education, the language that was once associated with L domains is increasingly perceived as appropriate only for formal H(igh) domains (at least by some of its speakers), in a

process that we tentatively term 'inverted diglossia'. This newly gained connotation tacitly discourages Welsh use in other domains, particularly informal, day-to-day communication, thus dramatically reducing speakers' ability and/or inclination to contribute to the revitalisation of Welsh. If this analysis turns out to be correct, it would also explain Thomas and Roberts' (2011) findings that in-class peer-to-peer interaction is through the medium of Welsh 91.7% of the time for girls, contrasted with 69.4% of the time for young boys. If – as we would like to suggest – Welsh is being strongly connoted with formal domains, it is then unsurprising that informal use of Welsh is particularly lacking in adolescent boys, as it is well known that male adolescent speakers are particularly averse to adopting what they perceive as more formal, overtly prestigious varieties (Labov, 1990; Nichols, 1998; Romaine, 2003). As Labov (1990) explains, female speakers tend to adopt prestige forms 'from above' (i.e. perpetuated by the institutions) as these are perceived as important in terms of upward social mobility. Indeed, studies into adolescent Welsh speakers found female informants to be markedly more active users of the language, especially when dis-cussing academic work (Hodges, 2009; Morris, 2010). Simply put, as Welsh becomes increasingly associated with schooling and formality, English is paradoxically being perceived as the language of rebellion against 'the established [linguistic] rules of the adult world' (Rostami, 2012, p. 210), subsequently leading to the observed trends of Welsh-medium educated favouring English over Welsh, and the 1.75% decrease in post-16 speakers (Thomas & Roberts, 2011; Welsh Assembly Government, 2012a).

In order to investigate this potential causative link, we have elicited qualitative data from L2 Welsh-medium educated male adolescents. The investigation was conducted through the focus group (FG) method, which allows mining of rich

qualitative data to complement the existing body of quantitative data from the 2011 Census.

We therefore intend address the following question:

In areas where Welsh is being acquired almost entirely through schooling, does Welsh show features typical of a compartmentalised language? If so, is Welsh compartmentalised to H domains?

Methodology

The Focus Group

Observational data have gained popularity in the study of minority languages in recent years (see Dunmore, 2014; Hodges, 2009). As a qualitative method, the FG is particularly useful in accessing social realities within a peer group through the elicitation of personal experience, aiming to generate discussion on a particular topic with emphasis on inter-action between participants (Kitzinger, 1994). By encouraging interaction, the FG method has the potential to yield a greater depth of richer qualitative data than a one-to-one interview (Kitzinger & Farquhar, 1999). FGs are being employed with increasing regularity in Applied Linguistics, for example, in the study of patient–carer interaction (Gerrish, Chau, Sobowale, & Birks, 2014), employer–employee interaction (Loosemore & Lee, 2002), the formation of linguistic identity (You, 2005), and the dynamics of language choice in social networking sites (Cunliffe, Morris, & Prys, 2013). The FG is particularly suited to the aims of our study, as it enables the subjects themselves to express their views, thus providing

'direct from source' linguistic attitudes as opposed to the more indirect parental judgements relied upon by the census.

Participants

Nineteen lower sixth-form students from Cardiff (South Wales) took part in this study. All nineteen participants were from English-speaking homes and had attended primary, secondary and tertiary Welsh-medium education. All participants had been attending the target secondary school since the age of 11. Participants were aged between 16 and 17 years, and thus at the early end of the post-16 spectrum reported in the literature as dis-playing negative trends towards Welsh. Separate sessions were conducted with four different participant groups, lasting approximately one hour per session. Group sizes varied depending on students' availability, with six participants in both FG1 and FG3, two participants in FG2, and five in FG4. This range of participants is in keeping with various reports from the literature (e.g. Kitzinger, 1996; Twinn, 1998). The moderator aimed to ensure evenly distributed levels of participation.

Elicitation questions

The 'Four Question Sequence' was adopted, utilising the Main Question, Follow-up Questions, Probes and Prompts (Peterson-Sweeney, 2005). In order to ensure that participants felt as comfortable and confident as possible during group discussions, pre-existing friend-ship groups were recruited (e.g. Davis & Jones, 1996). Tailored elicitation questions were employed to elicit participants' anecdotes

and remarks, avoiding direct, overt and leading questions (e.g. Morgan, 2001).

Questions were tailored to the individual group, and natural topic shift was permitted

to occur between informants, thus pertaining to a less structured design (Morgan,

2001). The main elicitation topics were 'school life', 'hobbies and social life', and

'future intentions: work, travel, education'. These were designed to overtly address

non-linguistic topics, thus eliciting indirect information relating to linguistic behaviour.

Procedure

Potential informants were screened for age and home-language exposure

through questionnaires in order to assess their suitability for participation. All focus

sessions began by familiarising moderator and participants through the medium of

Welsh. However, the medium of communication throughout the sessions was left to

the discretion of each participant group. While dynamic and including some code-

switching, this resulted in all sessions being conducted through the informants' L1,

namely English, which also provided a naturalistic, informal environment for the

groups (Twinn, 1998). Following Carey (1994), the primary researchers were not

involved in the moderation, and a suitable moderator was recruited instead. The

chosen moderator was a male, second-language Welsh speaker who had attended

the same school 8 years previously. He was selected due to his experience working

with adolescents and to the fact that his educational background and experiences

were comparable to those of the informants. The moderator was casually clothed

during the sessions as to generate a perceived level of informality. Interactions were

recorded using two ZOOM H1 digital voice recorders. These also formed the basis

for an 'ice-breaker' activity at the beginning of each session whereby a voice

recorder was passed between participants during introductions. The primary recorder was then placed centrally in view, with the second recorder out of view. Recordings were subsequently transcribed and then analysed by drawing on the principles of thematic networks (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Dey, 1993; Patton, 2002), and thus on the three dimensions of (i) text reduction (identifying and constructing significant themes and patterns), (ii) text exploration (refining, interpreting and describing through thematic summary) and (iii) text exploration and theory derivation.

Results and analysis

In the following sections, we shall report informants' responses according to their thematic context.

School life: Welsh in the classroom

When considering language use in school, the perception of Welsh as almost exclusively linked to educational activities soon surfaces. In particular, discussion of classroom activities reveals that speaking Welsh is seen as adhering to school and teachers' rules, and thus as conforming to adult authority, a behaviour that tends to have negative connotations among adolescents (e.g. Nucci, 2005). As demonstrated in the following excerpt, Welsh is viewed in terms of good behaviour and high achievement:

The better behaved [pupils] would be more willing to speak Welsh, like I would talk Welsh but I'm a bit of a goody-two-shoes. (FG2:1.25-26)

Here, the informant's self-awareness of being an attentive pupil is directly linked to Welsh language use. This notion of 'better behaved' pupils being more prepared to communicate through Welsh is suggestive of overt scholarly prestige for the language and relating Welsh to academic merit and conformity to the standards set by adults. This soon develops into a discussion of the top-down pressures, with FG3 contemplating the pressure associated with teacher-monitored Welsh production:

If there's a teacher nearby […] it would be Welsh […] when they walk past (FG3:2.2)

… the parties […] they're generally English […] there's not teachers there. (FG4:5.36-46)

Here, there is an overt level of awareness regarding the use of Welsh in the presence of teachers. Hence, Welsh is explicitly linked to adult authority, and thus in opposition to adolescent resistance and subversion (e.g. Smetana, 1996). Informants provide further evidence of this link between Welsh and top-down authority, with one member of FG3 explicitly stating:

The only reason I speak it is because I'm told to speak it. (FG3:2.17-18)

This notion of obligation and the consequent impact on Welsh use are explored by FG1 and FG3, as exemplified in the following excerpts:

It's fine if you don't have to […] If you're not made to speak Welsh […] If you're not forced to, like in school. (FG1:8.32-36)

It's not a choice in school- you have to. So if I was […] not in Welsh education I'd probably speak it more. (FG3:9.39-42)

Specifically, the top-down and overt pressures towards speaking Welsh cause Welsh language use to be likened to a compulsory subject more than a linguistic medium:

Welsh seems more like a lesson than a way of talking […] It's like when you leave school, you don't constantly talk about Physics or Chemistry. (FG3:11.10-13)

Here, we are presented with the evident association of Welsh as a school-specific subject, rather than a cross-domain, applied language. Welsh appears to have become compartmentalised (see Musk, 2010, for a discussion on language boundaries). Similarly, FG2 feel that there is a lack of exposure to Welsh in naturalistic, everyday con-texts (FG2:5.1). The members begin to reason their disinclination towards extending the use of Welsh beyond the classroom, citing

examples of top-down pressure as powerful catalyst in the compartmentalisation of Welsh:

And they give you the annoying story like "Oh, people died for the Welsh language." Like, I know it's true but it […] annoys me. (FG3:10.3-5)

This theme continues to evolve independently throughout FG2's discussion, who note:

They always play the guilt trip […]. "Seven hundred years ago we fought for the Welsh, people died for the Welsh language". Come on, let us just speak it. Don't force it on us. People get angry when Christians force Christianity on you- it's the same with Welsh. (FG2:5.2-5)

This comparison of Welsh language use to religious indoctrination clearly shows the undesirable side effects of a language policy that appears to rely too heavily on top-down pressures. A similar point is also made by members of FG1 who suggested that staff 'preach' to the pupils (FG1:9.38). Members of FG4 express similar feelings when discussing the half-hour talks they attend during assemblies. They further express the responsibility (FG4:3.24) which comes with representing the Welsh language, explaining:

I found [Welsh] especially getting shoved down our throats in Year 11 […] when the twelves and thirteens left, [the teachers] were like 'Right, you're top of the school' […] they were like 'Remember to speak Welsh, remember to speak Welsh'. (FG4.3.12-17)

As discussed earlier, it is widely accepted that male adolescents display less inclination to utilise a language variety that is viewed as overtly prestigious. This is confirmed by our informants, who report how overt top-down motivation has the potential to be perceived as intrusive, and thus serve as a deterrent.

You seem to get the impression that they're telling us that we disrespect the language and that's not really the case […] so then you feel that it is sort of getting shoved down your throat. (FG4:3.6-10)

It's just in school, they sort of try and shove it down your throat, sort of thing. (FG3:9.44) So it sort of makes you want to resist it a bit more. If they were just encouraging it then it would be fine, but they're not. They're telling you 'If you don't, then we're gonna yell at you'. (FG3:10.1-2)

These emotive descriptions of the overt pressures associated with speaking Welsh hold severely negative connotations. While it must be noted that teaching professionals would not necessarily intend to have this impact, the fact remains that this impression has been made on adolescent L2 speakers. The consequences are multifaceted, ranging from negative feelings of top-down pressure to complete language resistance. There are also potentially long-standing associative consequences, such as reported feelings of guilt (FG3:10.6-7) for use of English. This is further explored through FG1 who recall instances of being reprimanded for speaking English:

…   if he's there, he makes you write notes […] like 'Oh no, I spoke English today'. (FG1:2.26-28)

…   being punished for speaking English is a bit unreasonable. (FG1:9.28)

Peers have developed the belief that individual teachers wish to 'shame' English-speaking pupils by chiding them (FG1:2.26-28), reportedly finding 'personal offence' (FG1:10.4) towards the use of English. The supposed partiality of teachers is also perceived as being measured by pupils' Welsh use:

I'm the only one he liked

Because he never caught you speaking in English. (FG1:2.32-33)

There is agreement among informants that such attitudes and the consequent punishments are derived from historical frictions between English and Welsh (on the conflictual characteristics of diglossia and 'post-diglossia', see Williams, 2009):

It's not so much them punishing you for speaking another language as much as it is just for speaking English 'cause they'd be fine with you speaking French or German. It's just an attitude in Wales where we hate English people and the language. (FG1:9.45-47)

If we were to speak Arabic […] they wouldn't punish us for that. (FG1:9.34)

While it must be fully appreciated that Welsh-medium teachers juggle an incredibly difficult task as Government-appointed custodians of the language, such discriminatory acts risk serving as a subtractive measure in the path to fostering bilingualism. From our study so far, it has emerged that the students are facing top-down pressure to converse through the medium of Welsh rather than applying the language of their own volition. It has also emerged that far from fostering Welsh use, these pressures often act as deterrents. Moreover, top-down pressures to speak Welsh in teacher-led situations strengthen the tendency to view Welsh and English as appropriate for different contexts, particularly H and L contexts, respectively, and thus as compartmentalised languages in a situation that is reminiscent of diglossia, albeit with a radical difference as to which language fills which role. Unlike traditional Welsh diglossia where Welsh was perceived as the L, we are now observing a situation where Welsh is associated with narrow, teacher-led and educationally oriented contexts. We are therefore faced with a situation where Welsh – while partly being in a 'post-diglossic' phase (Williams, 2009: 67) that seemingly allows free language choice – is also undergoing what we have termed 'inverted diglossia', namely a situation whereby the language that was once confined to L domains has now come to be strongly associated with H domains. Diglossic compartmentalisation is therefore inverted rather than eliminated, with potentially very negative consequences from a language maintenance perspective. While the educational context is perhaps the major locus of this emerging type of compartmentalisation as well as being the most heartfelt by the informants, the top-down nature of Welsh is reiterated when looking at extracurricular activities.

Hobbies and social life

Informants expressed their engagement in English-medium (EM) interaction and community-based extracurricular activities (i.e. Hybu Pobl Ifanc, FG1:2.47). Sporting hobbies are mentioned by all groups, demonstrating a tendency towards English-medium activities throughout the summer term.

English is a break from Welsh rather than Welsh being your kind of go-to language. (FG1:3.2-3) … you want a break from Welsh over the summer. (FG3:12.16)

I think it's because we speak Welsh all day in school. (FG4:6.28)

Informants' expressions of wanting a 'break' from the Welsh language are suggestive of it having gained non-transferable (i.e. compartmentalised) formal domain connotations. English, on the other hand, is seen as providing a leisure refuge from classroom connotations. Further to this, FG3 explain:

It's like, if you're going to school all day and you're being told to speak Welsh lots, when you get home you want to relax and speak English or watch something English. (FG3:21.50)

The informants show how English and Welsh are associated with separate domains, with English eliciting terms such as 'take a break' or 'relax', while Welsh is associated with top-down activities. In line with this, the group members who have younger siblings in the school report that English is the medium between siblings. For FG2:1.11, Welsh is reported to be actively avoided between siblings, while FG3:2.12 note how English is more 'naturalistic' in sibling interaction. Further compartmentalisation arises when looking at the use of Welsh in the media.

Media and popular culture

Music

FG4 held a lively debate concerning Welsh-medium music. When asked whether they currently listen to Welsh music, all bar one informant responded negatively. This exception was on the rare occasion the informant travels with a Welsh-speaking friend:

He's now on the [committee], deputy head boy, his mum would have BBC Radio Wales [sic] and it would be Welsh talking and they'd sometimes play Welsh music. (FG4:8.1-3)

Once again, we see the association with Welsh culture being connoted with the highly achieving deputy head boy. Additionally, knowledge of material is notably

limited to typically traditional genres, associated with tradition and formality, respectively.

If you do say 'Do you want to listen to this Welsh singer?', people generally think 'opera' […] and old folk music. (FG4:9.46-49)

This view appears to be based on informant experience of both the school radio and the Eisteddfod, a traditional cultural festival for music and visual arts held annually in Wales. When discussing the school radio, all informants of FG4 regard Welsh music – associated exclusively with the traditional folk or classical genre – with vilification, as exemplified by the excerpt below (FG4:8.25-37).

25 [the school] have a school radio at dinner times, sometimes. 26 They play Welsh music

27 The music is awful

Moderator 31 What do they play? 32 It's just like folk stuff

33 Yeah, folk music, it's just bad

34 The stuff you hear in the Eisteddfod

Moderator 35 Ah

36 It's really classic, that's what I'm saying, it's really traditional stuff, like Dawnsio Gwerin

Informants state that, while they appreciate the Eisteddfod has modernised in recent years, it is still viewed as 'so boring' (FG4:9.35):

At this point it's very traditional. It's a very […] traditional language and the activities that are around it are very traditional. (FG4:9.14-15)

The perception of Welsh-medium events as 'very traditional' serves to deter informant engagement (FG4:9.33). However, when asked by the moderator if the group wishes to hear some Welsh rap music, all members of FG4 expressed enthusiasm, wishing to take note of the artists (FG4:7.40, 8.10, 9.41-44). None of the informants was aware that such music existed.

S4C

The topic of Welsh-medium broadcasting produced extensive debate within each FG. FG2 suggest that their non-Welsh-speaking parents assert strong positive attitudes towards watching S4C and encourage their children to do so, although none of the informants holds positive views towards the channel. First, we are presented with the issue of unappealing content. The informants explore the lack of programming aimed towards adolescent audiences:

I would never watch S4C […] There's not that much that appeals. (FG4:6.2-6) I'm not sure that's there's anything for us. (FG2:2.20)

It doesn't seem like they're doing anything to appeal to people our age […] It's just not appealing to young people. (FG4:6.30,50)

It seems to be aimed towards little kids and then older people. (FG1:5.39)

In addition to a distinct lack of age-appropriate material, the perceived high level of Welsh used on the programmes appears to impact negatively upon the informants; there is suggestion that willingness to view Welsh-medium programmes is dependent upon the complexity of the Welsh used (FG3:7.8), with informants in FG1 and FG3 experiencing great difficulty comprehending 'S4C Welsh' (FG1:4.7, FG3:3.38). While it is not initially clear where this lack of understanding manifests itself, informants further explore their own proficiencies alongside L1 character speech:

Nothing is at our level of Welsh. (FG1:6.14-15)

It's more a pure Welsh. (FG1:5.14)

There is some disagreement as to whether the language used is a different dialect or just unfamiliar and therefore assumed to be a Northern dialect. Regardless, it appears that the vocabulary used on television is not necessarily vocabulary the informants are exposed to in the school environment and as such, poses a linguistic barrier to the groups. There is an acknowledgment between informants that the Welsh shown on S4C is somehow 'more Welsh', with one informant elucidating:

Unless you're proper-proper Welshy with Welsh family and Welshy everything. (FG3:3.39) S4C is S4C is Welsh. (FG3:3.33)

This repetition of 'S4C Welsh' register as associated with 'proper-proper Welshy' suggests that the programming is perceived as exclusively for L1 speakers. Furthermore, the excerpt below openly states a perceived inherent link between Welsh and formal register:

There isn't an informal side to Welsh because it's Welsh. (FG3:3.36-37)

In keeping with a diglossic compartmentalisation, members of FG3 seem to perceive Welsh as inherently formal. This association is likely due to the fact that the informants' own contact with the language occurs almost exclusively in the formal domain, creating a feeling among this cohort that Welsh is limited to a formal register. Besides connotations of formality, further issues of compartmentalisation arise in relation to 'tradition' and 'rural life' and in opposition to 'modernity' and 'urban life'. We therefore witness two levels of compartmentalisation here. First, further

compartmentalisation in relation to how Welsh is depicted on S4C: rural and traditional. And second, the fact that this compartmentalisation apparent in Welsh-medium television does not tessellate with realistic experiences of Welsh as perceived by the informants, since the compartmentalisation they themselves experience is linked to formality rather than tradition or rurality.

Well it's like Pobl y Cwm, they're just walking down and everybody's speaking Welsh. (FG2:2.42)

As the informants attend Welsh-medium school yet do not live in a Welsh L1 community, the programming available on S4C does not appear to be relevant and relatable to their experiences of a compartmentalised Welsh language. This idea is developed further among other groups, who further note the connotations of rurality and the antiquated values they perceive as being perpetuated by S4C:

…   all the stuff that's on S4C is about Wales … just about a village. (FG4:7.15-16)

…   not being able to relate to it because obviously […] we don't all live in villages or on a farm. (FG1:6.10-23)

Further issues of compartmentalisation arise when the informants were asked what is more appealing about EM programming, with connotations of formal 'seriousness' being associated with Welsh and in opposition to the more informal, 'relaxed' connotations of English. Informants reason that – besides being in their first language – English-medium programming displays a wide array of engaging 'stupid', 'jokey' material. Regarding what they wish to see on S4C, informants of FG3 explain the need for 'more messing around' on programmes (FG3:3.22), and generally less 'serious' programmes: (FG3:3.11–12, FG3:6.38).

I've never seen a funny Welsh show. Never. (FG1:6.46)

They should be prepared to take the mick. (FG1:6.43)

Reoccurring terms that reiterate the perceived seriousness of S4C include 'serious' and 'uptight'.

It's all stiff upper lip. (FG1:6.44)

It's all too serious, it's just too serious. (FG3:4.19)

A further level of compartmentalisation arises with regard to how the use of Welsh on tele-vision is perceived as a medium for patriotic ideology. This intersects with the traditionalist connotations, but it is sufficiently specific to grant separate analysis. Words such as 'patriotic' and 'pro-Welsh' were often used in relation to Welsh-medium programming. The perceived patriotism rife on S4C programming is seen as outdated, imposing and overbearing (FG1:4.17):

They're trying to portray Welsh as Welsh-Welsh' – they need to just forget it and move on. Move with the times. (FG3:6.35-36)

All the shows are about being Welsh. (FG1:4.15)

… they're differentiating themselves saying 'We're Welsh, we have to make Welsh TV, that's all we do' […] we're Welsh and we have to be proud. (FG1:4.25-17)

It is apparent that such patriotism does not engage the adolescents, and possibly serves to deter them:

[S4C] seem to think we're a lot more patriotic than we actually are, like being Welsh is not like a massive part of my identity. I'm just somebody who happens to live in Wales. I don't think that that's something that should define what I watch on TV.

(FG1:4.32-35)

There is an evident reluctance to engage with S4C content due to connotations of patriotism as perceived by the participants. As asserted by informants of FG4, the development of currently absent genres would serve as a talking point between young Welsh speakers, potentially 'snowballing along' to the next generation who will 'carry forward' the language (9:44-45, 10:44-46).

Discussion

Informants discussed numerous topics that point towards an emergent 'inverted' compartmentalisation between Welsh and English. These include respondents' aversion to applying Welsh beyond the formal domains, the association of Welsh with school pressures and 'school language', a seemingly ubiquitous association of Welsh with formality, cultural tradition, and nationalism, and the consequent sense of escapism provided by the English language in comparison to the contextual confinement associated with Welsh. Following the spirit (but not the letter) of Ferguson's (1959) treatment of diglossia, we can summarise this emergent compartmentalisation in Table 5, as follows:

Table 5: The perceived Domain specificity of Welsh.

	Welsh	English

Lesson in school	X	
Extra-curricular activities (community based)	X	
Scholarly discussion	X	
Informal chat		X
School: in teachers' presence	X	
School: in teachers' absence		X
Formal programming, 'serious' television.	X	X
Reality TV, spoofs, light entertainment		X
TV programme: rural setting	X	X
TV programme: urban setting		X
Nationalistic media discourse	X	
Globalist media discourse		X
Rap music		X
Folk music and opera	X	

Table 5 summarises an emergent situation among the demographic investigated in our study. The situation depicted above resembles a newly emerging 'inverted' diglossia insofar as language choice is sensitive to 'differences in situational context without much, or indeed any, sensitivity to differences in social class' (Hudson, 2002, p. 3). It also shows signs typical of asymmetric diglossia (e.g.

Fishman, 1967), as one of the two languages (namely English) can have more than one set of functions (e.g. in the case of TV programming), while the other language (i.e. Welsh) is perceived as limited to one set of functions only (i.e. the 'high' functions). We suggest that this type of diglossia is 'inverted', however, in the sense that it limits the domains of a language – in our case Welsh – that has only been recently (re-)introduced in 'high' domains, with the expressed purpose of eliminating its historical (and damaging) association with 'low' domains. Despite the positive intentions behind the re-introduction of Welsh in high domains, however, the outcome we have identified arguably continues to limit the potential of Welsh, as it shifts rather than remove its domain limitations, at least among L2 adolescents. Moreover, as informants' contact with Welsh is taking place mostly within the classroom, the end of the school day – and the end of compulsory education – tends to signal the end of Welsh-language contact (see also Baker, 2003b on the decline of Welsh among late adolescents).

While specific to the demographics of the FGs under investigation, these findings raise the question of whether the same trend might also be present in the wider anglicised community. Given that the demographic at issue displays tendencies to abandon the Welsh language beyond the school domains (Hodges, 2012; Thomas & Roberts, 2011) and that Welsh-medium provision in anglicised areas is considered a principal agent in increasing the number of Welsh speakers (e.g. Lewis, 2006; Williams, 1992), the results of the present study point towards potential underlying origins in the decline of Welsh speakers. While it has previously been observed that speakers tend to turn to English in informal domains, it has been assumed that this is due to low confidence in using Welsh (Lewis, 2008), and the natural propensity to utilise one's L1 (English in our case). However, the present

study has identified a key emergent factor in speakers' inability to apply Welsh to the informal domains, independent of willingness. It would appear that informants display no experience of using informal language practices; the formal register learned by informants is wholly inappropriate for casual application. As Welsh develops at the expense of informal, interpersonal aspects, linguistic idiosyncrasies indicative of a living language progressively disappear. This is particularly evident in the standard learnt by informants: suited to the classroom rather than the chatroom. The informants' lack of informal Welsh holds implications for their inability to use Welsh in every-day environments. Informants currently lack an informal domain in which to acquire these features and do not believe that they have the opportunity or permission to do so within school. As high-lighted by Thomas and Roberts (2011), it is crucial that curriculum planning looks to 'alternative' methods in exposing speakers [from non-Welsh backgrounds] to 'natural' communicative environments.

Outside the formal educational domain, Welsh is viewed as exclusively traditional, in opposition to English. While formality manifests itself in educational-domain association, tradition is relative to affiliated events and provisions. Welsh tradition is largely rejected by informants; despite living in Wales and being of Welsh nationality, there is want for internalised cultural attachment. Informants hold little recognition that they themselves are 'something to do with Welsh' by virtue of learning through the medium; thus, we see the emergent notion of monocultural bilinguals (Luna, 2011). It is the contention of this study that the publically visible manner of top-down trans-mission has negatively impacted upon speaker numbers, specifically male adolescents. This is at odds with the 'core elements' of the Welsh Language Strategy 2012–2017 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2012b), which reportedly aim to encourage the use of Welsh as the language of 'entertainment and

recreation'. Yet, the current study has revealed a distinct compartmentalisation that confines Welsh to formal and educational domains as is typical of an H language in a diglossic situation, where it is L that serves as the language of entertainment and recreation (e.g. Fishman, 1990, 2001).

While it is understood that Welsh-medium education is a key provider of Welsh speakers, the reliance upon education as an agent of language reproduction has compartmentalised the language itself in opposition to English. This compartmentalisation and the top-down pressure unwittingly applied by educational institutions have created a deterrent for male speakers. It is here that the observed trends of male speakers opting to use English reported by Thomas and Roberts (2011) and Thomas et al. (2012) are elucidated. Important data also emerged in relation to Welsh media provisions and their connotation among Welsh-medium educated adolescents. In particular, informants revealed that Welsh media hold strong connotations of seriousness and rurality, in opposition to what is perceived as a more relaxed and urban/global character in English-medium programming. While H status is arguably positive for minority languages, the attribution of such status does not ensure uptake or maintenance (Gathercole & Thomas, 2007, 2009). For male speakers, overt prestige does not signal take-up; instead, informants achieve in-group membership by use of the greatly reprimanded – and thus covertly prestigious – English language. Welsh is associated exclusively to the school domain, seen as regressive and formal, pertaining to traditional culture, while English is perceived as a more progressive, flexible medium.

In future developments, it may therefore be necessary to steer Welsh revitalisation efforts away from top-down pressures and towards bottom-up changes

that develop from 'user-input' and below the level of social awareness (Labov, 1990). As the formation and reinforcement of participants' motivation are largely driven by the social environment of the user (Paulini, Maher, & Murty, 2014), incentives to use Welsh need to engage grass roots if they are to be successfully sustained through the L2 male adolescent community. There is therefore an urgent need to address social incentives and private sector opportunities (Welsh Assembly Government, 2012b) and to incentivise speaker motivations from below, a point forcefully made by Fishman (1991, 2001) in relation to the development and sustainability of language maintenance.

Conclusions

The present study has elucidated the multifaceted causes behind Welsh abandonment in L2 male adolescents beyond the formal domain. The original aim was to critically assess the attitudes of L2 Welsh-speaking adolescents towards the Welsh language in order to identify factors contributing to its abandonment. The depth generated by the FG method has enhanced our understanding of the instigations behind Welsh abandonment, particularly noted in males. The instigative factors identified appear rooted in formal-domain dependency, with Welsh transmitted in a compartmentalised manner. The study has found an emerging 'inverted' diglossia that manifests itself through a disassociation of Welsh use beyond the formal domain. This compartmentalisation links speaker-loss with domain-loss insofar as a speakers' departure from compulsory Welsh-medium education signals the disappearance of perceived appropriate domains of Welsh

use. Welsh-medium education appears able to produce individuals educated through Welsh, but not necessarily willing to use Welsh. As warned by Fishman (1991, 2001), the language of education, Government services and national media has been controlled without ensuring speaker accessibility.

Having provided an investigation into male attitudes in the anglo-Welsh context, I will now provide a literature review in description and discussion of the fundamental differences between males and females. Here, I draw-on biological factors which underpin those differences before moving forward with a discussion of gender and language use at the societal level with particular attention to the gender gap in education.

Notes

1.   Community programme for 16- to 18-year-olds training voluntary, leadership, business and entrepreneurial skills. Notably lacks Welsh-speaking staff.

2.   Informants refer to Maes B, a Welsh language pop music festival held annually in Wales during the National Eisteddfod week.

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our gratitude to the head of sixth form of the target school for her compliance and flexibility, and to the moderator, SD, for his contribution and commitment throughout data collection. Our special thanks to the sixth-form cohort for providing such lively, engaging and invaluable discussions.

Chapter 5: Welsh-language prestige in adolescents:

attitudes, gender and prestige

5.1   Language and gender

     5.1.1   Underlying biology

     5.1.2   Gender and language use

     5.1.3   The 'gender gap' in education

5.2   Language, gender and prestige

     5.2.1   Gender in sociolinguistics

5.3   Conclusive remarks

In the previous chapter, the study provided a view of the current situation in Wales from the perspective of L2 male adolescents. Moving forward from this, it is the contention of this thesis that gender interplays with language attitudes in the current situation; as such, issues pertaining to the study of language attitudes with a particular focus on language and gender as a whole as discussed. Section 5.1.1, details the fundamental role of underlying biological factors on surface-level societal realisations of gender before discussing the interplay between gender and language use at the societal level (Section 5.1.2). Section 5.1.3 offers and overview of the gender gap in education. Following this, Section 5.2 moves forward to explore the relationship between language, gender and prestige. Throughout Section 5.2.1, I provide a novel contribution through bringing together the overview of gender in sociolinguistic theory with specific reference to the Welsh context. Following this, Section 5.3 motivates the second study of this thesis which follows in Chapter 6.

5.1 Language and gender

This section deals with the relationship between biological sex, speaker gender and language attitudes; foundational theoretical orientations to the field are evaluated before applying this knowledge to the minority language context and ascertaining the best practice approaches in eliciting attitudes with respect to gender. The focus on participant gender is particularly salient in the study of language attitudes, as participant gender has been previously demonstrated to influence upon language attitudes and language choices (Logan and Johnston, 2009; MacIntyre, Baker, Clément and Donovan, 2002; Mulac and Rudd, 1977). Before exploring the sociolinguistic implications, the discussion will focus on sex, gender and the theoretical stance with which the present study is aligned.

The literature on sex and gender differences focus largely on parental, societal, biological and – to a lesser extent – peer influential factors (Rose and Rudolph, 2006). 'Sex' refers to the bio-chemical distinctions between males and females while 'gender' refers to the different social-cultural expectations of men and women, of boys and girls according to their biological sex, and their gender identity (Archer and Lloyd, 2002). While sex and gender can be defined on separate grounds, they are overlapping, interdependent concepts (Lips, 2008) as the cultural/environment realization of gender is often interactive with underlying biology (Hyde, 1994; Unger & Crawford, 1993). Although the scope of sociological and sociolinguistic research emphasizes the importance of social constraints upon language (i.e. Coates, 2015; Gal, 1995; Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2008), this chapter provides that societal gender and gender-based language trends are underpinned by

biological sex. This orientation enables a more holistic approach in understanding the sociolinguistic issues we currently face in the minority language context. At present, there are no published studies underpinning gender-based language trends to biological sex within the Welsh-English bilingual context, thus I provide a novel approach to this issue within the field. I provide that, by understanding and allowing for the interplay between biological sex and societal gender, we may understand linguistic behaviour as an output governed not just by internal (psychological) and external (sociological) levels (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) but also by an underlying (physiological) factors.

5.1.1 Underlying biology

Levels of the primary male sex hormone testosterone are on average 7-8 times greater in males than females during prenatal development (Torjesen and Sandnes, 2004). Peak production is 20 times greater in males than in females (Southren, Tochimoto, Carmody and Isurugi, 1965); the testes (and to a far lesser extent, the ovaries and adrenal glands) secrete testosterone, which is essential for male physiological development (for discussion on the role of androgens in women's health, see Sowers, Beebe, McConnell, Randolph and Jannausch, 2001). The human brain itself is an important sex organ and the foundation of gender itself (Newman, 2002). The presence of testosterone is significantly correlated with stereotypically 'male' gendered behavioural output (i.e. verbal and physical aggression, anger, competitive behaviour, dominance, attraction to violent stimuli) (Archer, 2006; Batrinos, 2012; Ellis and Hoskin, 2015; Hoskin and Ellis, 2015;

Weierstall, Moran, Giebel and Elbert, 2014) which is effectuated by activating

subcortical areas of the brain. While the brain function and neurochemistry of healthy

men and women are similar in many ways (Cosgrove et al. 2007), differences do

exist. Our chemical make-up dictates our sex and much of our associative

behaviour; in support of this, research demonstrates that, when synthetically

increasing levels of testosterone in prenatal developing female primates, those

female primates demonstrate significantly more aggressive and risky behaviour and

play than the control female primates who were not exposed to testosterone

(Quadango et al., 1977). In a seminal study by Young (1966), the manipulation of

levels of sex hormones received in early development irreversibly changed the

behaviour of male and female rats. By giving male sex hormones to females and

female sex hormones to males, females demonstrated the behavioural outputs

expected in males (i.e. aggression, sexual behaviour, exploratory behaviour and

play). Furthering this point, McGinnis, Lumia, Breuer and Possidente (2002)

demonstrate that, when given anabolic steroids which increase testosterone

production, rats were more physically aggressive to provocation than those lacking

steroid intervention. Their study demonstrated that heightened testosterone levels

link to physical aggression because of 'threat sensitivity' (McGinnis et al., 2002).

While the experiments conducted on animals are both unethical and difficult to

extrapolate for humans – particularly in the complex sociocultural landscape – the

studies clearly and consistently demonstrate that biological hormones influence

externalised behavioural outputs in [animal] community groups. Moving towards

human subjects, Hines (1982) suggests that animal studies are valuable and

generalisable to human situations; Hines demonstrates that female babies born to

mothers who had received a male hormone treatment during pregnancy [to prevent

miscarriage] are more aggressive than non-exposed control-females. Hines (1982) concludes that the heightened aggression in test-females links to excessive testosterone exposure in-utero. Correlational studies have shown that women with higher levels of testosterone engage in greater levels of sexual activity (James and Hargrove, 1997). More recently, high pre-natal and adult levels of testosterone have been found to increase aggression among male football players (i.e. during time of competition) (Perciavalle, Corrado, Petralia, Gurrisi, Massimino and Coco, 2013). We can conclude that differences in hormone profiling (i.e. higher and comparatively lower levels of testosterone) influence differences in behavioural output. Money and Ehrhardt (1972) provide discussion on gender-stereotyping behavioural output (see below). Indeed, as noted by Oakley (2015), biological factors are often the common response in explaining gendered difference in crime and violence, thus male hormones are often generalized as the driving force behind much violent criminal behaviour a *posteriori.*

In addition to hormonal profiling, some behaviours are genetic and determined by chromosones (Koopman et al., 1991 – mice genetically female, developed into male with implantation of SRY gene). Males with Klinefelter's syndrome, for instance, have the atypical chromisonal makeup 'XXY' rather than the usual 'XY' for males and 'XX' for females. In addition to physical indicators of this abnormal chromone, 'XXY' males typically demonstrate calm, passive and co-operative temperaments as influenced by the presence of the 'XX' female structure (Arnold, 2004). This further suggests that certain behaviours (i.e. aggression) have base-line biological – rather than environmental – foundations. The biosocial approach to gender as pioneered by Money and Ehrhardt (1972) propounds the interactionist approach i.e. where 'nature

and nurture' interact in gender development. Money and Ehrhardt (1972) theorise that once a biological male or female is born, postnatal socio-cultural factors such as differential treatment for gender then interact with existing biological sex to co-create the gendered output. This theory assumes that the biological male raised socially as female will develop a female gender identity, despite being biologically male. Supporting this, Rubin et al. (1974) interviewed thirty parents and asked them to describe their babies using adjective pairs. While the babies demonstrated no measurable differences in their size, female babies were consistently regarded as less strong, less coordinated and more passive than male counterparts. Rubin et al. (1974) reason these results as parents' socio-cultural expectations of gender as being applied to the biological sex of their children (e.g. societal expectation than boys are stronger than girls, despite no supporting physical evidence at the time of testing). It is then the underlying hormonal profile of males which influences certain behavioural output i.e. higher levels of testosterone correlated with competitive behaviour, dominance and orientation to physical aggression (Archer, 2006; Batrinos, 2012; Ellis and Hoskin, 2015; Hoskin and Ellis, 2015; Weierstall, Moran, Giebel and Elbert, 2014). This biological male behavioural output then provides a generalizable stereotype i.e. 'males are more competitive than females'. This in-turn generates a societal expectation that boys will indeed act in a 'boisterous' manner, and that females exhibiting boisterous behaviour are connoted with male characteristics. This expectation posed by stereotyped gender identity then strongly influences the behavioural output which is exhibited by boys and girls (Clark and Burke, 2012; Lloyd, 2001). Furthermore, externalised factors such as society's expectations of gender roles, reportedly influence lower levels of attainment among boys (Clark and Burke, 2012), as the social expectation is that girls achieve higher

academically than boys, thus reinstating the perceived academic limitations of boys.

Further than society's expectation, biological differences do indeed persist between males and females, particularly noteworthy for language. For instance, in terms of biological differences at the level of linguistic processing, the cognitive differences between boys and girls are evident particularly with reference to childhood dyslexia where boys are seen to have a spatial advantage and girls seen to have a verbal advantage (Snowling, 1998). MRI scans have provided clear evidence for a sex difference in the organisation of the brain for language; Shaywitz, Shaywitz, Pugh, Constable, Skudlarski et al. (1995) found that, during phonological tasks, activation in the biological male brain is lateralised to the left interior frontal gyrus regions (i.e. language centres); the pattern of activation is different in the biological female brain, which engages more 'diffuse neural systems' (Shaywitz et al. 1995) involving both left (language) and right (non-verbal and spatial) inferior frontal gyrus in language tasks. Thus, in sites uniquely serving phonological processing, the biological female brain devotes greater right hemispheric resources to language tasks (Shaywitz et al., 1995; Serratrice, 2017). Language-based gender differences are not a culture-bound phenomenon; a large-scale language study conducted by Eriksson et al. (2011) across 10 non-English speaking language communities in Europe found consistent gender differences among all speaker groups, despite extensive variation in language skills between groups. Their results demonstrated that girls advance more rapidly than boys in early communicative gestures, productive vocabulary and word combination. The gender divide was shown to increase with age.In a bio-chemical sense, this lateralisation of function in males is influenced by testosterone (Witelson, 1991; Grimshaw, Bryden and Finegan, 1995).

Inclusive of this, females with high levels of testosterone have been shown to perform better on non-verbal and spatial tasks than females with lower levels of testosterone (Kimura, 1999a). It is evident that bio-chemical differences between males and females differentiate both for language processing, and also for behavioural output- and while behavioural output may at times be suppressed or influenced by social norms and familial situations, the underlying effect of testosterone is continually evident among males (Nguyen, McCracken, Albaugh, Botteron, Hudziak and Ducharme, 2016). The evidence suggests then that the differing biochemical make-up of males and females impacts upon the behavioural output of males and females.

While it is crucial to understand the link between biochemical sex and societal gendered output (i.e. increased levels of testosterone leading to increased competitive behaviour; competitive behaviour viewed socially as 'male' behaviour), some believe there to be no division between biological sex and societal gender (McGuinness and Pribam, as cited in Sperling, 1997). To an extent, the bio-chemical distinction between males and females predicates a degree of measurable distance between the way in which males and females behave, particularly with respect to language and competitive behaviour (Perciavalle et al., 2013). Perhaps the useful extraction from the biosocial stance is the view that our underpinning endocrinology provides the foundation from which behaviour emerges, providing the generalizable binary stereotype utilised at the socio-linguistic surface level. An individual's biological sex shapes the way in which they are expected to behave by society; Black (2007) notes that teachers treat boys and girls differently in the classroom, but that underpinning behavioural patterns drive these differences. Or perhaps boys and

girls become aware of how they should and should not behave in accordance to pre-existing gender stereotypes (Meece and Courtney, 1992; Myhill and Jones, 2006; Pajares, 2002; Reay, 2001). Whether those behavioural patterns are biological, cultural or influenced by both biology and cultural context remains a large matter of academic debate; we are not entirely bound by our biology, and the biosocial approach of McGuinness and Pribam's (1979) essay relies entirely upon the notion of a heterosexual 'man' and 'women' for validation.

Variability within gender has been explored by Eckert and McConnell-Ginnet (1992:470) who recognise the variability within females; females may outwardly express their identity on a gender continuum ranging from "tomboys and goodie-goodies" to "body-builders and fashion-models", demonstrating the fluidity with which individuals are afforded to physically and linguistically express their gender identity (for discussion of sex, language and sexuality, see McElhinny, 2003; Cameron and Kulick, 2003). However, for males who do not display stereotypically 'masculine' traits, repercussions of bullying and homophobia are common (Lloyd, 2011). The internal hormone profiling and chromosomal make-up of an individual's biological sex in turn generates expectations of externalized societal gender norms and thus gender cannot be wholly independent of biological sex. With an evident, consistent and enduring biological and linguistic differentiation between males and females, I must state that the denigration of binary biological sex (i.e. Nicholson, 1994) serves to obstruct the distinct behavioural patterns written into our DNA, hormonal profile and surface-level culture which – if accepted – could provide huge potential in the effort to revitalize and maintain minority languages. At present, cases of advanced revitalization reside primarily in the education domain. As I will discuss in Section

5.1.3, the education domain is heavily connoted with femininity (e.g. Heyder and Kessels, 2013). If revitalisation programmes took stock of fundamental biological and societal differences between boys and girls, maintenance efforts could be more targeted to distinct speaker communities. Typically developing males and females behave differently and process language differently at an underlying biological level. A society which treats male and female learners and speakers of minority languages as the same is one which limits the potential for speakers to engage with, use and ultimately revitalize the minority language. If males and females are recognised to some degree as distinct in terms of their physiological, psychological and linguistic faculties – and in terms of society's expectations of their associated gender – such distinctions can inform educational policy development for the benefit, rather than detriment, of minority language maintenance. As highlighted in Chapter 4, an awareness of gender differentiation is needed if young male speakers are to be engaged, motivated and productive speakers of Welsh. With this in mind, I turn to sociolinguistic findings which support a surface-level realisation of gendered differences; in Section 5.1.3, I further discuss the gender gap in education.

5.1.2 Gender and language use

As we will discuss throughout this section, female-male speech differs both in speaker development and in how speakers use language socially and in peer-to-peer interactions. Traditionally, research has shown female and male speech to differ for use, content, topic and form (e.g. Haas, 1979). Gender differences in language can be attributed to both cultural differentiation (i.e. dominance and status differences) and biologically-based 'essentialist' explanations. As Gleason and Ely

note, biology plays a direct explanatory role in 'a few select domains of language' (2002:134), although note this itself contributes indirectly by influencing behaviours that are reflected in language. As posited by Eckert (2003), gender does not unfold naturally from biology – instead, biology imposes restraints from which interactions with culture then transpire. While biological evidence demonstrates the differing capacities for language and behaviour between males and females (Section 4.2), the interrelation between speakers' linguistic and academic experiences and language instruction both in the social context and at the formal institutionalised level holds complex and reciprocal connections (McGroarty, 1996). Thus – as discussed in Section 5.1 – biology directly drives developmental differences and indirectly influences societal and cultural differences. Furthermore, language-based gender differences are not simply an English-speaking phenomenon. A large-scale study conducted by Eriksson et al. (2011) across 10 non-English speaking language communities in Europe found consistent gender differences among all speaker groups, despite extensive variation in language skills between groups. Their results demonstrated that girls advance more rapidly than boys in early communicative gestures, productive vocabulary and word combination. The gender divide was shown to increase with age.

As Haas (1979) outlines, males are stereotypically more directive, using non-standard forms and discussing topics such as objects, physical movement and destructive action. Contrastively, females are shown to be more expression, polite and supportive, discussing topics such as home and family and tending to evaluate and interpret more. This is further described by Gleason and Ely (2002) who detail a number of gender-specific nuances in peer-to-peer interactions. For example, boys

are shown to brag and heckle, to be more insulting and jovial, and to use language in a less modulated and more controlling way than girls. Contrastively, girls are described as being more collaborative in their language use and acknowledging fellow interlocutors' contributions. This is observable from the earliest peer-to-peer socialisation where play often differs for girls and boys (e.g. Gallas, 1997; Gurian and Stevens, 2007; Gurian, 2010). Lever (1978) found several differences between school-aged children. For instance, boys played more competitive, rule-orientated group games than their female counterparts, whereas girls interacted in smaller groups, shared conversations and spent more time communicating with their friends. Butcher (1999) furthers this, finding that boys were more competitive in their play whereas girls were more conversational in their peer-to-peer interactions. Young girls as young as four years old have been shown to produce more speech than boys in all communication patterns (Brownell and Smith, 1973). Specifically, groups of girls (aged 3-4 and 4-5 years old) have been found to enjoy balanced dyadic interaction more than boys, while boys tend to show greater enjoyment in larger group interaction where competitive leadership roles can be established (Benenson, 1993). Interestingly, Sachs (1987) observed such gender-based differences nuanced for specific play roles in preschool children (2-5 years old). For instance, boys immediately chose for lead roles 79% of the time (e.g. role of 'doctor' in doctor-patient roleplay). This is consistent with findings which show boys tend to prefer high-status play-roles (e.g. Andersen, 1977). Whereas girls only wanted to be the lead role (e.g. doctor) 33% of the time, often instead wishing to play the role of mother, baby or patient. In 80% of cases, girls negotiated the roles whereas boys were direct and competitive. Here, female child language reflects awareness of the needs of others during peer-to-peer interactions.

The same style pattern is seen in adults, suggesting that this is not simply linguistic development and suggestive instead of external input factors (i.e. mirroring modelled behaviour, social norms). In many societies around the world, females and males are predominantly raised and educated together, sharing play, activity and work spaces in 'aggregated classes' (Crawford, 1995:87-88) (for an investigation into same-sex versus mixed-sex school classes, see Signorella, Frieze and Hershey, 1996). Both sexes receive supervision, care and teaching predominantly by women in the early years (i.e. infancy to junior level) with male teachers and authority figures often becoming more visible as children become older (Crawford, 1995). Despite contemporary developments in the economic leverage of gender equality in Western society, female caregivers tend to be the primary and major language transmitters of language to young children (Labov, 1994). In terms of how language role-models impact on young speakers, it must be noted that male and female communication displays well-documented differences between 5 and 15 years of age, particularly in terms of same-sex play, sex-segregation and divergence (Maltz and Borker, 1982). Crawford (1995) suggests that the differing social contexts in which girls and boys acquire the meanings and goals of conversational interaction leads to differentiate the way in which girls and boys use language. For instance, Maltz and Borker (1982) argue that – through the social context – girls play in small groups or pairs, differentiating by relative closeness, rather than status. Many girls' games do not have 'winners' and 'losers' and the girls are encouraged to be humble; girls thus learn to use language to (i) create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality, (ii) criticise others indirectly and acceptably, (iii) interpret accurately and sensitively the speech of other girls. Establishing this dimension, Robin Lakoff (1973;

1975) proposed that women employ the following in conversation: (i) words relating to interests, (ii) inflating 'empty' adjectives (e.g. 'precious', 'lovely'), (iii) tag questions, (iv) hedges, (v) intensifiers, (vi) hypercorrect grammar, (vii) over-politeness and (viii) inquisition. These devices are deployed to create and maintain intimate connections by demonstrating awareness of others (Holmes, 1993; Lakoff, 1990; Lakoff and Bucholtz, 2004; Maltz and Borker, 1982; Tannen, 1990).

In contrast, Maltz and Borker (1982) posit that boys tend to play in hierarchical groups wherein status is negotiated via commands, story-telling or boasting; their games have 'winners' and 'losers', with boys learning to use language for (i) asserting a position of dominance, (ii) attracting and maintaining an audience, (iii) asserting oneself in competition to an interlocutor (e.g. Sheldon, 1990; Goodwin, 1990). As with this dichotomy, Tannen (1990) claims that women use language to connect to others while men use language for asserting independence and status. At this stage, we may reflect upon how the social phenomenon of male speaker competitiveness and dominance (e.g. interrupting, talking-over) shows likeness to the testosterone-driven behavioural output of male asserted dominant position as discussed above (Archer, 2006; Ellis and Hoskin, 2015; Hoskin and Ellis, 2015). Perciavalle et al. (2013) provide evidence that levels of testosterone predict competitive behaviour in males, although the converse cannot be said: namely that not all competitive behaviour in males is driven by testosterone, and there are a multitude of sociocultural factors to take into consideration (Lloyd, 2011). As discussed by Coates (2003:191), the male expression of masculinity – fooling around, 'having a laugh', trying to be cool and avoiding looking like a 'nerd' are all crucial aspects of masculine behaviour. Coates further elaborates on the educational distinction, where boys are active and girls are passive in the classroom.It is crucial

to note that Barbu et al., (2011) found that these sex differences – while prevailing – are not stable across young age groups. Where four age groups of children (2 to 6 year olds) were observed during outdoor free-play, girls were shown to engage in social and structured forms of play earlier than boys across all categories (associative play at 3-4 years, cooperative play at 4-5 years, peer-to-peer social interactions at 5-6 years) whereas boys are shown to 'catch-up' in social play patterns. This demonstrates evidence in favour of a developmental gap between boys and girls (Barbu et al., 2011).

As this section has discussed, sociolinguistic theory asserts that the differing contexts in which girls and boys acquire conversational goals influences the differentiated speech styles between girls and boys (i.e. Crawford, 1995). As with this dichotomy, females use language to empathise and connect with others while males employ language for hierarchical assertion of dominance (Maltz and Borker, 1982; Tannen, 1990). As female caregivers tend to be the primary language transmitter to children throughout primary education (Crawford, 1995), young boys receive input predominantly from female speakers. It is not until later in secondary education – a time during which children transition into adolescence – that there is parity between male and female language models (Labov, 1994). While the female speech style is viewed as co-operative, empathic and nurturing, the male 'active' state is typified by competitive speech styles and challenging the local environment (Coates,2003:191). This expression of masculinity is a crucial aspect of male behaviour (ibid). The differentiated classroom and play behaviour of girls and boys extends into academic achievement, where a gender gap persists, as we will discuss

below (Section 5.1.3).

5.1.3 The 'gender gap' in education

A well-documented gender-gap persists between the educational achievement of boys and girls in Western schools (Legewie and DiPrete, 2012), as does the institution of the 'binary model' of gender (Oakley, 2015:12). There is a tendency for boys' academic achievement levels to lag behind that of girls, particularly marked for language and literacy (Kimura, 1999a; 1999b). Interesting research which has developed from this notion of integrated biological and gender distinction is the Boys' Reading Commission compiled by the National Literacy Trust (Clark and Burke, 2012). The report acknowledges the cultural and biological differences between male and female engagement with literacy, and proposes a number of valuable measures aimed at effectively engaging boys with reading. The study found that girls achieve higher levels than boys in all areas of learning; this divide is stark from age five, and begins to increase from age seven (Key Stage 1) onwards. The gap between boys and girls receiving GCSE grades is at its widest reported level (Reading Comission). Girls outperform boys at every age across a variety of subjects (Reading Comission). However, the gap is widest in language and literacy. As Connolly (2004) demonstrates, a gender gap persists even in like-for-like social class groupings, suggesting that gender may be one of the most influential factors in literacy and language underachievement in boys. This understanding demonstrates that the gender gap is an enduring issue with gender, rather than socio-cultural constraints. It is the interplay between the school context and gender which has a negative impact on boys' achievements. By recognising these differences in male-female literary performance (Clark and Burke, 2012), novel

solutions-based approaches can be provided e.g. in targeting and improving boys' literacy. This is further demonstrated in that the gender gap has been shown to be an international issue; in countries where women and men are afforded equal rights and access to education, women consistently excel against men (UNESCO Institute for Statistics). Some observe this as a reference to the female tendency to meet the prescriptively defined 'correctness' set-out by society (Kimura, 1999a). Just as their natural tendency to differentiate themselves in their social context at an early age arguably generates linguistic differences (Crawford, 1995) I then add that placing boys and girls into the same academic categories and attainment levels for subjects such as language and literacy leads to avoidable issues. Such an 'avoidable issue' is that of boy's academic 'lag' behind girls; a matter of perception and a matter of where the goal posts lie (Kimura, 1999a; 1999b). For instance, Lovegrove (2017) considers the developmental delay in Summer-born boys in UK classrooms i.e. that they are 11 months behind autumn-born girls, and thus at a disadvantage in terms of academic achievement levels when placed into the same academic category. Lovegrove (2017) considers the principals of free play in enhancing learning opportunities for children in outdoor environments, particularly boys who are seen to 'lag behind' in the academic context. The drivers behind this gender difference, as explored in Section 5.1.1 and Section 5.1.2 present a secondary corollary: namely that boys lag behind girls in the academic context. I explore the reported male 'attainment lag' in Chapter 8 where I discuss male disengagement with the academic context.

At the point of ending compulsory education, male adolescents tend to enter the labour market post-16 whereas females tend to remain in Higher Education (Careers Wales, 2013). There is an evident link between female engagement – and

male disengagement – with contemporary Western education. This disengagement, particularly with Welsh in Wales, has been recently explored by Pearce (2015). Her study of 846 pupils in Wales provided results indicative of binary gender-related trends; of the participants who self-reported as fluent speakers, 57.4% were female while 42.6% were male. Of the non-fluent speakers, 50.8% were female while 49.2% were male, which itself doesn't appear a huge discrepancy. However, in terms of those with no ability in Welsh, 35.4% were female while 64.6% were male. From this self-reports, we can already see stark gender divides in terms of male disengagement, with greater female reporting Welsh language skills than males. Furthermore, when understanding these figures in light of female speakers tending to under-report language skills and male speakers over-reporting language skills, it is possible that these figures are distanced further. This consistent gender divide is further evident in education when considering uptake of modern foreign languages (MFL) in schools. Consistently significantly higher percentages of female pupils' uptake MFL than male pupils in Wales (Tinsley and Board, 2016). The gender bias increases with age, with Tinsley and Board stating that the gap becomes more marked at A level than GCSE with 67% of MFL entries represented by female applicants (Tinsley and Board, 2016:32). Interestingly, Spanish was found to be the most gender-marked language (76% female entries), followed by French (72% female entries). The highest entry level for males was found for German (38% male entries), demonstrating that attitudes towards language and linguistic stereotyping provides an important driver in predicting language-uptake. For instance, Williams, Burden and Lanvens (2002) found gender-differentiated value judgements towards modern foreign languages directly influencing L2 uptake among school pupils. The study demonstrates a higher motivation to learn German among males, and higher

motivation to learn French among females. Clear explanations were provided by respondents i.e. French is considered feminine, German is deemed utilitarian. Understanding the attitudes young people hold towards a particular language variety can thus enable us to understand their willingness or likelihood to engage with that medium.

In-line with Tinsley and Board's (2016) findings of male disengagement, Pearce (2015) demonstrates a number of gender distinctions through her use of surveys. For instance, in terms of believing that Welsh should remain a living language, 48.0% of females positively agreed, contrasted with 43.0% of males – a 5% difference. When asked to what degree they positively regard Welsh, 32.4% of females answered that they 'liked Welsh a lot', contrasted with 23.5% of males – an 8.9% difference. When asked whether it is 'important to *learn* Welsh', 35.3% of females agreed, compared with 26.0% of males – a 9.3% difference between the genders. Further to this, when asked whether it is 'important to *speak* Welsh', 33.3% of females felt it was very important to speak Welsh, compared to 22.5% of males – a 10.8% difference. For all variables, Pearce (2015) found female pupils more positively orientated towards Welsh than male pupils. Interestingly, the lower levels of difference (5% – 8.9%) can be seen in the objective third-person statements, whereas the greater discrepancy (9.3% – 10.8%) can be found when evaluating from the first-person perspective of learning and speaking Welsh. Thus, the data suggests that there is greater gender divide at the level of personal engagement. The findings of Pearce's (2015) study appear to provide support for findings elsewhere in Wales – that female speakers are consistently more active users of Welsh than male speakers (Hodges, 2009; Morris, 2010; Thomas and Roberts, 2011).

Again, the Reading Comissions report that girls are more engaged [with literacy] that boys, thus female motivation is higher to achieve in the academic context across language and literacy. Reasoning behind this, the National Literacy Trust reports that teaching practitioners feel that the lack of male staff in primary schools equates to a lack of positive role modelling for pupil behaviour and attitudes towards reading. The issue of gender identity and how it impacts upon language attitudes could then be transposed into the Welsh context. While these observations indicate a relationship between Welsh use and speaker gender, Section 5.2 advances discussion further whereby I tentatively suggest that males and females display marked differences in their engagement with Welsh due to the categorisation of Welsh as a high, overtly prestigious language, and English as a low, covertly prestigious language. This tallies with the National Literary Trust findings and the sociolinguistic literature whereby females converge towards the overtly prestigious form (i.e. towards the educational expectation) and males diverge into nonstandard (i.e. away from educational standards). From this, I will now discuss the interplay between language and gender, and prestige.

5.2 Language, Gender and Prestige

Prestige refers to the respect or admiration accorded to someone or something on the basis of perception of it having certain qualities or merits. In sociolinguistics, prestige is found along a continuum – high prestige to low prestige – each end of which indicates the level of regard connoted with a certain language variety, relative to other varieties within a speech community. High prestige varieties are largely considered by society as the standard, correct and superior form of a

language, promoted by governance and language planning authorities as the typically best form. Our understanding of the high-low dichotomy in language prestige can aid our understanding of language choice and variation between speakers of a common linguistic variety (Eckert and Rickford, 2002); high prestige forms are largely considered synonymous with standard varieties (Niedzielski and Preston, 2003) and, pointedly, language prestige can also differentiate a language from a dialect, as in the case of *Ausbau* languages (see Haugen, 1966; Hymes, 1971; Kloss, 1967). As expressed by G. Williams 'The essence of standardization lies in the relationship between the status of any particular form as a reflection of the speakers of that form and its prestige or value for social mobility. Thus any debate about language purity is inevitably a debate about class' (1987: 96).

The prestige afforded to a language is symbolically significant, and may provide political, societal or cultural agency. Lippi-Green (1994) identified the societal driven notion which equates standard language with high social order and non-standard languages with low, sub-standard social communities; this is to say, there is a shared perception in society that high prestige forms accord to high-value speakers, and low-prestige forms result in low-quality people. The level of prestige afforded to the users of a particular variety then becomes transferred to that linguistic variety (see Bauer, 1998 on Latin), so it is that high-prestige varieties are congruent with highly regarded groups, whereas the variety used among 'sub-standard' speaker communities is perceived as having the stigma of low prestige (Coates, 2004); we are then able to see how patently language attitudes and language prestige are intrinsically linked. Yet, although we consider language prestige as the level of regard accorded to a linguistic variety – and by default, its speakers – high

prestige does necessitate that speakers hold positive attitudes towards the high variety; instead, attitudes and assertions of prestige are dependent upon speaker, listener, situation and context – simply, a variety garnering prestige in context X may not garner equivalent prestige in context Y (Trudgill, 1992).

Factors influencing prestige afforded to a variety traditionally include literary heritage and language modernisation to name a few (see Kloss, 1966); this dimension of prestige is overt, in that it is visibly supported and maintained at the institutional surface level, connoted with a perceived exalted character. Overt prestige persists as a surface level awareness, whereas covert prestige refers to a level of regard which runs below the level of societal consciousness (Preston, 2002). The prevalence and crucial role of covert prestige is evident in sociolinguistic enquiry which demonstrates the relatively high value placed on non-standard forms of language (Labov, 2006). To reiterate, the manner of prestige afforded to societally-determined 'high' varieties is overt while the manner of prestige afforded to societally-determined 'low' varieties is covert. Notable early sociolinguistic work on prestige carried out by Gumperz (1958) studied differential speech patterns used by different castes in India; phonological and lexical differences of castes were indicative of individual subculture, and speech pattern was heavily influenced by informal social contact between speakers of a caste. Interestingly, Gumperz found that high prestige forms continued to diverge from low prestige forms, and that while high prestige forms were regarded as overtly prestigious, lower prestige forms garnered covert prestige by lower caste speakers.

The concept of Covert prestige arose in an attempt to explain the persistence of the vernacular among working-class male speakers. We now know the use of the

covertly prestigious stigmatised vernacular form in retaliation to the overtly prestigious form (i.e. Standard English) (e.g. Eisikovits, 1991; 1998). Variation in language use can be a result of social influences; when we perceive language interrelated with culture, we may then understand the way language is used by speakers to indicate social class, which in turn is intrinsically entwined with language attitudes. William Labov explored such a relationship in his seminal 1966 study on dialect and social stratification in New York City. Labov studied phonological variable use among staff from department stores clearly socioeconomically differentiated for upper middle-class (high), middle-class (middle) and working-class (low). By asking questions to elicit a verbal response from employees from the three different department stores, Labov was able to elicit lexical items containing the studied accent feature – i.e. post-vocalic /r/. Labov demonstrated that the post-vocalic /r/ was stratified by class among employees in New York City. Higher socioeconomic groups used the phonological variable most often, that middle socioeconomic groups had a moderate use, and that the lowest socioeconomic group of respondents has negligible use. Labov's findings demonstrate that frequency of use of the variable /r/ depended on speaker membership to distinct socioeconomic groups i.e. speakers with higher socioeconomic status employed the phonological variable more frequently in their speech than individuals of a lower socioeconomic class. Labov's findings were then viewed in relation to the perceived prestige of each dialect i.e. the presence of the phonological variable garnered most prestigious ratings. Thus, the language variety used by a speaker can be determined by their attitude towards that variety, their attitude which is influenced by the high or low status of that language variety. In the minority language arena, less positive attitudes towards the linguistic minority are often seen with increases of social status (Gorter and Ytsma, 1988;

Gorter, 2006). Attitude studies suggest that speakers are placed along an accent prestige continuum, ranging from the Standard form as most overtly prestigious and highly rated, to regional accent as moderately rated, and finally industrial town speakers gaining the lowest prestige ratings (Giles, 1970). However, the lower rated varieties triumph on measures of integrity and social attractiveness. Conversely, Standard forms receive more positive ratings for intelligence measures rather than interpersonal aspects (Bourhis and Giles, 1976). A standard accent may therefore be disadvantageous among speaker groups where non-standard speech styles serve a symbolic marker of in-group solidarity (see Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel, 1973). The use of prestige forms is marked for gender also, where the female use of the prestige form demonstrates social order (Fasold, 1990).

5.2.1 Gender in sociolinguistics

The general consensus demonstrates by over half a century of sociolinguistic research confirms that female speakers are often more conservative, forgiving and positive than their male counterparts when making value judgements about specific language varieties (Hundt, 1992:60). Aggregate findings – known as Gender and Prestige Preference Theory – demonstrates that female speakers consistently display favourable attitudes towards prestige forms, converge towards the prestige form and are more conscious of and sensitive towards overtly prestigious forms and patterns than men, particularly in formal contexts (Gordon, 1997; Newbrook, 1982; Wang and Ladegaard, 2008). The reasons for this gender discrepancy have been explored throughout the literature as discussed below; interestingly, Gordon (1997) relates the female tendency towards the overtly prestigious variety with sexual

activity and social class, while others have similar and contrastive theories. Although the exact reasons behind this linguistic phenomenon are presumably a complex interplay between society, culture and human-nature, there are nonetheless cross-cultural universals. Non-Western research demonstrates comparable instances of female favorability towards the overt highly prestige variety (for an exploration of Arabic societies, see Abu-Haidar, 1989). Females hold more positive attitudes towards the H(igh) language due to the association of that variety with opportunity for social advancement (Eckert, 1989, 1990, 1998; Milroy & Milroy,1998:55) thus we can expect the prestige form of a particular linguistic variety to garner most positive regard from female speakers.

In support of the widely heralded theory of linguistic gender division, research in Ukraine (Bilaniuk, 2003) showed that women held more positive attitudes towards the H(igh) language, namely English, due to the association of English with opportunity for social advancement. Similarly, female secondary school students in Guangzhou, China (Wang & Ladegaard, 2008) showed preferential attitude to the use of the prestigious variety Putonghua (H) over Cantonese (L). Female speakers display preference for the overtly prestigious H(igh) variety which, behaviourally, has been attributed to the seeking of high-status community membership (Trudgill, 1974; Eckert, 1989, 1990, 1998; Bilaniuk, 2003). Gender trends of this degree are evident in the minority language context in Loureiro-Rodriguez et al. (2012) where female speakers retain more positive attitudes towards standard varieties, utilising standard forms more often. This device signals sociolinguistic status (Milroy, 1987; Trudgill, 1972). Conversely and in contrast with female speakers, male speakers are particularly adverse to adopting overtly prestigious formal varieties and consistently demonstrate favourable attitudes towards vernacular varieties instead (Labov, 1972;

Milroy & Milroy,1998:55). As in Labov's (1972) study of adolescent African American speech community, speakers were marked as non-members by use of the superordinate speech style of standardised English. Trudgill's early work in Norwich (1972) demonstrated that male speakers reported using a less prestigious variety than that which they spoke, demonstrating the level of awareness and – as Fasold (1990) claims – that female prestige use demonstrates social order, while males demonstrate divergence from the norm. While non-standard varieties are usually considered low-prestige, such varieties so often stigmatized by the education system as being 'in-correct' or improper endure their retention of covert prestige among men – particularly working class men – for the very fact that such varieties are seen as 'improper' by the top-down authoritarian system (Leith, 1997). This can be seen reflected in the findings exemplified in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 of this thesis, where male informants demonstrate their aversion to the high variety (Welsh). Kiesling (1998) found that group members of a male college fraternity employed linguistic forms connoted with working-class behavioural traits in order to assert an identity among their group associated with a 'casual, hard-working' image. Such findings align with widely acknowledged sociolinguistic findings that male speakers generally diverge from the standard form towards the non-standard as a marker of in-group solidarity and covert prestige (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998; Labov, 2006; Luhman, 1990; Trudgill, 1972). In terms of gender differences in diglossic societies, Angle and Hesse-Biber (1981) suggest that gender prestige preference is not transposable into diglossic societies; their study found a greater volume of men speaking the prestige language than women, although such claims must be understood in context. Pointedly, many women in diglossic societies do not have access to second language education in the high-prestige variety, thus it is perhaps unsurprising that

the review posited by Angle and Hesse-Biber demonstrates a bias which appears at-odds with the extensive, grounded universal of sociolinguistic research provided by the Gender and Prestige Preference theory (Angle and Hesse-Biber, 1981). With this, I assert that the matter of gender prestige in diglossic situation is a matter of language variety choice; of course, a speaker cannot choose a variety that they do not know nor have learnt, and thus Angle and Hesse-Biber's opposition to the phenomenon of gender prestige in diglossic societies is not valid in the current context of this thesis.

The dimension of personal identity is central among children and adolescents in expression of gender; as noted by Carr and Pauwels (2006), many males experience conflict between behaviour which promotes success in the school domains, and behaviour that is viewed by peers as befitting with masculinity. It is becoming apparent that a gender divide is developing between Welsh and English among Welsh communities of practice (e.g. Hodges, 2009; Thomas and Roberts, 2011). Welsh has recently found itself on an equal footing with English in the official channels, especially with respect to education. As discussed throughout Chapter 2, the Welsh language, previously compartmentalised to the low-domains of family and community use has more recently been afforded a politically secure high-domain, particularly evident in education, governance and media. High domains such as these provide an indispensable language refuge required in counteracting the 'predominant drift of social forces' (Fishman, 1967:37) which would otherwise displace the minority (May, 2000; Kenesei, 2009). In particular, contemporary Wales presents a climate in which perceived high-prestige and economic benefits have been generated for the language through the institutional domains (Hodges, 2012).

Interestingly, formal language learning settings are widely deemed as ineffective by students and educators (Hinton, 1999; Sales and Saxe, 2004; Schiff, 1997, 1999) and it is the time outside of the classroom which promotes the relinquishing of formality, and a move towards leisure (e.g. Feuer, 2009).

As discussed in Section 5.1.2, studies into young Welsh speakers have found female informants to be markedly more active users of the language, particularly when discussing academic topics (Hodges, 2009; Morris, 2010), while Thomas and Roberts' (2011) found that in-class peer-to-peer interaction is through the medium of Welsh 91.7% for girls, contrasted with 69.4% for young boys. Here, I wish to contribute an explicit link: that the female tendency of adopting and using H prestige forms 'from above' (i.e. perpetuated by formal institutions) in the Welsh case is in line with the phenomena I described in my discussion of Gender and Prestige Preference Theory throughout Section 5.2. I contribute to this argument by linking the general literature on gender preference, with the particular context of Welsh maintenance. I assert that, by comparing male and female attitudes towards Welsh, we would be afforded insight into the perceived High status of Welsh. This would then provide explanatory power behind the male aversion towards the Welsh language as exemplified by much contemporary work i.e. males diverge from the H variety in general; Welsh is seen as H in this instance, thus males diverge from Welsh.

As Eckert pointedly states, adolescents are not simply left to develop into adults, but are put into institutions that isolate them from adults (2003:382) thus if we want to consider gender attitudes in adolescence, we need to consider how adolescent intuitions constrain or impact the construction of gender (Eckert, 2003). Adolescence is a critical site for language and gender studies – adolescence

provides a time at which identity is under continual construction, moving from family affiliations into peer social order. Adolescents are the 'major institutionalised population (Eckert, 2003) within contemporary industrial culture – thus the industrial occupation and educational climate intensifies the polarized identity or work or education, resulting in symbolic linguistic activity marked among males – as evidenced by Kiesling (1998) and Luhman (1990).

Finally, Eckert (2003) stresses that the institutionalisation of contemporary western education subjects teenagers to particularly rigorous monitoring and policing, much of which is gendered and focusses on language. In terms of the views held towards language in such highly formalized domains, standard language (H) is rated as more intelligent and more feminine than non-standard low forms (Elyan et al., 1978); so if the standard is connoted with femininity, then the (L) is more connoted with masculinity. Thus in male-play, boys would turn away from the H form due to its connotations; this is particularly marked for age. Eisikovits' (1987, 1998) studies into adolescent speech in Sydney demonstrates that among the older adolescent informants, females demonstrated increasingly conservative linguistic behaviour, while the males became increasingly non-conformist from the 13 years to 16 years category. The gendered stigma attached to the H and L forms of language are further reported by Burchfield (1981) who finds use of the standard language among non-standard speakers as connoted with homosexuality (Burchfield, 1981:7). It is the process of standardisation which influences attitudes towards language (Garrett, 2010). Again, Milroy (1992:177) notes the language ideology that links male use of prestige forms to effeminacy, which carries socio-cultural information about both gender and sexuality. Again, as forwarded by Angle and Hesse-Biber (1981),

older teenage girls modify in the direction of the standard, while older teenage boys use the non-standard as a covertly prestigious in-group marker. Essentially, the girls become more 'feminine' as they grow older while the boys become more 'masculine'. It is this process of standardization which leads to notions of 'correctness' – i.e. the standard language is more correct. Correct language usage is highly enshrined in H domains – law, education, broadcasting – which in turn perpetuates the assigned prestige. In Wales, it is this highly formalized and gendered education domain which transmits the Welsh language to adolescents in Wales. So, if the (H) prestige variety is considered more feminine, connoted with academic achievement and schoolwork, then the (L) covert prestige non-standard variety is associated with masculinity. Here, Welsh is considered feminine in part due to the access to female educators and due to the structure of the education system which rewards 'feminine' behaviour. This is echoed by Newman and Trenchs-Parera (2015) in the context of Catalan. Their review found that 'macrosocial' categories such as gender and class take on a prominent role in Catalan speakers' linguistic preferences with Catalan perceived as sounding feminine and redolent of the educated. Additionally, underlying biological factors instigate males as challenging the boundaries of the suggested 'feminized' system (Rostami, 2012). It is then conceivable that adolescent males are favouring English due to the compartmentalization of Welsh in a domain which holds educational connotations education, (e.g. rules, social mobility, femininity). I contribute to this debate by identifying colloquial English as fulfilling the role of in-group (L) informal non-standard variety for WM-educated speakers thus offering an explanation behind the reports of males favouring English in peer-to-peer interaction (i.e. Hodges, 2009; Pearce, 2015; Thomas and Roberts, 2011). Conclusively, I suggest that biological and sociocultural gender factors interplay within the H

domain, facilitating Welsh disengagement among males. This matter is explored empirically (see Chapter 6) and alternative suggestions for Welsh transmission are provided (see Chapter 8).

5.3   Conclusive remarks

This chapter has provided a full discussion of biological sex and societal gender, with reference to appropriate behavioural, attitudinal and linguistic literatures. The motivation for Section 5.1 was grounded in the inescapable relationship between biological sex and societal gender in differentiating male and female behaviour (Section 5.1.1). From this, Section 5.1.2 provided sociolinguistic and psychological discussion, continuously highlighting the differentiated output between male and female speakers in language use. Crucially, Section 5.1.3 brought together these points in the consideration of the gender gap in education – an enduring global phenomenon whereby males consistently show 'lower' scores than females in the academic arena. As was discussed, boys tally less favourably in the educational system which is feminised, rewarding feminine traits and predominantly orchestrated by female educators. Section 5.2 then provided a discussion of male and female linguistic behaviour with respect to overt and covert prestige. Further to this point, I provided discussion of the findings that females are marked users of Welsh than males, and that females converge to the highly prestigious overt form while males diverge to the covertly prestigious form. Alongside this, I discussed the nature of Welsh receiving top-down institutional highly overt support at the level of social awareness. Taking into account the coverage in Chapter 2, and the discussion posed by the present chapter, the thesis chapters which follow consider Welsh as

the superordinate variety – the use of which risks social exclusion of male speakers, akin to that demonstrated in Labov's study (1972). If Welsh is found among young bilinguals in Wales to be the high-status variety connoted with formal domain schooling and top-down institutional support, then English could conceivably fulfil the subordinate low variety. If it is indeed that English is perceived as more fitting in interpersonal communication, then we would expect to preferential attitudes towards English among male speakers. The following chapter presents a methodological approach to this, outlining research methods which have been employed in investigating attitudes towards varieties of Welsh and English among adolescents in Wales.

Chapter 6: Welsh-language prestige in adolescents

Investigating Inverted Diglossia using the matched-guise

6.1. The Matched-guise test

      6.1.1 Adaptations of the Matched Guise

6.2 Stimuli Design

      6.2.1 Guises

      6.2.2 Traits

      6.2.3 Task booklet

6.3 Pilot study

      6.3.1 Phase One

      6.3.2 Phase Two

6.4 The Main Experiment

      6.4.1. Identifying participants: Context and Procedure

      6.4.2 Experimental Design: Materials

      6.4.3 Conducting practical research

6.5 Forthcoming paper in The Journal of Applied Linguistics

      This chapter outlines the experimental design of the second study of this thesis. Research methods are described i.e. use of quantitative methods in order to collect data on the indirect language attitudes of young adolescents in Wales (Section 6.5). To begin, Section 6.1 provides a comprehensive overview of the matched-guise, describing the method with reference to seminal and pioneering literature within the sociolinguistic landscape of the past sixty years; Section 6.1.1

considers potential limitation and subsequent adaptations which overcome the pitfalls as highlighted in the literature. Section 6.2 summarises the overall design of the research, an explicit description of the method and the motivation for the study. Within this section, I discuss the materials which were developed in the experimental design. Section 6.3 provides an overview of the pilot studies which were undertaken in the early stages of project implementation – this is divided into two sections, 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 respectively. I then move forward to detail the motivation for the main experiment in Section 6.4 which comprises a definition of the speaker group within which research has been conducted and the methods used to contact the speaker group (Section 6.4.1). In Section 6.4.2, I provide detail on the refined method and materials used to investigate the core research question. I then detail the recordings which have been produced and played to participants, and the context and full procedure of conducting the experiment (Section 6.4.3). Believing they are listening to different speakers, I discuss how participants rate each guise in relation to social status and informal characteristics. I then discuss the analytical approach taken towards quantitative data from the attitude study, drawing on previous approaches in sociolinguistic research. Following this, I refer to the live data-collection process in the field, the treatment and analysis approach of this data set. Finally, I conclude by drawing together my considerations before leading on to introduce the next phase of empirical research. Below in Table 6, I present a timeline of works, with corresponding section heading, which are detailed throughout this chapter.

Table 6: Timeline presenting completed work

Section	Description of activity	Date of works

Section 6.1: Project planning	Researching and reviewing the most appropriate methodology	Nov 2013 – January 2014
Section 6.2: Experiment Design	Voice actor recruitment; recording production; task-booklet production; participant recruitment.	February – June 2014
Section 6.3: Pilot Study	Pilot study implementation; production of automated track list; production of condensed task-booklet.	August – October 2014
Section 6.4: The Main Experiment	Implementation stage; two visits to research site for data collection with 58 participants.	November 2014

6.1. The Matched-guise test

The research questions pertaining to the present study – the second of this thesis – have been addressed by implementing a quantitative technique adapted from the matched-guise technique (MGT). The MGT is a popular and well-documented method of eliciting evaluative reactions in language attitude studies (Giles et al, 1983:84). In addition to discussing the merits of the MGT, I also include brief discussion on the Verbal Guise Technique (VGT) and 'Open Guise' technique

(OGT) which overlap with aspects of the matched-guise technique while addressing perceived limitations of the method.

Investigating and assessing speakers' language attitudes is the principal concern of the present study. Within socio- and applied- linguistic research, the indirect matched-guise method is favoured as a means of investigating underlying stereotypical prejudices held towards speakers of particular language varieties. Referred to as the standard social-psychological method in studying social group linguistic variety evaluation (Jenkins, 2007), this method has been utilised in exploring the attribution of social characteristics to language, dialect or linguistic variable stimuli (see Bourhis, 1982 for a treatment of the Francophone context; Carranza, 1982 for the Hispanic context; Edwards, 1982 for the Anglo-context). As a widely used method of eliciting language attitudes, the classic version of the Matched-Guise technique was developed by Lambert and his colleagues in the 1960s (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardener and Fillenbaum, 1960; Lambert, 1967) in Canada. The study originated the investigation between the interrelation between varying speech styles and social evaluation of speakers' personality along the dimensions of 'status' and 'solidarity' (Giles and Bilings, 2005). Lambert et al. (1960) found language to be a strong influence upon participant evaluations, with more positive ratings towards English on status and solidarity traits; this was assumed to be indicative of the higher status of English in Quebec at the time of study. Most crucially, the matched-guise technique prompted the development of indirect methods of garnering language attitudes. According to Lambert et al. (1960), direct approaches were unsuitable for obtaining informants' genuine attitudes due to issues relating to social-desirability bias (Garrett et al., 2003). Instead, indirect techniques such as the matched-guise technique afforded a valid alternative route in obtaining

authentic results. In the original conception, Lambert, Hodgson and Fillenbaum (1960) instructed participants in Montreal, Quebec to assess two languages – French and English – on personal attribute scales.

The 'Classic' technique entails assembling a stimulus comprising of scripted passages read aloud by one speaker. The passages are typically of different languages, dialects or accents. The original method (Lambert et al., 1960) entailed one tape-recorded bilingual speaker reading several controlled samples of the same passage of text in French and English, before asking participants to rate those speech samples. By using speech samples matched for feature, primarily achieved by using two speech samples from one voice actor, speech-quality bias is minimised. Left to assume that all guise recordings are from different speakers, research subjects listen to the recorded guises before completing an evaluative questionnaire based on guise personality and significant social attributes (Mobärg 1989:22).

An indirect approach to eliciting language attitudes and exploring social assessments of linguistic varieties, the matched-guise technique has been identified as the most appropriate methodology in allowing the elicitation and analysis of speaker attitudes. The core principle of the technique is that the pre-prepared passage is read by one single speaker the manner of all required varieties, before respondents are asked to evaluate guises on traits of solidarity and status. The method is based on the view that similar within-group values are shared across groups, thus attitudes towards an attitude object (i.e speaker) are indicative of the stereotypes formed towards a 'group', rather than towards individual speakers themselves. The recordings provide listeners with information regarding the

speaker's group membership (Heinzmann, 2013), which in turn evokes ideas and/or stereotypes within the listener, relating to that particular speaker group (Fraser, 1973:28, 35; Preston, 2002:40). During testing, groups of respondents are required to listen to and assess same-speaker recordings; these recordings usually comprise of several controlled samples of different linguistic varieties, or 'guises' (Loureiro-Rodriguez et al., 2012). Listening participants are given no information about the guises; unaware they are evaluating the same voice actor, participants then are required to attribute value judgements to each guise under the assumption the guises are of different speakers. Favouring the 'mentalist approach' rather than 'behaviourist' (Ihemere, 2006), the technique itself falls into the category of 'indirect' methodology as participants are unaware of what they are rating (Garrett, 2010:41). To isolate linguistic profiling, same-speaker recordings are not played consecutively during the listening task. Attitudes towards varieties indicate informant attitudes towards members of the target speech community, the status importance and value attributed to that particular guise (Baker, 1992; Smith, 1973). Typically, listener assessments are made on an evaluative Likert scale. Response data from the Matched Guise is typically grouped along salient dimensions – that of solidarity (covertly prestigious) and status (overtly prestigious). Early studies (Lambert, Ainsfeld and Yeni-Komshian (1965); Lambert et al., 1966; Lambert, 1967) measured language attitudes across 15 – 18 items, grouping these items into *three* distinct categories (personal integrity, competence and social-attractiveness). Traits relating to dynamism, attractiveness and superiority are taken as representative for eliciting attitudes (Zahn and Hopper, 1985). Relying on the assumption that speech styles activate social categorisation and trait inferences (Giles and Coupland, 1991:34), the technique has been applied in adaptive studies and commercial market research.

Advantageously, the matched-guise serves to elicit *covert* listener reactions and thus may be used as a complement to direct, user-interpretive methods (i.e. questionnaires) (Lambert, 1967:94; Bierbach, 1988).

6.1.1 MGT in the present study

The Matched Guise (MGT) is particularly suited as a foundation technique to the aims of the present study. In this section I will discuss how I designed and adapted the MGT for the purpose of the present study. The technique tacitly measures and records participant reactions by 'tapping-in' to participants' preexisting unconsciously held attitudes towards language varieties; as participants are not aware of what they are being 'tested' on (Garrett, 2010:41), the method is seen as an indirect approach of gaining language attitudes. While focussing on the strength of the traditional matched-guise, I also explore criticism of the technique (with reference to Garrett et al. 2003:57-61) and provide solutions in order to ensure the present approach is as robust as possible. The adaptation circumvents the alleged disadvantaged of the method and allows for overcoming of historical criticisms which relate to questions of authenticity and staticity, as below. Unlike previous matched-guise studies in Wales, which use RP English as a reference point of status (Price, Fluck and Giles, 1983; Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel, 1973), the present adaptation provides a contemporary approach suited to the demographic of the study. As participants hear all recordings, they are led to believe that many different individuals provide the guises. As groups will be listening to entire tracks of multiple guises, participants comprise two groups in order to collect data from two different orders of

play and thus circumvent issues related to priming effects. The present study has a within-subjects design.

i. Salience

In the original matched guise technique, speakers are required to read a standard, scripted text, thus all speakers are recorded providing the same text read aloud. Repetition of standard text in testing language attitudes deviates from natural production and is therefore prone to be perceived as artificial and for speech variation to appear more salient between recordings (Lee, 1971; Hiraga, 2005). By drawing attention to salient elements and the non-naturalistic nature of recordings, the data obtained from such rating process would be invalid for the purpose of that given study. Instead, the present adaptation of the matched-guise uses real, every-day scenarios and naturalistic real-life conversational speech passages which would believably occur within those settings. These were carefully manufactured in a sound laboratory environment to appear as naturalistic as possible whilst controlling for variables.

ii. Observer's Paradox

The Observer's Paradox describes the issue faced in data collection whereby the phenomenon of being 'observed' is influenced by the presence of moderators and investigators. With intention of reducing the impact of the Observers Paradox, I elected to take the following steps: firstly, I engineered the study to include distractor questions on the participant questionnaire; these distractor questions related to the specious reason given for the purpose of our visit – namely, to ask young people about their engagement with hobbies and activities. Secondly, I requested a classroom setting and that the task be completed as a group activity; this facilitated a

sense of a common-goal and meaningful activity among participants, rather than taking part in a clinical study. Thirdly, myself and a male moderator got to know the children briefly before and after the study: I provided refreshments and we treated our visit as a social appointment, rather than a formal appointment. This generated a related atmosphere in which the moderator and I were able to provide a relatable contact-point for the participants. These steps were crucial in gaining participant trust and respect in order that students did not feel pressured or observed, but more that we were all participating in a group task [albeit completed singularly by the individual]. Additionally, participants may not be familiar with the procedure, and may not fully understand the value of contributing. To give their efforts context, participants were told that they would be overhearing conversations, and that the work is relevant for social club/ youth bus.

iii. Perception

Informants may not identify the speaker as representative of the speech variety or area; this can be overcome by providing a 'Place of Origin' identification item whereby informants are able to specify the area they believe the speaker to come from. Issues may also arise with background noise, which I controlled for by recording guises in a sound-proof booth. I then added ambient background noise after having obtained clear high-quality recordings.

iv. Accent Mimicking and Authenticity

Access to one speaker who can produce the varieties in question is needed to control for physiological differences which would otherwise affect speech production. It may prove problematic to find a single speaker who can convincingly produce all of

the speech varieties to be investigated. The matched-guise technique has received notable criticism for its use of non-authentic guises (Dailey et al., 2005) and the use of one multilingual individual to represent many varieties of one language. It has been repeatedly highlighted in the literature that one single individual cannot exhibit native-like control over all varieties under investigation (Cooper, 1975; Dailey et al., 2005; Campbell-Kibler, 2005) – particularly juxtaposed varieties from the inner, outer or expanding circle (see also Bolton & Kwok, 1990; Poon, 2007; McKenzie, 2008). The task of finding 'natural born mimics' (Zhang, 2009) who can provide with fluency the range of accents, dialects or languages required for the study is often a pitfall in the endeavour of the matched-guise technique. Simply finding a multilingual speaker is not enough.

It is possible to employ different speakers to provide stimulus (as in the verbal-guise technique e.g. Ladegaard, 1998; McKenzie, 2004) to overcome this issue. Also, intonation and discourse patterning features can be controlled electronically by the use of computer software, which is a route often favoured for ease. However, as I critically evaluated the matched-guise technique as more appropriate in investigating attitudes towards live conversational language, the study necessitated finding one speaker who was able to portray multiple guises. While this access could be arguably difficult, I was creative in my approach and chose to put a call-out to voice actors and actresses in order to provide appropriate guises from one speaker. The pilot phase was then used to validity the authenticity of the speakers.

iv. Style Authenticity

Attitudes towards accents are investigated by this technique, focussing on manner of pronunciation – grammatical, lexical, syntactic and morphological

elements with the standard variety (Giles, 1970: 213). The marking of verbal style found in reading aloud may impact on evaluations as the production of distinctive prosodic and sequential phonological features (e.g. pausing at syntactic boundaries, evenly modulated stress patterns) may be perceived as contrived and non-naturalistic (e.g. Kerswill, 2002; Buchstaller, 2006). The issue of style-authenticity may be overcome by use of spontaneous speech (e.g. El-Dash and Tucker, 1975). In turn, the geographical origin of the speaker becomes easier to identify through spontaneous speech than scripted textual readings (Van Bezooijen and Gooskens, 1997:42). For these reasons, and the difficulties highlighted in Section iv, many researchers opt for the Verbal Guise Technique (VGT) or 'Open Guise'.

v. Use of The Verbal Guise Technique and 'Open Guise'

The VGT is a modified version of the matched-guise gaining popularity in language attitude studies. It involves a series of *different* speakers, rather than the same speaker. It has been claimed that the use of VGT – and therefore the use of different speakers – introduces paralinguistic variables of pitch height, volume and breathiness (Buchstaller, 2006; Kerswill, 2002). Those who employ VGT aim to circumvent this by use of carefully selected authentic speakers and meticulous research design (e.g. Zhang, 2009). However, in comparison to the matched-guise technique, the unavoidable paralinguistic variables in VGT impact on the result of the language attitude studies (Soukup, 2012) and for this reason, my preference is in-keeping with the matched-guise technique for the present study.

v. Neutrality

While the text is recommended to remain factually neutral as to avoid loading

for opinion, the manner in which speaker and listeners interpret the text accords to pre-existing cognitive schemata (Giles et al 1990; Bradac et al 2001:140-141). If using decontextualized passages in measuring language attitudes, one must ask whether these findings can be extended. This is a thorny issue; the content of what is said is likely to influence evaluations, as is the manner of speech. The A-contextual nature of the passage is a matter to be aware of when developing the methodology as respondents are not informed about the situation in which the texts were produced. Informants may make inferences about the intentions, purpose and goals of the recordings. Contextual features – such as situational formality – are likely to alter the perception of the speech variety and evaluations (Cargile, 2002:178). For these reasons, the context of the present recordings will relate to the concept of youth engagement and activities and the recorded passages will be spoken by speakers of a comparable age to the study cohort.

vi. Time restraints

The amount of time permitted for evaluating must be taken into consideration. More time may be achieved by presenting lengthy stimuli, although this may ultimately lead to listener fatigue (Rangel, Loureiro-Rodríguez and Moyna, 2015). The process is designed to capture informant reactions in the moment without discussion or rationale; therefore, less time will be given, as piloted by the researcher and a small test group in order to finalise the optimum amount of time (see Section 4.3).

6.2 Stimuli Design

The following section will detail the steps undertaken to ensure the development and design of the study, including the recruitment and development of speaker guises (Section 4.2.1), the traits against which guises were evaluated (Section 4.2.2) and the task-booklet which was given to participants in order to collect their evaluation scores (Section 4.2.3).

I now briefly turn to the prerequisites which were considered in the initial stages of project planning. Before conducting field research, I ensured that I obtained a full DBS check through the appropriate University channels and ensured that my secondary moderator(s) had full up-to-date DBS certificates for the duration of data collection. I ensured that my Welsh language skills were of a highly fluent standard for the specific activities I needed to carry out, and ensured this of my moderator(s) also. Furthermore, I obtained full ethical approval prior to commencing research. The present study was awarded ethical approval from the institutional review board to conduct studies (1) within UK educational institutions, (2) with minors under 18 years of age. Design, review and undertaking of research strictly adheres to the University's Code of Practice. Copies of questionnaires, consent forms and information sheets were send to the CAH Research Administrator, stipulating participants' full awareness of the purpose, methods and use of research and subsequent data. Anonymity and confidentiality is ensured through the entire process. A copy of the Ethical Approval can be found in Appendix A.

6.2.1 Guises

The study design took place between February – June 2014, and a post-pilot redesign between September – October 2014, before data collection in November, 2014. As it is imperative that participant reactions are attributed to the language itself, all guises were recorded by native Welsh-English bilinguals and the following guises were produced. Two male and two female bilingual Welsh-English speakers were recruited as voice actors, in addition to one male 'test' speaker. The test speaker was provided as the first recording played so that participants gained familiarity with the task procedure and were then able to competently complete the listening task (see Section 4.3.3). An advert call was put out on social media, through text, through email and on relevant online platforms relating to bilingual voice performers. The call-out stipulated that voice actors must be able to accurately portray all guises, be aged around early to mid- twenties, and be life-long Welsh-English bilingual residents of the target area: i.e. south Anglesey – Mid-North Gwynedd. I stipulated that the ideal candidate had experience of using English and Welsh in a range of domains daily.

From those who responded to the call-out, I email requested vocal samples from seven people and decided to invite five finalists to the recording booth. All five speakers grew up in the North Wales heartland, and have experience of Welsh and English in both formal and informal contexts. To accord with young people's aspirational reference points, recruited speakers were aged in their twenties, aligning with the notion that young people orientate themselves towards older iconic and idolised figures (Boon & Lomore, 2001). Speakers were required to employ two guises in English and two guises in Welsh (Standard and informal) which remained

congruous with the domain of investigation (for identification of 'formal' and 'informal' registers, see Jones, 1998). Guises were oriented to north-west Wales, in-accordance with speakers' own true voices and the geographical location in which the research took place.

Guises were created and recorded in a soundproof room using a Marantz PMD-620 voice recorder. Speakers worked with the primary researcher individually in sessions lasting between 1 - 3 hours. Semantic content remains constant through all tokens and incongruence between language variety and topic has been noted when producing the recordings (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970; Fasold, 1984). Some matched-guise studies have controlled for this factor by having speakers read set passages of text, although Fasold (1984) cautions that this inevitably introduces the factor of listener assessing reader performance, and draws attention to the salience of features (see Section 6.1.1) and the structures, contrived nature of pre-prepared passages. Campbell-Kibler (2010:880-1) suggests that content can be controlled – without using scripted passages – by using spontaneous speech about similar topics, and this is the stance I have taken with the present study.

In order to achieve naturalistic, conversational style devoid of 'leading' information (see Section 6.1.1.i), I spoke at length with individual voice actors about the study, about the type of speech informants should be rating, and about the paralinguistic and prosodic features to be considered; pitch, tempo, quality of voice, expression and reading style were controlled for as much as possible (Williams, 2009; Giles and Coupland, 1991) whilst also generating naturalistic, conversational samples. As recommended by Ihemere (2006), recordings of commonplace diction

and emotional neutrality were used. We worked through semi-scripted conversations and visual cues, before agreeing on a preferred format. This format entailed me beginning the dialogue by asking "What did you do over the weekend" "*Be' wnest ti dros y penwythnos*?". This ensured that all dialogues followed a general social theme and provided an extended length of conversational material to select speech neither at the beginning nor end of the utterance. During these recorded 'chat' sessions, I – as the primary researcher – also adapted to the level of formality of each target variety to aid 'setting the scene', although my contributions were edited out of the final sound clips. The informal – non-standard – varieties included colloquial features redolent of everyday speech. The formal register – redolent of standard speech not used between familiar interlocutors – was further distinguishable by its absence of colloquial features e.g. contractions, direct questions and certain verb phrases. In particular, Welsh has three forms of the second person subject pronoun 'you' – namely 'chi' (formal, plural), 'ti' (singular) and 'chdi' (informal singular). In instances of formal register guises, 'chdi' was never used, although featured in the informal register guises. Further differentiation between the registers can be seen in the use of basic contractions/ auxiliary deletion as in "Wyt ti'n nabod…?" (Do you know…(person)?) to the informal "Ti'n nabod..?" (Y'know..?) (Davies and Deuchar, 2014). For greater discussion of these differences, see Section 2.4.2.

In order to judge similarity of semantic content across different guises, I reviewed all voice recordings several times and compared the semantic content between utterances. The content remained constant whilst also being appropriate to the respective register. As the study tests the appropriateness of language in the informal domain, the design ensures plausible language X in context A, and

plausible language X in context B.

Voice actors were given refreshments, comfort-breaks and were paid an hourly rate. Each speaker produced four different guises each – these were High-register Welsh (HW), High-register English (HE), Low-register Welsh (LW) and Low-register English (LE), thus eight guises (four female, four male) as displayed in Table 7 below:

Table 7: Guise stimuli produced for each language

	Low domain register		High domain register	
Welsh	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
English	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*

6.2.2. Traits

In this experimental approach, measurements of language attitudes must be collected under specific conditions, with the treatment of stimuli and rating response all being closely controlled. The type of task selected depends on the research question and type of analysis to follow. When using a 'rating' task, rating labels must be created. The matched-guise technique will be applied in combination with the semantic-differential scale, developed by Osgood (1964) in indirect attitude measurement. In the early stages, it was necessary to determine which traits to select. Of crucial significance is the examination of traits used, ensuring selected traits are salient and meaningful to the speech community (see McKenzie, 2008).

Construction of specific semantic-differential scales constructed elicit culture-bound reactions (see El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001:62) thus a set of traits may hold different implications for different populations. Traits will be youth-culture specific, pertaining to situations the participants will encounter in day-to-day life beyond the classroom.

Studies of language attitude and education commonly derive semantic differential scales from pilot studies (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970) and have yielded scales such as 'confidence – eagerness' and 'ethnicity – nonstandard-ness'. Methods of acquiring these are fairly predictable with Williams (1974:23), for instance, gaining clustered terms from pilot studies with teachers. The gathering of items from an initial study working with a population representative of the informants to be tested is essential; a small number of the adjectives in each dimension have been considered from previous studies of language attitude (Lambert et al., 1960, 1965; Lambert, 1967; Giles, 1970; Giles and Powesland, 1975; Hiraga, 2005; McKenzie, 2008). The list of traits in the present study was based on both existing attitudinal studies (i.e. Woolard in Catalonia, 1989; Loureiro-Rodriguez, Boggess and Goldsmith in Galicia, 2012) and drawn from the adolescent informants of study of Chapter 4, which provided the springboard of descriptors and connotations relevant to youth culture in Wales, thus the traits have been suggested by informants, for informants. This enabled the definitive generation of a roster of bi-polar antonyms on the semantic-differential scale of Solidarity and Status, e.g. 'friendly' – 'unfriendly' (Ihemere, 2006). Status traits were deemed to be socially desirable and advancing (relative to the demographic) while traits in the Solidarity category were based on personable qualities relative to the demographic. Each trait was listed randomly and given a respectively polarized equivalent, as demonstrated in Table 8. In order to

avoid priming effects, I specifically avoided using morphological opposites e.g. '*un-natural*' in opposition to 'natural'. The negative (unnatural) includes the positive (natural) as well as an instance of prefixiation, which has been shown to lead to priming effects (e.g. Chateau, Knudsen, & Jared, 2002). I edited the list to completion as displayed in Table 8.

Table 8: Adolescent-specific traits in English

Rebellious	Conformist
Exciting	Dull
Fashionable	Traditional
Likes a laugh	Nerdy
Cool	Goody-two-shoes
Confident	Awkward
Popular	Lame
Genuine	Pretentious
Natural	Fake
Good-humoured	Smug
	Uptight
Fun	Boring
Easy-going	Judgmental
Relatable	Annoying
Friendly	

In the actual task booklet these traits were arranged in three randomized tables. Positively connoted traits appear in the left-hand columns, negatively connoted traits

appear in the right-hand columns. To assist readability of the task booklet, traits were arranged in three randomized tables and given a respectively polarized equivalent. While some studies exceed twenty personal attributes (e.g. Loureiro-Rodriguez et al., 2012), others employ a smaller battery of personality traits (e.g. Zhou, 2000). Several items have been used to measure the same underlying construct – status or solidarity – to counteract potential unreliability caused by individual items. From this, a group of items representing the single construct may be tested for internal reliability.

6.2.3 Task booklet

The task booklet was designed in Welsh and English and comprised of two sections. The first section comprised questions on gender, age, past schooling and the participant and their family members' home language(s). Three distractor questions were also included, requiring information on out-of-school interests, activities and current participation in clubs. The screening section was comprised of questions spread over three sections pertaining to social background, language use and ability, and language choice in leisure activities. The section design drew partial influence from the Welsh language use surveys (Welsh Language Board 2008) but was greatly reduced, to provide screening – rather than a full quantitative language attitude analysis. In the first section, questions were asked about participants' date of birth, sex, current location and home town, as well as their continuation from primary through the secondary education. Additional questions about participants' educational background was essential in ensuring that all participating members of the study had come from Welsh-medium feeder primary schools in the local area.

The following section asked questions regarding participants' proportion of Welsh and English language used in their childhood homes and surrounding communities, and with whom these languages are used. Respondents were asked to quantify the frequency of language use in the home and in interactions with their immediate family and close friends. In addition to the social variables of age and sex, data were elicited on the social geography and linguistic socialisation of participants. The results of this section were essential in forming the 'high' and 'low' exposure language groups. The final section of the screening questionnaire asked participants to report their active engagement with activities and hobbies outside of school, in order to provide both a distractor and also facilitate an understanding of outreach schemes and possible avenues of social engagement. This third section was not directly analysed as part of the main study. Finally, respondents were invited at the end of the screening section of the form to provide any comments they felt compelled to add.

In light of the purposive sample obtained in this thesis, establishing causality between the relations of these variables was not an objective of the present thesis, and the nonparametric ranks used on the questionnaire form to elicit responses to questions on social background, language use and activity choice rendered the information unsuitable for parametric correlational tests (e.g. Pearson product-moment correlation). The purpose of gathering personal data as discussed in the preceding paragraph of the screening questionnaire was to provide a benchmark figure from which I would be able to categorise informants of the study – as either belonging to a generalisable 'high' background exposure of Welsh, or 'low' background exposure.

The second section of the task-booklet comprised an answer booklet including three five-point Likert scales per guise; during the task, participants were invited to rate each speaker on thirty personal attributes on the Likert scale from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Participants were required to provide gender of the speaker to ensure that I can cross-check their task-book answers for accuracy to the corresponding guise recordings. Participants were also required to answer the question "Would you socialise with this person – yes or no?". The task booklet included one extra page, which was to give participants a sense of reward when the task finished earlier than anticipated. As advised by Soukup (2013), the use of premature final tokens will eliminate informants anticipating the last guise, and therefore readying for the end of the procedure.

6.3 Pilot study

This section will detail the preparations leading up to the pilot study, the methods and procedures to contact participants and implement the pilot, and the results which informed the further development of stimuli, materials and procedure. This section will also discuss the opportunity provided by the pilot in testing the stimuli and traits on a sample of pre-adolescent and adolescent participants. I reflect on my contact approaches and the manner in which the study was received by participants.

The pilot was run in two sections, carried out between September – October 2014. The aim of the pilot was to have guises heard and rated, to test listenability, approachability of the task and participant fatigue. The first section piloted a reduced

version of the study with pre-teen participants in youth-club settings on Anglesey to gauge their reaction, concentration and interest to the guise recordings and task-booklet. It also provided an opportunity for Q&A between myself, the second moderator and the children. The second pilot section was a full run trial held in Bangor University with friends and family who were aware of the study and its aims: the second pilot provided a timescale to gauge the most appropriate length of time to allow for completion of the listening tasks when sitting down in a 'classroom context', in addition to providing account any further suggestions or considerations. Necessary amendments were made to the experimental design and procedure, as detailed in Section 6.3.1 and Section 6.3.2 below.

6.3.1 Phase One

i. Participant sample

Defining and accessing participants for the pilot stage was initiated through several avenues, such as through village hall gatherings and snowball sampling method of recruitment (Milroy, 1987; Milroy and Gordon, 2003:32) whereby participants are recruited via existing participants' social networks. In order to obtain a larger group of informants and to be hold the pilot on specified dates, I utilized a personal contact with the British Red Cross Outreach Youth Bus service on Anglesey. At the time of conducting the pilot study, the Youth Bus offered a free service to children and young people between the ages of 11-25. The service aimed to develop social skills, offering consultation, advice, support and guidance about issues affecting young people. Additionally, the Youth Bus offered a number of

activities, skill and awareness sessions to target individual needs and a provision of diversionary activities i.e. sports, arts and crafts, activities, internet access (Anglesey County Council, 2013).

I was able to fulfill the necessary requirements for a volunteer pass and accompanied the Outreach officers across Anglesey over three weeks on Thursdays between 6.00pm – 9.00pm. Through this, I was able to identify groups of 12 – 14 year olds and obtain consent for their anonymous participation in the pilot.

The three pilot sessions were held with a total of 16 early adolescent and pre-teenage children at Llangefni, Llanddona and Gwalchmai after-school mobile youth clubs. Contextually, Llanddona is a small community on Welsh Anglesey with a population of approximately 691 inhabitants (ONS, 2011); Gwalchmai is somewhat larger, with a population of 1009 inhabitants (ONS, 2011) and 75% population of Welsh speakers (ONS, 2001). Llangefni is the second largest settlement on Anglesey with a population of 5,116 (ONS, 2011). The area hosts the highest percentage of Welsh speakers on Anglesey, and sixth highest position when compared nationally. At the 2011 Census, 80.7% of Llangefni residents over the age of three reported the ability to speak Welsh (ONS, 2011).

ii. Procedure

The procedure entailed addressing the children bilingually and having the main Outreach Officer explain the task to the children. I provided task-booklets, pens and pencils, and ensured everybody was ready to begin and understood the task.

Recordings were played both through speakers and through headphones. Afterwards, I thanked the children, collected the task-booklets and answered any questions they had. Additionally, I asked children, young people and the Outreach Officers what could have been done better to make the activity more engaging and to provide a better brief. These factors were then taken into account when re-designing the main experiment.

iii. Key points

The main issue I found with working in the youth bus environment is the transient nature of the young people – the service has an 'open-door' policy and children are free to come and go at their leisure. Due to this, many task-booklets were incomplete. At this point, I decided that it was necessary for the main experiment to take place within a classroom environment. After having attempted to play the recordings on speakers to groups, the environment proved too noisy to hear the recordings accurately, so headphones were used. This was logistically problematic as children had to listen to recordings individually, which slowed the process down and resulted in interest being lost. Additionally, so that the experiment could run as an activity, all children participating in the Youth Bus scheme participated in the listening task, despite the task being tailored to young teenage participants only. This resulted in a few frustrated children, and time and energy invested unnecessarily. The experience of piloting over three weeks provided a number of invaluable insights, which led to a number of modifications of task and procedure. These are as follows:

- After having opened and closed the session with a number of misled participants, it became clear that it would be necessary to re-design and further develop a comprehensive and informative brief and de-brief in order to inform and guide participants through the task procedure.

- Participants in the pilot contributed many questions throughout the session, highlighting the need to provide the opportunity to answer questions at the beginning and end of the task.

- Some participants of the first pilot study deemed one male guise unintelligible, thus promoting the removal of the guise from the stimuli. I used a different male speaker's guises for the stimuli, and piloted these recordings for the latter two pilot sessions.

- Participants became distracted and inattentive throughout the procedure due to the excessive length of sound recordings. Consequently, I provided a reduced version of the full trial by shortening all sound tokens to ten seconds per token.

- With guidance from the Outreach Officer on the Bus, I re-designed the task-booklet into a more accessible and interesting format which would be more appealing to young people.

- All participants of the first pilot agreed that sound recordings were of low volume; for the subsequent listening tasks, I increased the base-level volume on all recordings.

6.3.2 Phase Two

Following the first stage of piloting over three 'youth-club' sites leading to the definite decision that the main experiment would take place in a classroom setting, I

requested the kind services of friends and family members to undertake the listening task. These family and friends totaled five, and were all invited as individuals to Bangor University for a two-hour slot over one weekend. In a silent office setting, the Track list was played over speakers – rather than headphones – at a distance of approximately 15foot to test the audio clarity of the recordings. Individuals were asked to inform me at the point at which they were ready to move on to the next recording, and I made a note of the timings. Following the task, I asked individuals to provide honest feedback with suggestions of what would have made the task more pleasurable, and asked at what point they felt fatigued. The only suggestion from the second phase of piloting instigated the following developments:

- Individuals requested appropriate timings for the automation of the track list. This gave participants enough time to complete each task and negated the need for me to manually select subsequent guise recordings.

6.4 The main experiment

Data were collected from two Key Stage 3 classes at Ysgol Bryn in Blaenau Ffestiniog, Gwynedd. Throughout this section I will clarify the procedure of the main data collection; Section 4.4.1 introduces the participants who were recruited – the rationale and considerations situated within the literature and particular geographical and sociolinguistic context. Section 4.4.2 details the materials which were used in data collection and the decisions which motivated these choices. Following on from this, Section 4.4.3 contextualises the research.

6.4.1. Identifying participants: Context and Procedure

The first stages of recruitment depend on the definition and identification of the speech community, in addition to the practicalities of sourcing and sampling participants from the speech community. The speech community identified was dictated by the aims of the study (i.e. recruiting adolescents in the heartlands) and by the characteristics of the study community (Schilling, 2013). While it is not uncommon to incentivise participation by remittance (Bentley and Thacker, 2004), Russell et al. (2000) provide an exploration of the issues associated with the use of money in participant recruitment such as biasing and provision of false information to be eligible to participate. Additionally, I was aware of avoiding participants who had taken part in sociolinguistic studies previously due to the fact that participant awareness of the technique used would invalidate results as participants would be aware that they are not rating multiple speakers, but one speaker portraying many guises. The bilingual populations of north Wales are of ongoing interest to academic and commercial research and as such, I sought to receive confirmation that recruited participants had not previously undertaken linguistic research. I targeted schools which had concentrated numbers of adolescents in one location; the quantitative approach requires large numbers of participants in order to yield sufficient data. Studies of a similar nature to the matched-guise technique tend to vary in participant numbers, ranging between fifty and seventy (Carranza and Ryan, 1976; Zhou, 2000; Ihemere, 2006). I therefore approached schools that had sufficient numbers of students to comprise two separate participant groups of a similar age. It was also a possibility to test across schools, but this would be largely dependent upon my success with school recruitment.

Selection included that participants must be fluent in Welsh and English, with varying degrees of school and social exposure. Location was therefore essential in ensuring that the subpopulation received education through the medium of Welsh and live in a bilingual area. I emailed and sent hard-copy emails to schools across Anglesey, Gwynedd, Conwy and Denbighshire. I was aware at this early stage that no two situations in Wales are comparable (Williams, 1992) with great levels of between-school variance between geographical regions. Specifically I wanted to contact schools which would provide test cohorts of L1 speakers.

To follow-up recruitment, I further emailed and telephoned 12 of those secondary schools which I had previously contacted via emails and hard-copy letters. The follow up schools were in Conwy county, Gwynedd and Anglesey, as follows: Conwy county (n=2) : Ysgol y Creuddyn (WM) and Dyffryn Conwy (Type B); Gwynedd (n=5) : Ysgol Y Moelwyn, Uwchradd Tywyn, Dyffryn Nantlle, Ardudwy and Botwnnog; Anglesey (n=5) : Ysgol Uwchradd Caergybi, Ysgol David Hughes, Ysgol Gyfyn Llangefni, Ysgol Bodedern and Ysgol Syr Thomas Jones.

All contacted schools were categorised as either Welsh-medium (n=6), Bilingual (type B) (n=5) or English with significant Welsh (n=1). I was successful in arranging face-to-face meetings with three schools (Gwynedd n=2; Conwy n=1) before the end of summer term 2014, for which I travelled in person to the school to disseminate the purpose of the study and discuss dates for implementing the data collection. Following this, only two Gwynedd schools wished to continue; dates were further delayed due to the changing nature of the educational environment, and eventually, only one Gwynedd school wished to take part in the study by the September term 2014. I was successful in visiting the school again and agreeing set

dates for data collection although – as I now appreciate – the school environment rapidly changes and often information is not communicated effectively. Particularly, out-of-school visits from researchers are often discounted as least concern and low-priority, so the fact that I was able to confirm data collection for not less than one school was of high achievement, considering the unfavourable conditions. After further delays, I was finally booked-in to collect date over two visits in November, 2014.

i. Geographical context

The main study took place in a geographical area where Welsh is the dominant language, with 78.6% of residents over the age of three listed as Welsh speaking at the time of the 2011 Census. Located centrally in the Snowdonia National Park, the historic mining town of Blaenau Ffestiniog is the third largest town in the Gwynedd authority, with a population of 4,875 at the time of the 2011 Census. The main secondary school in the area – Ysgol Bryn – was ranked second in 'Gwynedd's top schools' (Wales Top Schools) out of 217 state schools in Wales in 2014, with a total score of 76.29. As of 2016, the school has 309 pupils on roll in 2016. The school was chosen as being appropriate for the site of research for having Welsh as the community language with Estyn (2014) reporting 82% of the school's pupils as coming from Welsh-speaking homes, which gives Ysgol Bryn the fourth largest intake of L1 Welsh speakers in Gwynedd. The school was ranked as 'Excellent' for performance and prospects in the 2014 Estyn report, stating that the target school "plans carefully to ensure that there is an increasing use of Welsh".

From my observations, I note that teachers and school staff are all Welsh speaking and the school exhibited Welsh-only signage displayed in classrooms, corridors and communal areas.

ii. Final sample

Initially, fifty-eight pupils took part in the study, although as some children did not complete the booklet, the total figure was reduced to thirty-five native Welsh-speaking adolescents (19 male, 16 female, range 14-15 years *[13 male and 12 female 14yr olds; 6 male and 7 female 15yr olds]*) who matched the selection criteria. All participants were attending full-time secondary education studying at the lower end of Key Stage 4. All participants had been attending the target secondary school from the age of 11 and had attended primary education in the local area through the medium of Welsh. All participants included in the final analysis were of high-exposure to Welsh as assessed by a screening questionnaire regarding habitual language exposure in the home. Pupils receiving low-levels of Welsh exposure outside the school environment were excluded from the analysis (*n*=7). Rather than re-recruiting participants who were classed as low-exposure for the purpose of group comparison, the recruitment of exclusively high-exposure speakers befitted the aims and scope of the study; participants who have been habitually exposed to Welsh in the social context possess the ability to make value judgements about Welsh speaking guises in the testing stage of the study (Edwards, 1982: 21), hence why it was necessary to recruit participants within a speech community where they have exposure to both high and low registers of both English and Welsh. Specific details regarding participants' prior exposure to each variety is not quantifiable and is

beyond the scope of the present study; as suggested by Trudgill (2002:15), speech styles available to the individual directly reflect their social experience and [often] educations; furthermore, Payne (1980) proposes that children whose parents come from different dialect groups may never acquire the structural patterns of the variety spoken by the community into which they are born. While this is an unrealistic variable to regulate, all participants will be required to be lifelong residents of the speech community with local parents. This was controlled for by simply asking where participants' parents are from, and how many years they have lived in the area.

6.4.2 Experimental Design: Materials

i. Track list Stimuli

Two tracks – Track A and Track B – were produced, each featuring 17 thirty-second guise recordings with a 20 second pause between recordings. While much shorter than the recommended 60-90 seconds (Zhou, 2000), my decision was influence by two factors. Firstly, due to the amount of recordings it was imperative to design a digestible experiment in which participants did not become lethargic or lose interest. Secondly, the pilot study feedback (Section 6.3.1) demonstrated that shorter recordings were more effective and provided enough information for participants to generate value judgement evaluations. Each track began with the same practice item; as advised by Soukup (2013), the use of a practice item aids familiarity with the procedure thus ensuring that partiticpants are familiar with the process when the real evaluation begins. The following 16 items on the track list have been arranged to ensure that each speaker's guises were distanced maximally apart. We arranged the recordings so that different versions of each speaker (i.e. each speaker's guise)

were featured at maximum distance apart in the final running order. This entailed ordering an individual voice actors' guises at greatest distance from one another. This distancing of a speaker's guises ensured that participants would not be able to hear same-speaker similarities across guises, and thus remain in the assumption that all guise recordings belonged to different speakers. The two tracks contained the same test items but in reverse order to counterbalance for potential order effects.

ii. Track list running order

Recordings have been arranged into a two continuous running orders – track A and track B. Within the sound file A or B, all recordings were matched for amplitude using Audacity software, and features the same measure of silence between each guise recording. Same-speaker stimuli was maximally distanced. The final running order for Track A is a reversal of Track B. As William Labov (2006 [1966]:271) explains

> "*An essential feature of this methodology [the matched - guise technique] is that the subjects not be aware that the same speaker is presented in different guises. An alternation of three or four intervening subjects is sufficient to ensure that this be so. Every once in a while someone carries out a matched guise experiment with a single speaker, not realizing the force of this condition, and the results are very pale by comparison*"

I tested two small groups within-subjects and created a two track lists - one for each group; recordings were arranged so that different versions of each speaker (i.e. each speaker's guise) were featured at maximum distance apart in the final running

order. This entailed ordering individual voice actors' recordings at greatest distance from one another. This distancing of same-speaker guises ensured that participants would not be able to hear voice actors' similarities across guises, and thus remain in the assumption that all guise recordings belonged to different speakers.

iii. Context

Each guise possesses contextual information; for this, I chose to specify a context which provided a pretext for which recordings had 'taken place', thus negating the risk that participants are guessing contexts for themselves (Campbell-Kibler, 2010; Soukup, 2012) and avoiding their realisation that the recordings are non-naturalistic, contrived stimuli. This was achieved two-fold: firstly, to ensure listeners were certain of the conversational context of recordings, I produced and added individual ambient backing tracks to each recording.

Recreational sport had been suggested as a suitable informal context (Hodges, 2009) but this introduced the difficulty of national association i.e. football associated with England, rugby associated with Wales, and my full intention was to keep contexts neutral and unbiased. This was the same issue for suggesting 'film and cinema' as a context, as the majority of film material available in Wales is delivered through the medium of English. Great thought was given to the contextual background of the recordings, and those chosen were reasoned to be the most neutral and relatable contexts conceivable. Eventually, I decided to provide low-domain guises with an informal environment backing track, evocative of a social setting; this included a mixture of indistinguishable low-level music, chatter and mobile device alert sounds. High-domain recordings were given a formal

environment backing track evocative of a school setting; this included

indistinguishable murmuring, chairs being moved (reminiscent of classroom activity),

worksheets being distributed, book-pages turning and writing on paper. I had mixed

these backing tracks myself from a selection of personal recordings and sound-

library recordings – the latter were downloaded from an open-source public e-library.

The backing tracks[5] were at a consistently lower volume than the speaker recordings

in order to keep distraction to a minimum (see further elaboration in Section 6.5).

Secondly, to provide further specific context for listener evaluations, an

accompanying image was clearly displayed on a large classroom projector alongside

each guise to indicate recording location (i.e. school or social environment).I

explained to participants that – upon seeing this visual cue - they were obliged to

note-down the location in which each indivudal conversation took place. This

ensured all participants would perceive a similar conversational setting without

deviation for context (Campbell-Kibler, 2010; Soukup, 2012). Figures 3 and 4 provide

copy of the images which were displayed to participants.

Figure 3: Image of classroom environment

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[5] Regarding the use of backing tracks, there are a number of points to address in justifying its use. Firstly, it could be suggested that use of backing track could cause bias or initiate different participant reactions towards each language variety; if this were the case, we would expect all H stimuli to result in lower scores than L stimuli. As later elaborated in the Discussion of in Chapter 6.5, this is not the case and we can see by the results that contextual bias does not influence participant responses. Furthermore, if the use of backing tracks is inconsequential to participant responses (i.e. responses are not affected by backing tracks), then we understand that responses are accurate to the corresponding language variety being rated.

Figure 4: Image of social environment

The images had to be non-descript, but informative; for Figure 3, an image of a

classroom environment similar to that experienced in the target school was selected.

This image displayed no facial information about the pupils and showed

unidentifiable pupils wearing uniform. I selected this image in order to avoid

generating value-judgements among participants whilst still providing familiarity to a

classroom environment. For Figure 4, a silhouetted image provided enough

information (i.e. body-language depicting friends socialising) whilst avoiding the bias of displaying brands, popular culture or other visual cues regarding social orientation.

6.4.3 Conducting practical research: Procedure

In this section, I will detail the practical procedure which took place in collecting the data. In accordance with the ethical guidelines for data collection within Bangor University, written opt-in consent was obtained from participants' guardians before data collection began. I informed participants of the broad objectives of the study, gave assurances that their anonymity would be protected at each stage of research process, and informed participants of their right to withdraw from the study. Following the feedback from the pilot study (see Section 4.3), I decided to hold the investigation in a classroom environment. Carrying out the research within secondary school environments permits large testing sessions wherein the listening task may be administered as a meaningful activity (Woolard, 1989; Loureiro-Rodriguez et al., 2012). The risk of association with particular study environments is acknowledged; Creber and Giles (1983) suggest that attitudinal output can be affected by the context in which the study is conducted (i.e. social setting of evaluation can lead to preference of informal guises; school context of evaluation can lead to preference of high guises). Despite this suggested risk, the allowance of only a short answering time has been acknowledged to mitigate this (see Section 4.4.2).

i. Data collection

Participants were tested by myself and a fellow proficient local Welsh-English bilingual moderator, thus we had a balanced team of one male and one female. The effects of researcher sex, ethnicity and language on response rate and reliability have long been documented (e.g. Price, Fluck and Giles, 1983; Webster, 1996; Bellin, Matsuyama and Schott, 1999; and on the importance of local involvement during testing, see Dörnyei 2010). Correspondence with participants and staff was through the medium of Welsh at all times unless informants requested information through the medium of English. Both he and I had experience working with adolescents prior to data collection, and both practiced the data collection process together in the pilot stage and with follow-up meetings before data collection began.

One the data collection days, we met first with the head-teacher and then class teachers; we then introduced ourselves to two separate classes of pupils and explained the purpose of our visit. Affording a naturalistic environment in which participants feel relaxed is of paramount importance; I felt that this was achieved by conducting research through participants' L1 or dominant language (Welsh) although we were flexible and used 'mirror-utterances' – that is, used whichever language was initiated by the participants. My fellow moderator and I gave pre and post-test briefing five minutes either side of the task, and invited questions. We informed the pupils that the task would take up to an hour, and the task was explained in relation to 'youth club activity provision' in order to mask the association of the listening task with language attitudes. Participants were told they would hear clips of conversations, after which they were required to rate the recordings on a number of

social attributes. Informants were told that they will hear 18 items, a device which was used to avoid informants 'readying' for the last (sixteenth) token. Thus, all 17 tokens (16 plus initial test item) were ensured to be given a similar amount of attention by informants.

Participants simultaneously received one English and one Welsh booklet of equal length and were told they could choose whichever booklet they preferred. Participants became fully aware of the process and the the task-booklet was administered. Participants were then familiarised with all adjectives and the concept of the semantic differential scale. I clarified with all pupils that they understood the meaning of all adjectives, and all agreed. After having explained and answered any questions participants had regarding adjectives and procedure, all participants were required to complete a trial task. The trial entailed listening to a practice item three times whilst seeing an image displayed on the classroom projector. During this time, participants were asked to rate the trial guise on the thirty specified separate attributes. When all participants had completed the trial task, they were asked to confirm whether they had understood the task, had heard the recordings clearly and could see the displayed image clearly.

I guided the class through the task-booklet and around the process of the first trial sound recording. During this feedback period, participants were visited individually by the teacher and the second moderator before testing commenced. Participants were then told to prepare to work individually and quietly for the upcoming task where they would hear a number[6] of different speakers. Guise

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[6] Participants were told to prepare for eighteen speakers, although only sixteen guises were played (see Loester, 2013).

recordings were played for thirty seconds, with twenty seconds separating each guise to allow for task completion. Each guise was played twice and a beep signalled the move on to the next guise. I was able to pause the sound track if necessary, although this was not required.

Through observation and reassurance, myself, the secondary moderator and the class teacher checked participant progress throughout the task completion stage. The first class of participants heard track list A, while the second class of participants heard track list B: the reversal of the order ensures no tailing effects, as discussed in Section 4.2. Immediately following the experiment, task-booklets were collected. Participants were thanked and invited to eat and drink the refreshments provided. In summary, the hour period was enough time to ensure introductions, briefing, test-run, task completion and refreshments afterwards.

During the week following data collection, I sent Bangor University headed certificates of participation to the two participating classes, and sent a gift of gratitude to the head teacher for his compliance throughout the data collection process.

ii. Limitations and Considerations

The data collection process experienced a number of setbacks which I had not foreseen. Time restraints were a very real concern so the dissemination of the task had to be carried out with acute precision. Miscommunications between staff-members was also common, and on one occasion, scheduled classes were changed without notice. In two instances, break-time disrupted data collection, which meant I was not able to use that data or those pupils.

Pupil willingness and engagement was dependent on myself and the second moderator, but also on the presence and relationship with the class teacher. This is information which, without lengthy observations and preliminary focus-groups, is not evident until the day of data collection. The most problematic situation was when a number of pupils left the class half-way through data collection do to an extra curriculuar commitment which had not been communicated to me at any stage; as participation in the task is voluntary, pupils were under no obligation to continue the task.

Throughout the process of data collection, I was aware of my agency as a researcher and the potential for influence upon participants' responses; the specific method I adopted in working with the second moderator satiated my concerns regarding successful participant interactions.

6.5 Paper as submitted to journal

The following section provides the first submission of the study of Chapter 6, as accepted in The International Journal of Applied Linguistics (January, 2018). This paper has been published online ahead of print (2019). The paper is co-authored with the PhD first supervisor, Dr Marco Tamburelli. The paper comprises my own research and fieldwork, whilst also benefitting from Dr Tamburelli's guidance in developing arguments, running data analysis and presentation of results.

Welsh-language prestige in adolescents: attitudes in the heartlands

Abstract

We investigate covert attitudes towards Welsh and English as a medium of informal communication among L1 Welsh-English bilingual adolescents. We collected quantitative data using an adaptation of the Matched-Guise technique, testing measures of social attractiveness within youth culture via an indirect method. A total of thirty-five adolescents took part in this study. We perform a 2 (language: Welsh / English) × 2 (register: high / low) × 2 (participant gender: male / female) mixed-design ANOVA, with participant gender as the between-subjects variable. Results show English rated more favourably than Welsh overall, with female participants rating Welsh guises significantly more highly than males. This lends empirical support to the perception of Welsh as more fitting in school while English is perceived as more relevant in the spheres of leisure.

Introduction

Throughout the 20th Century, Welsh language activism called for political and attitudinal change at local and Government level, consequently gaining official recognition for the Welsh language in formal domains (Welsh Language Act, 1967; Welsh Language Act, 1993). Today, improvements are evidenced by the increased demand for public-sector provision, acquisition planning and curricular inclusion of Welsh (Jones and Martin-Jones, 2004; Jones, 1990). The education system plays a crucial role as a main agent of Welsh language reproduction and transmission throughout Wales (Kenesei, 2009; May, 2000). Present-day maintenance of Welsh seems to be politically secure (Baker, 2003), as perceived high-prestige and economic benefits have been generated for the language through its introduction in institutional domains (Hodges, 2012). However, while the Welsh language now enjoys relatively heightened prestige compared to other cases of minority languages (e.g. Cormack, 2007), the onus of its maintenance tends to lie primarily with language planners and policy makers, raising well-known issues that result from over-reliance on top-down practices (e.g. Gruffudd, 2000; Hodges, 2011; Ó Riagáin et al., 2008; Williams, 1992).

One such issue is that the stated and overt language policies of bilingual environments often differ considerably from practical-level realisation (Schiffman,

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1996). This can often mean that while one variety finds favour at the formalised policy level, speakers may commonly employ the apparently 'disfavoured' variety in cultural practice (Sophocleous, 2011:267). Therefore, while bilingual education may offer a necessary language planning model for the increase of speaker numbers (Baker, 2003), the high level of input afforded through the minority language education system does not necessarily equate to high levels of language use amongst speakers (Gathercole & Thomas, 2009). The Welsh case provides a potential example of this discrepancy, and it has been demonstrated that despite educational channels providing daily input in Welsh, the language is not necessarily used as a *conversational* medium between Welsh speaking children, both in informal domains and in the absence of an authority figure (Gathercole & Thomas, 2009; Price & Tamburelli, 2016; Thomas & Roberts, 2011). While being used for in-class work and in the presence of an authority figure, Welsh is not necessarily perceived as an appropriate medium of communication in the conversational domains (Price & Tamburelli, 2016). Welsh-speaking children have been observed as 'unwilling' to communicate in Welsh in low-domain interactions (see Thomas & Roberts, 2011), increasing the previously reported trend for Welsh-educated pupils to avoid the use of Welsh in informal out-of-school communication (Baker, 2003). These trends are further evident in Thomas, Apollonia and Lewis (2014); language attitudes of L2 children from English-dominant homes were elicited, demonstrating that L2 English-dominant children displayed greater favourability towards English than towards Welsh. Similar phenomena have also been observed in other immersion contexts. For example, the informal practices of Catalan teenagers have been reported as 'lagging behind' (Wieland, 2009), with pupils using the minority language for in-class exercises while conducting wider community and peer-to-peer social interaction

through the majority language (Cenoz, 2008; Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015). Similarly, L2 Welsh-educated children have been reported to show greater likelihood to revert to their L1 in everyday social interactions (Thomas & Roberts 2011; Thomas et al., 2012; Price &Tamburelli, 2016).

This pattern of retroversion has also been shown to be affected by gender related trends. The tendency to use English is particularly evident in primary-aged boys, and specifically pronounced in L2 speakers (Thomas et al., 2012). Specifically, Thomas and Roberts (2011) report that in-class peer-to-peer interaction is through the medium of Welsh 69.4% for young boys, contrasted with 91.7% for girls. In younger and adolescent speakers, female participants have proven to be markedly more active users of the language than males, particularly when discussing academic topics (Hodges, 2009; Morris, 2010). Research on L1 and L2 Welsh speaking adults in Higher Education Institutions (Laugharne, 2007) suggests that this gender-gap transcends beyond school, with male participants showing more favourability towards English than their female counterparts.

Methodological issues: gender preferences and overt vs covert attitudes
Despite evident gender-related trends becoming increasingly apparent in the literature on Welsh attitudes, researchers have suggested that this lack of willingness to apply Welsh is likely due to low-levels of speaker confidence and perceived language competence/ proficiency (Morris, 2014; Thomas et al., 2014; Thomas & Roberts, 2011). Pointedly, Laugharne (2007) highlights the fact that these patterns are driven by self-reported speaker competency, with Higher Education Welsh-home speakers self-reporting higher levels of proficiency, and consequently greater positivity towards Welsh. Morris (2014) also reports positive conscious

attitudes as expressed by sixth form[7] students towards the Welsh language, correlating participant confidence with increased use of Welsh. It has also been suggested that use of Welsh may be curbed by speakers' heightened sensitivity to English as the dominant language of social inclusivity and mutual understanding (Gathercole, 2007; Hickey, 2007; Thomas et al., 2014). Additionally, some speakers have shown a greater awareness of the *iconic* value of Welsh rather than viewing it as a day-to-day medium (Coupland, Bishop, Williams, Evans & Garrett, 2005).

Although there is some evidence that confidence, proficiency levels and iconism play a role in the favourable view towards Welsh (Coupland et al. 2005; Hodges, 2011), the present study will expand on previous findings of Welsh disengagement among males with reference to speaker attitudes; by doing this, we will widen the scope of understanding behind speakers' language preference. At present, much of the existing attitudinal research relies on self-reports and direct methodologies (Coupland et al., 2005; Laugharne, 2007; Morris, 2014). In an attempt to tackle this issue, Price and Tamburelli (2016) investigated covert attitudes among male adolescents through the focus group methodology, thus providing an insight into in-group language attitudes. Their study suggests that the reason for a lack of engagement with Welsh is at least partly due to the covert linguistic attitudes of adolescent speakers. Specifically, Price and Tamburelli (2016) suggest that Welsh is becoming increasingly associated with heightened overt prestige – namely school system formalities, high-domain transmission in education, higher education and public sector roles – while English fulfils the covertly prestigious role amongst teenage speakers. It is this covertly prestigious form which sets the tone for

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[7] Sixth form refers to the non-compulsory final years of high school, comparable to twelfth grade in the American schooling system.

language change, with potentially negative impacts filtering down to the attitudes that surround the Welsh language in general and its perceived domains of use in particular.

The identified reluctance to use Welsh in peer-to-peer communication (Thomas & Roberts, 2011; Thomas et al, 2014) may partly be influenced by such an association of Welsh with the formal domains. This association would then explain the gender patterns evident in the literature. For instance, participants from Pujolar (2001 via Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015) identified Catalan as less masculine, thus instigating their favour towards exclusive use of Spanish. In this vein, ideological association of Catalan with high educational achievement impacts on speaker use of Catalan (Frekko, 2013; Woolard, 2009). Given the cross-linguistic tendency for female speakers to display favourable attitudes towards highly prestigious forms 'from above' (i.e. perpetuated by formal institutions) and male speakers to show favour towards vernacular varieties (Bilaniuk, 2003; Eckert, 1989, 1990, 1998), it is perhaps unsurprising that Welsh should be favoured more by females. On this view, the reasons behind the reported lack of Welsh engagement are closely tied to well-known gender patterns reported for other linguistic situations, such as the research carried out in Ukraine (Bilaniuk, 2003) which showed that women held more positive attitudes towards the more socially acceptable H(igh) language, namely English, due to the association of English with opportunity for social advancement. Here, orientation to the H form among female speakers demonstrates 'symbolic capital' through the use of standard and prestige-orientated forms in the bilingual context (see Bordieu, 1991). Just as the female participants of Bilaniuk's (2003) study orientate themselves to the H language within that multilingual context (i.e. English), the female speakers of this present study orientate

themselves to the H language within the Welsh-English context (i.e. where Welsh is seen as the H language of economic and academic advancement among the cohort). Similarly, female secondary school students in Guangzhou, China (Wang & Ladegaard, 2008) showed preferential attitude to the use of the prestigious variety Putonghua (H) over Cantonese (L). Thus, while cultures may differ in which language is valued as High or Low, the gender pattern remains: namely, that women affiliate themselves with the prestige / standard form. This commonly observed behavior provides explanatory power as to why we see a gender divide in the Welsh-English context.

Eliciting covert and overt attitudes

There is a discrepancy in the literature between previous self-report studies in Wales demonstrating outwardly positive attitudes towards Welsh (Lyon & Ellis, 1991; Coupland et al 2005; Laugharne, 2007; Morris, 2014) and negative attitudes towards Welsh evident in more recent work (Price & Tamburelli, 2016). Within the Irish context, Irish-medium students self-report positive attitudes towards Irish yet turn away from the language in peer-to-peer interaction (Ó Duibhir, 2009: 114). Similarly within the Gaelic context, overtly positive language attitudes co-exist with patterns of falling use (Cochran, 2008; Müller, 2006). As suggested by these findings, language attitude data obtained through self-reports have notorious limitations (Fasold, 1984) and cannot provide a predictor of language use. Such explicit, overt attitudes elicited from direct methods are held at the conscious level, deliberately formed and easier to self-report. These overt attitudes often reflect established institutional and policy norms (Maegaard, 2005) rather than reflecting inner-held beliefs. Indeed, as Fazio (1986) notes, whether attitude relates to subsequent behaviour, a range of outcomes can be observed depending on the attitude object. For instance, Corey (1937) found

that attitudes do not correlate to predicting subjects' cheating behaviour, whereas Kelly and Mirer (1974) analysed voting behaviour and found that attitudes were a strong predictor of behaviour. While self-reports (overt) do not always provide an accurate assessment of true evaluations or inner-held feelings (Devos, 2010), they are relatively simple to obtain. However, despite the expansive literature on the role of evaluative conditioning, preference, attitudes and subsequent actions (e.g. Crano and Prislin, 2010; Eagly & Chaiken, 2007; Eagly & Chaiken, 2005; Petty, et al., 1994; Zajonc & Markus, 1982), implicit object-evaluation associations, knowledge structures, processes and 'microconcepts' are more difficult to directly observe (Eagly and Chaiken, 2005:746). This is particularly pertinent for unconsciously held covert attitudes. So, while a speaker may knowingly, consciously and overtly evaluate a particular language variety, they will also spontaneously make evaluations below the level of awareness. As discussed in Section 3.2.1, measures such as the Implicit Association Task (IAT) have provided inference into individuals' unconscious, inner-held attitudes. The question then arises of whether we can be certain that overt judgements represent conscious beliefs and covert judgements represent subconscious, inner-held evaluations. In recent years, a substantial body of neuroimaging research has informed the field of attitude study in the way the brain performs automatic and controlled processing. Several studies focus on explaining the difference between implicit and explicit (covert and overt) judgement processing, and the expression of these respective attitudes and preferences as seen through observable brain activity. (e.g. Jacobsen, Schubotz, Hofel, & Cramon, 2005; Vartanian & Goel, 2004; Zysset, Huber, Ferstl, & von Cramon, 2002; Mcclure, 2004). Tasks that require explicit evaluations (i.e. controlled processing) engage a number of regions (e.g. medial prefrontal cortex, medial parietal cortex, ventrolateral

prefrontal cortex, lateral parietal cortex, anterior cingulate cortex). Contrastively, tasks that do not require explicit judgements (i.e. subliminal presentation/ preference measured through implicit behaviour) show increased activity in regions associated with automatic processing (e.g. amygdala, ventromedial prefrontal cortex (VMPFC), insula) (see Koenigs and Tranel, 2008 for the 'Pepsi paradox'). Cunningham et al. (2003) explicitly asked participants to evaluate well-known personalities on a positive/negative dimension (e.g. Hitler = bad) while on other, separate trials, participants were asked to classify well-known personalities on the past/present dimension (e.g. Hitler = past). The study found that – regardless of the evaluative dimension – increased amygdala and insula activity was evident in response to any negatively associated object (e.g. Hitler) compared to overtly positively objects. This suggests negative, affective processing at the subconscious inner-held level (Cunningham et al., 2003) which provides support for covert attitudes as revealing participants true judgements. Gender stereotyping has also been explored through this means; for instance, Milne and Grafman (2001) showed that both patients with damage to an automatic processing region – in this case, the VMPFC – and healthy control participants demonstrated equal gender stereotyping on explicit measures (i.e. using undamaged regions associated with controlled processing) although patients did not demonstrate the gender associations (as displayed by the control participants) when performing a gender-relevant IAT (i.e. indirect measure). The results of this study suggest that elements of unconscious stereotyping and judgements are supported by the same mechanisms underpinning generalised evaluative processing.

In order to explore the reported trends of speakers reluctant to communicate

through the medium of Welsh (Thomas & Roberts, 2011; Thomas et al. 2014), the present investigation will elicit covert attitudes of the speakers, rather than overt attitudes as commonly explored in previous literature. By doing so, we fill this critical lacuna in the literature and, as covert attitudes play a greater role in influencing speaker behaviour 'on the ground' (Kristiansen, Harwood & Giles 1991; Maegaard 2005, 2010), we will provide a new approach in the Welsh context. Indeed, covert attitudes have been elicited as a means to uncover the sociolinguistic position of Spanish and Catalan in Catalonia (Woolard & Gahng, 1990) and Sicilian in Sicily (Ruffino, 2006). These covert attitudes are obtained via indirect methods which elicit attitudinal patterns that tally closely with changes in language use (Maegaard, 2005). Social attitude and behavioural disposition have played an important role in predicting and explaining human behaviour (Ajzen, 1991), and as such can inform aspects linguistic behaviour and ultimately of linguistic vitality. Attitudes develop from beliefs speakers hold about an attitude object (Ajzen, 1991); as such, speaker attitudes must be elicited in order to aid our explanation of changes to speaker application or abandonment of a particular linguistic variety. Considering the distinction between direct and indirect methods, we infer that previous attitudinal studies in Wales have provided evidence for speakers' overt – rather than covert – language attitudes (e.g Coupland et al. 2005), hence explaining the discrepancy in the literature between previously positive self-reports (Coupland et al 2005; Laugharne, 2007) and the negative attitudes more recently recorded (Price & Tamburelli, 2016).

Crucially, research demonstrates that attitudes differ greatly depending on whether they have been elicited directly or indirectly (i.e. Maegaard, 2005). As highlighted by McKenzie and Gilmore (2017), the results of studies of unconsciously

held evaluations confirm the divergence between implicitly and explicitly held attitudes. The use of indirect methods for eliciting covert attitudes is particularly important in investigating the linguistic behavior of adolescent speakers, as adolescence provides a pivotal shift in the orientation of speakers' linguistic attitudes, whereby they move away from family influence and towards peer-group influence (Harmer, 1991; Taylor, 2000; Dörnyei, 2001). However, at present there is a lack of quantitative data on the attitudes of speakers who have access to Welsh beyond the classroom, namely L1 community speakers. While it is accepted that those who speak Welsh at home have a greater disposition to use Welsh outside of the home (Coupland et al., 2005; Morris, 2014) and a clear relationship exists between home-supported language input and the speaker ability with the minority language (Gathercole 2002; Rhys and Thomas, 2013), family language and language proficiency does not predict willinness to communicate through Welsh nor provide information on languageattitudes. In order to further investigate covert attitudes, our paper therefore takes the following two points of departure:

Firstly, in order to fully explore the recorded trend of Welsh abandonment among males and its potential causes, we will elicit attitudes regarding the social acceptance of Welsh. We will do so by employing indirect methods for the elicitation of covert attitudes rather than collecting overt attitudes as in previous literature, thereby also filling a methodological gap apparent in the previous literature (e.g. Coupland et al., 2005; Thomas & Roberts, 2011; Morris, 2014). Existing studies have also sought to fill this methodological gap; for instance, Thomas, Lewis and Apolloni's (2012) observed actual language use across genders between pupils and teachers. Their results found that pupils demonstrated limited engagement with extended speech exchanges, despite being provided with opportunities for use. This

was particularly evident among L2 boys. Importantly, Thomas et al.'s (2012) approach contextualised previous findings from direct attitude results, providing greater information on actual use, which cannot be accurately represented from direct methods alone. As discussed above, eliciting attitudes by direct methods (i.e interview, self-report, questionnaire) provides information on individuals' overt attitudes which may not be representative of or may even conflict with their covert attitudes or inner beliefs (e.g. Baker, 1992). The present study will therefore employ indirect methods with the aim of eliciting covert attitudes.

Secondly, despite this trend of male abandonment being reported in disparate geographical regions of Wales, occurring throughout primary, secondary, and tertiary education (Morris, 2010), there is a paucity of research on the perceptions of the appropriateness and acceptance of Welsh and English in L1 strongholds, where speaker proficiency is high and there are many opportunities for young speakers to apply Welsh. This study aims to explore the covert attitudes towards Welsh and English held by speakers in one of these L1 communities. If such groups are to set a standard for L2 speakers as suggested by Thomas et al. (2014), then we need to understand the current connotations among young people towards the role of Welsh and English in contemporary youth culture. With existing research providing overt attitudinal evaluations, and much of that in younger speakers, this paper will tackle the lesser-known L1 adolescent speaker attitudes towards Welsh and English.

Research Questions

As aspects of speaker behaviour (i.e. engaging in language maintenance or

loss) can be predicted by speaker belief (i.e. language attitudes) (Allard & Landry, 1986; 1992), a measure of language attitudes can therefore provide detail regarding the linguistic vitality and potential future trends of a language. As explained above, the perceived connotations of Welsh and English with academic and non-academic domains necessitates a measurement across gender and - therefore - this paper aims to address the following research questions:

(1) Where Welsh is transmitted in the home and community, what covert attitudes are held by L1 native Welsh-English bilingual adolescents towards Welsh and English?
(2) Do L1 Welsh adolescents view Welsh and English differently in terms of their relatability as a conversational medium of social interaction?
(3) Do female and male adolescents hold different language attitudes towards Welsh and English?

If the observed gender gap is due to the development of a generic trend whereby Welsh is more readily associated with the school environment than with everyday conversation (the "Inverted diglossia" of Price and Tamburelli, 2016), then we would expect to find evidence of this gender gap in L1 heartlands as well, with females rating Welsh more positively than males on traits which are perceived to be connoted with social mobility and academic achievement. In the same vein, we would expect young male speakers to hold less favourable attitudes towards what they perceive to be the more formal, overtly prestigious variety (Labov, 1990; Romaine, 2003). As Welsh becomes increasingly associated with formality and overt prestige, English is likely to begin to be perceived as the language of rebellion

against 'the established [linguistic] rules of the adult world' (Rostami, 2012:210) among males. Thus, we would expect that, even in the Welsh heartlands, English would be rated higher on social traits by male informants, while Welsh would be viewed more favourably by females as the language of social and academic concordance.

If, on the other hand, the reported lack of willingness to apply Welsh is mostly due to low-levels of speaker confidence and perceived language competence/ proficiency among users (e.g. Morris, 2014; Thomas, Apolloni & Lewis, 2014; Thomas & Roberts, 2011), then we would expect to find no difference in attitudes between the genders in L1 speakers growing up in the heartlands as there will be little to no variation in speaker confidence, since both genders have Welsh as their first language and have access to systematic opportunities to use Welsh in a broad range of conversational domains. Additionally, we would also expect our cohort of L1 Welsh adolescent speakers to rate Welsh of equal or greater favourability than English on measures of social traits.

To test these hypotheses and to complement existing qualitative research on the topic, we utilised a quantitative method. As this paper provides a follow-up quantitative study from existing qualitative work (e.g. Price and Tamburelli, 2016), we have developed a modification of the matched-guise test, to which we now turn.

Method

The Matched Guise

Within socio- and applied- linguistic research, the indirect matched-guise method is favoured as a means of investigating underlying stereotypical prejudices held towards speakers of particular language varieties. In the original conception, Lambert, Hodgson and Fillenbaum (1960) instructed participants in Montreal, Quebec to assess two languages – French and English – on personal attribute scales. The original method entailed one tape-recorded speaker reading several controlled samples of the same passage of text in two distinct language varieties, before asking participants to rate those speech samples. Speech samples are matched for feature, such as speed, volume, timbre, intonation and length thus minimising quality bias. Left to assume all recordings are different speakers, research subjects are then asked to listen to the recorded guises before completing an evaluative questionnaire based on speaker personality and significant social attributes (Mobärg 1989:22). Lambert et al. (1960) found language to be a strong influence upon participant evaluations, with more positive ratings towards English on status and solidarity traits; this was assumed to be indicative of the higher status of English in Quebec at the time of study.

Response data from the Matched Guise is typically grouped along salient dimensions – that of solidarity (covertly prestigious) and status (overtly prestigious). Early studies (Lambert, Ainsfeld & Yeni-Komshian, 1965); Lambert, Frankle & Tucker, 1966; Lambert, 1967) measured language attitudes across 15 – 18 traits, grouping these traits into *three* distinct categories (personal integrity, competence and social-attractiveness). Traits relating to dynamism, attractiveness and superiority are taken as representative for eliciting attitudes (Zahn & Hopper, 1985).

The Matched Guise test is particularly suited to the aims of the present study, as it tacitly measures and records participant reactions by 'tapping-in' to participants'

preexisting unconsciously held attitudes towards language varieties. As participants are not aware of what they are being 'tested' on (Garrett, 2010:41), the method is seen as an indirect approach of gaining language attitudes. This technique repeatedly demonstrates different levels of negative rating across different languages which correspond to participants' actualised language preference (e.g. Loureiro-Rodrigues, Bogges & Goldsmith 2013) and thus provides an informative technique in assessing linguistic vitality. Unlike previous matched-guise studies in Wales which use RP English as a reference point of status (Price, Fluck & Giles, 1983; Bourhis, Giles & Tajfel, 1973), the present adaptation provides a contemporary approach suited to the demographic of the study. Furthermore, our adaptation crucially differs from the traditional matched-guise by employing different voice actors with different profiles, as commonly adopted in the verbal guise (e.g. Carrie, 2016; McKenzie and Gilmore, 2017). We include both male and female guises to control for potential evaluative differences driven by gender of guise.

Stimuli

Two male and two female bilingual Welsh-English speaking voice actors were recruited. All four actors grew up in the North Wales heartland, and have experience of Welsh and English in both formal and informal contexts. To accord with young people's aspirational reference points, recruited actors were aged in their twenties, aligning with the notion that young people orientate themselves towards older iconic and idolised figures (Boon & Lomore, 2001). Voice actors were required to employ two guises in English and two guises in Welsh (Standard and informal) which remained congruous with the domain of investigation (for identification of 'formal' and 'informal' registers, see Jones, 1998). Guises were oriented to north-west Wales, in-

accordance with actors' own true voices and the geographical location in which the research took place. Here, I set out the linguistic defintions of the varieties of Welsh and English used within the experiments in the thesis and the triggers that participants would have understood to represent a particular variety.

In terms of deciding what formal and informal Welsh sound like for the purpose of guise recordings, I took a number of factors into account regarding features. As discussed throughout Chapter 2, a number of variations exist between the Welsh applied in formal contexts and the Welsh of informal discourse (Davies and Deuchar, 2014). Ball (1988) terms these differences as pertaining to 'common standard Welsh' (which is not spoken socially on all occasions) and 'informal colloquial Welsh'. As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a clear continuum between the more formalised spoken and the non-uniform informal spoken varieties. Welsh can be viewed as having three main levels (literary Welsh, standard speech and localised forms) with each of these three levels comprising a variety of registers and two modes of expression (spoken or written) (Ball, 1988). Literary Welsh is not productive in speech whereas standard and informal Welsh are both actively productive and available to speakers to employ in a variety of contexts (ibid). For the guises of this study, the distinction between informal and formal Welsh registers is characterised by a number of subtle features including auxiliary retention/deletion, word-order change. First I explain auxiliary retention in formal guises and axillary deletion in informal guises (as guided by Davies and Deuchar, 2014). In comparing the utterances (1) 'Wyt ti'n mynd?' (Are you going?) and (2) 'Ti'n mynd?' (Where you going?), note the dropping of the second person auxiliary 'wyt' in (2). While not used in formal contexts, this is commonplace in the informal conversational speech of speakers below the age of 50 (Davies and Deuchar, 2014). This auxiliary deletion in

informal speech impacts on surface word-order where VSO becomes SVO in

informal clauses but remains as VSO in formal clauses (ibid). Further to this,

standard form was retained in formal register guises as exampled by (3) whereas

contracted forms were used during informal register guises as exampled by (4) e.g.

(3) 'Wyt ti wedi bod yma?' (Have you been here?) and (4) 'Ti 'di bod 'ma?' (Y'been

'ere?). Contracted forms are characteristic of informal exchanges (e.g. familiarity,

warmth, close social proximity) whereas standard forms are comparatively used to

convey a level of formality and social distance between interlocutors. A further

crucial marker of familiarity in informal speech of North West Welsh dialects is the

use of second person singular pronoun 'chdi' (in place of 'ti') in a number of contexts.

Table 9: Examples of formal and informal lexical items in Welsh

English translation	Standard/formal	Colloquial/casual
Music	Cerddoriaeth	Miwsig
to extinguish	diffodd	rhoi allan
To broadcast	darlledu	brôdcastio
To use	defnyddio	Iwsio
To enjoy	mwynhau	enjoio

Use of 'chdi' marks speakers awareness of "departing from a standard" and is

characteristic of familiarity (Ball, 1988:159). Further to this, a number of establish

words are reportedly perceived as vocabulary of 'educated' speakers compared to

the informal counterpart (Thomas, 1987; Ball, 1988). Table 9 above presents

examples from Thomas' (1987) 'doublets', Ball's examples and vocabulary changes which were made between the guises. So for instance, where a speaker would use 'mwynhau' in a more formal register, informal youth speech commonly employs the use of new verb-nouns derived from English with an '-io' suffix as in (6) '[en]jo-io'.

Further to these changes, Deuchar and Davies (2009) discuss the stylistic range of individuals such as Welsh speakers' simplification of the mutation system in informal spoken Welsh contrasting with the more complex mutation system as expressed speakers' formal style e.g. there is a common pattern of replacing nasal mutation (NM) with soft mutation (SM) after the preposition 'yn' (in) in informal speech. So, the phrase 'in Bangor' would appear 'ym Fangor' (SM) in informal speech rather than the grammatically correct standard form 'ym Mangor' as considered more appropriate in formal contexts. Indeed, formality has been shown to increase speaker application of nasal mutation (e.g. Hatton, 1988). Findings from Roberts (2017) demonstrated that L1 adolescent Welsh speakers (11 – 13 years) acquire and consistently apply NM to the same degree as adult speakers in formal reading tasks suggesting that the use of SM or NM in this context is a stylistic choice on behalf of the speaker depending on the formality or informality of communicative context. Formality variation such as this does not require change to intonation, stress and rate of speech in order to convey these differences between informal and formal guises; subtle changes at the morphosyntactic level such as these convey the formality or informality of both the variety being used and also information about the domain in which discourse is taking place. Crucially for the purpose of this study, formality did not alter the actors' persona between informal-formal Welsh-English guises; accent and dialect remained consistent throughout and all voice actors grew

up and lived in the same geographical region as the research participants of this study.

Recordings were made in a soundproof room using the Marantz PMD-620 voice recorder. Voice actors worked with the primary researcher individually in sessions lasting between 1 - 3 hours. In order to achieve naturalistic, conversational style devoid of 'leading' information, voice actors were prompted to begin speaking by being asked "What did you do over the weekend?", "*Be' wnest ti dros y penwythnos*?"[8]. During these recorded 'chat' sessions, the primary researcher assumed the target variety (i.e. English or Welsh spoken in informal/formal contexts) to aid 'setting the scene'. Voice actors were given refreshments, comfort-breaks and were paid an hourly rate.

As it is imperative that participant reactions are attributed to the language itself, all guises were recorded by native Welsh-English bilinguals and the following guises were produced:

Table 10: Guise stimuli produced for each language

	Low domain register		**High domain register**	
Welsh	Male	Female	Male	Female
English	Male	Female	Male	Female

During participant evaluations, researchers are required to specify the context in which recordings take place; this negates the risk that participants are guessing

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[8] This question was given to voice actors as a prompt. The naturalistic responses were then carefully edited to provide sound clips matched for features of tone, intonation, timbre, speed, volume and content. Study participants were not aware of the question asked to voice actors. For excerpts of the script, please refer to Supporting Information.

contexts for themselves (Campbell-Kibler, 2010; Soukup, 2012). To ensure listeners were certain of the conversational context of recordings, individual ambient backing tracks were produced and added to each recording. Low-domain guises were given an informal environment backing track evocative of a social setting; this included a mixture of indistinguishable low-level music, chatter and mobile device alert sounds. High-domain recordings were given a formal environment backing track evocative of a school setting; this included indistinguishable murmuring, chairs being moved (reminiscent of classroom activity), worksheets being distributed, book-pages turning and writing on paper. The backing tracks were at a consistently lower volume than the speaker recordings in order to keep distraction to a minimum.

Participants

A total of thirty-five native Welsh-speaking adolescents from Year 10 took part in this study (19 male, 16 female, aged 14-15 years[9]). All participants were currently in secondary education studying at the lower end of Key Stage 4 and were recruited by accessing two separate Year 10 classes. The study took place in a geographical area where Welsh is the dominant language; the school was specifically chosen for having Welsh as the community language with Estyn (2014) reporting 82% of the school's pupils as coming from Welsh-speaking homes – the fourth largest school intake of L1 students in Gwynedd, North Wales. Additionally, the school ranked 'Excellent' for performance and prospects in the 2014 Estyn report, stating that the target school "plans carefully to ensure that there is an increasing use of Welsh". Teachers and school staff are Welsh speaking and the school exhibits Welsh-only signage displayed in classrooms, corridors and communal areas. All study

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[9] Our sample represents 8.16% of the overall population based on school type, year group and local authority.

participants had (i) been attending the target secondary school from the age of 11 and (ii) attended primary education in the local area through the medium of Welsh. Selection criteria stipulated participants must come from homes with high exposure to Welsh. All participants included in the final analysis had high-exposure to Welsh, as assessed by a screening questionnaire regarding habitual language exposure in the home. Pupils receiving low-levels of Welsh exposure outside the school environment were excluded from the study (*n*=7).

Materials

Two tracks – Track A and Track B – were produced, each featuring the same 17 thirty-second guise recordings with a 20 second pause between recordings. Both Track A and Track B began with the same practice guise, with the following 16 guise arranged to ensure that each speaker's guises were distanced maximally apart. We arranged the recordings so that different versions of each speaker (i.e. each speaker's guise) were featured at maximum distance apart in the final running order. This entailed ordering an individual voice actors' guises at greatest distance from one another. This distancing of guises ensured that participants would not be able to hear same-speaker similarities across guises, and thus remain in the assumption that all guise recordings belonged to different speakers. Both Track A and Track B contained the same test guises but in reverse order to counterbalance for potential tailing effects. In order to provide specific context for listener evaluations, an accompanying image was clearly displayed on a large classroom projector alongside each guise to indicate recording location (i.e. school or social environment). This ensured all participants would perceive a similar conversational setting without deviation for context (Campbell-Kibler, 2010; Soukup, 2012).

The questionnaire and answer booklet were designed in Welsh and English and piloted with 16 pupils in two after-school clubs in Gwalchmai and Llandonna, Anglesey. The pilots informed necessary alterations, such as increasing soundtrack volume and amending the questionnaire layout. As pupils were provided with the choice of Welsh or English task-booklet to avoid deviation from standard practice and to avoid drawing attention to the linguistic nature of the task. All participants completed questions on gender, age, past schooling, their own and their family members' home language(s) and three distractor questions. The distractor questions related to out-of-school interests, activities and current participation in clubs. The task booklet (Fig. 4) comprised 16 pages of three five-point Likert scales, one page per guise. During the task, participants were invited to rate each guise on thirty traits (social attributes) on the Likert scale from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' in a similar format to the Estyn survey (2014) with which students were already familiar. The list of traits was based on existing attitudinal studies (i.e. Echeverria (2005) in the Basque country; Loureiro-Rodriguez, Boggess & Goldsmith in Galicia, 2013; Woolard in Catalonia, 1989) in addition to traits viewed as socially desirable and relevant to the demographic being investigated; the selected traits represent conflicting attitudes in the context of Welsh maintenance within the school system (Price and Tamburelli, 2016). For instance, findings from Price and Tamburelli (2016) demonstrate that traditional Welsh use is associated with pretentiousness, judgement and a nerdy high-achieving persona. According to their study, the Welsh language contrasts with modernity, good-humour and relatability. All guises were rated on five-point Likert scales in order to mitigate acquiescence bias; inclusion of a mid-value allows for participants to rate neutrality, rather than a 'forced-choice' scale

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which a could encourage bias (Nadler, Weston and Voyles, 2014). For each trait, each guise was rated on 15 pairs of polarised traits, as follows: Rebellious, Conformist, Exciting, Dull, Fashionable, Traditional, Likes a laugh, Boring, Cool, Book-worm, Confident, Awkward, Popular, Lame, Genuine, Pretentious, Natural, Fake, Good-humoured, Goody-two-shoes, Fun, Annoying, Easy-going, Uptight, Relatable, Nerdy, Friendly, Judgmental, Down-to-earth, Smug[10]. In order to avoid priming effects, we specifically avoided using morphological opposites e.g. '*un-natural*' in opposition to 'natural', as the negative (i.e. 'unnatural') includes the positive (i.e. 'natural') as well as an instance of prefixiation, which has been shown to lead to priming effects (e.g. Chateau, Knudsen, & Jared, 2002).

Design

The independent variables within participants were language of guise (English or Welsh), gender of guise (male or female) and register of guise (high or low). The total matched guise score served as the dependent variable, while participant gender was the independent variable for between subjects. Scores are cumulative and were derived through participants' rating of traits. As adjectives had a polarised positive-negative association, the responses needed to be coded. On the questionnaire, traits could be rated on a 5-point scale from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree". Thus when hardcopy data was inputted into the data analysis software, these evaluations had to be given a numerical code (i.e. 1 – 5). Responses were coded from 5 ("strongly agree") to 1 ("strongly disagree") for positive traits and from 1 ("strongly agree") to 5 ("strongly disagree") for negative traits, so that strongly agreeing with the

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[10] This selection of polarised traits provides an even number of positive and negative traits as semantically matched to each other as possible,

adjective "exciting" would result in a higher score while strongly agreeing with its polar opposite "dull" would result in a lower score. Participants could score each of the thirty traits on a scale of 1 to 5. Each recording could therefore receive a maximum aggregate score of 150 (30 traits x 5), leading to a potential total score of 300 for each guise (as there were two voice actors representing each guise, as described in the "Stimuli" section). Aggregate scores for each language had a potential maximum score of 600, as each language was scored across two registers and two genders of guise (i.e. 150 x 2 x 2 = 600).

Procedure

The questionnaire-test booklet was administered during two one-hour classes. Participants were tested by proficient Welsh-English bilingual researchers who introduced themselves and explained the purpose of their visit; the task was explained in relation to 'youth club activity provision' in order to mask the association of the listening task with language attitudes. Participants were told they would hear clips of conversations, after which they were required to rate the recordings on a number of traits.

Participants simultaneously received one English and one Welsh booklet of equal length and were told they could choose whichever booklet they preferred. Participants were then familiarised with all adjectives and the concept of the Likert scale. After having explained and answered any questions participants had regarding adjectives and procedure, all participants were required to complete a trial task. The trial entailed listening to a practice guise three times whilst seeing an image displayed on the classroom projector. During this time, participants were asked to rate the trial guise on the thirty specified separate traits. When all

participants had completed the trial task, they were asked to confirm whether they had understood the task, had heard the recordings clearly and could see the displayed image clearly. During this feedback period, participants were visited individually by the teacher and second moderator before testing commenced. Participants were then told to prepare to work individually and quietly for the upcoming task where they would hear a number[11] of different speaker voices. Guise recordings were played for thirty seconds, with twenty seconds separating each guise to allow for task completion. The primary researcher was able to pause the sound track if necessary.

The primary researcher and an external moderator worked alongside the class teacher to administer the questionnaire and check progress during the task. One male and one female young white Welsh-British moderator were present, both with experience working with adolescents (for effects of researcher sex, ethnicity and language on response rate and reliability, see Price, Fluck & Giles, 1983; Webster, 1996; Bellin, Matsuyama & Schott, 1999; on the importance of local involvement during testing, see Dörnyei 2010). Correspondence with participants and staff was through the medium of Welsh at all times unless informants requested information through the medium of English. When all participants had finished the experiment and task booklets had been collected, participants were given a full debrief; this included a check to ascertain whether respondents had realized the varying guises were produced by only four voice actors. The results of this check verifies that all

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[11] Participants were told to prepare for eighteen different speakers as advised by Loester (2013), although only sixteen guises were played. Loester (2013) reports this device in mitigating participant fatigue and leaving participants feeling positive about the task experience.

participants believed they were rating different speakers (Kristiansen, 2009).

Results

A 2 (participant gender: male or female) × 2 (language of guise: English or Welsh) × 2 (register of guise: high or low) x 2 (gender of guise: male or female) mixed-design analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on the data, with participant gender as the between-subjects variable. The results revealed a main effect for three of the four variables: participant gender $F(1,33) = 9.088$, p<0.01, $\eta_p^2 = .216$; register of guise $F(1,33) = 28.158$, p<0.001, $\eta_p^2 = .460$; and language of guise $F(1,33) = 65.183$, p<0.001, $\eta_p^2 = .664$. Figure 5 shows the overall scores for each language, while Figure 6 shows how the participants scored the different registers in each language. Figure 7 shows the scores obtained for each language according to participant gender. Table 11 shows the data expressed numerically.

There was also a two-way interaction between participant gender and language: $F(1,33) = 12.222$, p = 0.001, $\eta_p^2 = .270$; between gender of guise and language $F(1,33) = 5.785$, p = 0.022, $\eta_p^2 = .149$, and between gender of guise and register $F(1,33) = 17.775$, p < 0.001, $\eta_p^2 = .350$. Bonferroni-adjusted *post hoc* tests showed that the different scores between the two genders are highly statistically significant for Welsh (p<0.001) but not for English (p = .088), and that the gender of the guise affects scores for English guises (p = 0.046) but not for Welsh (p = 0.925). Figure 7 shows that while both genders rated English guises more positively than Welsh guises overall, female participants rated Welsh guises significantly more favourably than did male participants.

None of the other interactions were significant (p = .199 or greater).

Table 11: Mean scores (and standard deviations) on Welsh and English guises for male (N = 19) and female (N = 16) participants

English

	High Register guise	Low register guise
Males	180.71 (20.00)	191.44 (17.43)
Females	185.12 (26.02)	199.43 (18.67)

Welsh

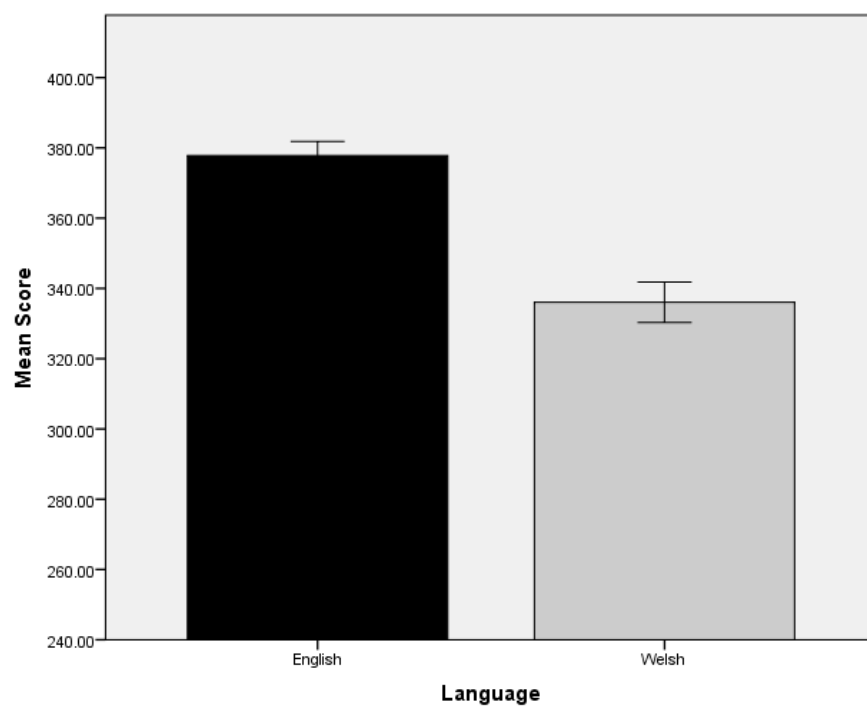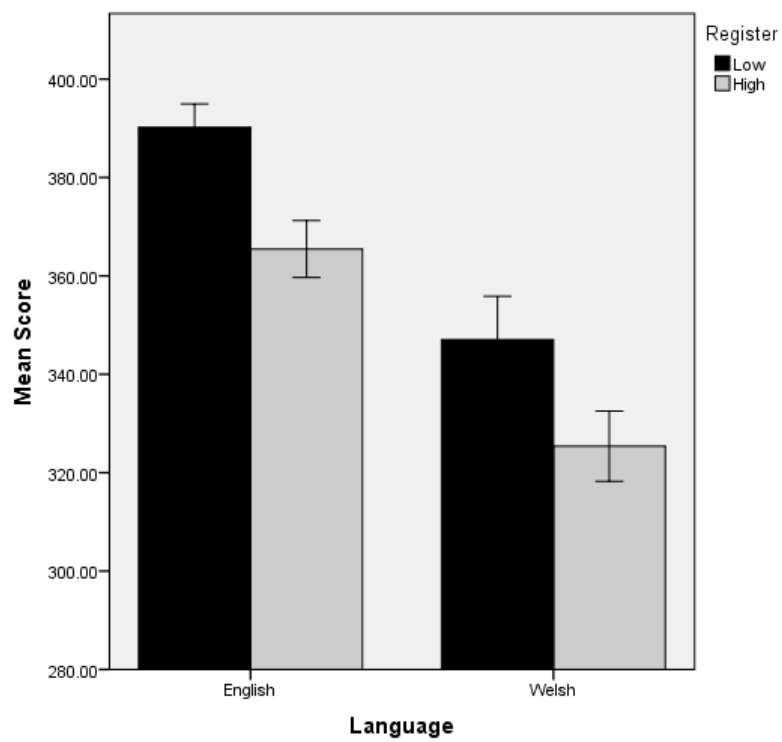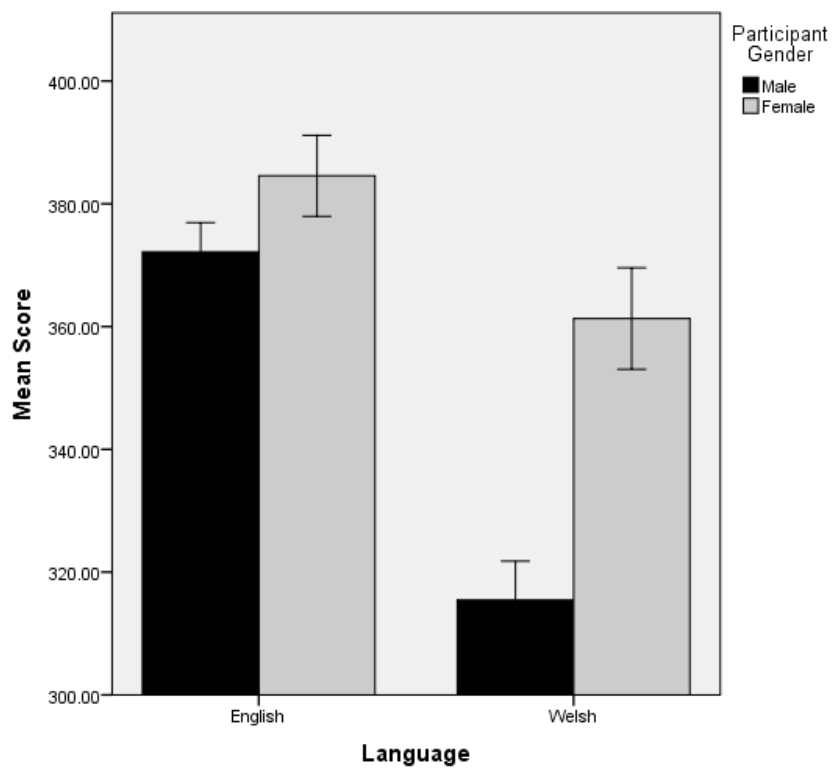|	High Register guise	Low register guise
Males	153.73 (22.88)	161.71 (20.82)
Females	173.34 (21.12)	188.78 (25.90)

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Discussion

We proposed that the reported trend for speakers to abandon the Welsh language beyond the classroom (Baker, 2003; Gathercole & Thomas, 2009; Thomas & Roberts, 2011; Thomas, Apollonia, & Lewis, 2014) could be unpacked by investigating speaker covert attitudes towards Welsh and English in home and school contexts. In our first research question, we asked what covert attitudes are held by L1 Welsh-English bilingual adolescents towards Welsh and English; our results have demonstrated that English guises elicit more positive covert attitudes than Welsh overall. Given the pervasive status of English in young peoples' daily lives in connection to new technologies, media and popular culture, it is generally anticipated that some level of favourability towards the dominant language exists within a minority language context. However, when investigating whether our L1 Welsh cohort perceive differences between Welsh and English as a conversational medium, we found that 'social' guises were rated more favourably than 'school' guises; this is not surprising given that informal varieties often accrue higher ratings on social and solidarity traits (Echeverria, 2005), when specifically in a solidarity-stressing context (i.e. school vs home). Consistent with the literature on attitudes towards informal and formal varieties (Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel, 1973; Bellamy, 2010; Hogg et al 1984; Stewart et al, 1985; Trudgill 2000), we found that informal register guises do attract more positive responses on socially desirable qualities than formal register guises. However, as demonstrated in Figure 6, both social and school registers of English were rated most favourably overall by both genders, regardless of context. Therefore, while low registers are consistently rated more favourably than high registers within each language, English is rated higher than Welsh overall, with favourability towards high-register English being higher than that attributed to low-

register Welsh. We further hypothesised that, if the previously reported gender gap is due to the development of a generic trend whereby Welsh is more readily associated with the school environment than with everyday conversation (the "Inverted diglossia" of Price and Tamburelli, 2016), then we would see different language attitudes towards Welsh and English between male and female participants. In line with the concept of inverted diglossia, our results demonstrate a gender gap between males and females within an L1 community context. This is evident in the ratings attributed towards Welsh and English guises, with male participants rating Welsh less positively than did female participants. As predicted, this gender difference lends empirical support to the view that Welsh is perceived as a language of context, echoing the language and gender dichotomy in the literature which consistently demonstrates that females favour the form associated with High prestige whereas males consistently favour the L form.

Despite the fact that causative factors of Welsh abandonment previously reported in the literature among L2 speakers (i.e lacking opportunities of use) do not apply to our L1 heartland cohort, Welsh is still being perceived less favourably among the L1 speaking adolescents of this study – particularly males. These findings are supportive of similar findings in Catalan studies whereby male speakers demonstrate reluctance to use the highly-codified minority language due to its inherent association with femininity and high academic achievement (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015; Trenchs-Parera and Newman, 2015).

Our results show that speaker preference towards English among young people is not just an issue among L2 speakers but also evident in our L1 cohort. All participants were selected on the basis of an L1 Welsh-speaking background in an L1 heartland community, suggesting the abandonment of Welsh among young

people cannot be entirely explained by factors thought to largely affect L2 speakers (e.g. low confidence, lacking opportunity of use, resorting to using the majority language of inclusivity) as our participants were all Welsh-English L1 bilinguals. While our study did not overtly measure confidence and acknowledge that future research would benefit from a direct measure of confidence, we refer to reportedly high levels of confidence and oral performance in Welsh academically as published by Estyn (2014).

These factors cannot wholly explain Welsh-language abandonment among young speakers in general, as if this were the case, we would not see the gender effect in the results insofar as there would have been no difference in attitudes between males and females growing up in the heartlands, since both genders have Welsh as an L1 and systematic opportunities to use Welsh in a broad range of conversational domains. Contrastively, while both genders rated English guises more positively than Welsh guises overall, female participants rated Welsh guises significantly more favourably than did male participants. If this were simply explained by English as a popular global language of youth culture, then female participants would be expected to follow display the same tendencies. Additionally, as Estyn (2014) reported no significant gender gap between the *academic* achievement of KS3 and KS4 boys and girls in the target school, we suggest that our results demonstrate English as more befitting an emblem of youth culture among Welsh L1 males.

Our study demonstrates Welsh being perceived as less favourably than English among males both inside and beyond the classroom, suggesting Welsh may be perceived as the prestige form among our L1 adolescent cohort with English

perceived as the covertly presitious L variety. This accords with wider sociolinguistic gender research, which consistently demonstrate that female speakers converge towards overtly prestigious speech varieties (i.e. Eckert, 1989, 1990, 1998) and male speakers reject prestige forms 'from above' (Labov, 1990; Romaine, 2003). Female generally demonstrate more positive attitudes towards standard varieties, employing more standard forms in signaling linguistic social status (Milroy, 1987; Trudgill, 1972); females are also 'less anchored' vernacular speakers of their community (Preston, 2016) and more likely to converge towards prestigious forms. Female speakers also tend to be more active users of the H variety and previous studies have highlighted female speakers as more active users of Welsh than their male peers (Hodges, 2011; Thomas and Roberts, 2011) and found connotations of Welsh with formality and academic achievement among males (Price and Tamburelli, 2016). Indeed, it is well known that males habitually diverge from the formal language, behaving in direct opposition to the established status quo. Young male speakers are known to risk social exclusion by their peer group by use of the superordinate speech style (Labov, 1972) and therefore particularly averse to adopting what is considered the overtly prestigious and formal variety. Diverging from the superordinate variety and convergent towards the covertly prestigious form (i.e. English language) is suggestive of a sociolinguistic 'rebellion' in order for speakers to gain, or possibly retain, in-group solidarity with male peers. Thus our results provide explanatory power to existing reports which have shown low social application of Welsh among L1 and L2 male speakers in peer-to-peer communication. This is in line with the work of Echeverria (2005) which found that the variety most highly regarded by adolescents for social use was the variety that was less prominent in the school curriculum (i.e. vernacular Basque). If this

interpretation is correct, the overt policies of the immersive Welsh schooling environment may be implicitly and unwittingly stimulating the association of English as the language of 'rebellion and refuge' (Price and Tamburelli, 2016). Our findings demonstrate Welsh being perceived less favourably than English among L1 male speakers in both formal and informal contexts, suggesting Welsh may be perceived as the prestige form among this cohort. These findings are therefore consistent with the hypothesis advanced in this paper, namely that the established gender gap is at least partly due to a generic trend of "Inverted diglossia" (Prince and Tamburelli, 2016) whereby the increased association of Welsh with the school environment is creating an essentially diglossic opposition with English as the language of everyday conversation.

In addition, we suggest that such top-down attitudes influence expectations for success providing more insight as to why L1 female participants of this study tend to rate Welsh more favourably. This corresponds with the sociolinguistic phenomenon whereby females tend to rate the variety of socio-economic advancement more favourably (i.e. in this case, the school's language). As Welsh guises are rated by female participants in accordance with formality, hard-work, schooling and social aspirations, those same Welsh guises appear to be incompatible with the anti-schoolwork construction of masculinity (Court, 2001: 34) insofar as they represent the rejection of authority among males (for reinforcement of peer-group identities, see Paulini, Maher, & Murty, 2014 ; Woolard, 2003). On this view, it is therefore unsurprising that males tend to turn towards English as a medium of social communication and – as reflected in the results of this study – show attitudinal preference towards English guises. We further suggest that English may be recognised as an emblem of adolescent culture among Welsh male

adolescents in the heartlands (Gerritsen et al., 2000) thus explaining the covert prestige afforded to English among this cohort.

Finally, we note that the favourability attributed by our participants towards English contrasts with reports from the literature (e.g. Laugharne, 2007; Morris, 2014) which state L1 speaker language attitudes to be more favourable towards Welsh than towards English. While these previous reports elicited overt attitudes, our findings provide a candid report on speakers' less-consciously held covert beliefs, with potentially more informative evidence on language behaviour. Unlike previous studies, our results demonstrate L1 Welsh adolescents view English as more favourable than Welsh on measures of social attractiveness within youth culture. It is therefore unsurprising that our results diverge from those reported in previous literature, due to the direct manner of their methodologies; recalling Baker (1992), the use of direct methods elicit an outer view, while indirect methods elicit accurate representations of participant attitudes. If, as some have argued (e.g. De Houwer, 1999), it is primarily covert 'inner' held beliefs which lie at the basis of real-time language behaviour and can be understood as determinants of language uptake or abandonment (McGuire, 1974; 1976), then our study contributes a vital step forward in quantitatively eliciting covert attitudes as a measure of minority language vitality.

Here, it is suggested this study could be developed by further analysis of the attitudinal traits. In future replication, we would recommend running the Principal Components Analysis in order to provide more detail regarding the interaction between linguistic variables (e.g. language, gender) and trait clusters.

Conclusions

This study provides quantitative evidence that attitudes are an important issue at L1 community level (as well as the L2 communities already observed in previous literature i.e. Hodges, 2011; Price & Tamburelli, 2016; Thomas et al, 2012). Along with our findings, the L1 cohort demonstrate high levels of confidence and oral performance, with no obvious gender gap in *academic* achievement (Estyn, 2014). While we acknowledge that future attitude research should directly measure language aptitude, all pupils in the present study had high exposure to Welsh, and thus little variance regarding confidence and little variance in aptitudes; this suggests that the factors previously suggested (namely in the L2 context) are not a major driving force among L1 males. The results show that English is perceived more favourably than Welsh among L1 adolescent males in this cohort, which we suggest could indicate that English is perceived as a more relatable social medium due to the connotations of Welsh with the H domain. This provides insight to the phenomenon whereby L1 speakers are reportedly using Welsh for in-class exercises yet conducting wider community and peer-to-peer social interaction through English. This parallels research in the Catalan context which demonstrates that school-derived Catalan language practices do not often transfer into peer-to-peer communication among (for overview, see Trenchs-Parera and Newman, 2015).

By investigating L1 speakers' covertly held perceptions of both languages, we add further insight to the Welsh disengagement among young people in the informal domains and to the wider minority language research context. Our findings provide evidence that attitudes are pertinent to the maintenance of Welsh among both L1 and L2 speaker communities. Overall, the findings of this study provide insight L1 adolescents' inner-held attitudes towards Welsh and English, suggestive of a

perceived domain specificity among speakers and further adding explanatory power

behind existing reports which show both L1 and L2 speakers' 'reluctance' to apply

Welsh in informal communicative domains (Thomas and Roberts, 2011).

Chapter 7: The policy environment: Maintaining a living language

7.1 Life and artefact

    7.1.1 Language purism

    7.1.2 Opportunities for sustainable transmission

7.2 Bottom-up developments within the 'third domain'

    7.2.1 Attitude and motivation in the 'third domain'

7.3 Parameters of the 'third domain' – adapting existing frameworks

    7.3.1 The Donaldson Report

    7.3.2 Lead Creative Schools

    7.3.3 The 'third domain' in practice

This chapter has been necessitated through the findings, review and discussion provided in the previous chapters. The findings of the two previous studies differ in their methodological approach and the cohorts under investigation; this distinction is detailed below. Rather than forming a diachronic narrative, the thesis provides three investigations into different school-orientation groups (see Eckert, 1996:156) as is common in sociolinguistic research (e.g. Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams, 1999; Eckert, 1989, 2000; Stenstrom, Andersen and Hasund, 2002). The findings and discussion presented in the first study of this thesis provided attitudes among an L2 male cohort in south Wales; as the Welsh Government are committed to increasing speaker numbers through WME and L2 speakers are a major way in which Welsh speaker numbers can be increased through the education domain, an assessment of their attitudes is vital in understanding grass-roots aspects of policy realisation. As negative attitudes were found among L2 speakers in

regards to how Welsh is perceived in the school environment, the second study of this thesis explored L1 speakers. While existing literature does not report negative views among L1 speakers towards Welsh, existing methodologies have elicited overt attitudes. Thus an assessment of covert attitudes was necessitated – the results of which provide a more accurate indicator of speaker belief and linguistic behaviour. Specifically, the cohort of the second study were L1 male and female adolescents in the heartland area of north-west Wales. The results of the second study of the thesis demonstrated a gender divide insofar as L1 female participants rated Welsh significantly more favourably than male participants. Such results indicate that young peoples' attitudes towards Welsh are a pertinent issue in the Welsh maintenance of both L2 and L1 cohorts. The collective findings of these distinct studies support the theory of Inverted Diglossia – a phenomena whereby the educational environment of Welsh language transmission has created a linguistic foothold of maintenance, perceived to have compartmentalised the language among both L1 and L2 school-aged speaker groups. In order to attempt to solve this problem, the present chapter informs discussion around a method of intervention, as proposed and implemented in the third and final study of this thesis (Chapter 8). The final study is distinct from previous methods used in this thesis in that it implements pre- and post- intervention testing in order to quantitatively and qualitatively assess the effectiveness of the approach. The cohort used for this case study are younger than those investigated in the previous studies – namely, Key Stage 2 pupils (primary schooling delivered to 7 – 11 year olds). This demographic was identified as the precursory age-group before speakers' attitudes shift in orientation from parental-influenced to peer-group influenced (Taylor, 2000; Dörnyei, 2001) thus providing a speaker community receptive to the intervention method (i.e. through the school).

Specifically, Section 7.1 of this chapter focusses on the current socio-political linguistic landscape in Wales with emphasis on language and education policy and focus on H domain of transmission and Welsh language purism. I link this to the discussion of Chapter 4, discussing the distinction between top-down and bottom-up methods of language revitalisation before exploring attitudes and motivation, as reviewed in Chapter 5. Section 7.2 is orientated towards speaker attitudes with reference to Chapter 6 and neighbouring contexts of minority language maintenance. Throughout Sections 7.3 – 7.4, I explore the potential for language maintenance interventions and their utility in minority language transmission; this final section provides the theoretical basis for Chapter 8.

Section 7.1 Life and Artefact

Regarding best practice and pitfalls regarding minority language maintenance, the European Parliament (2017) acknowledge that there is no one-size-fits-all answer. By recognising a minority language as an official language, the state [Wales] commits to ensuring protection and promotion of that language; however, the interpretation of how the Welsh language should be protected and promoted is decided by the Welsh Government. In reality, there is a discrepancy between the high volume of policy documents and practical instruction regarding their implementation. The following section will discuss these policies and the difficulties involved in the practical management and maintenance of Welsh.

Local authorities in Wales are responsible for producing a five-year Welsh Language Strategy which details the manner in which the use of Welsh will be

promoted; the overarching aim of top-down localised strategies is to increase the quantity of Welsh speakers within that authority. In order to identify priorities and formulate a model which encompasses a variety of perspectives, partnership exists between a number of stakeholders. The Welsh Language Strategy 2016 – 2021 for Anglesey, for instance, includes high-domain orientated representatives from the Gwynedd and Anglesey post-16 Education Consortium, Cymdeithas yr iaith (Welsh Language Society), local college and school representatives, Bangor University, the Anglesey Eisteddfod Court, The Welsh Government, the Welsh Centre for Adults and the Urdd. The Welsh language scheme details the expectations of bilingual provision, namely reaching a target of one million Welsh speakers by 2050 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2016). Institutionally, a direct relationship is assumed between speaker numbers and linguistic vitality.

As discussed in Chapter 1 (Sections 1.1 and 1.2), the education domain is the key locus of minority language transmission in Wales. The Welsh-medium Education strategy (2011) aims to promote and facilitate Welsh language uptake, as guided by the Government of Wales Act (2006:78) and both the Government and Plaid Cymru both state that Welsh language education is key in reaching this 'one million speaker' target. The strategy pointedly states aims of wanting to see increases in Welsh language speakers and users through improvements in teaching and learning of Welsh as both L1 and L2. "The Government's vision is to see the Welsh language thriving in Wales. To achieve that, the strategy aims to see an increase in the number of people who both speak and use the language." The Welsh Government's Welsh language strategy 2012 – 2017 'A living language: a language for living' for the promotion and facilitation of the use of Welsh language in everyday life, provision of bilingual services and opportunities for use. The strategy uses two distinct

indicators to measure the success of the strategy, namely the percentage of five-year-olds who enter the school system with Welsh as a home language, and the percentage of people 'able to speak and write Welsh'.

This document builds on the 2003 National Action Plan 'Iaith Pawb', which stated the following goal:

"Our goal is a bold one. We see no purpose in setting our targets low. We are no longer concerned with merely stabilising the number and percentage of Welsh speakers. We want to see a sustained increase in both the number and percentage of people able to speak Welsh" (2003:11).

Building on this, the Welsh-Medium Education Strategy (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010) provides the government's ambition for Wales wherein WME and training are integral components of the infrastructure of education. The Strategy states its commitment to ensuring an education system wherein "more learners of all ages [will] acquire a wider range of language skills in Welsh". The objective here is to enable speakers to use the language in personal, social and career domains, responding to the perceived public demand for an increase in Welsh-medium provision. In such government documents, there is little discussion of the direction which must be taken in education in order to facilitate such a high number and increase of speakers. Instead, Welsh language planning [in education] is at the discretion of the local authority. While the Welsh Government provide the aim (namely, reaching one million Welsh speakers by 2050), educators are charged with the task of reaching those figures. Hence, despite the many documents existing to assist the ongoing maintenance of Welsh, there is no mutual 'road-map' of how best

to achieve this. Overall, schools are the primary and often only agent of Welsh maintenance. In terms of shaping young peoples' social interaction with the Welsh language, Priority Area 1 of the Anglesey Welsh Language Strategy 2016 – 2021 provides the following aim:

"Increasing the capacity and the use of Welsh as a medium of communication and learning among children and young people in education and in social activities" with the desired outcome of *"An increase in the number of children and young people who use the language every day at school and socially"* (2016:23).

The Language Charter has been adopted in schools throughout Wales in order to provide structure in increasing social use of Welsh; the Charter aims to achieve this by first establishing a baseline overview of the linguistic context of the school, before developing methods of achieving linguistic goals. Efforts for achieving such goals require all school members of the school community to work towards the bronze, silver and gold awards laid out by the Charter, with an ultimate aim of attaining Gold over a three year period. Depending on the pre-existing linguistic background of pupils, targets may range from changing attitudes, raising confidence, and improving oral accuracy. There is no mention to how these aims are achieved, as these are at the discretion of the school. This is evidently problematic insofaras the aim is to increase children and young peoples' ongoing application of Welsh (i.e. into the social domain) but doing so via the (formal) school environment. As demonstrated through the findings of Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 in this thesis, attitudes towards Welsh are an issue among both L1 and L2 speakers.

Similar to the Welsh Assembly Government economic development strategy

(Welsh Government, 2017), there is a recognition of the essential role of education in providing knowledge, skills and confidence needed in order to move into the world beyond school, implying that individuals leave the schooling system as fully-fledged speakers; and yet the assumed 1-to-1 relationship between input and output fails to take into account a number of socio-political and sociolinguistic factors. This is exemplified in the Gaelic context, where the long-term outcome of immersive minority language education currently provides more evidence for rates of attrition rather than maintenance (Dunmore, 2014). The means of reaching the targets are left with the discretion of the local authority, and so therefore too are the considerations of such factors. Although not currently widespread, linguistic outreach schemes could benefit schools in this regard (Reaser and Adger, 2008). Reports and learning materials which are based on linguistic research but written specifically for the educational audience (e.g. Boys' Reading Commission, National Literacy Trust, 2012) could inform educators in the best action for achieving such targets by providing a road-map for language maintenance. Although here, consideration must be given for discipline-specific readers who may not share the insights, background or field of thought of sociolinguistic researchers. Furthermore, educators' personal language views may impact upon how targets are reached (Lippi-Green, 1997). Thus the road to achieving speaker targets may be influenced by the culture of the specific education domain.

In the neighbouring Scots-Gaelic context, MacLeod (2009) notes that, despite growing literature on [Gaelic]-medium education, little critical analysis exists in terms of its impact. Dunmore (2014) asserts that the use of target languages by former bilingual and immersive-education students demonstrates consistent decline

following completion of schooling, although little is known of longer-term outcomes. The field of minority language research demonstrates only a few investigations of how language policy impacts former students' language engagement post-education (e.g. Woolard, 2007; Hodges, 2009; Dunmore, 2014). In fact, at present the international bilingual and immersive contexts do not demonstrate conclusive evidence of the long-term impacts of minority language immersive education on increasing speaker numbers. Therefore, the odds of the Government reaching their 'sustained increase in both the number and percentage of people able to speak Welsh' appear miscalculated and misguided, given the level of disconnect between political argument and academic research. This disconnect is evident in the findings as demonstrated throughout this thesis, for instance, with speaker attitude and actual use varying considerably from the political ideology (e.g. Chapters 4 and 6).

Although the later policy document "recognises that language planning is a long-term process" (Welsh Government, 2012b), the education system is still utilised as the primary agent of transmission. This 'long term process' is one which extends well beyond the school years and thus beyond the reach of governing bodies; however, there is an opportunity to foster positive experience and engagement with the Welsh language during speakers school years. While this in itself may not predict long-term outcomes, it is certainly plausible to develop novel engagement strategies which may have a more positive impact on speakers language use beyond school than currently evidenced (see Study 3).

With little existing investigation into speakers' engagement with minority languages following a period of interruption after the completion of immersive education (Dunmore, 2014), maintenance efforts may prove futile unless they are devised in a receptive manner to sociolinguistic parameters (Hornsby, 2015; Reaser

and Adger, 2008). For instance, long-term maintenance efforts in Wales may prove efficacious if the perception of Welsh as the 'school's language' (Price and Tamburelli, 2016; 2019) can be transposed and redefined, with clear guidance given to schools regarding indirect facilitation of H to L (for further information, see Chapter 8). Further research into speakers' post-education attitude and language engagement may aid insight in this regard (e.g. Dunmore, 2014) although – as highlighted by Hornsby (2015), in order to revitalise and maintain languages undergoing shift, we must look to speakers of the present, rather than the speakers of the past. Crucially, Hornsby (2015) suggests that setting achievable and realistic goals could be more profitable for long-term language maintenance than calls for dramatic change. With this in mind, the current goals set by the Welsh Assembly Government of creating one million Welsh speakers by 2050 may benefit from a reassessment through the lens of language maintenance ecology and the findings as highlighted throughout this thesis.

Section 7.1.1 Language purism

There is an inherent focus in Welsh language policy on Welsh language prioritisation (as opposed to balanced bilingualism), despite the fact that minority language monolingualism is atypical in Wales today (Davies and Deuchar, 2014). While this prioritisation may appear an obvious reality of minority language policy and planning (i.e. emphasis on Welsh over English), such focus does not represent speakers' bilingual realities and thus may adversely impact speakers on the ground. Throughout this section, I will explore the Welsh-language puritism which is reported to pervade language planning and policy in Wales and the impact upon speakers.

In general, minority languages have 'poor terminological resources' (Prys, 2006:41) for navigating public and private administration, science and technology, business, industry and the government. However, following the Welsh Language Act (1993), the officiated use of Welsh in the public sector necessitated the planning and creation of high-register terminology (Robert, 2011). Language politics tend to be oriented towards normalising, purifying and standardising in order to expand literacies and gain state legitimacy. Minority language intellectuals develop language academies, scientific and literary societies in order to demonstrate equivalence to other world languages in the dominant public sphere, according to pre-existing notions of what constitutes a modern language (Haugen, 1966; Urla 1993; 1995; see Kloss, 1967 for Ausbau and Abstand languages). Through this process of reform, archaic words fall out of use and receive modern equivalents i.e. a contemporary lexicon developed to contemporary demands of the public sector and official use. Furthermore, official Welsh language strategies note the Language Initiative, which provides language awareness presentations to 'encourage' young people to express their views on the Welsh language and socioeconomic benefits of Welsh use e.g. Welsh Language Strategy for Anglesey (2016). By highlighting such socioeconomic benefits of Welsh language use, the value association of the standard and 'proper' Welsh language is connoted with public sector employment, education, social mobility and extrinsic achievement. Conclusively, while planning and support for the Welsh language recognise an evolving language in this regard (e.g. 'trên' from 'train'), it is feasible that conservative attitudes towards upholding these standards

may be present the public sector and educational institutions[12]. Such an attitude has

merits with language maintenance, as excessive borrowing suggests the possibility

of language extinction. However, the strictures imposed by the H domain excludes

access to a variety befitting the L domain (see Chapter 2) – thus well-intended policy

and planning measures give rise to language compartmentalisation as a corollory.

i. Retaining high standards

The 'standard' language relevant for the high domain is one which is viewed

as correct (Robert 2011), and thus the correct language transmitted through the

school domain is correct like-for-like use within neighbouring H domains, rather than

encouragement for a contemporary variety applicable within the L domain. The use

of Welsh in the classroom environment is highly politicised; in terms of ensuring

ongoing maintenance of Welsh, current concerns lie specifically with the availability

of high-quality materials and educators (European Parliament, 2017). From

observations and evaluations of the Welsh situation, the European commission

(2017) advise greater investment in high quality material and high standard teaching

staff. However, as discussed in Section 7.1, local authorities are responsible for

interpreting government guidance, and thus it is somewhat inevitable that localised

provision will be influenced by the attitudes and beliefs of region-specific educators.

Paradoxically, Jones (1998) remarks that WM-educated (L1) pupils shed

dialect features in favour of a highly standardised form. Similar findings are reported

in the case of Irish, where young speakers' Irish is being influenced by standardised

broadcast media, the education environment and non-native revivalist speakers (Ó

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[12] As an instance of this, a recording taken from the Anglesey Council (2017) demonstrates the bias which pervades the official domains. This example demonstrates council members granting special status and exemptions to appeals from Welsh-speaking members of the public, whilst bringing sanctions to non-Welsh speakers.

hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha, 2011:101). While speakers are provided with access to and reproduction of standard language, this differs considerably from informal speech varieties. Such findings suggest that WM-education standardises speakers' Welsh, as is prone to occur in 'correct' language use settings (Reaser and Adger, 2008). Here, Jones (1998) suggests that the Welsh education system standardises L1 speakers' language to an extent that the colloquial variety is compromised. Thus WM-educated speakers' Welsh does not retain the localised features of an informal speech variety, as highlighted with the distinction between English-medium educated L1 speakers who possess dialect, or WM-educated [L1 and L2] speakers whose dialect is standardised in favour of a uniform variety (Jones, 1998; Robert, 2011). While both L1 and L2 former WM students may present low use of Welsh in daily communication (Hodges, 2009), the employment sector has been shown to constitute a key site of Welsh language use (ibid). Thus, if Welsh is transmitted and reproduced primarily in the H domain and we continue to define the maintenance of Welsh by upholding standards more suited to the H domain, then perhaps we condemn Welsh to high-use high-function exclusivity in its present diglossic situation.

7.1.2 Opportunities for sustainable transmission

Minority language research (i.e. Landgraf 2013; Macleod et al. 2014; O' Hanlon 2010, 2012; Pollock 2010) reports ongoing challenges in the immersive education system in relation to creating functionally bilingual individuals who can add to the revitalization effort beyond school. For instance, the revival of Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) demonstrates such discrepancy. Bilingual education/ Basque-medium 'ikastolak' began in the 1960s (Cenoz, 2001; 2009), with

approximately 79% of BAC members in primary and 61% in secondary education (Cenoz, 2001: 51). Reported in 2011, 32% of BAC members were reported as Basque-speaking, with 17.4% 'passive bilinguals' (Eusko Jauriaritza 2013: 67). According to Echevierria (2003) Basque-medium students use Basque in exchange with teachers or peers in the presence of teachers, yet utilise Castillian for peer-to-peer interactions. Academic achievement and school proficiency in Basque do not equate to informal application within or beyond the H domain (Elorza and Muñoa, 2008: 86). The rationale behind this is that "the symbolic value of Euskara is greater than the pragmatic one" (Azurmendi and Martinez de Luna, 2011: 329; Elorza & Muñoa 2008; Zalbide & Cenoz 2008). Thus the issue lies with practicalities of applying the H language into an L domain. As discussed by Nancy Dorian, when providing the speaker community with a prestigious taught form of the language (i.e grammatically standardised), the marginal nature of the L form is emphasised in the speakers own view, and thus this top-down act further undermines belief in the role and legitimacy of the language (1987:59). Here, top-down language management is at odds with bottom-up innovation.

Lee (2016:50) argues that the Welsh-medium schooling environment maintains a monolingual ideology, upholding the "value of language separation and linguistic purism"; this poses a distinction from a young generation whose Welsh may not be deemed 'correct enough' by school standards (Holton, 2009; Selleck, 2013). Reaser and Adger (2008) assert that [low register] language discrimination remains 'endemic' in educational and societal systems because the language ideology entrenched in that system is not overtly detectable. This is to say, opinions may be shared by educators which invisibly filter down to pupils (see Lippi-Green, 1997). That discrimination is inherent in the nature of an education system which is

operates around the ideology of language maintenance. Such discrimination towards L forms (characterised by contact with English) and reinforcement of the standard H-form may explain speakers' tendency to use English in the essential low role (Chapter 2). Jones (1998) suggests that WM-educated speakers have access to a standard of Welsh appropriate for the classroom environment which may be at the expense of contact with the vernacular. This correct standard form is one which is heavily connoted with formality and is not usable in the low domain. Thus these 'standardised' speakers (Jones, 1998) have Welsh fulfilling the H role, leaving English to fulfil the L role at the expense of the [now-standardised] Welsh vernacular. Here we are provided with context as to why both L1 and L2 speakers are consistently reported as 'turning' towards English in the L domains (Thomas and Roberts, 2011).

Broadly speaking, there are two evident trends as explored throughout Section 7.1. Namely, emphasis on Welsh standardisation, and emphasis on the education sector as the domain of language transmission. The issue here, as explored in the studies from Chapters 4 and 6, is language purism and the overemphasis on the H domain. We must reconsider Welsh language transmission within the wider social context in order to create the bridge of transmission between H domain and L domain. Perhaps an emphasis on the viability of Wenglish and mixed-terms as a contemporary vernacular for young speakers may afford ownership to a generation of speakers who are turning away from the language due to its inapplicability beyond the school environment (see Chapter 4). The key question remains whether such action would facilitate a slow steady death, or actively engage speakers who are otherwise disengaged.

This topic has been explored by a number of theorists. For instance, Hornsby (2015) notes the difficulties with language contact and language shift, and that in order to revitalise and maintain languages undergoing shift, we need to look to speakers of the present, rather than the speakers of the past. Moving towards a mixed-form of language has been suggested as more realistic in terms of longevity in the contemporary sociolinguistic climate (Goodfellow and Alfred, 2009) although, as noted by Jones (1998), standardisation can be found where contemporary vernacular forms are used by speakers as a replacement for historical regional dialect. Urla (1995) notes that there is scope and demand for mixing, rather than keeping one pure static form and Selleck (2013) further advocates a flexible view to bilingualism in Wales. Musk (2010) addresses bilingual secondary school pupils' code-switching to determine whether young people maintain distinctions between English and Welsh. Musk found that code-switching was used between Welsh-English bilinguals to provide emphasis, quotation or used to create meaning within interaction. Despite this, and due to the evidence that children currently attending immersion programmes make 'little or no use of their L2 in the more social contexts' (Thomas and Roberts, 2011:91), valid reservations exist regarding the perceived negative side-effects of permitting code-switching within the school domain. Here, theorists suggest that such an approach would be limited in terms of students' acquisition of and socialisation in Welsh (Baker, 1992; Coupland et al., 2005; Edwards and Newcombe, 2005; Thomas and Roberts, 2011). Despite this concern, many minority languages in Europe are undergoing a process where communicative functions are no longer the primary reason for use (e.g. Costa, 2015; Sallabank, 2013). The trend of minority languages becoming 'post-vernacular' demonstrates the need for action to ensure that Welsh language purism does not compartmentalise

Welsh language further. Therefore, while it is necessary to uphold standard form in the H domain, it is essential that primary agents of Welsh transmission are actively encouraging the communicative functions of Welsh e.g. code-switching. Taking an ecological approach i.e. developing new modes of language practice alongside existing practices (van Lier, 2008; Creese and Blackledge, 2010) would allow for the facilitation of Welsh vernacular alongside standard Welsh currently used in schools. This could aid the transmission of L-Welsh into the L domain (see Chapter 8).

In summary of Section 7.1, there is a discrepancy between Government-motivated language planning and contextual factors affecting Welsh language reproduction e.g. constraints of school as agent of transmission; perception of Welsh as H. Thus any action plan for increasing speaker numbers must take into account the influence of these factors upon the consistent rates of post-education language attrition. In conclusion, language policy must acknowledge the characteristics and constraints of the school as the primary agent of transmission in order to facilitate sustainable maintenance going forwards. With these factors taken into account, newly developed models of language transmission could presents new and bright opportunities for Welsh reproduction in the years ahead (Holton, 2009:239). In order to ensure the best chances of communicative competency in both new and L1 speakers, the focus of maintenance must therefore lie on creating a 'new form' of that language (Holton 2009: 238) in what I now coin the 'third domain'.

7.2 Bottom-up developments within the 'third domain'

Throughout this section, I draw on the current realities of domains of use in Wales, with reference to language motivation. I consider neighbouring contexts of minority language maintenance which capitalise on intrinsic motivation of speakers i.e. Basque. Following this, I discuss the viability of the 'third domain' and provide a proposed intervention model in which I demonstrate how the spirit of neighbouring instances of bottom-up transmission (i.e. Basque) can be transposed onto the existing school framework within Wales. The aim here is transmission of language from H into L. For an ecological approach to facilitate successful maintenance of Welsh, a bespoke domain must be developed which does not contend with an existing English provision. As outlined by UNESCO (2003) in their discussion of endangered language response to 'New Domains' (Factor 5), new domains such as new media, broadcast and internet usually serve to expand the scope and power of the dominant majority language. The use of the majority language in such new domains has – it is claimed – 'mesmerising power' (UNESCO, 2003:11) and yet, without language communities meeting modernity, the minority language risks increasing irrelevance and stigmatisation at the expense of the all-inclusive majority variety. Urla (1995) notes that minority language alternative media operates on the philosophy that the minority language must harness dominant trends within culture in order to afford new life and ownership to that language. Existing Welsh-media broadcaster S4C has provided a steadfast platform of Welsh transmission for the past three decades, yet faces its own issues in providing for a linguistically diverse audience. S4C stipulate that language use must retain a correct standard by avoiding 'needless literal translations of English expressions' (Robert, 2011). In their

most recent Language Guidelines, S4C state that, while the use of English words and phrases is a 'common feature' of spoken Welsh language, the use of English words and phrases by presenters is not deemed as acceptable (2015:4). Despite S4C's pledge to include provision which is modern and reflective of viewers' everyday language use, the representation of young peoples' language use is restricted. As provided in their Language Guidelines, the "[…] use of English should be avoided by the presenters and contributors in order to sound 'hip' or 'cool'" (2015:4). Rather than representing colloquial Welsh, the standard form used in Welsh-language broadcast media [and education] can be seen as unfalteringly uniform (Jones, 1998), unlike the ideology of minority language media in the Basque country).

7.2.1 Attitude and motivation in the 'third domain'

Throughout this section, I consider the maintenance feasibility of a new domain of transmission with reference to language attitudes and speaker motivation. The emphasis placed by policy-makers on WME for the maintenance and reproduction of the Welsh language in Wales poses crucial questions about outcomes from the system, for both educators and the students who receive their education through this mode of schooling. As posited by Bentahila and Davies (1993:372), "is it extremely difficult if not impossible to persuade people […] to use language in contexts where they do not need [that language], or to enforce its intergenerational transfer on any large scale". This is a core concern at the heart of minority language policy (Ó hIfearnáin, 2013). The difficulty in the Welsh context is the discourse around extrinsic merits of using Welsh (i.e. economic, educational,

social advancement) (Prys, 2011); to understand the barrier this may pose to young people, a discussion of speaker motivation is essential.

Motivation has been defined by Ryan and Deci (2000:54) as an individual being 'moved' to perform an act or to do something, yet – as Dörnyei notes – there is no single 'straightforward and unequivocal concept of motivation' (1998: 118). As explored in Chapters 3 and 5, motivation links closely to attitude (Baker, 1992) and language planners require an understanding of learner motivations in order to plan for language acquisition and use. Sallabank (2014) states that all approaches to language planning [for endangered/minority languages] should hold motivation as the core factor. Sallabank (2014) further demonstrates differentiated motivations levels among speakers depending on their age bracket. For instance, speakers under the age of 12 demonstrated positive attitudes towards language use, motivated by parental linguistic identities and activity participation. From ages 13 – 16 however, adolescents reported demotivation for language use, influenced by peer pressure to be seen as 'cool' by rebelling against the traditional values of the endangered language. Speakers aged 17 – 25 demonstrated more positive attitudes as they developed their individual identities.

Motivation is commonly categories with two polarised approaches. For instance, Gardner and Lambert (1972) identify two modes of language learning goals among language learners/ speakers: 'instrumental' and 'integrative' (later classified as 'extrinsic' and 'intrinsic'. Instrumental – or extrinsic – orientation refers to the perceived functional socioeconomic benefits of speaking that language, where language learning produces a measurable outcome and relates to the purpose of obtaining something externally i.e. status, achievement in improved career

prospects, HE admission. On the other hand, integrative – or intrinsic – orientations refer to a speakers' desire to assimilate into the speaker community and culture i.e. for the identity affiliation of using Basque. This orientation is internally motivated i.e. speaker's preference or personal satisfaction. The manner of motivation provides the strongest influence on speakers' language strategies (Oxford and Nyikos, 1989) and while both orientations are linked to increased language proficiency, personal motivations result in personal affiliation with the language and a greater adoption of its values (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2006; Dörnyei, 2006). Alongside speaker motivations, parental motivations are also a key in language maintenance, such as enrolling L2 children into WME (see Hodges, 2009). Hodges' (2009) findings suggest that parents opt for Welsh-medium education for their children based on intrinsic merits (i.e. to achieve a personal goal, related to self-identity and Welshness) rather than instrumental reasons. Similar observations have been made in Ireland, where overtly positive attitudes towards Irish among care-givers do not necessarily tally with an "inherent disposition to raise […] children in the minority language" (Ó hIfearnáin, 2013:350). Furthermore, parental wishes to imbue a sense of Welsh-identity within children does not predict nor ensure young peoples' motivations or attitudes towards using the Welsh language.

As discussed throughout Chapter 2, national socio-political movements in Wales secured official status and H-domain transmission for the language thus generating an economic value attached to Welsh use. In a neighbouring context, Müller (2006) expresses that the Gaelic-medium education (GME) model does not appear to encourage language revitalisation [in the Skye community]. Müller (2006) finds that the Gaelic-medium immersive education system fosters attitudes towards

Gaelic in relation to its extrinsic value for career aspirations. Thus, motivations for using the minority language are entrenched in external achievements. Similarly, Cochran (2008) identifies that outwardly 'positive attitudes' towards Gaelic as appropriate for H domains coexists with patterns of falling social use. Supportive of this, Morrison (2006) discovered that GME students approached the learning of Gaelic as extrinsically valuable for job opportunities, yet baring no relation to intrinsic motivations beyond the H domain. To this effect, the immersive language system is not designed to create new generations of speakers beyond the H-domain, unless of course language transmission is accompanied by a range of targeted strategies at the community level (McLeod et al., 2010).

At present, WME transmits and promotes extrinsic value and standardisation (Williams, 1992) developing high-level bilingualism, without fostering biculturalism. It is perhaps unsurprising that young people are not convinced of the internally positive value of using the language, when there is overt emphasis placed upon the instrumental value of Welsh. Although a number of strategies stress the importance of disseminating 'culture' to pupils through school ethos and measure (Lee, 2016), the type of culture being disseminated is not necessarily evocative of youth culture. Indeed, youth culture is not bound by the state, instead developing bottom-up from young peoples' need to provide for a need of expression which is not currently fulfilled (Urla, 1995). Culture can be defined as beliefs, values and norms pertaining to a sociocultural group (Brumbaugh, 2002), while bilingualism is – generally speaking – the ability to produce and comprehend with relative fluency in two different languages.

Luna posits that an individual's bilingualism is an essential property of their biculturalism (Luna, 2011), that is – by being bicultural, the individual inherently has

command of two languages. Bicultural individuals internalise two cultures (Lau-Gesk, 2003), possessing two distinct knowledges influencing thoughts, feelings and behaviours (Hong et al 2000; Ramirez-Esparza et al, 2006). However, biculturalism is not an inherent property of being bilingual insofar as bilingual individuals do not necessarily identify with two cultures. Luna (2011) terms this 'monocultural bilinguals', whereby the bilingual individual does not internalise the culture attached to the L2. This is evident among L2 speakers whose primary – and often only – contact with the Welsh language is through the H domain. The lack of sociocultural contact with the target language culture has been shown to impact negatively on linguistic self-confidence (Dörnyei, 1998). Linguistic self-confidence provides a strong motivation for language use (Clement et al., 1994; Noels et al., 1996) and thus the focus on supporting biculturalism has the potential to lead to positive correlations with motivations for language use (Dörnyei, 1998).

In summary, a language strategy targeted at community level must take these points into consideration (McLeod et al., 2010). Unlike other objects of motivation, "language is communicative, socially organising and an integral component of identity" (Lee, 2016; Dörnyei, 1998), thus motivations for language use are separate to other motivations. Developing an informal language transmission model must therefore include the factors of communication, social organisation and identity. With the points discussed throughout this section, I now move forwards to describe a suggested language strategy model: 'the third domain'.

7.3 Parameters of the 'third domain' – adapting existing frameworks

While the education system is considered the single most important agency of Welsh promotion and transmission, looking beyond the confines of curriculum for its maintenance could provide a galvanising effect for Welsh uptake in contemporary life (Williams, 1992:319). Throughout this section, I provide discussion of contemporary framework advancements in the curriculum in Wales, considering how such schemes could be utilised to aid the sustainable transmission of the Welsh language. I suggest that the 'third domain' should adopt an ecological approach, focussing on the multidimensional nature of language policy and planning. Drawing attention to interrelation between speakers and sociocultural contexts, the orientation of the ecological perspective deals with language planning issues holistically, rather than focusing on language or speakers in isolation (Hornberger & Hult, 2008). The 'third domain' must therefore provide an opportunity to promote biculturalism in sociocultural aspects in a domain not yet rivalled by English. The aim here is to create a Welsh-only associated domain in which informal Welsh language practices can thrive without direct competition from English. In the proposed model, nonstandard language diversity would be permitted and encouraged. This practice is active elsewhere – for instance, the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) includes cross-cultural linguistic diversity as a teaching and learning strategy (1996:3). Further to this, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) stipulates that candidate teachers should gain an in-depth knowledge of the evolution of the English language, semantics, syntax, morphology and phonology (NCTE/NCATE, 2003). By the teacher demonstrating acknowledgement of linguistic diversity and sociolinguistic insight, there is potential

for holistic development (Reaser and Adger, 2008). Crucially, informal-language strategies must demonstrate measurable benefits to the social and academic well-being of students (Reaser and Adger, 2008).

Welsh schooling is familiar with language intervention strategies. Following their 2003 publication 'Iaith Pawb', the Welsh Assembly Government required a series of immersion pilot projects in order to assess the achievement of the strategy's aims. Williams (2009) describes the projects as exploring teaching and learning methods, providing language centres for transitional students in Years 7 – 9. Students attended language centres for 10-12 weeks in order to develop their linguistic competency to ensure a smooth transition into local bilingual and immersion comprehensive schools. Post Key Stage 2 prior to the transfer, students were given a six-week intensive immersion course in order to develop their Welsh through subject content (Williams, 2009), leading to students succeeding academically in their content subjects through the medium of the L2 (Williams, 2009). This demonstrates the capacity for new models of language transmission through the education system.

7.3.1. The Donaldson Report

Innovative developments have taken place recently in the curriculum in Wales – in English-medium, Welsh-medium and bilingual streams. As indicated by the Education Act (2002), the aims of the current curriculum are:
a) to promote the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society
(b) to prepares pupils at the school for the opportunities, responsibilities and

experiences of later life.

Despite reforms and initiatives introduced by the Welsh Assembly Government, there have been perceived practical and fundamental shortcomings in the current curriculum and assessments surveys (PISA) (Programme for International Student Assessment) indicating that relative performance in Wales are not as high as could and should be. Hence, Professor Donaldson and his review team conducted an independent review of the curriculum and assessment arrangements in Wales. Donaldson (2015) argues that the current curriculum does not make mention to direct impact on teaching and learning. The findings of Donaldson's comprehensive report have been published as the advisory document 'Successful Futures' (2015), to which we will now turn. The general outcome of the report draws on best practice within Wales and further afield, proposing designs for a new, inclusive curriculum which is evidence-based, authentic and engaging for teachers and learners. Moreover, the recommendations express a firm commitment to the Welsh language and bilingualism in Wales with the new curriculum rooted in Welsh culture, relevant to the needs of today and the future. Building on the strength of the existing curriculum, Donaldson (2015) – who does not discuss the linguistic complexities and socio-political factors of WME and bilingual education – simply recommends that the new curriculum develops on Welsh language and culture. The core needs to be addressed in the new curriculum are the aims, purposes, structure, pedagogy and assessment. As an adjunct to Donaldson's report, the 'Cwricwlwm Cymreig, history and story of Wales review group' state that the next national curriculum in Wales should take the ideas and ideals embodies within the current Cwricwlwm Cymreig as its foundation – they state unequivocally that the new curriculum should have a Welsh and international perspective.

In compiling the report (Donaldson, 2015), the Review Team collected data from 60 schools and learning institutions throughout 2014, consulting with staff, teachers, pupils, parents and carers and FE / HE representatives. By consulting with professionals and those at the forefront of the curriculum, the report was able to identify some of the qualitative factors influencing the PISA performance results. The findings suggest that teachers and educators wish to have more autonomy to make their own judgements within the framework. A shift away from subject-based curriculum to an 'areas of learning' approach organised around skills and themes. Pupils express their want for a greater focus on general social competencies, interaction and practical application (life skills, personal confidence, personal and social education, basic skills, vocational avenues and balanced careers guidance), as demonstrated by the WISERD analysis (Pearce, 2015). In the current curriculum, 'enthusiasm for learning' is sacrificed in favour of gaining qualifications (Donaldson, 2015), as I assert throughout this thesis with findings on attitudes towards the Welsh language.

The new curriculum recommendations look to international frameworks of education. For instance, in Scotland, the curriculum aims to develop four main capacities in children and young people: to become successful learners, confident individual, responsible members of society and effective contributors. It achieves this over eight curriculum areas (expressive arts; health and well-being; languages; mathematics; religious and moral education; sciences; social studies; technologies. Literacy, numeracy, health and well-being and ICT are developed and reinforced holistically cross-curricula. The United States focus on key skills and competencies, with the Australian national curriculum building on this, bringing together cross-

disciplinary learning with a 'global orientation' (Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young People, 2008). The structure here reflects aims of well-being, culture, basic skills, personal effectiveness and employability. In New Zealand, thinking competencies are developed using language, symbol and text. In addition to eight curriculum learning, the curriculum in New Zealand specifies key competencies in 'thinking; using language, symbols and text; managing self; relating to others; participating and contributing. Here, disciplinary learning and wider capabilities are combined in the 'areas of learning' approach (Donaldson, 2015). Through the education system, children and young people are encouraged to manage self and relating to others, with an emphasis on participating and contributing. As literacy skills are embedded within these competencies, the model in New Zealand encourages an applied, holistic style of learning which children and young people can apply beyond the classroom. The international trend towards emphasising the effective applicability of learning beyond the classroom demonstrates an example of alternative pedagogies from which the education system in Wales can benefit (e.g. Chapter 8).

The Netherlands and Northern Ireland both employ six areas of learning, with emphasis on social and environmental studies and creative expression in the Netherlands, and on personal development and mutual understanding in Northern Ireland. The strands within each curriculum area share objectives, and teachers are expected to integrate learning cross-disciplinary. In England, the 12 core subjects remain as the main curriculum structure, with associated programmes of study differentiated for each subject. Despite reports from independent review teams in England identifying the need to progress to a structure based on capacities and

areas of learning, the Government in England reject the recommendations and retain the separate subject approach to learning (Donaldson, 2015). With the understanding in Wales to move to an international perspective of educational excellence, progressions in Wales are moving the new curriculum into the highly recommended holistic 'Areas of Learning' approach. The Review provided by Donaldson (2015) proses six Areas of Learning and Experience for the new curriculum in Wales: Expressive arts, Health and well-being, Humanities, Languages, literacy and communication, Mathematics and numeracy, Science and technology. Crucially, the emphasis on the Expressive arts encourages children and young people to develop their creative competencies through opportunities to communicate creatively. As argued by Smith (2013), the significance and potential of the arts is recognised internationally in facilitating educational, social and economic excellence. The Arts Council of Wales provide the Creative Habits of Mind wheel (Creativity, Culture and Education, 2015 – see Appendix R) identifies the five creative competencies of Collaboration, Inquisitive, Discipline, Persistence, Imagination, providing a clear roadmap for progression throughout the competencies. Crucially with the new criteria laid out by Donaldson (2015), the new curriculum in Wales will aim to enable children and young people to apply their learning in unfamiliar contexts through stimulating and encouraging teaching and learning. Here, I assert, there is a capacity for the Welsh language to be at the forefront of curriculum developments in terms of facilitating speakers to apply the language beyond the school domain. The new curriculum recommendations for the Welsh language are as follows:

21. The Welsh language should remain compulsory up to the age of 16.

22. There should be a renewed focus in schools on learning Welsh primarily as a means of communication, particularly oral communication and understanding.

23. Progression in the Welsh language towards transactional competence at age 16 should be appropriately reflected in the related Progression Steps and Achievement Outcomes.

24. The value attached to the Welsh language by children and young people, teachers, parents, carers and the public should be enhanced by strengthening the focus on its commercial value for the jobs market, the suggested cognitive benefits of bilingualism and its importance in enabling children and young people to achieve a good understanding of the cultural life of Wales in the past and present.

25. Investment in and improvements to provision and the raising of standards should focus on strengthening the language in primary schools in order to create solid foundations for learning in Welsh and other languages in secondary school. There will also be a need for support for secondary schools to enable them to improve and adjust their provision.

26. Welsh-medium schools should act as hubs for the Welsh language, to support teachers and practitioners in English-medium schools.

27. Systematic links should be established between schools and outside agencies that can support teaching, learning and the provision of resources in Welsh

and modern foreign languages, including further and higher education providers and Mentrau Iaith.

28. Significantly better and more creative use should be made of technology in the teaching and learning of Welsh and also modern foreign languages.

29. The Welsh Government should realign Welsh language qualifications at 16 with the proposed focus on speaking and listening and application in the workplace.

30. Implications for enhancing competence in the Welsh language in the education workforce should be taken forward through the New Deal for the Education Workforce and Professor Furlong's review of teacher education.

(Recommendations 21 to 30, taken from Donaldson, 2015: 115 – 116).

Predominantly, the Recommendations focus on instrumental, extrinsic motivations (i.e. qualifications, careers and HE). However, it is particularly promising to see Recommendation 22 focussing on Welsh as a means of oral communication. This is the recommendation which the 'third domain' pertains to.

7.3.2 The 'third domain' in practice

Based on the results of the studies of this thesis of this thesis and the discussion of motivation as provided throughout this chapter (Dörnyei, 1998), the model of the 'third domain' intervention (from hereon, TDI) is outlined as follows:

Table 12: Proposed solution to increase use of Welsh beyond the classroom

Problem	Action	Proposed outcome	Measure
Welsh is not commonly used in the L domain	TDI must be socially-orientated i.e. not in the classroom	TDI acts as a bridge to filter Welsh into the L domain	Observational: transmission in non-classroom settings; use of external arts pracitioners
Speakers associate Welsh with H	TDI facilitates informal Welsh e.g. featuring code-switching, colloquial forms, inclusive of 'insults, jokes and terms of endearment	Speakers receive contact with informal language practices and are linguistic diversity is encouraged	Quantitative increase in pupils' use of Welsh among peers; increased engagement
Speakers lack biculturalism	TDI provides opportunities to develop individuals' identity	Connect with contemporary Welsh culture and form own identity	Develop an interest, create their own youth cultures

External motivation to speak Welsh is currently extrinsic	Pupil-led project where children and young people have their voice heard; a focus on the intrinsic value of Welsh (i.e. peer-to-peer communication, access to Welsh-medium arts)	Pupils develop a sense of ownership, and are motivated to learn on their own terms, and to access/produce Welsh-medium arts	Evaluation activities with pupils

Crucially, TDI should not impose sanctions for the use of English, but simply actively encourage Welsh use through a variety of methods. The information listed in Table 12 above forms the description for developing the TD intervention.

In conclusion, this chapter has discussed the discrepancy between language policy and practice (section 7.1). Following this, Section 7.2 – 7.3 explored the relevance of low-domain platforms in relation to language maintenance and school frameworks. This chapter has brought together the conclusive discussions from Chapters 4 and 6, proposing means of engaging young people – particularly males – with Welsh beyond the classroom. The next chapter takes these curriculum considerations alongside the sociolinguistic factors as identified and discussed throughout this thesis in order to investigate an intervention approach. This is presented in the third autonomous study of this thesis.

The third study – Chapter 8 – takes the overall points as identified in the

present chapter and proposes a method of addressing existing issues in the context of minority language transmission. The proposed method capitalises on young speakers' intrinsic motivation at an earlier stage in schooling, rather than extrinsic motivation at the later stages of schooling. The following chapter comprises the third and final study of this thesis.

Chapter 8: New domains of Welsh transmission: The Forest School intervention

This paper is due for submission to the journal of Language Planning and Language Problems.

This paper evaluates the impact of the Forest School pedagogy as a platform for minority language maintenance beyond the classroom. Drawing on qualitative and quantitative data, we argue that Forest School is able to provide an intermediate or 'third' domain of minority language transmission, bridging the gap between formal domain acquisition (i.e. school) and informal domain application (i.e. home). We investigate the extent to which specifically Welsh-medium activities filter-down from the school and extend into the home domain. Discussion pertains to curriculum design of minority language education. Ridgers et al. (2012:60) suggest that the dynamic 'play' activities of FS are replicated in the home and local, consistent with literature which demonstrates FS filtering down beyond school into home, social and play environments (Murray and O'Brien, 2005).

Keywords: Welsh-medium education, language planning, immersion education, Welsh-English bilingualism, inverted diglossia, biculturalism, bilingualism, third domain

The Welsh Assembly Government are responsible for the protection and promotion of Welsh (European Parliament, 2017), aiming to meet a target of 'one million speakers' by 2050, primarily through the education domain (Welsh Government, 2016). The Welsh-medium Education strategy (2011) aims to promote

and facilitate Welsh language uptake, as guided by the Government of Wales Act (2006). The strategy pointedly states aims of wanting to see increases in Welsh language speakers and users through improvements in WM teaching and learning for L1 and L2. These L2 'new speakers' provide the potential for increasing speaker numbers (O'Hanlon, 2010) and promisingly, the number of children enrolled in Welsh-medium education continues to increase (Welsh Government, 2014). The majority of Welsh-English bilinguals acquire Welsh through the formal educational domain rather than informal home domains (Lewis et al., 2012). Although it is accepted that transmission and use of the minority language in the informal home-family-neighbourhood domain is essential for minority language maintenance (e.g. Fishman, 1991), the education system provides the single most important agency of Welsh promotion and transmission in Wales (Williams, 1992; Baker, 1992). This is evident even within the Welsh heartlands (Jones, 2012:15). Institutionally, a direct relationship is assumed between speaker numbers and linguistic vitality, evident within the Welsh Government's Welsh language strategy 2012 – 2017 'A living language: a language for living'. The strategy concerns the promotion and facilitation of the use of Welsh language in everyday life, provision of bilingual services and opportunities for use and sets ambitious goals for Welsh to function in all domains. The strategy proposes two distinct indicators to measure impact i.e. (i) the percentage of five-year-olds who enter the school system with Welsh as a home language, and (ii) the percentage of people 'able to speak and write Welsh'. However, there is little detail on implementing the strategy to bring the Welsh language to function in all domains. Similarly, the Welsh-Medium Education Strategy (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010) aims to enable speakers to use Welsh in personal, social and career domains although does not detail the direction which

must be taken in education in order to facilitate such a high number and increase of speakers. The Welsh Language (Wales) Measure (2011) established a legal framework, imposing the responsibility of language planning with the local authority. Standard 145 requires each local authority in Wales to publish a five year strategy which provides details on the intended promotion and facilitation of the use of Welsh within that region e.g. Bilingual Cardiff Strategy 2017-22 (2016). Ambitious goals (such as a dramatic increase in speaker numbers) must utilise sociolinguistic parameters if long-term maintenance is to be achievable (Hornsby, 2015; Reaser and Adger, 2008).

In accordance with Fishman, Welsh maintenance depends on the niche foothold of the education domain which provides the language with a refuge where it is not in direct competition with the majority (Fishman, 1972b). While the classroom provides the primary agent of Welsh language transmission in Wales, the facilitation of children's social use of Welsh is an expectation of the education system (Thomas, 2018) rather than a reality. As discussed by Romaine (2007:218), it is easier to 'establish schools and declare a language official' than to motivate language use in the home domain, although successful language maintenance ultimately depends on the language choices of speakers in the social and home domain (Romaine, 2007). Fishman (1991) prioritises 'informal use of the language' at the foundation of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), a systematic approach in strategizing sustainable language maintenance. Despite institutional control, language rights have no guarantee on speaker language choice (McCarty and Watahomigie, 1998). For instance, research has shown L2 pupils' reluctance to use Welsh outside of the classroom and in peer-to-peer interaction (Thomas and

Roberts, 2011). Similar patterns have also been reported in other immersion contexts. For example, Broner's work with fifth grade one-way immersion children (2000a; 2000b) demonstrates a dramatic increase in pupils' L2 use of Spanish in the presence of an adult authority figure, but decreasing levels of L2 use in the presence of peers, and with age. Additionally, use of the L2 fluctuated when children were competing school-related tasks (75% Spanish-use) compared to off-task (34% Spanish-use). Similar tendencies have been reported for Catalan (Vila, 1996) and Basque (Cenoz, 2008). In fact, the long-term outcomes of immersive minority language education arguably provides more evidence for rates of attrition rather than maintenance (Dunmore, 2014). As noted by MacLeod (2009:228), despite growing literature on [Gaelic]-medium education, little critical analysis exists in terms of its impact. Dunmore (2014) asserts that the use of target languages by former bilingual and immersive-education students demonstrates consistent decline following completion of schooling, although little is known of longer-term outcomes (Woolard, 2007; Hodges, 2009). The consequence of this shortcoming is shown in the 2011 census; while quantity of new speakers entering the education domain increases, the census highlights a decline in the actual number and percentage of Welsh speakers in Wales (Jones, 2012).

The key issues with Welsh uptake relate to productive skills (Lapkin, Swain and Shapson, 1990), confidence levels and attitudinal orientation and speaker willingness to use the language (Price and Tamburelli, 2016). Tarone and Swain (1995) suggest that immersion students carry-out social functions (e.g. play, competition and arguing) in the L1 because they lack such input from their teachers and therefore do not know how to do so in the L2; furthermore, the need to perform

these functions is more important to their social identity than use of the L2. In Selleck's study into youth clubs in Wales, abandoning Welsh in favour of English reportedly signals students' means of 'contesting the school ideology' (2015:10). Price and Tamburelli (2016) identify the phenomenon of 'inverted diglossia' whereby Welsh-medium educated L2 adolescent speakers perceive the roles of Welsh and English to be functionally separate; Welsh has adopted the exclusive H(igh) role of formal schooling and English the L(ow) role of informal socialisation. The issue is therefore two-fold: (i) L2 students lack informal language practices; (ii) the 'school's language' may be perceived as inappropriate for informal peer-to-peer communication beyond the classroom. In similar fashion, Dewaele (2005) questions the methods available in providing L2 learners with sociolinguistically appropriate informal input in the classroom context. In an attempt to address these issues, Morris (2014) calls for research examining (i) barriers in minority language engagement and (ii) methods of enabling young people to use Welsh beyond the classroom.

When considering barriers to engagement with language, approaches to language planning for minority languages should hold motivation as a core factor (Sallabank, 2010). Motivation is commonly categorised with two polarised goals of language learning among language learners i.e. 'extrinsic' and 'intrinsic' (Gardner and Lambert, 1972). Extrinsic orientation refers to the perceived functional socioeconomic benefits of speaking that language, where language learning produces a measurable outcome and relates to the purpose of obtaining something externally i.e. status, achievement in improved career prospects, HE admission. On the other hand, intrinsic orientation refer to a speakers' desire to assimilate into the speaker community and culture e.g. for the identity affiliation of using Basque (Urla, 1995). This orientation is internally motivated i.e. speaker's preference, personal

satisfaction and enjoyment. The manner of motivation provides the strongest influence on speakers' language strategies (Oxford and Nyikos, 1989; Dörnyei, 2003) and personal motivations result in personal affiliation with the language and a greater adoption of its values (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2006; Dörnyei, 2006). In the Basque country, intrinsically motivated youth movements have sustained minority language ownership among young people; this can be seen in the grass-roots development of youth-led Basque free radio (Urla, 1995) where young people are afforded a space to share and innovate using colloquial 'street talk'. Urla's work demonstrates the engagement and reproduction of Basque among young people through creative platforms; in this study, young people are intrinsically motivated to use language in an unregulated sphere. In this respect, play is a highly beneficial and deeply natural manner in which children learn (Robinson, 2016) through which memorable moments can instigate memorable learning (Carr, 2017) . Thus, intrinsically motivated means of engaging with the target language result in an adoption of values and integrated learning.

As posited by Bentahila and Davies (1993:372), "is it extremely difficult if not impossible to persuade people […] to use language in contexts where they do not need [that language], or to enforce its intergenerational transfer on any large scale". The success of Basque and Basque free radio is entirely due to its unregulated, user-driven manner (Urla, 1995). Despite the invaluable lessons we could gain from this, the Welsh language is being transmitted on a large compulsory scale to young people in Wales, with extrinsic, externalised functions as the main driver i.e. top-down rationale. As such, perhaps identification of the barriers in minority language engagement as requested by Morris (2014) can be better understood in terms

highlighted by Price and Tamburelli (2016) whereby young people are receiving Welsh as connoted with economic and educational advancement. Additionally, it is argued that children above seven years old (i.e. beyond the Foundation Phase) are lacking the crucial 'play' element which is essential in embedding learning at a later phase (Robinson, 2016; Carr, 2017). Thus, the lack of transferability from H into L, and the lack of access to L serves as a barrier for Welsh-language engagement in both domains.

Morris (2014) further calls for methods which enable young people to engage with and use Welsh beyond school. Informal communicative domains are notoriously difficult to manage, and for this reason we must look to adapting existing school-based frameworks. Thomas and Roberts (2011) requested research into best creative practices which encourage Welsh use among peers. The new curriculum in Wales coming into effect in 2020 identifies six Areas of Learning and Experience (Donaldson, 2015), namely expressive arts, health and wellbeing, humanities, languages, literacy and communication, mathematics and numeracy, science and technology. Donaldson (2015) advises that these areas avoid compartmentalisation or timetabling devices, but instead provide applicable, meaningful activities. Moving away from what is daubed the 'atomistic' curriculum (Donaldson, 2015:35), the new structure aims to 'apply learning more holistically in real life situations' or to use that 'learning creatively to address issues that cross subject boundaries' (Donaldson, 2015:35). In addition to appropriate emphasis on the Welsh language and culture, the report recommends that the curriculum should enable children and young people to apply their knowledge in unfamiliar contexts. The new curriculum thus provides a potential platform to facilitate children's use of Welsh outside of the classroom, whilst

retaining measurable curricular outcomes. With these potential new developments in curriculum reform, can an intervention at the low-domain be introduced into the high domain in order to facilitate Welsh-language transmission beyond the classroom? I suggest that the new, holistic curriculum as proposed by Donaldson (2015) may take motivational factors into account in order to sustainably engage young people both in their learning, but in applying Welsh beyond the classroom. This would entail devising a platform not presently available through the medium of English, aimed at transmitting informal Welsh for everyday use. With English currently dominating the L context in Wales and Welsh largely visible in the H context, this paper proposes the development of a Welsh-only 'third domain' in which colloquial Welsh is transmitted in its own unrivalled domain. Such a 'third domain' would exist independently of H and L, with no competition from English. Moreover, the third-domain would hold speakers' intrinsic motivation at the forefront of its design. The aim here is to provide a mid-point for the transmission of Welsh from H *via the third domain* into L. Transmission would be guided by speakers' intrinsic motivation, as exemplified by Urla (1995). For such a scheme to work, the interrelationship between teacher and learner must be remodelled to ensure that teachers engage learners in pedagogies intended for holistic development (Reaser and Adger, 2008) i.e. introducing youth workers and external practitioners to work between teacher and pupil.

In summary, minority language immersion students in Wales appear to lack the informal, social input necessary for conversing in the L domain in-part due to the manner of the H domain in which Welsh is transmitted (Taron and Swain, 1995; Price and Tamburelli, 2016). English serves young people as a break-away from the

conformity of school (Selleck, 2015; Price and Tamburelli, 2016). In order to foster Welsh uptake among young people, language motivation should be of primary importance (Sallabank, 2014). The extrinsic nature of present Welsh-language promotion is at odds with the intrinsic nature which successfully fosters linguistic ownership (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Dörnyei, 2006). Neighbouring contexts present youth-led minority language affiliation, sustained via intrinsically-driven projects (Urla, 1995). Furthermore, contemporary curriculum developments (Donaldson, 2015) suggest that pupil-led intervention supporting Welsh transmission from H to L could be implemented within the school timetable. Furthermore, outreach projects must convince educators that creative language programmes are beneficial to the social and academic well-being of students (Reaser and Adger, 2008). We must therefore turn beyond the confines of curriculum and focus instead on the manner in which creative, intrinsically-motivated approaches to language learning can optimise Welsh use in contemporary life, the ultimate goal being that of promoting a functional bilingual, bicultural society (Williams, 1992:319). Such intervention would therefore need to fulfil the following criteria, as displayed in Table 13.

Table 13: Criteria for intervention

Objective	Action
Replicable	Based within school
Sociolinguistic	Emphasis, acceptance and encouragement of informal language practices and novel utterances

Niche (Fishman, 1972b)	Must occupy a space not currently in competition with English
Informal	Must be outside of the usual classroom environment

Forest School

In line with Morris' (2014) request to devise platforms which enable young people to use Welsh in the L domain, the platform must be intrinsically motivated (Sallabank, 2014) and led by the speakers themselves (Urla, 1995). This study identifies Forest School (FS) as providing the potential bridge between formal domain transmission (i.e. in school) and informal domain application (i.e. beyond school) of Welsh; to our knowledge, this is the first and only study integrating the FS intervention into minority language maintenance at Key Stage 2 (7 – 11 years old). Forest School is a pedagogy of working in the outdoor environment, preferably a woodland setting (Knight, 2011). Forest School works on the premise that repeated, enjoyable experiences in an outdoor setting will positively affect participants' disposition to learning (Knight, 2009; Knight, 2011). Forest School provides regular access to the natural environment through timetabled activities, linking national curriculum objectives with a developing knowledge and interest in natural surroundings. Knight (2011:2-5) summarises the key elements of UK Forest School as following: The setting is not the usual one – the outdoor space has been shown to have profound effects on well-being (MIND, 2007); It is a 'safe-enough' environment, promoting manageable risk; Forest School happens over time, at least half a day a week for 10 weeks; Participants go out in all weather; Trust is central; Learning is predominantly child-led; Sessions have beginnings and endings; The sessions are

led by a trained Forest School leader. The enhancement of physical and linguistic skills is central to the Forest School ethos.

The FS programme of learning developed in Scandinavian schools, where the FS movement began and has become an integral part of practice; since 1995, the practice has been implemented in the UK (Bridgewater College, N.D.). Supplementary programmes are typically introduced during timetabled school sessions (pre-school and elementary) where children can access woodland sites, either on school grounds or local community (Ridgers, Knowles & Sayers, 2012), thus FS intervention practically applies learning 'out of the classroom'. Sessions provide regular access to the natural environment through timetabled activities – such as shelter building and cooking – linking national curriculum objectives with a developing knowledge and interest in natural surroundings (O'Brein and Murray, 2007). Building on children's intrinsic motivation and attitude to learning, six-week sessions have been demonstrated to capitalise on risk-taking, decision making and initiation, subsequently leading to increased participant confidence and self-belief (Murray and O'Brien, 2005) as prioritised by the Forest Education Initiative (2008). The physical activities provided by programmes such as Forest School directly improve children's health, wellbeing, academic achievement and confidence (Correa-burrows et al., 2014; Strong, 2005). Conversely, Welsh-medium education has no visible effect on creating more confident L2 speakers nor willingness to engage with the language during opportunities of extended communication (Thomas et al., 2012); low self-rated ability correlates highly with low levels of Welsh use (Morris, 2014). As the FS intervention is shown to increase participant confidence, enjoyment and language engagement, Welsh-medium Forest School (WMFS) has

the scope to increase these factors among participants medium of Welsh (i.e. Thomas and Roberts, 2011).Price and Tamburelli (2016) provide evidence that levels of language confidence are not as focal to influencing speaker engagement with Welsh as previously thought, and that domain is a pertinent issue alongside existing issues noted in the literature (e.g. opportunities for use). Furthermore, Price and Tamburelli (2016; 2019) identify that the lack of opportunity for L-use of Welsh among peers, and the association of Welsh with the school (H) domain – is a crucial contributing factor in speaker lack of willingness to engage with the Welsh language among L1 and L2 pupils particularly males. Thus – rather than simply 'confidence in general – confidence in the use of and opportunities to practice Welsh in L contexts (as motivated by L-domain activities) could be supported the Forest School intervention. The Forest School intervention would provide the opportunity for experiencing the L-use of Welsh beyond the classroom and with activity leaders who are not teachers, thus creating a social domain and speaker experience which is beyond the classroom.

Increases in participant motivation and concentration have been further document (O'Brein and Murray, 2007), as has understanding and appreciation of the environment beyond the classroom (Davis and Waite, 2005). The enhancement of linguistic and physical skills is central to the Forest School ethos (Slade, Lowery and Bland, 2013:68); by promoting active linguistic and physical engagement, FS programmes are shown to enhance adult-child interaction (Davis and Waite, 2005) whilst also addressing the contemporary Western 'nature deficit disorder' (Louv, 2010). The focus is not on linguistic development – instead, linguistic capabilities improve as a consequence of participating in the highly interactive programme. Interaction facilitates learning (Long, 1996) and may direct L2 learners' attention to

lexical items, grammatical constructs or language 'gaps' (Schmidt and Frota, 1986) thus promoting the development of the L2 (Gass and Mackey, 2015). Interactive improvements are further exemplified in Slade et al. (2013) who observed children [who would not normally collaborate in school] interacting during FS sessions. As such, FS intervention could be further utilised in creating links between L1 and L2 speakers (Thomas and Roberts, 2011), thus fostering interaction through the medium of Welsh. As of yet, no studies have assessed the suitability of Forest School in maintaining minority language transmission.

The concept of interaction plays a central role in the theoretical process of L2 learning (Pica, 1994, 1995; Gass, 1997), with learning occurring in the interaction – not as a result of the interaction (Lantolf 2000a 2000b; Swain, Brooks and Tocalli-Beller 2002). Child-led play and child-led learning are core elements of FS; a number of studies have investigated the role of 'play' in language with L2 uptake (Sullivan, 2000; Broner and Tarone 2001; Bell 2002; Beltz 2002). Vygotsky (1978?) emphasises the pivotal role of 'play' as a formative site for learning in child development, arguing that play is ' in advance of development' – that children begin to acquire "motivation, skills, and attitudes necessary for their social participation" through play (Vygotsky, 1987:129). It is proposed then, that Welsh-medium FS could provide the potential platform to foster the necessary 'L1 social functions' of play, competition and arguing (as identified by Tarone and Swain, 1995) through the medium of Welsh. The benefits of FS demonstrated in the literature lend indirect support for minority language maintenance by generating an intrinsic motivation. By actively participating in Welsh-medium Forest School sessions outside of the classroom, children are exposed to a 'new domain' of Welsh in which they are

equipped with informal Welsh language practices in 'real-world' settings (e.g. building shelters, 'bug-hunts'). If Forest School programmes have been shown to intrinsically motivate participants, then it is possible that Welsh-medium Forest School will also generate intrinsic motivation *through the medium of Welsh*. As a key issue faced in Welsh maintenance is its association with extrinsic values, the fostering of an alternative, pupil-led movement could prove essential in strengthening Welsh vitality (Urla, 1995). Finally, WMFS would carve an important niche for the minority language which is not yet rivalled by English for students in Wales. In accordance with Fishman's warning (2001a, 2001b) that keeping up with the prestige, power, and financial backing of a worldwide language such as English is impractical and impossible, focus must shift to areas where the minority language faces less competition from the majority language, in order to create a linguistic platform associated with L Welsh transmission. At present, FS is not widely employed throughout Wales, with a limited pool of practitioners working externally across the country (Outdoor Learning Wales, 2017). By actively participating in WMFS, it is anticipated that children will be exposed to a new 'third domain' of Welsh which holds the potential of transmitting Welsh language practices in real-world outdoor settings as yet unrivalled by English.The Forest School intervention differs to usual school practice in a number of ways. Firstly, at the time of study, mainstream educators in Wales were not familiar with the Forest School[13] pedagogy thus the method introduced a number of new teaching strategies to the school and the children. For instance, the sessions take place entirely outside (rather than inside) – an environment known to have profound positive impacts on mental well-being

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[13] As influenced by Price (forthcoming), educators in Wales are now able to access training in the forest school pedagogy through their school; the benefits of the Forest School method have been recognised and utilised by a number of schools since the author developed and implemented 'forest school' projects for the Lead Creative Schools scheme in a number of schools for the Arts Council of Wales (2016-2018).

(MIND, 2007) and learning (Knight, 2011). While schools may choose to sometimes use the school grounds for teaching some subjects (e.g. science and physical education), teachers are considerably less likely to use the outdoors to teach language, arts, mathematics and geography (Dyment, 2005). The FS method delivers all curriculum content (including science, mathematics and geography) with specific engagement with the arts and linguistic and physical skills (Slade, Lowery and Bland, 2013). Furthermore, unlike classroom teaching which is led by teachers and supported by teaching assistance who are often constrained by a number of teaching parameters, FS sessions are led by activity leaders who take a different approach to adult-child engagement. Ultimately, the Forest School pedagogy is chiefly concerned with fostering positive, enjoyable and interactive learning experiences in the outdoor world (Knight, 2009) – an entirely different experience to learning in a classroom setting.

Research Questions

This paper explores whether FS provides a 'third' domain of informal Welsh transmission. If the FS intervention fosters interaction, an increase in self-confidence and positive association towards the experience of using Welsh beyond the classroom, then one expects increased use of Welsh among pupils participating in the programme. This will be explored by qualitative and quantitative investigation:

Q 1: Do pupils demonstrate an increase in self-confidence as a result of engaging with WMFS?

Q 2: Do pupils demonstrate an increased use of Welsh through their participation in Forest School activities?

Question 1 is concerned with attitudes and is investigated via qualitative method. Primary data (interviews, Focus Groups and videos) and secondary data (photographs, lesson plans and observations). Teacher interviews explore the observed impact of FS on pupils, while pupil focus groups explore the extent to which FS is viewed as an enjoyable, meaningful activity. Acknowledging concerns that much research in the area of the effectiveness of FS has a disproportionate emphasis on qualitative case studies (Vanderbeck, 2008), Question 2 is concerned with actual use of Welsh and will be investigated via quantitative method. Pre- and post- project focus group sessions were conducted with peer-groups of KS2 pupils, measuring the amount of utterances in English and Welsh spoken before and after FS intervention. If pupils do not demonstrate a notable increase in Welsh use between the pre- and post- measure, then it is likely that FS intervention provides no evident benefit to facilitating Welsh use among peers. However, if speakers demonstrate an increase in use of Welsh utterances from pre- to post- recordings, then it is suggested that the FS intervention facilitates Welsh-use among L2 peer groups.

Methodology

Data collection took place in one Welsh-medium community primary-school located on Anglesey from September to November 2015. For this project, the primary researcher worked alongside a qualified Forest School leader and trained as

an assistant. The primary researcher coordinated the 7-week Forest School project with an outdoor -learning organisation specialising in curriculum-linked nature-based activities in North Wales. Programme coordination included developing lesson-plans of fun activities designed to promote interaction among peers. The sessions were implemented once a week over seven weeks from September – October 2015. Two male practitioners were recruited to implement the project, one Welsh L1, one Welsh L2, both in their early thirties. Sessions were delivered by the L2 Forest School practitioner (FSP) and the L1 newly-qualified teacher (NQT) with limited auxiliary support from assistants and teachers i.e. modelling teachers as learners alongside the pupils. This criteria for FS practitioners was essential to accord with the aims of the current study, namely that children will benefit from Welsh-language role models in applying their Welsh into informal environments. The practitioners led sessions, with the primary researcher (female, Welsh L2, mid-twenties) gathering pre-, mid-point and post-project data. Staff and pupils were not informed that the project had a linguistic emphasis in order to avoid biasing results (Labov's Observer's Paradox, 1972). The lead researcher was mindful to remain at a distance from the FS activity as to not detract from the practitioners and the authenticity of the sessions. Progress was documented through photos and videos. Follow-up Interviews and Focus Groups took place in November, 2015.

Participants

A total of 45 pupils took part in the project[14] (18 KS1; 27 KS2). The FGs then focussed on the experiences of 27 KS2 pupils from the project (16 girls and 11

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[14] While the aims of the study are best suited to KS2 as the target cohort, the school desired for the project to be implemented across the school. For this reason, information regarding KS1 cohort's involvement is available for replication purposes. However, data was not collected from the KS1 cohort.

boys). The majority of children were from English-only backgrounds (n=24) while the minority had some exposure to Welsh beyond school (n=3). Welsh is the day to day language of the school and the medium communication with pupils, staff and the language of school administration. The school is a designated Welsh-medium school where 'all subjects' apart from English are taught through the medium of Welsh, with English support at teacher discretion (Welsh Assembly Government 2007:12). The headmistress, the KS2 teaching assistant and KS1 class teacher took part in the semi-structured interviews through the medium of Welsh. Although the KS2 teacher was not present for interview at the time of data collection, the KS2 assistant was present throughout the duration of project delivery.

Procedure

Seven sessions were delivered one per week over seven weeks to each year group throughout the autumn term 2015, with KS1 classes participating in the morning and KS2 classes participating in the afternoon. The sessions were designed to incorporate large quantities of informal Welsh terminology in leader-child interactions, and to consequently enable informal use in peer-to-peer communication. Throughout the sessions, interactions between children were observed and recorded, thus providing a week-by-week report of pupils' engagement with the Welsh language through the project. The project was directly related to in-class work, thus capitalising on using the FS experience to embed classroom teaching and learning (Slade et al., 2013). Consequently, session planning included use of the school's resources (e.g. Sali Mali text book). The sessions were structured (see Tables 14, 15), with the theme of KS1 sessions pertaining to the subject area

Anifeiliaid (Animals) and KS2 sessions pertaining to the subject area *Coed* (Trees).

In addition to core activities, all sessions included games (e.g. group songs, relay races, blindfold 'trust' exercises), mindfulness exercises (e.g. listening and other sensory exercises) and free play (e.g. den building, exploring meadows). As demonstrated in the session plans, all sessions were designed to complement the curriculum areas (i.e. mathematics, science, literacy) whilst also promoting Welsh engagement through context-specific vocabulary.

Table 14: KS1 seven-week session-plan outline 'Animals'

Session	Focussed Activities
1	Animal cards – match to habitat. Create cardboard animals.
2	Pt1. Make wood-cookies. Pt2. Make clay animals and build homes.
3	Fire making, toasting marshmallows. Red squirrel
4	Making bug hotels (e.g. Earwig Inn) using recycled containers.
5	Fire starting, pancakes, following a recipe.
6	Natural dyes (pestle and mortars)
7	Dan y Dail book- build Sali Mali house from story.

Table 15: KS2 seven-week session-plan outline 'Trees'

Session	Focussed Activities

1	Tree I.D: choose leaf, use ID charts, label and describe.
2	Wood-cookies and leaf bunting: outline leaves and colour with natural dyes.
3	Tree measuring.
4	OPAL: invertebrates & computer upload.
5	Pt1. Tree measuring diameters. Pt2. Tree discs. Pt3. Measuring pancake recipe.
6	Bird boxes – colour using natural dyes. (Bird box by hole size)
7	Pobl Dail – make leaf people, interview them about their lives in the trees.

Procedure

Observations, Photo/Video evidence

Participant observation, video and photo evidence was collected throughout the 7-week project in order to provide internal reliability (Davis and Waite, 2005) and to aid reflection of pupils' engagement with the Welsh language. Consent was obtained for all participants to have their photographs taken and to have their interview contributions used. Full ethics was approved prior to data collection.

Interviews and Focus Groups

Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected via voice recording. In terms of qualitative data, interviews with staff were recorded using a Marantz professional solid state recorder model PMD620, while quantitative data was obtained via recording groups of children in pre- and post-intervention focus groups. These were made using a Zoom H1 Handy Recorder.

Three separate one-to-one qualitative interviews were held by the primary researcher with school staff, gleaning staff attitudes towards the project and its impact on the children. In particular, the interviews considered staff perceptions of pupils' confidence and willingness to engage with the Welsh language. Staff interviews were carried out by the L2 female primary researcher. As she was not personally acquainted with staff, it was felt that staff would be able to provide genuine, unbiased reflections in the absence of the FS practitioners. Duration of interviews was 06:32minutes, 06:52minutes and 12:20minutes.

For the qualitative component, focus groups comprised the following numbers of pupils who took part in both pre- and post-intervention recordings: FG1 : 2 boys, 2 girls; FG 2: 4 girls;FG 3: 3 girls, 2 boys; FG 4: 2 boys, 2 girls; FG 5: 5 boys; FG 6: 5 girls. This selection of peers was consistent in pre- and post- intervention recordings to aid the reliability of comparative analysis. The L2 male FS leader was chosen to conduct pupil focus group sessions; this was due to him not being an authority figure, and as he had become known to the children through a planting project he had done on the school grounds in the previous term. Pre- and post-intervention FGs were held at playtime in a variety of outdoor spaces e.g. playground, willow tunnel, poly-tunnel, FS area. Six pre-project FGs related to topic areas such as 'Tell me

about yourself' while the six post-project FGs related to what the children had enjoyed about the FS sessions.

The advantage of using FGs generated qualitative data (e.g.attitudinal information) in addition to the qualitative data regarding participants' use of English and Welsh. The FGs ranged in duration from 04:07minutes to 19:36minutes, depending on the dynamic of the group. All interviews and focus groups were held in Welsh as the primary language.

First we will turn to the qualitative aspect of the data: transcribing, translating and analysing staff interviews.

(i) Staff Interviews

Analysis of spoken language is readily used in qualitative research, owing to the general principles of discourse analysis (Johnstone, 2008). Tilley (2003) discussed the difficulties of using transcribed data, while Greer (2010) details the challenges inherent in transcribing bi/multi-lingual data, such as translation error and transcript layout. Preparing bilingual data for analysis is a culturally-sensitive issue as translation entails the conversion of cultural concepts expressed by a particular social group or linguistic community into the language of another, thus the process of cultural decoding was given critical importance in this study (Torop, 2002). The primary researcher decided to transcribe all interviews and FGs in full, through the belief that every word in informants' contributions are valid components of their conscious experience (Vygotsky, 1987:236). This is to say that, the inclusion of all utterances provides a fuller picture of the informants' intentions and experiences, which in turn provide a richer data-set for analysis. Interviews and FGs must initially be transcribed in their original language; direct translation from the source into the

target language (i.e. Welsh audio translated directly into English text) carries the potential for interpreter bias (Lopez et al., 2008). The process of transcription circumvents the possibility of cross-linguistic semantic misinterpretation (Bogusia Temple 2002:844) and to reduce difficulties associated with translation and interpretation of verbatim data (Twinn, 1998). This provides some level of protection for the linguistic subtleties which are compromised through the process of translation (Liamputtong, 2010a). Translations must retain the balance between honest representation of cultural nuance and accessibility for the wider academic audience; transcription can be viewed as the concrete fixing of the ephemeral utterance or gesture for the purpose of detailed analysis (Duranti, 1997). The interviews and FGs of this study can be viewed as a response to a social situation, thus embedded in the culture of the school and of Anglesey (see Liamputtong, 2010b).

Moderators

The primary moderator has lived in the local community for over a decade and had Welsh-input in the home environment as a child. She is an L2 speaker, using the language for work, leisure and everyday life. She considers herself a bicultural researcher, sharing commonalities of language, social and cultural traits with the communities of study, thus demonstrating a good knowledge of groups and able to convey underlying cultural meanings of participants' expressions (Davies et al., 2009; Hennink, 2008:25; Im et al., 2004). The primary researcher was able to fully transcribe and translate all pupil FGs and elected to have a Welsh-language tutor proof-read the Welsh transcripts to confirm intuitions with culturally-sensitive information. However, the content of staff interviews was discussed with a Welsh-

language tutor who was able to advise with cultural connotations and linguistic nuances in Welsh. The Welsh transcriptions were partially translated by the primary researcher and proof-read and co-operatively translated into English with a Welsh linguist. His expertise along with the primary researcher's understanding of the context, project and data ensured that an accurate depiction of informants' contributions could be reached. To ensure the interview scripts upheld anonymity, personal information was re-coded in the transcript. The final phase entailed back-translation from English to Welsh (Brislin, 1970) to check for accuracy before analysis could begin. Back-translation entails transcribing verbatim, translator reading the transcript in the native language making notes and annotating, the transcript is translated and discussed collectively, proof-read (Lopez, et al., 2008:1733). Employing a variety of strategies (i.e. having a translation team, an advisor, and employing back-translation) conveys a more accurate representation of informants' original contributions (Noreen Esposito, 2001; Lopez et al., 2008:1737).

Quantitative Aspect: Utterances

Original transcripts and original audio recordings were reviewed three times; once the primary researcher was satisfied that the transcripts accurately included every utterance, the utterances were counted. This was achieved by first eliminating all transcript information (e.g. formatting, headings) to provide a total utterance figure. The utterances were then separated into two separate documents by language and counted, providing a total number of utterances for that language. The total figures were then collated and matched to the original total. Percentage change was calculated from pre- and post- intervention for all 12 FGs in order to provide a

variance between the 6 pre- and 6 post- project FGs.

In terms of coding words as Welsh or English, the recorded speech data from each focus group was transcribed digitally. The transcription conventions include notations i.e. recordings of participants' speech was transcribed into meaningful units. The selection of these base units was a crucial decision in the analysis process. As noted by Crookes (1990) the varying needs of discourse analysis have caused investigators to analyse at a range of different grammatical levels (e.g. morpheme, word, clause, utterance). A number of different units form the bases of discourse analysis systems designed for dealing with structural characteristics of bilingual discourse. In the present study, base units were classified base at the word-level in order to assist both qualitative and quantitative analyses of the data. As utterances could be characterised as Welsh or English depending on a range of different factors (e.g. code-switching, matrix language, lexical gaps), it was decided that total word-count was favourable for the current aims and applications of this study i.e. whether post-intervention groups demonstrate any observable quantitative change in social use of Welsh and if so, what is the quality of this change.

The system of coding used can be judged concerning its validity and reliability; as noted by Crookes (1990) a measure is reliable if it gives the same reading on the same item on different occasions, and it is valid if it measures what it is intended to measure. Loanwords from English into Welsh (and therefore found in the Welsh dictionary) were not counted as English words (as recommended by Davies and Deuchar, 2014) while borrowings not in the dictionary which have commonly used Welsh equivalents such as 'tent' and 'grasshoppers' were counted

as English. Such coding was kept consistent in pre- and post- intervention analysis; by keeping coding for words [either language A or language B] consistent, the small number of words which could be classified as either language A or B will not affect the analysis of quantitative word change, thus the results will demonstrate whether a change has occurred in the total amount of Welsh used. English borrowings were counted as Welsh when borrowings were contextually specific and did not demonstrate a gap in informants' lexical knowledge e.g. 'serfeifio yn y jyngl' ('survive in the jungle') provides four utterances in Welsh. Here 'serfeifio' was counted as one unit at the word-level and coded as Welsh, rather than two morphological units coded as English and Welsh, respectively i.e. survive + io. This relates to the study objectives regarding the design and implementation of an 'intervention' which facilitates young peoples' social use of informal Welsh beyond the classroom, rather than a qualitative analysis of participants' language development per se at this stage.

Results

Observations: Photos, videos and field notes

Primary (Interviews, FGs) and secondary data (photographs, videos and field notes) have been collated to answer Research Question 1. The results section focusses on the content and output of KS2 sessions due to the relevance of this target age group for the aims of the study. Due to this, only KS2 pupils provided quantitative FG data. With reference to Table 15, the KS2 activities of each week will be briefly visited with accompanying field observations. All seven FS sessions were held in Welsh.

Week 1: tree ID

Video footage shows pupils using bilingual leaf charts to identify different leaves. Pupils demonstrate dependence on the English translations by use of literature and support staff. Pupils then participate in an interactive game which proves popular and builds up further interest in the content of the activity i.e identifying trees by their leaves. Peer-to-peer discussion is held in English (see Appendix K).

Week 2: Wood cookies; leaf bunting; finding natural dyes (see Appendix L).

Week 3: Tree measuring (see Appendix M).

Week 4: OPAL invertebrates; bug science; bug hotels

Pupils used computer programmes to investigate their school grounds' bug populations. Following group discussion, pupils used hand-outs to search for different habitats. Pupils explore the site and appear to be drawing on Welsh terminology for relevant concepts. Later, pupils were given further instructions in Welsh and left to complete the bug hotel task mainly unsupervised. Again, pupils appear to be using some Welsh amongst each other (see Appendix N).

Week 5: Pancakes

Pupils followed a Welsh-medium recipe and instructions were given in Welsh.

Week 6: Bird boxes and natural dyes

Video footage shows a group of L2 girls foraging for natural dyes, using

Welsh-only to discuss the task among peers. The group demonstrate use of colloquial Welsh and apply context-specific terminology. Pupil language use was not elicited and no staff were present at the time of this video being shot (see Appendix O).

Week 7: Pobl Dail

This session had been worked towards for the final week. Pupils formed pairs or small groups and collected materials to create a 'leaf-person', to be mounted on cardboard. Pupils then had to create the characteristics and personality of their leaf-person. Pupils then interviewed each other in small groups or pairs, answering questions about their fictitious character through the medium of Welsh (e.g. 'what is her favourite food', 'what does he like to do at the weekend'). Towards the end of the session, pupils were invited up to demonstrate their interviews in front of the group, also through the medium of Welsh. Throughout this exercise, children had created characters, devised questions and provided novel answers through the medium of Welsh with minimal supervision. All group presentations were given confidently through the medium of Welsh, using terminology pupils had learnt through the FS sessions (see Appendix P).

Research Question 1

Interviews

Teacher interviews explore the observed impact of FS on pupils' self-confidence; a number of responding themes emerge when investigating 'Do pupils

demonstrate an increase in self-confidence as a result of engaging with WMFS?'
Evaluations given by teaching staff have been analysed thematically into two
categories of 'Third Domain' and 'Welsh language'. They are distinct enough to
warrant separate analysis. The former category encompasses themes of 'Enjoyment'
and 'Meaningfulness' as these link to intrinsic motivation to engage with Welsh
medium activities and aspects of self-confidence when using the Welsh language in
these activities. Following this, I take a direct approach in the 'Welsh language'
section to analysing observations of actual interactional use of Welsh use throughout
the programme. Both analyses are complementary and necessary, as gaining
understanding regarding participant uptake to activities (i.e. attitudes and
engagement) provides greater scope of understanding regarding the effectiveness of
Welsh language maintenance interventions such as the programme detailed in this
study. The respondents have been coded as 'TA1' (KS1 staff member), 'TA2' (KS2
staff member) and 'HM' (headmistress).

Third Domain
(i) Enjoyment

The 'Enjoyment' theme is at the heart of the argument put forward in this
paper. For a platform of Welsh-language transmission to be viable, it must provide
intrinsic value to participants. When asked what the children have enjoyed about the
sessions, TA1 and TA2 concur that children have derived most enjoyment from
having learnt new terminology for and information about different trees, leaves,
plants and animals (TA1:1.26-29; TA2: 1.17-20). HM states that the whole FS
experience is 'something positive' (2.39-45) while TA1 specifies that pupils

particularly enjoyed practical activities, such as creating crafts using natural materials (TA1:1.44-47):

> *"Oedden nhw wrth eu bod yn gwneud hynny, mae'n rhaid i mi ddeud."*
>
> "They were in their element doing that, I must say."
>
> TA1:2.10

TA1:1.45-47 observes the empowerment and sense of ownership pupils derived from participating in the FS activities.

> *"A dw i'n meddwl bod hynny yn agoriad llygaid i lot ohonyn nhw - bod nhw'n gallu defnyddio gwahanol bethau […] "Wow", 'lly "dan ni'n gallu gwneud hyn!"*
>
> "And I think that was an eye opener for many of them - that they can use different things […] sort of "wow, we can do this!"

This enjoyment and ownership has come to the attention of parents, which in turn is remarked upon by HM:1.30-33

> "[…] be mae'r mwyafrif o'r rhieni wedi sylwi ydy bod gan y plant mwy o ddiddordeb. Oedden nhw yn mwynhau dod i'r ysgol, roedden nhw'n mwynhau y sesiynau."
>
> "[…] what most parents have noticed is that the children are more interested. They enjoyed coming to school, they enjoyed the sessions."

(ii) Meaningfulness and impact

The 'meaningfulness' and 'impact' theme relates to the perceived value of FS for pupils and the wider school network. Informants expressed clear agreement on

the benefit of FS activities as having applied and lasting impact beyond the sessions, with playing games and physical exercise integrating mathematics.

"Dw i'n meddwl bod nhw wedi dysgu lot wrth fynd allan […] a cael hwyl a'r ymarfer corff […] y mathemateg a iaith a bob dim. […] mae pob peth yn dod allan ohono fo."

"I think they have learnt a lot by going outside […] and having fun and physical exercise […] the maths and language and everything. […] everything has stemmed from it."

TA2:1.43-45

In addition to providing enjoyment for children, HM states that the sessions succeed in enrichening the curriculum (HM:1.8-11), particularly for pupils 'who are not academic':

"Dw i 'n meddwl bod o 'di bod yn brofiad da iawn i'r plant. [...] Mae'r plant 'di cael pethau gwahanol allan ohonyn nhw. [...] Plant sy ddim efallai yn mwynhau yr ysgol […]. Mae o 'di bod yn rywbeth mae nhw 'di gallu disgleirio wneud - yn hytrach na wastad yr un un plant yn disgleirio yn yr un un meysydd.

"I think it has been a very good experience for the children. […] The children have gained something different from them. […] Children who perhaps don't enjoy school […] It has been something they have been able to shine in doing - rather than always the same children shining in all areas."

Despite having never heard of FS before a parent informed HM about the

provision[15], HM now strongly believes in the benefits of FS as she has seen first-hand the development and progress of the children:

> "dw i'n trio deud i bobl eraill, "mae o werth ei wneud, mae o werth rhoid y pres ar ei gyfer o". Oherwydd mae'r plant yn cael budd, os ydy o ddim ond ar y lefel o'r mwynhad a'r faith eu bod nhw'n dysgu."
>
> "I try and tell other people, "it's worth doing, it's worth providing money for it". Because the children benefit from it, even if it's only on an enjoyment level and the fact that they learn."
>
> HM:3.4-6

Through having fun, the children have been embedding their core learning through FS activities. While HM:2.32 expresses that the FS sessions cover all bases, TA2 provides more specific detail in terms of numeracy skills, self-efficacy and measuring (TA2:1.10-13). Additionally, pupils have gathered new knowledge which they would not have otherwise gained (TA2:1.17-18) such as which wild-growing foods they can and should not eat. The headmistress is so confident of the intrinsic and extrinsic value of FS for the pupils' learning and development that she has organised funding for further sessions:

> "dwi 'di gofyn iddyn nhw hel pres fel bod ni'n gallu cael sesiwn yn y tymor sy gynnon ni ar ôl. […] Na, mae o'n bendant yn rhywbeth dydy dim digon o ysgolion yn cymryd mantais ohono fo."

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[15] The primary researcher and FS leader had personal correspondence with the parent at the Anglesey Woodland Festival (2014), hence creating the inlet for this project at the school

"I have asked [the school network] to raise money so that we can have a session in our remaining term. […] No, it is definitely something which not enough schools take advantage of."

HM:1.41-46

Further impacts can be seen both in terms of the curriculum, but also in terms of individual children's engagement and attainment. HM(2.28-30) is adamant that the sessions enrich the curriculum whilst retaining a core emphasis on literacy and numeracy.

"Dan ni 'di gweld nhw'n dysgu rhywbeth newydd lle doedden ni ddim yn gyfarwydd, neu 'sen ni ddim 'di weld heblaw ein bod ni wedi gwneud rhywbeth tu allan i'r dosbarth fel yr ysgol goedwig. Wedyn mae'r plant hynny a'r plant fengaf wedi cael mantais ohono fo."

"We have seen them learning something new which we were not familiar with, or we would not have seen if we had not done something outside the classroom like the forest school. So those children and the youngest children have benefitted from it."

HM:1.14-17

"Ond o ran nabod yr hogyn bach, doedd o ddim yn ymddwyn fel 'na cyn i iddo fo gael sesiynau ysgol goedwig. Ac o'n i 'di gweld datblygiad yn fath â... yn ei ddyfalbarhad o, a canolbwyntio a pethau fel 'na, yn symud o tu allan i tu fewn pan oedd o'n gwneud ei waith hefyd - yn enwedig os oedd o'n seiliedig ar natur neu ar

rywbeth oedd o wedi ei ddysgu tu allan."

"In terms of knowing the little boy, he didn't behave like that before he attended the forest school sessions. And I had seen a development in his perseverance, and concentration and things like that, […]in particular if it was based […] on something he had learnt outside."

HM:1.26-30

"Mae 'na hogiau sy'n tueddu i fod yn llai... hefo llai o ddiddordeb mewn gwaith iaith a dysgu allan o lyfrau, lle mae genod yn tueddu... Mi wnawn nhw wneud fel mae rhywun yn gofyn. Dw i 'di gweld fod y ddwy ochr wedi cael budd, ond mae 'na ambell i hogyn o ran natur eu personoliaeth ella wedi cael lot o fudd allan ohono fo oherwydd fod o yn eu byd nhw."

"There are boys who tend to be less .. have less interest in language work and learning from books, whereas girls tend to .. They will do as someone asks. I have seen that both sides have benefitted, but some boys due to their nature or personality perhaps have benefitted a great deal from it because it's in their world."

HM:3.16-19

This point provides evidence that the FS intervention could help to narrow the gender divide between boys and girls in terms of engagement. This is further exemplified by the way in which the FS intervention targets the 'less academic' pupils, and thus FS provides less academic pupils with a context which is positively connoted with viable Welsh in the L domain.

"dw i yn hoffi bod plant - yn enwedig y plant sydd ddim mor academig - ella bod

nhw'n well am wneud hyn. A dydy'r plant bach academaidd sy 'di disgleirio mewn mathemateg a llythrennedd ers bod nhw yn yr ysgol rŵan [...] yn gorfod dysgu gan y plentyn ella sy ddim gystal efo ei fathemateg neu efo iaith [....] mae'r balans yn fwy hafal rhwng plant sy mwy hoffi wneud pethau a plant sy hoffi dysgu pethau."

"I like the fact that children - in particular the children who are not so academic - perhaps they are better at doing this. And the young academic children who have shone in mathematics and literacy since they started school now […] have to learn from the child who perhaps isn't as good in maths or language […] there is a more equal balance between the children who like doing things and the children who enjoy learning things."
(HM:3.7-12)

(iii) External practitioner

When asked whether it is important to have an external practitioner coming into the school in terms of the impact of the project, TA1:2.18-20 reflects on this, feeling it makes a difference having an external practitioner but that it has to be the right personality for the job (i.e. 'a very warm person'). TA2 states that using the outside space provides 'something different' in the learners' approach (TA2:1.29-30), that the third domain fosters pupils' ability to behave, respond and show respect for one another (TA2:1.32-34). Furthermore, the FS practitioner has positively impacted on pupils' concentration and imagination:

"dw i'n meddwl bod nhw'n talu mwy o sylw rŵan ar bethau o'u cwmpas nhw,

oherwydd bod nhw wedi cael profiadau efo Peter de.

"I think that they pay more attention now to things around them, because they have had experiences with Peter."

TA1:1.42-44

TA1 further states the manner in which the practitioner presented information 'in the world of children' made a huge difference in how relatable the project was for participants. This is further supported by HM who recognises the value in a 'different' approach when working with young people.

"Pan mae 'na rhywun sydd yn dda yn gwneud eu swydd hefyd - achos mae Peter yn dda iawn, iawn digwydd bod efo'r plant - ac yn dysgu nhw mewn ffordd bach yn wahanol i be 'sen ni'n wneud yn y dosbarth. Ond eto maen nhw'n gwrando, maen nhw'n dysgu. Mae'r plant hynaf tro 'ma wedi cael dysgu am blanhigion brodorol yr ardal, 'di cael dysgu am bethau fel lliwio efo aeron. Wedi dysgu am be sy'n iawn i fwyta, be sy ddim yn iawn i fwyta. Sut i wneud tân, a maen nhw 'di cael wneud y tân."

"When someone does their job well - because Peter is very, very good as it happens with the children - and teaches them in a slightly different way to what we would do in the classroom. But they listen, they learn. This time the older children have learnt about the area's indigenous plants, have learnt about things like colouring with berries. [They] have learnt about what's right to eat, what's not right to eat. How to make a fire, and they have been allowed to make a fire."

HM: 1.46-47;2.1-5

HM expresses her approval of having expert practitioners coming into the school, suggesting that budgets should be made available for the provision (2.45-47). The practitioner's 'very specific expertise' (HM:2.47) are seen as a huge asset to the school which all pupils have benefitted from, particularly in terms of confidence and engaging with new people and new situations. The FS leader appears to have a profound impact on how much the children enjoy the sessions, with pupils repeatedly asking staff when the practitioner would be coming back to school again (HM:1.30-33):

"Maen nhw'n mwynhau yn ofnadwy ac yn edrych ymlaen, dach chi'n gwybod, pan mae Peter yn dod rownd erbyn yr wythnos wedyn. [...] plant wedi rhedeg amdano fo de. Ac oedden nhw yn mwynhau ei weld o'n dŵad."

"They enjoy it a lot and look forward, you know, when Peter comes round the following week. […] the children ran towards him. And they enjoyed seeing him coming."

TA2:1.19-25

"A mae Peter jest yn *spontaneous*, mae'n deud rhigymau, wchi, y peth cyntaf sy'n dod i'w ben o! […] bob diwrnod oedd Jon yn dŵad oedden nhw'n awyddus iawn i gymryd rhan wchi."

"And Peter is just spontaneous, he says these rhymes, you know, the first thing that comes into his head! […] every day Jon came they were really eager to take part you know."

TA1:2.10-13

(iv) Filtering into L

There is clear observation of the FS activities filtering into the pupils' playtime, as a direct corollary of having taken part in the sessions:

"Maen nhw'n tueddu i gario mlaen efo ambell i weithgaredd [...] mae rhai o'r plant wedi cario mlaen amser chwarae […] i ddal i nôl brigau a sylwi ar bethau hefyd, ar ôl bod yn trafod pethau efo Peter 'lly."
"They tend to carry on with a few activities […] some of the children have carried on during playtime […] collecting sticks and noticing things as well, after discussing things with Peter."
TA1:1.23-25

Furthermore, the FS activities have been shown to filter into the home domain, with children applying their new knowledge and curiosity at home:

"maen nhw'n mynd o'r cartref a maen nhw'n dod a wahanol ddail neu wahanol bethau maen nhw wedi dysgu efo Peter, pethau mae nhw wedi talu sylw ar. Maen nhw'n tueddu i fynd adre wedyn a dod â wahanol bethau i'r ysgol i ddangos […] yn y dosbarth. So maen amlwg eu bod nhw wedi deall a 'di gwrando."

"they come from home and bring different leaves and different things they have learnt with Peter, things they have noticed. They then tend to go home and bring different things to school to show […] in class. So clearly they have understood and listened."

HM views FS as providing a bridge between school and beyond school domains:

"[…]mae o'n estyniad o'r dosbarth allan i weithgareddau tu allan sy 'di cyfoethogi be maen nhw'n wneud a be maen nhw'n ddysgu."

"[…]it is an extension from the classroom out to activities outdoors which has enriched what they do and what they learn."

HM:2.25-27

Here, we are given clear evidence of FS as providing a third domain of Welsh transmission for pupils. Additionally, TA1 reports pupil engagement and intrinsic motivation with the topics and themes covered by FS. This demonstrates the transferability of Welsh-medium FS activities from the H into the L domain.

"Mae'n dangos bod nhw wedi mwynhau hefyd - oherwydd bod nhw'n cario allan y math yma adref."

"It shows that they have enjoyed it as well - because they do this sort of thing at home."

TA1:1.34-35

Welsh language

(i) Speaking and listening skills

As the staff were not aware the project was focussed on increasing Welsh language among children, the following contributions relating to the Welsh language were given spontaneously during the interview. TA2 states that the majority of pupils

come from English-speaking homes, and that staff 'always encourage' the children to speak Welsh, both outside and in class (TA2:1.38-39). Despite this, TA2 states that she has noticed them using Welsh unprompted, and that the project has been useful in 'two ways'. By using Welsh throughout the sessions, TA2:1.37-38 observes that the FS leader has instilled enjoyment for and also facilitated the manner in which pupils' engage with the Welsh language. TA2 perceives the sessions to have had a direct impact on pupils' Welsh use. Pupils' Welsh oracy skills have been thoroughly engaged throughout the project, with HM stating that the sessions have benefitted pupils' overall engagement and confidence, and honed pupils' speaking and communication skills:

"Maen nhw'n dysgu yr elfennau, yn enwedig yr elfennau cymdeithasol - llafaredd a cyfathrebu yn briodol efo pobl gwahanol, efo ei gilydd. Cyd-weithredu, cyd-weithio er mwyn cyflawni rhywbeth yn y pen-draw."

"They learnt about the elements, in particular the social elements - speech and communicating appropriately with different people, with each other. Cooperation, working together to achieve something in the long run."

HM:2.30-32

"Ambell i blentyn efo mwy o ddiddordeb mewn dod i'r ysgol ac mewn cyfrannu yn yr ysgol. Ac yn y dosbarth wedyn, dan ni 'di gweld datblygiad rhai o'r plant o ran eu hyder, o ran y ffordd maen nhw'n siarad."

"Some children were more interested in coming to school and contributing at school. And in class afterwards, we have seen a development in some of the children in terms of their confidence, in the way they speak."

HM:1.11-16

In addition to this, TA1 notes the variety of activities which utilise pupils' Welsh language skills, particularly singing, creating simple songs and rhyme play (TA1:2.12-14). TA1:2.27-29 further explains that children's' active listening skills have also improved through participating in the sessions:

"... sŵn hefyd te, wchi, distawrwydd a gwrando ar yr holl synau. Mae hynna'n anodd tydi, cadw plant yn dawel yn ista a gwrando ar be sy'n digwydd o'u cwmpas nhw."

"… noise as well, you know, silence and listening to all the noises. That's difficult isn't it, getting children to sit quietly and listen to what's going on around them."

(ii) Increased Welsh engagement

In terms of the vocabulary the children have acquired, HM:2.33-35 expresses that:

"Mae'n nhw 'di dysgu enwau planhigion, maen nhw 'di dysgu pethau fel 'na, dysgu geirfa lle na fasen nhw'n ddim yn gael fel arall."
"They have learnt the names of plants, they have learnt things like that, learnt a vocabulary which they wouldn't get otherwise."

This evidences the transmission of contextual information which isn't classroom based into the pupils' everyday vocabulary. Here, we see real-world application, as bridged via the third domain. Through a teaching perspective, HM states that it could

be 'possible' to engineer sessions to capitalise on increasing the Welsh language, before realising that this has been achieved covertly through the project:

"Mae 'na fodd maen debyg addasu'r sefyllfa i wneud mwy o ddefnydd o'r Gymraeg. Ond dw i'n meddwl bod o'n dod yn naturiol yn hytrach na... Dw i'n meddwl basai gwthio'r iaith Gymraeg i fewn yn.... yn gwthio fo fewn, a wedyn sai'r plant ddim yn mwynhau gymaint. Yn Gymraeg oedden nhw'n cael y sesiynau, so wedyn oedd hynna'n gweithio'n iawn. A mi oedden nhw'n sgwrsio yn Gymraeg am y pethau oedden nhw'n wneud."

"It could be possible to adapt the situation to make more use of the Welsh language. But I think that it comes naturally rather than .. I think that pushing the Welsh language in .. pushing it in, and then the children wouldn't enjoy as much. They had the sessions in Welsh, so then that worked well. And they did chat in Welsh about the things they were doing."

HM:2.34-38

In terms of increasing the informal use of Welsh among peers, HM:2.39-41 discusses the merits of the project in terms of facilitating Welsh language engagement:

"[…] yn rhywbeth positif o ran bod nhw'n ymwneud efo rhywbeth gwahanol yn yr ysgol ac yn trafod yn Gymraeg. Felly mae eu Cymraeg nhw yn mynd i wella ar lafar, yn sicr, wrth wneud rhywbeth fel hyn."

"[…] something positive in that they are involved with something different in the school and discuss in Welsh. So their oral Welsh is going to improve, certainly, in

doing something like this."

Due to the project providing practical activities which appeal to all, HM has observed a notable increase in school engagement, particularly among boys:

"[...]efo rhai o'r hogiau sy ddim ella mor... sy ddim yn hoffi gymaint o ran yr ochr academaidd mewn ysgol, enwedig yn yr oed yma. Achos mae 'na lot o bwysau iddyn nhw sgwennu a darllen rŵan, a dim byd arall. A mae gwneud rywbeth tu allan i wneud y sgwennu a darllen yn lot gwell ar eu cyfer nhw, dw i'n meddwl."

"[…]with some of the boys who perhaps aren't quite as .. who don't like the academic side in school as much, especially at this age. Because there is a lot of pressure on them to write and read now, and nothing else. And doing something apart from writing and reading is much better for them, I think."
HM:3.30-33

"A felly maen nhw 'di bod isio dod i'r ysgol, isio gwneud, yn hytrach na, "o, dw i ddim isio dod i'r ysgol achos dw i'n gorfod darllen, gorfod sgwennu". [...] mae gwneud o trwy rhywbeth fel hyn, mae lot gwell. Maen nhw'n ffeindio budd. Os dw i'n gofyn iddyn nhw sgwennu am rhywbeth maen nhw 'di wneud efo Peter, wel, maen nhw yn mynd i wneud o. Yn hytrach na os 'swn i'n gofyn iddyn nhw sgwennu am rywbeth arall neu rywbeth allan o lyfr, neu cwestiwn arall - dydyn nhw ddim efo gymaint o ddiddordeb yn hynna. Dydyn nhw ddim yn dangos y brwdfrydedd yna."

"[…] And so they have wanted to come to school, want to do things, rather than, "Oh, I don't want to come to school because I have to read, have to write". […] doing it through something like this, it is much better. They benefit from it. If I ask

them to write about something they've done with Peter, well, they are going to do it. Rather than if I ask them to write about something else or something out of a book, or another question - they don't have as much interest in that. They don't show that enthusiasm."

"A mae 'na un hogyn yn benodol [...] Mae o wedi bod yn amlwg [...] Wnaeth o dyfu mewn hyder, wnaeth o ddechrau siarad mwy yn y dosbarth [...] Wnaeth o ddechrau siarad mwy yn y dosbarth, ac oedd hynna bron iawn yn syth yn dilyn yr ysgol goedwig 'lly."

"And there is one boy in particular […] He grew in confidence, he started talking more in class […] He started talking more in class, and that was nearly straight after the forest school."

HM:1.17-20

We will now turn to Research Question 2. In place of thematic content analysis, primary FG data has been annotated and relevant findings are provided below. Utterances from pre- and post-project FGs have been counted to provide a total score and variance for each group.

Research Question 2

Pupil Focus Groups

Question 2 is concerned with the quantitative and qualitative use of Welsh. The utterances were measured in pre- and post-intervention by recording KS2 social groups of pupils speaking and playing within a focus group (FG) with the Forest

School leader as a moderator. The moderator used a Zoom H1n portable voice recorder. The FGs took place in an outdoor sheltered area the children were familiar with (e.g. polytunnel), were unscripted and followed a natural conversational pattern between the children, although the moderator did provide gentle conversational prompts or interrogatives where relevant. In both pre- and post-intervention FGs, the moderator either began recording if the children were already interacting in their social group or asked children to introduce themselves to the microphone as an 'ice-breaker' (in the style of a deliberate playful "celebrity interview"). Moderator contributions were in the medium of Welsh. The FG method is particularly suited to the aims of the study, as it enables participants to simultaneously express opinions and provide social utterances without overt, direct elicitation (Kitzinger and Farquhar, 1999). As the FGs involved all KS2 members who took part in the FS intervention, it was possible to gain a sound insight into language use before and after study participation. While it is noted that the mean length of utterance (MLU) provides an important insight into child language development data, calculation of total utterances was more fitting to the aims of the present study. As the study has a strong focus on application, looking at total utterances both quantitatively and thematically allows for analytical generalisations regarding interaction between participants and topics of discussion. With the strong focus on application, projections can be made regarding the likely transferability of findings from evaluative studies, comparing results of case studies to the developed theory as outlined throughout this thesis. Case-study insights such as these support the development of recommendations for future language policy and planning.

If the participating pupils demonstrate an increase in use of Welsh, then we suggest that FS provides an effective intervention in facilitating informal use of Welsh

among L2 peer groups. The pupils were asked to recall things they had enjoyed particularly during the Forest School sessions, and to what extend these activities have filtered down to their social and leisure use at home and with friends. Pupil groups elaborated extensively through the medium of Welsh in the post-project FGs. For the sake of brevity of the present paper, the content of pupils' contributions will not be analysed; however, KS2 pupils' utterances have been counted and accompanying field-notes and observations supplied.

Evidence for language learning:

Rather than simply repeating language the participants had heard, participants create innovative forms, demonstrating that they have undergone a process of language learning (Gass and Mackey, 2007) e.g. Participant 5 applies grammatical Welsh rules when creating a new term "un diwrnod roedd fy auntie childmeindio fi" (one day my auntie was childminding me). Here, her use of 'childminding' applies both Welsh verbal '-io' suffix and vowel change to demonstrate her knowledge of Welsh grammar despite the lexical gap. Further strategies of learning such as overgeneralisation are evident in FGs 4, 5 and 6. For instance, in FG6, Participant 4 pluralises 'draenog' (hedgehog) to 'draenog-s' by adding the English plural –s rather than the grammatically correct –od ending usually associated with animal plurals in Welsh. Overgeneralisation errors such as these are motivated by transfer of L1 knowledge (Marcus, Pinker, Ullman et al., 1992; Schwartz and Sprouse, 1996). This is again seen in FG4 in relation to the collective/unit (c./u) system of pluralisation. While much of the sing./pl. system in Welsh presents the plural as a modified realisation of the singular base form (King, 2003), the

collective/unit system (c./u.) in Welsh demonstrates a different tact. Trees, plants and animals occurring in groups take on the 'collective' base form while the unit form indicates an individual member of the collective group. Through innovative language learning process and L1 transfer, participant X shows awareness of the assumed unit base forms 'dail' as singular (*leaf) and 'coed' as singular (*tree). In fact, 'dail' provides the collective base form (c. leaves) with the unit form 'deilen' (u. leaf) exhibiting both vowel change and suffication. Similarly, 'coed' provides the collective base form (c. woodland/ grouping of trees) rather than a plural form of a singular concept as is assumed by the participant. As noted by King (2003), L1 English speakers may perceive no disntinction between the sing./pl. and c./u systems through transfer of the L1. Using the pluralisation suffix 'au', participant (x:FG4) produces 'dail-au' and 'coed-au' for a pluralisation to mean 'leaves' and 'trees'. Correct use of target plural forms requires redistributing abstract features in the target language and learning the precise conditions under which this can or cannot be expressed; this is somewhat more difficult for L2 learners when the plural ending is configured differently in the L2 than in the L1, as in this instance (see Lardiere, 2014). Conclusively, this demonstrates innovative language learning in the participants. Here we may note that participants are not simply just repeating terminology from the FS sessions but using Welsh in general.

Cooperative Welsh exchange among peers is demonstrated in a number of instance of code-switching. For instance, in FG4, Participant 5 offers Welsh vocabulary to Participant 4 in the following:

P4: ti'n cofio y bed? Erm, y [pause]

P5: gwelyIn FG5, Participant 1 offers vocabulary to a peer who does not know

the word for 'die' or 'death':

P4: achos ti'n gallu wneud shelter fel ti'n surfeifio yn y jyngl, so ti ddim yn 'eirch'

[makes cut-throat noise]

P1: marw

In FG6, Participant 5 shares a story among the group:

5: roedd na unwaith wnaeth dad symud fel, wel, dim shed ond rhwyfath o shed fel playhouse […] a wnesi i mynd i fewn unwaith ond oedd y gwair yn mor fawr a wnesi weld tua saith grasshoppers

At this point, not meaning to correct her but simply acknowledging her contribution, the moderator adds

Moderator: ah, sboncen y gwair

To which Participant 5 apologises several times and repeats 'sboncen y gwair'. Quite rightly, Participant 5 used an English borrowing in the absence of Welsh terminology. However, the moderator's provision appears to be received as a correction. The tone with which Participant 5 apologises demonstrates a blow to her enthusiasm and confidence, which provides a snapshot of the manner of exchange Welsh-medium L2 children may face on a daily basis. Similar findings are reported in Price and Tamburelli (2016) whereby young people are chastised for speaking English but rewarded for using Welsh.

Utterances per focus group

The total utterances per focus group are displayed in Tables 16 and 17 below,

as raw numerical data.

Table 16: Number of English and Welsh utterances before FS intervention				
Group	Comprising	Duration	Welsh utterances	English utterances
1	Male n = 2 Female n = 2	04:19	61	28
2	Female n = 4	05:47	122	81
3	Male n = 2 Female n = 3	04:34	198	86
4	Male n = 2 Female n = 2	04:12	82	104
5	Male n = 5	06:33	86	111
6	Female n = 6	08:16	301	209

Table 17: Number of English and Welsh utterances after FS intervention				
Group	Comprising	Duration	Welsh utterances	English utterances

1	Male n = 2 Female n = 2	04:07	265	11
2	Female n = 4	06:09	336	32
3	Male n = 2 Female n = 3	05:19	273	21
4	Male n = 2 Female n = 2	04:31	316	34
5	Male n = 5	10:48	491	126
6	Female n = 6	19:36	1523	69

The utterances were then coded per minute and entered into SPSS to perform

statistical analyses in order to see whether language use was associated with

intervention. Minutes were rounded down if < .30 seconds, and rounded up if >.30

seconds. Minutes were coded as either Welsh or English depending on which

language held the majority of utterances in either language. In order to test the

hypothesis that intervention has some effect on language use, the two variables

were measured and Chi-squared was performed. Cramer's V and Phi were then

used as post-test to determine the strength of association after Chi-squared

determined significance. The results demonstrate a p value of .001 for strength of

association beetweern intervention and language use. This is demonstrated in Figure
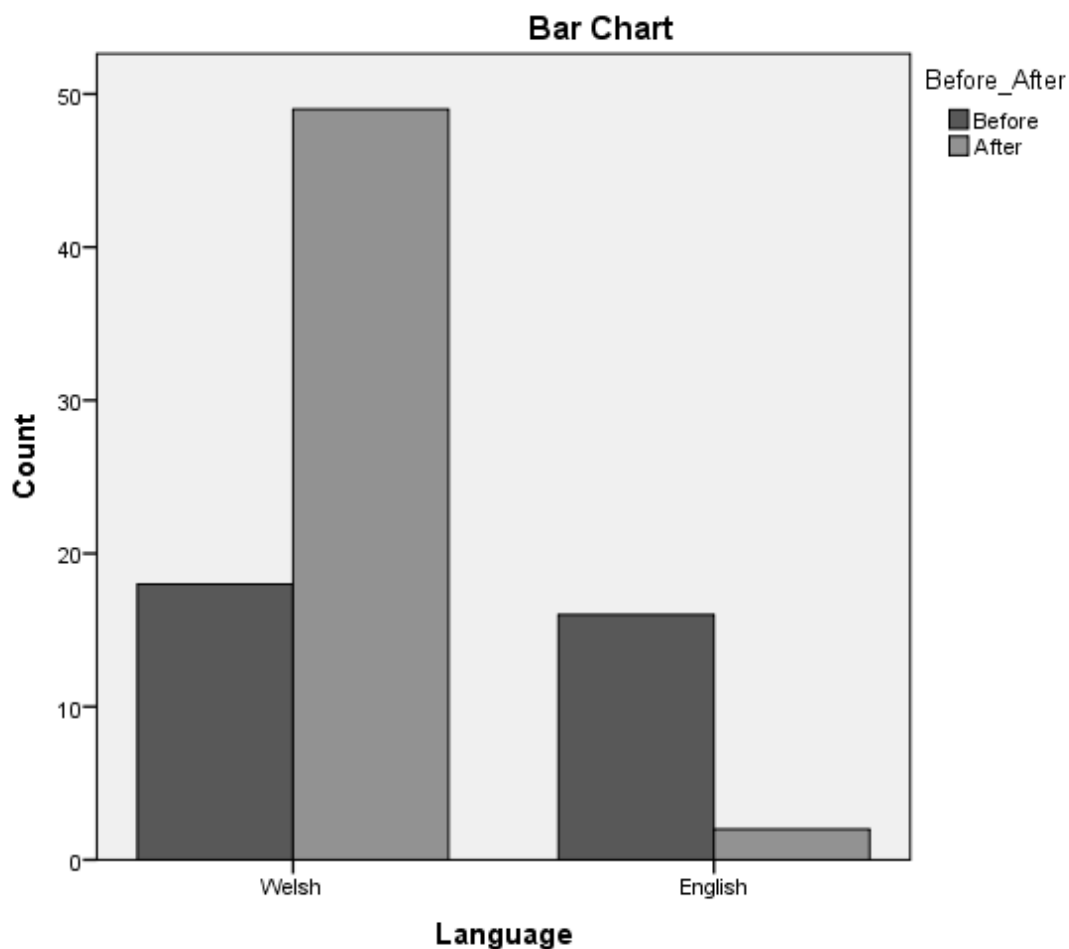
8 below:

Bar Chart

Figure 8: Strength of association between intervention and language use

As is evident in Figure 8, there is parity between Welsh and English utterances in the pre-intervention. However, post-intervention demonstrates increase Welsh use among the participants. This figure depicts a significant association between Intervention and Language use, demonstrating that peer-to-peer social use of Welsh is higher in the groups after having participated in the FS intervention.

Discussion

This study investigates whether the FS intervention has positively impacted

the transfer of Welsh language use among school-aged participants. This has been measured through both qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitatively, teaching staff were interviewed regarding their perception of WMFS as increasing pupils' interaction and engagement. Quantitatively, participant interactions were recorded to acertain whether Welsh language use had increased among pupils after participating in the FS study. Let us first turn to Research Question 1:

As suggested by Thomas and Roberts (2011), the absence of natural platforms of informal Welsh communication requires a creative approach in encouraging Welsh use among speakers. The present study considers how FS provides such intervention. Evaluating FS as a mode of informal language transfer holds the potential to influence language policy and curriculum design in Wales and the wider minority language context. To understand whether FS works as a model, sessions were held and attitudes were collected to ascertain whether such sessions are perceived as aiding engagement and language transfer.

Interview data demonstrates the evident positivity with which the sessions have been received by pupils and staff; in particular, the evidence suggests that parents have noticed their children becoming more engaged and eager for school.Applying new vocabulary to animals and plants and natural environment – their world becomes dynamic, the language is applied (O'Brein and Murray, 2007; Ridgers et al 2012). Staff make mention to individual pupils who have progressed as a direct consequence of attending the WMFS sessions. The project was able engage "the less academic" pupils who were able to 'shine' in these sessions, through the use of practical 'hands-on' activities. As provided by the Forest Education Initive (2008), engaging activities in the natural environment such as wildlife identification

are used to develop independence and self-esteem in pupils. This has been evident throughout this project. The role of self-esteem in achieving L2 fluency is widely accepted throughout the literature (Ushioda and Dornyei, 2009), thus suggesting that the self-esteem achieved throughout the FS intervention can positively influence speaker proficiency (i.e. Stern, 1983). As demonstrated by HM, the FS approach appeals to the 'less academic' pupils and affords recognition and opportunity to children with more practical avenues of learning. This is particularly pertinent considering the attitudes associating Welsh with academic achievement (Hodges, 2009; Price and Tamburelli, 2016). Here, the FS intervention presents Welsh as L, thus developing connotations from Welsh as H to Welsh as appropriate for L, ultimately providing capacity to mitigate the inverted diglossia as demonstrated by Price and Tamburelli (2016).

The interview data also provides reports of gender related trends, with boys who usually have less interest in 'language work'. Such gender-related trends have been reported in the literature (Price and Tamburelli, 2019) where female participants rate Welsh guises significantly more favourably than male participants. The male pupils of this study have become more engaged with the Welsh language, with HM (3.16-19) stating that boys have benefitted due to being able to relate to FS activities. This suggests that the FS intervention could help to narrow the gender divide between boys and girls in terms of engagement. This is further exemplified by the way in which the FS intervention targets the 'less academic' pupils, and thus FS provides less academic pupils with a context which is positively connoted with viable Welsh in the L domain. The FS model therefore provides the potential to alter pupils' relationship towards the Welsh language and subsequently how they relate to and use this language. The FS model then could be used in levelling Inverted Diglossia

(Price and Tamburelli, 2016; 2019) as the usual connotations of Welsh with formality and extrinsic motivation are traded for informality and intrinsic motivation. As requested by Thomas and Roberts (2011), the extent to which the teacher-child/child-teacher dynamic facilitates pupils' confidence and Welsh use needs investigation. The results are suggestive of the FS intervention facilitating boys' engagement with Welsh beyond the classroom. In this regard, the results highlight the value in external practitioners to provide this bridging work as the FS leader appears to provide the catalyst for change, an incentive and a representation of spontaneity which the pupils had not experienced prior to the FS intervention. Again, as noted by Thomas and Roberts (2011), there are generally more female teaching staff than male in primary schools in the UK. By providing male role models through the medium of Welsh, perhaps the FS intervention has impacted on boys' increased use of Welsh insofar as pupils are motivated by the FS leader as a role-model aligning with the notion that children orientate themselves towards older iconic and idolised figures (Boon & Lomore, 2001).

WMFS activities have been shown to filter into pupils' home, social and play environments, as concurrent with Murray and O'Brien (2005), as a direct corollary of having taken part in the sessions. This accords with Ridgers et al. who find that FS activities are replicated in the home and local domains (2012:60). Thus the present study gives strong support of FS as providing third domain of Welsh transmission from school into social domain. Observations and FG data show pupils' intrinsic motivation; pupils appear inspired by the active experiential learning, producing physical outputs and having been equipped with the informal language practices to reflect of their experiences imaginatively and with ease. Here it is evident that FS

activities filtering into L provides opportunity for Welsh vocabulary and language practices to filter into the L domain as children have learned about these concepts through the medium of Welsh with no English competitor equivalent. It is not simply the case that participants are repeating terminology that they have learned in the FS sessions, but have the willingness and enjoyment to apply Welsh in their conversational interactions. Thus it may follow that, post-intervention, children use Welsh to talk more in general (including but not limited to the activities they were engaged in). *Welsh-medium* Forest School activities therefore provide a potential vehicle of Welsh language transmission outside of the classroom, influencing language practices in the home and facilitating bottom-up Welsh revitalisation in the wider youth community. Sustainable language revitalisation cannot be achieved without the presence of the minority language in the L domains; the minority language in L is crucial in underpinning RLS and sustainable language practice beyond the classroom environment. To this effect, WMFS provides a third domain of Welsh transmission, bridging the gap between H and L.

Having evaluated Forest School as a mode of language maintenance provides new and creative avenues in influencing language policy and curriculum design in Wales and the wider minority language context for the benefit of sustainable minority language transmission. Welsh-medium Forest School (WMFS) could capitalise on the 'Areas of Learning and Experience' (Donaldson report, 2015) coming into the new curriculum in Wales, providing an off-shoot platform of informal Welsh transmission. At present in Wales, Welsh use among children and young people is limited beyond the classroom (Thomas and Roberts, 2011). As stated by Escamilla, for bilingual programmes to foster bilingualism and biliteracy, "the

environment outside of the classroom must encourage and support the use of two language with the same enthusiasm [as within school]" (1994:21). If WMFS is perceived as enjoyable then it can be used to foster positive attitudes towards Welsh, fostering bicultural bilinguals (Luna et al., 2008).

Overall, the qualitative evidence suggests that the FS intervention is well received, has somewhat filtered down from H into L and has reportedly increased orientations towards Welsh among boys. Children's behaviour has notably improved, their attitude to learning has improved, parents have provided positive feedback and children have reportedly developed increased confidence, interest and communication skills. The WMFS intervention thus offers a platform for informal communicative skills to flourish. Existing language skills have been engaged and developed in-situ with site-specific vocabulary and informal language practices. Pupils' Welsh oracy skills have been thoroughly engaged throughout the project, with HM stating that the sessions have benefitted pupils' overall engagement and confidence, and honed pupils' speaking and communication skills i.e. singing, learning about the natural world, facilitation of boys' oracy and literacy skills. Thus reports show WMFS has been positively received.

Impact on informal language practices was also assessed quantitatively. While children receive Welsh input through school on a daily basis, such practice does not guarantee Welsh use, particularly in unmoderated peer-to-peer social communication (Gathercole and Thomas, 2009; Thomas and Roberts, 2011). WMFS has been investigated as a method of facilitating social use of Welsh among young people. In order to assess this, peers were recorded pre- and post-intervention, and

observed throughout the project. We will now turn to discuss those findings. Given that the future of Welsh and Welsh culture is 'wholly dependent on transmitting the language to our young people' (Welsh Government, 2013), there is an opportunity to explore transmission methods within WM-education. When planned and implemented well, learning outside the classroom (e.g. Forest School) can contribute significantly to raising standards and improving pupils' personal, social and emotional development (DfES, 2006). Does WMFS provide evidence for facilitating social use of Welsh among pupils?

As discussed, the present school system provides access to standardised minority language for vast numbers of young people at the reported expense of informal language practices (Tarone and Swain, 1995; Jones, 1998; Robert, 2011). Along with this, speakers report punitive measures for the use of English, rather than rewards for the use of Welsh (Selleck, 2013; Price and Tamburelli, 2016). As reported by Greimel, Bakos, et al. (2018), boys show a higher neural response to reward than punishment; additionally, boys show reduced neural responsivity in the prospect of social punishment, thus impacting boys' willingness to engage. However, the present study demonstrates that informal language practices can be encouraged and incentivised through the Welsh-medium FS intervention. Peer-to-peer communication, creation of innovative forms and increase in social use of Welsh were all observed over the seven-week project period. Strength of association between WMFS and increased Welsh use is demonstrated in video footage observations and quantitative post-intervention recordings.

In Week 1, video footage shows participants predominantly using English in peer-to-peer interactions, mirroring existing literature (e.g. Thomas and Roberts,

2011). By Week 4, use of Welsh is evidenced among participants in a guided situation (e.g. teacher presence). By Week 6, observational footage demonstrates a social group of L2 female pupils socialising through the medium of Welsh entirely unprompted. Their activity is foraging, as replicated from their newly experienced WMFS activities. Unlike the marginalisation of the language to the restricted H domain as identified by Price and Tamburelli (2016), by creatively applying Welsh language practices outside of the 'controlled classroom environment' (Thomas and Roberts, 2011), it is presented that WMFS has facilitated transmission of social Welsh practices into the L domain among this cohort. By Week 7, video observations show interactive Welsh reproduction in group work and pupils' oral presentations; here, it appears that practical, creative tasks engage pupils' animated use of Welsh (e.g. pobl dail task). In support of this, existing studies demonstrate that activity and content of learning positively impact upon L2 use, and that creative tasks significantly influence L2 use (Broner, 2000a; 2000b). We have seen this exemplified in the observational data.

In terms of quantitative measure of language change, participants' pre-intervention Welsh use ranged between 43.6% – 69.7%, with female-only FGs demonstrating highest peer-to-peer usage and lowest usage among male-only groups. This is in keeping with the findings that Welsh is perceived more favourably among girls than boys (Price and Tamburelli, 2019). However, all post-intervention demonstrated distinct increase in their Welsh language output. While the female groups were highest in terms of Welsh output and the male group was the lowest, post-intervention Welsh use ranged between 79.6% and 96.0%, demonstrating a 30.6% increase in Welsh use among the lowest ranking male-only FG group.

Statistically, Figure 8 shows a significant association between intervention and language use insofar as the pre-intervention groups demonstrated parity between English and Welsh use while post-intervention groups predominantly used Welsh. Increase was shown both in the presence of the FS leader and during free-play without staff present (i.e. video observations).This lends support to the use of WMFS as a method of facilitating social Welsh-use among young people.

There are many explainations behind this increase in Welsh use among pupils. This may be due to the fact that following FS intervention, all pupils were more familiar with each other, the FS leader and had more in common to discuss. It may also be due to the increased confidence associated with FS intervention. Morris (2014) states that low self-rated ability correlated highly with low levels of Welsh use; perhaps then the WMFS intervention has positively impacted on pupil self-perception of abilities as is concurred within the FS literature (see Levin-Gutierrez, 2015 on motivation and unschooling).Crucially, as the project exposed pupils to and actively encouraged informal language practices throughout the sessions, increase in participant language use could also be explained from the perspective that WMFS provided pupils with a widened skillset to discuss their experiences. Post-intervention groups show increase in Welsh use, thus the FS intervention could be utilised as a catalyst for informal language use.

The content of all post-intervention FGs related to pupils' memories of FS activities, and what kind of activities the pupils have continued with in the L domain. Interview data demonstrate pupils' intrinsic motivation; pupils' enjoyment of participation and enthusiasm for discussing FS-related activities through the medium

of Welsh could then instigategreater affiliation with Welsh identity among the pupils, thus explaining their increase in language use (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2006; Dörnyei, 2006). Pupils' use of WMFS activities beyond the classroom and filtering into the L domain thus show Welsh as activities applied beyond the classroom, presenting the potential for this model of intervention to facilitate ongoing Welsh use beyond school. As the focus of FS is on child-led play and outdoor activities [through the medium of Welsh] in the L domain; contrastive to the classroom which has been reported to work on a 'punishment and privilege' system in favour of Welsh (Selleck, 2013), language proficiency is not an aim of the FS method, thus facilitating naturalistic language practices below the level of participant consciousness. As the general Forest School pedagogy has been shown to develop pupils' independence, self-esteem and confidence through engagement with the natural environment (Forest Education Initiative, 2008), perhaps then the use of WMFS has developed pupils independence, self-esteem and confidence through the L2. Furthermore, the normalisation of Welsh-medium peer-to-peer communication among boys is a crucial avenue to explore in future research (Price and Tamburelli, 2016) and one which can build on the findings of the present study.

Chapter 9: Attitudes, use and contemporary maintenance among young people in Wales: a conclusion

9.1 Does Welsh show features typical of a compartmentalised language?

9.2 Do female and male adolescents hold different language attitudes towards Welsh and English?

9.3 What impact does Welsh-medium Forest School have on informal Welsh language transmission?

9.4 Overall recommendations

This final conclusive chapter draws together the principle research findings from the three studies presented in this thesis. I provide a synthesis of key findings on diglossia, attitudes and communication as explored throughout the respective research questions of each study. Throughout this chapter, findings will be discussed in the formation of theoretical and practical recommendations. In order to conclude the findings of the thesis as a whole, let us turn to the core research question of this investigation, namely: "Is inverted diglossia present in Wales?" and if so, how does Inverted diglossia manifest and what action can be taken to stabilise this phenomenon? The thesis in its entirety has focussed on addressing young peoples' attitudes towards Welsh and English in the education domain.

The discussion presented throughout Chapter 2 detailed the compartmentalisation of Welsh to the H domain among school-aged speakers; it was theorised that this functional separation plays a prominent role in attitudes held towards the social use of Welsh in the informal domains among young people educated through the medium of Welsh. The investigation of the research question has been addressed in three stages of investigation; each study comprises a distinct

methodological approach and cohort in order to investigate separate strands of the research question. Moreover, the chapters preceding each study comprise the relevant literature in presentation of each subsequent study. For instance, Chapter 3 comprises the literature on attitudes in preparation for the first study. Following this, Chapter 5 provides depth of reference to attitudes, gender and prestige in preparation for the second study. Chapter 7 furthers this discussion with reference to language policy and education in preparation for the third study of the thesis. The triangulation of these distinct data sets has strengthened the conclusions reached by the study. In order to address the overarching core research question of the study, each research strand presented its own distinct research question. Each section of this final Conclusion chapter corresponds to the three principal research questions as follows:

Research Question 1: In areas where Welsh is being acquired almost entirely through schooling, does Welsh show features typical of a compartmentalised language? If so, is Welsh compartmentalised to H domains?

Question 2: Where Welsh is transmitted in the home and community, what covert attitudes are held by Welsh-medium educated adolescents towards Welsh and English?
(i) Do L1 Welsh adolescents view Welsh and English differently in terms of their relatability as a conversational medium of social interaction?
(ii) Do female and male adolescents hold different language attitudes towards Welsh and English?

Question 3: What impact does Welsh-medium Forest-School have on informal Welsh-language transmission?

(i) Do teachers perceive WMFS as increasing pupils' self-confidence and interaction?

(ii) Do pupils demonstrate an increased use of Welsh through their participation in Forest School activities?

I provide a summary in Sections 9.1 – 9.3 regarding the discussion and findings of each of these research questions before bringing these together with reference to practical and theoretical recommendations. Throughout the research projects, publications and industry collaborations, I have built a case for creative approaches to language teaching and learning in the minority language context which will be detailed in Section 9.4.

9.1 Does Welsh show features typical of a compartmentalised language?

The findings and discussion presented in the first study of this thesis provides attitudes among an L2 adolescent male cohort in the anglo-welsh context of South Wales in order to gain insight into the perceptions of Welsh and English among adolescents whose only contact with Welsh is through the H domain. As a revitalised minority language, language planners and policy makers are largely responsible for the maintenance of Welsh. The Welsh language now enjoys a high prestige in the formal domains and is generally viewed with positive regard in an institutional capacity (for full discussion, see Chapter 7). The Welsh Government are committed

to reaching the target of 'one million Welsh speakers by 2050' and increasing

speaker numbers through WME (Welsh Government, 2016); as L2 speakers are a

major way in which Welsh speaker numbers can be increased through the education

domain, an assessment of L2 school-aged speaker attitudes is vital in understanding

the success and realisation of language policy and planning in real-time. Reliance on

the education sector as an agent of minority language transmission presents well-

known issues (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Gruffudd, 2000; Hodges, 2009, 2011; Ó Riagáin

et al., 2008; Williams, 1992). For instance, existing research has shown decreased

Welsh-use among school-aged speakers in informal peer-to-peer communication,

particularly among L2 cohorts (e.g. Hodges, 2009; Thomas and Roberts, 2011). This

demonstrates that language acquired in the schooling domain is not necessarily

replicated beyond the classroom. In light of this, the first study of this thesis

investigated attitudes towards Welsh and English among L2 adolescents in order to

ascertain to what extent Welsh exhibits features typical of a compartmentalised

language. This first study employed the focus group method among a peer-group in

order to facilitate attitudes representative of the social group. As adolescence

provides a transitional period when children become young adults, shifting identities

from family-oriented to individual and peer-oriented (Ash, 1982; Cedergren, 1988;

Eckert, 1997), investigation into this demographic can yield some essential findings

which may help to shape future language maintenance and education policies.

The results of this study show negative attitudes among L2 speakers in

regards to how Welsh is perceived in the school environment. Specifically, L2 male

speakers' perceive Welsh as highly formalised with no access or understanding of

informal Welsh practices; here, Welsh reportedly serves as the language of the H

domain among speakers whereas English appears to function in the L domain. This

echoes Taron and Swain (1995) who suggest that L2 speakers revert to the L1 for social functions as the high domain of schooling does not provide informal competency for replication beyond the classroom. The results of the first study (Chapter 4) provides empirical evidence for a contemporary case of inverted diglossia, suggesting English and Welsh are perceived as compartmentalised to functionally separate domains of use among this cohort. This compartmentalisation is reminiscent of diglossia, as a reversal of diglossic situation i.e. 'inverted diglossia'.

9.2 Do female and male adolescents hold different language attitudes towards Welsh and English?

To ascertain whether this compartmentalisation is evident in the wider Welsh-speaking community, the second study of this thesis (Chapter 6) took place an L1-dominant heartland community of north-west Wales among young people are educated through the medium of Welsh and have community-wide access to Welsh. The study explored male and female L1 adolescents' inner-held, covert attitudes towards guises of Welsh and English in order to understand whether L1 speakers' language attitudes differed towards Welsh or English used in informal and formal communicative domains. The study cohort were 14 years old, at the cusp of the adolescent peak as it is this age which provide the crucial demographic in language revitalisation (Fishman, 1991).

To investigate the potential role of 'inverted diglossia' in the linguistic habits of L1 Welsh speakers, participants completed a Matched-Guise study in a Welsh L1 community comprehensive school. I hypothesised seeing (i) a difference in attitudes

towards Welsh and English in informal and formal domains (i.e. Welsh viewed as more appropriate as a formal variety) and (ii) gender-related trends towards Welsh and English i.e. females display preference to the H prestige form. If females show greater preference towards Welsh than males then it would suggest that Welsh is seen as the prestige variety among this cohort.

The results show a gender divide between adolescents, as theoretically aligned with the convergence and divergence of males and females to covert and overt prestige. Specifically, the study demonstrates a main effect for language whereby female participants attributed more favorable attitudes towards Welsh guises than male participants. This is in-line with the sociolinguistic phenomena whereby females converge to the H form thus providing evidence that Welsh is perceived as a H form. Further supportive of this, male participants demonstrated disfavor towards Welsh, echoing years of sociolinguistic literature which repeatedly demonstrates males as diverging from the H form and converging to the L form. As negative evaluation patterns are accentuated for Welsh guises in the formal school context while English guises were upgraded in informal social domains, this would suggest that Welsh is seen as H and English viewed as L among this cohort. The findings show that attitudes are a pertinent issue among Welsh-medium educated L1 speakers (in addition to L2 as explored throughout the first study).

The results offer explanatory power as to why young people favour English in the informal communicative domains insofar as Welsh is seen as more fitting for the school context. The results of the second study of the thesis demonstrated a gender divide insofar as L1 female participants rated Welsh significantly more favourably than male participants. This phenomenon is reminiscent of diglossia (Chapter 2), in

that young speakers' attitudes suggest functional separation and/or compartmentalisation (Fishman, 1967) between English and Welsh, but it is "inverted" as it is Welsh that fulfils the H(igh) role of the classroom while English provides a more 'appropriate' form for informal socialisation – as supported by the gender trends described.

9.3 What impact does Welsh-medium Forest-School have on informal Welsh-language transmission?

The third study of the thesis draws together findings from the two previous studies and their respective literatures in order to devise, advance and implement a method of intervention. The final study is distinct from previous methods used in this thesis in that it implements pre- and post- intervention aimed at mitigating inverted diglossia. As discussed in Sections 9.1 and 9.2 above, young people educated through the medium of Welsh demonstrate more positive attitudes towards English than Welsh in the informal context. This is particularly marked in males. As such, Study 3 (Chapter 8) provides and tests for an intervention, which is aimed at improving attitudes among peers towards Welsh in the informal communicative domains. Methodology employed is both qualitative and quantitative in order to assess the effectiveness of the approach. The cohort used for this case study are younger than those investigated in the previous studies of the thesis – namely, Key Stage 2 pupils (primary schooling delivered to 7 – 11 year olds). This demographic was identified as the precursory age-group before speakers' attitudes shift in orientation from parental-influenced to peer-group influenced (Taylor, 2000; Dörnyei,

2001) thus providing a speaker community receptive to the intervention method (i.e. through the school).

Through this study, Forest School (FS) sessions were implemented in a community primary school on Anglesey. The investigation took place in 2015 with a predominantly L2 Welsh cohort of pre-adolescent pupils, and L1 Welsh school staff. Pre-adolescents were chosen (i.e. transition stage) in order to access young people before entering comprehensive education. It is well-understood that the sphere of influence on young peoples' attitudes shifts from the care-giver group to the social group within adolescence (see Chapter 5). As such, a pre-adolescent demographic represented a receptive cohort to the aims of the study i.e. receptive to informal Welsh peer-peer interaction administered through an extracurricular programme.

The sessions ran over six weeks, devised by myself and led by trained Forest School leaders. The Welsh-medium Forest School (WMFS) sessions provided a platform for facilitating contact with and application of Welsh outside the classroom i.e. exposing pupils to informal L vocabulary during enjoyable L-domain sessions. Participant focus groups were measured pre- and post- intervention for quantitative language use and measured qualitatively for reported engagement with FS activities. Post-intervention qualitative interviews were conducted with school staff in order to elicit attitudes towards FS held among educators.

It was hypothesised that, if the intervention was successful in facilitating informal peer-to-peer communication among young people then there would be a recorded increase in Welsh use among participants between the pre- and post-intervention recordings. The results show a significant increase in social use of Welsh among peers in the post-intervention groups than in the pre-intervention; furthermore, qualitative results demonstrate that pupils had retained Welsh

vocabulary transmitted via the FS intervention up to 3 months after participating in the sessions. This demonstrates that participants were receptive to the informal language content of the sessions and is suggestive of WMFS aiding transfer of informal language practices among the cohort.

9.4 Overall recommendations

Each of the three research projects presents valuable insights in formulating theoretical and practical recommendations as will be discussed throughout this section. This thesis reports empirical evidence that the driving forces behind Welsh language abandonment among school-aged speakers are interconnected with the domain of transmission. In specific discussion of the education domain, a number of key points must be considered in the model of inverted diglossia with reference to existing literatures. Firstly, the Welsh transmitted through the school domain (H-Welsh) cannot be applied among young people in informal communicative domains as it is imbued with overt prestige, 'purism' and connotations of high-class; secondly, the use of this variety would create divergence and distance between interlocutors (thus better suited to the teacher-pupil dynamic than the peer-to-peer dynamic). Finally, H-Welsh is reportedly viewed as unintelligible among 'everyday' L1 speakers. Contrastively, the use of vernacular 'corrupt' Welsh (L-Welsh) could provide a potential avenue for cohesion and convergence between speakers in informal communication. However, L2 speakers have no access to the vernacular through WM-education and L1 speakers' Welsh is becoming increasingly standardised through WM-education; the H variety is connoted with high-achievement (and thus femininity) due to the structure of the education system which

rewards 'feminine' behaviour. This is echoed by Newman and Trenchs-Parera (2015) who found that gender associations influence speakers' language choice of Catalan (i.e. Catalan perceived as sounding feminine and redolent of the educated). Male speakers are particularly adverse to adopting overtly prestigious formal varieties and consistently demonstrate favourable attitudes towards vernacular varieties (Labov, 1972; Milroy & Milroy,1998), challenging the boundaries of the suggested 'feminized' system (Rostami, 2012). In the absence of its transmission or increasing standardization in the context of the school domain, informal English has provided the 'vernacular' variety for speakers' social use.

Overall, the findings report that English serves informal communicative practices among young people moreso than Welsh, which is perceived less favorably, particularly among males. From this, the question arises of what can be done to positively impact Welsh-medium educated pupils' association with Welsh, and how to facilitate informal Welsh language practices among young people in social environments. Can this phenomenon be prevented, or 'caught early' and modified to promote positive attitudes towards Welsh among all speakers, particularly males? Theoretical and practical recommendations must focus on methods of facilitating favourable attitudes towards Welsh in social settings which are not connoted with the formality of schooling, particularly among males.

These issues have been explored throughout the studies of the thesis and have been partly addressed by the WMFS case study of Chapter 8. Welsh-medium Forest School provision goes against the 'school rules' in its child-led, practical approach. For example, characteristics of the intervention such as child-led play,

non-standard forms, practical rather than academic emphasis, language tasks embedded in activities, intrinsically motivated, female-teacher influenced are in direct contrast to the action of the classroom (e.g. top-down, standard forms, academic rather than practical emphasis, overt oracy and literacy tasks, extrinsically motivated, male-leader influenced). Findings of the third study would suggest that, by changing the domain and the register of transmission (i.e. non-prestigious informal language transmitted by a male, non-teaching figure outside the classroom), we address the compartmentalisation – or functional separation – of Welsh. This is noted in the results which demonstrate reported increase in Welsh-language engagement, a quantitative increase in Welsh-language use and reports of Welsh-medium activities filtering down into the L domains.

Each study will now be discussed in turn in relation to specific recommendations. First, the need for access to informal language practices among L2 speakers in the anglo-Welsh context. As the H domain is the primary agent of language transmission in Wales, new platforms are suggested in developing an L sphere of transmission. In Urla's (1995) Basque free radio, formal language politics are disregarded in favour of embracing anti-normative, playful, hybridised forms of language (Urla, 1995) thus facilitating informal language practices and creating "a sustainable language community" (Holton, 2009:263). Basque free radio works by creating new linguistic space which is both localised and transnational across a pre-existing platform (i.e. radio). The aim of free radio is to bring the marginalised minority language out of private domains and into the street, before then transmitting the reality of the street into the public domain through an informal platform. There is the potential here to facilitate informal language practices among L1 and L2

speakersacross a range of speaker contexts. The Basque free radios value language play most highly, with content of parody and humour (for similar in the Welsh context, see Prys, 2016). More recently in the neighbouring Catalan case, media voices have called for a '21st Century Catalan' that is inclusive and representative of all speakers. Specifically, transmitting a register of this description would loosen the prescriptative structures, avoid archaisms and accept the lower registers (Trenchs-Parera and Newman, 2015). It is possible here that the creative industries could provide an adequate platform (e.g. for comedic Welsh-English contact and reproduction; informal forms which embrace language play) in this regard.

As with the case of Basque free radio, Urla (1995) demonstrates that – through the youth movement occupying [radio] as a medium of cultural expression – young people are able to harness the media to shape cultural aspects of social life. Through such platforms, music has been used as a highly political device at the forefront of social change (Randall, 2017). Creative expressions such as music could provide an inlet for young people in terms of their own experiences with the Welsh language and culture as explored in Chapter 4. Creative art forms could then be used as a vehicle for informal language usage, as explored through Chapter 8.

Working on an internship with animation company Griffilms, the findings of Chapter 4 provided consultation and guidance for the creation of a BAFTACymru award-winning Welsh-medium animation and app 'Ni Di Ni' (S4C, 2014). 'Ni Di Ni' (we are us) works on the concept of young Welsh-speaking individuals uploading their own voices and creating their own animated characters which then repeat the uploaded phrases. The animation series on S4C gave these individual narratives a

national televised platform. Innovative projects such as these could give rise to greater Welsh language autonomy among young people, particularly with the interactive concept (i.e. speaker uploads speech to a smartphone app). Here, Welsh-medium programming producers may plan to interactively engage the adolescent demographic, providing opportunity for L2 speakers to engage with and reproduce informal language practices beyond the classroom.

Further application of the research findings are evidenced by the consultation partnership with independent arts practitioners. The author worked alongside Articulture-funded performers to design a truly bilingual performance piece for the 2016 summer-autumn season. The piece aimed to showcase informal Welsh language practices to a wide audience through outdoor street theatre. The performance was entirely bilingual through two characters and designed to be inclusive of Welsh dominant speakers, English monolinguals, bilinguals, learners, and all ages. Specifically, the piece was comedic, drawing on the suggestion above (see Urla, 1995). The performance featured Welsh music and themes of contemporary circus, aerial and acrobatics, bringing a new dimension to a bilingual Welsh performance. Figure 9 below demonstrates an advertisement for the performance (Pontio, 2016:7). While the piece brought together a wide ranging audience in Bangor, Gwynedd, performers were required to omit all English language utterances from the performance for the 2016 Eisteddfod performance. This is problematic insofar as the piece was designed to include a range of speakers with particular emphasis on language heard in the L domain rather than pertaining only to 'puristic' Welsh of the H domain (Roberts, 2011). The omission of all English utterances from the piece is a suppression of the linguistic innovation and creative expression needed if Welsh is to flourish among speakers in informal communicative

practice. This limitation on the art form is reminiscent of the parameters of Basque free radio. Basque-only language policy was highly contentious in this context, as such a policy was at odds with the ideology of the station – namely, that free radio is open to all youth, regardless of their L1 or linguistic competency (Urla, 1995). Formal language policies were against the Basque free radio station commitment to freedom of expression and autonomy from political doctrines (Urla, 1995).

As argued throughout this thesis, long-term language maintenance efforts in Wales may prove futile unless they are reflective of naturalistic language contact and facilitate informal language practices (Reaser and Adger, 2008) with specific focus on speakers of the present, rather than upholding standards of the past (Hornsby, 2015). This is echoed by Madoc-Jones et al. (2012) in the context of service users who call for greater use and more explicit acceptance of informal Welsh that is more fluid and easily comprehensible to L1 speakers.

Figure 9: Webster & Jones: A Pocket Guide to Wales

Saturday, 24 September
12pm & 3pm

Dripping Tap Theatre Company

Webster & Jones:
A Pocket Guide to Wales

Pontio Landscape

FREE

Join Webster & Jones on their quest to conquer the great outdoors! A comic participatory adventure which follows the journey of an intrepid, yet hapless, explorer and his faithful guide as they quest through the great outdoors of Wales, towards their ultimate goal: the summit of mount 'Snowed On.' Mr. Webster's aim to create a pocket guide to Wales is an ambitious prospect considering his guide doesn't speak a word of English...

Commissioned by Articulture in collaboration with the Wales Outdoor Arts Commissioning Consortium. Supported by the Arts Council of Wales.

Bilingual

If Welsh is to thrive as a medium of communication among young people, there is a need for Welsh to be relevant and normalised in youth culture in the informal social domain both across the breadth of the heartland stronghold. In order to facilitate favourable attitudes towards Welsh in the informal domains and enrich the use of Welsh language among young people, feasible interventions need to be developed which provide a competitive and appealing alternative to English. For an approach to be feasible in Wales, we would need to design within existing parameters and therefore look to the school for adopting a flexible approach to bilingualism (Selleck, 2013). While the creation of complementary platforms beyond the confines of school is possible and achievable as detailed above, WM-educated school-aged speakers would be a reachable, measurable target group via the school system. Here, introduction of contemporary arts within the school environment could capitalise on the new curriculum coming into force in Wales in 2020 by linking with

existing vocational schemes, such as the Lead Creative Schools scheme (Welsh Government, 2016). This could have a specific focus of targeting the gender divide highlighted in the results of Chapter 6 with specifically 'non-academic' activities, as highlighted in Chapter 8.

The Welsh Assembly Government (2017b) state that the 'Creative learning through the arts: an action plan for Wales 2015-2020' represents the Government's continual commitment to promoting creative skills through enriched educational arts programmes. The aim has been to support schools in preparation for the new curriculum in 2020, guided and recommended by Donaldson (2015). New and creative delivery approaches to teaching and learning have been facilitated in a pilot scheme directed by the Arts Council of Wales, the Lead Creative School Scheme (LCS). During the lifetime of the scheme, the Arts Council aim to engage a third of schools in Wales in order to prepare educators and pupils for the new, creative and holistic curriculum coming into effect in 2020.

The LCS works as a transition programme between the current and the new curriculum whereby teaching practice is developed in schools in Wales through a creative programme of learning. Creative Agents work on the scheme as a bridge between the education and the arts sectors, identifying the core needs of the school based on the individual School Development Plan (SDP) (e.g. pupil attainment in mathematics; behavior issues among transition groups; lack of motivation in Physical Education). The Creative Agent then draws on a network database of creative professionals (e.g. musicians, performers, architects, multi-media artists, bespoke jewelry makers, dancers, spoken-word artists, film-makers) who will facilitate children and young people to achieve in the areas identified by the SDP.

Creative practitioners are placed in schools to work alongside teachers, developing new practice to be shared across the sector. Creative Agents, Creative Practitioners and teaching staff work together to produce a 10-week programme of learning, which the Creative Agent guides and evaluates throughout. Generally, practitioners come in to the school for one day per week to work with one focused group i.e. one particular class or sub-group of a class. The material covered in the contact day should theoretically filter into the rest of the teaching week across 'Areas of Learning' and across the school.

Through this, the scheme is sustainable in that it is one day of external intervention, supporting teaching staff to confidently improve their practice across topics and subjects. As well as facilitating creative excellence in teaching and learning, the LCS scheme specifically works with a child-led ethos. All projects devised through the LCS are pupil-led, and pupil voice is at the forefront of development and progression of the 10-week programme. The scheme runs from 2015 – 2018, with the pilot year Round 1 2015/16, Phase 2 schools in 2016/17 and Phase 3 schools in 2017/18, with a period for evaluation of the data thereafter.

The findings of this thesis guided the development of LCS pilot projects across a number of participating schools in Wales (Phase 2 and Phase 3) where the author worked as a Creative Agent throughout the duration of the LCS scheme. Through collaborative avenues, Government-funded arts projects such as these have immense scope for generating informal language practices among young people in Wales. Valuable schemes such as the LCS could provide a framework for informal communicative practices whereby oracy and practical application of Welsh

are a core focus, as outlined in Recommendation 22 (Donaldson, 2015:115-116:22):

"There should be a renewed focus in schools on learning Welsh primarily as a means of communication, particularly oral communication and understanding". While the Recommendations predominantly focus on instrumental, extrinsic motivations (i.e. qualifications, careers and HE), it is promising to see Recommendation 22 focussing on Welsh as a means of oral communication. Findings from the three studies of this thesis therefore have implications for school frameworks. As education is the primary agent of transmission in Wales, the thesis presents a strong argument for language planning in regards to facilitating informal communicative practices among school-aged speakers. As demonstrated in Chapter 8, Welsh-medium Forest School presents an opportunity to facilitate peer-to-peer informal Welsh activies drawing on intrinsic motivations, rather than extrinsic. Having evaluated Forest School as a mode of language maintenance provides new and creative avenues in influencing language policy and curriculum design in Wales and the wider minority language context for the benefit of sustainable minority language transmission. Welsh-medium Forest School (WMFS) could capitalise on the 'Areas of Learning and Experience' (Donaldson report, 2015) coming into the new curriculum in Wales, providing a platform of informal language transmission. As stated by Escamilla, for bilingual programmes to foster bilingualism and biliteracy, "the environment outside of the classroom must encourage and support the use of two language with the same enthusiasm [as within school]" (1994:21). If WMFS is perceived as enjoyable then it can be used to foster positive attitudes towards Welsh, fostering bicultural bilinguals (Luna et al., 2008) and moving away from the association of Welsh with H (see Chapter 4 and 6). Crucially, any such developments should not impose sanctions for the use of English – nor explicitly

reinforce 'good Welsh' (see Ball, 1988) – but simply actively encourage informal communicative Welsh practices through a variety of methods. As the objective here is facilitating transmission of Welsh from the school context into the social domain, a method such as WMFS would explicitly focus on new cross-curricular recommendations with language maintenance as an implicit, unstated aim e.g. overt focus on physical education (Schools and Physical Activity Task and Finish Group); the arts (Arts in Education in the Schools of Wales Review); culture and social justice (Culture and Poverty: Harnessing the power of the arts, culture and heritage to promote social justice in Wales) and general self-development (Welsh Government, 2014). As WMFS and findings suggest that the dynamic 'play' activities of FS are replicated in the home and local environment (as in Ridgers et al., 2012:60), Welsh-medium FS activities have the potential to instigate Welsh use into the L domains of home, socialising and play as in line with the reports of Chapter 8 and in general Forest School observations (i.e. Murray and O'Brien, 2005). With the new curriculum developments of 2020 placing importance on the expressive arts, creative platforms could be interlinked to the holistic curriculum to provide a connection site between contemporary culture, informal language contact and identity development among young peole in Wales thus facilitating positive attitudes towards Welsh as a medium of informal communication beyond the H domain and into the social sphere.

The results of this thesis have implications for neighbouring contexts of revitalisation beyond Wales. Where immersion pupils are currently reported to conduct social interaction through the majority language (see Trenchs-Parera and Newman, 2015), this study could be piloted and tested to see what impact creative interventions such as Forest School have in neighbouring contexts. In this respect, this thesis represents an important contribution to the fields of applied linguistics,

language maintenance, language policy and planning, bilingualism, educational linguistics and sociolinguistics more generally.

The undeniable benefits which come from Welsh as associated with formality (i.e. HE; civic career opportunities) appear to unwittingly promote English as more favourable in the social domains among L1 and L2 cohorts of this study. While such attitudinal preferences may appear to paint a stark picture for the Government's aim to achieve one million speakers by 2050, the recommendations put forward in this chapter should be of benefit for the development of evidence-based policy in Wales, and neighbouring contexts of language maintenance on the international stage. In policy terms, the over-reliance placed upon the traditional education system could be eased by the introduction of applied, practical interventions which transmit and encourage unregulated informal, social language practices. While the traditional education system has been stretched in its scope to both provide L1 and L2 speakers with academic excellence in Welsh and to equip L2 speakers to lead a truly bilingual life beyond the classroom (e.g. Dunmore, 2014), creative interventions as outlined throughout this chapter provide the potential to enhance and facilitate informal Welsh communication practices among L1 and L2 speakers which filter into the L domain. This contribution is particularly timely in its recommendation, considering the new curriculum developments of 2020 and the Welsh Government's aim to increase Welsh speaker numbers over the next three decades.

Appendices

Appendix A

Ethics approval

Abigail Ruth Price

Fantastic news, Linda!

Many thanks- and such wonderful timing (the school had to push the date back by a week!).

Once again, thank you and all the best,

Abigail

Abigail Ruth Price

PhD Researcher and Graduate Teaching Assistant

School of Linguistics and English Language

Bangor University

Bangor

Gwynedd

LL 57 2DG

UK

e-mail: a.r.price@bangor.ac.uk

Tel.:   ++44 (0)1248 388573

Linda Jones

Thu 27/11/2014, 11:57Abigail Ruth Price;Peredur Webb-Davies

Inbox

Dear Abigail,

This is to confirm that your project – 'Is 'Inverse Diglossia' coming to Wales? Investigating the linguistic habits of adolescents in Wales and beyond – has been approved by the Chair of the CAH Ethics committee.

Best wishes,

Linda

Appendix B

Gweithgareddau clwb ar ôl ysgol

Annwyl gyfranogwr,

Rydych chi wedi cael eich dewis i gymryd rhan mewn astudiaeth ymchwil a fydd yn

gofyn cwestiynau i chi ynghylch gweithgareddau clybiau ar ôl ysgol a chlybiau

ieuenctid. Cynhelir yr astudiaeth hon gan Abigail a Dan ar gyfer Prifysgol Bangor.

→ Beth yw pwrpas yr astudiaeth? Hoffem glywed eich syniadau a'ch barn ynghylch gweithgareddau y tu allan i'r ysgol. Gwneir hyn mewn dwy ffordd. Yn gyntaf, byddwn yn gofyn i chi wrando ar recordiadau a rhoi eich barn arnynt i ni. Yn ail, byddwn yn rhannu'n grwpiau bychain ac yn trafod y recordiadau a gweithgareddau ar ôl ysgol.

→ Pwy sy'n cynnal yr astudiaeth? Abigail Price ym Mhrifysgol Bangor.

→ Beth yw diben yr astudiaeth? Mae'n bwysig gofyn barn pobl ifanc fel chi a'ch ffrindiau fel y gellir darparu gwell cyfleusterau a gweithgareddau i chi eu mwynhau.

→ Beth fydd yn digwydd yn yr astudiaeth? Byddwch mewn trafodaeth grŵp gyda'ch ffrindiau - sgwrs anffurfiol ydyw i gael syniad o'ch barn. Bydd Abigail a Dan yn gofyn i chi amdanoch chi a'ch ffrindiau, a'r mathau o bethau yr ydych yn eu gwneud ar ôl ysgol. Cymerwch ran gymaint ag yr hoffech ym mha bynnag iaith yr ydych yn teimlo'n fwyaf cyfforddus ei defnyddio. Caiff siarad ei annog yn fawr!

→ Faint o amser fydd yn ei gymryd?
Bydd y sesiwn gyntaf yn cymryd hanner awr, ac efallai y bydd yr ail sesiwn yn para hyd at awr. Bydd digon o snaciau, felly helpwch eich hun!

➔ Pwy fydd yn gwybod beth a ddywedwyd?

Ni chaniateir i unrhyw un o'r ysgol glywed na gweld unrhyw wybodaeth y
byddwn yn ei thrafod.
Rydym yn gofyn i bawb yn y sesiynau gadw popeth a drafodwyd yn
gyfrinachol. Bydd Abigail yn cadw'r holl wybodaeth yn ddiogel am hyd at ddwy
flynedd, tra bydd yn drych drwy'r ymatebion. Bydd yr holl ymatebion yn cael
eu cadw'n ddienw. Bydd y wybodaeth ysgrifenedig yn cael ei chadw mewn lle
diogel, ac ar gael i'r ymchwilydd yn unig. Bydd unrhyw enwau a grybwyllir yn
cael eu newid er mwyn cuddio pwy yw pobl.

➔ Beth wnewch chi gyda'r recordiadau? Bydd yr ymchwilydd yn gwrando ar y
recordiadau, ac yn eu cadw'n ddiogel.

➔ Beth os nad ydw i eisiau cymryd rhan? Os byddwch yn penderfynu nad ydych
eisiau cymryd rhan, gallwch dynnu'n ôl ar unrhyw adeg heb roi rheswm. Eich
dewis chi yw cymryd rhan ai peidio. Os penderfynwch gymryd rhan, gofynnir i
chi lofnodi ffurflen gydsynio.

➔ Beth yw'r peryglon? Nid oes unrhyw beryglon nac anfanteision i gymryd rhan!

➔ Unrhyw beth arall? Siaradwch gydag Abigail neu Dan ynghylch eich pryderon
yn ystod yr astudiaeth. Cymeradwywyd yr astudiaeth gan Bwyllgor Moeseg
Coleg y Celfyddydau, Addysg a'r Dyniaethau. Os bydd gennych unrhyw
bryderon am y ffordd y cynhaliwyd yr astudiaeth hon, a'ch bod yn dymuno

siarad â rhywun, cyfeiriad e-bost Abigail yw a.r.price@bangor.ac.uk. Fel arall,

cysylltwch â Linda Jones sy'n Weinyddwr Ymchwil ym Mhrifysgol Bangor:

l.c.jones@bangor.ac.uk.

Diolch i chi am gymryd rhan.

After-school club activities

Dear participant, you have been chosen to participate in a research study which will

ask you about after-school activities and youth clubs. The study is being conducted

by Abigail and Dan for Bangor University.

➔ What is it about? We would like to hear your ideas and opinions about out-of-
school activities. This will be done in two ways. Firstly, we will ask you to

listen to recordings and give us your opinions on them. Secondly, we will

break-off into small groups and discuss the recordings and after-school

activities.

➔ Who is running this study? Abigail Price at Bangor University.

➔ What is the point of the study? It's important to ask the opinions of young

people like you and your friends so that better facilities and activities can be

provided for you to enjoy.

➔ What happens during the study? You will be in a group discussion with your friends- it's just an informal chat to get an idea of your opinions. Abigail and Dan will ask you about you and your friends and the sorts of things you do after school. Participate as much as you like in whichever language you feel most comfortable. Speaking is very much encouraged!

➔ How long will it take?
The first session will take half an hour, and the second session may last up to an hour. There will be plenty of snacks, so help yourself!

➔ Who will know what was said?

Nobody from the school is allowed to hear or see any of the information we discuss.
We ask that everyone in the sessions keeps everything that was discussed confidential. All the information will be kept safe by Abigail, for upto two years while she looks through the responses. All responses to questions will be kept anonymous. The written transcript will be kept in a secure place and seen only by the researcher. Any names mentioned will be altered to conceal identity.

➔ What will you do with the recordings? The recordings will be listened to by the researcher and kept safe.

➔ What if I don't want to take part? If you decide that you do not wish to take part, you may withdraw at any point without giving a reason. Your participation is voluntary. If you would like to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form.

➔ What are the risks? There are no risks or disadvantages to taking part!

➔ Anything else? Please talk to Abigail or Dan about your concerns during the study. The study has been approved by the College of Arts and Humanities Ethics committee. If you have any worries about the conduct of this study and wish to speak to somebody, Abigail's email address is a.r.price@bangor.ac.uk. Alternatively, contact Linda Jones who is the Research Administrator at Bangor University l.c.jones@bangor.ac.uk.

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix C

'Cod Ymarfer ar gyfer sicrhau Ansawdd a Safonau

Academaidd Rhaglenni Ymchwil' (Cod 03) Prifysgol

Bangor

https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm

COLEG Y CELFYDDYDAU A'R DYNIAETHAU

Ffurflen gydsynio i rieni

Ffurflen Ganiatâd Cyfranogwr

Enw'r ymchwilydd : Abigail Price

Mae'r ymchwilydd a enwir uchod wedi rhoi gwybodaeth ddigonol i mi am yr ymchwil rwyf wedi gwirfoddoli i gymryd rhan ynddi. Rwy'n deall bod hawl gennyf i dynnu'n ôl o'r ymchwil unrhyw bryd. Rwy'n deall hefyd y perchir fy hawliau o ran peidio â datgelu pwy ydwyf a chyfrinachedd.

 "*Rwy'n rhoi caniatâd i'm plentyn gymryd rhan yn yr astudiaeth ddienw hon a gynhelir mewn ystafell ddosbarth.*

Rwy'n deall bod yr holl wybodaeth yn gwbl gyfrinachol, ac na rennir manylion personol.

Rwy'n deall hefyd y gellir defnyddio canlyniadau'r astudiaeth yn y dyfodol ar ffurf ysgrifenedig (megis mewn trafodaethau, cynadleddau ac erthyglau cyfnodolion a gyhoeddir). Rwy'n deall y bydd fy mhlentyn yn aros yn ddienw."

Llofnod ………………………………… …………

Dyddiad …………………………………….

Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of

Academic Quality and Standards of Research

Programmes' (Code 03)

https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm

COLLEGE OF ARTS & HUMANITIES

Participant Consent Form

Researcher: Abigail Ruth Price

The researcher named will fully brief participants on the research for which they volunteer. All students will understand that they have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. They will be made aware that their rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

"I hereby give my consent for my child to participate in this anonymous, classroom-based study. I agree to the recording of discussions.
I understand that all information is strictly confidential and no personal details will be shared. I also understand that the results of the study may be used in the future in written-form (such as in discussions, conferences and published journal articles).
I understand that my child will remain anonymous."

Signature of participant

…………………………………………………………………

Date

……………………………………………………………………

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.

Appendix D

Tystysgrif Cyfranogiad Ymchwil
Certificate of Research Participation

PRIFYSGOL
BANGOR
UNIVERSITY

Ysgol Ieithyddiaeth ac Iaith Saesneg
School of Linguistics and English Language

MAE HWN YN TYSTIO FOD YSGOL Y MOELWYN
WEDI CYMRYD RHAN MEWN YMCHWIL GAN PRIFYSGOL BANGOR, 2014 — 2015

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT YSGOL Y MOELWYN
HAS TAKEN PART IN RESEARCH BY BANGOR UNIVERSITY, 2014—2015

Llofnod yr Ymchwilydd
Signature of Researcher

419

Appendix E

College of Arts & Humanities

APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL BY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

STUDENT RESEARCH PROJECT

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px;">

<u>NOTE:</u>

- **Data collection cannot begin without approval from the Research Ethics Committee.**

- **Once you have completed this form, you should discuss it with your supervisor and your School's Ethics Officer. After both agree that the documents are ready, you can submit the forms for consideration by the Research Ethics Committee.**

- **Project approval will be significantly delayed if the application is incomplete, lacks detail, or was submitted during vacation periods.**

</div>

1   Project Information

Qualification being undertaken:	PhD Bilingualism
Title of the research project:	Reversed Diglossia in Wales
Date of degree commencement:	September 2013

2   Student details

Forename:	**Abigail Ruth**	Surname:	**Price**
Address:	**Gwenallt, Newborough, Llanfairpwllgwyngyll, Anglesey, LL61 6SY**		
E-mail address:	**a.r.price@bangor.ac.uk**		
Telephone number:	**07845833278**		
School in which research is being conducted:	**Linguistics and English Language**		
BU registration (Banner) number:	**500197400**		

3   Supervisor details

Title:	Dr		Full name:	Marco Tamburelli
Current post held:	Senior Lecturer in Bilingualism			
Location:	Bilingualism Centre, College Road			
Telephone number:	2078			
E-mail address:	m.tamburelli@bangor.ac.uk			

4   Aims and objectives of the research project (listed in numerical order)

- To evaluate the role of Welsh-medium 'Forest School' sessions in providing a new domain of informal Welsh-language transmission.

> How is welsh-medium Forest School received by pupils?

> What impact is perceived by teaching assistants and teachers?

> Do welsh-medium Forest School activities 'filter-down' into the home environment?

5

Proposed research start date:	07/12/15
Proposed research end date:	11/12/15

6   Source of Research Funding (if any):

7   Participants

Describe the participant sample who will be contacted for the project and how many participants are you planning to recruit (e.g. 15-25 adult Welsh-English bilinguals).
5 – 11 year old Welsh-English bilinguals. Teachers and assistants of the target school.

How are you going to recruit subjects? Be as specific as possible. If applicable, please also indicate whether the necessary permissions have been obtained (e.g. from school headmaster).
Permission has been obtained from the school headmistress to conduct Focus Group sessions with children, and one-on-one interviews with staff.

Will any of the participants be under the age of 18?	Yes	X	No	
IF YES, have ALL members of the research team who are collecting data from minors been checked by the Disclosure and Barring Service?	Yes	X	No	
Note: You need to show a copy of the DBS approval when submitting your ethics application.				

8   Research Tools

Describe the research tools that will be used to elicit data from the sample (e.g. tests, questionnaires, interviews, observation).

The structured Interview will be used with adults, and semi-structured

interview questions in Focus Group sessions with pupils.

A digital recording of all interactions will be made.

Note: You should submit a copy of whatever tool(s) you intend to use

(e.g. questionnaire/s) - where practical with this completed form

9   Data storage

Describe where, how and for how long sensitive data will be stored, and what

security measures are in place to ensure the data is protected?

Audio recordings of data will be stored on a University password-protected

computer, accessible only by the researcher. Where appropriate, data will be

disclosed to the supervisor. Data will be kept for 18 months.

Describe who will have access to the data (and why)?

Where appropriate, Welsh-medium recordings and transcriptions will be

accessed by a professional bilingual translator. This will be done to aid data

analysis.

10   Data publication

Explain by what method it is expected that the data will be published - e.g. journal article, report for a public body - or whether it is intended to be used solely for a Bangor University assignment (e.g. dissertation).
Anonymised data is expected to be published as a journal article, and selectively used in a presentation at a conference. Participants will be made aware of the way in which anonymous data may be published; full consent will be obtained.
Note: Participants should be made aware of the way in which it is expected that the data will be published. The information should be provided on the consent form.

11   Research location

Does the project involve research at sites other than Bangor University?	Yes	X	No	
If NO then proceed to 12				
If YES then complete the following:				
Name and address of non-Bangor University site				

Ysgol Llanbedrgoch, Ffordd Yr Ysgol, Llanbedrgoch, LL76 8SX	
Details of contact person on non-Bangor University site:	

Full name:	Miss Delyth Roberts	Telephone	01248 450291

Post: Headmistress	
Address:	Ysgol Llanbedrgoch, Ffordd Yr Ysgol, Llanbedrgoch, LL76 8SX
E-mail:	pennaeth.llanbedrgoch@ynysmon.gov.uk
Please list any additional external research sites beyond the first:	

Has written agreement been given by the appropriate person/body on the non-BU site for the research to be conducted?	Yes	X	No	

Note:

Research on sites other than Bangor University may NOT be

started until such written agreement has been given AND copies of that

agreement submitted to the CAH Research Ethics Committee.

12   Ethical considerations

Make a clear and concise statement of the ethical considerations raised by

the project in the form of a numerical list

(e.g. preservation of anonymity, safe data storage, voluntary participation,

etc).

1. **All persons taking part in the study will remain anonymous.**

2. **Participants will be made aware that their participation is**

   voluntary and that they can opt-out of the study at any time.

3. **Participants may request their contribution (i.e. interview data) to**

   be excluded from the study if they wish.

4. **Data will be safely and securely stored.**

Explain, for each consideration listed above, how you intend to deal with the

ethical considerations throughout the duration of the project.

1. **Sensitive or identifying information will be omitted from the data.**

2. **Participants will receive the consent form and information form. The content of the forms will be explained to participants-participants will be invited to raise questions or concerns.**

3. **Data requested for omission will be deleted as appropriate.**

4. **Data recordings will be kept on a password protected university computer.**

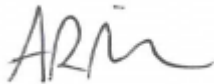**13   Consent form and participant information sheet**

Please attach a copy of;

- The consent form

- The participant information sheet.

A standard CAH Consent Form is available on our webpage. We suggest you add detailed information on how subjects can withdraw from the study. The participant information sheet should describe, in 1-3 paragraphs, the aims of the study.

14   Declaration

I confirm that the information in this form is accurate to the best of my

knowledge.

Signature of Student:	*ARin*
Print name:	Abigail Ruth Price
Date of submission:	20/11/15

I confirm that I have reviewed this form and all ancillary materials (e.g. participant

information sheet, consent form) and that I will notify the CAH Research Ethics

Committee in case of unethical conduct.

Signature of Supervisor:	
Print name:	
Date:	

Date application received:	
Date of review by Ethics Committee:	
Date student notified of decision of Ethics Committee:	

Appendix F

Disclosure & Barring Service

Certificate Number	001466189382
Date of Issue:	11 NOVEMBER 2014

Applicant Personal Details

Surname:	PRICE
Forename(s):	ABIGAIL RUTH
Other Names:	NONE DECLARED
Date of Birth:	21 JANUARY 1990
Place of Birth:	SUTTON IN ASHF ELD
Gender:	FEMALE

Employment Details

Position applied for:
CHILD WORKFORCE PHD BILINGUALISM

Name of Employer:
BANGOR UNIVERSITY

Countersignatory Details

Registered Person/Body:
BANGOR UNIVERSITY

Countersignatory:
TRACY HIBBERT

Police Records of Convictions, Cautions, Reprimands and Warnings

NONE RECORDED

Information from the list held under Section 142 of the Education Act 2002

NONE RECORDED

DBS Children's Barred List information

NONE RECORDED

DBS Adults' Barred List information

NOT REQUESTED

Other relevant information disclosed at the Chief Police Officer(s) discretion

NONE RECORDED

Enhanced Certificate

This document is an Enhanced Criminal Record Certificate within the meaning of sections 113B and 116 of the Police Act 1997.

THIS CERTIFICATE IS NOT EVIDENCE OF IDENTITY

Disclosure and Barring Service, PO Box 165, Liverpool, L69 3JD Helpline: 0870 90 90 811

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Appendix G

School of Linguistics and English Language

Participant Information Sheet

You have been asked to take part in a study relating to your experiences of the timetabled Forest School sessions which took place in the Autumn term 2015 within your school grounds.

'Experiences and Opinions of Forest School'

I would like to invite you to take part in this research into Forest School. Please take time to read the following information carefully before deciding whether or not you would like to take part. Please ask any questions you have; the research will clarify any information you are not sure about. Please take time to decide whether you would like to participate.

Purpose of the Study

The research entails conducting informal interviews with teaching staff at your school, in addition to informal group interviews with the pupils who took part in the Forest School sessions. The researcher wishes to evaluate the kind of environment provided for bilingual children on Anglesey through the use of Forest School. The aim of the study is to gain information on your experiences and opinions of the sessions, to help the designing of future Forest School sessions.

Further Details

Your involvement is voluntary and all participants will remain anonymous.

During the research, you will be able to stop your involvement at any point; data will not be used without your permission, and you are able to have anything omitted at any point, from before we begin to after I leave the premises. You are very welcome to contact me regarding any questions or concerns you have during and following data collection (contact details below).

Data

The data may be used in University related presentations and published in educational articles; all data will remain strictly anonymous and will not link to yourselves, the school or sensitive information.

The researcher will now discuss the study with you to ensure you have understood your participation. Please take this time to ask any questions.

Thank you for your time.

Contact details Miss Abigail Ruth Price, The Bilingualism Centre, 39 – 41 College Road, Bangor, Gwynedd

a.r.price@bangor.ac.uk; (01248) 388573 // 07845 833 278

Appendix H

Ymchwil Prifysgol Bangor

YSGOL LLANBEDRGOCH PENNAETH

<YSGOLLLANBEDRGOCHPENNAETH@ynysmon.gov.uk>

Abigail Ruth Price

Mae hynny yn iawn -- fe welwn ni chi bryd hynny.

Delyth Roberts

Pennaeth

Ysgol Llanbedrgoch

01248 450 291

Abigail Ruth Price

pennaeth.llanbedrgoch@ynysmon.gov.uk;

Sent Items

Anwyl Miss Roberts,

ar ol siarad efo chi, fyddech chi'n hapus i gael cyfweliad llafar bach yn yr ysgol?

Gallwn ni'n ddod yn ystod yr amser bod ni wedi cytuno.

Fydd Peter yn siarad efo'r grwpiau blant, a mi wnai i siarad a chi ac yr staff hefyd.

Diolch,

Abigail Price

Appendix I

Reviewer(s)' Comments to Author:

Referee: 1

Comments to the Author

What a depressing read! But what a necessary piece of research. Thank you for carrying it out and writing it up in such an accessible fashion. You have asked a very clear research question and answered it eloquently. This paper will not make you popular—but I neither believe nor read in your results that this is your intention.

You note that the compartmentalisation and, as you so eloquently call it, 'inverted diglossia' have been under-investigated in Wales. I agree, but I'd go further. Teachers have known your research results for a long time; before, even, your research was carried out. Academics and policy makers have known too—you quote Williams (1992), for example, and Aberystwyth's RSRU Report which was itself subject of a Welsh language current affairs exposé-documentary. So why has nothing been done? I think that we've trumpeted the superficial success of the Welsh Medium education system at the detriment of a long-term analysis of its effect. Present-bias and political passive pressure prevent us from taking action. In any case, as Fishman notes, can the education system really in and of itself be expected to carry out language revitalisation? Of course not. As you note, however, there is hope – the participants show an interest in hearing rap music in Welsh, the existence of which they weren't aware.

So, a few points to beware – this paper could make headlines in Wales. What are your key messages for the media (i.e. policy actors who will hear this)? What are the policy calls to action? What can be done? The pupils' voices shine through, this topic can no longer be ignored. Could 'Classroom, not chatroom' or some form thereof be used as a subtitle for the article?

Corrections/Suggestions

p.2 why 'remedial'

p.2 insert 'Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011' after Welsh Language Act 1993

p2. What is 'language eminence'? Is there academic literature for it?

P3. Were the Census results truly unanticipated? The Welsh Language Board had

published analyses (you refer obliquely to their findings later in the paper, i.e.

possible parental overestimation of child speaker ability in Welsh) which noted that

the 'new' speakers noted in the 2001 Census in the south eastern counties could not

exist, if those data were superimposed on the number of pupils receiving Welsh

medium education in the area at the time. It may be relevant to include a few

sentences on the comparison 1991-2001 with a reference to the parental possible

overestimation in 2001.

P3 – these are percentage point drops, not percentage drops. This needs attention

at several points in the paper.

P3 not projections (sadly, no projections were done, or the target wouldn't have been

included!), but Governmental target of a 5 percentage point increase.

P4 Border counties? Powys is a border county, but hasn't had an enormous increase

in Welsh medium schooling. The formed Mid Glamorgan isn't a border county but

has.

P6 Gruffud > Gruffudd

P7 clear up whether the participants also had welsh medium primary education

P10 delete 'the volume edited by'

P15 FG4:8.1-3. Should this read (or be annotated) 'Radio Cymru' (not Radio Wales)

P16 Gweryn > Gwerin

P18 SC4 > S4C

P23 Why quote Iaith Pawb? This was superseded in 2012 by A Living Language, a

Language for Living.

P23 you refer to 'Welsh Language Strategy' – it's not in the bibliography. Is this the 2012 strategy?

Bibliography needs a small amount of attention, e.g. three works by Baker in 2013 not following Harvard style, i.e. Baker (2013a,b,c), Welsh Language Board and Welsh Assembly Government references need place of publishing (Cardiff), two works by Baker have figures preceding their titles. Should they be there?

Referee: 2

Comments to the Author

This paper is worth publishing. It presents some important findings which are very relevant to the current issues concerning Welsh-medium education and Welsh language policy and planning. It also has relevance and application to other minoritised language contexts.

The paper would benefit from consistency in the use of terms regarding language production (in institutions such as schools and workplaces) and reproduction or 'transmission' within the family. 'Socialization' is another option which is mentioned in passing but not grounded in any theoretical framework.

It would also improve the claims of the paper if it were made more explicit that the data is restricted to a small number of L2 adolescents in Cardiff where Welsh-medium schools are typically predominantly L2 learners and the use of Welsh within the community is also restricted. It should be made explicit that this is not the case in all parts of Wales. I've drawn attention to other minor errors in the text.

Appendix J

WonderWoods

Come alive / Wonder Woods / in the woods

Session Plan

Event/Location: Forest School
Group: YSGOL Llanbedrgoch — Session 5
Date: 10/10/15

- Story stick • nxt week
- Leaf broshing

Plant bugs ac 6Rln

	Time	Activity	Resources	Notes
KS1	9.40	Gwasan: Pen, Instr, Cynfonau, awer mind	(cynfonau)	
	10 – 10.30	Kawegos Hunt.		
Size files	10.45	Tân : cingla bren a-g	Bag tân, bren, dur, bucket	
		Cognip meen grup – un cefan	Cothry nek bg fm, sifon	
			BlK board / chalk	Have milk in
	11.20	Cluarae ryfd – deo a hading to chivilis fryfied to gwead Ylun eb lliuar		grup ready
KS2	1pm	Gwasan – Instr. Cynfonan, Antu-ncyat → Had tree r-awgove he this tree is Autumn		
	1.20	1) Mesur (ordn-Yaren sgt, d with sft) meesure wide of grop 3 – 3 shee		
	1.40	2) Tre du – sakly hlk sty 3) Tân – cognir tnickey → ac nyse duan		
	2pm	2:30 Free pm		30j, 5j, 2j, najista

* Milk ✗ blackboard ✗ skaws

• X2 ful horses – the lawe

Appendix K

Appendix L

Appendix M

Appendix N

Appendix O

Appendix P

enfy
citur

enw: Tomi Bach Naturws Anne Prithom
Oed: 1002
Byw: Coedwig Mathafan
tŷ: brensiach y bannaNas.

Chwareuon: darllen, Doniol
dawnsio, gwisgo dillod Posh. ganner

gweithio:gyfraeth tylwdd teg
Axweir Chware oferynau,
Chware gyda frindiau,
Bod yn gwirion,
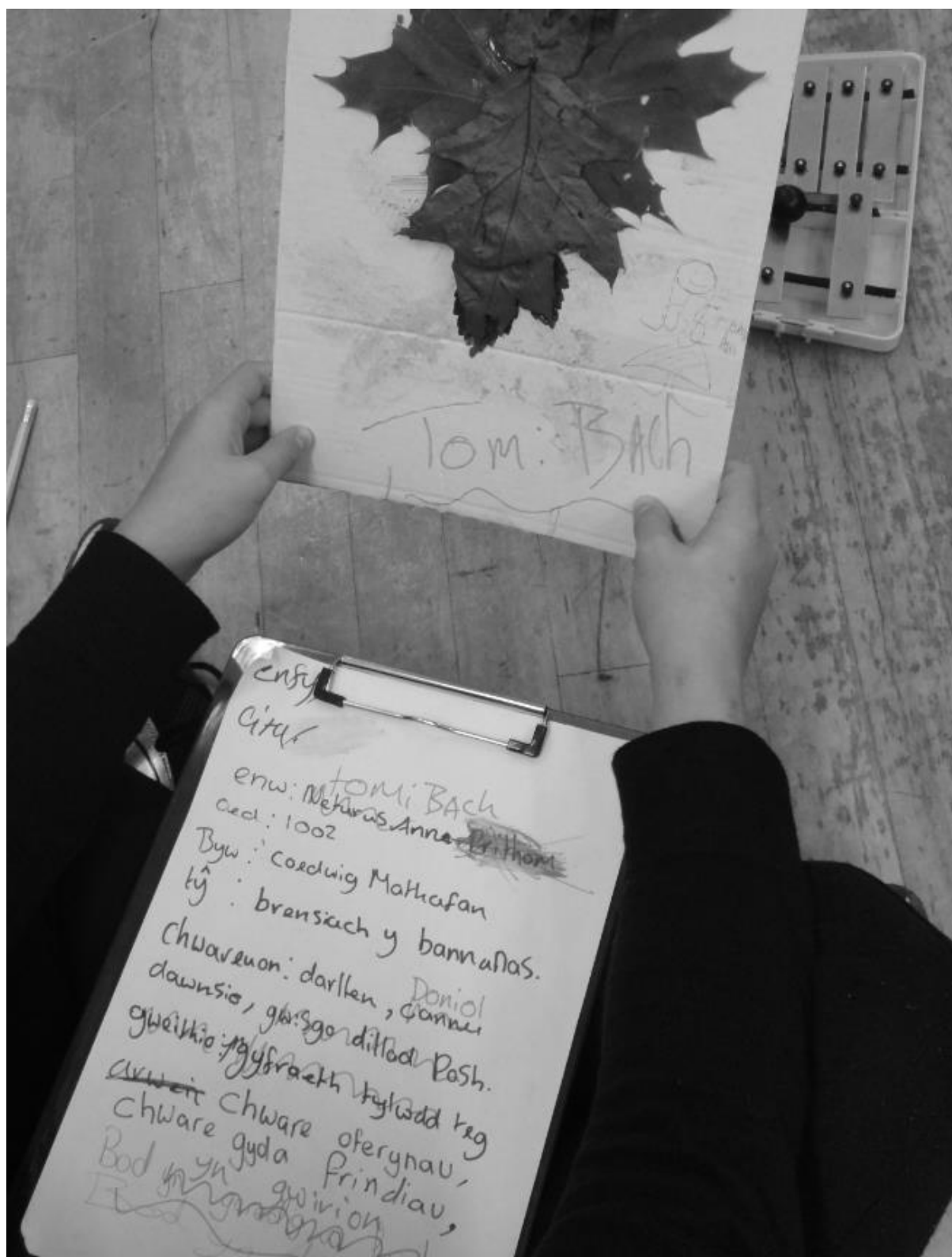
Appendix Q

Recording1: English translation followed by original Welsh transcript

Particpant: Well I think we need to .. The children have enjoyed having a forest school in school, because they have learnt the names of different trees, they have been able to plant trees and learn the names of different plants and different animals. And by doing that they have been.. They play games .. They play games, so they have physical exercise as a result. They have done quite a bit of maths in this way .. They .. They have enjoyed the cooking. They were cooking and making pancakes. They had to, um, you know, measure things themselves. They could then use scales and, you know, make sure that they measure things correctly. Oh, had a lot of fun!

Interviewer: Did you .. did you try? (?)

Participant: Yes of course! Blackberries, yes. They have learnt, you know, what they can eat outside, from the land as it were. What they can eat and what they are not supposed to eat. No, I am with the .. Key Stage 2, yes. But I .. They enjoy it a lot and look forward, you know, when Peter comes round the following week.

Interviewer: They love it!

Participant: They saw him on the yard, was it Monday? And a lot of the children ran towards him. And they enjoyed seeing him coming.

Interviewer: O lovely.

Participant: Yes it was. And there is something different, about going outside to learn in the fresh air, you know, not in the classroom as it were.

Participant: Yes indeed. And you know, they learn how to behave and respond when someone different comes to school, you know, and they show respect each time fair play to them, yes.

Participant: Most of them yes, and some of them have English parents living at home and .. Yes, they speak Welsh you know. And they were quite good. They speak.. Peter too, fair play, you know, was also speaking to the children in Welsh, so he helped in two ways really. But no, we always encourage the children to speak Welsh, well - outside and in class you know? I um... (*door slamming sound*) Yes. (laughter) It's different here! Yes, yes indeed. Different insects, animals. And we did the survey with Peter and everyone with their own group, and everyone have their sheet and had to look for the insects and different things we had on the list. I think they have learnt a lot by going outside, you know? Everything, and having fun and physical exercise, you know, the maths and language and everything. Yes indeed, everything has stemmed from it. Then yes - have really enjoyed it.
(End)

Participant: Wel dw i'n meddwl bod... Mae'r plant wedi mwynhau cael ysgol goedwig yn yr ysgol, achos maen nhw 'di dysgu enwau wahanol goed, maen nhw 'di gallu plannu coed a dysgu enwau wahanol blanhigion ac wahanol anifeiliaid. A trwy

gwneud hynny mae nhw wedi bod yn... Maen nhw'n chwarae gemau... Maen nhw'n chwarae gemau, wedyn maen nhw'n cael ymarfer corff drwy ei wneud o. Maen nhw wedi gwneud dipyn o fathemateg wrth wneud... Maen nhw... Wedyn maen nhw 'di mwynhau efo'r coginio. Oedden nhw'n coginio a gwneud crempog. Oedden nhw'n gorfod, um, dach chi'n gwybod, pwyso pethau allan eu hunain. Wedyn oedden nhw'n gallu defnyddio y glorian a, dach chi'n gwybod, gwneud siŵr bod nhw'n mesur pethau yn gywir. O, wedi cael llawer o hwyl!

Interviewer: Wnaethoch chi... wnaethoch chi drio? (?)

Participant: Do tad, do! Mwyar duon, do. Maen nhw 'di dysgu, dach chi'n gwybod, be maen nhw'n gallu fwyta tu allan, ar y tir mewn ffordd. Be maen nhw'n gallu bwyta a be dydyn nhw ddim i fod i fwyta. Na, dw i efo'r... Cyfnod allweddol dau ydw i, ia. Ond dw i... Maen nhw'n mwynhau yn ofnadwy ac yn edrych ymlaen, dach chi'n gwybod, pan mae Peter yn dod rownd erbyn yr wythnos wedyn.

Interviewer: Maen nhw'n lyfio fo!

Participant: Maen nhw 'di weld o ar yr iard, dydd Llun 'dwch? Ac oedd lot o'r plant wedi rhedeg amdano fo de. Ac oedden nhw yn mwynhau ei weld o'n dŵad.

Interviewer: O, lyfli.

Participant: Oedd, oedd. A mae 'na rywbeth gwahanol, cael mynd allan i'r awyr iach i ddysgu a, dach chi'n gwybod, ddim yn y dosbarth mewn ffordd.

Participant: Yndi tad. A, dach chi'n gwybod, maen nhw'n dysgu sut i ymddwyn ac ymateb pan mae rhywun gwahanol yn dod i'r ysgol, dach chi'n gwybod, a maen nhw'n dangos parch bob tro chwarae teg iddyn nhw, yndy.

Participant: Mae 'na rhan fwyaf ohonyn nhw yndy, a mae gynna rhai ohonyn nhw rhieni Saesneg sy'n byw adre a... Yndy, mae nhw yn siarad Cymraeg dach chi'n gwybod. A mi oedden nhw reit dda. Maen nhw'n siarad... Roedd Peter hefyd chwarae teg, dach chi'n gwybod, roedd o'n siarad yn Gymraeg efo'r plant hefyd, wedyn oedd o'n helpu y ddwy ffordd mewn ffordd doedd. Ond na, dan ni o hyd yn hybu'r plant i siarad Cymraeg, wel - allan ac yn y dosbarth dach chi'n gwybod? I um... (*door slamming sound*) Ia. (laughter) Mae'n wahanol yma! Yndy, yndy, yndy tad. Wahanol bryfed, anifeiliaid. A wnaethon ni wneud y *survey* efo Peter a pawb efo eu grŵp eu hun, ac oedd gan bawb ei daflen ac yn gorfod chwilio am y pryfed a gwahanol bethau oedd gynnon ni ar y rhestr 'lly. Dw i'n meddwl bod nhw wedi dysgu lot wrth fynd allan, dach chi'n gwybod? Bob dim 'lly, a cael hwyl a'r ymarfer corff, dach chi'n gwybod, y mathemateg a iaith a bob dim. Yndy tad, mae pob peth yn dod allan ohono fo. Wedyn do - wedi mwynhau yn fawr iawn.
(End)

Recording2: English translation followed by original Welsh transcript

Participant: I think it has been a very good experience for the children. We have worked two different sessions, at different times of the year. The children have gained something different from them each time. They have succeeded in

enrichening the curriculum, which has been an advantage to some of the children in particular. Children who perhaps don't enjoy school, especially those who are not academic. It has been something they have been able to shine in doing - rather than always the same children shining in all areas. Some children were more interested in coming to school and contributing at school. And in class afterwards, we have seen a development in some of the children in terms of their confidence, in the way they speak and the way in which .. We have seen them learning something new which we were not familiar with, or we would not have seen if we had not done something outside the classroom like the forest school. So those children and the youngest children have benefitted from it. And there is one boy in particular, who.. It has been clear - the difference in him last year. He grew in confidence, he started talking more in class - because he tends not to talk much. He started talking more in class, and that was nearly straight after the forest school. They had met someone new - someone from outside was speaking to them. We had visitors to the school, parents coming to look around with small nursery children for this year. And the little boy went up to the parents and asked, "*Oh, who is she? What is she doing here? Is she going to come to our school? Don't worry about it, it's okay - I'll look after her*". And it isn't in the little boy's nature to do that, and we hadn't noticed anything like that happening until after we had been to the forest school. So quite a difficult connection to make perhaps, directly. But in terms of knowing the little boy, he didn't behave like that before he attended the forest school sessions. And I had seen a development in his perseverance, and concentration and things like that, moving between outside and inside when he was doing his work - in particular if it was based on nature or on something he had learnt outside. I think what most parents have noticed is that the children are more interested. They enjoyed coming to school, they enjoyed the

sessions and asked when was Peter coming back. "When is he coming back? Is he coming back this year?" "No, not this year. He's coming back next year."

Interviewer: (laughter) Then he appears!

Participant: Yes, he appears like that all the time. And this year, [and] last year I paid from of a grant I had in the school. But this year I could ask the "friends of the school" - the parents - because they do fundraising for the school, and they were willing to pay for the sessions because they could see how much their children had gained from it last year. So we've had this year .. I have planned for the next academic year, I have asked them to raise money so that we can have a session in our remaining term. We've done winter, we've done spring, so summer [next]. So 2017... Yes, so it will be summer 2017, so that the children will have had three terms. And hopefully there will be enough money afterwards to start properly like autumn, spring, summer for the following three years. That's what I'm hoping if we have the money. No, it is definitely something which not enough schools take advantage of. When someone does their job well - because Peter is very, very good as it happens with the children - and teaches them in a slightly different way to what we would do in the classroom.   But they listen, they learn. This time the older children have learnt about the area's indigenous plants, have learnt about things like colouring with berries. [They] have learnt about what's right to eat, what's not right to eat.   How to make a fire, and they have been allowed to make a fire. That has been a major thing because there are a lot of children who arrive here now and their parents don't allow them near the stove, they don't allow them to go outside in case they fall, they don't allow them to go down to the river in case they drown. It's that sort of world. But by

making a forest school, the children learn how to take risks in a safe situation. And also being safe around things like a fire, where "Ok, there's no need to be frightened of the fire. It is behaviour near the fire which is going to cause a problem". And they have learnt little things like, when the fire was lit, the rule was that no one were supposed to be on their feet.

Interviewer: Little things like that, yes.

Participant: No one were on their feet! But they were allowed to go up to the fire to cook *marshmallow*, when it was their turn to cool marshmallow. So they learnt how to be safe in a situation where perhaps their parents wouldn't allow them to do. Although they would like them to, but perhaps the parents don't have the expertise or the confidence to introduce something like that. Doing it like this in school, through something like the forest school has been of great help to the children I think.

Interviewer: xxx (?)

Participant: Yes, yes. Learning by doing things - which is something the foundation phase specifically ... that is the foundation phase's purpose. But it is an extension from the classroom out to activities outdoors which has enrichened what they do and what they learn. And as things are moving, if enrichening the curriculum is something which is supposed to happen, then something like this enrichens the curriculum but also with the emphasis on things like literacy and numeracy. They learnt about the elements, in particular the social elements - speech and communicating appropriately with different people, with each other. Cooperation, working together

to achieve something in the long run. It does everything! Not so much in Welsh. They have learnt the names of plants, they have learnt things like that, learnt a vocabulary which they wouldn't get otherwise. It could be possible to adapt the situation to make more use of the Welsh language. But I think that it comes naturally rather than .. I think that pushing the Welsh language in .. pushing it in, and then the children wouldn't enjoy as much. They had the sessions in Welsh, so then that worked well. And they did chat in Welsh about the things they were doing. But they didn't .. I haven't seen a specific increase in terms of the Welsh language. But perhaps it is something positive in that they are involved with something different in the school and discuss in Welsh. So their oral Welsh is going to improve, certainly, in doing something like this.

Interviewer: Another or ..?

Participant: Nothing specific, only that it is something positive and that there should be money available for schools to be able to get experts in, rather than us having to try and do what we should in school without very very very specific expertise. I didn't know what a forest school was until I researched it, and then found that this was available. I happened to see what they did in a forest festival and one of the parents mentioned it. And we started in that way. And then saw the benefit of it rather than having the mind-set "of a forest school being something good". I wasn't any the wiser until I saw it. And now I try and tell other people, "it's worth doing, it's worth providing money for it". Because the children benefit from it, even if it's only on an enjoyment level and the fact that they learn .. I think a lot of it is about taking a risk and learning new things in a different way. And I like the fact that children - in particular the

children who are not so academic - perhaps they are better at doing this. And the young academic children who have shone in mathematics and literacy since they started school now have some trouble, and have to learn from the child who perhaps isn't as good in maths or language. And there is a more equal balance between the children who like doing things and the children who enjoy learning things.

Interviewer: And boys?

Participant: Um... perhaps it attract s a lot of ... There are boys who tend to be less .. have less interest in language work and learning from books, whereas girls tend to .. They will do as someone asks. I have seen that both sides have benefitted, but some boys due to their nature or personality perhaps have benefitted a great deal from it because it's in their world. And what they do when they're at home is - they are outside! They are in the river, they are up a tree, they are with animals all day. They are that sort of children in any case. And so they have had the opportunity to do something like lighting a fire, or making a bird box. Such things are truly .. that's where their interest lies. And so they have wanted to come to school, want to do things, rather than, "Oh, I don't want to come to school because I have to read, have to write". Because perhaps they don't have as much interest in that. Whereas doing it through something like this, it is much better. They benefit from it. If I ask them to write about something they've done with Peter, well, they are going to do it. Rather than if I ask them to write about something else or something out of a book, or another question - they don't have as much interest in that. They don't show that enthusiasm. Then I .. No I don't think there is a great difference, but there is .. with some of the boys who perhaps aren't quite as .. who don't like the academic side in

school as much, especially at this age. Because there is a lot of pressure on them to write and read now, and nothing else. And doing something apart from writing and reading is much better for them, I think. Yes!

(End)

Participant: Dw i 'n meddwl bod o 'di bod yn brofiad da iawn i'r plant. Dan ni 'di gweithio dwy sesiwn wahanol, gwahanol amseroedd o'r flwyddyn. Mae'r plant 'di cael pethau gwahanol allan ohonyn nhw bob tro. Maen nhw 'di gallu cyfoethogi y cwricwlwm, sydd 'di bod o fantais i rai o'r plant yn enwedig. Plant sy ddim efallai yn mwynhau yr ysgol, sy ddim yn academaidd yn enwedig. Mae o 'di bod yn rywbeth mae nhw 'di gallu disgleirio wneud - yn hytrach na wastad yr un un plant yn disgleirio yn yr un un meysydd. Ambell i blentyn efo mwy o ddiddordeb mewn dod i'r ysgol ac mewn cyfrannu yn yr ysgol. Ac yn y dosbarth wedyn, dan ni 'di gweld datblygiad rhai o'r plant o ran eu hyder, o ran y ffordd maen nhw'n siarad ac o ran y ffordd mae...

Dan ni 'di gweld nhw'n dysgu rhywbeth newydd lle doedden ni ddim yn gyfarwydd, neu 'sen ni ddim 'di weld heblaw ein bod ni wedi gwneud rhywbeth tu allan i'r dosbarth fel yr ysgol goedwig. Wedyn mae'r plant hynny a'r plant fengaf wedi cael mantais ohono fo. A mae 'na un hogyn yn benodol, sy... Mae o wedi bod yn amlwg - y gwahaniaeth wnaeth ddigwydd blwyddyn diwethaf iddo fo. Wnaeth o dyfu mewn hyder, wnaeth o ddechrau siarad mwy yn y dosbarth - achos dydy o ddim yn tueddu i siarad llawer. Wnaeth o ddechrau siarad mwy yn y dosbarth, ac oedd hynna bron iawn yn syth yn dilyn yr ysgol goedwig 'lly. Mi oedden nhw wedi cael cyfarfod rywun newydd - oedd 'na rywun o tu allan yn siarad efo nhw.

Gafon ni ymwelwyr yn yr ysgol, rhieni yn mynd o gwmpas i sbïo â plant bach meithrin ar gyfer blwyddyn yma 'lly. A wnaeth yr hogyn bach fynd at y rhieni a gofyn, "*oh, who is she? What is she doing here? Is she going to come to our school? Don't worry about it, it's okay - I'll look after her*". A dydy o ddim yn natur y hogyn bach i fod yn gwneud hynna, a wnaethon ni ddim sylwi ar ddim byd fel 'na yn digwydd tan ar ôl i ni fod yn yr ysgol goedwig. So cyswllt eithaf... anodd i wneud, ella, yn *direct*. Ond o ran nabod yr hogyn bach, doedd o ddim yn ymddwyn fel 'na cyn i iddo fo gael sesiynau ysgol goedwig. Ac o'n i 'di gweld datblygiad yn fath â... yn ei ddyfalbarhad o, a canolbwyntio a pethau fel 'na, yn symud o tu allan i tu fewn pan oedd o'n gwneud ei waith hefyd - yn enwedig os oedd o'n seiliedig ar natur neu ar rywbeth oedd o wedi ei ddysgu tu allan. Dw i'n meddwl be mae'r mwyafrif o'r rhieni wedi sylwi ydy bod gan y plant mwy o ddiddordeb. Oedden nhw yn mwynhau dod i'r ysgol, roedden nhw'n mwynhau y sesiynau ac yn gofyn pa bryd mae Peter yn dod yn ôl. "Pa bryd mae'n dod yn ôl? Ydy o'n dod yn ôl blwyddyn yma?" "Nac ydy, dim blwyddyn yma. Blwyddyn nesa mae'n dod yn ôl."

Interviewer: (laughter) Wedyn mae'n ymddangos!

Participant: Yndy, mae'n ymddangos fel 'na trwy'r adeg. A eleni, blwyddyn diwethaf, wnes i dalu allan o grant oedd gen i yn yr ysgol. Ond flwyddyn yma wnes i fedru gallu gofyn i "cyfeillion yr ysgol" - sef y rhieni - achos maen nhw'n codi pres i'r ysgol, ac oedden nhw'n fodlon talu am y sesiynau achos oedden nhw'n gweld gymaint oedd eu plant nhw wedi cael allan ohono fo y flwyddyn diwethaf. So dan ni 'di cael blwyddyn yma... Dw i 'di cynllunio erbyn blwyddyn academaidd nesaf, dw i 'di gofyn

iddyn nhw hel pres fel bod ni'n gallu cael sesiwn yn y tymor sy gynnon ni ar ôl. Dan ni 'di wneud y Gaeaf, dan ni 'di gwneud y Gwanwyn, so tymor yr Haf. So 2017... Ia, so bydd hi'n Haf 2007, fel bod y plant wedi cael tri tymor. A gobeithio fydd 'na ddigon o bres wedyn i gallu cychwyn yn gallach fel Hydref, Gwanwyn, Haf am y tair blynedd wedyn. Dyna be dw i'n gobeithio os oes gynnon ni bres. Na, mae o'n bendant yn rhywbeth dydy dim digon o ysgolion yn cymryd mantais ohono fo. Pam mae 'na rhywun sydd yn dda yn gwneud eu swydd hefyd - achos mae Peter yn dda iawn, iawn digwydd bod efo'r plant - ac yn dysgu nhw mewn ffordd bach yn wahanol i be 'sen ni'n wneud yn y dosbarth. Ond eto maen nhw'n gwrando, maen nhw'n dysgu. Mae'r plant hynaf tro 'ma wedi cael dysgu am blanhigion brodorol yr ardal, 'di cael dysgu am bethau fel lliwio efo aeron. Wedi dysgu am be sy'n iawn i fwyta, be sy ddim yn iawn i fwyta. Sut i wneud tân, a maen nhw 'di cael wneud y tân.

Mae hwnna 'di bod yn beth mawr achos mae 'na lot o blant sy'n cyrraedd rŵan lle tydi rhieni nhw ddim yn gadael iddyn nhw ddod at y stôf, dydyn nhw ddim yn gadael iddyn nhw fynd allan rhag ofn iddyn nhw ddisgyn, dydyn nhw ddim yn gadael iddyn nhw fynd i'r afon rhag ofn iddyn nhw foddi. Mae 'na... byd fel 'na. Ond wrth wneud ysgol goedwig, mae'r plant yn dysgu cymryd risg mewn sefyllfa diogel. Ac hefyd bod yn ddiogel o gwmpas pethau fath â tân, lle mae'n "OK, does ddim isio bod yn ofn y tân. Ymddygiad wrth ymyl y tân sy'n mynd i achosi problem". A maen nhw 'di dysgu pethau bach fel, pan oedd y tân ymlaen, y rheol oedd doedd neb i fod ar ei draed.

Interviewer: Sgiliau bach fel 'na, ia.

Participant: Doedd neb ar ei draed! Ond oedden nhw yn cael mynd at y tân i

goginio *marshmallow*, pan oedd o'n tro nhw i goginio *marshmallow*. So oedden

nhw'n dysgu bod yn ddiogel mewn sefyllfa lle ella 'sai rhieni nhw ddim yn fodlon

iddyn nhw wneud. Er 'san nhw'n licio iddyn nhw wneud, ond dydy'r rhieni ddim efo'r

arbenigedd neu ddim efo'r hyder ella i gyflwyno rywbeth fel 'na. Mae gwneud o fel

hyn yn yr ysgol, trwy'r rywbeth fath â'r ysgol goedwig wedi bod yn lot o help i'r plant

dw i'n meddwl.

Interviewer: xxx (?)

Participant: Ydy, ydy. Dysgu drwy wneud pethau - sydd yn rywbeth mae'r cyfnod

sylfaen yn benodol... dyna be ydy pwrpas cyfnod sylfaen i fod. Ond mae o'n estyniad

o'r dosbarth allan i weithgareddau tu allan sy 'di cyfoethogi be maen nhw'n wneud a

be maen nhw'n ddysgu. A fel mae pethau yn symud, os ydy cyfoethogi cwricwlwm yn

rywbeth sydd i fod i ddigwydd, yna mae rhywbeth fel hyn yn cyfoethogi cwricwlwm

ond hefyd efo'r pwyslais ar bethau fath a llythrennedd a rhifedd. Maen nhw'n dysgu

yr elfennau, yn enwedig yr elfennau cymdeithasol - llafaredd a cyfathrebu yn briodol

efo pobl gwahanol, efo ei gilydd. Cyd-weithredu, cyd-weithio er mwyn cyflawni

rhywbeth yn y pen-draw. Mae o'n gwneud pob dim 'lly!

Dim gymaint yn yr iaith Cymraeg. Mae'n nhw 'di dysgu enwau planhigion, maen nhw

'di dysgu pethau fel 'na, dysgu geirfa lle na fasen nhw'n ddim yn gael fel arall. Mae

'na fodd maen debyg addasu'r sefyllfa i wneud mwy o ddefnydd o'r Gymraeg. Ond

dw i'n meddwl bod o'n dod yn naturiol yn hytrach na... Dw i'n meddwl basai gwthio'r

iaith Gymraeg i fewn yn.... yn gwthio fo fewn, a wedyn sai'r plant ddim yn mwynhau

gymaint. Yn Gymraeg oedden nhw'n cael y sesiynau, so wedyn oedd hynna'n

gweithio'n iawn. A mi oedden nhw'n sgwrsio yn Gymraeg am y pethau oedden nhw'n wneud. Ond doedden nhw ddim... Dw i ddim 'di gweld bod na unrhyw gynnydd penodol wedi digwydd o ran yr iaith Gymraeg. Ond ella bod o yn rhywbeth positif o ran bod nhw'n ymwneud efo rhywbeth gwahanol yn yr ysgol ac yn trafod yn Gymraeg. Felly mae eu Cymraeg nhw yn mynd i wella ar lafar, yn sicr, wrth wneud rhywbeth fel hyn.

Interviewer: Arall neu..?

Participant: Dim byd penodol, dim ond bod o'n rhywbeth positif ac dylai na fod yna arian ar gael ar gyfer ysgolion i fedru gael arbenigwyr i mewn, yn hytrach na bod ni yn gorfod trio gwneud be ddylen ni yn yr ysgol heb yr arbenigedd penodol iawn, iawn, iawn. Doeddwn i ddim yn deall be oedd ysgol goedwig tan i fi chwilio, a wedyn ffeindio bod hwn ar gael. Wnes i ddigwydd gweld be oedden nhw'n wneud mewn gwyl goedwig a wnaeth un o'r rhieni ddod a sôn. A trwy hynna wnaethon ni ddechrau. A wedyn 'di gweld budd ohono fo wedyn ydw i yn hytrach na efo meddylfryd "o ysgol goedwig yn rhywbeth da". Doeddwn i ddim callach tan i mi weld rŵan. A rŵan dw i'n trio deud i bobl eraill, "mae o werth ei wneud, mae o werth rhoid y pres ar ei gyfer o". Oherwydd mae'r plant yn cael budd, os ydy o ddim ond ar y lefel o'r mwynhad a'r faith eu bod nhw'n dysgu... Dw i'n meddwl bod lot ohono fo jest i gymryd risg a dysgu pethau newydd mewn ffordd gwahanol. A dw i yn hoffi bod plant - yn enwedig y plant sydd ddim mor academig - ella bod nhw'n well am wneud hyn. A dydy'r plant bach academaidd sy 'di disgleirio mewn mathemateg a llythrennedd ers bod nhw yn yr ysgol rŵan yn cael bach o drafferth, ac yn gorfod dysgu gan y plentyn ella sy ddim gystal efo ei fathemateg neu efo iaith. A mae'r balans yn fwy hafal

rhwng plant sy mwy hoffi wneud pethau a plant sy hoffi dysgu pethau.

Interviewer: A hogiau?

Participant: Um... falle bod o'n denu lot o... Mae 'na hogiau sy'n tueddu i fod yn llai... hefo llai o ddiddordeb mewn gwaith iaith a dysgu allan o lyfrau, lle mae genod yn tueddu... Mi wnawn nhw wneud fel mae rhywun yn gofyn. Dw i 'di gweld fod y ddwy ochr wedi cael budd, ond mae 'na ambell i hogyn o ran natur eu personoliaeth ella wedi cael lot o fudd allan ohono fo oherwydd fod o yn eu byd nhw. A be maen nhw'n wneud pan maen nhw adre ydy - maen nhw allan! Maen nhw yn yr afon, maen nhw i fyny coeden, maen nhw efo anifeiliaid trwy'r dydd. Plant bach fel 'na ydy nhw beth bynnag. A felly mae rheina wedi cael gwneud rhywbeth fath a cynnu tan, neu gwneud bocs adar. Mae pethau fel 'na yn wirioneddol... dyna lle mae eu diddordeb nhw. A felly maen nhw 'di bod isio dod i'r ysgol, isio gwneud, yn hytrach na, "o, dw i ddim isio dod i'r ysgol achos dw i'n gorfod darllen, gorfod sgwennu". Achos maen nhw'n cael ella ddim gymaint o ddiddordeb allan o hwnna. Lle mae gwneud o trwy rhywbeth fel hyn, mae lot gwell. Maen nhw'n ffeindio budd. Os dw i'n gofyn iddyn nhw sgwennu am rhywbeth maen nhw 'di wneud efo Peter, wel, maen nhw yn mynd i wneud o. Yn hytrach na os 'swn i'n gofyn iddyn nhw sgwennu am rywbeth arall neu rywbeth allan o lyfr, neu cwestiwn arall - dydyn nhw ddim efo gymaint o ddiddordeb yn hynna. Dydyn nhw ddim yn dangos y brwdfrydedd yna.

Wedyn dw i'n... Na dw i'm yn meddwl fod 'na wahaniaeth mawr, ond mae 'na... efo rhai o'r hogiau sy ddim ella mor... sy ddim yn hoffi gymaint o ran yr ochr academaidd mewn ysgol, enwedig yn yr oed yma. Achos mae 'na lot o bwysau iddyn nhw

sgwennu a darllen rŵan, a dim byd arall. A mae gwneud rywbeth tu allan i wneud y

sgwennu a darllen yn lot gwell ar eu cyfer nhw, dw i'n meddwl. Iawn!

(End)

<u>Recording3: English translation followed by original Welsh transcript</u>

Participant: Yes, excellent. Enjoyed it very much, yes, yes. I thought Peter was really good, I must say, the way [he] presented things. And also in the world of young children. I thought he was great.

Participant: Infants

Interviewer: Ah, wow. OK.

Participant: Yes with infants reception one and two. Yes, yes. And it's difficult to keep children of different ages like that attentive. So it's difficult to adapt things for different ages. So no, it was excellent, I really enjoyed it.

Interviewer: [...] anything at all?

Participant: Um... Yes well, after being on the sessions they tend to carry on with a few activities Peter has shown them. Yes, yes, some more than others of course. You know, some take more of an interest in their world than others. But yes, some of the children have carried on during playtime as well, you know, still collecting sticks

and noticing things as well, after discussing things with Peter. Um, well I personally haven't heard anything back from them. But perhaps they have come back to Mrs Rhys, the class teacher. But no, what the children do is they come from home and bring different leaves and different things they have learnt with Peter, things they have noticed. They then tend to go home and bring different things to school to show Mrs Rhys in class. So clearly they have understood and listened. And then they still have sort of ... after going home I should think and talked to their parents. And then they look for different things to bring to school to show. But I should think that's why, because they bring different things, then they look .. they go out, and they look at home, what they've got at home and what they have learnt with Peter. So yes - they have brought different leaves and different things to show us afterwards. So, it shows that they have enjoyed it as well - because they do this sort of thing at home. Yes, yes.

Participant: Um yes, yes. Learning the names of different leaves of course. And Peter made things as well .. They loved having a barbeque of course.

Interviewer: And pancakes!

Participant: That was a main event! Oh yes! And tasting things. Yes, yes, yes, I think that they pay more attention now to things around them, because they have had experiences with Peter. They really enjoyed making clay and building things with sticks and mud, they really enjoyed that. And painting as well, using different things to paint pictures of birds. And I think that was an eye opener for many of them - that they can use different things, instead of going to the shop to buy them. And I

think xxx (?), "Sort of wow, we can do this!"

Interviewer: So they start ...

Participant: Yes, yes - they do. I noticed that the girls tended to be much more dirty by the end than the boys. There we are, I'm being biased now. The girls think "Oh, we've got to do more than the boys." No ... yes, I think that the painting and seeing all the different natural things they can use - instead of paint coming from a bottle you know. Yes, and seeing that things work out when they make these mud huts afterwards, that things .. how things work. The structure of it in a way, with the wood and clay, they really enjoyed seeing it develop, after putting it together. They were in their element doing that, I must say. They also enjoyed singing, because Peter makes up little rhymes. And Peter is just spontaneous, he says these rhymes, you know, the first thing that comes into his head! And the children enjoy doing this, singing simple songs. And just .. every day Peter came they were eager to take part you know.

Interviewer: Coming in?

Participant: Perhaps indeed. But I think that Peter being the person he is as well, you know .. although with his height, and size a few children would think "Oh!" you know. But no, no - a very warm person.

Interviewer: [...] with the language and yes ...

Participant: Yes, yes, everything, all in. The games, singing rhymes, very simple things you know. Drawing the children's attention to things around them as well. And you know, children who haven't thought about lifting their heads up any higher than eve level you know, and looking up and looking around. And also .. noise as well, you know, silence and listening to all the noises. That's difficult isn't it, getting children to sit quietly and listen to what's going on around them. Yes, they did. Yes, yes, yes. No, excellent! Yes, after the games there's time for everything! Yes, yes, but I enjoyed being there as well.

Interviewer: Now, and again?

Participant: I should think so, xxx (?)

Interviewer: Excellent, well, thanks. Thank you once again.

Participant: OK? Bye. I can go back now!
(End)

Participant: Oedd, gwych. Mwynhau yn fawr iawn, do, do. O'n i'n meddwl bod Peter yn arbennig o dda, mae'n rhaid i fi ddeud, y ffordd o'n i'n cyflwyno pethau. Ac hefyd yn byd y plant bach te. O'n i'n meddwl bod o'n wych.

Participant: Babanod.

Interviewer: A, wow. OK.

Participant: Ia, efo meithrin derbyn un a dau. Ia, ia. A mae'n anodd cadw sylw plant o wahanol oedran fel 'na. Felly mae'n anodd addasu pethau i fod ar gyfer wahanol oedran. So na, oedd o'n wych iawn, wnes i fwynhau yn fawr iawn.

Interviewer: [...] rhywbeth o gwbl?

Participant: Um... Do wel, ar ôl bod ar y sesiynau maen nhw'n tueddu i gario mlaen efo ambell i weithgaredd mae Peter wedi dangos iddyn nhw. Yndyn, yndyn, rhai mwy na ei gilydd wrth gwrs. Wchi, mae rhai yn cymryd mwy o ddiddordeb yn eu byd nhw na rhai eraill. Ond ydy, mae rhai o'r plant wedi cario mlaen amser chwarae hefyd, wchi, i ddal i nôl brigau a sylwi ar bethau hefyd, ar ôl bod yn trafod pethau efo Peter 'lly.

Um, wel dydw i ddim yn bersonol wedi clywed yn ôl gynnon nhw. Ond efallai bod nhw wedi dod yn ôl at *missus* Rhys, athrawes y dosbarth. Ond na, be mae'r plant yn ei wneud ydy maen nhw'n mynd o'r cartref a maen nhw'n dod a wahanol ddail neu wahanol bethau maen nhw wedi dysgu efo Peter, pethau mae nhw wedi talu sylw ar. Maen nhw'n tueddu i fynd adre wedyn a dod â wahanol bethau i'r ysgol i ddangos i missus Rhys yn y dosbarth. So maen amlwg eu bod nhw wedi deall a 'di gwrando. A wedyn maen nhw dal wedi *sort of*... wedi mynd adre 'swn i'n meddwl a siarad efo eu rhieni. A wedyn maen nhw'n edrych am wahanol bethau i ddod i'r ysgol i ddangos de. Ond 'swn i'n meddwl mai dyna pam, achos maen nhw'n dod â wahanol bethau,

wedyn maen nhw'n edrych... maen nhw'n mynd allan, a wedyn maen nhw'n edrych yn y cartref, be sy gynnon nhw yn y cartref a be maen nhw wedi ddysgu hefo Peter. So ydyn - maen nhw 'di dod â wahanol ddail a wahanol bethau i ddangos i ni wedyn 'lly. So, mae'n dangos bod nhw wedi mwynhau hefyd - oherwydd bod nhw'n cario allan y math (?) yma adref. Ydy, ydy.

Participant: Um ydy, ydy. Dysgu wahanol enwau ar y dail wrth gwrs. A hefyd oedd Peter yn gwneud pethau... Wrth eu bodd yn cael barbeciw wrth gwrs.

Interviewer: A crempogau!

Participant: Oedd hynna'n *main event*! O oedd! A blasu pethau. Ydy, ydy, ydy, dw i'n meddwl bod nhw'n talu mwy o sylw rŵan ar bethau o'u cwmpas nhw, oherwydd bod nhw wedi cael profiadau efo Peter de. Wnaethon nhw fwynhau yn ofnadwy gwneud y clai ac adeiladu pethau efo brigau a mwd, wnaethon nhw fwynhau hynny yn arw. A hefyd y paentio, defnyddio pethau naturiol i beintio lluniau adar 'lly. A dw i'n meddwl bod hynny yn agoriad llygaid i lot ohonyn nhw - bod nhw'n gallu defnyddio gwahanol bethau, ar wahân bod isio mynd i'r siop i brynu nhw de. A dw i'n meddwl xxx (?), "wow 'lly, dan ni'n gallu gwneud hyn!"

Interviewer: So maen nhw'n dechrau...

Participant: Ia, ia - o yndi. O'n i'n gweld y genod yn tueddu i faeddu mwy ar y diwedd na'r bechgyn. Dyna fo, dw i'n bod yn *biased* de. Mae'r merched yn meddwl "o, mae rhaid i ni wneud mwy na'r bechgyn 'lly". Na... do, dw i'n meddwl na'r paentio

a gweld y wahanol bethau naturiol maen nhw'n gallu defnyddio - yn lle paent yn dod o botel dach chi'n gwybod. Ia, ac yn gweld bod pethau yn gweithio allan pan maen nhw'n wneud tai mwd 'ma wedyn 'lly, bod pethau... sut mae pethau yn gweithio. Y *structure* y peth mewn ffordd wchi, efo'r brigau a'r clai, oedden nhw wrth eu bod yn gwneud y peth yn datblygu wchi, ar ôl rhoi y peth at ei gilydd ynde. Oedden nhw wrth eu bod yn gwneud hynny, mae'n rhaid i mi ddeud. Canu hefyd wnaethon nhw fwynhau, achos mae Peter yn gwneud rhigymau bach. A mae Peter jest yn *spontaneous*, mae'n deud rhigymau, wchi, y peth cyntaf sy'n dod i'w ben o! A mae'r plant wrth eu bodd yn cael gwneud hynny, yn canu caneuon syml 'lly. A jest yn... bob diwrnod oedd Peter yn dŵad oedden nhw'n awyddus iawn i gymryd rhan wchi.

Interviewer: Dŵad mewn?

Participant: Ella, ella, ella wir, ella. Ond dw i'n meddwl bod Peter y person mae o hefyd, wchi... er bod ei daldra fo, ei faint o 'sai ambell blentyn yn meddwl "o!" wchi. Ond na, na - person cynnes iawn.

Interviewer: [...] efo'r iaith ac ia ...

Participant: Ydy, ydy, bob dim te, i fewn. Y gemau, y canu rhigymau, pethau syml iawn wchi. Tynnu sylw y plant hefyd at bethau sy o'u cwmpas nhw. A wchi, plant sy ddim 'di meddwl codi eu pennau dim uwch wchi, na lefel llygaid 'lly, a sbïo fyny a sbïo o gwmpas. Ac hefyd... sŵn hefyd te, wchi, distawrwydd a gwrando ar yr holl synau. Mae hynna'n anodd tydi, cadw plant yn dawel yn ista a gwrando ar be sy'n digwydd o'u cwmpas nhw. Ia, do. Ydy, ydy, ydy. Na, gwych! Ia, ia ar ôl y gemau mae

'na amser i bob dim! Do, do, ond wnes innau fwynhau 'fyd cael bod hefyd, do.
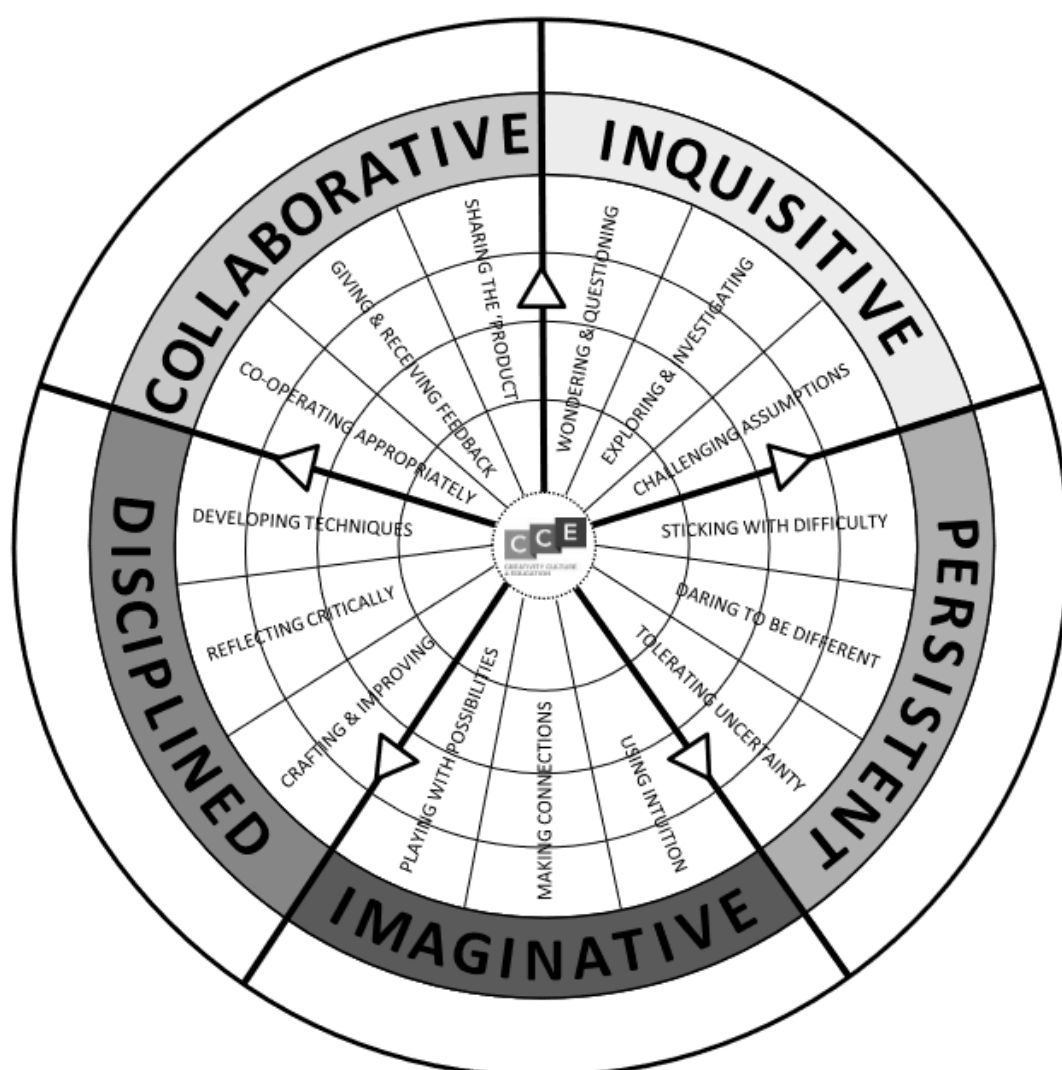
Interviewer: Rŵan, ac eto?

Participant: 'Swn i'n meddwl, xxx (?)

Interviewer: Gwych wel, diolch. Diolch unwaith eto.

Participant: OK? Tata. Ga i fynd yn ôl rŵan!

(End)

THE CREATIVE HABITS OF MIND WHEEL

HOW TO USE THE CREATIVITY WHEEL

You can do this exercise over a period of time – perhaps looking at one of the *5 Habits of Mind*.

Shade the segment of the circle that best represents your current ability in each *Sub-Habits of Mind*. The levels of ability grow in strength outwards from the centre of the wheel.

For example, as far as being *imaginative* is concerned, you may feel like your ability to use your *intuition* is just **beginning** whereas you are more **confident** in your ability in *playing with possibilities*. Be honest, reflect carefully and try to think of specific examples of evidence for each sub-habit before you identify your level of ability. Use the blank outer ring of the Creativity Wheel to write down your examples of evidence.

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