

Language attitudes and ideologies in Malta: A Mixed-Methods Study



Lara Ann Vella
B.Ed (Hons)
M.Ed (Melit)

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Linguistics and English Language

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Statement of originality

I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and that no part of this thesis has been submitted for any degree or publication.

I certify that the content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received and sources have been acknowledged.

Lara Ann Vella

Abstract

Language attitudes and ideologies in Malta: A Mixed-Methods Study,

Lara Ann Vella, B.Ed (Hons), M.Ed (Melit)

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University

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Malta's rich history of foreign conquerors together with its small landmass, has fostered an enduring history of bilingualism (in Maltese and English) on a societal level. In light of the value and status assigned to these two languages, this study sets out to investigate parents' and their children's language attitudes and ideologies towards Maltese and English, by using qualitative and quantitative research methods.

In the qualitative study, semi-structured interviews were carried out in 11 families, with parents and children (age range 8 to 15). The data show that all participants link use of Maltese and/or English to economic, social, cultural and/or linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). At times, use of language can lead to exclusion because the participants' language use does not match what is expected of them in a particular habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). Ideologies related to social class, to language use and locality, and nationalistic feelings can also be traced in most interviews. At times, parents' and children's language use do not match, as different forms of capital are valued by these family members. The participants' metalinguistic talk revealed links between their identity and language use (Davies & Harré, 1990; Bucholtz & Hall, 2003; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003) when they negotiate the use of Maltese and English in their daily interactions, and position themselves and others on the basis of language use.

In the quantitative study, questionnaires were distributed to parents (N= 202) and children (N=357), coming from three school sectors (state, church and independent schools) in different geographical areas of the island (Northern, Northern Harbour, Southern Harbour, South Eastern and Western). Four age groups were targeted: adults, 14- to 15-

year-olds, 11- to 12-year-olds and 8- to 9-year-olds. The self-reports of language use illustrate that Maltese is the prevalent language used in the home domain. The association between age, locality, mother's employment and school sector, respectively, was significant with language used with mother. Nine constructs emerged from the exploratory factor analysis of the language attitude questionnaire. Moreover, the multiple regression analyses revealed that language spoken to mother and at school are the most influential predictor variables across all language attitude constructs. The data also showed that school sector and age group have a significant effect on most language attitude constructs. The older groups (adults and 14- to 15-year-olds) showed more positive attitudes to Maltese than the younger ones (11- to 12-year-olds and 8- to 9-year-olds), who demonstrated more positive attitudes to English. Significant differences were also found in language attitudes based on the three school sectors, with children attending state schools showing more favourable attitudes to the Maltese language constructs, those attending independent schools being more positive to the English language ones, and those attending church schools exhibiting a blend of attitudes to both languages.

This study contributes to the theoretical debates on how speakers position themselves and others in their metalinguistic reflections (Davies & Harré, 1990). The findings make an important contribution to the area, by highlighting the role of the languages spoken at home, particularly by the mother, in the development of language attitudes. The study also makes a unique contribution in showing how qualitative and quantitative paradigms can complement each other to provide a more holistic insight into the association between language use and language ideologies in Malta.

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Transcription conventions

(.)	pause of less than a second
[]	overlapping turns
\	fall in intonation
/	rise in intonation
<text>	participant quoting other people or imitating accents or ways of speaking
laughs	extralinguistic information

1 Introduction

This mixed-methods study explores language attitudes and ideologies towards language use in Malta. Specifically, I focus on the way parents and their children conceptualise attitudes and ideologies towards Maltese and English while linking the use of language to “self” and “other”, within a broader political, economic and historical context. Language attitudes and ideologies have received considerable critical attention throughout the years. However, most studies have adopted either a qualitative or a quantitative methodology. This study, therefore, aims to contribute to this area of research by combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies to obtain a richer understanding of the role of language attitudes and ideologies in the formation of identities. Exploratory interviews were held with parents and their children. A follow-up survey which was based on the interview data was carried out, to test the generalisability of the attitudes and ideologies expressed in the interviews. In this chapter, I will present the rationale guiding the study, together with the lacunae in the literature that this study aims to address. I will conclude with a discussion of the main aims of the study and a presentation of the study’s research questions.

1.1 Background to the study

Language use has been, and still is, a topic which is frequently at the centre of intense national debate in Malta. Such debates have historical ramifications that go back to the early twentieth century, where Italian was considered the language of the élite and Maltese the language of the common people. English replaced Italian in the early twentieth century, but the ideologies persisted and transferred to the new language of the conqueror. Popular and official discourse on language use, even now, revolve around language ideologies that are steeped in the post-colonial mindset of the population where Maltese and English are placed as dichotomous entities. Moreover, visitors to the island are captivated by the ubiquity of language-related topics among people in general. Penelope Gardner Chloros opens her chapter to conference proceedings held in Malta in 2015, by stating how people discussed code-switching from Maltese to English without any prompting, and as a result, she was “intrigued to find a high degree of awareness of

linguistic issues among some of the (lay) people [she] encountered” (Gardner Chloros, 2016, p.9).

Language issues are also a key feature in most local newspaper and television programmes. For instance, the current topic that was being discussed in the media in early 2018 was the role of the Maltese language in education, and the introduction of a “Maltese as a foreign language” qualification for Maltese and non-Maltese nationals, as illustrated by the following newspaper articles, to mention a few examples:

- *Il-Malti se jsir ilsien barrani anki għall-Maltin* [Maltese to become a foreign language even for Maltese nationals] (Borg, 2018);
- *X'inhw l-futur għat-tagħlim tal-Malti?* [What does the future hold for the teaching of Maltese?] (Falzon, 2018);
- *No, Maltese is not a foreign language* (Gruppetta, 2018).

These articles sparked a heated discussion, which throughout history, has been the whole crux of the matter. Opinions are divided according to two groups: Those who believe that Maltese is not a valuable asset to Maltese society because it is a language spoken by a few thousands, and those who ardently want to protect the status of Maltese as a symbol of national identity. This example serves to illustrate the ever-present issues related to the use of Maltese and English, which sparked off my initial interest in the area.

On a personal level, the present study has been inspired by my own experience as a teacher of English in local secondary schools. I often noticed students who would express negative attitudes towards English and its speakers in Malta. Such students would view English as a threat to the fact that they were Maltese and associate it with snobbishness. At the same time, they were aware of its importance for job prospects, to travel and to watch films. They also used to pass comments such as, “*Aħna mhux bħalek Miss, inti tal-puliti* [We’re not like you Miss, you are more educated and well-mannered than us]”, when they used to refer to my use of English at school. They also assumed that by proxy, I was not proficient in Maltese. I also noticed that in the teaching of English, such ideologies were not addressed in classrooms and they were actually more of a taboo issue. This can be found in other contexts as Mirhosseini (2018) argues that the mainstream

theoretical and empirical accounts of second language acquisition, teaching methodology and syllabus development, and even more liberal cultural considerations and variationist sociolinguistic accounts of language education, largely tend to ignore political and ideological concerns. I also had friends who did not consider Maltese to be important in their daily interactions and spoke English in their families and to their friends. They believed that Maltese should be relegated to the school context, and once the necessary qualifications were obtained to access higher education, it became irrelevant to them. This antagonism to either language sparked my interest in exploring views on the use of language in Malta. I was also interested in how such views are socialised in families, seen as the first unit of socialisation (de Hower, 1995, Lanza, 2007, Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012).

This study started off as one concerning language attitudes in Malta. Baker draws our attention to the value of language attitudes to access “indications of current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires” (Baker 1992, p.9). The study then evolved to include the concept of language ideology as my informal discussions with people about the topic led to the realisation that issues related to Maltese and English are not only limited to individual perceptions about language use but are also related to issues of power. Gal (1998) posits that ideologies are not only ideas, representations or constructs but are also practices through which these ideas are endorsed and reproduced. It is the connections they bear with social reality, which comprises one of the widely accepted properties of language ideology (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998). Researchers have shown that the study of metalanguage reflected in the “... ways of feeling, thinking and speaking about language” (Makihara & Schieffelin 2007, p.14), can provide penetrating insights into speakers’ language ideological orientations. Central to my discussion is the role of social class in the formation of language attitudes and ideologies. Social class is understood in terms of Bourdieu’s (1984, 1991) discussion of social capital, which highlights the role of the symbolic system, as well as material conditions. Particularly, I draw on Bourdieu’s notion of habitus to examine ways in which capital intersects with other factors; such as nationalistic ideologies, group membership, and utilitarian value of languages.

I therefore embarked on this research journey to explore the way languages are conceptualised in a nation characterised by post-colonialism, limited landmass, and a rich history of cultural and linguistic interactions. It was also an opportunity to probe into my own attitudes and ideologies, particularly when my son was born during this journey. In the following sections, I will outline the statement of the problem that guided the genesis of this study, and its aims.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite the keen interest in issues related to the use of language in Malta, there have been relatively few attempts to examine these ideologies in research projects. Most studies (c.f. Chapter 2) carried out in the local context have been based on case-studies, or quantitative studies with generally small samples, that question the extent of the generalisability of findings (for instance Caruana, 2007; Scerri, 2009; Bonnici, 2010; Caruana, Cremona & Vella, 2013). In addition, most studies have adopted Gardner's (2010) concept of integrative and instrumental orientation, without verifying the usefulness of such constructs to describe the local context. The preponderance of quantitative investigations also portrays a picture where language attitudes are linear and not interrelated. These studies assume that participants have equal access to both Maltese and English. Furthermore, language use in Malta has rarely been theorised in the light of language ideologies. The focus of most studies has been on the existence of Maltese and English as first and second languages respectively, with little reference to the fact they might both be used by some individuals. Therefore, this study aims to address this gap in research within the local context, by introducing the concept of both language attitude and ideology in the study of language use in Malta.

Moreover, the three school sectors in Malta have traditionally valued different capitals associated with the use of Maltese and/or English, as a medium of instruction and also in teacher-student interactions. Some researchers (for instance Bonnici 2010, Camilleri Grima, 2013) have claimed that the close association between language use and school sectors has changed, because families from different social strata, particularly those who are economically affluent but come from working classes, are now sending children to church and independent schools. However, such claims need further empirical evidence

to support these generalisations, particularly to uncover parents' and their children's views on the forms of linguistic capital, which are valued in the different school sectors. Finally, to date, there exists little research on parents' and their children's attitudes towards Maltese and English (exception being Cutajar, 2015), particularly with children of different age groups. Studies involving psycholinguistic approaches, such as Ellul (1978) and Gatt (2017), have focused mainly on the language acquisition of young children. The present study aims to shed light on the similarities and differences in parents' and children's attitudes and ideologies towards Maltese and English.

Whereas studies on language attitudes and ideologies are few in Malta, the same cannot be said for research in other contexts. For instance, a review of studies on language attitudes can be found in Garrett (2010), and a collection of studies on language ideologies in multilingual settings can be found in Pavlenko and Blackledge (2003). A close analysis of the methods adopted reveals a prevalence of single-method studies. This can also be traced in most applied linguistics research, where the qualitative-quantitative distinction has been considered a paramount dichotomy, with one approach considered at odds with the other (Mackey & Gass, 2016). Soukup (2012) points out that mixing methods in language attitude research appears to be "hampered by the incompatibility thesis, which posits QUAL and QUAN methods as competing epistemological paradigms" (p.59). However, in line with the propositions in Creswell (2008), Dörnyei (2007), and Mackey and Gass (2016) my view is that multiple approaches are essential to understand the multifaceted nature of attitudes and ideologies. With regard to language ideologies, most studies exploring such phenomena have utilised qualitative methods. One feature of ideologies is that they are collective in nature (Woolard, 1998). Therefore, quantitative methods could shed light on the way such ideologies are generalised to the community. Furthermore, Soukup (2015) argues that the dichotomy between cognitivist and discursive approaches to the study of language attitudes has led to some misconceptions about the formation of attitudes. In her discussion, she states that when the focus is only on the emergent and social meaning making activities (as held by social constructivists) only one aspect of language attitudes is being brought to the forefront. Such evaluative practices have to draw on some form of experience or mental constructs (as advocated by cognitivists). Therefore, she concludes that a comprehensive

constructivist ontology of language attitudes has to account for cognitive and discursive processes.

In addition, Grenfell (2014) argues that research drawing upon Bourdieu's theories of cultural reproduction can benefit from quantitative and qualitative paradigms. He discusses how Bourdieu understood reality both as pre-conditioned and as actively conditioned by people, and as a result, both research methodologies are essential. In this way, this study will adopt two methodologies to open the door "to multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis" (Creswell, 2008, p.11).

The present study offers a unique insight into a context where two languages coexist and ideologies about language use are formed on the basis of contact with the two languages. Most studies on parental language ideologies take place in the context of heritage language settings. Parental efforts revolve around the promotion of the heritage language in cases of immigration, whereas in the present study, they promote at least two languages. Furthermore, in most studies, language users are described as belonging to two separate groups, such as the two groups in Gardner's (2010) studies, to an extent Heller's (2006) study in Canada, and Morris' (2014) study of use of language in Welsh-dominant and English-dominant communities and Groff, Pilote and Vieux-Fort (2016) in their study of identity choices of French-dominant youths in Canada, to mention a few examples. One of the repercussions of Malta's small landmass is that belonging to two separate groups who live in completely different areas is difficult to achieve. Even individuals who might consider themselves English-speaking and live in particular areas in Malta, still live in very close proximity to other individuals who consider themselves Maltese-speaking. This has repercussions on the way participants position themselves and others.

In summary, gaps exist in our current knowledge about language attitudes and ideologies in contexts characterised by societal bilingualism. This is particularly true to Malta, a small post-colonial nation, where contact between the two languages is pervasive. This thesis aims to address these gaps by examining the language attitudes and ideologies of parents and their children. It further seeks to explore the link between extra-linguistic

characteristics; such as age, locality, employment and school sector, and these attitudes and ideologies.

1.3 Epistemological Stance

In this study I draw upon a critical realist stance, which was originally developed by Bhaskar (1998). Being a critical realist entails being a realist in terms of ontology, which is viewed as intransitive, existing independently of the activity of individuals and a relativist with regard to epistemology, seen as transitive, in that scientific experience changes, as do conceptions of the studied world (Bhaskar, 1998; McEvoy & Richards, 2006; Block, 2006). In this sense, this related to the way Bourdieu (1984) conceptualises society as will be elaborated in Chapter 3, where it is deemed both objective and subjective:

Society must be regarded as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so. Society does not exist independently of human activity... But it is not the product of it... Society, then, provides necessary conditions for intentional human action, and intentional human action is a necessary condition for it. Society is only present in human action, but human action always expresses and utilizes some or other social form. Neither can, however, be identified with, reduced to, explained in terms of, or reconstructed from the other (Bhaskar, 1998, p.39).

For critical realists, the ultimate goal of research is not to only identify generalisable laws (as in positivism) or to uncover the lived experience or beliefs of social actors (as in interpretivism). Critical realists argue that the real world operates as a multi-dimensional open system. Instead of following a set order, effects arise due to the interaction between social structures, mechanism and human agency: “both the everpresent condition (material cause) and the continually reproduced outcome of human agency” (Bhaskar, 1998, p.37).

Critical realists argue that the choice of methods should be dictated by the nature of the research problem. This approach has been attractive to mixed methods researchers (for

instance McEvoy & Richards, 2006; Downward & Mearman, 2007; Lipscomb, 2008; Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010). Therefore, as discussed in the previous section, language attitudes and ideologies can be explored from a subjective (the qualitative) and an objective (the quantitative) perspective, and these approaches are not necessarily antagonistic, but can be integrated.

1.4 Aims of the study

This thesis explores parents' and children's language attitudes and ideologies to Maltese and English in Malta, using a mixed-methods study. Traditionally, studies on language attitudes and ideologies have either focused on qualitative methods or quantitative methods, depending on the conceptualisation of the concept of attitude and ideology. This study aims to contribute to this growing area of research by integrating the two methodologies in this field.

I will use a qualitative and a quantitative methodology to allow me to achieve an emic and an etic perspective on the matter under study. In the qualitative study, I will focus on the way participants talk about their language attitudes and ideologies. I will also compare the similarities and differences between parents' and children's views. In the quantitative study, I will use statistical analyses to allow me to generalise the findings of the qualitative study to the wider population, and to explore the effects of independent variables (namely age, locality, employment, school sector and language use) on the dependent variables (language attitudes and ideologies). The following research questions will guide the data collection, analysis and interpretation process:

1. What are participants' views on their own language use and how is this related to their identity and that of others?

2. What are parents' and children's language attitudes and ideologies towards Maltese and English?

a. What ideologies are expressed when parents and their children speak about language use in Malta?

b. What are the parents' and their children's general language attitude characteristics in Malta?

c. How do social factors, such as age, locality, and employment relate to language attitudes and ideologies?

d. How do participants differ in their language attitudes and ideologies based on the language used at home?

3. What are parents' and children's language attitudes and ideologies towards language use in the three school sectors (state, church and independent) in Malta?

a. How do participants link ideologies about language use in society and language use in schools?

b. What role do social factors play in attitudes towards language use in schools?

4. What is the relationship between parents' and children's language attitudes and ideologies?

The overall structure of the thesis takes the form of eight chapters, including this introductory chapter. The following chapter presents an overview of important characteristics that make up the local context. This will be followed by the theoretical constructs guiding this study. Next, the methodology section introduces the setting and context of this study. I will then explain the contributions the two kinds of data aim to make to this study, and explicate my methods of analysis. In the results chapters, I will first present a summary of the qualitative data (c.f Chapter 5) and highlight the themes that bring together all interviews. Chapter 6 presents the results of the quantitative study. Next, I will discuss the way the data collectively help to answer the research questions in light of the relevant literature, followed by a discussion of the main limitations of the study. In the concluding chapter, I will discuss the theoretical and methodological implications of the study and how the findings do contribute to the field, before outlining implications for practice and policy. Finally, I will provide directions for future research in the field of language attitudes and ideologies.

2 The Local Context

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will be providing a snapshot of the context in which the present study is situated. Santello (2015) emphasises the role of the local context in the study of language attitudes and ideologies of bilinguals as “[a]mong bilinguals, there may be dimensions of language attitudes that are to be considered idiosyncratic, that is, localised in a specific context” (p.3). I will, therefore, start with some brief background information on Malta, followed by a description of the education system and the way social class operates in Malta, in light of the aims of the study. Next, I will discuss the use of language, starting with the way history has shaped the present linguistic landscape and a discussion of language use in the home and in schools. Finally, I will be reviewing language attitude research that has taken place in Malta, where I will be focusing on the ways in which language and language attitudes serve as a means of creating social groups.

2.2 Background information

Malta is an island-nation located 57 miles south of Sicily, and approximately 200 miles north of Libya and Tunisia in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea, with an approximate area of 316 km. The population at the end of 2014 was of 429,344 (214,735 males and 214,609 females). Around 6.4% of the population is comprised of foreigners (NSO, 2014).

Figure 2.1: Map of Malta and Gozo based on the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS). Source: National Statistics Office (2017, p.4)



Note. As indicated by the 'x', the Locality 'Sliema' which will be mentioned frequently in the interviews is found in the Northern Harbour Area.

2.3 Education in Malta

Education in Malta is offered through three different providers: the state, the church, and the independent sector; the latter type of school perceived to be generally English medium schools. Presently, while church schools are single-sex, independent and state schools are co-educational, the latter since 2014. Formal education is mandatory from the age of five until the age of 16 (Constitution of Malta, 1991). Approximately 60% of students attend state schools, 30% church schools, and 10% independent schools (Eurydice, 2015).

All State schools are free, and children attend a Primary school in their town or village and then move to a Secondary school at the age of 11. The presence of three sectors creates a socially differentiated system of education, as revealed by sociological research in Malta, which although sparse, is telling (Cilia & Borg, 1997; Cachia, 2014). There is also evidence which points towards the fact that parents who come from high and middle classes prefer sending their children to church and independent schools:

in general, in Malta, state schools are perceived by middle-class parents as inferior to church and private schools... Failure to secure a place in one of the Catholic Church's early schools, through the Church's annual lottery, or not being able to afford private education is a major concern for most middle-class families (Borg & Mayo, 2001, p.251).

This is corroborated by Cilia and Borg (1997) and Cachia (2014), where they discuss how parents prefer fee-paying schools in view of their socially selective mechanisms.

In 1987, church schools abandoned their fee-paying policy, after an agreement between the Catholic Church and government, and started to take in pupils by a ballot system. Parents who would like their children to attend a Church school are to enrol them in the national ballot system, which takes place once a year for children aged 3 to 5 years old. Parents who are willing to pay school fees can also send their children to one of the Independent schools on the island (a comparison of fees is discussed in Vella & Borg (2015)).

2.4 Social class in Malta

Formosa (2009) describes how, similar to the class structures of other industrialised societies, the island's class map presently includes both the traditional working class as well as the new middle-class groupings. In 1994, Giddens also commented on how class structures in Malta have evolved in ways roughly similar to those found in other comparable societies. This gives rise to conflicts between classes as "class structures [have] today become complex and various tensions exist between the old and new middle classes as well as within elite groups" (Giddens, 1994, p.xxi).

This leads to the question as to how to classify the different social classes in Malta. Vassallo (1979) proposed a Weberian interpretation of class structure (c.f Section 3.5) in Malta. This is in light of the absence of data concerning the distribution of wealth and rising number of professionals, and the distribution of privileges according to a meritocracy of educational capital. The rooting of local class structure is to be understood in terms of a stratification system based on status-groups rather than on economic terms. However, Brown and Borg (2016) caution that interpreting class structure on the basis of a Weberian framework does not mean that reproduction of class differences by education or by economic resources does not exist.

Socio-economic inequalities can also be mapped to geographic areas in Malta. In terms of earnings per household, statistics from the 2011 census reveal that families living in western areas report the highest earnings, followed by those in South Eastern, Northern Harbour and Southern Harbour areas (NSO, 2017). The highest percentage of persons at-risk-of-poverty reside in Southern Harbour areas, and the lowest percentage in western areas. In terms of levels of education, the census data reveal that the highest percentage of graduates from the University of Malta in 2017 came from the Northern Harbour Areas, the least percentage came from the Southern Harbour Areas. Moreover, Gatt (2012), in her study of socioeconomic inequalities and school leavers in Malta, discusses how there exists a high spatial correlation between early school leavers and socio-economic inequalities. She argues that the highest percentage of school leavers, unemployment, and low levels of education and schooling are found in the Southern Harbour district. The western and northern districts show the lowest rates of early school leavers and socio-economic inequalities. This results in a north-south geographical divide in Malta, whereby districts were shown polarised not only in the perpetuation of several inequalities but also in occupation patterns, with higher percentages of blue-collar workers in the south and white-collar workers in the northern areas. The data obtained from censuses has to be interpreted with caution as census-taking and questions such as about language use and proficiency, ethnicity and income are always politically and ideologically charged (as discussed in for instance in Benton & Benton, 2001; Laversuch 2007; Sebba, 2018).

2.5 Language use

2.5.1 History influencing the present

Malta's strategic position in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea has resulted in a long history of colonisation, where various groups fought for power of the islands for hundreds of years. As a result, Malta's history has been one involving a series of dominations: Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese, Castilians, the Order of the Knights of St. John, and the French; all of which have had some form of impact on the linguistic development of its people. Some scholars argue that the local population practised bilingualism and probably underwent language change with every new conquest (Brincat, 2011). The largest Romance influence occurred with the arrival of the Knights of St. John in 1530. In 1800, Malta was to become another colony in the chain of "little Englands" (Abela, 1997, p.176) around the globe. Malta gained its independence from the British in 1964, and became a Republic in 1974.

2.5.2 English in Malta and the Language Question

The Maltese Language Question was born in the nineteenth century under British rule. During the rule of the Knights of Malta, Italian steadily gained prestige on the island, becoming the language of the elite. It was named an official language in the 15th century and was used for administrative purposes. A diglossic situation (Fishman, 1967) was created in this period, with Italian being the High variety and Maltese the Low variety (Mazzon, 1993, p.173). When the British arrived in Malta, they were immediately struck by the Italian features and the fact that Italian was an official language. The lower classes used Maltese, which was derisively called "*il-lingwa tal-kċina* [language of the kitchen]", while Italian was widespread among the upper classes (Berdichevsky, 2004). This created some tension as it was deemed somewhat unusual for a British colony to make use of an official language other than English (Mazzon, 1993).

The British set out to fight the presence of the Italian language in Malta in the late eighteen-seventies, when a report on the civil establishments in Malta recommended that all the business of government should be in English. The result of this was that employees

could not be granted a promotion unless the said employee was proficient in English (Blouet, 1972). This and several other events led to a heated language debate that would dominate the local politics for decades. The underlying issue of this language question, which lasted for decades, was not simply a linguistic quarrel but rather:

one facet of a struggle in which a relatively privileged Maltese group in Maltese society attempted to maintain its position (Blouet, 1972, p.196).

Slowly the inevitable reform took place, for Italian had lost its use in the country. It was not until 1934 that the British government successfully replaced Italian with English by appealing to Maltese citizens. Maltese was promoted as a national language while English became an official language alongside Maltese, as well as the language of education, administration and civil service (Mazzon, 1993). Malta joined the European Union in May of 2004, and Maltese became an official language of the Union.

2.5.3 The current linguistic situation

The orthography of the Maltese language was officially codified in 1934, by the Għaqda tal-Kittieba tal-Malti (the Union of Maltese Authors). Today, Maltese and English are widely spoken throughout the Maltese islands. The linguistic situation is also characterised by societal bilingualism (Sebba, 2010). The Constitution of the Republic of Malta recognises Maltese as the National language and grants co-official status to English:

(1) The National language of Malta is the Maltese Language.

(2) The Maltese and the English languages and such other language as may be prescribed by Parliament (by a law passed by not less than two-thirds of all the members of the House of Representatives) shall be the official languages of Malta and the Administration may for all official purposes use any of such languages.

Constitution of Malta, Chapter 1, Article 5(1-2)

The 2005 Census of Population and Housing (National Statistics Office, 2014) reported that 97.9% of the population aged 10 years and over spoke Maltese at home. Similarly, sociolinguistic surveys by Sciriha and Vassallo (2003, 2006), indicate that Maltese is the

mother tongue of around 98% of the population, with a minimal percentage of Maltese nationals also claiming that English is their mother tongue. When it comes to the written medium, these surveys illustrate that the Maltese language is used to a lesser extent as a written medium, particularly in higher education, since most texts are in English. Such data are confirmed in more recent surveys such as in Caruana (2007) and Caruana et al. (2013).

Although widespread, bilingualism is said to manifest itself to varying degrees (Vella, 2013), with the level of competence in each language “depending on the individual” (Brincat, 2011, p. 417). In present-day Malta, an accurate representation of the domains in which each language is used is a complex endeavour as both Maltese and English are present in most domains, and also code-switching is a ubiquitous practice (Vella, 2013). Caruana (2007) argues that claiming that either Maltese or English is a majority or a minority language is a difficult task:

the linguistic situation in Malta is complex indeed and relies heavily on the heritage of the historical and political permutations of the past. In view of this in the Maltese context it is difficult to apply the terms ‘minority’ and ‘majority’ language because Malta is essentially bilingual and both languages are used regularly by most of the population (p.188).

By way of illustration, Bonnici (2010) in her ethnographic study on English-speaking people from the Northern Harbour region of Malta, argues that although her participants might claim to be English-speaking, they also speak Maltese (and some speak it well) and in turn, Maltese-speaking individuals also speak English. She concludes that to be English-speaking in Malta is to acquire English at home, usually with Maltese, normatively from the Northern Harbour region of the island, and also having attended English-speaking church or independent schools, thus making a connection with school sector and locality. The English variety used by Maltese individuals is sometimes referred to as “Maltese English”, in acknowledgment of the Maltese influences on English at every linguistic level. Vella (2013) concludes that since the effects of regular use of English alongside Maltese clearly can be seen in daily interactions, rather than describing the linguistic situation as a dichotomy between English and Maltese, the

notion of a continuum of use serves to successfully illustrate the complex linguistic behaviour of Maltese speakers.

In terms of language use and geographic location - traditionally the Northern Harbour areas of Malta, particularly the Eastern Coast (specifically Sliema) - have been regarded as the locus of the English-speaking population in Malta. This includes non-Maltese residents due to the presence of Malta's largest hotels, which are located on Malta's Eastern shores and a large number of English language schools. The English-speaking population is also comprised of Maltese individuals who choose to speak English at home and in their social interactions. This area is particularly contrasted with the western, the Southern Harbour, and the southeastern areas which are perceived to be more Maltese dominant. In fact, census data (National Statistics Office, 2014) reveal that 84.3% of those living in Northern Harbour and northern areas, use Maltese at home, when compared to the other areas (Southern Harbour (97.1%), southeastern (94.9%) and western (91.7%)).

2.5.4 Language use at home

Although Maltese is the preferred language in the home setting for the majority of the population, family language backgrounds are diverse. In terms of language acquisition, some children may grow up speaking only one language at home, and acquire the second language at a young age at school or in the community. Some children grow up speaking both Maltese and English at home, but to varying degrees. Vella (1995) goes as far as to claim that neither English nor Maltese can be considered completely foreign to any Maltese, even to very young children who have not yet attended school.

De Houwer (1995) discusses the importance of children's social networks in their acquisition of language. For children raised in Maltese-speaking families, societal contact phenomena feed into the dyadic level, with Maltese child-directed speech being associated with a specific pattern of language contact (Borg, 1988). Evidence shows that Maltese-speaking adults interacting with young children typically engage in lexical mixing, inserting English nominal forms in Maltese syntactic frames (Ellul, 1978; Gatt, 2001; Gatt et al., 2016). This characteristic is said to have originated among parents

having poor proficiency in the English language, as a means of imparting available linguistic knowledge to the child (Borg, 1988). For instance, Gatt et al., (2016) describe how Maltese child-directed speech fulfils the role of functional borrowing; a form of core borrowing (Myers-Scotton, 2006) specific to adult-to-child language use. Functional loan words are predictable in adult-child dyads but atypical in other interactional contexts. They provide the following example: “For example, Maltese adults often use *book* when addressing young children in Maltese, but it would be very unusual for the same word to be used in adult Maltese conversations since the Maltese equivalent *ktieb* would be preferred” (Gatt et al., 2016, p.642). They conclude that “the substantial language mixing characterizing the direct input of young Maltese children implies fragmented exposure to English” (p.642).

2.5.5 Language use in education

Traditionally, school type has been closely associated with language use. Overall, independent and church schools, especially single-sex girls’ schools and schools in the Northern Harbour region, are known to be largely English-speaking, while in state schools, both teachers and pupils have been found to employ extensive English-Maltese codeswitching in the classroom (Camilleri, 1995). The situation in church schools is considered to be more varied today. As discussed in Section 2.3, since the 1987 agreement between church schools and the government, such schools admit students based on a lottery system, facilitating equal access to schools, historically known for their English orientation and tendency to accept English-oriented students. This has resulted in a more varied student population in terms of language use, leading to an increase in the use of Maltese in church schools (Camilleri Grima, 2013).

Simultaneously, in recent times, Maltese-speaking families who can afford the high cost of independent schools are sending their children to these schools. As a result, even independent schools have increasing diversity, although many people report that they more rigidly enforce English as the language of instruction. These policy changes have resulted in more diversity in students’ language backgrounds in present-day Maltese classrooms (Bonnici, 2010).

Despite the fact that for a number of years Maltese and English have coexisted in most educational settings, bilingualism in education has not received much attention and is still a mainly unresolved issue in Malta (Camilleri Grima, 2013). Bilingualism in education was mentioned for the first time in a national curricular document in 1999 (Ministry of Education, 1999). The National Minimum Curriculum (NMC) was prescriptive in its recommendations, specifying which subjects were to be taught in Maltese and which were to be taught in English. Furthermore, the NMC (1999) prescribed that “only in those cases where this poses great pedagogical problems does the NMC accept codeswitching as a means of communication” (p.82). In spite of these declarations, studies conducted in a number of schools have shown that in the majority, the recommendations in the *National Minimum Curriculum* changed very little or nothing as far as the use of Maltese and English as a medium of instruction is concerned, that is, the teaching and learning process continued to evolve bilingually (for instance, Busuttill 2001; Camilleri Grima 2001, 2003; Farrugia 2009). Teachers continued to switch from English to Maltese and vice versa depending on their learners’ needs and also on their own competence in the language/s. In the revised National Curriculum Framework (Ministry for Education and Employment, 2011), the recommendations of the previous document do not feature. There are references to the issue of bilingualism and the importance of a high level of proficiency by all students in both Maltese and English. In the 2016 policy document to guide language use in the Early Years there are clear references to bilingualism and its importance for children till the age of seven. Outlined in the *Language Policy for the Early Years in Malta and Gozo* (2016) are strategies that educators can adopt to promote both Maltese and English in their classrooms. It was the first attempt to legitimise the pedagogical switching from one language to another by educators. Schools can choose how to promote Maltese and English, provided that all children are able to develop their bilingual competences. Educators are left to decide whether they would like to implement a strategy of language separation in their classroom, or whether they would like to use “language mediation” (Ministry for Education and Employment, 2016, p, 13) as a means of introducing the two languages in their classroom. Ultimately, the final decision regarding which language to be used as a medium of instruction and the strategies to be adopted rests with the schools’ senior management teams and the class teachers.

With regard to language use in class, teachers use more Maltese or English depending on their home language background, as well as the teacher program in which they were trained (Camilleri, 1991). In her early work, Camilleri (1995) illustrates ways in which teachers switch from Maltese to English, and vice versa, in classrooms. This has recently been corroborated by Frendo (2016) in her survey of one thousand pupils coming from the three school sectors. She finds lack of conformity in the use of the two official languages in the classroom. She also questions the extent to which one can accurately identify the language used to teach subjects at primary level due to the presence of code-switching. The availability of teaching materials and the language(s) of testing also impact patterns of language use in the classroom, and even linguistic practices in the home. Although this situation has seen a change during the last five years, classroom textbooks and materials in Maltese remain largely unavailable, especially in the scientific and technological subjects. Therefore, even in schools where both teachers and pupils are more oriented toward Maltese, the extensive use of English written materials and the majority of English-language school examinations, strengthen and maintain the position of English in Maltese classrooms (Camilleri Grima, 2013).

2.6 Attitudes to Maltese and English

As illustrated in the previous sections, the presence of languages in Malta have had historical and cultural repercussions, which have shaped ideologies held by its speakers. Historically, Boissevain (1965) suggests that social inequalities between manual labourers - who spoke Maltese - and the educated, who learned English were amplified during British rule. Language use was one way in which social prejudices were articulated. Therefore, speaking good English came to index a person of an educated, higher social class.

Bonnici (2010) argues that this idea still persists. At times Maltese nationals who speak English are linked to snobbery. The label English-speaking refers to Maltese-English bilinguals who use and/or align with English more than Maltese, and reside in areas known to be traditionally English dominant. On the other hand, those who find difficulty in expressing themselves in English are associated with lower socioeconomic groups and

with low levels of education. Persistence of class-language divisions can also be traced in the association of the English-language pantomime with “the Maltese middle-class audience” (Cremona, 2008, p.139) as opposed to the theatrically staged and televised “dram” genre that is associated with “huge popular following” (p.123). However, the link between socioeconomic status and language use is not as straightforward as one might be led to think by these assertions. Although English language usage has been linked to higher prestige, use of Maltese in the home domain may not necessarily reflect disadvantaged family backgrounds. For example, Gatt (2017) in her study on the way demographic and language exposure factors account for individual differences in children’s vocabularies (aged 23-34 months), discusses how in her study of a proportion of parents from Maltese-dominant households (21.5% of mothers and 12.3% of fathers) hold tertiary education qualifications.

Several language attitude surveys have been carried out, mainly with secondary school students, to investigate attitudes towards Maltese and English. For instance, Said (1991), in her study of 400 students (ages 14-16), argues that although none of the participants express negative attitudes towards the two languages in question, there is a clear tendency for students from professional and middle classes to express a more positive attitude towards English when compared to students from skilled manual and unskilled manual working classes. English is valued more than Maltese for instrumental purposes. This is corroborated by Micheli’s (2001) study, which mainly focuses on instrumental and integrative attitudes. The author’s findings consolidate the findings in the other studies where English is highly valued for utilitarian purposes while Maltese is a marker of national identity. Similarly, Scerri’s (2009) study with secondary school students also indicates that students are aware of the benefits of being proficient in English, but also believe that they should use Maltese in their daily interactions. Brincat (2007) corroborates this in her study among hundred secondary school students, as the majority of participants view English as a means of monetary gain, in terms of instrumental motivation (Gardner, 2010) for learning the language.

With regard to university students, Caruana’s (2007) study shows that Maltese is used almost exclusively in the family domain, and while at school English is used more

extensively. It is also noteworthy that in interaction with friends (both at school and outside school) both English and Maltese are used quite extensively. Caruana (2007) states that all in all attitudes towards Maltese are more favourable than attitudes towards English and links this to a sense of national identity. The attitude towards Maltese is significantly more favourable among participants coming from families in the lower socioeconomic bracket when compared to subjects coming from the higher socioeconomic status group. He also discusses how participants hold instrumental attitudes to English and they consider it to be important for education prospects. While there was no significant effect of hometown on attitudes, both socioeconomic status and community language yielded significant differences.

Bagley (2001) adopted an indirect approach using a matched-guise technique to determine the social value of Maltese and English. It was concluded that the use of the Maltese language elicited more positive reactions on traits associated with solidarity, whilst English was associated with status and sophistication. English is associated with the more prestigious domains, given that the bilingual guise speakers were more likely to be perceived as professionals, and Maltese guises as skilled or unskilled labourers. On the other hand, nationalistic beliefs were clearly expressed when speakers were being evaluated in their Maltese guise.

The aforementioned studies are mainly quantitative in nature and the surveys are based on established instruments (such as Gardner's (2010) "Attitude and Motivation Battery") rather than instruments being created specifically for the local context. Also, explorative and qualitative data are sparse. Moreover, very often, claims about use of language in the family domain are made, which are based solely on self-report data and without involving the parents in the investigation. This calls for a study of language attitudes within the home domain, with a focus on both parents' and their children's perceptions of the use of Maltese and English.

3 The Literature Review

3.1 Introduction to the issue

This literature review seeks to define the concept of attitude and ideology in relation to languages, focusing on the way they are socialised in families. The chapter begins with a description of the nature of language attitudes and ideologies, with a specific emphasis on Bourdieu's theories of capital. Following this, ideologies related to social class and nationalism will be discussed. The concept of identity in relation to language use will be elucidated. Finally, I will discuss findings from studies on language attitudes and ideologies in families and in schools, and the implications that they might have on the present study.

3.2 Language Attitudes

Social judgement based on languages takes place in daily interactions, and this is one of the reasons why language attitudes have been attracting the attention of linguistic and psychological research for almost a century (Edwards, 1997). Since attitudes have been explored in many disciplines (for example, in social psychology, in cognitive psychology and in social studies), this has resulted in differences regarding the generality and specificity of the term. Most definitions stress the central idea of an evaluative response towards the subject or situation, as in the following definition: "Attitudes have a subject matter (referred to as the object or target), which can be an object, a person, or an abstract idea" (Albarracín & Shavitt, 2018, p.230). Oppenheim's (1982) definition of attitudes includes a more detailed explanation and incorporates both cognitive and behavioural aspects:

a construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended, [...] an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through more obvious processes and stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotions and in various other aspects or behaviour (p.39).

Attitudes in general are often described as having a tripartite structure, entailing cognitive, affective, and behavioural components. They are cognitive as they comprise beliefs about the world, they are affective since they involve feelings about an attitude object and they are systematically linked to behaviour, because they might predispose individuals to act in a certain way. In language attitudes, cognitive processes are likely to be shaped by the individual and collective functions arising from stereotyping in intergroup relations. Linguistic forms, varieties and styles can set off beliefs about a speaker, their group membership, and as a result can lead to assumptions about attributes of those members. Cargile, Giles, Ryan and Bradac (1994) consider it rare for the cognitive component to evoke judgements that are devoid of affective content. In the same vein, Perloff (1993) maintains that they always have a strong affective component. The third component is made up of the link between behaviour and attitude. Gass and Seiter (1999) claim that “there wouldn’t be much point in studying attitudes if they were not ... predictive of behaviour” (p.41). However, Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003) consider this to be a controversial aspect in the study of attitudes, as the link between attitude and behaviour is seldom straightforward.

Zhan and Hopper (1985) have explored language in terms of three distinct dimensions: attractiveness, superiority and dynamism. These components have been extensively employed in language attitude research (c.f Garrett 2010, for a review) and, particularly, attractiveness and superiority have been confirmed in a large variety of contexts (for instance, in Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim & Foster, (1994)). Santello (2015) in his discussion of bilingual dimensions of attitudes argues that language attitude characteristics seem to agglomerate around two clusters: (1) likeability /attractiveness and (2) status/prestige. The first cluster relates to the appeal of the attitude object, while the second one refers to the perceived status of a language, its position and prestige. This confirms that language attitudes deal with some form of evaluative reasoning and in turn might lead speakers to pass judgements about other speakers.

According to Romaine (1995) the study of language attitudes can provide insight into intergroup relations and as language attitudes play a role in mediating and determining them. A large and growing body of literature has investigated language attitudes from

different perspectives. Such research includes research on attitudes towards minority languages (Romaine, 1995; Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004), bilingualism (Baker, 1992), language maintenance and language shift (Bentahila, 1983; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Crezee, 2011) and codeswitching (Luna & Peracchio, 2005), to mention a few examples. In his review of language attitude research, Baker (1992, pp. 29–30) identifies a list of themes in language attitude research as follows:

Attitudes towards:

- language variation, dialect and speech style;
- learning a new language;
- a specific minority language;
- language groups, communities and minorities;
- language lessons;
- the uses of a specific language;
- language preference.

In the field of second language (L2) acquisition, the link between language use, language learning, and language attitudes was primarily sparked by the social-psychological tradition. Gardner and Lambert's (1959) seminal study in Canada of high school students, showed that motivation for language learning, defined as a combination of goal directed effort and desire, predicted second language achievement. They proposed a novel ideal that in addition to aptitude and the linguistic features of language, intergroup attitudes affect language learning. The model highlighted the role of integrativeness and attitudes toward the learning situation in supporting motivation. Integrativeness is defined as a desire to meet, communicate with, take on characteristics of, and possibly identify with another group (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). The model was innovative because it brought together the complex interaction of cognitive and affective processes. Even from the perspective of social psychology, the socio-educational model represented a departure from standard conceptual and methodological techniques that focused solely on laboratory-oriented, experimental investigations.

Although the socio-educational model influenced international conceptualisations of language attitudes in L2 acquisition for decades, the model has had its critics. One of the prominent criticisms of Gardner's model was that much of the research was conducted in Canada and might not apply to other language learning situations in other cultures (Dörnyei, 2005, p.94). This is particularly in the case of a rapidly spreading World English, where there is no clear, discrete cultural-linguistic identity that unifies second language speakers. Therefore, Dörnyei (2005) proposed the "L2 Motivational Self System". This model is composed of three dimensions: the ideal L2 self, the ought-to self, and the L2 learning experience. The ideal L2 self presents the vision of oneself in the future. The ought-to self is focused on duties and obligations imposed by external authorities, drawing upon various types of extrinsic and instrumental motives. The third dimension, L2 learning experience, is related to the motivation inspired by prior experience interacting with the present learning environment. The L2 Motivational Self System has been further developed in Dörnyei (2009, 2014) and in Dörnyei, Henry and Muir (2016), to account for its more dynamic nature, allowing for a range of quantitative, qualitative and mixed-methods approaches to the study of L2 motivation. Thorsen, Henry and Cliffordson (2017) argue that this has stimulated "an unprecedented surge in empirical research" (p.1). It has been tested in various contexts, such as in Hungary (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos, Kiddle & Csizér, 2011); in Poland (Iwaniec, 2014); and in Pakistan (Islam, Lamb & Chambers, 2013), to name but a few examples.

Although these models have dominated most research both in the local context (c.f Chapter 3) and in international ones, several lacunae emerge in relation to the current sociolinguistic context in Malta. Firstly, in both models, the norm is presented for human beings to be members of discrete cultures. The linguistic situation in Malta is one where Maltese and English may be present in most daily interactions for speakers, and at times, defining one's first and second language/s is difficult for many speakers. Gardner's model also seems to suggest that acquiring one language implies abandoning one language for another, where there are many cases of individuals who inhabit multiple sociolinguistic communities and acquire two languages simultaneously. Moreover, Santello (2015) argues that bilinguals' attitudes tend to show different features if compared to monolingual's attitudes, as such attitudes are characterised by the fact that they ensue

from speakers' use of both languages and "[i]n this sense, their bilingual repertoire is at play in the process of attitude formation" (p.18). Rampton (2006) also emphasises the need for sociohistorical issues of authority and power to be taken into account in studies on language use and language contact. Therefore concept of language ideology, together with that of language attitude as an individual phenomenon, should also be investigated.

To conclude, the study of language attitudes is not solely a study of language varieties and their speakers but can also encompass the social and psychological issues connected to both the use and the existence of languages. Therefore, language attitudes are also attitudes to social groups (Appel & Muysken, 2005). Language attitudes influence our reactions to other language users and also influence our language choices (Garrett, 2010). In the following section, I will outline the methods that have been traditionally used to examine language attitudes.

3.3 Approaches to the study of language attitudes

In this section, I will be discussing the use of direct and indirect methods, which define attitudes as cognitive phenomena and discursive approaches, which view attitudes as based on the creation of discourse (a further discussion of these approaches will be found in Chapter 4). As with any research methods, these approaches have their own strengths and weaknesses, which I will evaluate in the forthcoming sections.

The main tenet guiding cognitivist approaches is that attitudes are mental dispositions, which exist independently of contextual factors (Sarnoff, 1960). In contrast, the discursive approach sees the attitudes constructed in discursive practices as legitimate attitudes in their own right, and as products of the interactions of all relevant interpersonal, contextual, ideological, and social factors. These attitudes are not simply views or ideas conveyed in communication but "are also components of our own communicative competence that underpin...our moment-to-moment deployment of linguistic, non-verbal and discursive resources to achieve our communication goals" (Garrett 2010, p. 120).

3.3.1 The Direct and Indirect Approaches

Oppenheim (1992) defines the measurement of attitudes as an attempt to “place a person’s attitudes on the straight line or linear continuum in such a way that it can be described as mildly positive, strongly negative and so on” (p.175). This is an attempt by the researcher to quantify abstract concepts like attitudes. Therefore, direct approach is characterised by elicitation, the asking direct questions about language evaluation, preference etc., usually through questionnaires and/or interviews. The most widespread method to elicit overt attitudes is through statements with which subjects are asked to express a certain level of agreement or disagreement (Baker, 1992), using self-administered questionnaires or face-to-face interviews. Examples of studies using a direct approach with parents and children are Park and Sarkar (2007) and Giacchino-Baker and Piller, (2006), to mention a few examples. Lanza (2007) argues that survey data can contribute to mapping out important factors involved in fostering bilingualism in the family.

The indirect approach aims at eliciting attitudes without addressing them directly by asking respondents to rate recorded voices on different types of scales. The two major methods pertaining to this approach are the matched guise technique and the verbal guise, which are “built on the assumption that speech style triggers certain social categorisations which will lead to a set of group-related trait inferences” (Giles & Coupland, 1991, p.34). Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert, Frankel & Tucker, 1966) introduced the Matched Guise Technique in a seminal study, which lay the foundation for the link between social psychology and sociolinguistics, therefore establishing a cross-disciplinary field of language-attitude research (Giles & Billings, 2004). The approach can be useful in evoking and outlining stereotypes, self-images and norm concepts (Oppenheim, 1992, p.210). Examples of studies using this method are Lambert et al. (1966); Giles (1970) and González and Blas (2012).

In most reviews of language attitude research (for instance in Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010) the use of questionnaires and interviews are usually grouped under the same heading “direct methods” thus highlighting the similarities of these methods at the expense of a

clear definition of how data are collected and analysed. It should be noted however, that this is often guided by different theoretical stances. The use of these two research instruments might entail a completely different ontological and epistemological stance. For example, the use of a questionnaire might entail a positivist stance, and interviews, a constructivist one. Thus, rather than focusing solely on the method, one must also conceptualise the epistemological and ontological stance that is guiding the definition of an attitude.

As evidenced in the numerous publications since their inception in the 1960s, quantitative social-psychological studies of language attitudes have been a popular area of research. But they have also been the subject of much criticism, especially from perspectives advocating a more discursive approach. Liebscher and Dailey O’Cain (2009) argue that one of the most salient criticisms of direct methods is that social desirability bias (Oppenheim, 1992) and the interviewer’s paradox come into play. This occurs when participants seek to present socially appropriate views to the researcher rather than what they think. This has led to the proposal of more discursive approaches to the study of language attitudes.

3.3.2 The Discursive tradition

Poststructuralist theories have problematised the causal and unidirectional nature attributed to the attitudinal construct in traditional attitude research. As a result of recent theoretical developments, language attitude research has expanded to include much more than the traditional focus on more evaluative reactions (Rodgers, 2017). Discourse-based approaches to language attitudes, beliefs and ideologies have gained wider recognition as methods of research which can usefully complement the experimental paradigms traditionally used in sociolinguistics and social psychology of language (Giles & Coupland, 1991; Garrett, 2010; Preston, 2010). A discursive approach to attitude shifts the emphasis from considering attitudes as underlying mental constructs, to focusing on people’s practices of evaluation in particular settings (Potter, 1998). This approach does not deny the existence of human cognition, but moves the analytic focus from the cognitive processes to discursive practices in situated activities. It views attitudes constructed in discursive practices as legitimate attitudes in their own right and as

products of the interactions of all relevant interpersonal, contextual, ideological, and social factors. Therefore, attitudes are both the resources and outcomes of the meaning-making and social positioning processes (Wetherell, 2007). In this way language attitudes “are assumed to be inferred by means of constructive, interpretive processes drawing upon social actors’ reservoirs of contextual and textual knowledge” (Giles & Coupland, 1991, p.53).

Most research on language attitudes in interaction can be divided into three approaches according to the main analytical framework adopted (cf. Liebscher & Dailey-O’Cain, 2017): (a) discursive psychology, (b) approaches that draw on conversational analysis/interactional sociolinguistics, and (c) approaches grounded in the theory of motivated information management. The first of these, discursive psychology (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1998; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell & Potter, 1992), was originally conceived not as a way of reconceptualizing the study of language attitudes in particular but more broadly as a non-cognitive and constructivist form of social psychology. Drawing on a combination of speech-act theory, ethnomethodology, and semiology, its theoretical framework orients toward the analysis of language use and the ways in which that use “orders our perceptions and makes things happen and thus ... how language can be used to construct and create social interaction and diverse social worlds” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p.1). The second approach is based on conversation analysis (Sidnell, 2011). Central to this approach are the aspects of sequentiality, intersubjectivity, and language use as action. The third and most recently proposed approach to analysing language attitudes in interaction draws on the social psychological theory of motivated information management (Fowler & Afifi, 2011) in order to analyse language attitudes.

Liebscher and Dailey O’Cain (2009) argue that although they consider interactional approaches to be the most appropriate tool to investigate the complex nature of language attitude, they also admit that the choice of methodology depends on the study’s research questions. While acknowledging that the use of direct methods could lead to an oversimplified picture, the fact that discursive methods might be less adept at answering questions that require the researcher to make generalisations about groups, has to be also taken into consideration. For this reason, despite providing valuable insight into the way

speakers conceptualise their attitudes towards languages, one should also emphasise the fact that findings are applicable to the specific speakers, in that particular context.

3.4 Language Ideologies

In more recent years, researchers have turned their attention to the role of language ideologies, especially in contexts where sociohistorical factors of power and domination shape factors like language prestige and cultural and linguistic boundaries. Through this critical lens, researchers can examine how microstructures of power in communicative events are indexical of larger ideological practices and diverse forms of capital that affect speakers' identities. In this vein, Blackledge and Creese (2010) call for:

[A]n approach to researching multilingualism which moves from a highly ideologized view of co-existing linguistic systems, to a more critical approach which situates language practices in social and political contexts (p.25).

Following Woolard (1998), language ideology is defined in this study as “a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk” (p.235). Ideologies are a composite set of experiences; including both the personal, direct experiences of an individual or group, as well as inherited ideologies that emerge from historical events in a particular community, culture, or nation. They are those collective perceptions that have a social and political dimension, evident in widely-cited definitions of ideologies as “sets of beliefs articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, p.173).

De Costa (2011, p.349), illustrates how language ideologies are constructions shaped by speakers' sociocultural experiences and include (1) ideas about the nature of language itself; (2) the values and meanings attached to particular codes; (3) hierarchies of linguistic value; and (4) the way that specific linguistic codes are connected to identities and stances. Heller and McElhinny (2017) argue that in essence, people have an interest in language because it has value. Such value is tied to the way resources are produced, circulated and consumed. As a result, they discuss how a linguistic ideological approach focuses on those aspects of language and social life people tend to focus on, and the reasons for doing so.

Moreover, ideologies about language do not take place in isolation; they overlap with each other and other issues of identity. Heller (2006, p.5) uses an image of a kaleidoscope, as a metaphor to represent the multifaceted nature of the ideologies of the French-speaking minority in Canada, in her study. She describes how each pattern in the kaleidoscope represents an ideology, which cannot be separated from the other patterns. For instance, one pattern represents linguistic nationalism, and in particular the role of the ideology of national self-determination in the politics of minority struggles for social, economic and political power. Another is the pattern of the economic conditions which underlie such minority struggles.

Similarly to research on language attitudes, the scope of language ideology research, ranges across a variety of disciplines, from cultural and linguistic anthropology through linguistics to education and political science (Woolard, 1998). Pioneering research on language ideologies moved from a prime focus on linguistic structure and has turned to beliefs about language, as well as about social relations and the political and economic events that may have an effect on language use (for instance, Hill, 1985; Mertz, 1989; Gal, 1989). Kroskrity (2016) discusses that research on language ideologies has utilised qualitative methods such as ethnography, conversational analysis, and discourse analysis. There is also a focus on how speakers' beliefs and feelings about language are constructed from their experience as social actors in a political economic system. Pursuing the social conditioning of ideology, researchers have related language beliefs to other cultural and social forms in a society. For example, Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) and Schieffelin (1990) have cast aspects of language ideology as an explanatory link in investigations of child language acquisition, and Heath (1983) has further tied ideology and language socialisation to formal education. Schooling (for instance Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Scollon & Scollon, 1981) has also provided terrain for some of the most influential studies on the dimension of power in language ideology, and as a result, will be investigated in the present study.

A closer look at the basic components of attitudes and ideologies, can reveal that they share a number of features. Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2009), in their analysis of conversations between western Germans who migrated to the eastern-German region of

Saxony after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, illustrate the links between these two concepts. They argue that language attitudes are created and transmitted through talk, but they retain power through larger cultural ideologies that are perpetuated through individual instances of talk. Showstack (2012) examines the links between students' identities as bilinguals, their language attitudes as expressed in discourse, and broader socially constructed ideologies. He concludes that more attention to the links between an interaction-focused study of language attitudes and language ideologies may be able to provide us with insights into the developmental aspects of language attitudes, including not just how these are constructed in interaction, but how they link to aspects of socialisation. The fundamental difference that separates the two concepts is that ideologies are constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group and they are rooted in the socio-economic power and vested interests of dominant groups, whereas attitudes do not necessarily entail issues related to power and domination.

In conclusion, the definition of ideology encompasses speakers' reactions to languages as mediated by issues of power on various levels, and such a definition can be used to understand the interplay between Maltese and English in a bilingual context. In the following sections, I will provide further insight into the main theoretical sections used to interpret these language ideologies in Malta.

3.5 Bourdieu's theories of cultural reproduction

The present study will draw upon Bourdieu's theories of cultural reproduction, to interpret the language ideologies held by parents and children in Malta. Bourdieu's theory of capital defines social class in terms of phenomena such as taste and legitimacy, framed in terms of cultural and social capitals, habitus and the notion of fields (Bourdieu, 1984, 1991). His theories have been influenced by Marx's and Weber's conceptualisations of social class differences.

According to Marx (1932), material dominance, which refers to the possession of property and control over the means of production, is inextricably linked to, and indeed generates, ideational and ideological dominance. Similarly, Weber (1968, p.334) also acknowledged the relationship between the economic and other social structures in the

production of class differences. However, Weber makes his break with Marxism clear with regard to the directionality of influence between the economic and the social foundations of societies. He introduced the idea that social class is not solely dependent on economic wealth, but also on status, which is meant to capture the dynamics of stratification based not only on material conditions but also on abstract notions like honour and social esteem. He defined status as:

the effective claim to social esteem in terms of positive or negative privileges ... [which] is typically founded on (a) style of life ... , (b) formal education, which may be ... empirical training or ... rational instruction, and the corresponding forms of behavior, ... and (c) hereditary or occupational prestige (Weber, 1968: 305–6).

Using Weber's interpretation, class is not influenced solely by economic activity around property, entrepreneurial activity and labour, but also by status which is linked to personal relationships, social activities and ways of thinking and behaving.

Like Marx, Bourdieu saw class as based in material states and processes, but like Weber, he was conscious of status emergent in cultural activity and markets. Fundamental to Bourdieu's work is a series of interrelated constructs: "capital", "habitus" and "field". Bourdieu (1987) defines capital as resources that are "capable of conferring strength, power and consequently profit on their holder" (p.3). In "The Forms of Capital", Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as follows:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (p.51).

Capital can take several forms, cultural (knowledge, skills, and educational qualifications), symbolic (status and legitimacy), social (networks and connections), as well as economic (money and property). The underlying notion characterising these

concepts is the contrast between the objective world of social structures and the subjective world of individual agency. They are subjective because they exist in their material form. They are objective as they depend on social validation, legitimation and recognition conferred onto those who have the right educational qualifications or taste in art or other forms of cultural expression. Social capital is about social networks and recognition from others. It is about belonging to a range of groups, where membership is directly dependent on the relative possession of the right economic and cultural capitals in different fields of social activity.

Of particular interest to this study is the role of social capital as related to language. According to Bourdieu (1991) language is considered a form of cultural or symbolic capital which is available to be exchanged in the marketplace of social interaction. The possession of symbolic resources, such as certain highly valued types of linguistic skills, cultural knowledge and specialised skills, helps to gain access to valuable social, educational and material resources. He argues that the acquisition of such linguistic capital takes place first at home. Schooling, in turn, builds on this by making individuals more self-conscious of the linguistic capital they possess, or would like to possess. He also discusses how those who come from families where the legitimate language was not practised, are at a disadvantage, from the onset.

The different forms of capital are played out in what Bourdieu (1977) defines as “habitus” and “field”. Bourdieu (1977) defines habitus as a “system of dispositions” (p. 495) which enables an individual to act appropriately in a particular context. He also maintains that habitus is an “acquired system of generative schemas objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 95). The dominant habitus is a set of attitudes and values held by the dominant class. Fields may be seen as domains of social practices, such as education, within which there are ever evolving and emergent ways of thinking and acting, which participants adopt as they struggle for positions of power, distinction and legitimacy.

Despite its relevance to the study’s context, it should be pointed out that Bourdieu is not without his critics (for instance, Canagarajah, 1999; Collins, 1993; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). The main criticism has been that his theory is seen as deterministic and that

there is little room for the human agency or for contradictions inherent in any community to disrupt the flow of class reproduction. Also, it has been observed that the notion of habitus does not leave place for individual agency or even individual consciousness (King, 2000). Yet, Bourdieu denies the charge of determinism on the grounds that the same habitus will produce different practices in different social fields, and the habitus can be changed by changed circumstances (Bourdieu, 1990).

3.6 Ideologies about language use and social class

Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon Santos (2009) argue that the relationship between socioeconomic status (henceforth SES) and language has important implications for the study of language attitudes, especially in terms of the status associated with specific languages. Block and other theorists have stressed the importance of an examination of language use and its relationship with social class as a means of interpreting how “individuals act according to generative and dynamic Bourdieusian habituses” (Block, 2014, p.143). However, according to Block (2014) and Vandrick (2014), among others, social class plays a largely unacknowledged, role in the applied linguistics. Skeggs (1997) notes that recently this has come about in most fields as there has been a “retreat from class ...across a range of academic sites” (p.6). This has been corroborated by Block (2014) who argues that “social class has been erased or marginalised as a way of thinking about society and that this marginalisation has occurred in society at large, in the social sciences in general and in applied linguistics” (p.169). Despite its absence in most texts, this does not mean that class differences based on different access to linguistic capital, do not exist, as argued by Wood (1998):

[t]he absence of explicit class “discourses” does not betoken the absence of class realities and their effects in shaping the life-conditions and consciousness of the people who come within their field of force (p.97).

As discussed by Block (2014), class is still a pervasive notion in present-day society, and also influences language use. This view is supported by Rampton, whose study on stylised posh and Cockney challenges claims about the demise of class (Rampton, 2006). By way of illustration, this can be seen in the case of Hong Kong, where the

Cantonese/English bilingual élite have traditionally defined English as the most prestigious language used in education (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). Heller (1994) also tackles this in her discussion of French and English as linguistic capital in Canada. She sees the greatest difference between middle-class francophones and anglophones who choose bilingualism as a means of gaining access to valued resources as “the gap between the capital they possess and the capital they need to acquire, as well as the opportunities presented to them to acquire it” (p.94). For anglophones, opportunities to access French have mainly been provided through bilingual education (immersion) provision, which has received massive research funding in an attempt to provide scientific evidence for its viability. Further to this point, in Heller’s (2006) study of a French immersion school in Toronto, she describes how the middle-class students in the study benefit from education systems in capitalist economies, while their working-class counterparts do less well. Social class differences emerge at several points in Heller’s study and these interrelated with language use and the school setting. The difference in the two class positions is postulated by Heller (2006) as follows:

Class positions with respect to Franco-Ontarian education tend to differ in important ways. Middle-class parents tend to focus on the preparation of their children for university studies and professional careers, in which domains they assume bilingualism (as parallel monolingualisms) will be valued, whether their children study in French or in English at university level... Working class parents are more concerned about the exigencies of the job market, which, in the Toronto area, is dominated by English. Their tie to French has more to do with family identity than with the social, political and economic interests of the middle class (p.42).

Language attitudes and ideologies may also be influenced by ideologies of social class. The utilitarian value of English learning can lead to instances that promote social mobility, as shown in the case of China (Butler, 2014; Zou & Zhang, 2011). Also, Lai (2010) carried out a study on social class and language attitudes in postcolonial Hong Kong. The quantitative data confirmed to a degree, the hypotheses that the middle-class group would be the most positively inclined toward English and the working-class group

would display the most positive attitudes toward Putonghua due to closer social distance. However, it should also be noted that the differences between the social class groups were not large. The only substantial difference between the middle class and working class was found with the integrative orientation toward English. This also confirms the role of English as a symbol of higher socioeconomic status. However, little evidence was found in the interview data to indicate that the working-class group did, in fact, aspire to Putonghua either as an alternative form of linguistic capital or a symbol of preferred social identity.

Social class cannot be interpreted in isolation from other ideologies related to language use. As Kubota (2003) and others have cautioned, class is often an ephemeral rather than fixed identity. Additionally, social class, like any other aspect of identity, does not operate in a vacuum. Kubota (2003) points out that class differences “need to be unpacked in relation to power and discourse” (p. 38).

3.7 Ideologies about language and national identity

Joseph (2004) in his discussion of the role of language in the formation of national states, argues that a “consistent theme within studies of national identity over the last four decades has been the central importance of language in its formation” (p.94). This is because a national language provides a legitimate foundation for nationalist ideologies. National identities are instilled in individuals growing up in particular places and times, as “a complex of common or similar beliefs or opinions internalized in the course of socialisation . . . and of common or similar emotional attitudes as well as common or similar behavioural dispositions” (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart, 2009, p.28), all relating directly to a particular nation state, which is in effect a kind of Bourdieusian habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, p.95). Heller and McElhinny (2017) discuss how historically, this can be traced in the emergence of the nation-state as the hegemonic form of the organization of political, economic and social life in nineteenth-century Europe. This led to the idea of a nation as marked by one language.

Suleiman (2003) in his study on language in ideological formulations of national identity in the Arab Middle East, illustrates ways in which formulations of Arab nationalism are

built around Arabic in its standard form. This acts as the marker of the identity of all those who share it as their common language. He argues that its creation and representation is fashioned out of history, or more accurately, interpretations of history. The involvement of the élite in fashioning it, is absolutely fundamental to formulating its intellectual foundations and to popularising it as the basis of mass political action. This also takes place in second language learning contexts. Rajadurai (2010) investigated the way adults conceptualise language learning as part of their identity negotiation, by focusing on the learning of English in Malaysia. In Malaysia, English has a long history of institutionalised functions and is considered a second language. She describes how participants expressed the belief that “Malays speak Malay” (p.102), thus linking national ideologies to a national language, despite the presence of English in society. They pointed to their ethnicity as the biggest obstacle to practising English in their communities, even though they would like to have more opportunities to do so.

The discussion on ideologies, be it linked to social class or to nationalistic feelings, clearly shows that speakers might express ideologies, based on the way they associate language use with their identity. Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p.586) argue that both macro- and micro-ideologies can exert influence on the processes of identity construction. In the following sections, theories related to the construction of identities, based on language use will be discussed.

3.8 Language and Identity

Language ideologies are intricately involved in the construction of identities. An examination of ideologies reveals the social groups which speakers wish to identify themselves with, and the linguistic forms associated with particular groups. In fact, identity relates to “our very sense of who we are, where we belong and why, and how we relate to those around us, [and these] all have language at their centre” (Joseph, 2010, p. 11). Therefore, an investigation of language attitudes and ideologies can also be an examination of identities as “attitudes are windows on identity” (Hogg & Smith, 2007). As discussed in the previous sections, an analysis of the links between language and identity in multilingual settings demonstrates the complexity of multilingual situations: in

some settings languages function as markers of national or ethnic identities, in others as a form of symbolic capital or as a means of social control, and in others these multiple roles may be interconnected (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003).

One of the most notable theories of social identity was developed by Tajfel (1974, 1981), a social psychologist who believed that identity is derived from group membership. Tajfel (1974) defines social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 69). He maintains that since individuals’ identities are derived from in-group memberships, individuals may choose to change group membership if their present one does not adequately satisfy those elements of the social identity that they view positively. For Tajfel, a given social context (involving relations between salient social groups) provides categories through which individuals, by learning to recognise linguistic or other behavioural cues, allocate others (and themselves) to category membership and learn the valuation applied by the in-group and salient out-groups to this membership.

Traditionally, research on language use and identity has defined identity in terms of strict categories, such as race, gender and socioeconomic status. However, this essentialist notion has been problematised in recent years (Block, 2010). Just as the fixed nature of language attitudes and ideologies has been challenged (as argued in Section 3.3.2), more sociocultural approaches to identity challenge the definition of a single unitary identity, towards an approach where identity is discursively constructed (Weedon, 1996). Peirce (1995) (and also in Norton (2013)) proposes a definition of identity from a poststructuralist perspective. Central to this perspective is “the multiple nature of the subject; subjectivity as a site of struggle; and subjectivity as changing over time” (p. 15). Norton (2013) argues that identity is context-dependent and is not solely ascribed by social structures but also negotiated by agents. This view is supported by Block (2010) who states that “identities as socially constructed, self-conscious, ongoing narratives that individuals perform, interpret and project” (p.27).

Language attitudes arise from issues of identity by means of associating a language with its speakers (Edwards, 1985). Language identity can also be interpreted in terms of “acts

of identity” (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). These refer to the ways utterances index speakers’ identity. This process of indexing is multidimensional. This was also the case for early sociolinguistic work which focused on associations such as accent-social class (for instance. Labov, 1966). This means that different dimensions of identity, such as nationality, social class and gender among others, emerge from utterances. At the same time utterances index ethnicity, nationality, social class, gender and other dimensions of identity at the same time.

The relationship between language use and identity is based on the way individuals position themselves and others. This allows individuals to affiliate or disaffiliate themselves from other individuals. In doing so, individuals imagine themselves as a group, while at the same time create social distance between those who are perceived as different (Bucholtz & Hall, 2003). Davies and Harré (1990), define positioning as a process wherein the individual emerges “through the process of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate” (p.44). Similarly, Moghaddam and Harré (2010) state that positioning theory is about “how people use words (and discourse of all types) to locate themselves and others” (p.2). This involves the recognition of locating oneself as a member of various sub classes of dichotomous categories and not of others. It can take place through interactive positioning related to what one person says about the other and reflexive positioning, in which one positions oneself. These positionings are all informed by ideology as individuals draw on knowledge of social structures and the roles that are allocated to them and others within those structures (Davies & Harré, 1990).

The discussion about the role of ideologies and identity leads to the fundamental question related to the individual’s agency in performing different identities, when faced with the limitations imposed by social structure. In the following section I will problematise the essentialist notions that individuals are restrained by social structure, as espoused by more post-structuralist theories of identities. I will however do this with caution. This is because, regardless of human agency, there may be limiting factors to some degree, which will inevitably influence the extent to which an individual can exert agency.

3.9 Social structure or social agency?

In the previous section, I have discussed how more post-structuralist approaches to the study of identity have postulated the centrality of human agency in the development of a fluid identity. As Block (2010) notes, a poststructuralist approach to identity “has become the approach of choice among those who seek to explore links between identity and L2 learning” (p.43). In their special edition on language and social class in the “Journal of Language, Identity & Education” edited by Kanno and Vandrick (2014), Kanno (2014) postulates that “language learners [in featured studies] are described as their own agents, marshalling whatever resources they have to learn the target language and vie for class status and privilege” (p.118).

This, however, presupposes a certain level of will and much celebrated possible options which might not apply to all contexts. Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1991) do not accept that structure can ever be fully determinant of behaviour and thought, but at the same time, they do not wish to portray identity as merely a matter of individual agency. By way of illustration, May (2001), in his discussion of language minority rights, argues that much of the work around the post-structuralised conceptualisation of identity has become an “overstatement” (p. 39). He concludes that although negotiation is a possibility in ethnic identity, the categories that are assigned to individuals supersede individual agency as they are reinforced by dominant ideologies:

Negotiation is a key element here to the ongoing construction of ethnicity, but there are limits to it. Individual and collective choices are circumscribed by the ethnic categories available at any given time and place. These categories are, in turn, socially and politically defined and have varying degrees of advantage or stigma attached to them . . . Moreover, the range of choices available to particular individuals and groups varies widely (May 2001, p.40).

Shin’s (2014) study of Korean parents’ efforts to ensure that their children acquire high English proficiency coupled with educational credentials from an English-speaking country provides an insight into this agency-determinism dilemma. Families send their children to English-speaking countries with their mothers to ensure the children’s

marketability in the brutally competitive Korean economy. Kanno (2014) interprets this as language learners' agentic decisions to invest in language learning in order to survive and thrive in a rapidly changing global economy. At the same time, this can also be interpreted as Korean families' access to economic capital. Not all Korean families can perform such agentic measures, as they require economic means and thus they are only relevant to a privileged segment of Korean society.

In conclusion, this shows that individuals do not carve out an identity from the inside out or from the outside in. Their environment can impose constraints whilst they try to exert their agency on their environment (Block, 2006). The extent to which they succeed may depend on the interplay of individual agency within the possibilities that are offered by social structure.

3.10 Language Attitudes and Ideologies in the Family

A review of studies of parental language attitudes and ideologies highlights the vital role of the family for language acquisition (Lanza, 2007). Numerous studies have examined parental language attitudes and ideologies from a family language policy perspective. Family language policy has been defined as explicit and overt, as well as implicit and covert planning, in relation to language use and literacy practices among family members (Curdt-Christiansen 2013). It encompasses research on family language, with a specific focus on child language acquisition, second language learning and multilingualism, within wider political, social and economic factors (King & Fogle, 2013). It also involves the interplay between two areas of well-established sociolinguistic research: language socialisation and linguistic ideology (Lanza & Wei, 2016). Curdt-Christiansen (2009) argues language ideology is one of the main the driving force of family language policy. Spolsky (2004) claims family language policy includes three components: language ideologies, language management, and language practices: language ideologies refer to beliefs behind language policies; language management to specific behaviours undertaken to intervene or influence language practices; and language practices to actual language use in different.

Most research on bilingual families has been conducted using one or a mixture of these methods: surveys of household practices, measurement of parental attitudes, or interactional analyses of parent-child conversations. The most popular method when investigating language attitudes is the direct method, which is also very often coupled with observation sessions (for instance in Dopke, 1992; Deuchar & Quay, 2000; Lanza, 2007 and Shenk, 2008).

Oskamp and Schultz (2005) state that the role of parents is very important in the transmission of language attitudes as “a child’s attitudes are largely shaped by its own experience with the world, but this is usually accomplished by explicit teaching and implicit modelling or parental attitudes” (p.126). Gardner (2010) concurs with the view that parents are the major intermediary between the cultural milieu and the student and categorises parental influences on language attitudes on the basis of two roles, namely the active and the passive role. The active role involves the ways in which parents may interact directly with their children with regard to language learning, for example by supporting them in their homework. The passive role concerns the parents’ attitudes towards the second language community. Gardner concludes that the passive role is of particular significance, and that even though parents may be generally supportive of their child’s education, it influences their language attitudes.

Attitudes and ideologies can be considered to be a product of social learning (Ager, 2001) that can change as a result of both individual needs and social situations. However, children can also be considered active agents in the formation of their own attitudes towards languages. For instance, in situations where children generally have greater access to socially valued linguistic resources than their parents, their language practices might differ from their parents’ (Luykx 2005; Gafaranga 2010).

In bilingual settings where children’s acquisition and use of two languages might be a value-laden and ideologically charged process, a language socialisation approach can also yield important insights into the ways in which local, face-to-face contexts and interactions are impinged upon by external factors (Garrett, 2007). Kulick’s (1992) study of Gapun provides an example of such a model, as do several other ethnographic studies of language contact phenomena in bilingual/multilingual settings (e.g. Rampton 1995;

Tsitsipis 1998). Kulick's (1992) pioneering study of rapid language shift in the small Papua New Guinean village of Gapun set an important precedent for many recent and currently ongoing studies by demonstrating that language socialisation practices may also be the source of far-reaching changes, such as a community-wide shift from bilingualism to monolingualism. All of these cases suggest that changes in everyday communicative practices play a pivotal role in determining the extent and degree of bilingualism among individuals, as well as the relative stability of bilingualism at group and community levels.

Most of the studies on parental attitudes and ideologies have been held in contexts of immigration and individual bilingualism. Although these studies take place in contexts which are different from the one in the present study, they offer insight into what motivates language choice and attitudes in families. As illustrated in Park and Sarkar's (2007) study on Korean immigrant parents' living in Canada, parents showed high expectations for levels of proficiency of their children's mother tongue because, in their view, maintaining high proficiency of the heritage language would help children to safeguard their identity, to ensure economic opportunities, and to communicate with family and friends. Participating in the Korean church was also considered to be an important impetus for first language preservation. This shows that positive attitudes towards bilingualism have a cultural component to them, which is linked to identity. The importance of the family in preserving the heritage language is also shown in Melo-Pfeifer's (2014) study which investigates how children and youngsters perceive the role of the family in use and acquisition of the heritage language. Melo-Pfeifer argues that bilingualism serves to transmit an affective and emotional role within the family, related to identity development and the transmission of traditions, especially in communication with extended family members. This is linked to the definitions of attitudes discussed in Section 3.2, where attitudes have been defined as not only a cognitive construct, but one that includes an affective component within a social context.

These language attitudes may be manifested in the use or lack of use, of languages at home or at times in the parents' attempts to regulate language use. Such attitudes may be reflected in the educational choices parents make for their children. For instance,

Giacchino-Baker and Piller (2006) examined parents' attitudes toward two-way immersion programmes, at the border region between Mexico and California, using a survey and follow-up interviews. They report that the majority of parents were highly committed to placing their children in such programmes. Both the English and Spanish speaking groups comment on the instrumental advantages of bilingualism. Similarly, Li and Rao (2000) found that parents of Chinese pre-schoolers in three different contexts showed various attitudes towards children's learning of the Chinese language. While parents from Beijing emphasised moral education, parents from Hong Kong and Singapore focused on the entertainment function of the language.

A distinguishing feature of the language socialisation paradigm is its concern with theories of social reproduction and social structures, drawing especially on the work of Bourdieu (1991). By way of illustration, Hu et al. (2014) carried out interviews and observation sessions with Australian Chinese families regarding their preschool-aged children's bilingual experiences and development. The findings suggest that Chinese parents have positive attitudes toward bilingualism for pragmatic reasons, such as future career success and ease of communication with family members. Yet, they also expressed concern that their child's development of the home language would have a negative effect on their child's English language development, which ties in with the ideology of globalisation. This can also be traced in Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh (2006) who argue that due to their geopolitical significance, certain languages appear to be gaining relative influence, often at the expense of other languages, resulting in a new linguistic hierarchy, which can be explained in terms of social and linguistic capital.

Garrett (2005) discusses how in St Lucia, in the Eastern Caribbean, language socialisation lies at the centre of the shift from Kwéyòl (a French-based Creole) to English. Parents choose English to provide children with access to other socioeconomic and linguistic resources and opportunities. Similarly, Paugh (2005) in a study of Dominica, also in the Eastern Caribbean, discussed how parents endorse use of English over Patwa, the local variety. They firmly believe that Patwa will threaten children's educational and occupational prospects. Bilingual adults use both languages, but children are socialised to be English dominant, because of the linguistic capital it entails.

Gao and Park (2012) illustrate how parents at times promote bilingualism both for their children's societal advancement and for ethnic culture maintenance. In their interview-based study with families in North-East China, they argue that a hierarchy of power is built between the dominant language and the non-dominant language. This could suggest that additive bilingualism in education is valued both for referential (that is social) and affective (that is familial) functions of language. For instance, Putonghua is linked to upward mobility but also to Korean-Chinese parents having a strong sense of belonging to the Chinese lands.

In some cases, parents may share the same language ideology overtly, yet covertly make different linguistic choices (Lanza, 2004). Pease-Alvarez (2003) found that although Californians of Mexican descent express a belief in cultivating Spanish/English bilingualism in their children, they have fluctuating opinions about how bilingualism should be socialised and do not always use Spanish with their children on a daily basis. These parents reason that the shift toward greater use of English among these parents and children is linked to the desire to affiliate themselves with Anglo-American identities. They also view as a subtractive process entailing the abandonment of Mexican cultural traditions and identity. This may also lead to parents not supporting bilingualism. For example, Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi (2013) interviewed Albanian immigrant families in Northern Greece. They discuss how some parents did not transmit the heritage language to their children and showed no interest in maintaining ties with the homeland. In some cases, positive attitudes towards ethnic language maintenance were accompanied by specific language management efforts and language practices in support of the ethnic language. However, the majority of parents did not engage in such efforts, even though they expressed positive attitudes towards Albanian language maintenance. Although most immigrant parents share positive attitudes towards ethnic language maintenance, they might also accept the dominant ideology according to which the simultaneous development of two languages may hinder the development of the majority language. King's (2000) study of Ecuadorian parents illuminates that tensions can arise between conflicting explicit and implicit ideologies. She observed that community members' stated, explicit pro-indigenous ideology is often in conflict with a privately held, implicit anti-indigenous language ideology. The resulting conflict shapes home language practices

that leads to community language shift. Such mismatches have also been observed in other minority language revitalisation contexts, such as Irish Gaeltacht (Ó hifearnáin, 2013) and in the Northern Territory of Australia, in the use of indigenous languages and standard English (Simpson, 2013). Similarly, Schwartz (2008) examined the family policy factors affecting first language maintenance among second generation Russian Jewish immigrants, in Israel. She illustrates ways in which the declared family language ideology does not necessarily coincide with family language use. Furthermore, the results indicate a disassociation between parents' and children's positive attitudes toward Russian language preservation and their commitment to the first language maintenance.

More recently, Little (2017) investigated families' attitudes towards heritage language development and their efforts to maintain the heritage language in their families, in Britain. She proposes a framework which is made up of spaces, such as an idealistic space, referring to their attitudes and motivations, and a realistic space in relation to finance, support, school, resources and time. Conflict takes place when heritage language families occupy two spaces on the spectrum at once. A family might have an essential/emotional attitude to their heritage language(s), yet due to circumstance may adopt a pragmatic/peripheral one in terms of actual engagement. This friction may, in the long-term, lead to emotional distress and may also result in children forming an identity based on the realistic space, unaware of and unable to engage with the idealistic space parents may try to hold on to.

Social class ascriptions might also affect language use and attitudes in the family. Lambert and Taylor (1996) examined language attitudes of low- and middle- SES Cuban-born mothers of similar educational levels in the United States. Although both groups rated themselves fluent in Spanish and English fluency, with Spanish stronger, the low-SES children's English proficiency was found to be significantly and moderately correlated with their school performance, whereas middle-SES children's Spanish proficiency was significantly and moderately correlated with their school performance. The researchers suggest that these findings might be due to SES and differences parental beliefs, which were in turn associated with mothers' choice of language to speak to their children. They hypothesised that working-class mothers tended to encourage English use

at home, believing that more use of English would help their children succeed in American society. Middle-class mothers, on the other hand, tended to encourage Spanish use at home in order to maintain the heritage culture. Along the same lines, Scheele, Leseman, and Mayo (2010) examined differences in mothers' language choice between two different immigrant groups in the Netherlands. Moroccan–Dutch and Turkish–Dutch families of different SES did not differ significantly in their ethnic language input to their children or their children's ethnic language vocabulary. However, SES affected the choice of language at home, with higher SES Moroccan–Dutch families using Dutch more, and their children having larger Dutch vocabularies than the lower SES Moroccan–Dutch families. Scheele et al. (2010) explained that Turkish parents have external Turkish language resources available to them, such as Turkish television programs, books, and newspapers; however, Tarifit-Berber, the ethnic language of the Moroccan group, is traditionally an oral language, with no written texts, education, or media available in Morocco or the Netherlands. As a result, Scheele et al. reported that Moroccan–Dutch parents with more education tended to be educated in the Netherlands and thus relied on Dutch to provide literacy activities or academic vocabulary, whereas Turkish–Dutch parents had the possibility of providing these activities through Turkish.

These arguments do highlight the fact that parental language attitudes go beyond perceptions of languages alone, but they are linked to beliefs about socialisation, education and family ties. These beliefs unearth certain ideologies that are intricately linked to attitudes, as will be discussed in the following section. Another point to be mentioned is that very often language influence is viewed mostly being from parents to children, while the language socialisation paradigm views both parents and children to be agents. Hazen (2004, p.503) argues that parents' norms may be modified through contact with their children. Since teenagers in the western world focus intensely on what is popular in their culture, some parents may try to win back the affections of their children by identifying with them. This situation would foster accommodation on the part of the parent. Moreover, although language attitudes can be socialised within the family, the fact that they are automatically transmitted to children should be questioned. One of the main limitations of these studies is that children's attitudes are very often not elicited (for instance in Park & Sarkar, 2007; Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006; Li & Rao, 2000; Gao &

Park, 2012). Therefore, a much-needed research venture is to investigate the similarities between children's and parent's language attitude and ideologies.

Despite its importance, parental influence is not the only factor influencing a child's linguistic development. Reyes and Moll (2004) argue that historically, empirical studies exploring the relationship between parents' and children's attitudes have ignored the impact of peer relations and of siblings. Similarly, De Houwer (1999) claims that an emphasis on parental influence does not underestimate the role of other people and external factors. Firstly, such influence can decrease with age, as shown by Lambert and Klinberg (1967). Spolsky (2000) also stresses that the socialisation effect of another component of the peer group, should not be underestimated, as has also been elaborated by Dörnyei (2007). In addition, Loureiro-Rodrigues (2008) illustrates how the family is not the only socialising agent as adolescents influence each other in their attitudes to Galician and Spanish. Luykx (2003) also draws our attention to how in a Bolivian community, young children tend to abandon the local language, even though bilingualism was fostered in the family. This is due to the pressure from school, peer culture and the popular media that embrace the dominant Spanish language. Finally, as Reyer and Moll (2004) argue, the influence of the school (as will be discussed in the following section) in perpetuating the dominant ideology cannot be understated. Finally, age is another factor to be taken into consideration. For instance, adolescent language learners are typically experiencing numerous developmental milestones; such as developing a sense of personal competence and autonomy, negotiating new identities, and nourishing close friendships; all of which may or may not impact on a student's motivation to learn at any given moment.

3.11 Language Attitudes and Ideologies and the Role of Schools

As Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) and others have argued, academic institutions reproduce class differences. Other influential work on social reproduction includes that of Bowles and Gintis (1976), who argue that schools reproduce social class status and socialise people to function in their places in the corporate world. In terms of élite education, research shows how (c.f. Maxwell & Aggleton, 2013) schooling privilege can

be identified with economic, physical, social, intellectual, and socio-cultural surety in a specific school space. Such identifications, Forbes and Lingard (2016) argue, are designed to (re)produce physical, social and intellectual capital, accomplishment and agency for students:

schooling privilege as attachment to positive conditions of possibility – a habitus of possibility underpinned by economic surety and dispositions towards assured social connectedness and inherent optimism (p.55).

They also argue that “in elite schooling, the economic capital and economic surety of students and their families are manifested in school space in multiple ways: physical, social and intellectual” (p.55). Within the local study, language can be considered as another marker of surety.

De Mejía (2002) provides a review of examples of elite bilingualism where language is valued as a symbolic resource which can receive different values depending on the marketplace of social interaction. She discusses the role played by education in providing selective access to prized symbolic resources, such as bilingualism and multilingualism in prestigious world languages. Similarly, Hornberger and Vaish (2008) discovered tensions in translating multilingual language policy to classroom linguistic practice, and especially the paradoxical role of and demand for English as a tool of decolonisation for multilingual populations seeking equitable access to a globalising economy. They represented tensions between multilingualism and English across three national cases at both policy and classroom level through an ecological and sociolinguistic approach. Moreover, Palmer (2009) in her discussion of two-way immersion bilingual provision, discusses how there is often a sort of culture clash between the middle-class, mostly white, English-speaking students and the mostly working-class, Spanish-speaking students of immigrant families. The middle-class children often dominate the classes, taking a disproportionate share of the teachers’ attention and class time.

Similarly, Kanno (2003) notes that “schools are powerful social agents that can create images of communities for their children’s future and give these visions flesh and blood” (p.295). In her ethnographic study of four schools in Japan she argues that schools envision imagined communities for their learners and endeavour to prepare them for such

membership. These imagined communities are based on language provision to cater for the kind of networks of people and society in which children will grow up to participate, and the places they will occupy in the world. As a result, schools' visions of imagined communities, whether they be implicit or explicit, exert a powerful influence on their current policies and practices, ultimately affecting the students' identities. She concludes that although individual schools can make a difference in directing their students to more empowering imagined communities, they also simultaneously participate in social reproduction. On the whole, the least privileged bilingual students inevitably socialised into the least privileged imagined communities. On the other hand, more privileged children are given ample opportunity to become bilingual in two socially prestigious languages.

In some cases, access to particular forms of bilingual education provision are restricted to those who can afford to pay (as in the case of International Schools) or those who demonstrate high levels of academic achievement, thus conserving the notion of valuable linguistic resources as the privilege of certain powerful groups. This can be seen in Heller's (2006) study, where two groups of parents attach different ideologies to the two languages. The school in her study catered for working class Francophone parents, who in their day-to-day lives had less access to English, and believed that a bilingual school would provide their children with access to English alongside French. This position was related to their desire for upward mobility, which in Ontario would mean being a competent user of English in a range of domains. On the other hand, it also catered for middle-class parents, who already had ample access to English in their day-to-day lives, and preferred a monolingual French school which would ensure a fuller knowledge of French to go along with English. Secure in their class position and the knowledge that their children were already university bound, they were interested in the linguistic capital that the French language would represent in addition to their children's full knowledge of English, which they could take for granted.

These studies show the role of schools as powerful socialisation agents in creating and promoting ideologies related to language. Therefore, in the light of the present discussion,

it can be concluded that the ideologies that represent capital are linked to identity, and they are created and perpetuated in families and in schools (among other contexts).

3.12 Conclusions

This literature review does not do justice to the far-reaching body of work in the field of language attitudes and ideologies. However, my aim was to provide introductory coverage to the scope, importance, and pervasiveness of attitudes towards language and ideologies, covering some of the main areas of research, along with methodological and theoretical approaches and debates.

I started this chapter off with a definition of language attitudes, and subsequently moved to an examination of the role of ideology to interpret language use in Malta, with a focus on ideologies of social class and national unity. Bourdieu's theories of cultural reproduction were discussed in light of their relevance to the present study. The way language is linked to identity was also highlighted. Consequently, the extent of the effect of social structure and of agency on individuals was problematised, and finally, studies on language attitudes and ideologies in families and schools were reviewed.

In the following chapter, the specific local setting will be described. This will provide a framework upon which the subsequent discussion of methods and results can be based.

4 The Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the research design and methods of analysis of the study, to answer the study's research questions. The study employed a mixed-methods methodology and consisted of two stages. In the first stage I conducted semi-structured interviews with families on language use and language attitudes and ideologies in Malta. In the second phase, I distributed questionnaires to adults and children to collect statistical data on their use of language and their language attitudes and ideologies.

In this chapter, I present the rationale guiding the choice of a mixed-methods study to address the research questions. In line with the safe-guarding of all participants' interests, ethical considerations will be discussed. Finally, I outline the methods used to locate and select participants, and the procedures of data collection and the analysis of the interview and survey data.

4.1 Ethical Considerations

The procedures followed in this research were approved by the ethics committee at Lancaster University. The main risk that was identified was the participation of minors in the study. As a result, the following steps were taken to ensure that all participants were safeguarded. Informed consent was sought to ensure that the participants were aware of the study's aims and the implications of taking part in such a study. Before each interview, I clearly explained the aims of the study. Participants were aware that they could withdraw from the study at any point, and refrain from answering any questions. Parents were asked to sign consent forms for themselves and for their children (c.f Appendix 1).

With regard to the quantitative study, an information letter was sent to all Heads of Schools (Appendix 2), followed by an information letter and a consent form (Appendix 3) to all parents. During my classroom visits, I explained to all children the topic of the questionnaire (attitudes towards Maltese and English). Only the children who wanted to take part in the study and returned the signed parental consent form participated in the study.

When conducting interviews, confidentiality and anonymity was assured. During the transcription phase I made sure that any information included in the transcripts would not reveal the identities of my participants. I used personal names to refer to all participants, but these names are all pseudonyms. Although I included the participants' quotes, I changed any features - such as when they refer to specific positions - that will in any way link the quote to the participant. In the quantitative part of the study, all participants were assigned codes to ensure anonymity.

Ethical considerations were also noted during the analysis phase. Hammersley (2014) argues that there is a potential for discrepancy between informants' expectations during interviews and what is actually done with the data they provide. While acknowledging my role as a researcher in the interpretation process, I was also aware that participants had a right to know how I have interpreted what they said during the interviews. I sent all participants a summary of the main points of the interview that was going to be included in the results section, which were validated by the participants themselves. I then contacted all participants to ask them for their feedback and whether they agreed with the general interpretation of each section.

4.2 The qualitative, quantitative and mixed-methods paradigms

In this study, language attitudes and ideologies will be investigated both quantitatively and qualitatively, inviting a dialogue within the framework of a single study rather than conducting studies based in different contexts (Wesely, 2010). The two types of data - namely interview and questionnaire data - were collected sequentially and combined in the analysis phase to address the research questions.

Both the qualitative and quantitative paradigms come with their merits and limitations. The main merits that are associated with the qualitative and quantitative paradigms are summarised in Table 4.1. These however also entail their limitations. With regard to the qualitative paradigm, Dörnyei (2007) states that small participant samples might not be suitable for generalisations to the wider population. Also, interpretation is very often dependent on the researcher's perspectives. On the other hand, the statistical data produced in the quantitative paradigm very often average out responses across the whole

group of participants. Moreover, quantitative methods might not allow researchers to uncover reasons for particular observations as “the general exploratory capacity of qualitative research is rather limited” (Dörnyei, 2007, p.35). Even mixed-methods come with their limitations as no data collection is fool proof and problem-free (Mackey & Gass, 2016). Creswell, Plano Clark and Garrett (2008) among others, list concerns with contradictory findings, ways in which data are integrated, and implementing the actual data collection processes.

The following table provides a summary of the main characteristics of qualitative, quantitative and mixed-methods research. Creswell (2008) argues that qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as polar opposites or dichotomies; instead, they represent different ends on a continuum. Mixed-methods research resides in the middle of this continuum because it incorporates elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Table 4.1: The characteristics of qualitative, quantitative and mixed-methods research (adapted from Creswell, 2008, p.17).

Tend to or typically	Qualitative Approaches	Mixed-methods Approaches	Quantitative Approaches
Use these philosophical assumptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constructivist/ advocacy/ participatory knowledge claims 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pragmatic knowledge claims 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-positivist knowledge claims
Employ these strategies of inquiry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Phenomenology, grounded theory, case study, ethnography and narrative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploratory, Explanatory and Embedded 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surveys and experiments
Employ these methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open-ended questions, emerging approaches, text or image data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both open- and close-ended data, both emerging and predetermined approaches, both quantitative and qualitative data analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Closed-ended questions, predetermined approaches, numeric data
Use these practices of research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positions himself or herself 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collects both qualitative and quantitative data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tests or verifies theories or explanations

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collects participant meanings • Focuses on a single concept or phenomenon • Brings personal values to the study • Studies the context or setting of participants • Validates the accuracy of findings • Makes interpretations of the findings • Collaborates with participants | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develops a rationale for mixing data • Integrates the data at different stages of inquiry • Presents visual representations of the procedures of the study • Employs the practices of both qualitative and quantitative research | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifies variables to study • Relates variables in hypotheses and questions • Uses standards of validity and reliability • Observes and measures information numerically • Uses unbiased approaches • Employs statistical procedures |
|--|---|---|
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As seen from the table above, mixed-methods research combines or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms (Mackey & Gass, 2016). Hashemi and Babaii (2013), in their review of studies in applied linguistics elaborate on this definition and state that mixed-methods research must include both quantitative and qualitative data at all stages of a research project, including data collection, data analysis, and interpretation. They also argue that “integration of qualitative and quantitative methods within a systematically developed mixed-methods design may thus prove to be a useful tool for conducting research in applied linguistics” (p.841). In a similar vein, Tashakkori and Creswell (2007) define mixed-methods research as one in which “the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study or program of inquiry” (p.4). A mixed-methods approach can be used to address the weaknesses of both the qualitative and quantitative methodologies so that the overall strength of a study is greater than either the sole use of qualitative or quantitative methods (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). In fact, mixed-methods research seems suited to bridge the theoretical division of micro- and macro-perspectives (Dörnyei, 2007).

Furthermore, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010) argue that mixed-methods research goes beyond the combination of approaches to cancel out respective weaknesses but rather to address the research questions from a multiplicity of angles, as will be discussed in the next chapter. A mixed-methods approach empowers the researcher to answer a larger variety of research questions as some research questions cannot be answered when a single method is employed (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Additionally, when combining qualitative and quantitative approaches it is possible to answer confirmatory and exploratory questions, and therefore verify and generate theory (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). From this perspective, a mixed-method approach can be considered an efficient way of addressing research questions.

Creswell et al. (2008) categorise mixed-methods designs according to three designs, which can take place sequentially or concurrently: explanatory, exploratory and sequential embedded. These three all involve data collection at different parts of the data-collection process. In the explanatory design, qualitative data are collected after the quantitative data and are used to support the quantitative results. In exploratory designs, quantitative data follow qualitative data for the purpose of verifying or generalising the conclusions from the qualitative data. Embedded designs can take place sequentially or concurrently and qualitative data are collected before an intervention begins or after it is complete, to assist in recruitment of participants, to test for effects or to select individuals from a pool of participants.

The arguments presented above are directly applicable to my study. By employing a mixed-methods approach, I aim to gain a more in-depth understanding of how language attitudes and ideologies are conceptualised in Malta. In this study, I am both interested in the exact nature and in the distribution of children's and their parents' attitudes towards the use of languages in Malta. However, over-reliance on any single research method may generate skewed results, and bring about misleading conclusions. In fact, research on attitudes in general has demonstrated that different methods might elicit different constructs related to the definition of an attitude. For instance, indirect methods are more suited for the exploration automatic associations, whereas direct measures provide insight into the constructed attitudes held by the individual (Bohner & Dickel, 2011, p. 395). As

a result, mixed-methods can provide more certainty to the findings, as well as a greater range of insights and more contextual specification of the language attitudes investigated (Garrett et al., 2003).

A qualitative perspective was chosen to investigate the language attitudes and ideologies of the participants for a number of reasons. Firstly, a qualitative approach was deemed the best way to obtain detailed information about the thoughts feelings and attitudes that parents and children have towards their languages (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). This enabled me to interact with research participants and to build a certain connection with them so that they would feel comfortable enough to share their thoughts and feelings with me. In this way, a qualitative approach allowed me to access information about issues that are personal to participants, in ways which another approach would not have made possible (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). I also adopted a quantitative perspective so that the characteristics, opinions, attitudes, and intended behaviours of a large population can be described and analysed on the basis of questioning a sample of the particular population (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2012). Moreover, Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010) argue that the popularity of questionnaires in second language acquisition and language studies, is due to the fact that they are versatile, and capable of gathering a large amount of information quickly in a form that is readily processable.

In my study, I will be adopting a sequential exploratory mixed-methods research design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007) allowing for a qualitative–quantitative mixed analysis (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003), with the quantitative analysis phase informing or expanding on the qualitative phase. Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010) state that the use of complementary methods will allow the researchers to focus on “both the individual and the broader societal context” (p.242). The primary focus will be to explore the phenomena of interest, namely parents’ and their children’s language attitudes and ideologies towards the use of Maltese and English in Malta. Collins, Onwuegbuzie, and Sutton (2006), argue instrument fidelity can also be maximised when using mixed-methods. Following recommendations outlined in Onwuegbuzie et al. (2010), findings from the interviews will be integrated into a survey, as illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4.1: The sequential exploratory mixed-methods research design

Phase	Procedure	Product
(1) Qualitative Data Collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Semi-Structured Interviews with parents (n=14) and children (n=13) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interview Transcripts
(2) Qualitative Data Analysis Themes based on a grounded methodology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analysis of metalinguistic discourse in relation to language ideology and identity formation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stories on language use and personal experiences
(3) Linking the Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches: Questionnaire Construction		
(4) Quantitative Data Collection	Questionnaire construction based on interview data Questionnaire with parents (n=202) and children (n=357)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Numeric Data
(5) Quantitative Data Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exploratory Factor Analysis Descriptives Chi-square ANOVA and MANOVA T-test Regression Analyses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Factor loadings Descriptives Effects of the independent variables on the language attitude constructs Interaction of independent variables on the language attitude constructs Differences between groups Effect of predictor variables on independent variables
(6) Linking the Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches: Discussion of Findings		
(7) Integration of Qualitative and Quantitative Findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interpretation and explanation of results Similarities and Differences in the two data sets Implications Future Research 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discussion and Conclusions

4.3 The Research Questions

The study will be guided by four overarching research questions, which are in turn subdivided into further questions, each having a Qualitative (QUAL), a Quantitative (QUANT) or a Mixed-methods (QUAL and QUANT) focus. Table 4.2 details the relationships among the research questions, data sources and analytical procedures adopted in this study.

Table 4.2: The relationships among the research questions, data sources and analytical procedures

RQ	Type	Data Source	Data Analysis
1 What are participants' views on their own language use and how is this related to their identity and that of others?	QUAL and quant	Interviews	Life-stories Analysis of discourse to describe the use of language and the way this is linked to self and others' identity.
		Questionnaires	Effects of the independent variables (age, locality, employment and school sector) and the dependent variables (language/s spoken in various contexts).
2 What are parents' and children's language attitudes and ideologies towards Maltese and English?	QUAL and QUANT	Interviews Questionnaires	Combination of the qualitative and quantitative data
2a What ideologies are expressed when parents and their children speak about language use in Malta?	QUAL	Interviews	Life-stories and theme analysis to link ideologies to comments about language use. Comparison of parents' and children's ideologies.
2b What are the parents' and their children's general language attitude characteristics in Malta?	QUANT	Questionnaires	Exploratory factor analysis. Descriptive statistics Regression Analyses
2c How do social factors, such as age, locality, employment, relate to language attitudes and ideologies?	QUANT	Questionnaires	ANOVA and MANOVA tests to explore the effects of independent variables (age, locality, employment, schools sector) on the dependent variables (language attitude constructs). Regression Analyses
2d How do participants differ in their language attitudes and ideologies based on the language used at home?	QUANT and QUAL	Questionnaires	ANOVA and MANOVA tests to explore the effects of language use at home on the language attitude constructs

RQ	Type	Data Source	Data Analysis
		Interviews	Life-stories and theme analysis to link language ideologies to comments about language use.
3 What are parents' and children's language attitudes and ideologies towards language use in the three school sectors in Malta?	QUAL and QUANT	Interviews and Questionnaires	Combination of the qualitative and quantitative data
3a How do participants link ideologies about language use in society and language use in schools?	QUAL	Interviews	Life-stories and theme analysis with a focus on the way participants link language ideologies to language use in different school sectors.
3b What role do social factors play in attitudes towards language use in schools?	QUANT	Questionnaires	ANOVA and MANOVA tests to explore the effects of independent variables (age, locality, employment and school sector) on the independent variables.
4 What is the relationship between parents' and children's language attitudes and ideologies?	QUAL and QUANT	Interviews	Analysing similarities and differences between parents' and children's ideologies.
		Questionnaires	T-tests to establish differences between groups (parents vs children).

4.4 The Qualitative Study

In the following section, the methods adopted in the qualitative study, together with criteria for participant selection and methods of data analysis will be discussed.

4.4.1 The Participants

In Chapter 3, I have discussed the role of language attitudes and ideologies in Malta, and how these might differ according to language use. I also explained that language use patterns and attitudes might differ according to locality. For this reason, I wanted to obtain a heterogeneous sample, which would provide an insight into how different social contexts might shape attitudes and ideologies. King and Horrocks (2010) point out that the sample needs to be related in some systematic manner to the social world and phenomena that the study seeks to throw light on. This can take place through systematic sampling. Patton (2015) draws our attention to how samples in qualitative research should

aim to exhibit at the maximal variation in the population. This means that you try to integrate only a few cases, but those that are as different as possible, to disclose the range of variation and differentiation in the field.

In light of studies which explore possible factors that influence language use and attitudes in Malta, (for instance, Camilleri, 1992; Caruana, 2007; Bonnici, 2010), the criteria for selection of families was based on:

- The parents' employment;
- The children's school sector (State, Church, Independent);
- The locality (Southern Harbour, Northern Harbour, southeastern, western and northern regions).

These criteria were based upon the literature regarding the relationship between language use and language attitudes and ideologies, as outlined in Sections 3.5 and 3.6. Table 4.3 provides information about the gender, age, school attended, locality, employment for each participant. The participants are presented in order in which the interviews took place.

Table 4.3: Information about the participants taking part in the interviews

	Participant (Age)	Occupation/ School^a	Location
The Agius Family	1. Peter (42) 2. Marika (41) 3. Stephanie (12)	Pilot Housewife Church School	Southern Harbour
The Galea Family	4. Monica (60) 5. Sara (38)	Clerk Church School	Western
The Muscat Family	6. Jane (40) 7. Ruth (15)	Clerk Church School	Southern Harbour
The Gauci Family	8. Joan (45) 9. Michela (14)	Doctor Independent School	Northern Harbour

The Mizzi Family	10. Maria (37) 11. Jill (8)	Teacher Independent School	Northern Harbour
The Aquilina Family	12. Margaret (39) 13. Kimberly (16)	Housewife State School	Northern
The Zammit Family	14. Lucy (40) 15. Cathy (15)	Clerk Church School	Western
The Camilleri Family	16. Rosemarie (41) 17. Dylan (42) 18. John (8)	Clerk Tradesman State School	Southern Harbour
The Briffa Family	19. Leila (35) 20. Roberta (14)	Care worker State School	Northern
The Micallef Family	21. Brenda (30) 22. Leandra (7)	Nurse Independent School	Southern Harbour
The Calleja Family	23. Raisa (35) 24. Judie (15)	Receptionist State School	Northern Harbour
The Baldacchino Family	25. Rita (35) 26. Gilbert (7)	Teacher State School	South Eastern

Note. "Information presented here depends on whether the participant is an adult or a child.

I purposefully interviewed families living in different areas in Malta (as shown in Figure 4.2) to investigate whether participants coming from different localities might express different language ideologies and attitudes.

Figure 4.2: Geographical areas used in the study and number of families per area (Source of map: <https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/europe/outline/mt.htm>)



With regard to parental level of education, the majority of parents had completed up to secondary schooling, with one participant completing up to post-secondary schooling; another two, tertiary education; and three participants having obtained a post-graduate qualification.

Four children attended church schools, while six children attended state schools, and two attended independent schools. The majority of parents had attended state schools, and six parents had attended church schools. There were no parents who had attended independent schools, particularly because independent schools were founded in the 1990s.

Access to the families was gained through a “friend-of-a-friend” approach (Milroy, 1980). This approach can facilitate access into communities, and lessen the outsider status of the researcher (Tagliamonte, 2006). Since I did not want my participants to be conditioned by a pre-existing knowledge of my own views on language, I did not want to approach the participants directly from my pool of friends or acquaintances. I therefore asked acquaintances to contact families based on a number of criteria as outlined above. Bonnici (2010), in her qualitative study on the use of English in Malta, also stated that

approaching strangers to participate in her study did not yield much success. She had to rely on friends to help her to recruit participants. In the present study, trust was also very important and I had to be presented with some sort of recommendation. This can be seen in other contexts, such as in Narag and Maxwell's (2014) study in the Philippines, where the fact that the researchers participated in community life gave further credibility and showed that they were not there simply to extract data from them.

4.4.2 Designing the interview

The interviews were designed, following the recommendations for good interviewing in Kvale (1996), Dörnyei, (2007) and King and Horrocks (2010). A semi-structured interview, which can be described as a “compromise” (Dörnyei, 2007, p.136) between the closed and open formats, was adopted (c.f. Appendix 4 for the interview schedule). Semi-structured interviews also allow participants to express themselves in their own terms and at their own speed. This was particularly important in my context, especially when I interviewed the children. All participants seemed at ease during the interview particularly because there were no time limits. The use of a semi-structured format was selected as it provided me with a list of guiding questions, while also retaining the flexibility to change where appropriate and to probe further. The interview does not only enable researchers to collect declarative data on language use. As a verbal event, the interview is also an authentic communicative situation in which naturally occurring talk is exchanged (Codó, 2008).

All interviews started with questions related to personal interests, to make the participants feel at ease. I would also ask about a programme that they would be watching on television, a magazine on the kitchen table, or a toy the children would be playing with, as a way of easing the interaction. The topics that were covered during the interview were:

- Personal information, namely questions about education and work experience, designed to put the participants at ease;
- Perceived language use in various contexts such as at home, with friends, at work, and at school;
- Use of language when reading and writing;

- Experiences when using Maltese/ English in social groups, at work, and at home;
- Attitudes towards the use of Maltese and English in Malta (importance attached to Maltese and English in various contexts, opinions about Maltese people who use exclusively Maltese or English, opinions about code-switching, investment in both languages);
- Language and identity (feelings related to use of languages and the self);
- Parents' and children's opinions about the use of language in schools (school's ethos regarding language use, main language used by school administration).

4.4.3 Piloting the interview

The interview questions were initially pre-piloted with family members and friends. The aim of this exercise was to provide me with the opportunity to practise questioning techniques, to provide prompts and cues, and most importantly, to practise the art of listening empathically.

The interviews were piloted with one family: the Catania family, which does not feature in the corpus of the main study. The pilot study helped me gauge the suitability of the questions asked with different family members. It was also useful to determine the limitations in the interview design and make necessary revisions. Additionally, this gave me a better idea of the time needed for each interview and also served to collect preliminary data. After the pilot session, several changes were made to the interview schedule. These included reordering of the questions, refining ambiguous questions and removing questions that seemed repetitive. I did not include it in the corpus because a number of questions were considered redundant and also repetitive. The main aim of the exercise was also very important for me to practise the whole running of the interview.

4.4.4 Conducting the Interviews

The interviews were carried out from April 2014 to October 2014. During the scheduled interview sessions, one of the main considerations was making participants feel at ease. In

keeping with this aim, the interviews were conducted in the participants' own home, on the basis of mutual agreement, where I also had the opportunity to engage in some observations whilst they carried out their daily routines. A small portable recorder was used to record the interviews, and this was placed in an unobtrusive position to avoid the participants from focusing on it during the interviews. The interviews were not videotaped, as I wanted to reduce ethical concerns, particularly since young children were involved. Also, during informal conversations prior to the interview, most participants explicitly stated that they would not want to be video recorded in their homes. Therefore, it was decided that the use of a video recorder would have caused unnecessary strain to the participants and impinged upon their willingness to participate.

The interviews started with initial pleasantries, to make the participants feel at ease and to remind them that the interview was a "conversation not an interrogation" (Blommaert & Jie 2010, p.46). Wei (2000) cautions that the language employed by the researcher may affect the responses given during an interview. Cortazzi et al. (2011) illustrate ways in which language choice (English or Chinese) affected the data collection stage with Chinese participants in their study, and they explored how this could relate to issues of face during interviews. Furthermore, Gregory and Ruby (2011) describe how in their study of Bangladeshi families in East London, despite having some shared funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge, "insiderness" always had to be negotiated with the families during the research process and it was often a matter of degree rather than unproblematic membership of a particular social category. Within the local context, English can also be associated with negative associations of snobbery and power. Moreover, language proficiency might also impinge upon the natural flow of the exchange. Therefore, the interviews were conducted in Maltese or English, with the participants choosing their preferred code. Both myself and the majority of participants code-switched to English or Maltese, irrespective of the main language being used.

One of the most important considerations in interview research with children is the creation of a natural context for the interview (Creswell, 2008). Therefore, the interviews were placed within a larger activity which the children were familiar with, such as drawing or play time. Most of the younger children wanted their mothers to be present

during the interview. Thus, issues of confidence took precedence over issues of privacy. At times the mothers were helpful in prompting the children's memories and in filling in the context of some of their comments. This might have implications for the objectivity of the data collected but in my analysis the data will be treated as being co-constructed between parents, the children, and the researcher. Therefore, this also proves to be an interesting venture for analysis, especially in the way children and parents position one another on the basis of language use.

4.4.5 Analysis of the Interview data

In line with Rubin and Rubin's (2005) recommendations, the data analysis and process took place concurrently with the data collection process, as it served the invaluable role of informing the next steps in the research process. Following the recommendations outlined in Creswell (2012), the following steps in the analysis of the interview data, were taken:

1. The audio clips were organised and sorted out. I listened to the audio clips (amounting to 37 hours of data) twice to get a general idea of the themes that were being discussed in each interview. I also took informal notes on ideas and themes that emerged during the interviews;
2. The interviews were transcribed verbatim in their original language/s. Transcription notations were added, following Bois et al's (1993) recommendations for discourse transcriptions. I decided that the transcripts would not include pauses, information about intonation or repetition (unless it was used specifically to reinforce the meaning), since the focus of the analysis was on themes. To aid readability, I have represented spoken interaction using turn-taking conventions when the speakers are speaking one at a time (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974). The utterances were tagged with personal names (pseudonyms) to make them more memorable. Memos, which were my additional comments or references to the literature, were added to the transcripts;
3. The transcripts were read through to obtain a general sense of the information. More memos were added to the files with my general impressions and notes;
4. I used the program Atlas-Ti (v. 8.0) to code the data, following the recommendations outlined in Lewins and Silver (2007). Each interview was imported into Atlas-Ti, and

underwent a line-by-line coding process. This allowed for the chunking of extended quotations into smaller, more manageable chunks, or codes. A detailed coding process to organise the transcripts into segments was carried out. The whole process was not linear but rather cyclical as the codes were amended, refined and even added to better reflect the data. The coding process had two complementary aims. The first one was to generate themes, which could be used to construct the questionnaire. The second one was an in-depth understanding of the way the participants express their views about language use in Malta and the way they link ideologies to language use;

I focused on the metalinguistic discourse produced by the participants, that is, the participants' overt statements or evaluations about Maltese and English, as well as those statements which implicitly disclose their language attitudes and ideologies. I also examined the underlying language ideologies behind the families' linguistic and educational choices, and the way in which the families' ideologies of language are constructed according to the actual and imagined positions and hierarchical linguistic markets.

I adopted an inductive approach to the coding process to ensure that the categories were grounded in the participants' perspectives. This stage was exploratory, resulting in the creation of many codes. I then adopted axial coding, where the codes generated by open coding were reconsidered in terms of similarity and difference. Further recoding and merging of themes into 'overarching themes' took place. This resulted in five overarching themes which were created from the data itself. Finally, I revisited the data and the codes, and instances in the data which most pertinently illustrate themes, concepts, relationships were identified. This stage was mostly useful when creating the questionnaire as discussed in the following sections.

Table 4.4: Codes generated in the qualitative data analysis

Overarching theme	Codes	Description
Language use	[diff lang use parent] [diff lang use sibling] [lang home] [us and them - family] [change in child lang use] [diff lang use - spouse] [diff lang use with sibling] [diff parent and child use] [if child uses E at hm] [change in lang use] [different lang use - friends and home] [different lang use work] [if uses E with friends] [lang friends] [lang neighbours]	Quotations about use of language at home, by parents with children and partners, and by children with parents and siblings. Quotations about the use of language in various contexts. Quotations about perceived change in language use throughout life
Language ideologies: Social class	[use of CS] [language and sounding well-educated] [pepe*] [snobbery] [social class - connections] [social class - money]	Quotations about the way participants link social class to use of language and to snobbery.
Language ideologies: Locality	[Sliema**] [south] [north] [us and them- locality]	Quotations about the way participants link locality to use of language; the perceived north/south distinction.
Language ideologies: Nationalistic ideologies	[language and nation] [English betrayal of Maltese identity]	Quotations that link language to nation.
Experiences related to language use	[child's negative experiences] [us and them with neighbours] [bullied cause of E] [bullied cause of M] [childhood experiences at school]	Narratives about experiences (mostly negative) related to language use in particular contexts or in groups.
Group membership	[group membership-family] [us and them-differences] [us and them- locality] [us and them - family]	Quotations related to perceived differences between groups and individuals based on language use. Participants contrast their use of language to other individuals and groups.
Language ideologies about language use in schools	[lang use sch] [negative experiences sch] [positive exp at sch]	Quotations about the way participants view language use in schools, and the way this is mediated by ideologies on language use in wider society.

Overarching theme	Codes	Description
	[girls who sp E at sch] [use of M at sch] [child's negative experiences] [child lang use sch] [better prospects] [opinion about sch]	

Note. The order of the codes are according to the order in which they appeared in the interviews, which were analysed in chronological order, depending on when they took place.

* The word *pepé* is a pejorative term in Maltese, referring to an individual who speaks English and who is also snobbish

** The word Sliema refers to a town in Malta, located in the Northern-Harbour Area, which traditionally has been associated with English-speaking individuals.

During the analysis of themes, I noticed that in all the interviews, the participants were talking about language use in relation to some form of social formation and linking this to their experiences in life. They frequently made references to narratives which were defining moments in their life, and where issues related to language came into play. I concluded that in talking about their language use, and the way they link language use to ideologies and identity, all participants were also talking about their life stories. Coffey (2010) argues that this approach provides an insight into how individuals perceive their sense of reality. As it is based on mostly retrospective narrative data, they are also viewed as representing a subjective reality rather than an objective verifiable truth. Such an approach allows us to use the participants' perceptions and interpretations as a resource to shed light on underlying personal and societal attitudes and beliefs. As a result, the data are considered discursive constructions (Pavlenko, 2007). Similar conclusions are also made by Preece (2009) and Block (2006).

My analysis divided the accounts into storied episodes. I analysed the ways all participants discussed language ideologies related to the use of Maltese and English, and the way they positioned themselves and others through their discourse. The following main episodes were identified:

- Changing language, changing identity;
- A mismatch between parents' and children's use of language;
- Ideologies expressed in talk;
- Language as a means of exclusion.

Extracts were included in the results chapter to illustrate the ways these stories unfold and metalinguistic comments are shaped by these experiences. It should be noted that the extracts quoted are not meant to be an exhaustive repertoire of such episodes, but merely illustrative ones. Finally, the data were interpreted in light of the relevant theories and literature.

In the following sections, I will discuss the rationale that guided the questionnaire construction, based on the interview data and ways in which the questionnaire data were collected and analysed in the second part of this study.

4.5 The Quantitative Study

The main objective of the cross-sectional quantitative study was to compare how parental and children's attitudinal dispositions differ depending on age, locality, parental employment, and school sector. The children's attitudes were also compared to their parents' attitudes.

4.5.1 Questionnaire construction

Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) argue that unlike tests of cognitive abilities, attitudinal questionnaires are highly context-dependent and therefore, even well-established batteries cannot be simply transferred to other contexts. In line with Dörnyei and Taguchi's (2010) recommendations, the qualitative study was also used as an exploratory exercise to provide background information on the context, to identify and narrow down the focus of the possible variables, and to act as a source of ideas for preparing the item pool for questionnaire scale construction.

The first step in constructing the questionnaire was to decide on the main concepts that needed to be addressed in the quantitative study. One of the main research objectives of the study was to examine the extent to which the themes explored in the qualitative study could be generalised to the Maltese population. As explained in the previous section, I used the interviews to tailor the questionnaire to the population examined.

The questionnaire items were developed into the initial eight constructs as illustrated in the following table:

Table 4.5: The relationship between the interview themes and the questionnaire factors

Interview theme	Questionnaire factors
Use of language	1. Domains of language use
Instrumental value of Maltese and English	2. Instrumental value of both Maltese and English
Ideologies	4. Ideologies related to social class 5. Ideologies related to locality 6. Ideologies related to language and nation
Identity	7. Use of language and group membership

When assessing attitudes using statements, the wording of individual statements can have a considerable impact on the responses. Dörnyei (2003) argues for the use of multi-item scales which are items “all aimed at the same target but drawing upon slightly different aspects of it” (p.34). Multi-item scales also work in agreement with Fishbein’s description of attitudes as an underlying concept which can be deduced from several statements or actions that an informant directs at a given attitude object (Fishbein 1967, p.259). The use of multi-item scales can help researchers overcome the weight of individual items as well as obtaining a fuller picture of respondents’ attitudes by looking at responses to various statements collectively. Therefore, the questionnaire was comprised of multi-item scales, so that “no individual item carries an excessive load, and an inconsistent response to one item would cause limited damage” (Skehan, 1989, p. 11). A minimum of three to four items per content area was set. The initial questionnaire construction phase was conducted in English.

The parental questionnaire was the first questionnaire to be constructed because it was going to be the most comprehensive questionnaire, and the questionnaires for the other age groups could be adapted from it. These were simplified in content and in language use to cater for each target age group. In total, the parental questionnaire contained 65 items and was divided into three parts, eliciting data about language use in several domains, language attitudes and personal information about the participants. The 14- to 15-year-old version contained 67 items, the 11- to 12-year-old questionnaire contained 59 items, and the 8-9-year-old version contained 32 items.

The first part of the parental questionnaire dealt with use of language as follows:

1. *Domains of language use (11 items)*: Use of language in the home domain, at work (or school for children), and for various literacy activities. Participants had to choose an option from the suggestions as shown in the following example:

Example: Which language/s do you use to speak to the following people and to do the following activities? Please tick () one box:

	Always in Maltese	In Maltese more often than in English	In Maltese & English equally	In English more often than in Maltese	Always in English	Other (Please specify)
To watch TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The second part of the questionnaire dealt with attitudinal factors as follows (refer to Appendix 5). For these questions, participants had to indicate on a five-point scale to what extent they agree or disagree with statements:

Table 4.6: The questionnaire constructs and corresponding items

Construct	Number of items	Description
<i>Instrumental value of Maltese and English</i>	7	Participants' perceptions of the utilitarian benefits associated with the knowledge of Maltese and English such as a better job or better educational prospects.
<i>Social class and use of language</i>	8	Linking the use of English to a high social class and to cultural capital.
<i>Language and locality</i>	7	The relationship between use of Maltese and/or English in the different geographic locations in Malta.
<i>Language and nation</i>	8	Items that link the use of Maltese and/or English to nationalistic beliefs and to being a Maltese citizen.
<i>Use of language and group membership</i>	4	Items that are related to the use of Maltese and English to form part of specific group of friends or to access various social groups.
<i>Language learning experiences and opinions about language use at school</i>	14	The importance of Maltese and English as school subjects and opinions on language use at school.

In the third part of the questionnaire the participants' biodata were elicited. I asked questions about their gender, their date of birth, the school attended and class (children), their employment and their partners' employment (parents), parents' employment (children), and the schools (children) or educational institutions attended (parents).

4.5.2 Designing the rating scales

Since the main aim was to make generalisations from the data, close-ended questions were chosen as they are well-suited for quantitative statistical analyses (Dörnyei, 2009). This also facilitated coding and tabulation of data and left little room for subjectivity.

Using Likert scales consists of asking participants to rate whether they agree or disagree with statements concerning the attitude under investigation (Garret et al., 2003, p.40). The answer categories are assigned a numerical value and overall scores are calculated (Likert, 1967). Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with statements, by ticking one of the responses on the scale ranging from one to five which corresponded to "Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Agree, Strongly agree". The majority of Likert scales used in language attitude research contain a neutral mid-point as most researchers prefer the ambiguity associated with a mid-point over the problems attached to forcing informants to fully commit themselves towards agreement or disagreement when no mid-point is included in the scale (Garret et al., 2003, p.41). I also included the mid-point to analyse instances where participants might hold neutral attitudes to some of the attitudinal constructs in the questionnaire. In the interviews, four participants argued that language is not an issue and they seem to hold neither positive nor negative attitudes towards the use of Maltese and English in Malta. They view the use of language mainly from a utilitarian perspective, and they believe that everyone should have a right to use whichever language they prefer to use.

All personal questions were placed at the end of the questionnaire to avoid the participants feeling that this information will influence the way they react to the questionnaire items.

4.5.3 The questionnaires for the different age groups

De Leeuw (2011) emphasises that children's questionnaires should be tailored according to the cognitive and social development of the intended age group. As a result, it was decided that the youngest age group for the questionnaire would not be younger than eight. This decision was motivated by the interviews where children younger than eight found it difficult to discuss language use in different contexts, their attitudes and ideologies of language. This can be explained in terms of theories of the development of children, as the age of seven is considered to be a major cognitive turning point. According to Piaget, Tomlinson and Tomlinson (1973) around this age, children make an important transition: from the preoperational to the more advanced concrete operational. At this age, their language expands (Nelson, 1976) and they start to distinguish different points of view (Selman, 1980). They are better at logical and systematic thought. De Leeuw (2011) concurs that below the age of eight, children do not have advanced cognitive skills to be effectively and systematically questioned. These are considered to be important prerequisites for the understanding and answering of questions.

Four versions of the questionnaire were created:

1. For adults (the parental questionnaire);
2. For the 14- to 15-year-olds;
3. For the 11- to 12-year-olds;
4. For the 8- to 9-year olds.

These versions dealt with similar themes but were differentiated in format and wording. The main differences were in the questionnaire for the group aged eight to nine which was shorter than the other versions and included simplified language. For instance, I did not include ideologies related to social class and prestige. This is because these themes were not mentioned in any of the interviews held with young children, as they seem to be more interested in school, parents, friends, going abroad and speaking to tourists and watching television. The following modifications were made to the children's questionnaire:

- A short paragraph about two fictional characters, Momo and Nini, was included. Reference to these characters in some questions was made. The reasons for using these characters was that during the interviews I realised that most children found

it difficult to interpret questions that contain references to depersonalised individuals such as “Maltese people”.

- Completely-labelled scales have been shown to produce better-quality responses from children than partially-labelled ones (Borgers, Hox & Sikkel, 2003). It has also been suggested that verbal labels are more easily understood than numeric ones (Borgers & Hox, 2000), while visual images such as smiley faces have also produced good results (Scott et al., 1995).
- Most of the questions in the 8- to 9-year-old group focused on present situations, rather than hypothetical future ones, or ones which required the children to imagine a different situation for themselves.

The following table (Table 4.7) presents a summary of the themes explored in the four versions of the questionnaire.

Table 4.7: Questionnaire constructs and items in the four versions of the questionnaire

Construct	Item	Adult	14-15	11-12	8-9
Language use	1. Watching TV	x	x	x	x
	2. Reading books	x	x	x	x
	3. Text messaging	x	x	x	
	4. Social media	x	x	x	
	5. Reading newspapers	x	x	x	
	6. Speaking to child	x			
	7. Speaking to spouse/partner	x			
	8. Speaking to siblings	x	x	x	x
	9. Speaking to friends	x	x	x	x
	10. Speaking to neighbours	x	x	x	x
	11. At work	x			
	12. Speaking to your mother		x	x	x
	13. Speaking to your father		x	x	x
	14. At school		x	x	x
	15. I like it when Maltese people switch between Maltese and English in the same conversation	x	x	x	
Language Learning experiences and attitudes	16. I used to like learning English at school/I like learning English at school	x	x	x	x
	17. I used to like learning Maltese at school/ I like learning Maltese at school	x	x	x	x
	18. English is an important part of the school curriculum	x	x	x	x
	19. Maltese is an important part of the school curriculum	x	x	x	x
	20. At school we are expected to speak English		x	x	

Construct	Item	Adult	14-15	11-12	8-9
	21. At school we are expected to speak Maltese		X	X	
	22. My teachers like it when I speak Maltese to them		X	X	
	23. My teachers like it when I speak English to them		X	X	
	24. My friends at school like it when I speak English to them		X	X	
	25. My friends at school like it when I speak Maltese to them		X	X	
	26. I would like to have more opportunities to use more English at school		X	X	X
	27. I would like to have more opportunities to use more Maltese at school		X	X	X
	28. My Headteacher wants me to speak Maltese to him/her		X	X	
	29. My Headteacher wants me to speak English to him/her		X	X	
Instrumental value of Maltese and English	30. The English language is important for the local economy	X	X		
	31. The Maltese language is important for the local economy	X	X		
	32. Maltese is important for educational prospects	X	X	X	
	33. English is important for educational prospects	X	X	X	
	34. A knowledge of English can help me get a good job	X	X	X	X
	35. A knowledge of Maltese can help me get a good job	X	X	X	X
	36. English is important for Maltese people to be able to travel around the world	X	X	X	X
Use of English and social class	37. Maltese people who speak English are well-off	X	X	X	X
	38. Maltese people who speak mainly Maltese are well-educated	X	X	X	X
	39. Maltese people who speak English are well-educated	X	X	X	
	40. Maltese people who speak mainly English are snobs	X	X	X	
	41. Maltese people who speak English do so to appear superior to other people	X	X	X	
	42. People will respect me more if I speak Maltese	X	X	X	
	43. People will respect me more if I speak English	X	X	X	
Locality and use of Maltese and English	44. I would like to live in areas in Malta where Maltese is mainly spoken	X	X	X	
	45. In my hometown there are many people who speak mainly English	X	X	X	X
	46. In my hometown there are many people who speak mainly Maltese	X	X	X	X
	47. I would like to live in areas in Malta where English is spoken	X	X	X	

Construct	Item	Adult	14-15	11-12	8-9
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese and English	48. I would be accepted in my hometown if I were to speak Maltese	x	x		
	49. I would be accepted in my hometown if I were to speak English	x	x		
	50. The Maltese language is deteriorating because of the influence of the English language	x	x		
	51. Only people who speak mainly Maltese can be considered truly Maltese nationals	x	x	x	
	52. I like it when people speak English in Malta	x	x	x	x
	53. I like it when people speak Maltese in Malta	x	x	x	x
	54. The English language poses a threat to Maltese culture	x	x		
	55. All people in Malta should be able to speak Maltese	x	x	x	x
	56. All people in Malta should be able to speak English	x	x	x	x
Group membership and use of Maltese and English	57. I would like to make more friends with people who speak Maltese	x	x	x	x
	58. I would like to be like Maltese people who speak Maltese in Malta	x	x		
	59. I would like to make more friends with people who speak English	x	x	x	x
	60. I would like to be like Maltese people who speak English in Malta	x	x		

4.5.4 Translating and Initial Piloting of the questionnaire

The questionnaires were constructed in English. I translated all the versions to Maltese. The final version was agreed upon in consultation with two other translators and myself. We discussed the similarities and differences between the original English versions and the translated versions.

After constructing the final version of the four questionnaires I carried several rounds of piloting. In the pre-piloting stage, four participants were chosen for each age group, resulting in a total number of 16 participants (age range 8 to 45). The purpose of this task was to ask the participants whether they had any comments on the format, content and wording of the Maltese and English versions of the questionnaire. These questionnaires were not included in the final sample due to changes that were carried out based on feedback received.

The time taken for the adults to complete the questionnaire was 40 minutes, while the children took around 45 minutes to complete their questionnaires. Therefore, the first amendment was to reduce one item from each latent construct and three items from the language use section. The removal of these items was based on comments where the participants stated that these items seemed redundant or repetitive.

The language use section underwent some changes in the wording used. In the initial questionnaire, the participants were asked to choose their use of language based on the following options:

	Always in Maltese	Mainly in Maltese and some English*	In Maltese & English equally	Mainly in English and some Maltese *	Always in English	Other (Please specify)
To watch TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

However, the options labelled with an asterisk proved to be problematic. Some participants interpreted these in the light of the use of code-switching within the same conversation and the same utterance. Although, this is clearly a natural behaviour of bilingual individuals, the aim of this section was to get an idea of which language is used in each domain rather than code-switching behaviour. Therefore, the options were reworded. The participants were asked to comment on the new wording once this was carried out and they all deemed it to be more acceptable.

The participants provided feedback to make the items more accurate or easier to interpret. The Maltese versions were also edited to match these amendments.

4.5.5 Final Piloting and Item Analysis

A final piloting stage was carried out with 45 participants, whose ages are summarised in Table 4.8. The time spent answering the questionnaire depended on the age group but it roughly amounted to 25 minutes. A total of 20 participants chose the Maltese version of the questionnaire, and 25 participants chose the English version.

Table 4.8: Participants in the final piloting stage

Age Range	Number of participants
34-44	8
14-15	10
11-12	13
8-9	11

The range of responses was analysed for items which were answered in the same way by almost everyone or by almost no one, and as a result they did not offer enough variation to be valuable for most statistical procedures. The dataset revealed that the item “I like it when Maltese people switch between Maltese and English in the same conversation” had a mean of 1.02 on the five-point Likert scale, which showed that the majority of participants did not agree with it. In fact, 93.6% chose the “Strongly Disagree” option. Therefore, this item was removed from the final version of the questionnaire.

The item which proved to be most problematic was the one asking for parental level of education, which was aimed at obtaining a more nuanced insight into their socioeconomic status. All in all, three (8%) children answered the question during the piloting phase, and the rest left it blank. As a result, I decided that I had to remove this item from the final version of the questionnaire.

The questionnaires were submitted to a reliability analysis. The Cronbach Alpha values (Cronbach, 1951) for the adult questionnaire was .743, for ages 14-15 questionnaire it was .758, for ages 11-12 questionnaire .798 and for ages eight to nine questionnaire it was .702. Therefore, this was indication that the questionnaires were reliable in their measurement. Since the coefficients exceeded the 0.70 threshold (Nunnally, 1967), this indicated that all questionnaires had adequate internal consistency.

4.5.6 Administering the main study questionnaire

Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010) discuss that an important aspect of securing the cooperation of the people who are in charge within the questionnaire administration context is to start at the top. I contacted the Heads of School to explain the aims, the design, and the

methods of the research, and to offer some rationale in terms of the survey's relevance to education. The Heads of School who were interested in participating in the study randomly chose a classroom of not less than 18 students. In most cases this took place on days when the class teacher was absent and so I could take up the slot to administer the questionnaire.

I then visited each classroom and explained the aims of the study to the learners. I explained that I was a PhD student and that I was interested in their opinions on the use of Maltese and English in Malta. I distributed an information letter, along with a parental consent form and the Maltese and English versions of the parental questionnaire to each student and explained that I would return to the classroom the following week. During that week I communicated with the class teacher to remind them that the learners have to return the consent forms and the parental questionnaires for the study. All in all, 60.8% of the parental questionnaires were collected. A total number of 333 (89.5%) consent forms out of the 372 consent forms were returned.

The learner questionnaires were distributed in class. Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010) argue that group administration entails a lot of benefits as groups of students are typically found in groups and that a good response rate can be achieved with them. In addition, a large number of questionnaires can be collected in one session. However, I was aware that one of the main pitfalls could be contamination through copying, talking, or asking questions (Oppenheim, 1992). During the collection phase, I made it a point to explain that I am interested in their opinions. I also emphasised that this was not a test, and read the questions in most of the children's classrooms as this helped them to be on task. Since the questions were about attitudes towards language, I was aware that the language in the questionnaire could also influence their ideas. Therefore, all participants could choose either the Maltese or the English version. The time taken to complete the learners' questionnaires ranged from 15 to 25 minutes for all age groups. Once completed, I thanked all the learners and their teachers for their cooperation.

4.5.7 Participants in the quantitative study

A total of 559 participants (202 adults and 357 children) took part in this study. Quota sampling procedures were adopted. In quota sampling the researcher defines certain distinct subgroups (e.g., boys and girls, or age cohorts) and determines the proportion of the population that belongs to each of these subgroups. Since the questionnaires were distributed in schools, the main subgroups identified for the purpose of this study were the school sector that students belong to. The following table summarises the sample distribution by school sector in relation to the general student population in Malta.

Table 4.9: Child sample by school sector

	Participants in sample %(n)	Students in Maltese schools %(N)^a
State	64.1(229)	66.9 (49,028)
Church	26.9 (96)	23.6 (17,310)
Independent	9.0 (32)	9.5 (6,960)
Total	100.0 (357)	100.0 (73,298)

Note: ^a Source National Statistics Office (2011).

4.6 Quantitative Data Analysis

The questionnaire data were analysed quantitatively using IBM SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences v23). First, exploratory factor analysis was conducted to explore the latent structure of variables and the reliability of the latent variables was calculated. Regression analyses were carried out to examine the effects of explanatory variables on the response variables. Furthermore, a series of t-tests, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) tests were used to identify differences in language attitudes, between the groups of participants and the effects of age, locality, parents' employment and school sector, together with language use on the language attitude constructs. Chi-square tests for independence were computed to examine the interplay of factors.

4.6.1 Exploratory Factor Analysis

In order to identify broader dimensions underlying the attitudinal variables measured by the questionnaire, I submitted the items to a principal component analysis to “achieve parsimony by explaining the maximum amount of common variance in a correlation matrix using the smallest number of explanatory constructs” (Field, 2013, p.787). The factorial structure of the adult and children questionnaires were analysed jointly, as one dataset. Plonsky and Gonulal (2015) state that despite the fact that statistical information can guide decisions, factor analysis is inherently a subjective, theoretical, and inductive task. As a result, the meaningfulness of factors primarily depends on the researcher's interpretation (Henson & Roberts, 2006). The final version of the constructs in the present study was arrived at based on statistical information and the theoretical concepts guiding the study.

A maximum likelihood extraction method was applied, and following recommendations in Field (2013), a subsequent oblique rotation was used because the factors were assumed to be intercorrelated. Field (2013) advises that a sample of 300 participants or more will provide a stable factor solution. All items were answered by at least 300 participants therefore providing a robust sample size. Kaiser's criterion was calculated to confirm the suitability of the questionnaire items for factor analysis. The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis (KMO=.89) which exceeds the recommended .6. All KMO values for individual items were greater than .77. This lies above the recommended minimum value of .50 (Pett, Lackey & Sullivan, 2003). Barlett's test of sphericity ($p < .001$) confirmed the factorability of the data.

An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each factor in the data. All in all, nine factors had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of one, which together explained 54.3% of the variance. I aimed for a matrix with a simple structure which meant that each variable had salient loadings on only one factor, without cross-loadings, as recommended in Dörnyei (2007).

Cattell's (1966) scree test was used to determine the number of factors to be extracted. According to Cattell (1966) the point of inflexion is where the slope of the line of the plot

changes dramatically. This point was used as a cut-off for retaining factors. A four-factor solution for Maltese was adopted because of the convergence of the scree plot and Kaiser's criterion on this value, and a five-factor solution for English was opted for. This choice was motivated by my initial theoretical constructs and questionnaire design which was based on constructs for the participants' attitudes towards Maltese and English, as well as by the interview data.

The facets of each item were described in more detail in Section 4.5. The questionnaire items and the respective factors are presented in Tables 4.10 and 4.11 below. Factors M1 and E1 are associated with the items that explore the participants' importance attached to languages for utilitarian motives. Factors M2 and E2 showed salient loadings from three items each, related to use of language and locality. The eight items loading on M3 and E3 all have to do with nationalist feelings and use of language. Finally, Factors M4 and E4 have salient loadings from the items that deal with group membership and use of Maltese or English. Factor E5 received salient loadings from four items, which were associated with attitudes related to social class and the use of English in Malta.

Table 4.10: Summary the of the exploratory factor analysis results for the items related to Maltese

<i>Items</i>	<i>Factors</i>			
	Factor M1 Instrumental value of Maltese	Factor M2 Locality and use of Maltese	Factor M3 Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	Factor M4 Group membership and use of Maltese
1. Knowledge of Maltese can help me get a good job	0.63			
2. The Maltese language is important for the local economy	0.71			
3. Maltese is important for my educational prospects ^a	0.62			
4. Maltese people who speak mainly Maltese are well-educated		0.57		
5. I would be accepted in my hometown if I were to speak Maltese		0.53		
6. I would like to live in areas in Malta where Maltese is mainly spoken		0.37		
7. In my hometown there are many people who speak mainly Maltese		0.64		
8. Only people who speak mainly Maltese can be considered truly Maltese nationals			0.42	
9. All people in Malta should be able to speak Maltese			0.71	
10. I like it when people speak Maltese in Malta			0.73	
11. People will respect me more if I speak Maltese				0.40
12. I would like to make more friends with people who speak Maltese				0.53
13. I would like to be like Maltese people who speak Maltese in Malta				0.53
14. I would like to have more opportunities to speak Maltese at school				0.42

Note. Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood, Rotation Method: Oblim with Kaiser Normalization.

^a*The wording for this item for the adult questionnaire was 'The Maltese language is/was important for my educational prospect*

Table 4.11: Summary the of the exploratory factor analysis results for the items related to English

<i>Items</i>	<i>Factors</i>				
	Factor E1 Instrumental value of English	Factor E2 Locality and the use of English	Factor E3 Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	Factor E4 Group membership and use of English	Factor E5 Social class and use of English
15. English is important for Maltese people to be able to travel around the world	0.62				
16. The English language is important for the local economy	0.53				
17. Knowledge of English can help me get a good job	0.67				
18. English is important for my educational prospects ^a	0.59				
19. I would like to live in areas in Malta where English is spoken		0.65			
20. In my hometown there are many people who speak mainly English		0.62			
21. I would be accepted in my hometown if I were to speak English		0.73			
22. The English language poses a threat to Maltese culture			0.39		
23. The Maltese language is deteriorating because of the influence of the English language			0.63		
24. I like it when people speak English in Malta			0.40		
25. The English language is an important part of Maltese identity			0.36		
26. All people in Malta should be able to speak English			0.64		
27. People will respect me more if I speak English				0.38	
28. I would like to be like Maltese people who speak English in Malta				0.32	
29. I would like to make more friends with people who speak English				0.63	
30. I would like to have more opportunities to speak English at school				0.41	

<i>Items</i>	<i>Factors</i>				
	Factor E1 Instrumental value of English	Factor E2 Locality and the use of English	Factor E3 Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	Factor E4 Group membership and use of English	Factor E5 Social class and use of English
31. Maltese people who speak English are well-off					0.54
32. Maltese people who speak English are show-offs					0.55
33. Maltese people who speak English do so to appear superior to other people					0.51
34. Maltese people who speak English are well-educated					0.68

Note: Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood, Rotation Method: Oblim with Kaiser Normalization.

^a*The wording for this item for the adult questionnaire was 'The English language is/was important for my educational prospects.'*

The factor analytical results supported my initial conceptual framework that guided the construction of the questionnaire, except for two of the items. Items 11 and 27 loaded onto the factors dealing with group membership rather than social class, where I had theoretically situated them. Therefore, I decided to include them in the group membership factors. The items dealing with language learning experiences were treated individually and were not included in the factor analysis because only two items loaded onto a separate factor. MacCallum, Widaman, Zhang and Hong (1999) and Raubenheimer (2004) recommend that at least three items represent each factor.

Based on the outcome of the principle component analysis, the items were divided into the multi-item scales, and the Cronbach Alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients were computed (Table 4.12). Most of the coefficients, except for the instrumental value of Maltese and instrumental value of English, exceed the .70 threshold, which indicates that they had adequate internal consistency. Given that single item deletion would not increase Cronbach alpha, I decided to retain the items being aware that findings based on these two scales should be discussed with more caution.

Table 4.12: Summary of the length and reliability of the constructs in the questionnaire

Factor	Cronbach Alphas and Number of Items
Instrumental value of Maltese	.46(3)
Instrumental value of English	.52(4)
Social class and the use of English	.77(4)
Locality and use of Maltese	.71(3)
Locality and use of English	.75(3)
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	.70(3)
Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	.74(5)
Group membership and use of Maltese	.81(3)
Group membership and use of English	.81(3)

Note. The numbers in brackets refer to number of items in each construct

There was one instance where both reliability and an analysis of content needed to be considered in the analysis of items. Dörnyei et al. (2006) argue that while factor analysis is an important step in processing the data, it is dependent on mathematical solutions based on the items submitted to the analysis, which is of course dependent on the original design of the questionnaire. For the nationalistic ideologies and use of English construct, the Cronbach-Alpha-if-item-deleted analysis revealed that if the item “I like it when Maltese people speak English” were removed, the Cronbach Alpha would have been increased to .78. However, based on the theoretical rationale guiding the questionnaire construction, I decided to retain the item.

The Cronbach-Alpha internal consistency reliability coefficient for the whole data set was .801, showing that the questionnaires were reliable.

4.6.2 Assumptions for the analysis of data and statistical analyses

The data were analysed using parametric procedures following procedures establishing that the distribution of results was normal. Accordingly, z-scores for skewness and kurtosis values were calculated, by dividing the degree of skewness and kurtosis respectively, by their standard error, following recommendations in Field (2013). The results were within the range of absolute Z values suggested by Field (2013).

Table 4.13: Descriptive Statistics, Skewness and Kurtosis values for the attitudinal factors

	Mean	SD	Median	Mode	Z - Skewness	Z- Kurtosis
Instrumental value of Maltese	3.76	1.04	4.00	4.00	1.89	1.24
Instrumental value of English	4.16	0.65	4.30	4.00	-1.36	-1.02
Social class and the use of English	2.50	0.90	2.50	3.00	1.60	1.94
Locality and use of Maltese	3.74	0.85	4.00	4.00	1.74	1.77
Locality and use of English	2.80	0.92	3.00	3.00	1.75	1.25
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	3.58	0.78	3.50	3.50	-1.93	-1.54
Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	3.28	0.86	3.25	3.00	1.49	1.20
Group membership and use of Maltese	3.23	0.78	3.00	3.00	1.46	1.33
Group membership and use of English	3.11	1.02	3.00	3.00	1.38	1.68

Note: Highest mean score possible is 5.

Kolmogorov–Smirnov tests were calculated to compare the scores in the sample to a normally distributed set of scores with the same mean and standard deviation (Field, 2013). Given that all values were non-significant (all factors $p > .05$) normal distribution was assumed.

Table 4.14: The results of the Komogorov-Smirnov test

	Statistic	df	<i>p</i>
Instrumental value of Maltese	.15	355	.085
Instrumental value of English	.16	355	.064
Social class and the use of English	.09	355	.075
Locality and use of Maltese	.11	355	.078
Locality and use of English	.09	355	.064
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	.08	355	.091
Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	.09	355	.074
Group membership and use of Maltese	.13	355	.068
Group membership and use of English	.12	355	.063

Table 4.14 (above) provides the descriptive statistics for the constructs. All in all, participants generally show positive attitudes to Maltese and English, exceptions being social class and use of English, and locality and use of English. Attitudes to the Maltese constructs are more favourable than the ones to English, except for instrumental value of English, which obtained the highest mean value. The lowest mean value was assigned to social class and use of English.

Analyses were carried out to examine the differences between groups and effects of independent variables, using a t-test, chi-squared tests for independence, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) tests, depending on the aim of each analysis. The assumptions outlined in Larson-Hall (2010) for each statistical test were met, meaning that for these tests, the assumptions of normality and equal variances were met. The level of significance for this study was set at $p > .05$. I followed the recommendations for data analysis and reporting of data in second language acquisition research as outlined in Larson-Hall and Plonsky (2015) including effect sizes as outlined in the relevant literature (e.g., Larson-Hall, 2010, p.114-119; Norris et al., 2015, p.475; Kline, 2004, p.97). Partial eta-squared (η^2) values below .06 were considered small, below 0.13 medium, and above 0.13 indicating a large effect size respectively, in accordance with Cohen's (1988) recommendations. Standard multiple regression was carried out to account for relationships between predictors, and to estimate their relative contributions to variance in the dependent variables (Plonsky & Oswald, 2017). The recommendations by Cohen (2003) on how to use dummy coding, were followed to introduce the

categorical variables in the multiple regression analysis, to examine which independent variables best explain participants' language attitudes.

4.7 Reflections on self-reported use of language

In line with the premise that language plays a salient and defining role in the way they desire to be positioned and position themselves, participants were asked to state which language they feel most comfortable using, in different contexts, both in the qualitative and quantitative study.

Participants' own reports of language use have been heavily criticised, and there is a tradition in discourse and sociolinguistic studies of not trusting participants' own reports of their language use. However, there has also been a wave of research which puts participants' understandings of their own language use at the forefront (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998; Woolard, 1998). These explicit reflections on language use can shed light on the value that these participants attach to Maltese and/or English. This is because bilinguals' reports of their language use can reveal their language ideologies (Crapanzano, 1992; Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998; Silverstein, 1998; Woolard, 1998). Linguistic ideologies, understood here as "socially, politically, and morally loaded cultural assumptions about the way that language works in social life and about the role of particular linguistic forms in a given society" (Woolard, 2016, p.7), inform us about the implicit assumptions of the meanings behind language use and how participants' perspectives come to reproduce them or struggle against them. Although participants' talk about their language use cannot be taken as an accurate reflection of their actual practices, their accounts yield insight into the relationship between language and social context.

4.8 My Identity as a Researcher

Rawolle and Lingard (2013) state that central to in-depth social understanding in research is to be "able to reflexively understand the positioning of the researcher in respect of what is being researched and in relation to the intellectual field in which the research is located" (p.118). Meaning in interviews may arise as a result of the interview context itself (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997) and the interviewer himself/herself, depending on age, gender, ethnicity and language use. Wei (2000, p.

476) points out, that we need to be aware of issues such as the researcher's linguistic competence, ethnicity, gender, age group, education level, disciplinary background, and attitude towards bilingualism. It is important that the researcher be aware of their ideological influences on the aims of the research. Denzin (1989) affirms that "respondents may change attitudes, or even develop new ones, simply because they are being interviewed" (p.116). Therefore, as Li Wei (2000) concludes, "bilingualism research can never be truly 'value-free'" (p.479). Martin-Jones, Andrews and Martin (2017) argue that critical reflection is particularly important in multilingual settings:

critical reflection on the nature and significance of the linguistic, semiotic and textual resources that traverse our research practice, and on ways of engaging with difference in linguistically and culturally diverse research teams, serves as key means of deepening our understanding of the process of knowledge building (p.20).

This is because it enables us to take account of the ways in which our perceptions and interpretations of the actions and discursive practices of research participants are shaped by our own histories, values and beliefs (Martin-Jones, Andrews & Martin, 2017).

The first consideration was that my participants were contacted through a "friend-of-a-friend" approach, which proved invaluable to provide me with contacts, but which inevitably had an effect on the type of relationship developed with the participants. I found myself in an exchange and obligations relationship, where I felt that I should give something in return for them sparing some of their precious time. I tried to resolve this by trying to make myself useful during the interview sessions. I answered questions posed by the participants on the methods of teaching of English and Maltese in local schools as well as questions about specific points of the English language, and I was also involved in most homework tasks of all children at one point or another, because parents were aware that I was a teacher at that time. This took place at the end of each interview.

My interpretations of data cannot be separated from my own background, history, contexts, and prior understandings (Creswell, 2012, p.176). Regarding my background as it relates to my study, I was born in Malta, to Maltese parents in Birkirkara, which is in the central part of the island. Most participants were aware that at the time when I

was collecting data for my study, I was a teacher of English. In fact, some participants would ask me for advice regarding their children's development, and I was also involved in helping children with their homework. This might have affected the participants' willingness to express certain opinions about the English language. When the parents' competence in English was limited, they were very apologetic, and very often would say "*Aħna mhux bħalek ta* [We are not like you mind you]", referring to the way they viewed me, as a figure of authority. I was therefore aware that some participants would view me as an outsider, and in such cases, I was particularly careful to ensure that my behaviour during the interview did not emphasise this perceived divide, particularly in my use of language. I made it a point to speak Maltese and/or English depending on the language/s the participants felt mostly at ease using. There were other participants who sensed that I was not trying to be perceived as an outsider, and included me and my role in their comments, as in the following comment by one of the mothers (Marika), when she was referring to the early 1990s:

Extract 1

- 9 M: Int mhux kważi daqsi (.) /Aren't you almost my age (.) Aren't we part of that
aħna mhux ta' dik il- generation/
generazzjoni/

I come from a Maltese-speaking family and consider Maltese to be my first language. However, when it comes to writing, I rarely use Maltese as I am not confident in using it, particularly because I seldom read or write in Maltese. Moreover, I am aware that I engage in style and code-shifting depending on the person I am speaking to. For instance, I use mainly Maltese with my mother, but I use both Maltese and English with my work colleagues, friends and husband. Therefore, in the majority of cases I use a type of linguistic behaviour that most participants stated that they do not like. However, when conducting the interviews, I adopted a chameleon role that blended in with the families' use of language. I did this as I did not want to antagonise any family members and because I wanted them to accept me as an insider, someone who would accept their opinions. In cases where the participants code-switched to English regularly, I engaged in this linguistic behaviour to affirm my insider status. I am also a firm believer in the importance of both Maltese and English as part of the Maltese

identity, and that both languages should be treated equally. I expressed this opinion to all of my participants, particularly when they specifically asked me for it. Some participants were surprised by my answer, as they expected me to be in favour of English because of my profession. Some participants also posed questions about my linguistic practices as in the following example (in bold):

Extract 2

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 12 | P: Meta għandek l-Malti jew l-Ingliż inti tista' tagħżel allura qatt m'hu ħa ssir <i>expert</i> fihom anke jekk m'intix tajjeb f'waħda (.) inti biex tikteb/ | When you have Maltese and English you have a choice and so you will never become an expert in any one of them (.) which language do you write with/ |
| 13 | I: Jien nippreferi bl-Ingliż jekk tistaqsini jekk inhinx kuntent bl-għarfien fil-lingwa ngħidlek le għax meta tiġi għal kitba imbagħti | I prefer to write in English if you were to ask me whether or not I am happy with my knowledge of the Maltese language and would say no as when I have to write in Maltese I find myself in great difficulty |

This shows that engaging in reflexive practice also entails reflecting on the relationship to the respondents, and how the relationship dynamics could possibly affect their responses. I was therefore aware that my relationship to the interviewees was asymmetrical simply because I was in charge of the research process and also because this may have been exacerbated by presumptions arising from sources, such as the fact that I was a teacher, and more subtle cues such as socio-economic status, cultural background, or political orientation.

4.9 Conclusions

In this chapter, I discussed the rationale behind the choice of the study's methodology. The study utilised a sequential exploratory mixed-methods design, in which qualitative data were obtained from semi-structured interviews and quantitative data were collected by means of a questionnaire. Using a mixed-methods design enabled me to delve into the pertaining issues in depth, and tailor my questionnaire to the target population. It also enabled me to generalise the findings of the qualitative to the wider population. Using two approaches also raised the internal validity of the study as at least some of the inherent weaknesses of the qualitative and quantitative paradigms were counterbalanced and the findings could be cross-validated against each other. Overall, a more holistic understanding of the attitudes and ideologies to Maltese and English in Malta, could be achieved. In the following chapter, the qualitative results will be discussed, followed by a presentation of the quantitative results in Chapter 6.

5 Results: The Qualitative Study

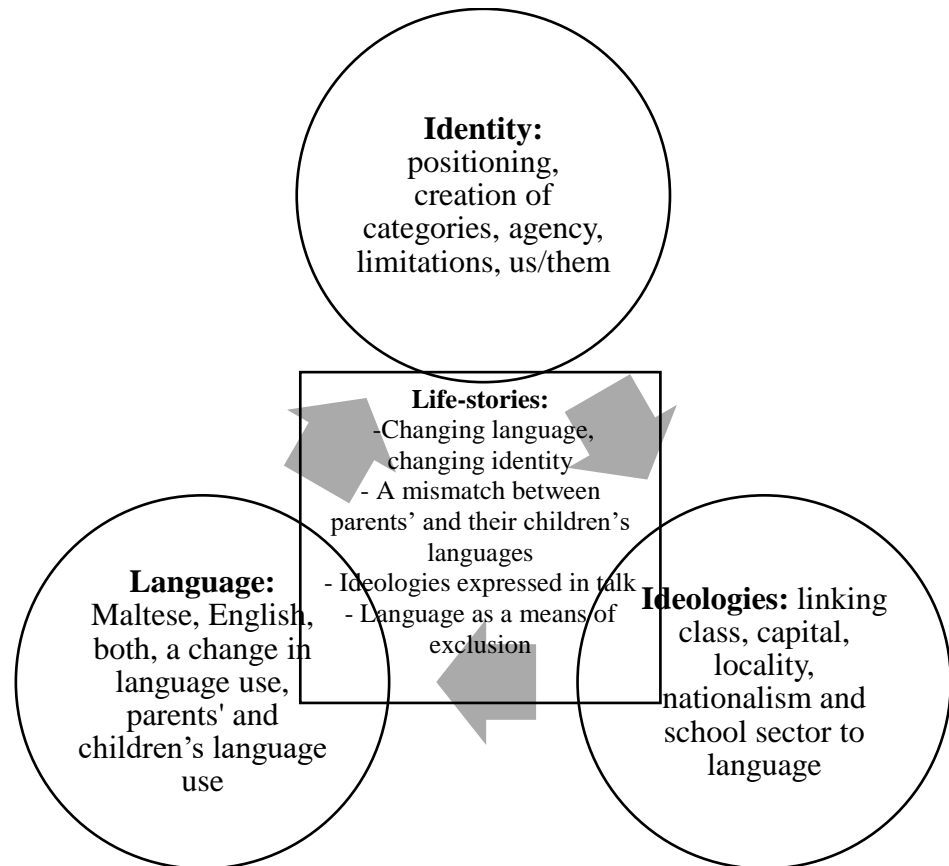
5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the relationship between language, identity, and language attitudes and ideologies for the Maltese families participating in the study. The complex sociolinguistic landscape of Malta reveals conflicts between multiple ideologies and highlights ways in which dominant ideologies are constantly contested and rearticulated as language users engage with language and its different uses (Gal, 1998). I will present ways in which Malta's postcolonial history, as well as its national identity have shaped the language ideologies held and discussed by these participants. In turn, I will discuss how the global predominance of English interacts with local ideologies of language use, and how the island's history has also shaped the trajectory of language practices and shifting ideologies in Malta. I will also illustrate how participants identify themselves with groups and individuals, creating an "us/them" divide, through their explicit and implicit comments on language.

As discussed in Chapter 4, during the data analysis phase, it was evident that participants draw upon multiple ideologies within the same interviews, very often within the same turn. Extracting the main themes from these reflections and representing them as codes would not have done justice to the complex way in which these participants rationalise their arguments. As a result, I am presenting extended extracts from these interviews as reflections and life-stories. I will discuss how ideologies and identities are located within these life-stories.

The relationship between the life-stories and the three overarching themes that emerge in all interviews is presented in Figure 5.1. As shown by the arrows, all narratives feed into each other; discourses about language are discourses about identity, and discourses about ideologies are also discourses about language use and identity.

Figure 5.1: The relationship between the overarching themes and the life-stories in the qualitative data



In this chapter, I will first present the self-reports of language use by the participants. I will then proceed to a description of the main strands of life-stories, and present telling extracts to illustrate how participants make sense of their language use and the language use of others. These metadiscursive comments also serve as a way in which they position themselves in relation to others. Participants discuss a change in language use that reflects an important change on some other level of social or psychological experience (c.f. Section 5.3). There are instances where parents reflect on the differences between their own language use and their children's use of language (c.f. Section 5.4). Very often, this change is attributed to the language used at school. Choice of friends also plays an important role in this mismatch of language use, especially in teenage years.

Participants' reports on language use also reveal the ideologies that they attach to the use of Maltese and English in Malta. As will be elaborated upon in Section 5.5, some speakers link the use of Maltese to nationalistic ideologies. In such accounts, they draw from romantic notions of the natural relationship between national languages and national character. As a result, English is viewed as a threat to Maltese identity. Some participants reflect on the role of symbolic and economic capital in the use of English in Malta, while others associate the use of English with specific geographic areas in Malta. On the other hand, those participants who consider English to be their first language either dismiss these notions, or state that they are in a better position because of their language use. Finally, in Section 5.6, participants describe how language can be a source of exclusion, leading to painful experiences in life.

5.2 Self-reported use of language

The merits and pitfalls about the use of self-report data on language use were discussed in Section 4.7. Participants were asked to mention the language(s) that they prefer to use in different contexts. The following table summarises the language(s) that the participants claim to use at home, at work or at school (depending on age group), with friends, and when reading and writing.

Table 5.1: Self-reported language use by the interview participants

Family	Name	Age		Language Use					
				Home	Work/School (Sector)		Friends	Reading	Writing
Agius	Peter	42	M		M	M		E	E
	Marika	41	M		M	M		M	M
	Stephanie	12	M		M (C)	M		E	E
Galea	Joanna	60	M		M	M		M	E
	Sara	38	M		Mainly M (C)	M		E	E
Muscat	Jane	40	M		M	M		M	E
	Ruth	15	M		E (C)	E		E	E
Gauci	Joan	43	E		Mainly E	E		E and M	E and M
	Michela	13	E		E (I)	E		E	E
Mizzi	Maria	37	E to children M to husband		M	E		E	E
	Jill	8	E		E (I)	E		E	E
Aquilina	Margaret	39	M to husband and daughters E to son		n/a	M		M	M
	Kimberly	15	M E to brother		M (S)	M		E	E
	Lucy	40	M		M	M		M	E
Zammit	Cathy	15	Mainly E		E (C)	E with school friends M with friends from hometown		E	E
	Dylan	42	M		M	M		E	E
Camilleri	Rosemarie	41	M		M	M		E	E
	John	8	M and some E		M (S)	M		E	E
	Leila	35	Mainly E		E	E		E	E
Briffa	Roberta	14	M		M (S)	M		E	E
	Brenda	29	M to husband E to child		M and E	E		E	E
Calleja	Leandra	7	E		E (I)	E		E	E
	Raisa	36	M		E	M		E	E
	Judy	14	M		M (S)	Mainly M but uses E with some friends		E	E
Baldacchino	Rita	35	M to husband E to child		M and E	E		E	E
	Gilbert	7	E		E (S)	E		E	E

Note. School sectors are represented in the table as S = state, C = church and I = independent.

The table shows that in most cases, participants prefer to use Maltese at home, and they use English when it comes to reading and writing. In terms of language use and school sector, most of the children who attend church or independent schools claimed to use English at school (exception being Stephanie), while those attending state schools reported to use Maltese (exception being Gilbert).

The participants' self-reports also give the impression that they are aware of the language that they use in each context, and that the demarcation between Maltese and English is easily achievable in the Maltese context. However, as will be discussed in the following sections, participants at times offer multiple, even contradictory accounts of their language use. As illustrated in the following extract, at times, some participants admitted that identifying one's language could be tricky. Michela stated that she considered herself to be mainly Maltese-speaking, but at the same time she commented on the importance of the English language with friends and family members, and so she would also consider English her first language:

M Even though I speak more Maltese I think I understand English better and maybe it's my first language (.) it's confusing

Moreover, most participants regard Maltese and English as separate entities, as two individual languages. Such ideas reflect monolingual perspectives. They feel that using one language results in an automatic exclusion of the other. Therefore, bilingualism is based on a monolingual ideology, where "what is valued is the careful separation of linguistic practices, being monolingual several times over" (Heller, 2006, p.10). This polarisation reveals ideological tensions between languages and their speakers that have historical and social implications. At times these participants use the terms "Maltese-speaking and/or English-speaking" to describe themselves. These terms are local constructs with both linguistic and ideological connotations in Malta. This does not mean that these participants are monolingual or that they cannot speak the other language. Although participants identify their first language based on the language they feel most comfortable using in different contexts, they would most probably have to use the other language in other contexts. Also, code-switching practices are common in daily

interactions. Although this is not the main focus of the study, such practices can also be traced in the quoted extracts.

5.3 Changing language, changing identity

When asked about their uses of language most participants provide a very straightforward answer and link the use of language to a static identity which has not changed since they were born. Yet, some participants reflect on ways in which they negotiate their identities, based on a change in language use. Hall (2012) argues that when we participate in a communicative event, we do so as individuals with particular constellations of historically laden social identities. However, as shown in these extracts, whilst social identities may influence our linguistic actions, they do not determine them. In the following life-stories, participants reflect on the diverse identity options available to them and their ideologies to different language varieties. I discuss the way participants speak about their language change in three families. In the first two cases, Ruth and Cathy are teenage girls who started using the language they felt less comfortable in to be accepted by a group of friends. In the third case, Rita discusses how she has used English with her son Gilbert since he was a baby to ensure that she is giving him the best opportunities in life, something which she feels was lacking in her childhood.

5.3.1 The Muscat Family: “Tgħallimt inħobb l-Ingliż [I learnt to love English]”

Ruth Muscat (R) is a 14-year-old girl who attends a girls’ church school. The following extract opens with a juxtaposition between her present self with her past self. The quote shows that she is aware of how the embodiment of her identities shifts within different spaces – the home and school. She uses the past tense to describe this gradual process as she was socialised to using English at school. She explains how her use of language changed from primary school to secondary school, because she made friends with a group of girls who spoke English. She uses the word “*skomda* [uncomfortable] (48)” to explain her initial feelings as she tried to integrate into this new group of friends. She also defends her friends and tries to challenge the dominant ideologies that link English to a

sense of superiority. In fact, she presents their competence in Maltese as proof against this notion, which she also applies to herself in the end. At first, she considered this affiliation as an investment in her proficiency in the English language, which seems to be the most acceptable justification that she can give for this relationship.

Extract 3

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|
| 42. | R | Jien iktar Ingliz̄ (.) Malti għamilt iċ-
childhood tiegħi imma tgħallimt inhobb l-
Ingliz̄ | I prefer English (.) Maltese was important
in my <i>childhood</i> but then I learnt to love
English |
| 43. | I | U l-iskola allura/ | And so at school/ |
| 44. | R | Aħna fil-klassi li noqgħod magħhom
English speaking u Ingliz̄ jitkellmu imma
mhux li ma jifhmux Malti jekk xi hadd
ikellimhom bil-Malti bil-Malti jkellmuh
mhux se joqgħodu jtkesshu u hekk u
jtkellmu bl-Ingliz̄ | The friends I hang out with in class are
<i>English speaking</i> but they understand
Maltese and if someone speaks to them in
Maltese they will use Maltese with him
they are not going to act all snobbish and
use English |
| 45. | I | Kapaċi jtkellmu bl-Ingliz̄ u int kif
thossok/ | They are able to speak English and how do
you feel about this/ |
| 46. | R | Bl-Ingliz̄ inkellimhom u nhossni komda | I use English with them and I feel at ease in
doing so |
| 47. | I | Kellek tinbidel / | Did you have to change/ |
| 48. | R | Jien bdejt noqgħod magħhom fil-Form 1
għall-ewwel kont inhossni skomda għax
fil-Junior kont inkun ma' grupp li
jtkellmu bil-Malti imma mbagħad
indunajt li anke għall-practice u hekk
tajjeb | I started hanging out with them in Form 1
at first I used to feel uncomfortable because
in the Junior years I used to hang out with a
group of friends who spoke Maltese but
then I realised that it would serve me as
good practice and it was good for me |
| 49. | I | U issa ssibha diffiċli titkellem bil-Malti/ | And do you find it difficult to speak
Maltese/ |
| 50. | R | Le le bit-tnejn tajjeb | No no I can speak both well |

Ruth appears to be quite confident in her position as a language user and agentive in her language choice. However, as narrated in the following extract (Extract 4), this was not always the case. In this exchange, the narrative of her change in language use is told through her mother's (Jane-J) perspective. These two participants interpret this change in contrasting ways. Ruth self-positions herself as a girl who has made a conscious decision to better herself in life through the use of language, and narrates this change as an

effortless transition. Jane on the other hand, positions her daughter in a different way and describes how difficult it was for Ruth to be accepted in kindergarten and for her to socialise into this new system because Maltese was the main language spoken at home. In fact, the kindergarten teacher had recommended that Jane and her husband speak English to Ruth to improve her language competence, even though they were not comfortable in doing so (73). Once again, Ruth wants to position herself as a secure and competent language user and denies that this experience was negative for her. However, Jane, who is positioned as the concerned mother, makes it a point to remind her that this was quite traumatic for her as a little girl (77-80). Finally, Ruth admits that it was quite distressing (83). Note that she felt she was silenced in her kindergarten years because she could not express herself. This episode is telling in the way participants choose to interpret experiences and to filter them according to the position they want to inhabit.

Extract 4

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|
| 71. | R | Jien it-teachers kollha bil-Malti anke tal-English ġieli biex tkun friendly | I speak to all teachers in Maltese even the <i>English</i> teacher she uses Maltese to seem <i>friendly</i> |
| 72. | I | Taqbel/ | Do you agree with this/ |
| 73. | J | Fil-pregrade għax kienet l-ewwel esperjenza għax aħna bil-Malti hawn milli Inġliż ma nħossnix komda u lanqas ir-raġel mhux komdu t-teacher tal-pregrade kienet għamlitilna enfasi biex inkellmuhom bl-Inġliż | This was our first experience in kindergarten here we speak Maltese rather than English and I don't feel comfortable speaking English and neither my husband the kindergarten <i>teacher</i> emphasised the fact that we have to speak to them in English at home |
| 74. | I | Id-dar | At home |
| 75. | J | Iva għamlet enfasi kbira kbira kbira u kienet tkellimhom biss bl-Inġliż li Ruth għal bidu kienet tkun frustrated il-komma tal-cardigan kienet tqattagħha | Yes she made a huge fuss about it and she used to speak only English in class and Ruth at first was so frustrated that she chewed on her <i>cardigan</i> sleeve so much that she tore it up |
| 76. | I | Kien hemm ansjetà | She was anxious |
| 77. | J | Xejn xejn xejn Malti immagina tifla ta' erbgħa snin diehla qatt ma kellimtha bl-Inġliż hliet xi kliem bħal socks u ċertu kliem ma kinitx taf sentenza bl-Inġliż u kienet tkun frustrata | No Maltese not even a little bit imagine this girl who was four years old who was never spoken to in English apart from some words like <i>socks</i> and some words she didn't even know how to say a sentence in English and she was frustrated |

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|
| 78. | I | Tiftakru dan iż-żmien/ | Do you remember that time/ |
| 79. | R | U le ma nafx jekk kontx frustrated | No I don't recall I was <i>frustrated</i> |
| 80. | J | Mela frustrata kont | Of course you were frustrated |
| 81. | R | Forsi biża' / ma kont naf xejn | Maybe it was fear/ I didn't know anything |
| 82. | I | Ħassritha mill-memorja | She erased it from her memory |
| 83. | R | Jista' jkun veru kultant iva niftakar kont għamilt tahti għax ma kontx naf ngħid li rrid immur it-toilet qaltli repeat in English because you will not go u għamilt tahti (.) niftakar | It could be yes I remember that I had peed myself because I didn't know how to say that I needed to use the toilet and she said repeat in English because you will not go and I peed myself (.) I remember |
| 84. | I | And how did it make you feel/ | And how did it make you feel/ |
| 85. | R | Ma ridtx nitkellem iktar ma kontx naf kif | I didn't want to say anything else anymore I didn't know how |
| 86. | I | Allura x'inbidel/ | So what changed/ |
| 87. | R | Šhabi mnalla kienu huma | My friends thank God they were there for me |

When asked about her identity as a language speaker, Ruth describes herself as having two identities which she enacts according to context, as shown in this extract (5). Here she compares her two selves “*this Ruth with this Ruth*”, and describes her initial conflict to bring these two selves together. She also hints at the fact that she might have been ashamed of speaking Maltese. Presently she feels that she has reconciled her two selves, which she calls “*persuna waħda* [one person]”, as she feels confident in her position.

Extract 5

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| 217. | R | Jien naħseb iktar Malti għax after all Maltin allura m'għandix għalfejn nisthi li nitkellem bil-Malti jkun hemm bżonn qisu ta' bilfors għax jien inħobb ħafna nitkellem bl-Ingliż l-iskola tgħallimt I merge this Ruth with this Ruth imma fil-bidu kont inħossni stramba ħafna li d-dar bil-Malti u l-iskola bl-Ingliż imma issa kbirna u sirna nafu min huma l-ħbieb vera u šhabi jafu li d-dar bil-Malti nitkellem mal-ħbieb tiegħi u jaççettawni għax ħbieb vera u nħossni persuna waħda issa | I think it is Maltese because <i>after all</i> we are Maltese and so I am not ashamed that I speak Maltese even though at times I feel that I have to because I love English more at school I learnt to <i>merge this Ruth with this Ruth</i> but at first I used to feel strange that I would speak Maltese at home and English at school but now we have grown up and I know that they are true friends and they know that I speak Maltese at home and they have accepted me because they are true friends and I feel like one person now |
|------|---|---|---|

Again we can trace her urgent need to position herself as a secure language user, one who has managed to acquire and use English in her daily life, despite the challenges she had to face.

5.3.2 The Zammit Family: “Nitkellem Malti għax inkella ma jkellmunix [I speak Maltese because otherwise, they will not speak to me]”

In a similar case, Cathy (C), a 15-year-old girl who also attends a church school, decided to start using the language she did not consider to be her dominant one, to be accepted by a group of boys in her hometown. In this case she started speaking Maltese. Cathy provides an interesting example of the way language use at home might not necessarily be the language spoken by the child. Her mother (Lucy-L) always spoke Maltese to her, but since she was a young girl, Cathy always considered English to be her first language.

Extract 6

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|
| 10. | C | Inkun ma' shabi ta' Had-Dingli s-subien nitkellem Malti ghax inkella ma jkellmunix | When I am with my male friends in Dingli I speak Maltese because otherwise they do not speak to me |
| 11. | I | Malti | Maltese |
| 12. | C | Malti pur | Pure Maltese |
| 13. | L | e veru | It's true |
| 14. | C | U tal-iskola Ingliz biss rari li tisma' lil xi hadd jitkellem bil-Malti fl-iskola taghna | At school you will rarely hear anyone speaking Maltese |
| 15. | I | Allura jekk ikolli nsaqsik liema hija l-lingwa tieghek | So which one is your language |
| 16. | C | Ingliz | English |
| 17. | I | Allura kif thossok meta titkellem bil-Malti/ | So how do you feel when you speak Maltese/ |
| 18. | L | [Tibda tlaqlaq] | [She stutters] |
| 19. | C | [Ikolli veru nisforza ruhi biex nesprimi ruhi imma issa jkolli nitkellem ma' shabi bil-Malti ghax jekk nitkellem bl-Ingliz se jinjorawni] | [I really have to make an effort to express myself but now I have to speak to my friends in Maltese because if I speak English they will ignore me] |
| 20. | I | Ghall-bidu tiftakar meta forsi kienu jidku bik/ | At first did they make fun of you/ |
| 21. | C | U le ta jghiduli snobby u hekk dik Inglizata tal-pepe | Not really they used to call me snobbish |
| 22. | I | U inti xtaqt tkun hbieb maghhom | And you wanted to be their friend |
| 23. | C | U kelli ninbidel u nitkellem bil-Malti | And I had to change and speak Maltese |
| 24. | I | Ippruvaw jghinuk/ | Did they try to help you / |
| 25. | C | Le jien kelli ninbidel | No I had to change |
| 26. | I | U allura thossok komda meta titkellem Ingliz id-dar / | So do you feel comfortable when you speak English at home/ |
| 27. | C | Iva nippreferih l-Ingliz | Yes I prefer English |
| 28. | L | Hi bl-Ingliz tibda tfajjar imma mbaghad nghidilha teqleb ghal Malti | Yes she will start speaking English but I tell her switch to Maltese |
| 29. | C | Hawnhekk nidra li rrid nitkellem bil-Malti awtomatikament qisek kif tara d-dar taghmel switch f'mohok | Here I got used to the fact that I have to speak Maltese automatically it's like as soon as you see your home your mind switches to Maltese |

Similarly to Ruth, Cathy had to start using a language which she did not consider her own, to be accepted by a group of friends. This narrative also provides fascinating insight into the link between males and use of Maltese, as also discussed in Bonnici (2010) and Portelli (2006). In fact, here Cathy is also adopting this masculine affiliation in stating that she now speaks “*Malti pur* [pure Maltese]” (12), which has rough connotations. She discusses her negotiation of her identities as she inhabits different spaces, for instance her home and her school, and speaks to different people, such as her mother, her school mates and her friends in her hometown. Her mother is not too happy with her when she speaks English at home (28). She also makes fun of her use of Maltese when she says that she stammers. This complex negotiation is also marked by Cathy’s awareness of how others might view her through her use of language. Cathy explains that at first, she was viewed as snobbish; “*Inglizata tal-pepé* [snobbish English]” (21). Maltese has given her a voice and a legitimate role in her hometown. Therefore, Cathy shows that she is fluid in her identifications, as she shifts “identities, selves, and roles, at different levels of contrast, within a cultural field” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p.38).

5.3.3 The Baldacchino Family: “It-tfal tiegħi ma nridhomx b’dak in-nuqqas [I would not want my children to have these limitations]”

Rita (R), who is Gilbert’s mother, spoke Maltese at home as a child and still speaks Maltese to her husband. However, she decided to use English with her son Gilbert. In this extract, Rita Baldacchino reflects on the differences between her own childhood and her son’s upbringing.

Extract 7

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|
| 11. | I | U lil Gilbert bl-Ingliż tkellmu | And you speak English to Gilbert |
| 12. | R | Jien ehe minn mindu kien baby dejjem
naqralu bl-Ingliż u nkellmu bl-Ingliż | I yes since he was a <i>baby</i> I have always read
to him in English and have spoken English
to him |
| 13. | I | U kien hemm xi raġuni għala bl-Ingliż/ | And was there any reason as to why you
chose English/ |
| 14. | R | Xtaqt li jkun bilingual kont naf li d-dar ha
jkun man-nanniet u mar-raġel se jkun
jtkellem bil-Malti allura jien ridt inkun dak
il-bilanċ | I wanted him to be <i>bilingual</i> I was aware
that when he was at home with his
grandparents and my husband he would |

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| | | <p>15. I Inti l-element Ingliz</p> <p>16. R Xtaqtu wkoll ikollu l-opportunitajiet miftuhin jien kont inhossni maghluqa bil-Malti biss li ma kontx fluent fl-Ingliz bhal tfal ohra kont inhossha u kont nghid it-tfal tieghi ma rridhomx b'dak in-nuqqas</p> <p>17. I Kont konxja</p> <p>18. R Imma qatt ma kien hemm xi hadd li he pointed it out issa meta kbirt nuza iktar l-Ingliz ma' Gilbert ghandi relatives bl-Ingliz u anke fejn nohorgu xi kultant qisna we switch to English immorru xi hotels partikolari, taf liema tip int (.) ma nafx ghalfejn</p> <p>19. I U gieli hassejtek skomda bil-mod kif kont qed tuza l-Ingliz/</p> <p>20. R Meta kont izghar iva kont Junior College jew l-Univerista kont inhoss li ghandi nuqqas fil-fluency l-Ingliz tieghi kien tajjeb imma fil-mitkellem kelli nuqqas</p> <p>21. I U kif kont thossok/</p> <p>22. R Inferjuri tipo ta' forsi social class li ghandi xi haga nieqsa ma kontx happy u kont nghid li jien it-tfal tieghi zgur ma rridx li jghaddu minnha</p> | <p> speak Maltese so I wanted to provide that balance
 You were the English input
 I wanted him to have all possible opportunities I felt that I was limited because I spoke only Maltese and I was not fluent in English like other children I used to feel this lack and I used to say that I would not want my children to have these limitations
 You were aware of this
 But there was never anyone who <i>pointed it out</i> now that I am an adult I use English with Gilbert I have <i>relatives</i> who speak English and even the places we go out to it's like <i>we switch to English</i> we go to certain <i>hotels</i>, you know which types
 And have you ever felt uncomfortable with the way you were using English/
 When I was younger yes I used to attend the Junior College or University and I used to feel that I lacked <i>fluency</i> in English my English was good but I lacked fluency in my spoken language
 And how did you feel/
 Inferior it's like <i>social class</i> like I had something lacking I wasn't <i>happy</i> and I used to say that I don't want my children to feel the same way </p> |
|--|--|--|---|

The first reason she provides for her use of English with Gilbert is that she wanted him to be bilingual (14), where she sees bilingualism as an additive resource. She then immediately reflects on the opportunities that her son could have, thanks to English. In her explanation she moves from past to present experiences. Van Langenhove and Harré (1999) argue that positioning takes place along a time scale ranging from past to present to future. In speaking about the present and her language use with Gilbert, Rita's ongoing story line is about events and experiences in the past, and her identity as a mother in the present, as opposed to being a child in the past (16). As a child she had already vowed that she would give her own children the best opportunities in life possible. She

emphasises the fact that her identity as a child was marked by a feeling of inferiority. Notable in this excerpt is the fact that she switches to English to verbalise her inner self and her feelings as a child (22). What Rita is doing in this example is to perform different identifications with an English-speaking woman, both through the assertions that she is making and in her switches to English to emphasise these points. This shows that she has aspirations to improve her social class position, and views language as one of the ways to achieve it. She alludes to the fact that now she has plenty of opportunities to use English and she is in a better social position. She mentions “*hotels partikolari* [certain *hotels*]” (18) hinting at the fact that her new position in life gives her access to various forms of entertainment. Her comment can be interpreted in light of Bourdieu’s (1984) analysis of class distinction which shows that this is reproduced through the cultivation of taste and entertainment. She is also making it a point to emphasise that she possesses certain tastes, and that frequenting such hotels and using English are key elements in establishing distinction based on tastes (Bourdieu, 1984). Interestingly, she includes me, as the interviewer, in her statement, as someone who understands what she is saying. This could have two interpretations: the most obvious one is that I am aware of what she is referring to, and the other one an assumption that I also frequent these hotels. What is important here is that she seems to position me as part of her “us” group rather than her opposite. She ends her discourse with a specific link to use of language and social class (22). This extract shows us that according to Rita, use of English is not limited to linguistic phenomena but extends to social capital in its various forms, and to the identity of being a good mother. This extract shows how Rita used her agency to change her use of language and how the conscious decision was made when she was still a girl, so that as an adult she could have access to the social capital she valued.

5.4 A mismatch between parents’ and their children’s languages

As illustrated in Table 5.1, in most families, the languages spoken by the parents were similar to the ones spoken by their children. This however was not the case in four of the families; in the Muscat, Zammit, Aquilina, and Briffa families. As I will discuss in this section, a mismatch in language use is not just a question of speaking Maltese and/or

English but it relates to competing language ideologies and self-identifications. Duranti et al. (2012) discuss how children are agentive in building their social worlds, especially when peer groups assume great importance particularly in early to late teenage years. The mothers in this study portray themselves as feeling inferior to their daughters because of their competence in the English language and because of the friends they have made. In the fourth family (the Briffa family), the mother's language (English) does not match her daughter's preferred language (Maltese) and the daughter feels uneasy when her mother speaks English to her, especially when she is with her friends.

5.4.1 The Muscat Family: "Jitkellmu ahjar minni [They speak better than I do]"

In the previous section, Ruth discusses her change in language use which led to her becoming more confident as a young girl. In the following extract (8), Jane, her mother, reflects on the effect that this change has had on herself. She discusses her sense of inferiority because of her limited competence in English, and half-jokingly admits that her children act as her gate-keepers in her language use (230). She mentions a recurring theme in most interviews which relates to her daughter's opportunities at school, compared to her own limited experience of schooling (232). In reflecting her language use during parents' meetings at her daughter's school, she would like to speak English to the teachers because she believes in the ideology that speaking English might make you sound more respectable (234). However, she is aware of her limited proficiency. Although she tries to downplay her sense of inferiority by laughing (234), she admits that she does not feel at ease when she speaks to the parents of her daughter's friends because she feels that they are superior to her. In fact, she links their use of English to their occupation and socioeconomic status, even though she clearly says that on a personal level they are very friendly. She makes reference to two professions - doctors and lawyers - to support her rationale, and to highlight the differences between herself (a clerk) and these professions (236). Her final reflection is an embodiment of contradiction where she reasons that they are different in their language use but similar in the values that they uphold "*aħna l-istess imma bil-kontra* [we are the same but at the same time different]":

Extract 8

227. I Titkellem b'mod differenti mit-tfal tieghek/
228. J Jitkellmu aħjar minni
229. I Fl-Ingliż/
230. J Iva ġieli kkoreġewni [laughs] iva ġieli għamlu hekk heqq mhux se noqgħod ninħeba
231. I Għalxiex taħseb/
232. J L-iskola fejn imorru jien kont immur tal-gvern u qatt ma kellna pressure biex nużaw il-lingwa
233. I Hemm xi episodju fejn kellek tuża Ingliż biss/
234. J (.) Ġieli ma' teachers biex inħossni pulita nibda bl-Ingliż imma mbagħad neqleb għall-Malti ma nkampax fit-tul għax ma nħossnix komda u nibża' li naqa' għaċ-ċajt
235. I U mal-ġenituri tal-ħbieb ta' Ruth/
236. J Iva ehe nagħmel enfasi li nuża l-Ingliż imma mbagħad ninduna li aħna l-istess imma bil-kontra imma xorta mhux komda ta (.) il-livell ta' edukazzjoni tagħhom aħjar minn tiegħi huma tobba u avukati però bħala nies orrajt imma aħjar minni żgur
- Do you speak in a different way when compared to your children/
They speak better than I do
In English/
Yes there were times when they corrected my use of English [laughs] they do that sometimes I am not going to hide this
Why do you think they do it/
Their school I used to attend a state school and they never encouraged us to speak English
Did you ever have to speak English/
(.) There are times when I speak to my daughter's *teachers* I use English to sound more respectable but then I switch to Maltese because I do not know how to hold a long conversation in English and I don't feel comfortable and I am afraid I will make a fool of myself
And with Ruth's friends' parents/
Yes I really try to speak English but then I realise that we are the same but we are opposites but I am still not comfortable you know (.) their level of education is much better than mine some of them are doctors and lawyers but on a personal level they are very nice but they are better than me for sure

5.4.2 The Zammit Family: “Din ma nafx mil-liema stilla waqat [I don't know which planet this girl came from]”

Lucy (Cathy's mother) comments on her daughter's use of language. Similarly to Jane's reflection, she feels inferior to her daughter because she speaks English to her friends and even at home. In this extract, Lucy positions herself as a speaker of a regional variety of Maltese (that spoken in Gudja which is a village in the South Eastern part of the island) and as a result, there are marked differences between her own use of language and her daughter's use of English.

Extract 9

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 67. L | Tara lili u teqleb | She switches language when she sees me |
| 68. I | Thossu li titkellemu b'mod differenti mill-
genituri tagħkom/ | Do you feel that you speak in a different way
when compared to your parents/ |
| 69. C | Ijja | Yep |
| 70. I | F'liema mod | In what way/ |
| 71. L | Jien bil-Malti nitkellem (.) aħna bil-Malti
bl-imawweġ biex niftehmu bl-aċċent
tagħna jien mill-Gudja | I speak Maltese (.) we speak Maltese the
variety that is spoken in Gudja with a
particular accent |
| 72. C | Twaqqani wiċċi l-art quddiem il-ħbieb li
jitektellmu bl-Ingliż | I feel so ashamed of her when she speaks like
this in front of my friends who speak English |
| 73. I | Ġieli kellek titkellem bl-Ingliż/ | Have you ever used English in a particular
situation/ |
| 74. L | Ta' bilfors inlaqlaq hux heqq meta morna
l-Junior College kien hemm tal-
Chemistry ħsbitha Ingliza u bdejt inlaqlaq
nipprova nispejga ruħi inlaqlaq nispiċċa
(.) jiddispjaċini li m'iniex daqshekk fluent
fl-Ingliż (..) mill-iskola jien heqq aħna
konna mmorru ż-Żejtun u s-surmast kien
jgħidilna ara nismagħkom tgħidu kelma
bl-Ingliż għax hu meta kien l-iskola min
kien jiteklem bil-Malti kien jaqla' penali | If I have to but I stutter when we went to the
post-secondary school I though the Chemistry
teacher was British and I started stammering
and trying to explain myself I end up stuttering
(.) I regret not being fluent in English (.) It all
comes from my school I used to attend a
school in Żejtun and the headmaster used to
forbid us from speaking English because when
he was at school he used to get punished for
speaking Maltese |
| 75. I | Allura inti thossok differenti min-nies li
jgħixu hawnhekk/ | So do you feel that you are different from the
people who live here / |
| 76. L | O din ma nafx [mil-liema stilla waqgħet] | I don't know which [planet this girl came
from] |
| 77. C | [Jien mhux parti minn Ħad-
Dingli u lanqas bħal ma jitektellmu dawn
ta] | [I don't feel that I belong to
Dingli and I do not feel similar to the way they
speak] |

Cathy does not hide the fact, albeit jokingly, that she is ashamed of the way her mother speaks to her friends (72). She uses a very strong expression to describe her feeling “*twaqqani wiċċi l-art* [she makes me feel so ashamed]”. Similarly to Jane, Lucy is aware of her limited competence in English. In the one of the exchanges, Lucy also evokes ideologies related to use of English and nationality she links the use of English with being British (74). Therefore, by proxy she does not think that a Maltese person can speak English in that way. Similarly to Jane, Lucy accounts for this lack in proficiency in

English by referring to her schooling experiences where her Head of School demanded that they used Maltese, because of his own experiences at school (74).

Cathy clearly states that she does not feel that she belongs in the hometown she lives in, also implying that she feels different from her family members (77). This is confirmed by her mother who states that her daughter is not like her other family members by using the metaphor “*mil-liema stilla waqat* [which planet this girl came from]” (76). Note that she jokes about this and invokes “*aħna* [us]” division as opposed to her daughter who does not fit in the family’s language practices.

5.4.3 The Aquilina Family: “Bil-kontra tagħna [They are our complete opposites]”

In the previous family, the differences between daughter and mother are conveyed in a jovial manner. However, such differences can also be a cause of distress in families. In the Aquilina family, Clarissa the eldest daughter uses English with her friends, while all other family members speak Maltese. Clarissa refused to take part in the interview even when I offered her to hold it on a different day and in a different place. Kimberly (K) and their mother, Margaret (M), find this to be very odd, as illustrated in the following extract. Margaret’s and Kimberley’s antagonism towards these friends does not stem only from their language use but is also related to the social capital which they seem to embody. Clarissa is positioned as an “Other” in relation to the family members.

Extract 10

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|
| 55. | K | Iktar Ingliz dik | She uses more English |
| 56. | M | Anke ma’ shabha Ingliz | Even with her friends English |
| 57. | I | U dejjem kienet hekk/ | Was she always like that/ |
| 58. | K | Ehe dejjem Ingliz dik | Yes she always liked English |
| 59. | M | U shabha (.) tal-pepe daww mhux bhalna | And her friends (.) they are posh not like us |
| 60. | K | Idejquini | They annoy me |
| 61. | M | Bil-kontra tagħna | They are our complete opposites |

These family members do not seem to hold negative attitudes to the use of English but to the ideologies attached to those who use it. This is because they do not mind the fact that John (eight years old) speaks exclusively in English, even though he understands

Maltese. According to his mother, he speaks English because he is on the autism spectrum and therefore he sticks to one language, which happens to be English. Probably his choice of language was also influenced by the fact that he spends a lot of time watching television, mainly American channels. These comments highlight an oppositional discourse, where Clarissa is viewed to be a stranger in her own home. Her mother corroborates this and links it to the peer groups. She also comments that Clarissa's friends seem to be snobbish and come from a higher social class, as opposed to Kimberly's friends who seem to be more '*normali* [normal]'. She also comments that at times Clarissa seems to be ashamed of her own mother (82), as she corrects her use of English, and occasionally refuses to be associated with her, especially when she is with her friends. Clarissa's alienation from her own family is very painful for her mother.

Extract 11

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|
| 79. | I | Kif taħseb li hi tarak/ | How do you think she sees you/ |
| 80. | M | Insomma ġieli tgħidli injoranta
starts crying | Sometimes she calls me ignorant *starts crying* |
| 81. | K | Tkun tridha ta' xi ħaġa (.) *to her mother* le Ma tibkix | She thinks that she is more important than she is (.) *to her mother* don't cry mother |
| 82. | M | *crying* Anke jekk qed nisma' r-radio jkun hekk bil-Malti tbaxxilu tigrì għax tisthi minn dak it-tip (.) qatt ma ġġibhom hawn lil šabha għax tgħidli lanqas taf tkellimhom int | *crying* Even when I am listening to the radio in Maltese she quickly turns down the volume as she is ashamed of me like this (.) she never invites her friends over to our house as she tells me that I cannot speak to them |

5.4.4 The Briffa Family: "Inħossni falza [I think I sound fake]"

In the Briffa family, Roberta openly criticises her mother, Leila, because she speaks mainly English at home. Leila was born in Australia, and her family returned to Malta when she was 10 years old. As a result, she considers English to be her first language. As illustrated in the following exchange, she spoke English to her daughters when they were young, as she considered it to be the most natural thing to do (23).

Extract 12

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|
| 14. | L | Inti ma kontx tkun trid inkellmek bl-
Ingliz | You didn't want me to speak to you in English |
| 15. | R | Jien ma kontx inkun irrid niddejjaq | I didn't want you to it used to bother me |
| 16. | I | Minn dejjem kont tiddejjaq/ | Did it always bother you/ |
| 17. | L | Kellimtha hafna bl-Ingliz zghira pero kif
kienet tmur il-Primarja u bdiet tiela' Year
two Year Three Year Four kienet tghidli
toqghodx tkellimni bl-Ingliz | I spoke to her in English when she was
younger but when she went to Primary school
and she was in Year Two Year Three and Year
Four she used to tell me don't speak to me in
English |
| 18. | I | Tiftakar ghalxiex/ | Do you remember why/ |
| 19. | R | Kont niddejjaq | It used to really bother me |
| 20. | I | Imma ghax ma tifhimx/ jew tiddejjaq/ | Was it because you didn't understand the
language or just because it bothered you/ |
| 21. | R | Inhossni falza | I felt fake |
| 22. | I | Falza | Fake |
| 23. | L | Kienet ghaddejja minn fazi (.) Issa ahna
mdorrijin nitkellmu bl-Ingliz ahna
minhabba li konna l-Awstralja u hekk
specita minghajr ma trid tohroglok bl-
Ingliz | She was going through a phase (.) Now we are
used to speaking English because we come
from Australia so it was very natural for me to
speak English to her |
| 24. | I | U inti kont tkellimha bil-Malti lill-mama/
u issa | And you used to speak Maltese to your mother
and what about now/ |
| 25. | R | Malti (.) niddejjaq naqra biex nitkellem
Ingliz | Maltese (.) I feel awkward when I speak
English |
| 26. | I | Ghalix / | Why/ |
| 27. | R | Ma nkunx komda | Because I am not comfortable |
| 28. | I | Tarak li titkellem b'mod differenti mill-
mama | Do you speak differently when you compare
yourself to your mother/ |
| 29. | R | Ehe l-mummy tghid hafna affarjiet bl-
Ingliz iktar minni | Yes my mother uses English more than me |
| 30. | I | Orrajt u trid tkun bhalha/ | Ok and do you want to be like her/ |
| 31. | R | Le ma tarax ahjar Malti | No way I prefer Maltese |

The extract shows that from a young age Roberta demonstrated a resistance to the use of English, particularly when she started school (17). Leila comments on the effect of peer pressure in the formation of her daughter's language attitudes. Roberta describes the way she feels when she uses English and that she does not feel that she is true to herself. She also affirms that she does not want to be like her mother in her use of language.

What is interesting in this extract, when compared to the other three cases, is that despite having a limited competence in Maltese, Leila does not state that she feels inferior to her daughter. While Lucy, Jane and Margaret clearly express their sense of inferiority, Leila does not even hint at it once throughout the interview. This has implications for the capital that is associated with Maltese in Malta when compared to English, as will be discussed in the following sections.

5.5 Ideologies expressed in talk

In this section, I will examine how these participants invoke multiple ideologies of the relationship among language, context and self, building on the premise that in a given population typically there is not a single, unified set of beliefs about language, but instead a “multiplicity and contention among language ideologies” (Gal, 1998). Despite a general consensus which acknowledges the importance of English, in some families, negative attitudes towards the use of English in Malta can also be traced. These participants differentiate between the use of English as an international language and for educational prospects and English being spoken in Malta as a hallmark of superiority and snobbery. In addition, contradiction can be traced in instances where participants proclaim that Maltese is their national language, but at the same time their comments seem to undermine the importance of this language in their personal lives. When speaking about their language use, participants in this study voice ideologies that are not merely about linguistic phenomena but linked to issues of power (Bucholtz & Hall, 2003, p.379). When referring to the use of Maltese and English in Malta, participants also position themselves in relation to others. They discuss their beliefs associated with the typical speaker of Maltese or English in Malta, while positioning themselves in relation to this speaker. In the following sections, I will present the most telling interview extracts to highlight these points.

5.5.1 The Camilleri Family: “Aħna ma nafuhomx lil dawn in-nies [We are not familiar with these people]”

In the Camilleri family, the parents, Rosemary (R) and Dylan (D), speak Maltese to their children. Their daughter, Melissa, dislikes learning English at school and she refuses to

speak, write or read the language. According to her parents, this stems from her learning difficulties and the fact that she has to follow remedial classes at school. John (J) on the other hand loves English and tries to speak it to his mother at home. However, Rosemary asks him to switch to Maltese, thus implying that English might not have an important role in the home and should be confined to school. Despite this, Rosemary and Dylan are convinced that both English and Maltese are vital for their children’s educational prospects. This belief is shared by John, who although still young, is aware of the importance of both languages for his future job as illustrated in this extract:

Extract 13

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| 99. | I | U John iktar tard taħseb li se tuża l-Ingliż u l-Malti/ | And John do you think you will use English or Maltese later on/ |
| 100. | J | (...) | (...) |
| 101. | I | Xi job/ | A job/ |
| 102. | J | Pilota | Pilot |
| 103. | I | Taħseb li għandek bżonn l-Ingliż u l-Malti/ | Do you think you will need Maltese and English/ |
| 104. | J | Ehe l-Ingliż importanti hafna għax-xogħol | Yes English is very important for work |
| 105. | I | U mal-passiġġieri/ | And with passengers/ |
| 106. | J | Ehe Malti wkoll għalhekk nistudjaw Malti u Ingliż | Yes Maltese as well that is why we study Maltese and English |

When asked about the importance of Maltese and English in Malta, both parents firmly emphasise the importance of Maltese as a key component of their national identity. The following extract (Extract 13) reveals their criticism of individuals who spoke English in Malta. They also distance themselves from such individuals. In doing so they are immediately positioning themselves as speakers of Maltese (“*aħna* [us]”) and distance themselves from those who speak English (“*dawn in-nies* [those people]” (64)). The Others are perceived as a homogeneous group who are in essence completely different from them. Furthermore, Dylan associates this use of English with being British, possibly evoking a sense of assumed superiority and post-colonial resonance (65). In this extract, we can trace a binary tension where Maltese and English are placed as direct opposites, and therefore should be relegated to specific contexts. Maltese is the language of solidarity and intimacy, while English should be relegated to instrumental uses such as school and travelling. In this way they position Maltese as the key feature of their local

identity and English as the key to access a more global identity and a “window on the world” (Sebba & Tate, 2002, p.79). Moreover, they support their arguments relating nationality to one language by mentioning the Netherlands (64) and the fact that the people living there speak ‘*il-lingwa tagħhom* [their language]’. Here they refer to the monolingual norm. In this extract, they express a range of ideologies, linking language use to nationality and to instrumental gain, and also to the creation of groups based on sameness (speaking Maltese) and differences (speaking English).

Extract 13

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|--|
| 62. | R | Jien ma naqbilx magħha ta din li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż | I don't agree with the fact that people speak English |
| 63. | I | Għaliex / | Why/ |
| 64. | R | Imma aħna ma nafuhomx lil dawn in-nies ma niltaqgħux magħhom aħna | But we don't know these people we don't meet them |
| 65. | D | Jaħsbuhom Ingliżi naħseb aħna ma nafu lil haħdd hekk | They think they sound British but we don't know anyone like that |
| 66. | R | Jien mhux se nuża l-Ingliż fej nista' nuża l-Malti le ta għax nidher ta' kiesħa ta jien għandi dan il-prinċipju li jien Maltija u għandi bil-Malti nitkellem (.) La jien Maltija mbagħad ovvjament ma' nies li mhux Maltin ma tistax tuża l-Malti | I am not going to use English instead of Maltese because I will seem snobbish and I believe that if I am Maltese I speak Maltese (.) since I am Maltese but obviously you are not going to speak Maltese to foreigners |
| 67. | D | Jien għalfejn għandi nbiddel il-lingwa tiegħi jekk qiegħed fil-pajjiż tiegħi/ | Why should I change my language if I am in my country/ |
| 68. | R | Mela inti sejra l-Olanda u tarahom jitkellmu Ingliż u mhux il-lingwa tagħhom/ | If you go to Holland you will not meet anyone who would be speaking English they all speak their language |
| 69. | I | Allura għalfejn hawn min jitkellem bl-Ingliż/ | So why do people speak English / |
| 70. | R | Qżieżati naħseb | Snobbishness |
| 71. | I | Imma l-Ingliż importanti/ | But surely English is important/ |
| 72. | D | Iva għall-iskola biex issiefer imma għalfejn għandek titkellmu jekk inti għandek il-lingwa tiegħek/ | Of course for school and to go abroad but when should you speak English if you have your language/ |

In Extract 14, Rosemary and Dylan link the use of English in Malta to the school sector, and the ideologies of superior and power that they implicitly acknowledge. They would have liked to send Melissa to a church school, as this would have helped her acquire English. However, Rosemary immediately justifies her decision of not sending her

children to church schools in terms of their lifestyle which, according to her, does not match the one expected in these schools, as she says that “*we’re not like that*” (330). As a result, Melissa would be very unhappy there. Note that this explanation of difference is given partially in English (330), which seems to contradict the ideology that is being expressed here. One interpretation could be that she is actually mirroring the ideology that she at this point criticising. In stating that she is not like that, she would also make it a point to add that they do not consider themselves inferior. These comments can be interpreted in light of Bourdieu’s (1977) notions of “habitus” and “field”. The “field” is the school and Rosemary and Dylan have chosen the school that would fit their “habitus” best, which relates to the fact that they had attended state schools, their occupations and the ideologies associated with the locality they live in. Here the parents seem torn between offering their daughter an opportunity to be immersed in the language, and at the same time not wanting her to feel excluded because of her background. Despite the importance attached to English because “*jiftahlek il-bibien kollha* [it opens a whole world of opportunities]”, they conclude that sending their children to church schools was never an option because they think that their language ideologies and habitus would be different from the prevailing ideologies in these schools.

Extract 14

- | | | |
|--------|---|---|
| 330. R | Ha ngħidlek hekk kieku nagħmillha biex lil Melissa ntiha l-opportunità biex tipprattika l-Ingliż għax hi għandha bżonn tipprattika l-Ingliż ma nagħmiliex għal raġunijiet oħra għax we’re not like that hux hemm l-ambjent tagħha dik hija r-raġuni għala ma applikajtiliex church school lanqas lil John dik hija xi haġa tagħna | I would send Melissa to that school to give her the opportunity to practise English because she has to practise English I wouldn’t do it for other reasons as <i>we are not like that</i> we have to take into consideration our environment and that is why I did not want to send her to a church school not even John this is our decision |
| 331. D | Jien nibża’ ta kieku għax ma tkunx daqshekk happy għax tkun qisha qed tisforza ruħha | I would be afraid to do so because she would not be <i>happy</i> because she would be out of place |
| 332. R | Inti insa l-ambjent tagħna jkun tajjeb għalija għax l-Ingliż jiftahlek il-bibien kollha (.) nixtieqhom imorru tajjeb fl-Ingliż għax importanti għal hafna suġġetti mhux just habba l-lingwa | If you forget our environment it would be a good idea because English opens a whole world of opportunities (.) we would like them to get good grades in English not only for the sake of the language but because of the other subjects |

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| 333. D | Il-quddiem dejjem jidħol | And they need it for their future |
| 334. R | Imma l-Malti importanti wkoll u għalhekk
tal-knisja le apparti li aħna differenti | But Maltese is important and that is why I
didn't want to send them to a church school
apart from the fact that we are different |

To sum up, Dylan and Rosemarie as parents would like their children to acquire Maltese and English. They are convinced of the importance of Maltese and English for their children's prospects, particularly English as a symbolic resource. However, they also express ideologies related to the use of English in Malta, and associate it with a sense of false superiority and a way of denying one's national identity. They also feel that they are very different from those individuals who choose to speak English. In the following interview, the Agius family members will express similar ideologies. Discourses of a nationalistic flavour also seem to guide the choice of language within this family.

5.5.2 The Agius Family: Għax jekk inti Malti tkellem bil-Malti (If you are Maltese, you have to speak Maltese)

In the Agius family, Marika (the mother-M) constantly stresses the importance of Maltese as a national language as a clear defining factor of her identity as Maltese citizen. She is the participant who voices the strongest patriotic attitudes towards Maltese by stating that it is the most beautiful language and it is unique to her nation, as shown in this comment. Maltese for her is a vehicle to index her national pride.

Extract 15

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| M | Il- Malti għaliya huwa l-aqwa lingwa li
teżisti din hija xi ħaga li hadd ma għandu
hadd ma jafha tagħna biss | I think that Maltese is the best language that
exists it is something unique to us and
nobody else knows this language |
|---|--|--|

These views are shared by her husband, Peter (P) and daughter Stephanie (S-13 years old), albeit to a lesser extent. Marika sees herself as a protector of the Maltese language and tries to promote it whenever she can. She downplays her use of English and uses it only “*għall-bżonn* [when I have to]”. In fact, she insists that she has a right to use Maltese, even when addressed in English (provided the interlocutor understands Maltese). Her husband, on the other hand, is more willing to accommodate the speaker. Marika is quick to scold him as she considers this a lack of patriotic feelings.

Peter associates use of English with a boys' independent school, well-known for inculcating a sense of privilege and for its use of English. Marika quickly adds that those boys are not “*normali* [normal]” because they feel that English places them in a superior position. In this extract, Marika is positioning herself in relation to those who use English and presenting herself to be superior. In this extract, issues related to authenticity and legitimacy also emerge. Those who speak English in Malta, do so with a “*aċċent sfursat* [a forced accent]”. As a result, Marika and Peter feel that such people do not have a right to speak English in Malta.

Extract 16

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| 338. M | Għax jekk inti Malti tkellem bil-Malti ara dan mhux [bħali daqshekk patrijott dan] | If you are Maltese you have to speak Maltese this one here [is not as patriotic as myself] |
| 339. P | [Jien naċċettaha li jitkellem bl-Ingliż] | [I accept the fact that he would speak English] |
| 340. M | Jekk irid jitkellem bl-Ingliż jitkellem però lili hallini nitkellem bil-Malti la inti Malti jekk int għandek dritt anke jien | If he wants to speak English he can do so but I will speak Maltese if he is Maltese because if he has a right (to speak English) I have a right (to speak Maltese) |
| 341. P | Idejjaqni l-Ingliż tal-qżieżati [dawn li jmorru St Paul's] | I really hate the type of English associated with snobbishness [like the one spoken by those who attend <i>St Paul's</i>] |
| 342. M | [ikunu jidhru] mhux normali | [They seem that they are not normal] |
| 343. P | Dak l-aċċent sfurzat | It's a forced accent |
| 344. I | U kif taħseb li jarawk li inti tuża l-Malti/ | And how would they view you since you speak Maltese/ |
| 345. M | Naħseb illi li inti inqas minnhom | I think that you are inferior to them |
| 346. P | Huma jkunu jridu li int teqleb għall- Ingliż | They would want you to switch to English |
| 347. M | Għax iħossuhom superjuri probabbli | Because they think they are superior |
| 348. P | Hawn min għandu rasu iebsa | They are hard-headed |
| 349. M | Jien naħseb li huma inferjuri għax jien jekk qiegħda Malta nuża l-lingwa tiegħi (.) jekk jien naf li inti Maltija u qed tkellimni bl-Ingliż u jiena Maltija bħalek għalfejn m'għandix inkellmek bil-Malti jekk inti qed tifhimni kieku naf li mhux qed tifhimni se nkellmek bl-Ingliż imma jien bil-Malti nkellmek (.) pur *laughs* | I think they are inferior because if I am in Malta I will speak my language (.) if I know that you are Maltese and you are speaking English to me and I am Maltese why shouldn't I speak Maltese to you especially if I know that you are understanding me and I will speak to you (.) pure Maltese *laughs* |

When I asked the parents whether they would consider sending Stephanie to an independent school, to be immersed in English, they immediately disagreed with this. The explanation given is similar to the one provided by Rosemary and Dylan Camilleri, albeit here we are speaking about independent schools and not church schools. Stephanie in fact attends a church school. Marika and Peter evoke discourses related to social class (*ċertu klassi* [a certain social class]) which is linked to the use of English in these independent schools. They also evoke discourses linked to economic capital (*naffordjaha* [I can afford it]). In addition, the use of English in these schools is directly linked to the “social group’s inherent nature or essence” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p.37). As a result, similarly to the case with Melissa, Stephanie would not feel at ease in these schools because her habitus (speaking Maltese at home and living in the Southern part of the Island) would not fit the field (that of an Independent school). Children who attend independent schools are also pathologized, as Marika makes a link between being rich, attending these schools and being prone to addictions and bullying.

Extract 17

- | | | |
|--------|--|---|
| 447. I | Għalfejn hemm ċertu ġenituri li jagħzlu li jibgħatu t-tfal tagħhom ġo dawn l-iskejjel/ | Why do some parents send their children to these schools/ |
| 448. M | Ma nafx għax għal ċertu klassi ma nafx jekk hux veru jew għax expensive allura dak li hu sinjur jgħid ha nibgħatu hemm għax dak tajjeb għaliġa (.) għaliġa żgur mhux tajjeb (.) *laughs* | I don’t know maybe because they belong to a certain class or because they are <i>expensive</i> and so those who are rich think that they are the best schools for them (.)they are surely not the best schools for me (.)*laughs* |
| 449. P | Biex iħossuhom superjuri għax la naffordjaha nagħmilha | It’s because they think they are superior and it showcases my wealth since I can afford it |
| 450. M | Imma nahseb li jkun hemm iktar bullying | I think <i>bullying</i> takes place there |
| 451. I | Ehe/ | Really/ |
| 452. P | U iktar ċans li jaqbdu xi vizzju għax la hemm il-flus | And they are more prone to addictions because they can afford them |
| 453. I | U kieku kellkom tibgħatu lil Stephanie ġo skola hekk kif tħossha | And would you send Stephanie to one of these schools how would she feel/ |
| 454. P | Le qatt ma nagħmluha hekk | No we would never do that to her |
| 455. M | L-Ingliż tħobbu imma mhux ikollha kollox hekk dak l-ambjent ma tħobbux | She loves English but that would not be her environment she would not like it |

When I asked their daughter about the use of language at her school, Stephanie mentions that the Head of School uses mainly English and she stylises this variety of English. What she is doing here, is an explicit rejection of posh-type language, as found in the work of Ruairc (2011) and Rampton (2006). Her mother immediately links this use of English to locality (Sliema). On the other hand, Stephanie was more exposed to Maltese during her primary school years because the school was located in the southern part of the island. It is interesting to note that Stephanie resonates her mothers' nationalistic ideologies "qishom kontra pajjiżhom jdejjquni hekk [It's like they are denying their own country I dislike them]". She also reflects on the legitimacy of using English in Malta, and compares it to the use of English in England. According to her, the use of English in England is natural and legitimate "Ingliz tajjeb [good English]", but using it in Malta is linked to ideologies of prestige and lacks authenticity. This view is shared by her mother and father, who voice very strong opinions about the matter. Therefore, the variety of English that is spoken in Malta is viewed as inferior to British English. She ends this exchange by emphasising the importance of safeguarding her language, which seems to be threatened by the English language.

Extract 18

- | | | |
|--------|---|---|
| 556. I | Interessanti għalfejn taħseb li l-Head allura tibqa' tkellmek bl-Ingliz / | Interesting so why do you think the Head of School speaks to you in English / |
| 557. S | Jien naf | How would I know |
| 558. M | Jien naħseb iktar għax ara dawn qegħdin Bormla l-iskola allura l-maġġoranza tannies mhux se jitkellmu bl-Ingliz għax kollha min-naħa t'isfel ta' Malta ħafna minnhom ara dawn tas-Sliema ifhem dawn imħalltin għax ġew minn kullimkien jġigfieri għandhom iktar ċans li jiltaqgħu ma' nies li jitkellmu bl-Ingliz | I think that at first they used Maltese because their school was in Bormla and they would not speak English there but now since the school is in Sliema they use more English there and they are more likely to meet people who speak English |
| 559. I | Allura meta sifirtu rajt differenza bejn dan l-Ingliz u l-Ingliz tal-Ingilterra / | And so when you went abroad did you notice any differences between the English used at school and the English in England/ |
| 560. S | Iva dak Ingliz tajjeb (.) ħafna ma jitkellmux bil-qzież | Yes that was correct English (.) it did not sound snobbish |
| 561. M | Ingliz sabiħ | It was beautiful English |
| 562. I | U n-nies ta' Tas-Sliema / | And what about the people in Sliema/ |
| 563. P | Iqabbduni l-vomtu [laughs] | They make me want to vomit *laughs* |

564. I	Għalfejn hawn Maltin li jużaw l-Ingliż/	So why do some Maltese people speak English/
565. S	Hekk hu qishom kontra pajjiżhom idejjquni hekk (.) Tal-qżież	They seem to be betraying their country I don't like it (.) So snobbish
566. M	Għaliex għandek teqridha l-lingwa Maltija/ jaħsbu li huma xi klassi għolja	Why would they want to destroy the Maltese language/ they think they belong to a high social class
567. P	Qishom xi ħaġa speċjali	Like they are something special
568. S	Kieku kulhadd jitkellem bl-Ingliż kieku l-lingwa tinqered	If everyone were to speak English then the language will be destroyed

5.5.3 The Calleja Family: “Skond liema ħajja jgħixu [It depends on the type of life they lead]”

In this family, Raisa (R-35 years old) and Judy (J-15 years old) acknowledge that both Maltese and English are important for work prospects. However, the discussion immediately veers towards the importance of English. They discuss the link between the use of English in Malta and the type of lifestyle adopted by the individual, which in Bourdieu's terms refers to “symbolic properties constituting a lifestyle” (Bourdieu, 1990, p.136). They also discuss the role of finding a partner in promoting this type of life-style. Raisa implies that Judy should find a partner who speaks English, because of the way she rationalises the link between wealth and use of English.

Extract 19

116. I	Hemm vantaġġi li tkun taf it-tnejn/	What are the advantages of knowing both/
117. J	Vantaġġ għax anke meta taħdem	Advantages for work purposes
118. R	Kif ġa għedtlek ma tafx ma' min se tiltaqa' anke sħabek sew hawnhekk hawn ħafna Ingliżi	Like I have already stated you don't know who you are going to meet in life there are many British nationals here
119. I	F'din l-area hawn ħafna barranin	There are many expats here
120. J	Ta' fuqna *hushed tone]* ommi ma antipatka u snob tal-pepé Maltija ta imma bl-Ingliż titkellem (.)dawk li jitkellmu Ingliż biss ta qishom għajni	Our neighbour *hushed tone* oh my she is so unfriendly and snobbish she is Maltese but she speaks English (.) those people who speak English only are obnoxious
121. R	Skont liema ħajja jgħixu	It depends on the type of life they lead
122. I	Il-mama' iktar diplomatika	Your mother is more diplomatic
123. R	Mela jekk ikollok partner Ingliż	You might have a partner who is British

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| 124. J | Allura ta' Tas-Sliema kollha partner
Ingliz/ Allajbierek | So those who live in Sliema all have
partners who are British/ I don't believe it |
| 125. R | Hawn min hu poshy iħobb jittellem bl-
Ingliz il-way of living tkun Ingliz biss jien
ghandi minn dawn it-tip ta' nies ix-xogħol
hawn min ikollu livell baži kbira fl-Ingliz
allura juża Ingliz biss fil-hajja hawn hafna
tipi ta' nies ma tistax tiġġudikahom | There are people who are posh and who
speak English their <i>way of living</i> would
include only they use of English I meet
these people at work there are people who
consider English to be their first language
in life you will meet with different types of
people and you cannot really judge them |
| 126. J | Hawn hafna wanna be English | There are those who are <i>wanna be English</i> |
| 127. I | Ehe kif/ | Really how/ |
| 128. J | With a fake accent [impersonates accent]
maaa | They speak with a <i>fake accent</i>
impersonates accent maaa |
| 129. R | Dawk il-way of living tagħhom dawk
ikollhom il-flus binti u inti tixtieq tkun
hekk la tikber | It's their <i>way of living</i> these people are well
off and daughter of mine you would like to
be like that when you are older |
| 130. J | Min ma jixtieqx dar sabiħa/ | Who wouldn't want a nice house/ |
| 131. I | Imma [mhux dar biss] | But it's not [just a matter of a house] |
| 132. R | [way of living] | [way of living] |
| 133. J | Jien irrid dar sabiħa hafna hafna | I would really really like a nice house |
| 134. R | U mela skont ma' min tkun hux ikollokx
xi wiehed bl-Ingliz ghax hi thobb ta
affarijiet sbieħ ta | It depends who your partner is you could
end up with a British guy because she likes
nice things |
| 135. J | Jien ghandi ħabib tiegħi għandu oħtu ž-
żghira l-ħin kollu tkellmu bl-Ingliz u jkun
ħafna għandhom u jkellimha bl-Ingliz | I have a friend of mine who speaks English
to his younger sister and they all speak
English at home |
| 136. I | U dawn ma tarahomx snobby/ | And don't you think that they are snobbish/ |
| 137. J | Dawn ma jittelmux Ingliz apposta qisu
Ingliz biex jgħallmuha l-ġenituri għadhom
żghar u t-tfal hekk jittelmu very nice
house ta | They don't do it on purpose their parents
are still young and they speak English to
them and they have a <i>very nice house</i> |
| 138. R | U ħallik ifhem binti l-Ingliz importanti liż-
żghira napplikalha għal tal-Knisja jien
irridha St. Bernardette hemmhekk bl-
Ingliz ta | You have to understand daughter of mine
that English is important I want to send my
younger daughter to a church school they
speak English there |

The mother, Raisa, associates the use of English mostly with economic capital. She is very pragmatic about the importance of English for her daughter's future, and stresses throughout the exchange that it will be important for her to have a good command of English for a good job and to be able to communicate with many people (118). At one point, although she distances herself from them as she calls them "*dawn it-tip ta' nies*

[these types of people]" (125), she acknowledges that she meets them at work, unlike Dylan and Rosemary Camilleri, who completely distance themselves from them.

Judy expresses negative attitudes to Maltese people who use English on a daily basis. She refers to her neighbour as a snob because she speaks English and she naturally dislikes her for this (120). In fact, she uses a very strong expression to describe her dislike "*qishom għajni* [they are obnoxious]". This echoes the sense of dislike expressed by the Agius family members in the previous extracts. Her mother reminds her that it is a question of "*ħajja [a lifestyle]*" (121) thus evoking the concept of habitus once again. Here she is referring to a lifestyle that represents preferences, practices and use of symbols that are group specific. The selection of such a lifestyle is influenced by group pressures, as well as by socioeconomic circumstances (Giddens, 1991, pp.81–82). Judy mentions people who live in Sliema, which shows that she believes in the stereotypes linked to location and language use, which have also been evoked in the previous interviews. Raisa again explains that speaking English is the most natural way to communicate and repeats the phrase "*way of living*" a number of times. Similarly, to the case in the Agius family, the issue of legitimacy and authenticity is brought up by Judy as she considers those who speak English "*wanna be English*" and they speak with a "*fake accent*", which is reminiscent of Stephanie's description of a forced accent. Note also that she uses English to describe this lack of authenticity (126). Therefore, according to Judy, these people do not have a right to speak English in Malta because they sound artificial and because they are Maltese. On the other hand, this contrasts with her evaluation of her friend's use of English at the end of the extract, who does not speak English to act superior (135 & 137). This ties in with her mother's philosophy of a "*way of living*", which jars with Judy's previous criticism of those who speak English in Malta.

At the end of this extract, Judy hints at the fact that she links the use of English with ideologies of social class, as she implies that people who speak English are rich. Judy also makes reference to her friend who speaks English at home, and who also happens to have a nice house. At this point, her ambivalent ideologies emerge, as she does not criticise her friend for speaking English. She reflects her mother's philosophy that this is his family's lifestyle, his habitus and also comments on the house they own, thus the economic capital

that can be achieved through the use of English. Returning to the notion of economic capital and language use, Raisa reiterates that people who speak English are rich, and adds that she wants to send her younger daughter to a church school because English is promoted there.

This shows that Raisa believes that English might provide her daughter(s) with the best material resources. Despite believing that Maltese is their national language, both Raisa and Judy express ideologies linking English to economic capital. This counteracts Judy's dislike of Maltese people who choose to speak English in Malta.

5.5.4 The Zammit Family: “Li huma tal-istess status (That they belong to the same *status*)”

As discussed in the previous sections, Cathy Zammit (C) considers English to be her first language. However, despite her love for the English language she also expresses ideologies related to the use of English in Malta, which tend to be somewhat negative. She links the use of English to specific areas in Malta, and expresses ideologies related to a sense of superiority. When asked if there would be another town she would feel more comfortable in, she immediately adds that living in Sliema would be “*too much*” (208). Her explanation can also be interpreted in the light of Bourdieu's (1991) “symbolic capital”, which also involves speaking in a certain way. She differentiates between living in Sliema and choosing to speak English in Malta. Building on her knowledge of the characteristics of people in Sliema, she defines life in Sliema in terms of excess, and that girls coming from that area are “*fake*” (214). Her mother, Lucy, continues to elaborate on these characteristics and juxtaposes her own way of living (being more family-oriented in terms of cooking and feeding her children) with people in Sliema who are stingy albeit snobbish (213). In this way, Lucy puts her own position at the forefront by implying that it is superior, even though she might be considered to be inferior because she comes from a rural area. She makes reference to economic capital, and contrary to Raisa and Judy, she denies the link between English and economic resources. These ideologies are shared by Cathy, who explains that people living in Sliema are interested only in connections and in maintaining ties with people like them (214). In this extract, Cathy's and Lucy's

understanding of language and economic resources seem to be captured by Bourdieu's (1984) notion of social and cultural capital which are not only limited to material resources but is also constituted by additional socially and symbolically inflected capitals that serve as resources for individuals to invoke or deploy in a range of fields of social activity and practices.

Extract 20

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| 207. I | Kieku jkollok tghix x'imkien hawn Malta fejn tghix | If you had to live in another town where would it be in Malta/ |
| 208. C | Ma nafx mhux se ngħidlek Tas-Sliema għax hekk too much | I don't know but surely not Sliema because that would <i>be too much</i> |
| 209. L | Issa Tas-Sliema tghaddi mill-qalba mhux sabiha hwienet żgħar u kollox fuq xulxin | If you walk through the village core in Sliema it's not nice it's very crowded and there are small shops |
| 210. C | L-Ingliż daħal Tas-Sliema għax dawk li kienu jaħdmu mal-Ingliżi ma kienx hemm post għalihom il-Belt allura l-blue collar workers u tal-uffiċċji baqgħu hemm u over time l-lingwa baqgħet hemm biż-żmien | English is associated with Sliema because those who used to work in with the British services could not all live in Valletta and so the blue collar workers and those who worked in offices went there and that is how the language was introduced to the area |
| 211. I | Imma jien irrid inkun nitkellem b'ċertu mod jekk jien noqgħod Tas-Sliema/ | But would I have to speak in a particular way if I want to live in Sliema/ |
| 212. C | Jekk ma titkellimx bl-Ingliż jew pepėjati se tidher differenti | If you do not speak in a snobbish way or in English you will be deemed different |
| 213. L | Ifhem ir-raġel ġieli mar ibiġħ xi ħut u jgħid li huma l-iktar nies qammilin jinżlu biex jixtru waħda lampuka u frotta waħda waħda m'hemm xejn speċjali ta, in-name li għandu Tas-Sliema mhux bħal tar-raħal nixtru u nimlew u nibilgħu u nieklu
laughs | My husband sells fish in that area and he tells me that people are very stingy and they just buy one fish and one piece of fruit they're not special it's just a name associated with Sliema they do not compare to us living in rural areas as we spend money on food we cook and we feed our families *laughs* |
| 214. C | Jien narahom imnehirhom imxammar u għandhom il-flus kollha two faced anke il-ħbieb bejn il-klikka tagħhom kollha two faced u fake ma' xulxin | I think they are too snobbish and they are also rich they are <i>two faced</i> even in their own group of friends they are <i>two faced</i> and <i>fake</i> with one another |
| 215. I | U x'inhuma l-valuri importanti ta' dawn in-nies/ | And so what do they value/ |
| C | Tagħhom/ connections li huma tal-istess status | Their / <i>connections</i> that they belong to the same <i>status</i> |

5.5.5 The Baldacchino Family: “Inhossni ta’ kategorija differenti [I feel I belong to a different category]”

In Section 5.3.3, I described how Rita Baldacchino (R) discussed her change in language use throughout the years. She is also aware of the differences between herself and Others, based on this language use. In the following extract, she clearly differentiates between those who speak English to their children, like her, and those who have a poor grasp of the language, and who choose to speak Maltese. She believes that she is civilised, in contrast with the others who are uncouth. Lack of proficiency in English is linked to lack of education, and therefore as a natural result a lack in basic manners. Rita feels that speaking English to her son was also a sign of good parenthood, something which King and Fogle (2006) describe as: “they concomitantly constructed themselves as ‘good’ parents who were committed to providing this opportunity for their children” (p.707).

Extract 21

67. R Bħala lingwa nqis ruħi bilingual ma tantx hemm parents bilingual anzi lanqas jifhmu bl-Ingliż lanqas ikunu jafu jaqraw lit-tfal tagħhom ikun hemm min hu bħali imma fil-minoranza għax anke meta mmorru għal laqgħat jew concerts tibda’ tara kif jidhru u dik tgħid ħafna fuq l-identità tagħhom
- In terms of language use I consider myself *bilingual* there aren’t many parents who understand English and they don’t know how to read to their children there are very few parents who are like me we are a minority because even when we go to meetings and *concerts* you will notice the way they dress and that says a lot about their identity
68. I U kif jaraw lilek/
R Heqq ma nafx jekk jarawnix xi ħadd qisni mhux bħalhom jien ma nħossnix bħalhom inhossni ta’ kategorija differenti mhux qed ngħid snobby jew hekk ta imma anke ċertu basic behaviour (.) there was this woman during the school concert who did not put her mobile phone on silent and she answered three telephone calls x’misthija (.) lanqas kwazi basic manners imma x’għandu x’jaqsam mal-Ingliż jew mal-Malti imma żgur li l-Ingliż assocjat ma’ social class naħseb class mhux money ta ma naħsibx money imma cultural
- And how do they see you/
Well I don’t know if they see me as someone who is not like them I don’t feel like them I belong to a different category it’s not that I am snobbish or like that but even certain *basic behaviour* (.) *there was this woman during the school concert who did not put her mobile phone on silent and she answered three telephone calls* (.) how embarrassing (.) she does not even have basic manners I don’t know what language has to do with this if it’s English or Maltese but I am sure that English is associated with *social class* I think *class* not as in *money* but *cultural*

In the first turn (67), she presents a series of related characteristics which are all a result of these parents' lack of competence in English. Therefore, she reasons that since these parents cannot speak English to their children, they do not read books to them and lack basic manners. According to her, their lack of English proficiency means that they are not reading any books to their children. She presents her own viewpoint by equating use of language with a degree of moral behaviour and "*basic behaviour*" (69). She feels that bilingualism has put her in a position of superiority. She contextualises her harsh criticism by describing an episode where a woman (perceived as the Other) did not turn off her mobile phone during a school concert. She also pathologises the Other in giving an extended description of their behaviour. In narrating this episode in English (69), Rita is distancing herself from this woman and the behaviour she represents.

In the first turn, she also comments on the way these Others might dress for school concerts, which consolidates her belief that they are not able to respect basic etiquette. At this point she also equates the way these women dress with their identity and makes a direct reference to the term identity. I prompted her to reflect on the ways she might be perceived by these parents. At first, she hesitates with the discourse marker "*heq*" (which is normally used as a filler), but she immediately distances herself from them, by saying that she belongs to a completely different category. Note that she immediately reveals the way she views the Other, in terms of categories of polarisation, by putting herself on one end and the Other on the other end. She immediately adds a disclaimer by saying that she does not want to sound snobbish in her comments, although she is fully aware that she might be. She ends this explanation with a succinct sociological argument. She considers English to be linked to social class, which is not only explained in economic terms, but more by some form of cultural capital. She equates English to a specific social class, which she considers superior.

5.5.6 The Mizzi Family: "I don't care less jghidu li jridu [I don't care less they can say what they want]"

In the following extract Maria (M) discusses how the use of English is associated with Sliema, which as discussed in previous sections, is a locality in Malta traditionally

associated with individuals who speak English. The extract opens with a direct expression of indifference. She espouses that she does not really care about these comments and that such people “*dawk in-nies* [those people]” (308) express these opinions because they feel threatened. The fact that she laughs after this statement also shows that she tries to undermine her harsh criticism.

In expressing her indifference, she is undermining Others’ opinions, and asserting iconically her identification with English-speaking individuals by switching to English (310). What Maria is doing here is to perform her identifications with being English-speaking through the assertions she is making, and with her switching from Maltese to English (308 & 310). It displays her authoritative claim to being a woman of the type she has just evoked. She also disassociates herself from them when she emphasises the fact that their opinions do not matter to her. This might hint at her belief in the superiority of English, by claiming that these people have an “*inferiority complex*” (308). In the final turn, Maria discusses ways in which groups are formed on the basis of language use. According to Maria’s deterministic philosophy, people should stick to their “*environment*” (312), the group they feel more comfortable in, which in a way seems to echo Bourdieu’s notion of habitus. She also asserts her confidence in her position by stating that she does not feel the need to criticise anyone, and also tries to tone down her criticism by emphasising the need for respect towards everyone (312).

Extract 22

306. M	I don’t care less jghidu li jridu	<i>I don’t care less they can say what they want</i>
307. I	U min taħseb li jkollu dawn l-ideat /	<i>And who do you think has these opinions/</i>
308. M	Dawk in-nies li jkollhom inferiority complex *laughs*	<i>Those people who have an inferiority complex *laughs*</i>
309. I	Hemm ċertu bad feelings naħseb	<i>I think there are certain bad feelings</i>
310. M	Ijja ijja ehe imma why should I care about these people / at the end of the day I will make my life more miserable and they are not worth it for what cause	<i>Yes yes yes but why should I care about these people / at the end of the day I will make my life more miserable and they are not worth it for what cause</i>
311. I	Tilgħab il-logħba tagħhom	<i>You play their game</i>
312. M	Oh yes kulhadd għandu fil-ħajja kulhadd isib ma’ min iħossu l-iktar komdu hija għażla (.) jien iħossni komda fl- environment tiegħi u int fl-environment tiegħek (.) imma jien ma nħossnix li għandi	<i>Oh yes we all have to find those whom we feel most comfortable with it’s a choice (.) I feel comfortable in my environment and you feel comfortable in your environment (.) but I don’t feel that I have to criticise your</i>

mmaqdar l-environment tiegħek it's just it
doesn't apply to me (.) ir-rispett dejjem
għandu jkun speċita (.)

*environment and it's just it doesn't apply to
me (.) there should be some form of respect
(.)*

In the previous extract, it seems that Maria is identifying herself with an English-speaking group. However, the broad label English-speaking is by no means a homogeneous group. Participants associate the Other with English-speaking individuals who do not seem to share their own language ideologies, despite speaking the same language. This is elaborated in Extract 23.

Extract 23

280. M Ikun hemm min hu snob jaħsbu li huma
superjuri jaħsbu li l-Ingliż huwa superjuri
ċertu nies li jittkellmu bl-Ingliż jaħsbu li
huma high class allura jista' jkun li huma
hekk jisnobjaw il-lingwa Maltija
281. I U inti taħseb li hekk/
282. M Jien naħseb il-baži tiegħi Malti peress li
qattajt l-ewwel ħmistax-il sena tiegħi
nitkellem bil-Malti però dan l-aħħar iktar
minn ħmistax-il sena issa l-lingwa tiegħi l-
Ingliż (.) imma la ngħix Malta jekk
nitkellem il-ħin kollu Ingliż kif għedt
inkun qed speċi ta' barra
283. I U titkellem Malti fl-iskola tat-tifla/
284. M Le għax fl-istess skola tat-tifla hemm dawk
in-nisa li 'aaaaa aaaa' arani ismagħni I'm
that type of person [impersonates an
accent] imma hemm proporzjon żgħir
ħafna imma hemm parents li jkellmuhom
bil-Malti u jien ma rridx nidher hekk
285. I Taħseb li they stand out/
286. M Iva jbatu naqra imma jkollom jintegraw
peress issa dak huwa l-environment
tagħhom

There are those who think they are *snobs*
they think English is superior these people
speak English and so they think they belong
to a *high class* and it could be that they look
down on the Maltese language

And do you think so/

I think that my basis has been in Maltese
because I have spent the first 15 years of my
life speaking Maltese but in the past 15 years
things have changed and I now use English
(.) but if I live in Malta I and I speak English
all the time I will be viewed as an outsider

And would you speak Maltese at your
daughter's school/

No because at the same school there are
some females who speak like 'ooo' look at
me *I'm that type of person* [impersonates an
accent] but there are few parents who speak
Maltese and I don't want to be like them

Do they *stand out*/

I think they find it difficult at first but then
they have to integrate because now this is
their *environment*

In the above extract, Maria reflects on the parents who send their children to her daughter's independent school. She admits that there are parents who think they are

superior because they speak English (280). She reflects on the fact that these parents think that they belong to a “*high class*” and also look down on Maltese. In the course of this exchange, several different identities are activated. Her explanation and the positions she takes on for herself are contradictory. On one hand she calls these parents “*snoobs*”, and claims Maltese to be a marker of her identity (282). Her criticism of these parents who speak English to their children is clear in her impersonation (284), which she does to make fun of them. On the other hand, she openly advocates that she does not want to be like the parents who speak Maltese to their children (284). She seems to want to inhabit some sort of neutral ground, where she speaks English to her children and is perceived by others as a Maltese citizen, who does not use language as a marker of superiority.

In the following extract Jill (J) and I discuss the importance of learning Maltese and English at school, and using these languages in daily interactions. Note that friendship is the main reasons she gives for requiring Maltese (63). She is aware that there are children whose parents do not want them to speak Maltese. She equates this with nationality (they are not Maltese) or living in another country, and explains this in terms of the lack of need for the language (67). She is also aware of the problems encountered by these children because they cannot speak Maltese. Note that she distinguishes the need to use Maltese in her daily life (which she does not need to do) and the need to learn it as a subject at school (70 & 75). She is proud of the fact that she is in the best class, although she admits that she is not that fluent in the language. She finally states that children who speak Maltese would be considered strange at her school. In fact, there would be other children who might make fun of them.

Extract 24

60. I Would you like to learn Maltese later on /
61. J Yes
62. I And why would you need Maltese /
63. J Because I don't know how to speak
Maltese and then a boy comes and we
cannot be friends
64. I So which one do you prefer/

65. J English because it is more fluent and some children at school they understand English but their parents don't let them use Maltese
66. I Why
67. J Either they are foreigners and their parents do not want them to learn Maltese or else they are Maltese but as soon as they were born they travelled to a different country and they stayed there till they came to Malta for one year and then they are going to back for the job so they don't need Maltese
68. I But how can they speak in Malta/
69. J There are some problems em some work places they only speak Maltese and many people in Malta speak Maltese and some of them don't know English
70. I Do you want to use more Maltese at school with your family
71. J No
72. I You don't feel the need
73. J No
74. I But you do want to learn it at school
75. J I am in class A at school
76. I Wow class A would that mean that it is the best class
77. J Well in English I feel better I use more words more vocabulary
78. I If there were a little girl and she would speak Maltese only do you think she will feel comfortable at your school/
79. J Not much because we rarely use Maltese only in Maltese lesson
80. I Do you think anyone might make fun of her /
81. J Yes they would she would sound strange

Therefore, Jill as a child is more concerned with the demands at school and with the affordances of using language to make friends. When I asked her about the use of language in the area she lives in (Sliema) she immediately stated that it is Maltese, contrary to the beliefs that have been expressed by most participants (123). What follows is an insightful reflection on the link between language and nation as seen through the

eyes of this little girl. For her, Maltese people should speak Maltese because if they speak only English “*then they are not Maltese*” (127). She believes that only foreigners use English in Malta. When prompted to reflect on her own situation she immediately appealed to her Maltese identity, despite speaking English (129). She justifies this on the basis of understanding Maltese and that she is a high-flyer at her school.

Extract 25

122. I And what about the people who live here
do they use English or Maltese/
123. J Maltese except the tourists
124. I So you think that they use mainly Maltese
125. J Yes and the foreigners speak English
126. I Are there Maltese people who use only
English
127. J No because then they are not Maltese
128. I Really/ what about you/
129. J I am Maltese but I speak English (.) but I
understand Maltese I am in class A
130. I Iva nifhem x’inti tghid I I understand what you are implying
131. J Iva J Yes

What we can infer from these extracts, while Maria as a parent would like to position herself in some grey area of neutral language use, her daughter is able to view languages in terms of their uses and affordances, making a clear link with language use and nationality. Moreover, despite her claims of indifference, Maria also implies that she considers herself to be in a superior position to those parents who speak Maltese to their children. In the following interviews, similar ideologies are voiced by Joan and her daughter Michela.

5.5.7 The Gauci Family: “Ma jtinix extra boost [It does not give me an *extra boost*]”

Joan Gauci (J-45 years old) has lived in Sliema all her life. She speaks English to her two daughters. In previous sections, I have discussed how some participants felt the need to change their language use. However, in the following extract (Extract 26), Joan affirms

that there has been no change in language use throughout her life. She makes it a point to stress by repeating “*absolutely not*”, that she is happy with her current situation and confident in her position as a language user (25). The explanation that she gives is that she aims to give her children an upbringing which is similar to her own. In this passage she equates the use of language with her moral standing and her own family’s long-standing values. This could account for the sense of entitlement she will convey later on in the interview, where she criticises those individuals who speak English to their children, even though they come from Maltese-speaking backgrounds. In her final turn (29) she makes a strong statement with regard to use of language, and feelings of superiority and/or inferiority. She is a confident woman and does not need language to give her that “*extra boost*”. She invokes the Prime Minister as a figure of authority, and states that she would not feel the need to switch to English to boost her confidence if she were speaking to him. She actually concludes that people in high positions should use “*our*” language, that is Maltese, and she thinks that the situation is ridiculous when they use English when addressed in Maltese. Here she is invoking her identity as a Maltese national by using the word “*our*”. Although she considers herself to be English-speaking she feels that she is equally proficient in both languages. Joan feels that she does not feel the need to better her position in life, as she is confident in her present situation.

Extract 26

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|
| 24. | I | Tara xi tibdil fl-użu tal-lingwa tiegħek/ | Do you notice any change in you language use/ |
| 25. | J | Assolutament le assolutament le naħseb li għadni l-istess persuna kif trabbejt anke bil-mod kif nitkellem mat-tfal | No absolutely not no I feel that I am still the same person as the one I have been brought up by my parents even in the way I speak to my children and in my children’s upbringing |
| 26. | I | Fl-użu tal-lingwa tiegħek | In your use of language |
| 27. | J | L-istess ambjent li kellna d-dar għandi mat-tfal l-istess ambjent inħoss kif trabbejt jiena | I feel that my children’s upbringing is very similar to my own |
| 28. | I | U lingwa/ | And language |
| 29. | J | Ma nassoċjax l-użu tal-lingwa jew l-għażla tal-lingwa ma’ kemm qed tħossok importanti ma nużax il-Malti għax inħossni inferjuri jew l-Ingliż għax inħossni kunfidenti u superjuri ma jtinix extra boost tista’ tkun il-Prim Ministru u kellimt il- | I don’t associate the use of language or your choice of language with how important you think you are I don’t use Maltese because I feel inferior or English because I feel confident and superior it doesn’t give me that extra boost you could be the Prime |

Prim Ministru (.) jekk inti qed tkellimni bil-Malti jien bil-Malti se nkellmek mhux se naqleb għall-Ingliż anzi nhoss redikolaġni li ma' ċertu nies fl-awtorità li suppost qed jużaw il-lingwa tagħna tkellimhom bil-Malti u jirrisponduk bl-Ingliż

Minister and I have spoken to the Prime Minister (.) if you are speaking to me in Maltese I will use Maltese and I will not switch to English I think that form of behaviour is ridiculous and there are certain people in power who are supposed to be using our language and they reply in English when you speak Maltese to them

According to Joan the perception of linking English to high social classes was more common in the past, as now people have more access to education which should allow for appreciating the value of languages. As stated in one of her comments, she does not seem to equate use of English with a sense of superiority as she places more emphasis on what a person is saying rather than on how they are saying it. She criticises certain individuals who use English because they think it is a superior language to Maltese. According to her, these form part of the “*nouveaux riches*”, who are wealthy and want to impress with flashy things, including the use of language. She also comments on these Others’ competence in English, which according to her is lacking. Here she positions herself superior to them because of her competence in English, her academic achievements and her perceived social status.

Extract 27

73. J Però għad hemm, inhoss li għad hemm, it-tradizzjoni eżatt ma nafx dawn in-nouveaux riches dawn li jagħmlu ħafna flus u bir-rispett kollu akkademikament ma jkunux għamli xejn però jkollhom il-flus allura jipprovaw jimpressjonaw bil-karozzi kbar handbags kbar u mbagħad tisma’ l-Ingliż ħiereġ minn ħalqhom u jtik (.) qatt ma għamiltha ta (.) inkun qed nistenna quddiem l-iskola tat-tifla imma jtik li tpoġġi jdejk fuq widnejk
- However I feel that there are still these nouveaux riches those who are very rich and with all due respect they haven’t achieved much academically they haven’t achieved anything but they have money so they try to impress with huge cars huge handbags and then you hear the language that comes out of their mouth and you feel like (.) I have never done it (.) I would be waiting for my daughter in front of her school and I would want to cover my ears

It is interesting to note that she equates material belongings with the use of language and that she thinks that for these people, language is another commodity that can be bought and exploited. Further into the conversation she comments that such behaviour is

artificial; “*frilli u artifiċjalita’ li tidher barra minn postha’* (.) *waħda minnhom hija l-użu tal-lingwa Ingliza* [excessive frills and artificial things that seem out of place (.) one of them is the use of the English language]”. Here, Joan differentiates social class based on money from that grounded in legitimate social capital, and notes that her comments resonate with Cathy’s comments on those who live in Sliema (“*too much*”). As previously noted, Joan clearly stated that she had never felt the need to change the way she used language. Here she is criticising those individuals who changed the way they speak, accompanied by an excessive type of lifestyle, simply because they have money. When she mentions the “*nouveaux riches*”, Joan is dissociating herself from them and creating a division between “us and “them”, as in fact she uses “*dawn in-nies* [these people]” to create this sense of otherness.

Michela (M), her 13-year-old daughter, also seems to be aware of this us/them divide based on the use of language and also echoes ideologies linked to locality in Malta. Similarly to her mother, in extract 29, she associates the use of language with moral behaviour. The extract opens with Michela’s statement in favour of Ħal Luqa (a village in the Southern Eastern part of the island), to tone down her harsher criticism of the people who live there. In a quasi-comical explanation, she links their aggressive behaviour and language use, and ends with a final statement that they are “*criminals*” (106). Although she is vague in mentioning who these people are, she is very specific in the actions that they carry out. For instance, she says that they can hurt you both verbally and physically. According to Michela, the Others here are those who live in areas like Ħal Luqa, who speak Maltese and who act like criminals. She also reflects on how she is perceived by the Other (108). She links her identity to the fact that she lives in Sliema and that she speaks English and stylises the way she sounds to other people (108), which is very different from the way she speaks during the interview. According to her, being “*Slimiz* [from Sliema]” is the opposite of someone who lives in Ħal Luqa. She calls herself an “*outside girl*” thus acknowledging that she will be seen as an Other by these people from Ħal Luqa. She reflects on the meaning of the word “*Slimiz* [a person living in Sliema]” and concludes that this means that they would consider her “*poshy* [posh]”.

Extract 28

102. M I think Ħal Luqa would be the place I'll have to choose I love the area but the people I'm a little scared of
103. I Why/ in terms of the way they speak /
104. M In terms of the way they speak and in terms of the way they act in a situation for example you'll be out walking and someone comes to you and tells you something like and then they hurt you stuff like that
105. I alright
106. M They're criminals
107. I What about the way they speak would it be different
108. M It would be different to someone who speaks in Sliema *changes accent * someone in Sliema would mix a lot someone in those areas like Ħal Luqa they would mix but not as much as the English speaking ones (.) I do not know the word in English Slimizi /
109. M Poshy [posh]
110. I Would he call you poshy [posh]/
111. M As an outside girl because between them they speak Maltese (.) when I go to my sister's friend's house em I hear her mother talk to my mother like the people next door do not know English so I think they will see me as an outsider or someone who comes from a poshy [posh] area

Explicit comments on language use and identity can be at times contradictory. As the interview progresses, Joan's comments about language are somewhat contradictory. In Extract 29 she introduces her account of her personal experience with a fervent nationalistic statement (101). However, she immediately contradicts herself when she narrates an episode concerning when one of her daughters made friends with a girl who came from a Maltese-speaking background. She describes the change in her daughter's use of language and does not hide the fact that she was not pleased with it (101). She instantly equated this use of language with "*Malti baxx* [a vulgar variety of Maltese]"

(103). She would frequently remind her daughter to speak English. In constructing her story the way she does, she is at the same time undermining her previous claims that she esteems the Maltese language.

Extract 29

- | | | |
|--------|---|---|
| 101. J | Jien Maltija twelidt u Maltija se nibqa' u l-lingwa tiegħi hija l-Malti (.)però nuża wkoll l-Ingliż u nħoss li jien persuna bilanċjata l-unika haġa hija li t-fal tant żviluppaw aċċent ikrah bil-Malti li ġieli nkun barra per eżempju u jkolli l-kbira tghajjat bil-Malti u nħossni kontra qalbi nghidilha <uża l-Ingliż> | I was born Maltese and I will always be Maltese and my language is Maltese (.) however I use English and I feel that I am a balanced person the only thing is that my children have acquired a horrible <i>accent</i> in Maltese and sometimes when we are out and my elder daughter starts shouting in Maltese I feel that against my better judgement I have to tell her <use English > |
| 102. I | X' hemm hażin | What's wrong with that |
| 103. J | Kellhom żewġt iħbieb li kienu minn parti ta' Malta fejn jużaw tip ta' Malti baxx | They made friends with two girls who were from an area in Malta where they use a variety of Maltese that sounds vulgar |
| 104. J | Issa Laura kienet tirrifjuta titkellem bil-Malti sa qabel ma dhalna St Mark School inkellimha bil-Malti u tirrispondini bl-Ingliż | Now Laura used to refuse to speak Maltese before she entered St Mark school I used to speak Maltese to her and she would reply in English |
| 105. I | Taħseb li ġiet mill-iskola/ | Do you think that this was acquired at school/ |
| 106. J | Mid-dar ma ġietx żgur | I am sure that it did not come from home |
| 107. I | Kellha ħbieb li jitkellmu bil-Malti | Were there any friends who spoke Maltese/ |
| 108. J | Kellha ħbieb li jitkellmu bil-Malti u kienu jghinuha titkellem bil-Malti u kellha tifla hemm minn Ħal Tuta li kellha aċċent u din jew qabditu hażin u vera għoġobha kien qisu l-aċċent tal-plays bil-Malti (.)U tghidlek gbin u hi b'ħalq daqsix | There were some friends who spoke Maltese and they helped her to speak Maltese and there was this girl from Ħal Luqa who had a horrible accent and she acquired this accent it was like the accent you use in certain Maltese plays (.) and she used to scream at the top of her lungs |

Joan echoes ideologies related to language and locality in Malta. She is commenting on the use of a standard accent and class position. This use of Maltese as a variety is also an icon of these people's "inherent nature or essence" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p.37). When I asked her if this use of language had developed at school, she was immediately defensive in saying that she did not acquire Maltese at home for sure (106). This comment can be interpreted in the light of the claims in Extract 26, where she described her children's

upbringing to her own. Although, in a previous extract Joan stated that she had wanted her daughter to acquire Maltese, here she is contradicting herself in stating that she was not happy with the way her daughter acquired the language. She equates this use of Maltese with basic manners, and with the fact that her daughter seemed to engage in vulgar behaviour now that she spoke Maltese (108). This illustrates one way in which participants can express contradictory ideologies.

5.6 Language as a means of exclusion

In the previous sections, I have highlighted ways in which participants are aware of language ideologies in Malta, and how they use these ideologies to position themselves in relation to others. Some participants are aware of their habitus and expectations of others, and do not feel that they should transgress these expectations, as they feel that this will result in negative experiences. There are also participants who took on an agentive role in their language use throughout their lives, and they feel now that they are in a better position because of their language use.

As I have discussed in the previous sections, a habitus is characterised by linguistic resources, and interpretations of those used by others. However, there are instances where the habitus of some participants is not consistent with that expected in a particular field. Moreover, languages are not viewed only as markers of identity but also as sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity, or discrimination (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This results in negative experiences for these participants. In the following sections, I will be exploring these narratives of exclusion because of language use.

5.6.1 The Micallef Family: “Kwazi it’s like a bubble [It’s almost *like a bubble*]”

Brenda Micallef (B) describes herself as being torn between living in her hometown, in the Southern part of Malta, and the fact that she speaks English to her daughter Leandra (L). Leandra also attends an independent school. In the following extract, Brenda refers to those parents who send their children to independent schools as a sign of their superiority and disassociates herself from them (102). Similarly to Maria, she is indifferent to the

way Others might view her, even though the two women conceptualise the Other in different ways. In this case, Brenda refers to other English-speaking individuals (104) while Maria addresses Maltese-speaking individuals who might mock her for speaking English to her children.

Extract 30

- | | | |
|--------|--|---|
| 102. B | Element ta' ksuhat għax ahna mmorru s-St Bernard's u nitkellmu bl-Ingliż aħjar | There an element of snobbishness because we attend St Bernard's and we speak better English than anyone |
| 103. I | Hemm ġenituri li jaħsbu hekk/ | Are there parents who believe this/ |
| 104. B | They are happy I am happy it is their life jien nirrispetta naf namalgama miegħek (.) jekk trid tagħmel hekk għamel hekk | <i>They are happy I am happy it is their life</i> I respect this I can integrate in your group (.) you can feel free to think this if you are happy with it |
| 105. I | Inti taħseb li huma superjuri | Do you think they are superior |
| 106. B | Le lanqas xejn anzi komplejt miegħek la ddejjaqni u lanqas tirritani | Not at all I respect their opinions I am not angered by it and it doesn't affect me |

However, she is also pragmatic in her acceptance of their attitudes as long as they respect her. She indexes her preferences with the use of English in her motto where she states that she respects everyone.

Her daughter, Leandra, is aware of the differences that lie between herself and others based on language use. In the following extract, she associates use of Maltese with “*ħamalli* [louts]”, which is a pejorative term referring to individual or groups from the lower social class engaging in vulgar behaviour. Interestingly, she uses a Maltese adjective to describe them. This resonates with Rita's and Michela's discourse on language use and moral behaviour. At a young age, Leandra is aware of the link between language and locality in Malta in stating that she prefers to play in parks in Sliema (112). Note that Brenda's explanation of living in a “*bubble*”, referring to her daughter's relatively insular and exclusive environment, seems to resonate again with Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Interestingly, Maxwell and Aggleton (2010) also use the word “*bubble*”, when they refer to the sheltered environment of young girls who attend private schools. In previous comments (Extract 13), Rosemarie and Dylan had mentioned the

fact that they do not mix with people who speak English. In a similar way, Brenda is describing the insularity of her daughter's social networks.

Extract 31

110. B Iva dahhlet f' dik il-kultura u kwaži it's like a bubble diffiċli biex toħroġ minnha jiena nara mill-playgrounds jekk ha mmorru tar-raħal it-tfal ha jaqbd u jirkellmu hi ma tieħux gost B Yes she has got into this culture and it's almost like a *bubble* difficult to get out of it I see her in playgrounds if we go to the local village one the children start speaking to her and she does not like it
111. L Jien inħobb nilgħab imma mhux nitkellem ma' daw k English is better (.) in Maltese they are rough I like English it is like my school and everyone is like me (.) Maltese boys are ħamalli L I like playing but I don't like speaking to those (.) *English is better (.) in Maltese they are rough I like English it is like my school and everyone is like me (.) Maltese boys are louts*
112. B Jekk ha mmorru Tas-Sliema hemmhekk taraha tintegra u tilgħab u tħossha at home u happy (.) infatti xi ħadd ġabni insé li t-tifel tiegħu jiddejjaq Tas-Sliema għax ħadd ma jilgħab miegħu u tiegħi bil-kontra aħna niddejqu post ieħor B If we go to Sliema she will integrate with the children and play with them children and feels very much at home and happy (.) in fact somebody pointed this out to me that his son doesn't like going to Sliema because nobody plays with him and my daughter is the direct opposite she only likes Sliema

However, this exclusive environment has had its negative repercussions on Leandra.

Brenda narrates an episode (

Extract 32) when her child was made to feel an outsider in her own village. When Leandra started attending after-school catechism lessons at the local parish, her classmates made her feel uncomfortable because she spoke English:

Extract 32

110. B Kienet tinqata' wehidha jista' jkun li t-tfal ma kinux jafu jitkellmu daqsha Ingliz allura ma kinux ikellmuha She used to stay on her own it could be that the other children couldn't speak English as well as her and so they did not speak to her
111. B M'ahnix barranin u t-tnejn nafu nies minn Hal Luqa r-ragel minn hawn imma ghax it-tifla kienet titkellem bl-Ingliz kont naraha l-Muzew maqtuha wahedha li anke l- genituri kienu jiddejqu ftit u jhossuhom skomdi li hemm language barrier xi kultant We are not outsiders and we both know people who live in Luqa my husband was born here but since our daughter used to speak English I used to realise that during catechism lessons she didn't used to integrate with the other children and even the parents used to feel uncomfortable it was like there was some sort of *language barrier* sometimes

This extract illustrates ways in which this girl was marginalised from the other children because she spoke English. Brenda tries to account for this by stating that they are not “*barranin* [foreigners]”. In fact, her own husband was born in this village and this should have given them some form of legitimacy over the claims that they lived in the area. However, she explains that since they used English with their daughter, they created this “us and them” divide, where language was seen as one of the barriers that prevented their integration in the local community, even though her husband had lived in this village as a child.

5.6.2 The Galea Family: “Ma tantx konna nithalltu [We did not really mix]”

In the following extracts, Sara (S) (36 years old) describes how as a child she attended St Silvester school, a church school, which at the time was well-known for its English-speaking ethos. All girls were expected to use English at all times. She felt that she needed to challenge the hegemonic system in her school. Girls like Sara, who spoke Maltese, were punished as described in in the following extract. Sara’s mother, Joanna (J), explained that the Head of School had insisted that they speak English to her at home. Note that similarly to the situation in the Muscat family (in Section 5.4.1), they were hesitant to do so. This is not simply a result of their lack of linguistic fluency but they

also consider speaking English as articulating a position which is foreign to them. They were also afraid that they might be ostracised by their neighbours in their block of flats (80). The term flat here refers to the fact that they lived in some form of social housing, before buying their own home in another rural village.

Sara continues her narrative by saying that she was very unhappy at school because she did not feel that it was her natural environment (82), thereby evoking the discourse by Rosemary and Marika, when they speak about their daughters' choice of schools. She evokes ideologies related to locality and language use, and contrasts her primary school years in a smaller school - with children coming from the same area - with her secondary school years in a larger school, where there were children coming from English-speaking localities (82). These children called her names (94). She affiliates herself with "*aħna tal-irħula* [us who come from rural areas]" and calls the others "*tal-pepé* [snobbish]". The English-speaking girls would call Sara and her friends "*Tar-irħula tan-nagħaġ* [rural louts farmer girls]" (84). Some of her friends went to great lengths to be accepted by them. However, Sara states that she did not care about their comments (86). She defied such girls and spoke Maltese to them. The reason she gives for this is a nationalistic one "*għax aħna Maltin* [because we are Maltese]" which resonates with Rosemary's and Marika's reasoning. These two groups, the "*normali* [normal]" ones, like Sara, and the English-speaking ones are positioned as direct opposites. Sara also admits that these girls were all very rich and her parents could not afford generous donations to the school. The main characteristics of these girls was that they are snobbish and they made it a point to make others feel inferior. She uses a very harsh phrase "*imċappsin bil-kokó* [full of bullshit]" which basically refers to the fact that they were extremely snobbish.

At the end of this extract (103), Joanna narrates an episode that highlights the way she felt marginalised as a parent. She makes reference to those parents who made it a point to show that they were superior to everyone, particularly to those families whose fathers worked at the Dockyards, like her husband. During a parents' meeting, a parent who happened to speak English stated that they should pay more money for a party that the school was organising. She added that they could afford it as they did not work at the

Dockyards (like Sara's father). Joanna was deeply offended by the comment and she pointed out to the woman that she could afford the fee even though her husband worked there. Note how she uses some words in English to reflect the other woman's persona (103).

Extract 33

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| 75. I | U inti l-iskola/ | And school/ |
| 76. S | Jiena dejjem bil-Malti tkellimt u fil-brejk kont nitkellem bil-Malti (.) kont naqla' copies kemm trid | I always spoke Maltese and during break time I spoke Maltese (.) I was punished for it |
| 77. I | Iva/ | Really / |
| 78. S | I must talk in English I must talk in English għal xi mitt darba | I had to write <i>I must talk in English I must talk in English</i> for about one hundred times |
| 79. I | Veru/ | Really/ |
| 80. J | Bagħtu għalija qaluli ma titkellmux bl-Ingliż id-dar/ Imma aħna konna noqogħdu go flat qabel u jibdew jgħidu u kemm hi kiesha għax nies hekk kien hemm u s-soru qaltli she needs it here u bdejna nkellmuhom bl-Ingliż imbagħad next time li kellhom xi activities qaltli she has done very well | The school administration told me that I should speak English to her but we used to live in a flat and I was afraid that they would start thinking that we are snobbish but the nun told me that she <i>needs it here</i> and next time we met during a school activity she told me that she had seen an improvement |
| 81. I | Improvement | Improvement |
| 82. S | Imma kont niddejjaq mhux ma kontx inħossni komda imma l-primarja konna kollha mill-irħula u konna nitkellmu bil-Malti mbagħad meta morna l-Imdina thallatna gējna minn Tas-Sliema u Tal-Virtù huma kienu English spoken u kienu iktar fluent minna. | But I hated it and I didn't feel comfortable speaking English at Primary school we came from different villages and we spoke Maltese and then when we went to secondary school we a mixed group and there were those who came from Sliema and tal-Virtu and they spoke English fluently much more than us |
| 83. I | Kontu thossukom differenti/ | And did you feel different/ |
| 84. S | Kienu jgħajjrana | They used to call us names |
| 85. I | Veru/ | Really/ |
| 86. S | Aħna tar-irħula (.) aħna mhux bħalhom tal-pepé kien ikun hemm min kien bullied hallieha li I wouldn't care less ma tantx konna nithalltu ifhem issa meta nitkellmu u niltaqgħu xorta huma jkellmuna bl-Ingliż u jien nirrispondihom bil-Malti għax aħna Maltin | That we came from the villages (.)we were not like them we weren't snobbish and some of us were bullied but <i>I wouldn't care less</i> we didn't really mix and when they spoke English to me I used to speak Maltese to them because we are all Maltese |
| 87. I | Mela ma kontux tithalltu | So you didn't really mix |

88. S Le kienu joħorġu għalihom huma joħorġu Exiles għalihom u aħna għalina r-Rabat u huma Tas-Sliema (.) U kien hemm ħafna preferenzi No they used to hang out in Sliema and we used to go to Rabat (.) and at school they were privileged
89. I Imma għax minħabba l-lingwa / Was it because of language use/
90. S Għax ikunu tat-tajjeb missierhom ikollu xi kompanija high class Because their fathers were well-off they were businessmen all belonging to a high class
91. J Anke il-plays il-plays din kienet tirrabja aħna dejjem tajna donation għax konna naraw progress u hekk u l-edukazzjoni l-ewwel (.) imma kien jiddispjaċina tgħidli taf li hemm min ma jħallasx Even during plays she used to get very angry we always paid the school donation on time because we believed that it was for her own good and education comes first (.) but she used to tell me at times that there were some girls who did not pay their donation
92. S Kien ikun hemm min hu sinjur imma ma jħallasx kien hemm ħafna They were rich but didn't pay it there were many like this
93. I X'kienu jgħidulkom/ And what did they call you
94. S Tal-irħula tan-nagħaġ tal-għelieqi u kemm kienu jgħidulna xorti jien jew karattru imma qatt ma tajt kas imma ħabibti dejjem trid tixtri l-brand names trid tixtri l-aħjar affarijiet ara jien la mhux il-livell tagħhom heqq mhux il-livell tagħhom money wise kienu iktar Rural louts farmer girls and many other names I never gave them heed but my friends really wanted to be accepted by them and would buy only branded items but I knew that I could not afford them and *money wise* they were in a superior position then myself
95. I U l-lingwa/ And language use/
96. S Iva mhux too much bħalma konna aħna anke fil-vann kien hemm sħabna stess li jinħabbu ma' tal-pepéti li kienu jugżawna mela fil-vann stess biex jinħabbu It was too much even when we were on the school van there were girls who would report us to the nuns when we spoke Maltese to be in their good books
97. I Ara x'tension Tension
98. S Jien ma tantx nagħti każ imma kien hemm min imma jekk ma tistax ma tistax tagħmel mirakli ommi mhux tal-lukandi you have to accept what you are heqq aħna filli konna familji normali kollha mmorru tal-Virtù u filli ġejna ma' tfal li missierhom għandhom il-lukandi u kollha ħwienet heqq is-soru mhux bilfors tinħabb magħhom tal-flus u jtuhom affarijiet b'xejn mela aħna I didn't really care because if you cannot compete you cannot compete my mother did not own hotels and you have to accept who you are we came from a normal family and we used to go to tal-Virtu school and then we were put in the same school where girls' fathers owned hotels and shows and the nuns liked this because they showered them with gifts but we had nothing to offer
99. I Imma veru ma kinux jifhmukom/ But did they understand you when you spoke Maltese/

100. S	U le jifhmu konna nghidulhom intom imcappsin bil-kokò għax jekk inti Malti hux heqq tkellem bil-Malti	Of course they did they were just full of bullshit if you are Maltese you have to speak Maltese
101. I	Allura għalfejn jitekellmu Ingliz	So why do they speak Maltese /
102. S	Biex juru li huma aħjar minnek	To show that they are superior to you
103. J	Aħna tad-Dockyard ir-raġel Sara kienet tħossha ħafna (.) u dawn tal-Inglizati moħħhom biex juru li aħjar minna kollha speċjalment minna tad-Dockyard (.) l-iskola fejn kienet kienu jagħmlu party wiehed għall-Griżma u konna noħorġu l-flus u ġo sala (.)omm minnhom ma nafx jien qalet of course noħorġu more money mela aħna tad-Dockyard u veru ħassejtha u għeditilha hawn ħa jien tad-Dockyard ħudhom il-flus għandi flus imma n-nies ilsienhom veru jaqta'	My husband worked at the dockyard and Sara felt that she was inferior (.) those who spoke English made it a point to always remind us that they were better off than us especially since my husband worked at the dockyard (.) the school was organising a party for their Confirmation and we were pooling in money to rent a hall(.) one mother stated <i>of course</i> that they were willing to contribute more <i>money</i> because they were not dockyard people and I felt really bad about it and I told her look I am a dockyard person and you can have all the money you want because even I can afford it there are some people who are so vile

5.6.3 The Baldacchino Family: “There appears to be a choice but in reality there’s not”

Rita also narrates an episode where she had to take her son out of his school, because he was treated as an outsider there. Rita’s narrative starts with the phrase “*if I had a choice*” which seems to jar with her previous assertions in Section 5.3.3, where she describes how she changed her use of language and social groups, to provide a better future for her son. Again, she compares Gilbert’s childhood to her own childhood and hints at her disappointment at not being able to send Gilbert to an Independent school. In fact, the first part of the narrative describes her limited agency in the matter, as it all depended on the school that she could send Gilbert to. In the interview, she frequently makes reference to the fact that she cannot afford independent schools’ fees because she has a house loan, and her husband does not believe that they should spend money on school fees. Therefore, this is the explanation she gives that accounts for her son’s painful experience at school.

Gilbert was not accepted at his first school (a state school). The reason provided by Rita concerns the fact he spoke English, while most of the children attending there spoke Maltese. She also voices the negative attitudes towards English expressed by his teachers in saying “*xi qżież aħna Maltin dawn kif jirkellmu bl-Ingliż* [they sound snobbish we are Maltese and how dare they speak English]”. She is probably aware of these teachers’ position of power, because being a teacher herself, she knows the effect that she can have on young children. Gilbert demonstrated disaffected behaviour and was not willing to participate in the activities in class. Rita invokes her dual identity as mother and teacher, which at times could be contradictory. As a mother she believed that her son was not capable of such behaviour, but as a teacher she was aware that children who disrupted lessons existed. She realised that her son could fit in other contexts when she sent him to a different summer school (a church school) during the summer holidays. It seems that this school offered an environment which Gilbert could associate with and he was very happy there. In the end, she realised that her son’s cultural and linguistic capital did not fit in the state school’s imposed ideologies of national identity which are centred on the Maltese language. She felt that she was forced to take him out of that school for his own benefit. She also invokes the opinion of the professional, the psychologist whose opinion confirmed her fears that Gilbert would never fit in this school. She ends this narrative with a clear expression of hurt and of anger. Note that in the final turn she switches to Maltese when she voices her husband’s thoughts about the matter as this indexes her husband’s persona.

Extract 34

70. R If I had a choice I would have sent him to a church school or a private school why because I do not want him to pass through what I passed if I had gone to a different type of school I would have done much better *issa* [now] my mother was a teacher she helped a lot *insomma* [but] so he went to a state school *issa* [now] I was really not happy about it and I was teaching at that school
71. R As well (.) Gilbert entered that school speaking English and I had heard the staff commenting about English speaking

children fis-sens *xi qżież aħna Maltin dawn kif jitekellmu bl-Ingliż* [who do they think they are we are Maltese why do they speak English] very negative attitudes so I had to be careful I chose his teacher sort of his kindergarten assistant thinking he would be fine my colleague had her daughter in her classroom she was quite happy with the teacher there was not much to choose from so it was the best option (.) he went in class talking in English she had this negative attitude she never for example read a story in English she read stories in Maltese and she told me that she used to comment really negatively about Gilbert and I was surprised I used to think I might be biased because I am his mummy(.

I thought was blinded and I used to ask myself is this the boy she is talking about is this my son/ *insomma* [so] and there were behavioural issues she told me that he wasn't interested in stories which I found shocking because we used to read all day *veru imbagħad* [true and then] when I used to ask him he used to tell me only in Maltese probably he didn't understand the language being used especially if she didn't comment about what they were reading

72. I Could it be that she didn't feel comfortable/
73. R I am sure of it then there were other things not related to language to discipline and I couldn't get myself to let Gilbert stay in that school (.) then I went to a child psychologist I told her about my problems social problems were developing he didn't have any problems before I use to take him to masquerade lessons to see if there were problems because I was very concerened (.) he had his teacher and the other children spoke English and there were no behavioural problems no attention problems (.) then I took him to a Summer school in a church school no problems *anzi bil-kontra jġififeri* [actually it was the other way round] I had two extremes and he was very bright

74. I *Veru/* [Really/]
75. R There was a *laissez faire* attitude in the school and then I took a decision (.) the child psychologist went to school for half a day to observe him in the classroom and she said I think Gilbert fitting in the school because of culture and language (.) take him out he doesn't fit in you were right (.) it hurt *ħafna* [a lot]
76. I I can imagine
77. R *Issa* [now] I will have to change his school again *għax* [because] the college he is in I don't want him to stay there *issa* [now] private school I cannot afford it because I have a house loan and church school *bil-ballot ma telgħax allura* [he was not chosen by ballot so] there is no choice there appears to be a choice but in reality there's not this is one of the reason I do not want two children because I want to afford a private school for him (.) *u r-raġel tiegħi ma jifhimx jgħidli <skola bi skola għalfejn se nonfoq daww il-flus/>* [And my husband he doesn't understand and he tells me <all schools are the same so why should I spend all that money/>]

The narrative ends with the stark realisation: “*there appears to be a choice but in reality there's not*”. This clearly links to her agency or maybe her lack of it. Rita seems to be actively involved in shaping her identity (c.f. section 5.3.3), but at the same time is confined within the perceived limitations of her position and lack of economic resources.

5.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I have examined the self-reported language practices and language ideologies of the families taking part in the study. It was not possible to represent each and every sociocultural belief about language here, nor is every ideology discussed shared equally by each participant. Despite this, perceived as a whole, these families represent a range of experiences of language use in Malta. This chapter presents a nuanced overview of predominant language ideologies within these families and the plurality of perspectives on language issues both within their families and in Malta as a whole.

In Malta, as is likely the case in other postcolonial and multilingual communities, language ideologies are shaped by local and global forces as well as diachronic and synchronic events. Participants discuss the use of languages in Malta and how they map these understandings; onto people, events, and activities. These participants voice their ideologies of language use, which are “suffused with the political and moral issues pervading the particular sociolinguistic field” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p.35). This chapter demonstrates that the perceived language differences between Maltese-speaking and English-speaking individuals are rooted in diachronic events, including historical notions of social class which predate British colonisation, and in the present-day changes in language learning patterns in Malta which are tied to the role of English in the global linguistic marketplace, and the local commodification of the Maltese language.

In conclusion, judging from the participants’ reflections, notions of social class, colonial history, educational policies and local attributions of value all play an important role in the use of language in Malta. In the following chapter I will be addressing these issues in the light of the wider population in Malta. The ideologies discussed above were elicited from the families in the qualitative study which were by no means representative of the Maltese population. Therefore, in the next chapter my main objective will be to investigate to what extent we can say that these ideologies are held by the wider population.

6 Results: The Quantitative Study

6.1 Participants' background information

In this section I will be outlining the characteristics that make up the sample in the quantitative study. I distributed the questionnaire across twelve schools (Table 6.1), pertaining to the three sectors that make up the local schooling system.

Table 6.1: Distribution of school sectors and school years

	State	Church	Independent
Primary	3	2	1
Secondary	3	2	1
Total	6	4	2

The sample was made up of 387 females (69.2%) and 172 males (30.8%). The following table summarises the sample on the basis of age.

Table 6.2: Sample by age group and gender

Age	Frequency	Percent
Adults	202 (M=45, F=157)	36.1 (M= 22.3, F= 77.7)
14-15	153(M=55, F=98)	27.4 (M= 35.9, F= 64.1)
11-12	96(M= 31, F=65)	17.2 (M= 32.3, F= 67.7)
8-9	108(M=41, F=67)	19.3(M= 38.0, F= 62.0)
Total	559(M=172, F=387)	100.0(M= 30.8, F=69.2)

Note: M=Male; F = Female.

The schools were from different geographical locations in Malta in order to represent participants from various localities. The following table provides further information about the geographic areas which the participants belonged to:

Table 6.3: Sample by geographic area

Geographic Area	%(n)
Southern Harbour	2.5 (14)
Northern Harbour	74.4 (416)
Western	13.1 (73)
Northern	7.5 (42)
South Eastern	2.5 (14)
Total	100.0 (559)

The occupational groups used in this study were based on the ones used in a sociolinguistic survey by Sciriha and Vassallo (2006). The reason why occupational groups and not socio-economic variables, based on high and low social classes, were used in this study was that a proper mapping of socio-economic groups validated for Malta is not yet in place. I initially wanted the participants to indicate their or their parents' level of education. However, this proved to be a futile exercise with the child participants as the absolute majority had no idea as to their parents' level of education. Moreover, most adults left this option blank. The child participants were asked to write their father's and their mother's jobs, while the adult participants were asked to write down their partner's and their own job. The jobs were classified and grouped according to the following categories (adapted from Sciriha & Vassallo, 2006):

- self-employed (for instance *owner of travel agency*) refers to individuals who work for themselves, on a freelance basis, or the owners of a business rather than for an employer;
- managers (for instance *manager at a bank*), manage enterprises or organisations, or their internal departments;
- professionals (for instance *nurse*) refers to those individuals who increase the existing stock of knowledge, apply scientific or artistic concepts and theories, teach

about the foregoing in a systematic manner, or engage in any combination of these three activities.

- clerical workers (for instance *clerk at an insurance company*) are those who record, organise, store, compute and retrieve information related to the work in question, and perform a number of clerical duties;
- manual workers (for instance *carpenter*) refers to work that is carried out by hand and by hand-powered and other tools. The tasks call for an understanding of all stages of the production process;
- homemakers refers to individuals (in this case mainly women) who choose to take care of the family and the home;
- unemployed (when specifically mentioned) which refers to individuals who are not engaged in paid employment;
- elementary occupation refers to those occupations consist of simple and routine tasks which mainly require the use of hand-held tools and often some physical effort. These included selling goods, providing various street services; cleaning, washing, delivering messages or goods and carrying luggage.

Whereas a variety of professions was found, there was a substantial amount of data that were missing or unclear, as illustrated in 4. In the cases where this option was left blank, it was classified as Not mentioned. There were instances where the options suggested were not clear or did not provide enough information about the occupation, for instance “airport”, “with tools”, “Education Department”. In this case, these options were assigned to the category “unclear”. This classification does not come without its limitations. The most problematic issue was in the classification of mothers’ jobs when the participants wrote “nothing” or “no job”. In this case these options were classified as “Unemployed”. However, I was not in a position to check whether these participants meant that the mothers in the families were homemakers, or whether they were looking for paid employment. There were also five participants who seemed to be offended by this question, so much so that they left it blank and wrote a message stating that I was prying into their personal lives.

As shown in the following table, most males reported having professional jobs, closely followed by manual ones. Most females reported having professional jobs and a relatively large percentage of females reported being unemployed, when compared to the male counterparts. Also, there were more females than males who reported they were homemakers. A similar pattern can be observed in the parents' jobs as reported by children. The majority of parents (both fathers and mothers) have professional jobs. Children reported more mothers than fathers to be unemployed and to be homemakers. The level of missing data ("Not mentioned") was similar for both males and females.

Table 6.4: Employment of males and females as reported by the adult and child participants

	Adult Female Employment %(n)	Adult Male Employment %(n)	Mother's Employment %(n)	Father's Employment %(n)
Self-employed	0.5 (1)	5.0 (10)	1.7 (6)	6.2 (22)
Manager	5.9 (12)	13.4 (27)	2.0 (7)	6.7 (24)
Professional	27.7 (56)	28.8 (50)	28.9 (103)	28.6 (102)
Clerical	6.4 (13)	3.0 (6)	7.0 (25)	2.0 (7)
Manual	3.0 (6)	20.8 (42)	3.1 (11)	23.5 (84)
Elementary Occupation	8.4 (17)	12.4 (25)	15.1 (54)	13.7 (49)
Homemaker	12.9 (26)	0	24.6 (88)	0.8 (3)
Unemployed	16.3 (33)	1.5 (3)	6.2 (22)	1.7 (6)
Unclear	2.0 (4)	2.5 (5)	3.9 (14)	5.6 (20)
Not mentioned	16.8 (34)	16.8 (34)	7.6 (27)	11.2 (40)
Total	100 (202)	100 (202)	100 (357)	100 (357)

Note. Adults were asked to provide information about their own and their partners' employment and children provided information about both parents' employment.

To explore the differences in employment, based on school sector, chi-square tests for independence were run. The association between father's employment and school sector was not significant ($X^2(1)=27.17, p=.078$). The chi-square test for independence confirmed a significant association between mother's employment and school sector ($X^2(1)=30.60, p=.003$). The effect size was medium (Cramer's $V = .165$). The results are presented in the following table.

Table 6.5: Mother's employment by school sector

	Self-employed	Manager	Professional	Clerical	Manual	Elementary Occupation	Homemaker	Unemployed	Unclear	Not mentioned	Total
State	85.7 (6)	63.2 (12)	60.4 (96)	63.2 (24)	94.1 (16)	59.2 (42)	67.5 (77)	85.5 (47)	6.7 (12)	67.2 (41)	66.7 (373)
Church	14.3 (1)	31.6 (6)	31.4 (50)	34.2 (13)	5.9 (1)	29.6 (21)	25.4 (29)	14.5 (8)	33.3 (6)	19.7 (12)	26.3 (147)
Independent	0	5.3 (1)	8.2 (13)	2.6 (1)	0	11.3 (8)	7.0 (8)	0	0	13.1 (8)	7 (39)

The table shows that in general, most of the employment groups are present in all school sectors. The exceptions to this are the manual employment groups and the unemployed. The majority of mothers in manual jobs are related to state schools, and there are no mothers whose children attend independent schools or who themselves have attended these same schools who work in the manual sector. This result can be interpreted in the school fees that have to be paid for independent schools, which might require both parents to be engaged in employment. In addition, with regard to differences in the church school cohort, the majority of mothers who work in the clerical sector are linked to these same schools.

6.2 Language Use

This section reports on the descriptive statistics of the use of language by the participants. The data reported here provides a backdrop which could be used to interpret the quantitative analysis in the following sections.

6.2.1 Language use in the home domain

The participants were asked to indicate the language used with their mother and father (Table 6.6). The majority of the children in the study reported that they speak to their father and to their mother in Maltese only, and a further 14% speak Maltese more often than English to their mother. With regard to English, about one sixth of the participants claim to speak English only to their father, and this percentage decreases slightly for the use of English only with mothers. The use of mainly English with both mother and father is less than the use of mainly Maltese. In terms of using both languages, one tenth of the sample reported to use both Maltese and English with their parents.

Table 6.6: Language used with parents (n=357)

	Language use with father % (n)	Language use with mother % (n)
M	49.9 (178)	51.0 (182)
M>E	13.4 (48)	14.0 (50)
M~E	11.2 (40)	8.70 (31)
E>M	7.3 (26)	10.9 (39)
E	14.6 (52)	12.3 (44)
Other	2.5 (9)	2.5 (9)
Not Applicable	1.1 (4)	0.60 (2)

Note. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English. Numbers in brackets = n.

Table 6.7 shows that more than one third of the adult participants stated that they speak to their children in Maltese only. When compared to the child participants, more parents reported to use English with their children than children using it with their parents. Almost one fifth of the parents state that they use Maltese and some English.

Table 6.7: Language used with child (n=202)

	Language use with child % (n)	Language use with partner/ spouse % (n)
M	38.6 (78)	28.2 (57)
M>E	19.8 (39)	22.8 (46)
M~E	17.3 (35)	24.3 (49)
E>M	14.4 (29)	6.9 (14)
E	7.9 (16)	5.9 (12)
Other	2.0 (5)	1.0 (2)

Note. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English. Numbers in brackets = n.

According to the self-reports of language use, in terms of language used with their spouse or partner, a third of adult participants use Maltese only. This is closely followed by the use of mainly Maltese with some English and using Maltese and English equally.

In conclusion, based on these reports, it is apparent from this data that the majority of children use Maltese with their parents, and the use of Maltese decreases for the adult sample with their children and their spouses/partners. The pattern is reversed for the use of English, with more parents than children, using it in the home domain.

6.2.2 Language use when reading books and watching television

When asked about the choice of language when watching television programmes, one third of all participants stated that they watched programmes mainly in English. Children prefer to watch programmes in English, more than parents. As can be seen from Table 6.8, the majority of adults claimed to watch television programmes mainly in English, while the majority of children prefer to watch programmes in English. The least popular option for both adults and children is watching programmes solely in Maltese.

Table 6.8: Language used when watching television and reading books for parents (n=202) and children (n=357)

	Language used when watching TV			Language used when reading books		
	% (n)			% (n)		
	Parents	Children	Total	Parents	Children	Total
M	5.3 (12)	4.2 (15)	4.8 (27)	13.7 (31)	2.7 (9)	7.2 (40)
M>E	17.3 (39)	5.1 (17)	10.0 (56)	16.4 (15)	4.5 (15)	9.3 (52)
M~E	26.5 (60)	23.7 (79)	24.9 (139)	20.8 (47)	30.9 (103)	26.8 (150)
E>M	28.8 (65)	29.1 (97)	29.0 (162)	21.2 (48)	40.8 (136)	32.9 (184)
E	15.5 (35)	33.0 (110)	25.9 (145)	23.9 (54)	18.3 (61)	20.6 (115)
Other	5.8 (13)	4.8 (16)	5.00 (28)	3.1 (7)	0.6 (2)	1.6 (9)
Not Applicable	0.9 (2)	0 (0)	0.4 (2)	0.90 (2)	2.1 (7)	1.6 (9)

Note: The numbers in brackets refer to frequencies

Note. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.

Numbers in brackets =n.

With regard to the choice of language when reading books, more than one third of participants reported to read books mainly in English, closely followed by those who read in Maltese and English on an equal basis. The notable differences between children and their parents lie in reading books exclusively in Maltese. More parents than children read books claimed to in Maltese only. Furthermore, the majority of children (almost half of them) claim that they are reading mainly in English.

To conclude, these descriptive statistics illustrate that while adults use English more than children in the home environment, in this section we can see that children use English more than their parents when watching television and when reading books.

6.2.3 Language use outside of the home domain

Regarding language used at school, almost a third of the children reported to use Maltese and English equally, as evident in Table 6.9. Contrary to what happens in the home domain, the use of Maltese only is the among the least popular option. When this data are broken down by school sector, more than one third of children attending state schools claimed to use mainly Maltese which is closely followed by the equal use of Maltese and English. In church schools, the equal use of Maltese and English option is predominant, followed by the sole use of English by more than a quarter of the students attending these schools. In independent schools, the majority of children use mainly English or English only at school.

Table 6.9: Language used at school by school sector (n=357)

	School sector % (n)			Total
	State	Church	Independent	
M	18.3 (42)	5.2 (5)	3.1 (1)	13.4 (48)
M>E	34.9 (80)	7.3 (7)	0 (0)	24.4 (87)
M~E	30.6 (70)	38.5 (37)	18.8 (6)	31.7 (113)
E>M	7.9 (18)	21.9 (21)	40.6 (13)	14.6 (52)
E	4.8 (11)	26.0 (25)	37.5 (12)	13.4 (48)
Not Applicable	3.5 (8)	1.0 (1)	0 (0)	2.5 (9)
Total	100.0 (229)	100.0 (96)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (357)

Note. Some questionnaires had missing data and are added to the Not Applicable Section

M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.

Numbers in brackets = n.

With regard to language use at work (Table 6.10 6.10), a third of the adult participants claimed to use Maltese at work, followed by the use of Maltese and English on an equal basis, by a quarter of the adult population. The least popular option is the use of another language and using English solely.

Table 6.10: Language used at work (n=202)

Language used at work % (n)	
M	28.2 (57)
M>E	22.8 (46)
M~E	24.3 (49)
E>M	6.9 (14)
E	5.9 (12)
Other	1.0 (2)
Not Applicable	10.9 (22)

Note. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English. Numbers in brackets = n.

In terms of language used with friends, Table 6.11 illustrates that the majority of participants reported to speak Maltese with their friends. When the data are broken down for the two sub-groups, parents' use of mainly English is limited to just about 13% while over 60% is dominant in Maltese. On the other hand, the use of English is more prevalent in the child sub-group. This pattern seems to mirror the one obtained for language used at school and at work respectively as illustrated in Table 6.9 and Table 6.10.

Table 6.11: Language used with friends for parents (n=202) and children (n=357)

	Parents % (n)	Children % (n)	Total % (n)
M	44.6 (90)	31.4 (112)	36.1 (202)
M>E	26.7 (54)	19.9 (71)	22.4 (125)
M~E	13.9 (28)	16.5 (59)	15.6 (87)
E>M	6.9 (14)	11.2 (40)	9.7 (54)
E	5.9 (12)	20.2 (72)	15.0 (84)
Other	2.0 (4)	0.60 (2)	1.1 (6)

Note. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English. Numbers in brackets = n.

6.3 Differences in language use at home by age, locality, employment and school sector

Crosstabulation of data, using chi-squared tests were performed in order to discover whether the distribution of language use was statistically significant across these categorical variables: age, locality, employment, and school sector. Cramer's V and Phi coefficient (ϕ) were used to provide an indication of how strongly the two categorical variables are associated (Field, 2013). In line with the study's main aim, language use in the home domain will be presented.

The chi-squared tests for independence for language used to speak to mother ($\chi^2(1)=52.99$, $p<.001$, Cramer's $V=.417$, $\phi=.589$) and father ($\chi^2(1)=60.75$, $p<.001$, Cramer's $V=.292$, $\phi=.557$) by age group were significant. Table 6.12 outlines the summary statistics for language used with parents. The self-reports show that the use of Maltese is most predominant in the 14- to 15-year-old group, especially when compared with the younger age groups, who tend to use English more with their mothers and fathers. The percentage of 11- to 12-year-olds who use mainly Maltese or mainly English with their parents is almost equal.

Table 6.12: Language used to speak to mother and father by age group (n=357)

	Language spoken to mother % (n)				Language spoken to father % (n)			
	14-15	11-12	8-9	Total	14-15	11-12	8-9	Total
M	62.1 (95)	33.3 (32)	50.9 (55)	100 (182)	60.8 (93)	29.2 (28)	52.8 (57)	100 (178)
M>E	17.0 (26)	18.8 (18)	5.6 (6)	100 (50)	18.3 (28)	16.7 (16)	3.7 (4)	100 (48)
M~E	7.8 (12)	8.3 (8)	10.2 (11)	100 (31)	7.2 (11)	14.6 (14)	13.9 (15)	100 (40)
E>M	4.6 (7)	22.9 (22)	9.3 (10)	100 (39)	3.9 (6)	14.6 (14)	5.6 (6)	100 (26)
E	5.9 (9)	16.7 (16)	17.6 (19)	100 (44)	5.2 (8)	25.0 (24)	18.5 (20)	100 (52)
Other	2.0 (3)	0 (0)	5.6 (6)	100 (9)	2.6 (4)	0 (0)	4.6 (5)	100 (9)
NA	0.7 (1)	0 (0)	0.9 (1)	100 (2)	2.0 (3)	0 (0)	0.9 (1)	100 (4)

Note. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English; NA=Not Applicable. Numbers in brackets = n.

The chi-squared tests for independence for language spoken to mother by locality ($X^2(1)=37.62$, $p=.038$, Cramer's $V=.162$, $\phi=.325$) and for language spoken to child by locality ($X^2(1)=39.60$, $p=.006$, Cramer's $V=.222$, $\phi=.037$) were significant. Table 6.13 illustrates the reported use of language. The use of Maltese only with mother prevails in all areas (exception being the South East part of the island).

Table 6.13: Language used to speak to mother by locality (n=349)

	Southern Harbour	Northern Harbour	West	North	South East	Total^a
M	40.0 (2)	54.4 (147)	45.8 (22)	44.0 (11)	0 (0)	51.0 (182)
M>E	0 (0)	12.2 (33)	16.7 (8)	16.0 (4)	55.6 (5)	14.0 (50)
M~E	20.0 (1)	8.9 (24)	2.1 (1)	16.0 (4)	11.1 (1)	8.7 (34)
E>M	20.0 (1)	9.6 (26)	20.8 (10)	8.0 (2)	0 (0)	10.9 (39)
E	20.0 (1)	10.7 (29)	14.6 (7)	16.0 (4)	33.3 (3)	12.3 (34)

Note. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.

Numbers in brackets = n.

^aTotal refers to total number of participants who speak language.

Participants who speak any other language (n=9) were not included in this table.

A closer look at the results for use of language to speak to child according to locality (in Table 6.14) reveals a trend which favours the use of Maltese in the South Eastern and the Northern Harbour areas. English is more prevalent in the northern areas, where more than half of the parents who live there use mainly English or English only with their child.

Table 6.14: Language used to speak to child by locality (n=202)

	Southern Harbour	Northern Harbour	West	North	South East	Total^a
M	22.2 (2)	46.2 (67)	16.0 (4)	17.6 (3)	40.0 (2)	38.8 (78)
M>E	11.1 (1)	19.3 (28)	36.0 (9)	0 (0)	20.0 (1)	19.4 (39)
M~E	44.4 (4)	14.5 (21)	20.0 (5)	17.6 (3)	40.0 (2)	17.4 (35)
E>M	22.2 (2)	10.3 (15)	24.0 (6)	35.3 (6)	0 (0)	14.4 (29)
E	0 (0)	7.6 (11)	4.0 (1)	23.5 (4)	0 (0)	8.0 (16)
Other	0 (0)	2.1 (3)	0 (1)	5.9 (1)	0(0)	2.0 (4)

Note. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.

Numbers in brackets = n.

^aTotal refers to total number of participants who speak language.

No significant differences were found for language spoken to child, and mother's ($\chi^2(1)=47.79$, $p=.360$) and father's ($\chi^2(1)=30.98$, $p=.846$) employment were not significant. On the other hand, the interaction between the language spoken to mother and mother's employment was found to be significant, although the strength between these two variables is rather low, as indicated by the Cramer's statistic. ($\chi^2(1)=79.93$, $p=.012$, Cramer's $V=.193$, $\phi=.473$). The self-reported data are reported in Table 6.15. Children whose mothers work in the clerical sector or in the manual sector are more likely to use Maltese only with their mothers than the other employment groups.. Also, the majority of children whose mothers are unemployed or who do not include their occupation in the questionnaire speak Maltese only to their mothers. Those who claimed to speak mainly English to their mothers come from families whose mother was self-employed, albeit small in number. It is also interesting to note that the differences between groups in the use of English only are small, while the use of Maltese showed large variation.

Table 6.15: Language used to speak to mother by mother's employment (n=347)

	Self-employed	Manager	Professional	Clerical	Manual	Elementary Occupation	Homemaker	Unemployed	Unclear	Not mentioned	Total ^a
M	16.7 (1)	14.3 (1)	49.5 (51)	68.0 (17)	63.6 (7)	50.0 (27)	52.3 (46)	54.5 (12)	42.9 (16)	51.9 (14)	100 (182)
M>E	31.3 (2)	28.6 (2)	13.6 (14)	12.0 (3)	0 (0)	9.3 (5)	17.0 (15)	4.5 (1)	28.6 (4)	14.8 (4)	100 (50)
M~E	16.7 (1)	28.6 (2)	11.7 (12)	4.0 (1)	0 (0)	9.3 (5)	4.5 (4)	9.1 (2)	7.1 (1)	11.1 (3)	100 (31)
E>M	0 (0)	14.3 (1)	10.7 (11)	4.0 (1)	0 (0)	16.7 (9)	12.5 (11)	4.5 (1)	14.3 (2)	11.1 (3)	100 (39)
E	35.3 (2)	0 (0)	14.6 (15)	12.0 (3)	18.2 (2)	11.1 (6)	10.2 (9)	18.2 (4)	7.1 (1)	7.4 (2)	100 (44)

Note. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.

Numbers in brackets = n.

^aTotal refers to total number of participants who speak language.

Participants who speak any other language (n=9) or who do not communicate with their mothers (n=2) were not included in this table.

The chi-squared tests for independence for language used to speak to mother ($\chi^2(1)=38.69$, $p<.001$ Cramer's $V=.417$, $\phi=.589$) and father ($\chi^2(1)=49.34$, $p<.001$ Cramer's $V=.394$, $\phi=.557$) by school attended were significant. Cramer's V statistic confirms that the association between these variables is a moderate one. The data in Table 6.16 is based on self-report data. The data indicates that the use of Maltese with both parents prevails in state schools, with more than half of the students who attend state schools, speaking Maltese only at home. On the other end of the language spectrum, almost half of the children who attend independent schools stated that they speak English only, and more than a third of them speak mostly English to their father. A similar trend can be seen for the children who attend independent schools and the use of English with mothers. A more varied picture can be observed for the children attending church schools. While more than a third of these children claimed to use Maltese with their mother and father, an almost equal distribution can be observed for the other options.

Table 6.16: Language used to speak to mother and father by school attended

	Language spoken to mother % (n)			Language spoken to father % (n)		
	State	Church	Independent	State	Church	Independent
M	62.0 (142)	39.6 (38)	6.3 (2)	61.6 (141)	35.4 (34)	9.4 (3)
M>E	15.7 (36)	12.5 (16)	6.3 (2)	15.3 (35)	11.5 (11)	6.3 (2)
M~E	5.7 (13)	16.7 (16)	6.3 (2)	7.9 (18)	20.8 (20)	6.3 (2)
E>M	1.3 (3)	19.8 (19)	53.1 (17)	2.2 (5)	10.4 (10)	34.4 (11)
E	10.5 (24)	11.5 (11)	28.1 (9)	8.7 (20)	18.8 (18)	43.8 (14)

Note. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.

Numbers in brackets = n.

Participants who speak any other language (n=9) or who do not communicate with their mothers or fathers (n=4) were not included in this table.

Finally, the chi-square tests for independence for language used to speak to mother ($X^2(1)=18.416$, $p=.064$ Cramer's $V=.385$) and father ($X^2(1)=20.034$, $p=.13$ Cramer's $V=.237$) by gender was not significant.

In conclusion, the most striking results to emerge from the data on language use are that significant differences by locality and mother's employment, respectively, can be traced in children's use of language with mother. Significant differences between school sector and age group can be found in language spoken to mother and to father. In the following sections, the effect of the independent variables; namely, age, locality, employment and school sector, together with language use at home, on the language attitude constructs will be examined.

6.4 Predicting the constructs that contribute to language attitudes

A standard multiple regression analysis, following the recommendations outlined in Larson-Hall (2010), was run to explore which variables have independent power on the response variable. Table 6.17 foregrounds the predictor variables that influence the outcome variables respectively. The four constructs that were found to contribute significantly to all constructs were locality and use of Maltese, nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese, group membership and use of English, and group membership and use of Maltese. The constructs that have a significant effect on locality and use of Maltese account for 58.5% of the variance, and those affecting nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese account for 54.2% of the variance in this construct. On the other hand, only 13.3% and 16.4% of the variance in instrumental value of Maltese and of English respectively can be explained by the predictor variables.

Table 6.17: Results of the standard multiple regression analysis of the constructs

		Final model			
		B	SE B	β	p
Instrumental value of Maltese	Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	.265	.073	.230	<.001
	Social class and the use of English	-.130	.059	-.125	.027
	Instrumental value of English	.266	.059	.240	<.001
	R^2	.133			
	F for change in R^2	6.616			
Instrumental value of English	Instrumental value of Maltese	.209	.046	.231	<.001
	Locality and use of Maltese	.114	.052	.132	.029
	Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	.276	.054	.262	<.001
	R^2	.164			
	F for change in R^2	8.495			
Social class and use of English	Instrumental value of Maltese	-.108	.049	-.113	.027
	Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	.408	.064	.371	<.001
	Group membership and use of Maltese	.110	.053	.114	.038
	R^2	.461			
	F for change in R^2	11.703			
Locality and use of Maltese	Instrumental value of English	.120	.055	.104	.029
	Locality and use of English	-.136	.051	-.125	.008
	Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	.413	.063	.345	<.001
	Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	-.159	.057	-.130	.005
	Group membership and use of Maltese	.247	.051	.236	<.001
	Group membership and use of English	.089	.045	.094	.005
	R^2	.585			
	F for change in R^2	22.485			
Locality and use of English	Locality and use of Maltese	-.147	.055	-.159	.008
	Group membership and use of English	.301	.045	.344	<.001
	R^2	.403			
	F for change in R^2	8.405			
Nationalistic ideologies and Maltese	Instrumental value of Maltese	0.179	0.034	.241	<.001
	Social class and the use of English	0.169	0.041	.184	<.001
	Locality and the use of Maltese	0.180	0.048	.197	<.001
	Group membership and use of Maltese	0.253	0.053	.253	<.001
	R^2	.542			
	F for change in R^2	17.99			
Group membership and use of Maltese	Social class and the use of English	.112	.054	.108	.038
	Locality and use of Maltese	.254	.053	.267	<.001
	Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	.263	.066	.230	<.001
	Group membership and use of English	.096	.046	.106	.039
	R^2	0.504			
F for change in R^2	14.758				
Group membership and use of English	Locality and use of English	.385	.057	.336	<.001
	Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	.210	.066	.164	.002
	Group membership and use of Maltese	.128	.062	.116	.039
	R^2	.426			
	F for change in R^2	9.596			

Note. Only statistically significant effects are reported in this table.

6.4.1 Predicting constructs that contribute to nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese

In the light of the ideologies related to use of language and nationalistic ideologies which were expressed by most participants in the interviews, a sequential regression was run to explore the effect of group membership and use of Maltese; social class and the use of English; locality and use of Maltese; and instrumental value of Maltese on nationalistic ideologies and Maltese. Group membership and use of Maltese accounts for 41.4% of variance when it was applied to the model before all the other variables - in fact this was the predictor that contributed most to the model. This highlights the importance that participants attach to the Maltese language as a symbol of national and group identity. Model 4 with all four predictors, accounted for 52.9% of the variance in the scale nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese.

Table 6.18: Results of the sequential regression analysis of four variables with Nationalistic Ideologies and Maltese

Model	B	SE B	β	R ²	F for change in R ²
1 Group membership and use of Maltese	.414	.048	.414	.414	72.975
2 Group membership and use of Maltese	.370	.050	.370	.443	42.883
Social class and the use of English	.141	.043	.163		
3 Group membership and use of Maltese	.288	.054	.288	.475	34.013
Social class and the use of English	.146	.042	.169		
Locality and use of Maltese	.174	.048	.189		
4 Group membership and use of Maltese	.261	.053	.261	.529	33.961
Social class and the use of English	.148	.041	.172		
Locality and use of Maltese	.180	.046	.197		
Instrumental value of Maltese	.174	.034	.234		

Note: All models were statistically significant ($p < .001$)

The same analysis was run for the two main groups in the sample, adults and children, to examine if there are consistent patterns in the models achieved (refer to Table 6.19). All in all, the models correspond, except for the variable instrumental value of Maltese, which was not a significant predictor in the children's model.

Table 6.19: Results of the standard multiple regression analysis of the constructs with nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese for the adult and child subgroups

Group	Model	B	SE B	β	<i>p</i>
Parent	Instrumental value of Maltese	.151	.047	.186	.001
	Social class and the use of English	.270	.056	.302	<.001
	Locality and the use of Maltese	.244	.052	.294	<.001
	Group membership and use of Maltese	.147	.058	.162	.012
	Instrumental value of English	.020	.053	.023	.705
	Locality and the use of English	-.017	.059	-.018	.769
	Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	.110	.062	.107	.075
	Group membership and use of English	.017	.053	.020	.754
	<i>R</i> ²	.411			
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	16.839				
Child	Instrumental value of Maltese	.089	.072	.087	.216
	Social class and the use of English	.261	.063	.279	<.001
	Locality and the use of Maltese	.294	.069	.338	<.001
	Group membership and use of Maltese	.155	.063	.183	.015
	Instrumental value of English	.071	.080	.065	.373
	Locality and the use of English	-.016	.067	-.018	.815
	Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	-.071	.077	-.065	.363
	Group membership and use of English	-.041	.056	-.056	.459
	<i>R</i> ²	.387			
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	11.362				

6.4.2 The independent variables which predict language attitudes

Lastly, after examining how each variable influenced the attitudes towards Maltese and English, depending on a number of independent variables, multiple regression analyses were carried out to assess which constructs best explain children's language attitudes in the particular context of Malta. As discussed in Section 4.6.2, dummy coding (Cohen, 2003) was used to transform the categorical variables. The results of the standard multiple regressions are summarised in Table 6.20. The model proposed that for all constructs, (except for locality and use of Maltese) language spoken to mother and school sector are the most influential independent variables. Group membership and use of English is influenced the most by these variables: the model explains 55.1% of the variance, followed by the social class and use of English construct (36.6% of the variance).

Table 6.20: Summary of results of the multiple regression for the child subgroup

		Final model			
		B	SE B	β	<i>p</i>
Instrumental value of Maltese	Language spoken to mother	.808	.145	.309	<.001
	Age	-.041	.07	-.030	.562
	School sector	-.132	.098	-.075	.004
	<i>R</i> ²	.353			
	<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	12.46			
Social class and use of English	Language spoken to mother	.149	.119	.069	.009
	Age	.003	.057	.002	.964
	School sector	-.483	.08	-.334	<.001
	<i>R</i> ²	.366			
	<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	13.554			
Locality and use of Maltese	Language spoken to mother	.170	.113	.088	.131
	Age	-.028	.054	-.028	.610
	School sector	-.008	.076	-.006	.916
	<i>R</i> ²	.180			
	<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	2.935			
Locality and use of English	Language spoken to mother	-.275	.131	-.119	.036
	Age	-.003	.063	-.003	.956
	School sector	.255	.088	.163	.004
	<i>R</i> ²	.285			
	<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	7.772			

		Final model			
		B	SE B	β	p
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	Language spoken to mother	.626	.104	.330	<.001
	Age	.204	.050	-.047	.391
	School sector	-.060	.070	.207	<.001
	<i>R</i> ²	.375			
	<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	14.373			
Group membership and Maltese	Language spoken to mother	.046	.209	.019	.002
	Age	-.542	.150	-.310	.058
	School sector	.046	.209	.019	.004
	<i>R</i> ²	.330			
	<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	6.089			
Group membership and English	Language spoken to mother	.240	.114	.105	.035
	Age	.619	.055	.518	.061
	School sector	.250	.076	.162	.001
	<i>R</i> ²	.551			
	<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	38.192			

6.5 The interaction between the independent variables and the language attitude constructs

Two-way multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were performed on split files for children and adults, to explore the interaction effects of the independent variables (age, locality, employment, school sector, and language spoken at home) on the language attitude constructs. In Section 6.4, I have described the role of the independent variable language spoken to mother in predicting the outcomes of the language attitude constructs. For this reason, language spoken to mother will be the main variable used to assess language spoken at home for the child subgroup.

The following table summarises the MANOVA tests carried out for the child group, with information about the interaction and main effects of the independent variables on the dependent ones. Only the significant interactions and/or significant effects are reported in the table below.

Table 6.21: MANOVA summary results for the effects of age, locality, employment, school sector, and language spoken to mother on the language attitude constructs (n= 357)

Independent Variables	Significant Main Effects	Significant Main Interactions
Age x School sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age on all constructs, except instrumental value of English • School sector on all constructs, except instrumental value of English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instrumental value of Maltese F(6,546)=2.74, p=.012, $\eta^2 = .035$) • Instrumental value of English F(6, 546)=2.65, p=.015, $\eta^2 = .043$), • Locality and use of Maltese F(6, 546) =5.18, p<.001, $\eta^2 = .078$) • Locality and use of English F(6, 547) =10.49, p<.001, $\eta^2 = .113$)
Age x Language spoken to mother	A significant main effect of age on all constructs, except instrumental value of English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instrumental value of Maltese F(10, 337)=5.24, p<.001, $\eta^2 = .135$); • Instrumental value of English F(10, 338)=1.31, p<.001, $\eta^2 = .037$); • Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese F(10, 337) =3.64, p<.001, $\eta^2 = .097$); • Nationalistic ideologies and use of English F(10, 337) =1.31, p=.010, $\eta^2 = .065$).
School sector x Language spoken to mother	A significant main effect of school sector on all constructs, except instrumental value of English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instrumental value of Maltese F(8, 339) =3.11, p=.002, $\eta^2 = .068$); • Instrumental value of English F(8, 340) =1.90, p=.005, $\eta^2 = .043$); • Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese F(8, 339) =2.39, p=.016, $\eta^2 = .012$).
Locality x School sector	A significant main effect of school sector on all constructs, except instrumental value of English	None
Mother's employment x School sector	A significant main effect of school sector on all constructs, except instrumental value of English	None
Father's employment x School sector	A significant main effect of school sector on all constructs, except instrumental value of English	None

Note. Levels of significance, F values and effect sizes for the main effects are provided in Section 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9.

As summarised in Table 6.21, at the univariate level, significant main effects of age, school sector and language spoken to mother were observed, as well as three significant two-way interactions: Age x School sector; Age x Language spoken to mother and School sector x Language spoken to mother, on some of language attitude constructs. Significant

multivariate effects were followed up at a univariate level using ANOVA, which will be presented in the Section 6.6.

The means obtained for the significant interactions will be presented in the following tables (Tables 6.22-6.25) in the following order: Age x School sector, Age x Language spoken to mother and School sector x Language spoken to mother.

Table 6.22 presents the means for each school sector per age group for the three language attitude constructs, that presented a significant interaction. The 14- to 15-year-olds hold the most positive attitudes to the instrumentality constructs. Those who attend state schools view the Maltese construct most positively, and those from independent schools are the ones who value the English one most positively. On the other hand, the 11- to 12-year-olds view these constructs most negatively, obtaining the lowest mean scores. The eight- to nine-year-olds who attend independent schools view the locality construct most positively, while those who attend state schools hold the most negative attitudes to it.

Table 6.22: Means for the MANOVA analysis of Age x School sector for the child subgroup (n=357)

Construct	Age	School Sector	Mean	SD	
Instrumental value of Maltese	14-15	State	4.07	0.66	
		Church	3.88	0.58	
		Independent	2.90	0.89	
	11-12	State	3.85	1.19	
		Church	3.96	1.19	
		Independent	2.44	0.86	
	8-9	State	3.89	1.48	
		Church	3.67	1.71	
		Independent	3.74	1.17	
		Total		3.60	1.15
	Instrumental value of English	14-15	State	4.14	0.67
			Church	4.22	0.49
Independent			4.60	0.43	
11-12		State	4.58	0.52	
		Church	4.18	0.40	
		Independent	4.06	0.62	
8-9		State	4.09	0.54	
		Church	4.09	0.61	
		Independent	4.33	0.43	

Construct	Age	School Sector	Mean	SD
	Total		4.25	0.56
Locality and use of English	14-15	State	2.51	0.77
		Church	3.25	0.65
		Independent	3.53	0.65
	11-12	State	3.23	0.71
		Church	2.93	0.75
		Independent	2.39	0.40
	8-9	State	2.40	1.34
		Church	3.17	1.37
		Independent	4.33	0.87
	Total		3.09	1.02

Note. The total mean is the aggregate mean for the child subgroup.

Table 6.23 presents the mean values for the attitude constructs by age group and language spoken to mother.

Table 6.23: Means for the MANOVA analysis of Age x Language spoken to mother for the child subgroup (n=357)

Construct	Age	Language to Mother	Mean	SD	
Instrumental value of Maltese	14-15	M	4.08	0.71	
		M>E	4.06	0.65	
		M~E	3.92	0.73	
		E>M	3.64	0.24	
		E	3.39	0.55	
	11-12	M	4.81	0.47	
		M~E	4.00	0	
		M>E	3.33	1.37	
		E	2.88	0.81	
		E>M	2.64	1.09	
	8-9	M	4.20	1.40	
		E>M	4.09	1.31	
		M>E	4.00	0.89	
		M~E	3.33	1.50	
		E	3.00	2.00	
		Total		3.60	1.15
	Instrumental value of English	14-15	M>E	4.45	0.63
M~E			4.42	0.53	
E			4.37	0.61	
E>M			4.1	0.37	
M			4.04	0.65	
11-12		M>E	4.44	0.51	
		E	4.31	0.63	
		M	4.3	0.44	

Construct	Age	Language to Mother	Mean	SD
		E>M	4.14	0.58
		M~E	4.00	0
	8-9	M~E	4.27	0.41
		E>M	4.2	0.42
		M	4.05	0.57
		E	4.05	0.66
		M>E	4.00	0.63
	Total		4.25	0.56
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	14-15	M	3.80	0.63
		M>E	3.68	0.80
		E	3.14	0.61
		M~E	3.04	0.47
		E>M	3.04	0.47
	11-12	M	4.13	0.67
		M~E	3.65	0.74
		M>E	3.36	0.30
		E>M	2.73	0.94
		E	2.56	0.34
	8-9	M>E	4.17	0.82
		M~E	4.05	0.88
		E	4.00	0.69
		M	3.98	0.87
		E>M	3.90	1.24
	Total		3.62	0.84
Nationalistic ideologies and use of English ^a	14-15	E	3.30	0.46
		M~E	3.24	0.46
		M>E	3.01	0.51
		E>M	3.00	0.25
		M	2.79	0.71
	11-12	M~E	4.25	0.46
		E>M	3.55	0.74
		E	3.13	0.43
		M	3.08	0.57
		M>E	2.5	0.42
		E>M	4.10	0.88
		M	4.02	1.19
		E	4.00	1.14
		M~E	3.91	1.30
		M>E	3.5	1.38
	Total		3.30	0.95

Note. The total mean is the aggregate mean for the child subgroup. Mean scores are presented in descending order. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.

^aThis construct was not measured in the 8-9-year-old version of the questionnaire

As can be seen from the table above, for instrumental value of Maltese, those who speak Maltese show the most favourable attitudes to the construct, regardless of age. On the other hand, those who speak English value this construct most negatively. In terms of instrumentality and English, for the elder age groups, those who speak mainly Maltese are most favourable to it, and those who are eight to nine years old and speak both Maltese and English hold the most favourable attitudes to it. Again, in terms of nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese, all age groups who speak mainly Maltese view this construct most positively. On the other hand, those who speak mainly English are most favourable to the nationalist ideologies and use of English construct (exception being the 11- to 12-year-old group).

In terms of variations by school attended and language use with mother (Table 6.24), a general trend linking language use to school sector can be traced. Those who speak mainly Maltese, show the most positive attitudes to instrumental value of Maltese and English in all sectors, exception being independent schools for instrumental value of Maltese. Furthermore, those who speak Maltese only show the most favourable attitudes to nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese in all three sectors.

Table 6.24: Means for the MANOVA analysis of School Sector x Language spoken to mother for the child subgroup (n=357)

Construct	School	Language to Mother	Mean	SD ^a
Instrumental value of Maltese	State	M>E	4.18	0.65
		M	4.10	0.67
		E>M	4.00	.
		M~E	3.81	0.70
	Church	E	3.50	0.61
		M	4.38	0.48
		M~E	4.13	0.85
		M>E	3.67	0.52
	Independent	E>M	3.60	0.22
		E	3.50	.
		E>M	3.50	.
		E	3.17	0.58
	Total	M	1.50	.
		M>E	0.00	0
M~E		0.00		
		3.60	1.15	
Instrumental value of English	State	M>E	4.42	0.61
		M~E	4.30	0.71
		E	4.30	0.60
		E>M	4.23	.
	Church	M	4.03	0.66
		M>E	4.61	0.25
		M~E	4.42	0.42
		E>M	4.07	0.43
	Independent	M	3.83	0.33
		E	3.33	.
		M	5.00	.
		M>E	.	.
	Total	M~E	.	.
		E	4.67	0.33
E>M		4.00	.	
		4.25	0.56	
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	State	M	3.79	0.64
		M>E	3.73	0.89
		E	3.45	0.67
	Church	M~E	2.91	0.33
		E>M	2.75	.
		M	3.81	0.52

Construct	School	Language to Mother	Mean	SD ^a
		M>E	3.54	0.40
		M~E	3.31	0.66
		E>M	3.15	0.52
		E	2.75	.
	Independent	M	4.25	.
		E>M	2.75	.
		E	2.75	0.25
		M>E	0.00	0
		M~E	0.00	0
	Total		3.62	0.84

Note. The total mean is the aggregate mean for the child subgroup. Mean scores are presented in descending order. M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.
^aBlank cells refer to n=1.

Similar analysis using MANOVA were carried out on the adult sample. The following table summarises the MANOVA tests carried out for the adult group, with information about the interaction and main effects of the independent variables on the dependent ones.

Table 6.25: MANOVA summary results for the effects of age, locality, employment, school sector and language spoken to child on the language attitude constructs (n= 202)

Independent Variables	Main Effects	Main Interactions
Language spoken to child x Mother's employment	A significant main effect of mother's employment on all constructs except instrumental value of English A significant main effect of language spoken to child on <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social class and use of English; • Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese; • Nationalistic ideologies and use of English; Group membership and use of English. 	None
Language spoken to child x Locality	A significant main effect of language spoken to child on <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social class and use of English; • Locality and Maltese; • Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese; • Group membership and use of Maltese. A significant main effect locality on locality and use of Maltese	None
Language spoken to child x Father's employment	None	None

Note. Levels of significance, F values and effect sizes for the main effects are provided in Section 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9.

As can be seen from Table 6.25, at the univariate level, the significant main effects of locality, mother's employment, and language spoken to child were observed on some of language attitude constructs. No interaction effects were observed.

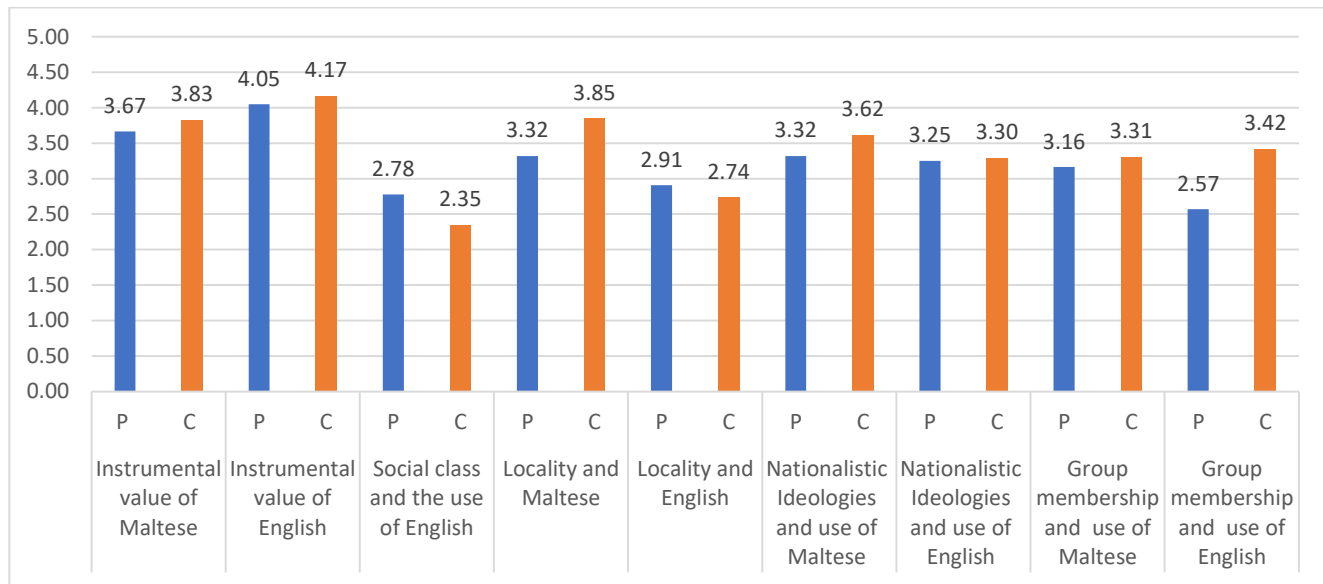
6.6 Differences between the adult and child subgroups

The t-test results reported in Table 6.26 show that parents and children differ significantly in their language attitudes. A comparison of parents' and children's attitudes in Figure 6.1 reveals that in general children show more favourable attitudes to both Maltese and English than their parents. Parents link social class to the use of English more than their children. The most striking difference between parents' and children's attitudes lies in the group membership and use of English construct. The effect sizes, as measured by Cohen's *d*, were small for all constructs - exception being the locality and use of Maltese, and group membership and use of English constructs, which were medium.

Table 6.26: T-test results for the differences in attitudes between parents (n=202) and children (n=357)

	t	p	Cohen's d	df
Instrumental value of Maltese	-1.75	<.001	0.35	526.52
Instrumental value of English	-0.24	<.001	0.37	337.77
Social class and the use of English	5.54	<.001	0.48	498.77
Locality and use of Maltese	-4.2	<.001	0.73	438.74
Locality and use of English	2.31	<.001	0.33	538.71
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	-1.56	<.001	0.38	494.81
Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	-0.64	<.001	0.08	537.43
Group membership and use of Maltese	-1.74	.006	0.19	304.97
Group membership and use of English	-10.38	<.001	0.96	502.8

Figure 6.1: Parents' and children's attitudes to the language constructs



Note. P=Parent; C=Child

6.7 The effect of age and school sector on the language attitude constructs

To investigate the effect of the independent variables age and school sector, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) analysis was carried out. Table 6.27 summarises the results for comparison of the mean values assigned to each construct, across the four age groups and three school sectors, respectively

Table 6.27: One-way ANOVA results for differences between age groups and school sectors

		Instrumental value of Maltese		Instrumental value of English		Social class and the use of English		Locality and use of Maltese		Locality and use of English		Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese		Nationalistic ideologies and use of English		Group membership and use of Maltese		Group membership and use of English	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Age	Adult	3.67	0.83	4.05	0.75	2.78	0.75	3.32	0.81	2.41	0.69	3.52	0.67	3.25	0.65	3.16	0.74	2.57	0.79
	14-15	4.00	0.69	4.17	0.64	2.60	0.75	3.97	0.80	2.64	0.80	3.63	0.70	2.90	0.65	3.31	0.83	2.78	0.94
	11-12	3.42	0.98	4.27	0.51	1.74	0.77	2.65	0.73	2.91	0.74	3.24	0.84	3.88	0.72	2.89	0.75	3.82	0.72
	8-9	3.33	0.94	4.35	0.55	2.53	1.10	3.75	0.73	2.73	0.98	3.14	0.88	3.96	0.97	3.02	0.67	3.99	0.78
	F	3.72		1.41		35.06		7.04		3.19		15.29		39.94		53.65		102.64	
	df ^a	3		3		3		3		3		3		3		1		1	
		554		555		554		555		555		554		554		353		353	
	<i>p</i>	.010		.238		<.001		<.001		.023		<.001		<.001		.004		<.001	
η^2	.019		.007		.159		.037		.017		.076		.176		.125		.157		
School Sector	State	3.86	0.98	4.15	0.67	2.34	0.88	3.80	0.83	2.70	0.92	3.63	0.75	3.18	0.85	3.35	0.76	3.01	0.98
	Church	3.76	0.79	4.17	0.62	2.67	0.83	3.63	0.87	2.99	0.85	3.56	0.78	3.47	0.82	2.82	0.71	3.22	0.96
	Independent	2.95	0.76	4.29	0.56	1.56	0.66	3.62	0.91	3.11	0.99	3.23	0.98	3.49	0.91	2.82	0.67	3.68	0.72
	F	13.9		.867		33.51		2.417		7.97		4.75		7.12		15.70		8.73	
	df	2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2	
		555		556		555		556		556		555		555		555		555	
	<i>p</i>	<.001		.421		<.001		<.001		<.001		.009		.001		<.001		<.001	
	η^2	.047		.003		.107		.008		.028		.014		.024		.079		.029	

Note. ^aThe two values reported are the between groups and within groups values respectively.

As for age-related variations concerning the distinct constructs, the younger age groups (11-12 and 8-9) in general, show more favourable attitudes to the constructs related to the English language than the older age groups (adult and 14-15). This is illustrated by the relatively higher mean scores for the following constructs: locality and use of English, nationalistic ideologies and use of English, and group membership and use of English. The same can be said for importance attached to English, although the results were not significant. A closer look at the older age groups shows that in general, they had more favourable attitudes towards the constructs dealing with the Maltese language; such as instrumental value of Maltese, nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese, and group membership and use of Maltese. The effect sizes for most of the English constructs were large, and the rest medium and small.

The Tukey Post-hoc analysis (see Table 6.28) was carried out to test all of the possible pairings of groups for statistical differences. The post-hoc analysis revealed a significant difference between the adult and the 14- to 15-year-old group in all constructs. In general, the 8-9-year olds demonstrate more positive attitudes to all constructs than the adult group. A considerable difference in means can be seen in the differences between adults and 8-9-year olds in group membership and use of English, where the latter group views the construct more positively than the adults. Statistically significant values are marked with an asterisk.

Table 6.28: Comparisons of attitudes to the constructs between groups according to age group using post-hoc Tukey's HSD test

	Age Group (I)	Age Group (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	<i>p</i>
Instrumental value of Maltese	Adult	14-15	-0.34*	.014
		11-12	0.02	.999
		8-9	-0.07	.937
	14-15	11-12	0.36*	.043
		8-9	0.03	.182
	11-12	8-9	-0.09	.922
Social class and use of English	Adult	14-15	0.18*	.004
		11-12	1.04*	<.001
		8-9	0.25	.060
	14-15	11-12	0.86*	<.001
		8-9	0.07	.897
	11-12	8-9	-0.79*	<.001
	Adult	14-15	-0.31*	.003

	Age Group (I)	Age Group (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	<i>p</i>
Locality and use of Maltese	14-15	11-12	-0.42*	<.001
		8-9	-0.21	.168
		11-12	-0.11	.731
		8-9	0.11	.744
		11-12	0.21	.246
Locality and use of English	14-15	Adult	0.27*	.032
		11-12	-0.01	<.001
		8-9	0.18	.362
		11-12	-0.27	.105
		8-9	-0.09	.858
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	14-15	11-12	0.18	.498
		Adult	-0.11*	.002
		11-12	0.28*	.017
		8-9	-0.42*	<.001
		11-12	0.39*	.001
Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	14-15	8-9	-0.31*	.006
		11-12	-0.70*	<.001
		Adult	0.35*	<.001
		11-12	0.07	.887
		8-9	-0.71*	<.001
Group membership and use of Maltese	14-15	11-12	-0.28*	.030
		8-9	-1.06*	<.001
		11-12	-0.78*	<.001
		Adult	-0.15*	<.001
		11-12	0.57	.096
Group membership and use of English	14-15	8-9	0.14	.084
		11-12	0.42	.067
		8-9	0.29	.122
		11-12	-0.13*	.003
		Adult	-0.21*	.043
Group membership and use of English	14-15	11-12	-1.26*	<.001
		8-9	-1.42*	<.001
		11-12	-1.05*	<.001
		8-9	-1.21*	<.001
		11-12	-0.17	.468

To address the research question on the differences between language attitudes and school sectors, a one-way ANOVA was carried out between the mean scores of the attitudinal constructs and the three school sectors (see Table 6.27). There was a significant main effect of school sector on attitudes to Maltese and English, except for instrumental value of English. The effect sizes were mainly small, with the exclusion of social class and use of English effect (medium). The mean values for all constructs reveal that participants attending state schools (both adults and children) view the constructs dealing with

Maltese most favourably. Those attending independent schools view the constructs related to English most positively. The participants from church schools exhibit a similar trend to those attending state schools in the instrumental value of Maltese and English, locality and use of English, and nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese constructs. They mirror the trends by the independent schools group in the locality and use of Maltese, nationalistic ideologies and use of English, and group membership and use of Maltese constructs. Similarly to the results obtained for language use, this confirms that participants from church schools exhibit a mix of attitudes to Maltese and English. It is worth noting that although the mean score is relatively low (Mean=2.64), those attending church schools mostly agree that English is linked to social class.

Post-hoc Tukey tests (Table 6.29) revealed significant differences between state and independent schools in all constructs except for nationalistic ideologies and use of English, with the former valuing the Maltese constructs higher, while the latter showed specifically low scores for instrumental value of Maltese, and group membership and use of Maltese. Students from state and church schools differ significantly in the English language constructs, while students from church and independent schools differ significantly in three out of the eight constructs.

Table 6.29: Comparisons of attitudes to the constructs between groups according to school sector using post-hoc Tukey's HSD test

Construct	School Sector (I)	School Sector (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	p
Instrumental value of Maltese	State	Church	0.09	.604
		Independent	0.91*	<.001
	Church	Independent	0.81*	<.001
Social class and use of English	State	Church	0.33*	<.001
		Independent	1.11*	<.001
	Church	Independent	0.78*	<.001
Locality and use of Maltese	State	Church	0.16	.120
		Independent	0.18*	.030
	Church	Independent	0.02	.991
Locality and use of English	State	Church	-0.29*	.003
		Independent	-0.41*	.018
	Church	Independent	-0.12	.739
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	State	Church	0.07	.605
		Independent	0.40*	.007
	Church	Independent	0.32	.052
Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	State	Church	-0.28*	.002
		Independent	-0.31	.079

Construct	School Sector (I)	School Sector (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	<i>p</i>
	Church	Independent	-0.03	.982
Group membership and use of Maltese	State	Church	0.52	.089
		Independent	0.53*	.045
Group membership and use of English	Church	Independent	0.01	<.001
	State	Church	-0.21*	.002
		Independent	-0.66*	<.001
	Church	Independent	-0.45*	.034

6.8 The effect of language used at home and with friends on the language attitude constructs

An ANOVA test was run to examine the effects of language used at home on the language attitude constructs. The examination of results (Table 6.30) revealed that for the adult group, those who speak mainly Maltese to their children show significantly more favourable attitudes towards the constructs dealing with the Maltese language. Those who speak mainly Maltese to their children in turn are more positively inclined to value Maltese constructs dealing with locality, nationalistic ideologies, and group membership. In general, those who speak English to their children have more positive attitudes towards the constructs dealing with English, although the relationship was not significant.

Table 6.30: One-way ANOVA results for differences between mother's use of language to child (n=198)

Construct	Language Spoken	Mean	SD	F	p	df ^a	η^2
Instrumental value of Maltese	M>E	3.9	0.80	0.86	.004	550	.021
	M	3.65	0.82				
	M~E	3.59	0.84				
	E>M	3.59	0.88				
	E	3.59	0.80				
	Total	3.67	0.83				
Instrumental value of English	E	4.44	0.77	1.56	.097	551	.039
	E>M	4.37	0.54				
	M>E	4.19	0.77				
	M~E	4.12	0.88				
	M	4	0.75				
	Total	4.15	0.76				
Social class and use of English	M	3.04	0.73	4.64	<.001	550	.098
	M>E	2.73	0.74				
	M~E	2.69	0.74				
	E	2.44	0.67				
	E>M	2.4	0.64				
	Total	2.78	0.75				
Locality and use of Maltese	M	3.84	0.81	5.57	<.001	551	.124
	M>E	3.5	0.87				
	M~E	3.43	0.64				
	E>M	3.31	0.62				
	E	2.88	0.56				
	Total	3.54	0.80				
Locality and use of English	E	3.19	0.52	1.85	.164	551	.046
	M	2.98	0.70				
	E>M	2.84	0.70				
	M~E	2.82	0.76				
	M>E	2.73	0.66				
	Total	2.91	0.70				
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	M	3.74	0.73	4.78	.004	551	.101
	M>E	3.56	0.54				
	Other	3.38	0.92				
	M~E	3.35	0.61				
	E>M	3.3	0.60				
	E	3.06	0.39				
Total	3.51	0.67					
				1.98	.350		.041

Construct	Language Spoken	Mean	SD	F	p	df ^a	η^2
Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	E>M	3.45	0.53			6	
	E	3.41	0.60				
	M~E	3.39	0.65				
	M	3.14	0.67				
	M>E	3.12	0.66				
	Total	3.25	0.65				
Group membership and use of Maltese	M	3.79	0.88	3.7	.003	6	.084
	M>E	3.15	0.51				
	M~E	2.99	0.51				
	E>M	2.9	0.64				
	E	2.81	0.58				
	Total	3.16	0.73				
Group membership and use of English	E	2.85	0.57	0.79	.069	6	.016
	M~E	2.68	0.72				
	E>M	2.54	0.88				
	M	2.52	0.85				
	M>E	2.45	0.76				
	Total	2.56	0.79				

Note. Mean scores are presented in descending order.

M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.

Participants (n=4) who speak any other language were not included in this table.

^aThe first value reported refers to the between groups and the second value refers to the within groups value respective

A similar analysis (Table 6.31) for the child group revealed that those who speak mainly Maltese show significantly more positive attitudes and the effect sizes are mainly medium. Those who use both Maltese and English equally show the most favourable attitudes towards group membership and use of English scale. However, those who speak mainly Maltese show the most favourable attitudes towards the instrumental value of English, while those who speak both Maltese and English hold the most positive attitudes towards nationalistic ideologies and use of English, and group membership and use of English.

Table 6.31: One-way ANOVA results for differences between use of language spoken to mother (n=348)

Construct	Language Spoken	Mean	SD	F	P	df ^a	η^2
Instrumental value of Maltese	M	4.21	0.94	10.33	<.001	551	.045
	M>E	3.79	1.04				
	M~E	3.61	1.32				
	E>M	3.22	1.27				
	E	3.17	1.12				
	Total	3.83	1.15				
Instrumental value of English	M>E	4.39	0.63	2.51	.012	552	.043
	M~E	4.26	0.43				
	E	4.21	0.64				
	E>M	4.15	0.52				
	M	4.09	0.67				
	Total	4.17	0.59				
Social class and use of English	M	2.65	0.84	11.34	<.001	551	.056
	M>E	2.2	0.81				
	E	2.16	0.84				
	M~E	1.79	0.83				
	E>M	1.63	1.04				
	Total	2.35	0.95				
Locality and use of Maltese	E>M	3.98	0.88	2.61	<.001	552	.042
	M	3.97	0.82				
	M>E	3.79	0.78				
	M~E	3.68	0.67				
	E	3.48	1.02				
	Total	3.85	0.86				
Locality and use of English	E	3.17	1.06	3.50	<.001	6	.150
	M~E	2.82	0.91				
	M>E	2.75	0.84				

Construct	Language Spoken	Mean	SD	F	P	df ^a	η^2
	E>M	2.74	0.97			552	
	M	2.57	1.04				
	Total	2.74	1.02				
Nationalist ideologies and Maltese	M	3.83	0.74	7.02	<.001	551	.160
	M>E	3.63	0.71				
	M~E	3.68	0.84				
	E>M	3.08	1.06				
	E	3.28	0.85				
	Total	3.62	0.84				
Nationalist ideologies and English	M~E	3.74	0.93	4.29	<.001	551	.180
	E>M	3.59	0.79				
	E	3.53	0.89				
	M	3.21	1.02				
	M>E	2.88	0.79				
	Total	3.3	0.95				
Group membership and use of Maltese	M	3.83	0.74	4.87	<.001	551	.160
	M~E	3.68	0.84				
	M>E	3.63	0.74				
	E	3.28	0.85				
	E>M	3.08	1.06				
	Total	3.31	0.83				
Group membership and use of English	M~E	3.83	0.88	1.77	<.001	551	.187
	E>M	3.53	0.79				
	E	3.53	0.82				
	M>E	3.47	1.13				
	M	3.28	1.08				
	Total	3.43	1.01				

Note. Mean scores are presented in descending order.

M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.

Participants (n=9) who speak any other language were not included in this table.

^a The first value reported refers to the between groups and the second value refers to the within groups value .

In light of the interview data, where most participants discussed the way they used language to make new friends, or the way language has led them to be excluded from social circles, the effect of language spoken to friends on the attitude constructs was explored next. The ANOVA test revealed a significant main effect of language with friends on all constructs. Table 6.32 illustrates that participants who speak mainly English to their friends show the most positive attitudes to the constructs in English, and those who speak Maltese have the most positive attitudes to Maltese language constructs. Of particular interest is the group membership constructs, where there is a marked difference in means between those who speak Maltese and those who speak English to friends and attitudes towards group membership and use of Maltese and English respectively.

Table 6.32: One-way ANOVA results for differences between use of language spoken to friends (n=553)

Construct	Language Spoken	Mean	SD	F	p	df ^a	η^2
Instrumental value of Maltese	M>E	3.92	1.00	5.44	<.001	552	.011
	M~E	3.90	0.93				
	M	3.87	0.96				
	E>M	3.63	1.14				
	E	3.27	1.23				
	Total	3.77	1.05				
Instrumental value of English	M~E	4.38	0.73	3.00	<.001	552	.049
	E	4.25	0.64				
	E>M	4.19	0.49				
	M>E	4.14	0.68				
	M	4.04	0.50				
	Total	4.16	0.65				
Social class and use of English	M	2.82	0.82	16.41	<.001	552	.098
	M~E	2.54	0.76				
	M>E	2.53	0.86				
	E	2.04	1.01				
	E>M	1.89	0.83				
	Total	2.78	0.90				
Locality and use of Maltese	M~E	3.89	0.85	2.87	<.001	552	.130
	M	3.88	0.76				
	M>E	3.65	0.80				
	E>M	3.59	0.79				
	E	3.52	1.00				
	Total	3.74	0.85				

Construct	Language Spoken	Mean	SD	F	p	df ^a	η^2
	E	3.30	0.93	6.35	<.001		.043
Locality and use of English	E>M	2.88	0.78			6	
	M~E	2.78	0.85				
	M>E	2.71	1.02			552	
	M	2.65	0.52				
	Total	2.80	0.92				
Nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese	M	3.76	0.73			5	
	M~E	3.62	0.61				
	M>E	3.60	0.72	10.86	<.001	552	.101
	E	3.52	0.89				
	E>M	2.93	0.62				
	Total	3.51	0.78				
Nationalistic ideologies and use of English	E	3.79	0.83				
	M~E	3.28	0.77			5	
	E>M	3.26	0.74	8.69	<.001	552	.041
	M>E	3.16	0.82				
	M	3.13	0.38				
	Total	3.28	0.86				
	Group membership and use of Maltese	M	3.44	0.73			
M>E		3.18	0.85			5	
M~E		2.56	0.53	8.80	<.001	552	.054
E>M		2.53	0.76				
E		2.50	0.84				
Total		3.23	0.78				
Group membership and use of English	E	3.54	1.04				
	E>M	3.42	0.97			5	
	M~E	3.35	1.04	8.89	<.001	552	.036
	M>E	2.98	0.94				
	M	2.83	0.75				
	Total	3.11	1.02				

Note. Mean scores are presented in descending order.

M=Always in Maltese; M>E= In Maltese more often than in English; M~E= In Maltese & English equally; E>M= In English more often than in Maltese; E=Always in English.

Participants (n=6) who speak any other language were not included in this table.

^aThe first value reported refers to the between groups and the second value refers to the within groups value

6.9 The effect of locality on the language attitude constructs

The differences between the mean values for the attitude constructs and various geographic localities in Malta were carried out using a one-way ANOVA test. No significant results were found except for group membership and use of Maltese ($F(4, 515)=2.989, p=.019, \eta^2=.120$) showing a medium effect size. The mean scores demonstrate that those participants living in the Western areas have the most favourable attitudes to this construct (Mean=3.57, SD=0.68), while those living in the northern areas have the least favourable attitudes (Mean =2.23, SD=0.68). Participants living in Southern Harbour areas closely follow those living in western areas (Mean=3.45, SD=0.78), and then Northern Harbour area inhabitants (Mean=2.88, SD=0.76). Therefore, those living in northern areas have less favourable attitudes towards group membership to the use of Maltese than those living in the other parts of the island.

6.10 Language Learning Experiences

In Section 4.6.1, I discussed how the items for language learning experiences did not demonstrate a satisfactory loading on to the factors. However, such items merit some discussion, particularly in light of the research question dealing with language use, ideologies and schooling in Malta.

6.10.1 Language learning experiences

Tabel 6.33 illustrates the descriptive statistics for items targeting the participants' enjoyment with learning Maltese and English. The majority of respondents like learning Maltese and English, and agree that both languages are an important aspect of the curriculum. Notably, more participants do not enjoy learning Maltese at school than English. Similarly, only a few participants disagree with the notion that English is important in the curriculum. The percentage is slightly higher for Maltese.

Table 6.33: Language learning experiences and importance attached to language learning (N=559)

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Enjoying learning English at school	4.0% (18)	3.9% (22)	8.2% (46)	45.1% (252)	39.4% (220)
Enjoying learning Maltese at school	5.5% (31)	6.3% (35)	11.6% (65)	45.8% (256)	30.1% (168)
English is an important part of the school curriculum	0.4% (2)	0.7% (4)	6.8% (38)	35.2% (196)	56.9% (318)
Maltese is an important part of the school curriculum	2.3% (12)	1.8% (10)	8.1% (45)	31.8% (178)	56.0% (313)

Note: Numbers in brackets indicate frequencies

Table 6.34 illustrates the mean scores for these items divided by age and school sector respectively. A one-way ANOVA test was carried out to investigate whether there are significant differences for these items.

Table 6.34: Language learning experiences and importance attached to language learning by age group and school sector (N=559)

			Enjoying learning English at school	Enjoying learning Maltese at school	English is an important part of the school curriculum	Maltese is an important part of the school curriculum
Age	Adult	Mean	4.07	4.05	4.68	4.59
		SD	0.91	1.78	0.51	0.60
	14-15	Mean	4.00	3.96	4.35	4.38
		SD	1.04	0.95	0.69	0.68
	11-12	Mean	4.32	3.89	4.44	4.10
		SD	0.61	1.03	0.68	1.20
	8-9	Mean	4.29	3.70	4.30	4.22
		SD	1.13	1.42	0.81	1.08
	<i>F</i>		9.54	1.48	10.75	8.71
	df	Between Groups	3	3	3	3
		Within Groups	554	552	554	554
	<i>p</i>		.014	.217	<.001	<.001
	η^2		.018	.008	.050	.040
	School Sector	State	Mean	4.04	3.98	4.45
SD			1.03	1.52	0.70	0.78
Church		Mean	4.29	3.96	4.52	4.34
		SD	0.76	1.09	0.65	0.96
Independent		Mean	4.49	3.33	4.54	4.08
		SD	0.64	1.11	0.64	1.22
<i>F</i>			6.752	3.851	.647	.545
df		Between Groups	2	2	2	2
		Within Groups	555	553	555	555
<i>p</i>			.001	.002	3.068	.047
η^2			.016	.034	.031	.134

All participants enjoyed learning English at school as the mean scores were 4 or above. The most favourable attitudes towards English are held by the 11- to 12-year-olds, and the most favourable attitudes towards learning Maltese are held by the adults (the relationship was not significant). All participants attach importance to Maltese and English as school subjects. The adult group has the most favourable attitudes towards these items.

When the mean scores for language learning enjoyment are broken up for school sector, participants who attend independent schools have most positive attitudes to the learning of English. There are slightly less favourable attitudes towards the learning of Maltese. Those attending state schools show the most positive attitudes to the learning of Maltese, and those who attend independent schools are the least in favour of this. The relationship between school sector and importance attached to Maltese and English in the curriculum was not significant.

According to the post-hoc analysis in Table 6.35, adults significantly differ from all the other age groups in the importance of Maltese and English in the school curriculum. The post-hoc analysis (Table 6.36) revealed a significant difference between students attending state and independent schools for all items. The analysis further reveals how students from state schools tend to have more positive attitudes to the items related to Maltese than those attending independent schools. Those attending independent schools, on the other hand, have a more positive attitude to the items related to English.

Table 6.35: Tukey post-hoc analyses for the effect of age on language learning experiences

Item	Age (I)	Age (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	p
Enjoying learning English at school	Adult	14-15	.07	.902
		11-12	-.25	.137
		8-9	-.22	.219
	14-15	11-12	-.32*	.044
		8-9	-.29	.076
		11-12	.04	.993
Enjoying learning Maltese at school	Adult	14-15	.09	.934
		11-12	.17	.779
		8-9	.35	.164
	14-15	11-12	.08	.976
		8-9	.26	.462
		11-12	.18	.791
English is an important part of the school curriculum	Adult	14-15	.33*	<.001
		11-12	.25*	<.001
		8-9	.38*	<.001
	14-15	11-12	-.09	.767
		8-9	.05	.920
		11-12	.14	.457
Maltese is an important part of the school curriculum	Adult	14-15	.22	.003
		11-12	.49*	<.001
		8-9	.37*	.002
	14-15	11-12	.28	.067
		8-9	.16	.478
		11-12	-.12	.751

Table 6.36: Tukey post-hoc analyses for the effect of school sector on language learning experiences

Item	School Sector (I)	School Sector (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	p
Enjoying learning English at school	State	Church	-.26*	.016
		Independent	-.45*	.013
	Church	Independent	-.19	.486
Enjoying learning Maltese at school	State	Church	.02	.986
		Independent	.65*	.016
	Church	Independent	.63*	.035
English is an important part of the school curriculum	State	Church	-.06	.618
		Independent	-.08*	.003
	Church	Independent	-.02	.984
Maltese is an important part of the school curriculum	State	Church	.08	.559
		Independent	.35*	.045
	Church	Independent	.26	.214

6.10.2 Language use at school: children's and parents' perceptions

The child participants were asked to express their opinions about the way language was used at their school. Table 6.37 summarises the mean scores for these items. For the purpose of this section, only the items that exhibited a significant relationship will be discussed. The children who attend church schools mostly agree that they have to use English at school, followed closely by those from independent schools. On the other hand, the majority of those attending state schools agree that they have to use Maltese at school. The trend is reversed for the use of Maltese, as those attending state schools view this more positively than those attending independent schools. The children attending church schools have more favourable attitudes towards the use of English with their friends, than for the use of Maltese. Further analyses (Table 6.38) revealed significant differences between the students attending state and independent schools, and those attending state and church schools.

Table 6.37: Children’s use of language at school by school sector for the child subgroup (n=357)

		At school we are expected to speak English	At school, we are expected to speak Maltese	My friends at school like it when I speak English to them	My friends at school like it when I speak Maltese to them
State	Mean	3.08	3.86	2.80	3.88
	SD	1.16	0.88	1.15	0.90
Church	Mean	3.97	3.76	3.51	3.42
	SD	0.74	0.66	0.88	0.97
Independent	Mean	3.78	3.70	4.09	2.74
	SD	0.95	0.70	0.79	0.69
<i>F</i>		19.31	19.67	21.45	15.27
<i>df</i>	Between Groups	2	2	2	2
	Within Groups	244	244	244	244
<i>p</i>		<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001
η^2		.034	.054	.044	.031

Table 6.38: Post-hoc Tukey’s HSD analyses for the effect of school sector on language spoken at school for the child subgroup (n=357)

Item	School Sector (I)	School Sector (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	<i>p</i>
At school we are expected to speak English	State	Church	-0.89*	<.001
		Independent	-0.70*	.008
	Church	Independent	0.19	.729
At school, we are expected to speak Maltese	State	Church	0.10*	.002
		Independent	0.17*	.003
	Church	Independent	0.07	.940
My friends at school like it when I speak English to them	State	Church	-0.70*	<.001
		Independent	-1.28*	<.001
	Church	Independent	-0.58	.058
My friends at school like it when I speak Maltese to them	State	Church	0.45*	.002
		Independent	1.14*	<.001
	Church	Independent	0.68	.445

The adult participants were asked to express their attitudes regarding the use of language at their children’s school. The relatively high mean values in Table 6.39 show that those whose children attend state schools believe that their children would be accepted if they were to use Maltese and/or English. However, this belief is not shared by parents whose children attend independent schools and church schools. They tend to disagree with the

fact that their children would be accepted at their school, by their teachers and peers, if they were to speak Maltese. Parents whose children attend state schools are pleased with the way Maltese is used at school, closely followed by those who attend church schools. However, parents whose children attend independent schools are not satisfied with this. With regard to the level of satisfaction in the use of English, all parents are relatively pleased, with those parents whose children attend independent schools being most satisfied. Finally, in terms of group membership based on language use, parents whose children attend state schools and church schools do not want to be like other parents who use English. The parents who send their children to independent schools are quite neutral about this, as the mean score is close to three. Parents whose children attend independent schools are the least favourable to being like parents who use Maltese. The state school group express slightly more positive attitudes. Post-hoc analysis (Table 6.40) illustrate that the main significant differences lie in the differences between students attending state and church schools. A further significant difference was obtained between students attending State and independent schools for the item “I am pleased with the way Maltese is used at my child’s school”.

Table 6.39: ANOVA results for language use at school items and school sector for the adult subgroup (n=202)

Item		Mean	SD
My child will be accepted if he/she were to speak English at his/her school	State	3.97	1.00
	Church	3.40	1.27
	Independent	3.57	1.27
	<i>F</i>		5.44
	df	Between Groups	2
		Within Groups	201
	<i>p</i>		.005
	η^2		.048
My child will be accepted if he/she were to speak Maltese at his/her school	State	3.77	1.11
	Church	2.86	1.17
	Independent	2.36	1.07
	<i>F</i>		3.96
	df	Between Groups	2
		Within Groups	201
	<i>p</i>		.002
	η^2		.009
I am pleased with the way Maltese is used at my child's school	State	3.91	0.99
	Church	3.77	1.00
	Independent	2.86	1.21
	<i>F</i>		3.89
	df	Between Groups	2
		Within Groups	201
	<i>p</i>		.002
	η^2		.003
I am pleased with the way English is used at my child's school	State	3.89	1.02
	Church	3.98	0.94
	Independent	4.14	0.90
	<i>F</i>		3.34
	df	Between Groups	2
		Within Groups	201
	<i>p</i>		.004
	η^2		.058
I would like to be like the other parents who use Maltese at my child's school	State	3.34	1.09
	Church	2.85	0.85
	Independent	2.57	0.79
	Total	3.19	1.05
	<i>F</i>		5.73
	df	Between Groups	2
		Within Groups	201
	<i>p</i>		.004

Item		Mean	SD
	η^2		0.033
	State	2.61	1.23
	Church	2.60	1.03
	Independent	3.14	0.90
	Total	2.84	1.18
	F		4.61
I would like to be like the other parents who use English at my child's school	df	Between Groups	2
		Within Groups	201
	p		.004
	η^2		.044

Table 6.40: Post-hoc Tukey's HSD analyses for the effect of school sector on language spoken at school for the adult subgroup (n=202)

Item	School Sector (I)	School Sector (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	p
My child will be accepted if he/she were to speak English at his/her school	State	Church	0.43*	.050
		Independent	0.92	.086
	Church	Independent	0.47	.513
My child will be accepted if he/she were to speak Maltese at his/her school	State	Church	0.62*	.001
		Independent	0.42	.562
	Church	Independent	-0.19	.888
I am pleased with the way Maltese is used at my child's school	State	Church	0.15*	.040
		Independent	1.05*	.020
	Church	Independent	0.91	.066
I am pleased with the way English is used at my child's school	State	Church	-0.09*	.043
		Independent	-.025	.790
	Church	Independent	-0.16	.915
I would like to be like the other parents who use Maltese at my child's school	State	Church	-0.17*	.035
		Independent	0.03	.997
	Church	Independent	0.20	.905
I would like to be like the other parents who use English at my child's school	State	Church	0.52*	.010
		Independent	0.11	.964
	Church	Independent	-0.41	.609

6.11 Summary of the quantitative results

The main goal of the quantitative study was to explore the language attitudes towards Maltese and English in Malta. Together these results provide important insights into the interplay between language use and language attitudes, and the role that age, locality, employment, and school sector play in these language attitudes.

Table 6.41 below summarises the tests carried out to answer the research questions guiding the quantitative study. Strong evidence of the prevalence of Maltese in the home domain was found, with more children than parents using it at home. In addition, for both parents and children, English is the most popular language when it comes to reading and watching television activities. Finally, with regard to language use and school sector, the results confirm the interview data, where the majority of participants linked use of Maltese mainly to state schools and use of English to independent schools. In church schools, most children feel that they have the opportunity to use both Maltese and English on an equal basis. The chi-square tests confirmed that there are significant differences based on age, locality, mother's employment and school sector respectively, and language use at home.

With regard to the attitudinal characteristics, nine factors emerged in the factor analysis of the language attitude questionnaire: instrumental value to Maltese, instrumental value of English, social class and use of English, locality and use of Maltese, locality and use of English, nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese, nationalistic ideologies and use of English, group membership and Maltese and group membership and English. The items related to language learning experiences and language use in schools did not load onto any of the factors and were analysed individually. The results of the descriptive analysis suggest that these participants showed mainly positive attitudes to all factors (range of means 4.16 to 3.23), except for the ones related to locality and use of English, and social class and use of English, where participants show moderately negative attitudes. Standard multiple regression on these constructs confirm that locality and use of Maltese, nationalistic ideologies and Maltese, group membership and use of English and group membership and use of Maltese are the constructs that were found to contribute significantly to all constructs. Multiple regression analyses were carried out to assess

which constructs best explain children's language attitudes in Malta. The analysis revealed that language spoken to mother and school sector are the most influential independent variables for all constructs. MANOVAs were used to explore how language attitudes interact with contextual variables namely: age, locality, employment, school sector, and language use at home. The ANOVA tests revealed a significant main effect of school and age respectively on all constructs, except for instrumental value of English.

The results in this chapter indicate that in most cases the qualitative data could be supported by the quantitative results. The next chapter, therefore, moves on to discuss the interplay and possible divergences between the two data sets to answer the research questions, in the light of relevant literature and the main theoretical constructs guiding this study.

Table 6.41: The relationship between the research questions and the quantitative analysis

RQ	Analysis	Independent variables in analysis	Dependent variables on which statistical differences were observed	Effect size	Overall pattern
How do participants differ in their language attitudes based on the language used at home?	Descriptive Statistics MANOVA ANOVA	1. Language used to speak to mother x age Age 2. Language used to speak to mother x School attended 3. Language used to speak to mother 4. Language used to speak to child	1. Instrumental value of Maltese, instrumental value of English, nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese and of English 2. Instrumental value of Maltese, instrumental value of English and nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese. 3. All constructs except group membership and use of English. 4. All constructs dealing with Maltese and the social class and use of English construct.	1. Mainly small, except for instrumental value of Maltese (medium). 2. Mainly small Small except for nationalistic ideologies and group membership constructs (large). 3. Medium: locality and use of English; nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese; group membership and use of Maltese. Large: group membership and use of English and nationalistic ideologies and use of English. 4. Small except locality and use of Maltese (medium).	1. Those who speak Maltese show most positive attitudes to the all constructs, regardless of age. Positive attitudes to instrumental value of English regardless of language spoken. Those who speak Maltese or mainly Maltese show positive attitudes mainly to the constructs dealing with Maltese. 2. Those who attend state and church schools and speak Maltese show most positive attitudes to the Maltese language constructs. 3. Positive attitudes to instrumental value of English, regardless of language spoken. Those who speak mainly Maltese show positive attitudes mainly to the constructs dealing with Maltese. 4. Adults who speak Maltese only or mainly Maltese to their children show most favourable attitudes to all constructs. Those who speak English only or mainly English obtained relatively low mean scores or seem to be neutral to these constructs.

RQ	Analysis	Independent variables in analysis	Dependent variables on which statistical differences were observed	Effect size	Overall pattern
What are the parents' and their children's general language attitude characteristics in Malta?	Exploratory Factor Analysis Standard multiple regression	n/a	n/a	n/a	Nine factors that characterise the attitudes towards Maltese and English; locality and use of Maltese, nationalistic ideologies and Maltese, group membership and use of English, and group membership and use of Maltese are most frequent factors to contribute significantly to all factors.
What is the relationship between parents' and children's language attitudes?	t-test	1. Parent vs Child	All constructs	Small except for locality and use of Maltese and group membership and use of English (medium).	Children have more positive attitudes towards all constructs than parents.
How do social factors, such as age, locality, employment and school sector, relate to language attitudes?	MANOVA ANOVA Standard multiple regression	1. Age x School sector 2. Age 3. School sector 4. Locality 5. Father's and mother's employment	1. Instrumental value of Maltese, instrumental value of English, locality and use of Maltese, and locality and use of English 2. All except instrumental value of English 3. All except instrumental value of English 4. Only group membership and use of Maltese 5. None significant	1. Small 2. Large: nationalistic ideologies and use of English, social class and use of English, group membership and use of English; medium: group membership and use of Maltese, rest small.	1. The 11- to 12-year-olds show negative attitudes to instrumentality constructs, regardless of school attended. The 14- to 15-year-olds show positive attitudes to all constructs. 2. The older age groups showed more positive attitudes to the constructs related to the Maltese language. The younger age groups showed more favourable attitudes to the constructs related to English. 3. Children attending state schools show most favourable attitudes to Maltese. Children from independent schools show most favourable

RQ	Analysis	Independent variables in analysis	Dependent variables on which statistical differences were observed	Effect size	Overall pattern
				3. All small except for social class and use of English (medium) 4. Medium 5. n/a	attitudes to English. Children from church schools show favourable attitudes to both. 4. Participants from Western areas provided a more show a more favourable response to the construct. The lowest mean score belongs to those participants who live in Northern areas. 5. The standard multiple regression confirms that language spoken to mother and school sector are the most influential variables to predict attitudes in all constructs.
How do participants link ideologies about language use in society and language use in schools?	Descriptive Statistics	Items dealing with language learning experiences and language use in schools	n/a		Slightly more positive attitudes to experiences related to the learning of English than to Maltese.
What role do social factors play in attitudes towards language use in schools?	ANOVA	1. School sector 2. Age	All items	1. Small except for Importance of Maltese (medium) 2. Small	1. Those who attend state schools have more positive attitudes to Maltese than those attending independent schools. The trend is reversed for those attending independent schools. 2. 11- to 12-year-olds show most positive attitudes to learning English. Adults show most favourable attitudes to learning Maltese.

7 Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together the qualitative and quantitative findings in the present study, in light of the existing literature. It is divided into five sections: the first section describes answers to research questions dealing with language use, while the second section focuses on the research questions that deal with language attitudes and ideologies towards language use in Malta. Section 7.4 will tackle the interplay between language attitudes and ideologies, and schooling in Malta. The penultimate section discusses the similarities and differences between the parents' and children's language attitudes and ideologies. Finally, the limitations of this study will be detailed.

7.2 Use of Language and Identity

The first research question of this study dealt with participants' views on their own language use, and how it is related to their identity and that of others. The results from the quantitative study confirm previous studies that have been carried out in Malta, where Maltese is reported as being the dominant language used in the home domain (Sciriha & Vassallo, 2006, Gatt et al., 2016, Gatt, 2017). There were also participants who use both Maltese and English with their parents or partners. However, it is difficult to qualify exactly what these participants mean by stating that they use both languages. In fact, Gatt et al. (2016) discuss that during their study on language use with young children, the findings point towards children's daily language input being Maltese-dominant. Yet, they also hypothesise that the participants seemed to underscore the presence of mixing in their language use.

Most participants reported that they use English when reading and watching television. This is not surprising in light of the limited (but ever-growing) Maltese language book and television programmes market. An interesting fact worth noting is that adults prefer to use Maltese in these activities more than children. This data are also corroborated in the interviews, where more adults reported to watch television programmes and/or read

books in Maltese than children. Almost all children stated that they prefer to read books almost exclusively in English.

Age was found to have an effect on language use at home for the child subgroup. Maltese is predominantly used by the 14- to 15-year-olds, while English is more prevalent in the younger groups. One interpretation for this could be found in the Gatt et al. (2016), where they report that most parents use mainly English with their young children. Another reason for this could be the 14- to 15-year-olds' use of language as will be discussed in the following sections. In general, these participants showed more positive attitudes to the Maltese language constructs than the other age groups. Therefore, these positive attitudes could be one determining factor in the use of Maltese at home.

The chi-square tests for independence found that there were significant interactions between locality and language use, but the effect sizes were small. Based on the interview data, one would expect to find a clear-cut distinction in terms of language use based on the Northern/Southern divide, with a focus on English in the Northern Harbour areas. Instead, the only trend points to the use of English in the northern areas. The presence of non-Maltese residents, which amounts to 27% of all non-Maltese residents (NSO, 2011), could account for the prevalence of English in these areas. In fact, most participants in the interviews referred to localities in the northern area, as well as Sliema, when discussing the presence of English in various geographical areas in Malta.

A significant effect of mother's employment was found on language use with child and with mother. The role of the mother's education level and employment in language development has been documented in most earlier work (for instance, Golberg, Paradis, & Crago 2008). Such studies took place mainly in contexts of immigration and with children aged 0-3. The present study confirms the salience of mother's employment across differences in language use in a context that is characterised by bilingualism on a societal level, and also with children who are older than the ones traditionally investigated in the aforementioned studies. The quantitative data show that Maltese is mainly used by mothers who are in the clerical or manual sectors, closely followed by those who are unemployed or do not include their occupation in the questionnaire. English is used by mothers who are self-employed. It should be noted, however, that the subgroups for each

category are quite small, and generalisations from this data should be interpreted with caution. Moreover, it was at times challenging to interpret due to missing data for that item.

The interaction of language use at home by school sector was found to be significant. Children attending state schools reported to use mainly Maltese with their parents, whilst those attending independent schools use English. A more varied pattern can be traced for the children attending church schools. One reason for this could be the selection process for these schools. The student populations in church schools have become more varied as the students are chosen by means of the ballot system. This pattern is also found in the qualitative data, although the cases cannot be considered representative of Maltese society. For instance, Cathy and Ruth attend church schools, and they claimed to use both Maltese and English at home. Michela, Leandra and Jill attend independent schools and they speak mostly English at home. John and Kimberley attend state schools and they stated that they use mostly Maltese. However, there are exceptions to the general rule, as traced in the quantitative data, and in the case of Gilbert who attends a state school and speaks English at home.

The qualitative study provides further insight into the way participants refer to their identities, with reference to the language/s they use, and the shifting positionings that they adopt in relation to different situations and interlocutors. Identities can be constituted through talk in the overt introduction of referential identity categories into discourse (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). The circulation of such categories within ongoing discourse, their explicit or implicit juxtaposition with other categories, and the linguistic elaborations and qualifications all provide important information about identity construction. Traditionally, the Maltese linguistic context has been discussed on the basis of a dichotomy between Maltese-speaking and English-speaking individuals as also discussed in Bonnici (2010). Such perceptions are mainly based on lay-theories of language use and appropriateness, as research on actual language use shows that Maltese individuals code-switch between languages on a regular basis (for instance Micallef; 1999; Fenech, 2014; Cutajar, 2015).

In terms of language use at home, most participants in the interviews stated that they prefer to use Maltese in the home domain, supporting the quantitative data. Furthermore, children tended to use more English than adults, which again corroborates the statistical data. Most interviewees reflected on the fact that they used Maltese in one context and English in another. For instance, Brenda, Joan and Maria speak Maltese to their spouses and English to their children. This is again supported by the quantitative data, where for instance, most children use Maltese at home, and then use both Maltese and English at school. All participants referred to Maltese and English as two separate entities, and they did not make any reference to code-switching in any form. This is in line with Heller's (2006, p.5) discussion of the way that bilinguals in her study view languages as autonomous systems and what is valued is multilingualism as a set of parallel monolingualisms.

Despite being able to reflect on their own language use in different contexts, the interview data show that, at times, identifying one's language could be tricky. In addition, the case studies illustrate instances where one's dominant language is not a static condition that lasts a lifetime. Ochs and Schieffelin (2011) state that a habitus is infused with fluidity across a life cycle that encourages "the shedding of certain language forms in favour of the adaptation of others (p.5)." Similarly, Pujolar and González (2013) discuss how people may change their language uses as a consequence of important life changes, very often related to schooling.

By way of illustration, I discussed the life-stories of Ruth, Cathy and Rita (Section 5.3) who feel that they changed the language they consider their dominant or preferred one throughout their lives. This can also be traced in Leila's comments as she immigrated to Malta from Australia, and in Brenda's decision to use English with her daughter, despite coming from a Maltese-speaking background. Therefore, this shows that speakers may elect to engage in certain activities or to affiliate with social groupings in which particular practices are expected to participate in "communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). While the process of socialisation into our first social group of practice is particularly significant for the acquisition of both communicative and other cultural competence, such socialisation is not a one-time event but a process that happens

throughout our lives (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Such changes can also be driven by language ideologies, as will be discussed in the following sections.

Moreover, in reflecting upon their language use, all participants define “the self as against some imagined Other” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p.38). This distinction most often operate in a binary fashion, establishing a dichotomy between social identities constructed as oppositional or contrastive, reducing complex social variability to a single dimension: us versus them. Such reasoning is further elaborated by Harré and his colleagues, where they argue that “what you *are* is partly constituted by what roles you have—in conversations, both personal (ruminating) and social” (Harré et al., 2009, p.12).

Various positionings are created in the interviews, resulting in a long list of labels and attributes. Harré et al. (2009, p.10) also discuss how positioning discourse involves listing and sometimes justifying attributions of skills, character traits, and biographical facts, deemed relevant to whatever positioning is going forward. There are local and even idiographic implicit/explicit practices implying powers, abilities, or status levels. For instance, those who consider themselves Maltese-speaking affiliate themselves with those who are proud to be Maltese nationals, those who do not have a superiority complex, or those who have the right to be called Maltese nationals. They position Others as those who speak English, who are a threat to Maltese culture and language, who live in Sliema and consider themselves superior. On the other hand, those who speak English position themselves as bilinguals, or as those who want to provide better opportunities for their children or themselves, or those who are confident in their position in life. They position Others as either those who want to speak only Maltese - implying that they do not want better opportunities in their lives - or those who speak English and think they are superior to others. All these clear-cut labels uncover an intricate network of ideologies with which participants identify with.

Such positionings can be traced in other contexts. For instance, Sebba and Wootton (1998) argue that that “[t]he complexity of the relationships between minority groups and mainstream society, on the one hand, and the two (or more) languages involved on the other, mean that the ‘we-’ and ‘they’- codes cannot be taken as given in any particular situation” (p.263). Groff et al. (2016) describe how dichotomisation between groups takes

place also in their study. Their data show how participants create boundaries between Francophone and Anglophones in Québec City on the basis of language, and how participants “describe their experiences of being made to feel different, responding with discourses that position them as superior and characterise the other as “closed-minded”, thus reinforcing boundaries” (p.96).

However, there are instances when the Other is difficult to define, and the characteristics of this Other change even during the same interview. For instance, Brenda’s Others are the Maltese-speaking children who exclude her daughter Leandra, and in other instances the Others become other English-speaking individuals who think they are superior because they speak English. This shows that although they are seemingly speaking about the same Other, “sameness of wording does not necessarily mean that respondents will understand the terms or formulate the object of thought in an identical way” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p.52). Participants also make reference to their own ideologies in which their identifications shift from one situation to the other. In some cases, Joan refers to herself as a bilingual person equally proficient in Maltese and English (c.f. section 5.5.7); in other cases as a Maltese citizen who is proud of her language; and in others as a mother who speaks English to her daughter, and does not want her to socialise with friends who speak a marked variety of Maltese. Participants also tend to downplay the similarities they have with the Other and focus on the differences. Rita’s adamant distinction between herself as a mother, and the other mother who cannot engage in basic manners is based on an emphasis of differences in behaviour and language use (English vs Maltese), even though in previous extracts she discussed how she was proficient in Maltese and used it with some of her family members, and the fact that she used Maltese as a child.

The beliefs that individuals hold of themselves and of others, are “shaped by broader social representations of ideologies” (Tajfel, 1978, p.84). The interview data reveal how language use is linked to moral virtue and acceptable behaviour. Irvine and Gal (2000) note that there are striking similarities in the ways ideologies misrecognise differences among linguistic practices, often identifying linguistic varieties with typical persons and activities, and accounting for the differentiation among them, creating a homogenising effect. This shows that identity is as much about disaffiliation as it is about affiliation, and

that one often engages in the “practice of defining one’s identity through a contrast with a stigmatised other” (Sayer, 2005, p.54).

Rita equates the use of Maltese with lack of basic manners, while both Michela and her mother Joan associate the use of Maltese with vulgar and common behaviour.

Furthermore, Leandra calls Maltese-speaking children “*ħamalli* [louts]”. On the other hand, Marika associates use of drugs with children who speak English, Sara narrates at length the disrespectful way in which the English-speaking girls used to treat her, and Cathy points out that girls who speak English at her school are fake. However, there are instances where participants realise that there are exceptions to these rules. At one point, Judy reflects on the language use of her friend, and concludes that he does not use English because he is snobbish. Therefore, the pathologising effect might not apply to everyone.

At times, language use leads to exclusion. According to Bourdieu (1991), linguistic habitus offers speakers a certain sense of the social value of linguistic utterances (of their own and of others) and hence of one’s place in the linguistic markets concerned, giving speakers a “feel for the game” (p. 76). The three participants in Section 5.6 discuss their painful episodes related to the way they were ostracised because their habitus did not fit the language expected in it. Interestingly, although their exclusion resulted because they spoke either Maltese (Sara) or English (Rita referring to Gilbert and Brenda referring to Leandra), their experiences are in many ways parallel. Moreover, Rosemarie and Marika reflect on the imagined effect that sending their daughters to a different school would have on them. They conclude that they do not want their daughters to feel outsiders by forcing them into a habitus that is not their own. Groff et al (2016) also explore ways in which Francophone students of English are frequently “made to feel different” (p.88) and being considered as the “other” (p.90).

To conclude, the quantitative data present the following general overview of the present linguistic situation in Maltese families. Maltese is the most prevalent language used at home, but the use of both languages and the use of English also exists. Use of language is linked to age, locality, mother’s employment, and school sector. The qualitative data provided useful insight into the complexity of this language use, and how in turn

participants link it to their identities and ideologies. The analysis shows the connection between power and identity in parents' and children's discursive self-construction of linguistic identities, addressing the interplay between their own identity construction and the perceived construction of their identities by others.

7.3 Parents' and children's language attitudes and ideologies

In this section, I will be addressing the research questions that deal with the way participants express language attitudes and ideologies, and the way these are affected by social factors. I will be focusing on participants' opinions related to nationalistic ideologies, and to the instrumental value of Maltese and English. I will also discuss ways in which they link use of language to social class as well as locality in Malta. Such ideologies are mirrored in the questionnaire data, where the results of the exploratory factor analysis established nine factors that account for the participants' attitudes and ideologies towards Maltese and English.

Participants in the qualitative study express individual language attitudes, which take place within the broader context of socially and politically created language ideologies. Therefore, comments made in the interview are not only about whether participants like the way the Maltese language sounds, or whether English can be associated with being friendly, but rather "the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group" (Kroskrity, 2004, pp.501). Such ideologies are not fixed, stable, or immutable. They are multiple, and influenced by changes at local, national, state and global levels. Therefore, Heller's (2006) metaphor, that of a "kaleidoscope" (p.5) which was introduced in Chapter 2, is an illustrative way to present the multifaceted nature of these language ideologies. Each set of patterned colours represents a facet of the story which is influenced by ideologies. The participants put forward a specific ideology during the interviews, but this ideology has to be interpreted in the light of all the patterns/ideologies that have been discussed throughout the interviews. The interplay between language attitudes, ideologies and contextual variables is also evident in the questionnaire data, where the independent variables; age, school sector and language spoken at home, affected the language attitude constructs.

7.3.1 Nationalistic ideologies

In a study on values in the European Union, Abela (2005) discusses how the Maltese have retained a very strong pride in their country. He concludes that national pride was found to be strongest in the southern part of the European Union, Malta in particular. This could account for the relatively high mean score obtained for the national ideologies and use of Maltese construct, which was higher than the one obtained for national ideologies and use of English. These considerations can be used to interpret the comments made in the interviews, where all participants (exceptions being Brenda and Leandra) at one point or another make reference to the Maltese language as an integral part of national identity. Participants also imagine Maltese identity to be homogeneous, whereas both data sets in this study reveal that people exhibit heterogeneous patterns in terms of language use and attitudes in Malta.

Notwithstanding the importance assigned to Maltese as a national language, participants also mention that English is an important asset in light of the global economy, and that Malta will never be able to isolate itself as an island from the world because of its limitations as a small nation. They position Maltese and English on a local and a global (Sebba & Tate, 2002) binary. In this way, they position Maltese as the key feature of their local identity and English as the key to access a more global identity and a “window on the world” (Sebba & Tate, 2002, p.79). Moreover, the relatively low mean score obtained for national ideologies and use of English suggests that participants do not view English as forming an integral part of their national identity.

Some participants in the qualitative study feel that their role is to safeguard the Maltese language and strongly proclaim that “*Għax jekk inti Malti tkellem bil-Malti* [If you are Maltese you have to speak Maltese]”. For instance, Marika, Stephanie and Rosemary stigmatise speakers of English as being a threat to Maltese identity, and that such speakers are “*qishom kontra pajjżhom* [They seem to be betraying their country]”. This echoes the claims made in Rajadurai (2010), that Malays should speak Malay. Therefore, the Maltese language is regarded as one, if not the sole, unifying component of being

Maltese. Those individuals who speak English are rejecting their Maltese identity. Similarly, Kamwangamalu (2001) notes that in post-apartheid South Africa, a “static view of the relationship between language and ethnicity” (p. 80) is still very much in evidence and that, in the case of his research participants, most still “consider this language [their home language] as a symbol of their ethnic identity” (p. 85). In her study of isiZulu-speaking residents of Umlazi, Rudwick (2008) delved deeper into what she calls “coconut dynamics” (p. 108), with reference to the derogatory term for speakers perceived to be ethnically African but who use “immaculate English” (p.102) since they are dark on the outside but white inside. This resonates with the derogatory terms, such as “*pepé*” [snobbish], “*qziezati* [snobbish]”, “*imcappsin bil-kokó* [full of bullshit]” used by the participants in this study to refer to the individuals who speak English in Malta.

More insight can also be obtained from the questionnaire data. The sequential regression analysis revealed that that group membership and use of Maltese contributed mostly to the nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese construct. This consolidates the interview data that puts the concept of group membership at the forefront of any discussion on language use in Malta. Most participants feel that the Maltese language is one of the key unifying features of being a Maltese citizen, and by proxy positioning themselves within this group, which in their view, is homogeneous.

Participants who consider English to be their dominant language, like Joan, Maria and Cathy, also acknowledge the fact that they need to be able to speak Maltese in Malta, because they are citizens of the nation. However, they also acknowledge that they can use both languages in their lives, without feeling they are rejecting their Maltese identity. In this respect, they show an ability to integrate both languages in their national identity. This is summed up in Joan’s comment when she says that Maltese is her first language, but she is also a balanced bilingual and can use English as well as Maltese (c.f. Section 5.5.7). Therefore, the underlying difference between these participants, and other more fervent patriots - like Rosemary and Marika - is the fact that they see the two languages as complementing aspects of their national identity, rather than contradictory aspects. This can be traced in the quantitative data, where a considerable percentage of participants use both Maltese and English, or English more often than Maltese, therefore using both

languages in their daily interactions. However, it should also be pointed out that the effect of language use on the nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese construct shows that participants who use Maltese and English, or mainly English at home show slightly less positive attitudes to the construct than those who speak mainly Maltese. Therefore, the quantitative data confirm that use of Maltese influences positive attitudes to nationalistic ideologies.

In conclusion, throughout history, the Maltese have been in contact with an influx of languages that characterised their linguistic identity. Therefore, the mixed views on the link between language and nation should not come as a surprise. This calls for a pluralist account of the Maltese national identity; one that takes into account both the effects of a national language and a global one on the formation of the identity of its people.

7.3.2 Ideologies and locality

Malta's small area (just over 316 km²) does not necessarily mean that its people are homogeneous in their language use and ideologies, despite the claims made by most participants in the interviews. In fact, in Section 5.4.2, Cathy provides a succinct and accurate summary of the historical ramifications that resulted in the differences in language use by locality. Certain residential areas, including the Northern Harbour region such as Sliema, are widely perceived to be higher in social prestige than others (Boswell, 1994), and were also the areas in which the British resided during their rule. Contrarily, rural villages have historically lacked social prestige. This can account for Sara's experiences of exclusion (c.f. Section 5.6.2) because she came from rural areas. In other contexts, for instance Lamb (2012, 2013) focused on Indonesia, highlighting differences between English learners from cities, provincial towns and rural areas. In particular, he noticed a divide between students from rural areas and those from provincial towns and cities with the latter group displaying stronger endorsement of language learning goals, receiving more support from peers and parents, considering their learning experience as more positive and reporting higher levels of ideal L2 self (Lamb, 2012)..

The questionnaire data show that participants show more positive attitudes to the use of Maltese in most localities, than the use of English. This is reflected in the qualitative data,

where the majority of participants who consider themselves Maltese-speaking criticise individuals who speak English in their localities, or those who live in specific areas like Sliema. For instance, Judy uses derogatory terms to refer to her neighbour who speaks English; Lucy states that those who speak English in Sliema are actually not that well-off; and Cathy adds that they are not genuine in their friendships.

All adult participants are aware of such ideologies and link the use of English to areas like Sliema. Maria and Joan, the two women who live in Sliema, openly state that they do not care about these comments and imply that since they are comfortable in their situation, they do not feel threatened by such ideologies. Michela, as a teenager, is also aware that others might view her as a person who lives in Sliema and an outsider. In fact, in her discussion of people who live in the southern part of the island, she positions herself and such people as binary opposites. At this age, she has already understood the differences in habitus that might be valued in these different areas. An interesting insight can also be gained from Jill's views on language use in Sliema. As a young girl, she is also aware that most people in her locality speak Maltese. When asked for the reason for this, she explains this in terms of being non-Maltese. Therefore, she draws on nationalistic ideologies in equating language use to nation, and is still not aware of the ideological ramifications that play a role in the use of language in her locality.

Those who live in the southern parts of the island (for instance Ruth, Jane and Marika) defend their position vociferously and refute any ideologies linking them to negative attributes. However, they are all in consensus that those people who live in Sliema are snobbish, despite having rarely interacted with them. Michela, and to a lesser extent her mother Joan, pathologize people living in the South.

In terms of the quantitative data, locality was found to affect the group membership and use of Maltese construct significantly, with those living in western areas showing most positive attitudes to it, and those living in northern areas the most negative. One possible interpretation for this could be language use in the particular areas and its effect on language attitudes. In addition, the fact that locality had an effect on group membership, further confirms that locality in Malta cannot be solely defined in terms of geographic areas, but it also relates to forming part of a particular group with its own habitus.

Therefore, this further contributes to an interpretation of Brenda's story and use of English in a town where she was expected to use Maltese. In light of the quantitative data, Brenda seems to have transgressed the group membership norms because she spoke English to her daughter.

In terms of differences based on locality, the results show that statistical differences lie only in the group membership and use of Maltese construct, with those living in northern areas showing the least positive attitudes to this, while those living in western areas showing the most positive attitudes. Such a difference in attitudes could be due to language use, as the use of Maltese tends to dominate more in western areas than it does in northern areas. Therefore, participants living in the northern areas might not deem Maltese as important to be able to be accepted in groups. Also, the fact that locality was found to have an effect on group membership, highlights the intricate link between living in a specific area in Malta and feeling that you belong to a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This sheds further light into the life stories presented in Section 5.6, where participants like Cathy and Brenda speak about the way language includes or excludes them from their community of practice, which their locality constitutes.

7.3.3 Instrumental value of Maltese and English

One of the most recurrent ideologies that is expressed in all interviews is the utilitarian value or the importance on a practical level associated with Maltese and English. Both adults and children stated that both Maltese and English are important resources for themselves as individuals and for Malta as a nation, linking these advantages to economic gains. All participants also mentioned the fact that both languages are needed in the domains of education and employment. Bonnici (2010) also concludes this in her study of English-speaking individuals where "English-speaking individuals who have entered higher education or the workforce are discovering that their lack of spoken fluency in Maltese is a detriment to both their social standing and their academic and career opportunities" (p.103).

The means (c.f Table 4.13) for each construct, show that the most positive attitudes were held towards instrumental value of English. This result is not surprising when interpreted

in the light of the qualitative data, as even those participants who criticised individuals who use English in Malta, spoke about its importance for education and employment prospects. Participants also showed positive attitudes to the pragmatic value of Maltese, which demonstrates that participants are aware of the importance attached to Maltese as well as English in Malta. Again, this is mirrored in the interview data, where utilitarian importance attached to one language does not necessarily exclude the importance given to the other one, particularly to access higher education. This mirrors findings in Klapwijk and Van der Walt (2016) on the perceived importance of English and home languages in South Africa. While English was given the highest score in terms of success in studies, students in this study also considered their home language to be important for their studies.

Teenagers like Michela, Cathy, and Ruth made reference to the fact that an Ordinary level certification in Maltese is a prerequisite for access to university, despite the fact that they feel that they can get by without Maltese when they speak to their peers and in their social circles. Joan, Maria, Roberta and Brenda mention that is a major driving force for ensuring that their children get good grades in Maltese at school. Child participants, like John and Jill, state that this is one of the main reasons they study Maltese at school. Very often children complained that they do not need to read or write Maltese once they finish school. Some of the participants' attitudes toward Maltese which centre on a deficit ideology can also be interpreted in the light of the relatively recent codification and standardisation of Maltese (c.f Section 2.5.3), especially when compared to the codification of English. These attitudes can be traced in other bilingual settings. For instance, Heller (2006) discusses how students in her study were aware of the importance of both French and English to advance in their lives. She concludes that students were aware that in a bilingual setting, they were aware that "speaking French allows students to reposition themselves within the dominant market, to bring to that market linguistic resources that have value there, and that therefore increase their chances of achieving their goals" (Heller, 2006, p.218).

English has gained both political power and economic value as a result of globalisation in recent years as evidenced by its role in international organisations, academic publications

and gatekeeping to education (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). When commenting on the utilitarian value of English, all participants agree that it is also important for job prospects and for furthering one's education. Peter and Dylan refer to the fact that English is a medium of instruction in schools. In a global context, the use of English as the lingua franca in higher education institutions means that the desire and push for English is not only a Maltese phenomenon. For instance, Gao (2014) discusses how "English proficiency can provide Chinese learners not only with access to more prestigious forms of education but also with desired positions in the workforce or on social-mobility ladders" (p.93). Sung-Yul Park and Lo (2012) argue that English has become a prominent middle-class obsession among Koreans. Literature on multilingual education in the United States focuses predominantly on the acknowledgement of minority languages (see García, 2009; García & Zakharia, 2012). A similar situation is found in Britain, where researchers like Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012) and Blackledge and Creese (2010) write about the status of minority languages or of varieties of dominant languages, in relation to the power of English. Klapwijk and Van der Walt (2016) present a situation which is more similar to the one in Malta. They argue, on the other hand, that in South Africa the languages that are spoken by the majority of the population, are the ones that are being denied an effective place in education through the preponderance of English as medium of instruction. They summarise the sociolinguistic situation in their study as "the preference for English as medium of instruction seems to be largely based on the perception of the importance of English to "succeed" in life and work rather than the actual dominant use of English by a majority of the population" (p.68). This resonates with most of the arguments in the interviews. Maltese is the dominant language spoken in families. However, this does not mean that its prevalence translates to power in educational settings.

7.3.4 The role of social class in language attitudes and ideologies

Several theorists have questioned the distinctions of class, as illustrated in traditional variationist sociolinguistic research. In fact, Pakulski (2005) points out how societies have become more complex over the last century and as a result, divisions based on class do not apply to these modern societies. However, Block (2013) criticises these

approaches, as such generalisations simply point towards the direction “that class and class conflict have disappeared” (p.49), and yet, in some societies, inequality based on social distinction, is still visible and prevalent. This conclusion is also reflected in some of the participants’ comments. Most participants seem to be very aware of class inequalities, and how these can be perpetuated by the use of language. They are aware that the “*klassi għolja* [high class]” exists, as opposed to what some participants define as “*normali*[normal]” which might point towards more lower-to-middle classes.

Participants refer to attitudes towards English-speaking individuals in Malta where they are deemed snobbish. In fact, the word *pepé* (which is a pejorative term in Maltese, referring to an individual who speaks English and who is also snobbish) can be traced in most of the interviews. Participants like Marika, Raisa and Rosemary use it explicitly to refer to Others who speak English, while English-speaking participants - like Michaela, Maria and Brenda - acknowledge that these Others might actually perceive them as snobbish.

However, different participants conceptualise the link between social class and use of language in a multitude of ways. The most basic link between language use and social class is when participants refer to economic capital, and the material gain to be obtained through the use of English. By way of illustration, Raisa discusses with her daughter Judy, how the English language might help her to find a partner who is rich, because according to her, individuals who speak English in Malta are well-off. This is corroborated by her daughter, who confirms that her friend speaks English at home and lives in a beautiful house. This is linked to the ideologies discussed in the previous section, which link English to employment and educational opportunities. Similarly, Jane comments that her daughter’s friends’ parents speak English and are all professionals (doctors and lawyers), while Sara states that her English-speaking schoolmates at the school she attended, came from wealthy families. Her mother, Joanna, narrates an episode when the English-speaking parents thought she would not be able to afford to contribute to a school party, because of her use of Maltese and her husband’s job.

There are other instances where the link between the use of language and social class is not solely related to economic capital but is defined in terms of Bourdieu’s notion of

social capital. For Bourdieu, class divisions are defined by differing conditions of existence, dispositions, and levels of power. Participants speak about a type of lifestyle, “*a way of living*” to use Raisa’s phrase, which can be interpreted in the light of Weber’s (1968) conceptualisation of status groups and style of life. For example, Rita makes it a point to use English as a means to provide her son with a lifestyle different to that she was exposed to as a child. Her comments, also echo ideologies about parenting, and are similar to the ones expressed by parents in King and Fogle’s (2006) study. Similarly to the parents in this study, she wants to present herself as a good parent because of her positive perception of additive bilingualism. She also considers those parents who speak only Maltese to their children as bad parents.

A telling comment is also made by Lucy, who claims that even though people who live in Sliema might seem superior because of their lifestyle and use of English, this does not mean that they are economically stable. She actually compares herself to them, and concludes that she might seem more economically affluent despite living in a rural area and speaking Maltese. This corroborates with Agius’s (2000) discussion on social class in Malta. He draws on Bourdieu (1984) in his study on consumerism and the new middle class in Malta. He describes how the middle class engages in various aspects of social life, for instance in clothes and meals, by putting an emphasis on improvement “to establish and cultivate their distinguishing habitus” (p.101). This is further illustrated by Bonnici (2010), who argues that one’s social class in Malta is also defined in terms of practices and behaviours including linguistic practices. These practices are connected to patterns of work, education, and financial standing in complex ways. Therefore, English might be one of the capitals to cultivate this habitus.

Joan criticises the linear relationship between social class, interpreted as economic capital and use of English in Malta. She does not equate material wealth with a natural right to belonging to an upper class. Rather, it involves an acute knowledge of norms relating to cultural and linguistic capital that belonging to such classes entails. Thus, social capital provides “each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.51). Therefore, in her criticism of the *nouveaux riches*, Joan illustrates that “while

[social class] has always been recognised as an economic position, it has also increasingly been regarded as a cultural process, marked by consumption patterns, identity formations, and bodily attributes like accent, behaviour, and dress” (Darvin & Norton, 2014, p.112). Joan’s comments refer to those individuals who want to pass as upper class because they are wealthy, but who according to her can never make up for what they have never lived: the years of upper class education, and the embodiment and inculcation of élite structures of feeling (Williams, 1977). She thinks that they overcompensate by buying large cars, flashy handbags and use of English, which she does not approve of. Bourdieu (1984) in fact discusses how the “nouveau riche 'overdoes it', betraying his own insecurity”, while individuals who are secure in their position like Joan make it a point to refuse anything that is “‘showy', 'flashy' and pretentious, and which devalues itself by the very intention of distinction” (p.249). In this sense, Joan here is referring to individuals whom Bourdieu described as follows:

“[T]he parvenus who presume to join the group of legitimate, i.e. hereditary, possessors of the legitimate manner, without being the product of the same social conditions” (Bourdieu, 1984, p.95).

She also comments on their lack of academic qualifications when she states: “*bir-rispett kollu akkademikament ma jkunux għamlu xejn pero' jkollhom il-flus* [with all due respect they haven't achieved much academically but they have money]”. Here she is implying that academic capital is more superior than economic capital. Furthermore, in the interview, there are a few telling moments where Joan indexes her social class position. Firstly, she claims that she has never felt the need to change her use of language. In fact, she criticises those who strive towards this change, thus implying that one should not stick to one’s habitus. Moreover, from what I could infer from the interview and based on her current employment (doctor) she comes from a wealthy family. The fact that the interview was carried out in Maltese might be indexical of the fact that she wants to distance herself from the people she is criticising. She might want to show that her secure social position does not need language to affirm herself. A similar case can be seen in Block’s (2013) study, where one of the participants, Rosa, is perceived by another participant Silvia as a parvenu. Silvia believes that she belongs to Barcelona upper class

and could claim a distinguished family background, and had had a privileged upbringing in the “zona alta” of Barcelona. She is irked by Rosa’s hypercorrection and her use of language, and she believes that she is using a code to gain access into a social group that she doesn’t really belong to. This is similar to Joan and Maria’s comments where they believe that individuals should stick to their social groups, without engaging in artificial linguistic behaviour. Maria also goes as far as stating that those who think she is snobbish because of her use of English in fact have an “*inferiority complex*.” She also reflects Joan’s opinions in stating that people should stick to their habitus as, “*jien inħossni komda fl-environment tiegħi u int fl-environment tiegħek* [I feel comfortable in my *environment* and you feel comfortable in your *environment*].”

In the present study there seem to be conflicting attitudes towards the value of bilingualism, particularly from those who speak English at home. For instance, Maria, Joan and Brenda voice contradictory opinions about the value of Maltese in their own lives and in their daughters’ futures. This might be because they are already “secure in their class position and secure in the knowledge that their children were already university bound” (Heller, 2006, p.42) and therefore, they do not feel that they have to invest in Maltese in the home setting, even though they believe that it is an important part of their Maltese national identity. These ideologies can be contrasted with those held by members of the Agius, and Camilleri families, where both English and Maltese are highly valued because of the exigencies of the job market. Heller (2006, p.42) in fact argues that working class families in her study are concerned mainly with getting good jobs for their children which, in the Toronto area, is dominated by English. However, the interview data do not support the findings in the studies reviewed in Section 3.10 (such as Lambert and Taylor (1996) and Scheele et al. (2010)), in immigration contexts, where mothers belonging to middle classes use the heritage language more than the working class ones. One reason for this difference could be that Maltese is not considered to be a heritage language in the present study, and therefore, in contexts where two languages compete for power, middle- or upper-class parents might opt for the language that entails more linguistic capital. Additionally, such parents might feel that they are more competent in English, because of their education opportunities and as a result use it with their children.

Such lack in opportunities is in fact voiced by mothers who feel inferior to their children (such as Lucy and Jane).

This leads to the discussion of the role of human agency in relation to social structures. Fundamentally, the debate concerns how social structures condition human conduct on the one hand, and to what extent individuals can exercise their will to determine their own fate (Kanno, 2014). The life stories illustrate ways in which individuals have made conscious decisions to change their linguistic practices to reach a particular end. Some participants, such as Ruth and Rita, also comment on a perceived change in identity as they started using English throughout their lives. In this way, these participants are seen as agents in their own right, in accessing linguistic resources, and in their investment (Norton, 2013) in language, despite material constraints. This shows how social class at times does not solely depend on economic position, but also as a cultural process, marked by consumption patterns, identity formations, and bodily attributes like accent, behaviour, and dress (Bourdieu, 1984). This is not relegated only to English as Cathy's use of Maltese granted her access to a group of friends she wanted to hang out with, and more opportunities to consolidate and practise Maltese.

Rampton (2006, p.235) argues that although sociolinguistics (and linguistic anthropology) has recently focused on the analyses of practices and discourses, an over-enthusiasm about these threatens to trivialise notions like social class. As a result, this might deny its toll on individuals, perpetuating ideologies which treat class position as a matter of individual will, effort and enterprise. Also, an over-reliance on human agency might in turn make individuals, like some participants in this study feel responsible for their failure. Rita presents an exemplar of such a case. She has been actively involved in shaping her identity, but at the same time is confined within the perceived limitations of her position and lack of economic resources. This shows that the degree of individual effort we can exert in shaping our identity is not always equal, and "there are unequal power relations to deal with, around the different capitals- economic, cultural and social- that both facilitate and constrain interactions with others" (Block, 2010, p.27). She believed that English would give her access to all forms of capital she values, however she is fully aware that there are limitations to this. Writing from a post-colonial

perspective, Pennycook (2007) presents a sobering view of the role of English in post-colonial states by stating that English holds out promise of social and economic development to all those who learn it, and that it is a language of equal opportunity. However, he discusses what he calls the:

collusionary, delusionary and exclusionary effects of English. This thing called English colludes with many of the pernicious processes of globalisation, deludes many learners through the false promises it holds out for social and material gain, and excludes many people by operating as an exclusionary class dialect, favouring particular people, countries, cultures and forms of knowledge (Pennycook, 2007, p.100).

Kanno (2014) also discusses how we need to conceptualise social class without reducing it to a matter of economic wealth: we cannot forget the fundamental importance of the economic factor in social class. In fact, Joan and Maria are not worried about class differences and state that individuals should be happy with their present state. They do not believe that language will give you “*an extra boost*” (to use Joan’s words). In doing so, they are revealing their secure positions in society. Bourdieu (1984) argues that those who are held to be distinguished, like Joan and Maria “have the privilege of not worrying about their distinction” (p.249). This could account for their lack of concern over these matters.

Despite its ubiquity in the qualitative study, the social class and use of English construct obtained an unexpected low mean score in the quantitative study. This points to the fact that in general, participants do not agree with the notion that using English will make you more educated and/or more snobbish in Malta, which is at odds with the interview data. One way of interpreting this is the fact that participants might have been influenced by “social desirability or prestige bias” (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010, p.8), when faced with a sensitive topic such as social class. In fact, Kanno (2014) argues that social class could be somewhat of a taboo topic in present society. Halliday (1990) also comments on the fact that social class might be a taboo topic because its very nature will inevitably reveal discrimination:

it is not acceptable to show up classism, especially by objective linguistics analysis ... because capitalist society could not exist without discrimination between classes. Such work could, ultimately, threaten the order of society (p.17).

In the interviews, the discussion of this topic was preceded by other topics where participants were to feel at ease, and where I made it a point to explain that their opinions mattered to me. Only then did most of them start talking about their own and Others' social classes. Similarly, in his study on language attitudes to the mother tongue in Botswana, Letsholo (2009) concludes that interpreting the findings of a question about language loyalty and language attitudes in general, requires caution because it is possible that the informants were providing answers which they thought the researcher was expecting.

Another interpretation could be the way social class is linked to other ideologies, and that treating it in isolation might not be doing justice to its multifaceted nature. By way of illustration, Marika's comments (c.f Section 5.5.2) on the use of English, social class, locality, and school attended require several turns of the kaleidoscope, to use the metaphor presented in Section 7.3 within the same extract. At times, it was difficult to isolate such concepts, just as it would be difficult to isolate all the colours and patterns in a kaleidoscope.

Furthermore, Caruana (2007), in his study of language attitudes among university students reports that socioeconomic status of the participants' families yields statistically significant results, with the attitude towards Maltese being significantly more favourable among students coming from families in the lower socioeconomic bracket when compared to those coming from a higher SES group. However, in this study employment was not found to have a significant effect on any of the language attitude constructs. Again, this result was surprising in the light of the centrality of the theme of social class in the interviews. One possible interpretation for the lack of significance in the present study could be the fact that some data were missing or incomplete. Another one could lie in the conceptualisation of social class in the quantitative study, which could further emphasise that social class in Malta cannot be defined solely on the basis of employment. This is in accordance with the claims that social class is more complex than

socioeconomic status and can no longer be understood as simply a person's relation to the means of production (Bourdieu, 1991; Block, 2010; Darvin & Norton, 2014). In this respect, the qualitative data filled in the gaps that were left by the quantitative data, in the relationship between social class and language attitudes and ideologies in Malta, which are intricate and multi-faceted.

7.3.5 The effect of language use on language attitudes and ideologies

When looking at the patterns in the data suggested by the multiple regression analyses, language spoken to mother and school sector were revealed to be the most important factors in attitudes towards Maltese and English. Such results can explain the way participants in the interviews link language use to school sector, and also the way they speak about the way language used at home might affect their attitudes towards languages. For instance, Stephanie speaks about the role of English in her school, and the way she negotiates the use of Maltese at home and use of English at school. This negotiation has shaped her attitudes to the languages, as well as the ideologies of nationalism linked to Maltese and ideologies of snobbery that are linked to the use of English in certain contexts.

The significant interaction between Language spoken to mother x School sector provides an insight into how the interplay of school sector and language use can affect language attitudes. The most telling finding was that those children who attend state and church schools and speak mainly Maltese view instrumental value of Maltese most positively. Those who attend independent schools hold more negative attitudes to it. Within this subgroup, it is those who speak English who actually view it most positively. Moreover, the ANOVA results revealed a significant effect of the language spoken to mother and the attitude factors (exception being group membership and use of English). The most positively viewed factor, regardless of the language spoken to mother, was the instrumental value of English. Although all groups obtained high mean scores (above 4), the highest scores were generally provided by those who speak Maltese more often than English to their mother. Therefore, utilitarian value attached to Maltese might be mainly linked to speaking Maltese at home. However, the relationship between language spoken to mother and positive attitudes towards English does not hold for English, particularly

for instrumental value of English. In fact, those who speak mainly Maltese show the most positive attitudes to this construct. This is corroborated by the interview data (c.f Section 7.3.5), where all participants unanimously confirm the utilitarian significance of English. The utilitarian importance of Maltese is recognised by most participants; though Brenda, Leandra, and possibly Cathy see a qualification in Maltese as a means to an end are not convinced of its importance.

With regard to the parental use of language, the ANOVA results reveal a significant effect on use of language with children and factors dealing with Maltese and social class and use of English. Firstly, it is interesting to note that social class affected the adult sample only and not the children. This consolidates the evidence presented above, where adults seemed to be keener to express opinions about the link between social class and language use in Malta. Secondly, the results also show that those parents who speak Maltese or mainly Maltese to their children have the most positive attitudes to the factors linked to Maltese. Therefore, it can be concluded that the use of Maltese at home seems to have an effect on language attitudes towards Maltese. One reason for its use at home could be that parents have positive attitudes to it, or vice versa. Children are then socialised in these attitudes and in turn use it with their mothers.

Caruana (2007), also confirms that participants who have Maltese as a mother tongue expressed a much more favourable attitude towards Maltese itself, when compared to those with either or both Maltese and English as mother tongue. Moreover, Morris (2014) examined the correlation between speakers' backgrounds and their language attitudes, self-confidence in their language skills, and use of Welsh. The independent variable which had a significant effect on use of Welsh and attitudes was the participants' home language. Those who speak Welsh at home are more likely to use Welsh outside of the home. This could also relate to proficiency in the language, and as a result willingness to use it.

Speaking Maltese at home affects positive attitudes to it. Common findings indicate that parent language use is very important in the development or maintenance of the child's ethnic language (Chan & Nicoladis, 2010; De Houwer, 2007; Lanza, 2001; Pearson, Fernandez, Lewedeg, & Oller, 1997; Wigglesworth & Stavans, 2001). Although these

studies have been mainly carried out in heritage language settings, these considerations can be extended to the local situation where Maltese is viewed as a national language, in relation to English being more of a global language. The presence of this language at home will have an impact on the attitudes towards it and vice versa. Moreover, Gatt (2017)'s study on the demographic and language exposure factors, accounted for individual differences in children's vocabularies (aged 23-34 months). She concludes that maternal education level emerged as a significant predictor of Total Vocabulary and Maltese word scores. Given her results, she hopes to raise awareness on the important role of mothers and their language exposure in supporting the early vocabulary skills of children from Maltese-dominant families.

Of interest is the attitudes expressed to social class and use of English, depending on the language used at home (the effect was significant for the child group only). The quantitative results show that in general, both child and parent groups who speak mainly English show the most negative attitudes to this construct. Children show relatively more negative attitudes to this construct than parents. Furthermore, those parents who speak Maltese to their children show neutral attitudes to it, as the mean score is close to three, while children who speak Maltese to their mothers show slightly negative attitudes to the construct with mean scores close to 2.5.

Also, the results show that there is a significant effect of language used with friends on all constructs. Of particular interest is the effect of language with friends on the group membership constructs. Those who speak Maltese to their friends show more positive attitudes to the group membership and use of Maltese construct, while those who speak English have more positive attitudes to the group membership and use of English construct. Such findings back up the interview data, where participants like Cathy and Ruth used language to be accepted by a new group of friends. Moreover, most participants spoke about the use of language in their particular social circles, and how their language use fits the particular habitus that they inhabit. Using a different language than the expected one has led to some negative experiences for some participants, such as Gilbert's, Brenda's and Sara's stories. These findings provide further insight into the way

identities are shaped through language use, which goes beyond the language used at home, and the effect this has on personal attitudes and ideologies.

7.4 Language attitudes and ideologies towards language use in the three school sectors in Malta

As argued in Chapter 2, schools can at times be sites of conflict. The views in the qualitative study do not deal with the actual teaching and learning of Maltese and English, rather than the language/s used for instruction purposes, to speak to teachers and during assemblies or other activities. The comments made by the participants about their own language use at school and/or others' use of language show that Maltese is associated mainly with state schools and English with independent schools. There are more mixed views on the use of language in church schools, although most participants feel that English is more prevalent than Maltese in such schools. This is corroborated by Stephanie, Cathy and Ruth who state that they mainly use English at their school. Such views are also held by the teenage participants who are aware that their school might promote one language over another. Similarly to the case of language use at home and language attitudes, such attitudes can be explained in terms of language use at school. All in all, the tendency is for Maltese to be used in state schools and English in church and independent schools, which supports the claims made by the participants in the interviews. This relationship between language use and school sector also reflected in the use of language with peers.

School sector affected the language attitude constructs as shown in the quantitative study (exception being instrumental value of English). Participants attending state schools (both adults and children) view the constructs dealing with Maltese most favourably. Those attending independent schools view the constructs related to English most positively. The participants from church schools exhibit a similar trend to those attending state schools in the instrumental value of Maltese and English, locality and use of English, and nationalistic ideologies and use of Maltese constructs. They mirror the trends by the independent schools group in the locality and use of Maltese, nationalistic ideologies and

use of English and group membership, and use of Maltese constructs. This shows that participants from church schools exhibit a mix of attitudes to Maltese and English.

Bourdieu argues that, “the educational system is a crucial object of struggle because it has a monopoly over the production of the mass of producers and consumers, and hence over the reproduction of the market on which the value of linguistic competence depends, in other words its capacity to function as linguistic capital. (Bourdieu, 1977, p.651). By way of illustration, Rita would like to send her son to an independent school so that he will have better opportunities in life than her. In fact, this insistence on school sector is also found in Kanno (2008), where she discusses how there is a sense of urgency on the part of middle-class Japanese parents for their children to develop proficiency in English if they are to gain enough linguistic capital and be competitive in the global and domestic job market.

Jane and Lucy reflect on their daughters’ better chances in life because they attend church schools, as opposed to their own more limited experiences. Raisa mentions that she wants her younger daughter to attend a church school because of the use of English. These reflections seem to echo traditional sociolinguistic findings on how schools favour students with privileged backgrounds (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). However, we should not ignore parents such as Lucy, Jane, Marika, and Joanna who despite favouring the use of Maltese in their interpersonal interactions, send their children to church schools which basically promote English more than Maltese. At times, this entails challenges and the mothers’ feelings of inadequacy. In fact, Selleck (2015), in her study on the use of Welsh at school and at home, highlights the incongruence between the language at home and the language of the school and posits that the relationship between language use at school and in the wider community needs to be problematised.

These comments about language use reveal ideologies, which refer to the notion of habitus and field. Rosemary and Dylan at a certain point state that they would never send their daughter to a church school because as put by Rosemary “*għax we’re not like that ux hemm l-ambjent tagħha* [as we are not like that we have to take into consideration our environment]”. Here she succinctly summarises the notion of habitus and field by stating that her daughter’s habitus would not fit the one that would be expected in a church

school. When participants were asked in the quantitative study if their children would be accepted in their school if they were to use Maltese or English, parents whose children attend state schools stated that their children would be accepted irrespective of the language spoken. However, parents whose children attend church and independent schools believe that their children would not be accepted by their peers if they were to use Maltese at school. This ties in with the notion of habitus discussed above, and the repercussions if the child does not adhere to the linguistic habitus as dictated by the school. Therefore, the trends illustrate that the school sector divide based on language might still be a relevant issue, despite claims that students from state and church schools exhibit similar in their language use and attitudes (Scerri, 2009). The interview data show also that there are instances when this can take place in state schools in the use of English, as narrated by Rita in Section 5.6.3.

Similarly, Brenda admits that her daughter is living in a “*bubble*” as she is exposed to experiences which are characteristic of her habitus; that is of a girl who attends an Independent school. Maxwell and Aggleton (2010) in a similar way, describe the insular experiences of the middle-class girls attending private schools as the “bubble of privilege.” However, Brenda also narrates ways in which this delicate bubble, as a metaphor, can burst easily, leading to the painful experience that her daughter went through when she was excluded in her hometown, on the basis of her capital and habitus.

Darvin and Norton (2014) argue that the social differences in society are played out in education, which has a determining role, not only in how goods and services can be produced to serve market needs, but also in how these roles and relations of power that enable such production are themselves reproduced (Apple, 2004; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Blackledge (2000) argues that a school with a dominant ideology of monolingualism can result in exclusion. In other words, the promotion of a global language such as English, is likely to lead to unforeseen inequalities (Tollefson & Tsui, 2003). Sara’s experience of exclusion throughout her schooling years is a clear example of the way schools can serve as a mechanism that excludes, rather than promotes inclusion. One might argue that her experience took place around twenty-five years before this study was carried out, and that schools in Malta are currently more progressive

and inclusive. However, Rita’s experience of the way her son was treated at school because he spoke English, shows that this situation might still exist. Unfortunately, these experiences seem to echo Heller’s (2006) reflection on the school in her study (Champlain). Such institutions are meant to contribute to emancipation by promoting languages and enabling individuals like Cathy and Ruth to have better opportunities in life. However, they are also involved in cultural reproduction.

7.5 The relationship between parents’ and children’s language attitudes and ideologies

The following table maps out the similarities and differences between parents’ and children’s attitudes, and ideologies and language use based on the interview data.

Table 7.1: Mapping out of the similarities and differences in language ideologies and practices of children and their parents in the interview data

Family name	Similarities in language ideologies	Similarities in language use
1. Camilleri	Yes	Yes
2. Agius	Yes	Yes
3. Galea	Yes	Yes
4. Gauci	Yes	Yes
5. Baldacchino	Yes	Yes
6. Mizzi	Yes	Yes
7. Muscat	No	No
8. Zammit	Yes	No
9. Briffa	Yes	Yes
10. Aquilina	Yes (No for Clarissa)	Yes (No for Clarissa)
11. Calleja	No	Yes

Note. Language use refers to the participant’s preferred spoken language in daily interactions.

This shows that these eleven families provide a complex picture of the relationship between parental and child’s attitudes and ideologies. Similarities in the use of language might not necessarily mean similar ideologies and vice versa. In fact, the role of peers can also be traced in the stories about teenagers and their language use, such as in Ruth’s and Clarissa’s stories. Takei and Burdelski (2018) also illustrate ways in which novices are agents who foster their own socialisation in the heritage language (Japanese) and second language (English) in contributing to the process of language socialisation.

The quantitative results illustrate that parents and children differ significantly in their language attitudes. A comparison of parents' and children's attitudes reveals that children in general show more favourable attitudes to both Maltese and English than their parents in all of the constructs. The most striking difference between the parents' and children's attitudes lies in the group membership and use of English construct, where the mean differences show that children place more importance on using English to make friends and to maintain social relations than adults. In fact, this notion was mentioned in the child interviews. Ruth described her change in language use to make new friends, Jill stated that English is important to make friends, and so did John. As a result, this shows the importance that children place on languages for making friends.

Furthermore, the quantitative study shows that there was a significant main effect of age group on the constructs, except for instrumental value of English. With regard to language attitudes as influenced by age, there is some lack of accord in the findings regarding the development of language attitudes (Garrett et al., 2003). Labov (1965), for example, claimed that children did not become aware of the social significance of their dialect until early adolescence. However, there is evidence in other studies that children are already making judgements about varieties before they begin primary education (see review in Day, 1982). The quantitative data illustrate that the younger age groups (11-12 and eight to nine) show more positive favourable attitudes to the constructs related to the English language than the older age groups (adult and 14-15 years of age). One reason for this could be interpreted in light of the adults' and adolescents' attachment to the national language, which would link it to national identity. Studies have shown that the importance that children attribute to national identity can increase with age (Barrett et al, 1999, Barrett, 2000). Barrett et al. (1999) in their study on British and Spanish and national identities, showed that children's national identities was found to increase significantly with age. Similarly, Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975) found that while 10-year-olds in their study were rejecting French ethnicity and language in favour of English assimilation, older adolescents were gradually placing European and local French on a par with English. Moreover, the 14- to 15-year-olds' positive attitudes to the Maltese constructs could also be interpreted in light of their language use at home, where the majority of respondents in this age group report to use Maltese only with their mothers

and fathers. The younger age groups report using more English than the 14- to 15-year-olds.

The insights that can be gained from the qualitative study deal with the children's level of awareness of the ideologies that are attached to language use. The young children in the study (Jill and John) seemed not to be aware of the ideological significance of such languages. They spoke of languages in terms of schooling, opportunities to make friends, travelling and job opportunities. Leandra was the only young child who spoke negatively of Maltese-speaking children. Such ideas were probably sparked off by her negative experiences. This is similar to the findings reported by Almér (2017) where the children in her study claimed that the usefulness of knowing more than one language revolved around the ability to talk to people who speak other languages. Similarly, Crump & Phipps (2014) in their study on multilingualism and identity with young children (aged six) report that children associated languages with people and places, and that they had a normative stance (a monolingual bias) toward when to speak to whom in which language. In studies of the language attitudes of children, it was also found that children younger than ten generally did not yet have the cultural stereotypes prevailing among adults (cf. Day, 1982).

The effect of a mismatch between parental and children's language use and attitudes can have profound repercussions, as shown in the life-stories. The four stories narrated in Section 5.4 present cases where mothers' use of language does not match their daughters'. Of interest is the fact that while Jane, Margaret and Lucy feel somewhat inferior to their daughters because they speak English better than themselves, Leila does not feel inferior for speaking English, while her daughter prefers Maltese. These reflections uncover the ideologies that these participants attach to English, as they see it as a more powerful tool than Maltese. In addition, these life-stories present touching accounts of moments when mothers feel that their daughters want to dissociate themselves from them and what they represent.

The interview data also highlight the role of peers which can be important, particularly as the children get older. Adolescence is a developmental stage during which individuals may mark themselves as members of social groups by their use of different linguistic

features (Eckert, 2000). Bradford Brown & Larson (2009) maintain that teenagers' images of identities available to them are formed and refined not simply through observation of peer groups, but also through evaluative conversations about peer groups and identities with their friends. As adolescents change their social affiliations (as in the case of Cathy and Ruth), they can also change their linguistic behaviour to reflect their new social reality (Page-Gould et al, 2008). Goodwin and Kyratzis (2012), in their review of studies that focus on the role of peer interactions in language socialisation, discuss how children and teenagers show agency in multilingual settings, by assigning roles to their languages and in drawing on at times challenging dominant discourses.

7.6 Limitations of the Study

Despite its theoretical and methodological relevance, the findings in this thesis are subject to a number of limitations. Firstly, data about language use was based on self-report data. This means that self-reports of bilingual language practice may not match observed conduct, since many phenomena related to performance, like code-switching, might operate on a subconscious level. Mismatches can also have a language-ideological component, as speakers might not be keen to admit that they speak Maltese and/or English for various reasons. In any case, these are interesting sites of analysis because they point towards the many conflicts and contradictions that inform linguistic practices in contexts of multilingualism. Self-report of language use has also offered intriguing insight into the way participants position themselves as language users in Malta, and as a means of inferring attitudes and ideologies. Future research could include an ethnographic study of language use in families, and could explore how this can be associated with language attitudes and ideologies. More ethnographic studies on language use can also provide insight into the way speakers use both Maltese and English in their conversations, as they negotiate the affordances offered by their bilingual repertoire. It would also provide valuable insight into the way children interpret language attitudes and ideologies in Malta.

The study also presents limitations based on the sampling procedures adopted. In the qualitative study, the propensity of female participants, due to their willingness and availability to take part in the scheduled interview sessions, affects the generalisability of

the data. In the quantitative study, the fact that the majority of adult participants were females also has repercussions on the extent to which the data can be generalised to the wider population. Studies like Bilaniuk (2003) and Lai (2007) have clearly shown that gender differences exist in language attitudes. Furthermore, within the local context, Bonnici (2010) discusses how the use of English is associated with females, and males are expected to use Maltese, which is more of a symbol of masculinity in Maltese context. Therefore, future studies could specifically address the role of the language spoken by fathers on language attitudes, and the way fathers might affect their children's attitudes to Maltese and to English. Another venture for future studies could also be a more longitudinal project, where the emulation of such language attitudes and ideologies are mapped out.

Another limitation of the sampling process was that I could not tap into families which are truly considered at-risk. In trying to find participants to take part in the interviews, I had attempted to gain access into such families. However, since none of my acquaintances were in touch with families who are considered at-risk, I was not in a position to interview such family members. Again, this has repercussions on the way the data are interpreted. While I attempted to have a varied sample in the qualitative study, attitudes and ideologies of families who are at-risk are not represented in the study. Moreover, with regard to the adult participants in my study, their participation was based on their willingness to fill in a questionnaire, and the assumption that they are literate in Maltese and/or English. As a result, parents who are not literate were not in a position to fill in the questionnaire. The participation of such individuals would have yielded more insight into the way languages are ideologized in Maltese society.

Moreover, the way social class was operationalised in the quantitative study could have included other variables. I attempted to obtain information about parental levels of education, but this proved to be impossible as outlined in Chapter 4. In addition, the fact that there was missing data in the quantitative study could have affected the results obtained for the main effects of employment on the language attitude constructs. Despite this limitation, the qualitative study has offered further insight into the way participants link the notion of social class (in its diverse manifestations) to language use. Future

quantitative studies would benefit from additional information that would provide a more nuanced insight into the concept of social class in Malta, and how this is related to language use.

The scope of this study was limited in examining the role of important others, such as teachers and friends. Studies on language use and on socialisation clearly show the important role that these can have on the development of language and on attitudes towards it. The fact that the study focused mainly on parents does not exclude the influence that such individuals could have on participants. Therefore, this warrants further research into the role of teachers in classrooms on the development of students' attitudes and ideologies, as well as the role of peers in this socialisation process.

Finally, in this study I focused on the language attitudes and ideologies of Maltese nationals. In fact, the data presented in the quantitative study by those participants who spoke a language other than Maltese and English was not fully investigated. However, the ever-changing linguistic landscape in Malta, characterised by migration and multilingualism, would indeed be an interesting site for the exploration of language attitudes and ideologies. A suggestion for future research could be a comparison of attitudes and ideologies of Maltese and non-Maltese participants, to investigate the role of the local context in their formation.

7.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I brought together the qualitative and quantitative data to answer the research questions guiding the study. The situation in Malta can be described as one where people interact with each other, drawing on their linguistic resources and capital to position themselves and each other, as they struggle to define what it means, in this case, to be Maltese and to speak Maltese and/or English, as well as to define the value of the linguistic resources that they possess.

The results of the quantitative study support the link between language use in the home domain and at school, and positive language attitudes - particularly to the Maltese language. The role of language spoken to mother and school sector were found to have an overall effect on the language attitudes of participants. Age, and to a lesser extent the

mother's employment, were also found to have an effect on a number of constructs. The qualitative study in general supports these trends and also reveals ways in which attitudes and ideologies are complex, as represented by a kaleidoscope, where each pattern represents an ideology which is linked to all other patterns. In a postcolonial context and a rapidly globalising world where people, information and economies are increasingly in contact, ideologies surrounding language are shaped by postcolonial history, together with existing local societal ideologies and the current role of English, or particular varieties of English in the linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu, 1993). The interview data show that rather than attitudes based on individual evaluations of languages, participants voice ideologies that have social ramifications. What needs to be emphasised here is that although I have discussed these ideologies in distinct sections, participants do not conceptualise them as discrete entities.

In the following chapter, the results will be summarised, followed by implications of these results will be discussed in light of theory making and recommendations for research methods. Finally, practical implications will delved into.

8 Conclusions

The aim of the present study was to explore the language attitudes and ideologies toward Maltese and English, by parents and their children, and the way these related to contextual variables. In this study I have discussed how a combination of methods in the study of language attitudes and ideologies can build richly differentiated accounts of the ideological forces at work. In this concluding chapter I first refer to the research questions, and the main findings which enable me to answer them. Furthermore, I present this study's contribution to new knowledge in the field, as well as methodological and practical implications in the following sections.

8.1 Summary of findings

The following table summarises the findings on the study, by combining insights from the qualitative and quantitative studies.

Table 8.1: A summary of findings

Overarching theme	Research Question	Findings
Language use and Identity	What are participants' views on their own language use and how is this related to their identity and that of others?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Maltese is the most prevalent language used at home.• School sector has an effect on language spoken at home, with children attending independent schools using English, those attending state schools preferring Maltese and those attending church schools using both Maltese and English.• Maltese is linked to western areas and English to northern areas.• In general, the interview data corroborate the quantitative study, that is, that language use is affected by school sector and locality.• The interviews provide insight into exceptions, which do not follow this trend.

Overarching theme	Research Question	Findings
		<p>There are participants who speak a language that is not accepted in their habitus (schools, families or localities). Some participants have changed their dominant language throughout the years.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The interview data provide valuable insight into the way participants position themselves and others on the basis of language use.

Conclusion:

Maltese is the language that is widely spoken in Malta. Children tend to favour use of English more than adults. Participants conceptualise Maltese and English as separate languages, used in specific contexts. They also link these two languages to a definition of self and of others, which leads to the formation of language attitudes and ideologies. Use of language is also associated with a sense of membership. There are instances when the language socialised within the home domain might be changed due to other socialisation processes, such as peers or schools.

Language Attitudes and Ideologies	What ideologies are expressed when parents and their children speak about language use in Malta?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The main themes from the interview data reveal: nationalistic ideologies; language use in schools; ideologies and location; instrumental value of languages; language and social class and language and group membership. • Most participants express positive attitudes towards Maltese and English, particularly when they speak about their utilitarian value. • At times, ideologies about the usefulness of these languages contradict more negative attitudes towards the use of language (particularly English) when it is linked to
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Overarching theme	Research Question	Findings
	<p>What are the parents' and their children's general language attitude characteristics in Malta?</p>	<p>the notion of social class, locality and nationalistic feelings.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nine factors were extracted from the exploratory factor analysis which correspond to the interview data (exception being language use in schools). • In general, participants expressed positive attitudes to all constructs. Instrumental value of English received the highest mean score. • In general, participants in the quantitative study do not agree with the statement that English can be linked to social class. This contradicts the findings in the qualitative study. Such findings challenge the definition of social class in terms of employment, and call for a theoretical reconsideration of the notion of social class in relation to language use.
	<p>How do social factors, such as age, locality and employment relate to language attitudes and ideologies?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was an Age x School sector significant interaction for the child subgroup. • The main effect of age: younger age groups show more favourable attitudes to English constructs, especially toward instrumental value of English. The older age groups show more favourable attitudes to Maltese constructs. • The effect of locality on group membership and use of Maltese: Those living in western areas show the most positive attitudes to it.

Overarching theme	Research Question	Findings
	<p data-bbox="553 646 821 926">How do participants differ in their language attitudes and ideologies, based on the language used at home?</p>	<p data-bbox="898 289 1357 373">Those in northern areas show the most negative attitudes to it.</p> <ul data-bbox="850 394 1422 1493" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="850 394 1422 478">• There was no effect of parental employment on any construct. <li data-bbox="850 499 1422 632">• Language spoken to mother and school sector are the most influential variables to predict attitudes and ideologies. <li data-bbox="850 653 1422 835">• Both qualitative and quantitative data show that the language spoken to mother has an influence on the language attitude constructs. <li data-bbox="850 856 1422 940">• Use of Maltese with mother affects positive attitudes to Maltese constructs. <li data-bbox="850 961 1422 1192">• Those children whose mothers speak English to them, seem to associate use of Maltese with negative traits and behaviours (exception being Jill who links Maltese to school). <li data-bbox="850 1213 1422 1493">• Regarding English, all participants have a high opinion of its instrumental purposes regardless of language spoken at home. Those who speak Maltese at home, however, tend to associate it more with snobbery and superiority.
<p data-bbox="293 1507 1341 1591">Conclusions: What are parents’ and children’s language attitudes and ideologies towards Maltese and English?</p> <p data-bbox="293 1612 1393 1850">Language attitudes and ideologies are conceptualised in Malta in terms of instrumental value, social class, locality, nationalistic ideologies, and group membership. Language attitudes and ideologies are also linked to the concept of identity, as through them, participants position themselves and others. The views expressed in the interviews can be regarded more as ideologies, which are social in nature and uncover relations of power.</p>		

Overarching theme	Research Question	Findings
	<p>The qualitative study shows how young adulthood can be an interesting developmental period from a language-attitude perspective. Adolescents are in the process of trying to establish their own identity and to formulate their own language attitudes. The qualitative data offer telling examples of how they might use language as one of the ways of achieving this independence. As a result, most adolescents in this study show some form of resistance to the language used at home, and/or language used at school.</p> <p>Despite the general trends showing relatively positive attitudes to the use of Maltese and English, the interview data show that ideologies of language also lead to instances of exclusion and of disappointment, due to power imbalances.</p> <p>Social class is framed in terms of capital, which goes beyond economic means, and includes locality, group membership and lifestyle.</p> <p>The role of language spoken to mother is important as it affects children's language attitudes. The study uncovered the influence of language spoken to mother as a moderator variable on language attitudes. Furthermore, the interview data also uncover instances where languages spoken by the mother and the children do not match.</p>	
Language Attitudes and Ideologies in schools	<p>How do participants link ideologies about language use in society and language use in schools?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schools are defined in terms of a habitus, with certain norms of linguistic behaviour that should be adhered to. • The interview data reveal instances of exclusion in schools, when participants did not use a language that was highly valued at their school. • Both the qualitative and quantitative data show that school sector is linked to language use.
	<p>What role do social factors play in attitudes towards language use in schools?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children attending state schools show most favourable attitudes to the constructs related to Maltese, those attending independent schools to the factors related to English and those attending church schools to both. Participants attending state schools view Maltese constructs more favourably. Those

Overarching theme	Research Question	Findings
<p>Conclusions: How do participants link ideologies about language use in society and language use in schools?</p> <p>School sectors are linked to language use and to forms of capital. Schools are viewed as sites which promote dominant ideologies linked to language. They are also seen as different types of habitus that promote distinctive capitals. Acts of resistance can at times lead to feelings of exclusion.</p>		<p>attending independent schools show positive attitudes to the English constructs. The trend is more varied for those attending church schools.</p>
<p>Similarities and Differences between parents' and children's attitudes and ideologies</p>	<p>4 What is the relationship between parents' and children's language attitudes and ideologies?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The interview data show that the relationship between parents' and children's ideologies is very complex. Similarities in language use do not translate to similarities in ideologies and vice versa. The quantitative data show that children hold more positive attitudes to both Maltese and English than the parents.
<p>Conclusions:</p> <p>Parents' attitudes differed significantly from children's attitudes. The interview data show that when translated to actual experiences, the relationship between parents' and children's attitudes is more complex.</p> <p>A linear relationship between parental and children's attitudes might be difficult to achieve because of other influences that come into play in the language socialisation process, such as the role of the school and peers.</p>		

8.2 Theoretical Implications

This study highlights ways in which a mixed-methods design can benefit from drawing on multiple theoretical frameworks. Language attitudes, in this study, are theorised as

mental constructs and as discursive formulations. Language ideologies are operationalised as tenets that are derived from some aspect of experience, and then generalised beyond that core and secondarily imposed on a broader category of phenomena (Silverstein, 1979). The attitudes and ideologies were initially explored in the interviews, and the questionnaire was used to investigate to what extent these language ideologies are shared by the wider population in Malta. Opinions about the use of Maltese and English can be defined both in terms of language attitudes and ideologies. They are held on an individual level, based on the evaluations made in the qualitative and quantitative studies and in terms of ideologies, as they are evaluations that are accepted by the community and power relations are involved in their formulation, acceptance and/or resistance.

In this study, I concur with discursive approaches to the study of language attitudes, where discourse is seen as a rich and dynamic locus for social categorisation and social evaluation. On the other hand, in line with Garrett et al. (2003) and Soukloup (2015), I question the validity of restricting the study of social evaluation solely to the qualitative analysis of talk in interaction. The qualitative study was essential in providing an in-depth insight into the language attitudes and ideologies of the participants, while the quantitative study confirmed the way participants operationalised such phenomena and the effect independent variables (age, locality, employment and school sector) have on these attitudes and ideologies. The qualitative study shed light on the complexity of how participants link their own language use, ideologies and identities, and the way this is expressed in discourse, while the quantitative study provided a classification of attitudinal characteristics to Maltese and English and tested for the effects of social constructs. In this way, this study contributes to the understanding in which the Maltese operationalise their language attitudes and ideologies in terms of utilitarian use, nationalistic ideologies, social class, group membership, and locality and language use. Moreover, the study contributes to the systematic documentation of attitudinal characteristics of different age groups towards language. As such, the results of such study might serve as a benchmark for future comparisons, which might lead to a better understanding of language attitudes and ideologies in Malta, and in other contexts.

This study's stance is one of the first attempts to apply a more critical lens to the way participants talk about their language ideologies, and how this is in turn linked to capital, in Malta. It has provided evidence that participants link the extralinguistic phenomena, for instance socioeconomic status, locality and school sector in terms of cultural, economic and social capital, as proposed by Bourdieu (1987). These extralinguistic phenomena are interrelated, as highlighted in the qualitative data. Metalinguistic reflections are to be viewed as reflections about one's identity and that of others, in relation to the capital that is valued, and in a specific habitus. Furthermore, the present study has shed further light on the concept of agency and language use, a concept which forms the basis of poststructuralist approach to identity and language use. The study questions the notion that all participants are able to shape their identity based on their possibilities, in light of the restrictions placed by their particular habitus and access to cultural, social and economic capitals. This is in line with Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1991) who propose that identity is influenced both by structure and individual agency. The case studies are a sobering reminder that inequalities based on language use still persist, despite the much-celebrated notion of possibility and agency, which in essence is dependent on access to power.

The study also provides insight into how the notion of social class is operationalised by participants, and how different methods capture this notion in different ways. Firstly, the study challenges common perceptions such as Pakulski (2005), among others, which seem to underestimate the effect of social class in applied linguistic research. The findings are also in keeping with other research, including studies which have demonstrated that even young people use language as a resource for marking social boundaries and positioning themselves and others (Snell, 2010). They are also compatible with the results of focus groups with younger children, which concluded that language is part of both identity formation and cultural production (Ruairc, 2011). The qualitative data provided examples of the way participants link the use of language to what they define as social class. In some cases, participants make reference to employment and to economic resources, linked particularly to use of English. The quantitative data revealed no significant effect of employment on the language attitude constructs. This has implications on the way social class is therefore to be defined in Malta. Such a definition

should include a more Weberian interpretation of class concept. I refer here to Weber's (1968) introduction of the terms 'style of life' and 'stylization', understood to be an mixture of positions and activities: ranging from bloodline and heritage, to neighbourhood and type of dwelling, to imposed norms of social interaction (both how it is done and whom it is done with). However, it should also refer to the reproduction of class differences by education or by economic resources which leads to inequalities in different habituses. Therefore, social class is seen as a marriage of both status from a Weberian perspective (c.f. Chapter 3.5) and economic activity. This has also implications for research carried in the area, and the much-used categories such as "high social class, middle class and working class", which might be problematised in light of the data from this study as argued by Woolard:

Sociolinguists have often borrowed social concepts in an ad hoc and unreflecting fashion, not usually considering critically the implicit theoretical frameworks that are imported wholesale along with such convenient constructs as three-, four- or nine-sector scalings of socioeconomic status (Woolard 1985, p.738).

What Woolard is criticising here is the procedure whereby a particular social class model is imported as an initial ad hoc means of organising data, not because of its theoretical suitability, but for the purely pragmatic reason that it has been widely used in sociological surveys. As a result, an adequate social framework within which to interpret their results is still lacking.

The present study has also highlighted the role of the language spoken to mother in its effect on the child's language attitudes. This study contributes to this discussion by highlighting the role of language spoken to mother, not only in terms of language acquiring but also in the attitudes that are formed towards language. The study also provides insight into cases of family language use when the child's language use does not match the mother's use, and its effect. As discussed in Chapter 3, parents have an important role in the primary language socialisation of their children, and subsequent socialisation is influenced by peers and schools, among other processes. However, the quantitative study has confirmed that the language spoken to mother has an effect on the language attitudes of the older children (the 14- to 15-year-olds). Therefore, this further elucidates that despite the presence of other

socialisation influences, the language spoken at home is still important in the socialisation process of these participants.

Finally, the study has also confirmed and systematically mapped out the role of school sectors in the promotion of language attitudes and ideologies in Malta. In fact, school sector was one of the main independent variables that was found to have an effect on the language attitudes constructs. This has important implications for policy and practice as will be discussed in the next sections. Further work in this area is needed within the local context, particularly work that is ethnographic in nature to investigate the way children are socialised into different habituses, based on the types of capitals that are promoted by schools.

8.3 Methodological Implications

My point of departure in this thesis was to discuss how mixed-methods studies can lead to a richer view of the multifaceted nature of language attitudes and ideologies. The qualitative study allowed me to obtain a rich account of the interviewee's experiences, ideas, and impressions (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). The interviews also provided me with the opportunity to investigate phenomena that are not directly observable like perceptions and attitudes (Mackey & Gass, 2016). However, qualitative methods have been criticised for not being representative of a wider population (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Therefore, a judiciously designed quantitative study can contribute to a qualitative analysis. A survey design was adopted as it provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends attitudes of a population by studying a sample of that population (Creswell, 2008). The mixed-methods design served to compensate weaknesses of the qualitative and quantitative paradigms, which helped to increase the study's validity and reliability.

The integration of the qualitative and quantitative component has allowed me to corroborated findings and to expose contradictions, particularly in the role of social class and language attitudes in Malta. Rather than interpreting this as a limitation of the study, it can be discussed in light of the affordances of the two research paradigms adopted in this study. Creswell et al. (2008) argue that divergent findings can be thought of a means

to uncovering new theories or extending existing theories. They can open new avenues for research and are meant as a starting point for future discussion.

This implication is particularly important for the methods adopted to investigate attitudes and ideologies in Malta. As discussed in Chapter 2, most studies on language attitudes in Malta were based on cross-sectional surveys that present linear associations between language attitudes and specific groups based on locality in Malta and socioeconomic status. However, the qualitative study has clearly demonstrated that such links are to be questioned. While the quantitative study was effective in confirming such relationships such as the effect of school sector and language spoken at home to mother on language attitude constructs, it did not provide enough insight into the types of capital valued by participants. One telling trend in the quantitative study which might shed some light into this is the fact that locality as an independent variable had an effect only on the group membership constructs. This finding might confirm that even a clear-cut independent variable such as locality might actually be operationalised in a more complex way by participants, as a means of belonging to a group, rather than geographic location in a country.

In conclusion, a questionnaire was designed to measure the language attitudes and ideologies in Malta. It includes scales operationalising constructs from theories put forward by researchers on language attitudes and ideologies, and also scales that were constructed based on the exploratory interview data. Whereas the questionnaire, or parts of it, might be applied in future research, it can be also used by policy-makers, school administrators, and even educators as a tool to explore the attitudes of learners and to be informed of the attitudes and ideologies of such learners.

8.4 Implications for Practice and for Policy making

One of the most pertinent implications for practice and possible policy-making decisions is the fact that the study highlights the role of the language spoken to mother as influencing children's language attitudes and ideologies. This has implications for the information and advice on language acquisition that should be given to parents. Parents are to be given necessary support to make informed decisions about the way language use

can shape language attitudes. In terms of age differences and language attitudes, the fact that the 11- to 12-year-olds seem to show the most negative attitudes to all constructs is worrying. This group of children is at an important phase in their schooling experience: the transition from primary to secondary school. Studies (for instance, Stapley, 2011 and Fontaine et al, 2017) have shown that this transition can be a difficult one for some children, which could affect attitudes towards schooling in general. Therefore, policy-makers should ensure that efforts are made by all stakeholders to address these attitudes in schools, and to ensure that such attitudes do not impact these children's prospects in language learning. This could take place in critical language awareness sessions where children are encouraged to reflect upon their own attitudes, and the implications that these could have on their language opportunities. Further research could focus on this age group, and the specific reasons as to why they have shown such negative attitudes towards the constructs.

Bonnici (2010) and Camilleri Grima (2013) among others, have postulated that the language situation in Maltese schools is changing because of the presence of students from different social backgrounds in all school sectors. However, the data in this study show that there is a link between use of English in independent schools and use of Maltese in state schools, and church schools being a sort of middle-ground, with students favouring English in most cases. This has also repercussions on the attitudes and ideologies of children, as evidenced in the quantitative study. If schools are to align according to the "National Curriculum Framework" (Ministry of Education, 2011), in providing a context where bilingualism is fostered among all students, then all stakeholders must examine their own attitudes and ideologies towards Maltese and English, and that of their students. School administrators could also evaluate which ideologies are present in their schools, and the way these are being translated into practice by all stakeholders. Spencer et al. (2013) argue that eliciting people's perceptions on language use, and how this is linked to education and social class is one approach to both, refuting deficit models associated with working class language and understanding any need for policy development or educational support. A thorough examination of the forms of capital that are dominant in the school should take place, and measures to counteract social injustice based on language use should be enforced. The study reveals the clear

centrality of societal power relations in the way language attitudes and ideologies are operationalised. A direct implication is that in order to address them, educators - both individually and collectively - must challenge the operation of power relations, within micro- and macro- contexts. The study also points towards negative attitudes towards Maltese that are held by the students attending independent schools, which are more prevalent than the expected negative attitudes towards English by state school students. One practical consideration is that such schools could ensure that the forms of capital that are being valued in their schools are not impeding students from fully developing their potential in becoming bilingual in both Maltese and English.

These implications can also extend to other contexts, in the relationship between language, identity and power (c.f. Duchêne & Heller, 2008). For instance, in bilingual contexts, where a heritage language exists alongside English, such as in Wales and Ireland, attitudes and ideologies towards language have to be examined by policymakers and educators, to ensure that children receive the best possible opportunities to develop competences in both languages. At times, attitudes towards a heritage language are passive, such as reported by Ó Laoire (2007) in Ireland, where speakers in the study have positive attitudes towards Irish, particularly in ethnic identification. However, this does not necessarily translate to language use, as English dominates in most spheres. Similarly, in their study of language use by 8 to 11 year olds in Wales, Thomas and Roberts (2011) report that most children demonstrated positive attitudes towards bilingualism. However, despite these positive attitudes, there was a clear trend towards favouring the use of English outside the classroom, even though these children attended Welsh-medium schools.

The role of social and educational capital in the formation of language attitudes and ideologies has further implications on the role of English in educational settings. English and its utilitarian value is often linked to social mobility in contexts such as in China (Butler, 2014; Gao, (2014), in Hong Kong (Lai, 2010) and in South Africa (Rudwick, 2008; Klapwijk, & Van der Waly, 2016). Moreover, in higher education settings, tensions exist between the use of English and the national language, for instance in Sweden and Estonia (Soler, Björkman & Kuteeva, 2018), in Indonesia (Hamied, 2012), in

Slovenia (Golob et al. 2017) and in Japan (Aizawa & Rose, 2017), to mention a few examples. This results in the Englishization of higher education, and domain loss, which refers to English encroaching on the status and functionality of the national languages (Hultgren, 2018).

Moreover, the study's findings call for a more critical approach to the teaching of Maltese and English in Malta. Language, in general, and English in particular, is a socially, politically, and ideologically loaded phenomenon (Pennycook, 1998). In the local context, the teaching of English takes place as if in a social vacuum. The textbooks and materials used in classrooms rarely, if ever, refer to the fact that English is used in Malta, as well as being a global language. Students are presented with text books which are not designed for the local context, with little reference to the use of English in Malta and its role as an official language. This can also be traced in other contexts. Mirhosseini (2018), writing specifically about English language teaching contexts, proposes an inclusion of ideology in the teaching of English. He calls for critical sociopolitical and ideological awareness as part of its pedagogy. This also applies to the teaching of Maltese particularly in contexts where students might show less favourable attitudes to it. Critical language awareness sessions could also enable students to understand the affordances of learning more than one language, and the role of Maltese as a national language in Malta.

Children should be empowered to reflect on their own attitudes and ideologies, and the way these might influence their language learning and use. Future research could focus on changes in language attitudes as one moves through the educational system. Moreover, seminars for parents could be organised so that they also have the opportunity to understand their own attitudes and ideologs, and how these can affect their children's conceptualisations of language. This calls for a need to develop closer collaboration between schools and parents, particularly in the early years.

To conclude, the present study brought new evidence regarding the interplay of language attitudes and ideologies with language use, and its effect on the process of identity, in Malta. Consequently, it emphasises the importance of considering the specific characteristics of different groups in Malta, when implementing social, linguistic and educational policies. The study also highlights the role of social factors in the formation

of language attitudes and ideologies, and the role of families in maintaining and changing them. To conclude, I augur that such data will consolidate the need to readdress the issues of power and struggle, when these are created due to use of language.

Word count declaration:

1. 10,345 words - interview data
 2. 2,543 words - quantitative data
 3. 19,650 words - appendices and bibliography
 4. 69,5476 words -main text
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Appendix 1: The Information Sheets and the Consent Forms for the Qualitative Study



Date:

INFORMATION SHEET

Language attitudes and ideologies in Malta: A Mixed-Methods Study

As part of my Doctoral studies in the Department of Linguistics and English Language, I have been asked to carry out a study to investigate parents' and their children's opinions about the use of Maltese and the English in Malta. I will be carrying out a study with both parents and children, and asking them questions about their attitudes towards these languages.

I have approached you because I am interested in your opinions about the use of language, together with the opinions of your son/daughter. I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part. This will involve **interviews** with you, as the parent and also interviews with your son/daughter. You will have the opportunity to be present when I am interviewing your son/daughter. The questions will be about the use of language, about attitudes towards the use of language in schools and about personal experiences related to learning Maltese and English at school.

You are free to withdraw from study at any time. If after having completed the interview, you realise that you do not want me to include your responses in my study, please let me know but no later than 4 weeks after you have completed the questionnaire. I will then exclude your answers from my study. If however, you want to withdraw after four weeks, then your answers will remain in the study. The same applies to your son/daughter. At every stage, your name will remain anonymous. The data will be kept securely saved in my personal computer and the files will be encrypted. The data will be destroyed once the study is complete. It will be used for academic purposes only.

If you have any queries about the study, please feel free to contact myself or my supervisors Dr Mark Sebba and Dr Marije Michel, who can be contacted on m.sebba@lancaster.ac.uk and m.michel@lancaster.ac.uk or by phone on +44 1524 592453 and +44 1524 5 92436. You may also contact the Head of Department, Prof. Elena Semino, on +44 1524 594176.

I thank you in advance for your cooperation and participation.

Signed

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'Lara Ann Vella'.

Lara Vella

l.vella@lancaster.ac.uk



Lancaster University

Lancaster LA1 4YL

United Kingdom

Tel: +44 (0)1524 593045

Consent Form

Project title: *Language attitudes and ideologies in Malta: A Mixed-Methods Study*

1. I have read and had explained to me by Lara Vella, the Information Sheet relating to this project.
2. I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of me, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements described in the Information Sheet (to take part in interviews).
3. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary. If I do not want my questionnaire to be used in the study, I can inform the researcher by not later than 4 weeks after I have completed it. If I inform the researcher after these 4 weeks, I understand that the data will be used in the study.
4. I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet.

Name:

Signed:

Date:

Lancaster University
Lancaster LA1 4YL
United Kingdom
Tel: +44 (0)1524 593045
Fax: +44 (0)1524 843085

Parental Consent Form

Project title: *Language attitudes and ideologies in Malta: A Mixed-Methods Study*

1. I have read and had explained to me by Lara Vella, the Information Sheet relating to this project.
2. I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of my son/daughter, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements described in the Information Sheet (that my son/daughter takes part in interviews).
3. I understand that I understand that my son's/daughter's participation is entirely voluntary and that s/he has the right to withdraw from the project while the interview is taking place. If s/he does not want the interview to be used in the study, s/he can inform the researcher by not later than 2 weeks after the interview has been conducted.
4. I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet.

I give permission to my son/ daughter _____ to participate in this study and for Ms Lara Vella to conduct interviews with him/her.

Name:

Signed:

Date:

Lancaster University
Lancaster LA1 4YL
United Kingdom
Tel: +44 (0)1524 593045
Fax: +44 (0)1524 843085
<http://www.ling.lans.ac.uk>

Appendix 2: The Information Sheet and Consent form for Heads of Schools

Date:



INFORMATION SHEET

Language attitudes and ideologies in Malta: A Mixed-Methods Study

Dear Sir/Madam,

As part of my Doctoral studies in the Department of Linguistics and English Language, I will be carrying out a study to investigate parents' and their children's opinions about the Maltese and the English language in Malta. I will be distributing questionnaires to both parents and children, and asking them questions about their attitudes towards these languages.

I would be very grateful if you could grant me permission to carry out the study at your school. I will be distributing questionnaires in class to students. The questions in the questionnaire will be about the use of language, about children's attitudes towards the use of language in schools and about personal experiences related to learning Maltese and English. The time taken for children to fill in the questionnaire is about 35 minutes. I will be present during the session to deal with any problems and answer questions related to the questionnaire.

I will be also inviting the parents to fill in a similar questionnaire about language attitudes. This questionnaire will be sent to the parents, together with the child and parental consent forms (see attached). Parental participation is voluntary and all questionnaires will be anonymised.

At every stage, the name of the school will remain anonymous. The data will be kept securely saved in my personal computer and the files will be encrypted. It will be used for academic purposes only.

If you have any queries about the study, please feel free to contact myself or my supervisors Dr Mark Sebba and Dr Marije Michel, who can be contacted on m.sebba@lancaster.ac.uk and m.michel@lancaster.ac.uk or by phone on +44 1524 592453 and +44 1524 5 92436. You may also contact the Head of Department, Prof. Elena Semino, on +44 1524 594176.

I thank you in advance for your cooperation and participation.

Signed

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'Lara Ann Vella'.

Lara Vella

l.vella@lancaster.ac.uk

Lancaster University

Lancaster LA1 4YL

United Kingdom

Tel: +44 (0)1524 593045

Fax: +44 (0)1524 843085

1. I have read the Information Sheet relating to this project.
2. I have had explained to me the purposes of the project. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements described in the Information Sheet.
3. I give permission to Lara Ann Vella to carry out her study with students and to contact parents to take part in her study.

Name and Surname

Signature

School

Date

Appendix 3: The Information Sheet and Consent form for Parents

Date:



INFORMATION SHEET

Language attitudes and ideologies in Malta: A Mixed-Methods Study

As part of my Doctoral studies in the Department of Linguistics and English Language, I will be carrying out a study to investigate parents' and their children's opinions about the Maltese and the English language in Malta. I will be distributing questionnaires to both parents and children, and asking them questions about their attitudes towards these languages.

I have approached you because I am interested in your opinions together with the opinions of your son/daughter. I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part. You will be asked to fill in a **questionnaire** as the parent and your son/daughter will also be requested to fill in a similar questionnaire in class. The questions will be about the use of language, about your attitudes towards the use of language in schools and about your personal experiences related to learning Maltese and English at school. Your son's/daughter's questionnaire will include similar questions.

You are free to withdraw from study at any time. If after having completed the questionnaire, you realise that you do not want me to include your responses in my study, please let me know but no later than 4 weeks after you have completed the questionnaire. I will then exclude your answers from my study. If however, you want to withdraw after four weeks, then your answers will remain in the study. The same applies to your son/daughter. At every stage, your name will remain anonymous. The data will be kept securely saved in my personal computer and the files will be encrypted. It will be used for academic purposes only.

If you have any queries about the study, please feel free to contact myself or my supervisors Dr Mark Sebba and Dr Marije Michel, who can be contacted on m.sebba@lancaster.ac.uk and m.michel@lancaster.ac.uk or by phone on +44 1524 592453 and +44 1524 5 92436. You may also contact the Head of Department, Prof. Elena Semino, on +44 1524 594176.

I thank you in advance for your cooperation and participation. I would be very grateful if you could return this questionnaire and the consent forms to your child's class teacher.

Signed

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Lara Ann Vella". The signature is written in a cursive style and is enclosed in a light blue rectangular box.

Lara Vella

l.vella@lancaster.ac.uk

Lancaster University

Lancaster LA1 4YL

United Kingdom

Tel: +44 (0)1524 593045

Fax: +44 (0)1524 843085

Consent Form for Parents



Project title:

Language attitudes and ideologies in Malta: A Mixed-Methods Study

1. I have read the Information Sheet relating to this project.
2. I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of me, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements described in the Information Sheet in so far as they relate to my participation.
3. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary. If I do not want my questionnaire to be used in the study, I can inform the researcher by not later than 4 weeks after I have completed it. If I inform the researcher after these 4 weeks, I understand that the data will be used in the study.
4. I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet.

Name and Surname:

Signed:

Date:

Parental Consent Form for children to take part in study



Project title:

Language attitudes and ideologies in Malta: A Mixed-Methods Study

1. I have read the Information Sheet relating to this project.
2. I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of my son/daughter, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements described in the Information Sheet in so far as they relate to my son's/ daughter's participation.
3. I understand that my son's/daughter's participation is entirely voluntary and that s/he has the right to withdraw the questionnaire, up to 4 weeks after it has been completed.

I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet.

I give permission to my son/ daughter _____ to participate in this study.

Parent's Name and Surname:

Signed:

Appendix 4: The Interview Schedules

Parents

General Information and getting to know the participant:

- Age
- Locality: How long have you lived here?
- Where did you grow up as a kid?
- Schools attended
- Job
- Hobbies / Interests

Use of language and perceptions about own use of language

I am interested to know which languages you use at home with your partner and your kids. Think about your language use:

- Language use at home and perceptions Which language do you mainly use at home with your partner / children? Any reasons for this?
- Which language do you mainly use at with your neighbours? If you were to use M/E how would you be viewed?
- Literacy Activities Which language do you mostly use when you 1) read books 2) read newspapers or magazines 3) browse the Internet? Any reason for this?
- Do you speak differently from your children? In what way?

Attitudes towards the use of Maltese and English in Malta

- You said that you normally speak M/E. Think of an episode in your life where you had to use mainly M/E. Do you remember who you were speaking to? How did you feel? Any reactions from the person you were speaking to?
- Has there been a change in your use of language? When you were a child did you use more English/ Maltese and has this changed as an adult?

- Have you ever tried to change the way you speak ? When? With whom?
- Has anyone ever given you a hard time about the way you speak? What did they say? What did you think and what did you do about it?
- If you were to use English/ Maltese with your partner at home, how would he/she react? Why do you think so?
- If there was somebody important which language would you use and why?

Importance attached to using M and E in daily life.

- How important is it for you to be able to speak and write the Maltese language? Why do you need the language?
- How important is it for you to be able to speak and write the English language? Why do you need the language?
- Do you agree with the statement that in Malta, being able to speak Maltese is more important than being able to speak English? Why?
- How important is it for you to be able to speak and write both languages? Do you think you will losing either language ?
- Are there any activities where one language would be more important than the other?
- Are there any advantages of being able to speak both languages?
- Would like to like to have more opportunities to use Maltese/English? Can you think of any opportunities?
- Is the use of English important for your career?
- Is the use of Maltese important for your career?
- Which language would you consider your language? Any reasons ?
- Do you like to travel or would like to travel? Any important languages ?

Use of M and E in Maltese society

- Would it be possible to live in Malta and know: English only? Maltese only?
- What do you think of people in Malta who use only Maltese and find difficulty in using English?

- What do you think of people in Malta who use only English and find difficulty in using Maltese?
- Why do people normally use Maltese/English only ?
- Do you know anyone who speaks mainly English/ Maltese? Would you like to be like them? Why?
- Do you know of anyone on television who uses mainly English or codeswitches? What do you think of him/her?
- Do you think that more emphasis should be placed on Maltese or on English, in Malta? Why?
- Where is English normally used in Malta? Would you like to be like them? any opinions about these areas? What about areas where Maltese would be predominant?
- Any comments about language use in your area?
- What do you think of people who can use both languages well? Do you know of anyone? Would you like to be like them?
- What should be the language of Malta?

Adults' experiences of schooling

- What was your school like when you used to go to school?
- Did your teachers use English or Maltese? Head teacher?
- Which language was mainly used in school assemblies? Mass?
- What if you used M?E ? How would your teachers / Head of school viewed you?

The child's school and use of language

- What are your general opinions about your child's school?
- At child's school: Is English / Maltese mostly used? During lessons? Plays? Circulars? Any opinions about this?
- Do you think your child has enough opportunities to practise Maltese or English (speaking and writing) at school (during lessons and during extra-curricular activities)? Would you like to see any changes?
- Would you have sent your child to an English/ Maltese speaking school? Why? (choice of language depending on previous answer)

- Do you think the school fosters bilingual development?
- Which language would you like your child to speak? Why?
- Which language/s would you like to child to be able to read and write well ? Why ?
- Would you like your child to be fluent in English speaking? In writing good English? Why?
- What if your child were to speak to you using English only? Or Maltese only (depending on answer). How would you react? Why?
- What do you do, to encourage your children to use Maltese/ English?
- Do you meet other parents? Which language do they mainly speak? Has there been an episode where you felt uncomfortable with these parents? Anything linked to language?

Children

General Information and Getting to know the participant:

- Age
- Locality
- Schools attended
- Hobbies / Interests
- What do you like studying?

Use of language and perceptions about own use of language

- I am interested to know which languages you use at home with your parents.
- Language use at home and perceptions Which language do you mainly use at home with your mother/ father/ siblings?
- Literacy Activities Which language do you mostly use when you 1) read books 2) read newspapers or magazines 3) browse the Internet? Any reason for this?

Attitudes towards the use of Maltese and English in Malta

- You said that you normally speak M/E. Think of an episode in your life where you had to use mainly M/E. Do you remember who you were speaking to? How did you feel? Any reactions from the person you were speaking to?
- Have you ever tried to change the way you speak? When? With whom?
- Has anyone ever given you a hard time about the way you speak? What did they say? What did you think and what did you do about it?
- If you were to use M/E with your parents at home, how would they react? Why do you think so?
- Do you think you speak differently from your parents?
- What would your friends think if you were to use English only? Maltese only with them?
- How important is it for you to be able to speak and write the Maltese language? Why do you need the language?
- How important is it for you to be able to speak and write the English language? Why do you need the language?
- Do you agree with the statement that in Malta, being able to speak Maltese is more important than being able to speak English? Why?
- How important is it for you to be able to speak and write both languages?
- Are there any activities where one language would be more important than the other?
- Are there any advantages of being able to speak both languages? Do you think you will losing either language ?
- Would like to like to have more opportunities to use Maltese/English? Can you think of any opportunities?
- Is the use of English important for your career?
- Is the use of Maltese important for your career?
- Which language would you consider your language? Any reasons ?
- Would it be possible to live in Malta and know: English only? Maltese only?
- What do you think of people in Malta who use only Maltese and find difficulty in using English?

- What do you think of people in Malta who use only English and find difficulty in using Maltese?
- Do you know anyone who speak mainly English/ Maltese? Would you like to be like them? Why?
- Do you know of anyone on television who uses mainly English or codeswitches? What do you think of him/her?
- Do you think that more emphasis should be placed on Maltese or on English, in Malta ? Why ?
- Where is English normally used in Malta ? any opinions about these areas? What about areas where Maltese would be predominant?

School and use of language

- Life at school: are there any different groups at school ? Who would be in these groups? Are you part of a particular group?
- Would language form an important part in these groups?
- At school, which is the main language used by teachers? The Head of School? Classmates? By other students?
- Which languages are used more during extracurricular activities for example school assembly? Do you like this? Why?
- Do you like learning M/E at school? Why?
- Would you like to have more M/E lessons? Why?
- Which language would you use to address teachers? Head of School? If you were to use M/E how would they view you?
- Do you think your school fosters bilingual development?
- Are there students who mainly use M/E? Would you like to be like them? Why / Why not?
- Do you know of any students (or yourself) who is made fun of because of language use? Anyone who is very popular because of language use?
- Any parents who are made fun of because of use of language?

Appendix 5: The Questionnaires

Parents' and their children's Language Attitudes towards Maltese and English

Parental questionnaire

As part of my PhD studies, I am carrying out a study on your opinions about Maltese and English in Malta. I would like to ask you to help me by answering the following questions concerning Maltese and English language use in Malta.

This is not a test so there are no “right” or “wrong” answers and you don't even have to write your name on it. I am just interested in your personal opinion and I would be very grateful if you could be as honest as possible. Thank you very much for your help.

Section 1

Which language/s do you use to speak to the following people and to do the following activities?
Please tick (✓) one box:

	Always in Maltese	In Maltese more often than in English	In Maltese & English equally	In English more often than in Maltese	Always in English	Other (Please specify)
1. To watch TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. To read books	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. When text messaging	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. To write in social Media	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. To read newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. To speak to child	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. To speak to spouse/partner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. To speak to siblings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. To speak to friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. To speak to neighbours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. At work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section 2

Following are a number of sentences with which some people agree or disagree. I would like you to indicate your opinion after each statement by putting a tick (✓) in the box.

For example: *Velvet jackets are fashionable*

If you think that it is very true as you really like velvet jackets, tick the fifth box, the 'strongly agree' one.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
				✓

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
12. I used to like learning English at school					
13. I used to like learning Maltese at school					
14. English is an important part of the school curriculum					
15. Maltese is an important part of the school curriculum					
16. I like it when people speak English in Malta					
17. I like it when people speak Maltese in Malta					
18. Maltese people who speak mainly English are snobs					
19. Maltese people who speak English are well-educated					
20. In my hometown there are many people who speak mainly English					
21. In my hometown there are many people who speak mainly Maltese					
22. I like it when Maltese people switch between Maltese and English in the same conversation					
23. All people in Malta should be able to speak Maltese					

24. All people in Malta should be able to speak English					
25. Only people who speak mainly Maltese can be considered truly Maltese nationals					
26. The Maltese language is deteriorating because of the influence of the English language					
27. Maltese people who speak mainly Maltese are well-educated					
28. Maltese people who speak English are well-off					
29. The English language is important for the local economy					
30. The Maltese language is important for the local economy					
31. A knowledge of English can help me get a good job					
32. A knowledge of Maltese can help me get a good job					
33. The English language is an important part of Maltese identity					
34. The English language poses a threat to Maltese culture					
35. Maltese people who speak English are show-offs					
36. English is important for Maltese people to be able to travel around the world					
37. Maltese is important for educational prospects					
38. I would like to live in areas in Malta where English is spoken					
39. I would like to live in areas in Malta where Maltese is mainly spoken					
40. People will respect me more if I speak Maltese					

41. Maltese people who speak English do so to appear superior to other people					
42. English is important for educational prospects					
43. People will respect me more if I speak English					
44. I would like to make more friends with people who speak English					
45. I would like to be like Maltese people who speak English in Malta					
46. I would like to make more friends with people who speak Maltese					
47. I would be accepted in my hometown if I were to speak Maltese					
48. I would be accepted in my hometown if I were to speak English					
49. I would like to be like Maltese people who speak Maltese in Malta					

Section 3

Following are some more sentences on children and language, with which some people agree or disagree. I would like you to indicate your opinion after each statement by putting a tick in the box.

These sentences are about your child (the child who has brought this questionnaire home):

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
50. English will be important for my child's future					
51. My child will be accepted if he/she were to speak English at his/her school					
52. My child will be accepted if he/she were to speak Maltese at his/her school					
53. Maltese will be important for my child's future					
54. I am pleased with the way Maltese is used at my child's school					
55. I am pleased with the way English is used at my child's school					
56. I would like my child to have more opportunities to use more English at school					

57. I would like my child to have more opportunities to use more Maltese at school					
58. I would like to be like the other parents who use English at my child's school					
59. I would like to be like the other parents who use Maltese at my child's school					

Section 4

Please fill in the following information about yourself.

Child's Index number:

Gender: (circle one) M F

School/s attended as a child (till the age of 16):
.....

What is your job?

What is your child's father's/mother's job?

Where do you live?

When were you born?

Where were you born (please specify country)?

Thank you for your participation!

L-attitudnijiet tal-ġenituri u t-tfal tagħhom lejn il-Malti u l-Ingliż

Il-kwestjonarju tal-ġenituri

Jien studenta li qed nagħmel id-Dottorat fil-Lingwistika. Qed nagħmel studju fuq l-attitudnijiet tal-ġenituri u t-tfal tagħhom lejn il-Malti u l-Ingliż. Qed nitlob l-għajnuna tiegħek billi timla dan il-kwestjonarju fuq l-użu tal-lingwa f'Malta.

Dan mhux 'test' u m'hemmx risposta tajba jew ħażina. M'hemmx għalfejn tikteb ismek fuqu. Jien interessata fl-opinjoni personali tiegħek. Inkun grata jekk inti tkun onest/a kemm jista' jkun. Grazzi tal-għajnuna tiegħek.

L-ewwel taqsima

Liema lingwa/lingwi tuża biex titkellem ma' dawn in-nies jew biex tagħmel dawn l-affarijiet? Immarka (✓) f'waħda mill-kaxex:

	Bil-Malti biss	Iktar bil-Malti milli bl-Ingliż	Bil-Malti u bl-Ingliż indaqs	Iktar bl-Ingliż milli bil-Malti	Bl-Ingliż biss	Lingwa oħra (Liema?)
1. Meta nara t-televisin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Meta naqra ktieb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Meta nibgħat messaġġ fuq il-mowbajl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Meta nikteb fuq il-media soċjali	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Meta naqra gazzetta	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Meta nkellem lil uliedi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Meta nkellem lil żewġi/lil marti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Meta nkellem lil ħuti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Meta nkellem lill-ħbieb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Meta nkellem lill-ġirien	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Meta nkun ix-xogħol	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

It-tieni taqsima

Dawn il-frazzjiet juru l-opinjoni ta' xi nies. Uri l-opinjoni tiegħek billi timmarka (✓) fil-kaxxa.

	Veru ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Naqbel	Veru Naqbel
12. Kont nieħu gost nitgħallem l-Ingliż l-iskola					

13. Kont niehu gost nitghallem il-Malti l-iskola					
14. L-Ingliż huwa importanti fil-kurrikulu tal-iskola					
15. Il-Malti huwa importanti fil-kurrikulu tal-iskola					
16. Togħgobni meta nies jitkellmu bl-Ingliż f'Malta					
17. Togħgobni meta nies jitkellmu bil-Malti f'Malta					
18. In-nies Maltin li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż jaħsbu li huma xi ħaġa					
19. In-nies Maltin li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż jaħsbu li huma edukati					
20. Fil-lokalità tiegħi hemm ħafna nies li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż					
21. Fil-lokalità tiegħi hemm ħafna nies li jitkellmu bil-Malti					
22. Togħgobni meta n-nies jaqilbu mill-Malti għall-Ingliż fl-istess sentenza					
23. In-nies kollha li jgħixu f'Malta għandhom ikunu jafu jitkellmu bil-Malti					
24. In-nies kollha li jgħixu f'Malta għandhom ikunu jafu jitkellmu bl-Ingliż					
25. Dawk in-nies biss li jitkellmu bil-Malti huma veru Maltin					
26. Il-lingwa Maltija qed tintilef minħabba l-influwenza tal-Ingliż					
27. In-nies li jitkellmu bil-Malti huma edukati					
28. Il-Maltin li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż huma tal-flus					
29. Il-lingwa Ingliża hija importanti għall-ekonomija tal-pajjiż					
30. Il-lingwa Maltija hija importanti għall-ekonomija tal-pajjiż					

31. L-għarfien tal-Ingliż jista' jgħinni nsib xogħol tajjeb					
32. L-għarfien tal-Malti jista' jgħinni nsib xogħol tajjeb					
33. Il-lingwa Ingliża hija parti importanti mill-identità Maltija					
34. Il-lingwa Ingliża qed tħassar il-kultura Maltija					
35. Il-Maltin li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż huma tal-pepè					
36. L-Ingliż huwa importanti għall-Maltin biex ikunu jistgħu jsiefru madwar id-dinja					
37. Il-Malti huwa importanti għall-edukazzjoni tiegħi					
38. Nixtieq ngħix f'lokalitajiet f'Malta fejn jiġi mitkellem l-Ingliż					
39. Nixtieq ngħix f'lokalitajiet f'Malta fejn jiġi mitkellem il-Malti					
40. In-nies jirrispettawni iktar jekk nitkellem bil-Malti					
41. In-nies Maltin li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż jaġhmlu hekk biex jidhru iktar superjuri					
42. L-Ingliż huwa mportanti għall-edukazzjoni tiegħi					
43. In-nies jirrispettawni iktar jekk nitkellem bl-Ingliż					
44. Nixtieq nagħmel hbieb ma' nies li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż					
45. Nixtieq inkun bħall-Maltin li jitkellmu l-Ingliż					
46. Nixtieq nagħmel hbieb ma' nies li jitkellmu bil-Malti					

47. Nigi aċċettat/a fil-lokalità tiegħi jekk nitkellem bil-Malti					
48. Nigi aċċettat/a fil-lokalità tiegħi jekk nitkellem bl-Ingliż					
49. Nixtieq inkun bhall-Maltin li jitkellmu bil-Malti					

It-tielet taqsima

Dawn il-frażijiet juru opinjonijiet differenti fuq il-lingwa tat-tfal. Hawn min jaqbel magħhom u hawn min ma jaqbilx. Inti għandek turi l-opinjoni tiegħek billi timmarka (✓) fil-kaxxa.

Aħseb fit-tifel/tifla li gābet dan il-kwestjonarju d-dar meta taqra dawn il-frażijiet

	Verament ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Naqbel	Verament Naqbel
50. L-Ingliż se jkun importanti għall-futur tat-tifel/tifla tiegħi					
51. It-tifel/tifla j/tigi aċċettat/a l-iskola jekk titkellem bl- Ingliż					
52. It-tifel/tifla j/tigi aċċettat/a l-iskola jekk titkellem bil-Malti					
53. Il-Malti se jkun importanti għall-futur tat-tifel/tifla tiegħi					
54. Kuntent/a bil-mod kif jiġi użat il-Malti fl-iskola tat-tifel/tifla					
55. Kuntent/a bil-mod kif jiġi użat l-Ingliż fl-iskola tat-tifel/tifla					
56. Nixtieq li t-tifel/t-tifla tiegħi jkollu/ha iktar opportunitajiet biex titkellem bl-Ingliż l-iskola					
57. Nixtieq li t-tifel/tifla tiegħi jkollu/ha iktar opportunitajiet biex titkellem bil-Malti d-dar.					
58. Nixtieq inkun bhall-ġenituri li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż fl-iskola tat-tifel/tifla tiegħi.					

59. Nixtieq inkun bħall-ġenituri li jitkellmu bil-Malti fl-iskola tat-tifel/tifla tiegħi.					
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Ir-raba' taqsima

In-numru tat-tifel/tifla tiegħek: Sess: (Immarka) Mara
Raġel

L-iskejjel li kont tattendi (sa 16-il sena)

X'inhx x-xogħol tiegħek? X'inhx x-xogħol tal-missier/omm it-tifel/it-tifla tiegħek?

Fejn toqgħod? Meta twelidt?
.....

F'liema pajjiż twelidt?

Grazzi ta' kollox !

Parents' and their children's Language Attitudes towards Maltese and English

Lara Ann Vella

Lancaster University

As part of my PhD studies, I am carrying out a study on your opinions about Maltese and English in Malta. I would like to ask you to help me by answering the following questions concerning Maltese and English language use in Malta. This is not a test so there are no "right" or "wrong" answers and you don't even have to write your name on it. I am just interested in your personal opinion and I would be very grateful if you could be as honest as possible.

Section 1

Which language/languages do you use to speak to the following people and to do the following activities? Please tick (✓) one box to show which language/s you use.

	Always in Maltese	In Maltese more often than in English	In Maltese & English equally	In English more often than in Maltese	Always in English	Other (Please specify)
1. Watching TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Reading Books	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Text Messaging	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Social Media	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Reading newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Speaking to mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Speaking to father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Speaking to siblings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Speaking to friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Speaking to neighbours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. At school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section 2

Following are a number of sentences with which some people agree or disagree. I would like you to indicate your opinion after each statement by putting a tick in the box to indicate your opinion.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
12. At school we are expected to speak English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. At school, we are expected to speak Maltese	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. My teachers like it when I speak Maltese to them	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. My teachers like it when I speak English to them					
16. My friends at school like it when I speak English to them					
17. My friends at school like it when I speak Maltese to them					
18. I would like to have more opportunities to use more English at school					
19. I would like to have more opportunities to use more Maltese at school					
20. My Headteacher wants me to speak Maltese to him/her					
21. My Headteacher wants me to speak English to him/her					
22. I like learning English at school					
23. I like learning Maltese at school					
24. English is an important part of the school curriculum					
25. Maltese is an important part of the school curriculum					
26. Studying English is important to me because I will need it for my future career					
27. Studying Maltese is important to me because I will need it for my future career					
28. I study English because with English I can travel abroad					
29. I like it when people mainly speak English in Malta					
30. I like it when people mainly speak Maltese in Malta					
31. Maltese people who speak mainly English are snobs					
32. Maltese people who cannot speak English are uneducated					
33. In my hometown there are many people who speak English					

34. In my hometown there are many people who speak Maltese					
35. English is important for my educational prospects					
36. Maltese is important for my educational prospects					
37. I like it when Maltese people switch between Maltese and English in the same conversation					
38. All people in Malta should be able to speak Maltese					
39. Maltese people who speak English are well-off					
40. All people in Malta should be able to speak English					
41. Maltese people who speak English are very friendly					
42. Only people who speak mainly Maltese can be considered truly Maltese nationals					
43. Maltese people who speak Maltese sound well-educated					
44. Maltese people who speak English do so to appear superior to other people					
45. Maltese people who speak Maltese sound well-educated					
46. The Maltese language is becoming corrupt because of the influence of the English language					
47. Maltese people who speak mainly English have a high level of education					
48. English is important for the local economy					
49. Maltese is important for the local economy					
50. Maltese people who speak English are show-offs					
51. The English language is an important part of Maltese identity					
52. The English language poses a threat to Maltese culture					
53. I would like to live in areas in Malta where English is spoken					
54. I would like to live in areas in Malta where Maltese is spoken					

55. People will think that I am well-educated if I speak English in Malta					
56. People will think that I am well-educated if I speak Maltese in Malta					
57. I would like to make more friends with Maltese people who speak English					
58. I would like to be like Maltese people who speak English					
59. I would be accepted in my hometown if I were to speak Maltese					
60. I would like to make more friends with people who speak Maltese					
61. I would be accepted in my hometown if I were to speak English					
62. I would like to be like Maltese people who speak Maltese in Malta					
63. I sound educated when I speak English					
64. I sound educated when I speak Maltese					

Section 4

Please fill in the following information about yourself.

Index number:

Gender (circle): M F

What is your father's job? What is your mother's job?

When were you born?

In which country were you born?

Where do you live?

Thank you for your participation!

L-attitudnijiet tal-ġenituri u t-tfal tagħhom lejn il-Malti u l-Ingliż

Il-kwestjonarju tat-tfal: 14-15

Jien studenta li qed nagħmel id-Dottorat fil-Lingwistika. Qed nagħmel studju fuq l-attitudnijiet tal-ġenituri u t-tfal tagħhom lejn il-Malti u l-Ingliż. Qed nitlob l-għajnuna tiegħek billi timla dan il-kwestjonarju fuq l-użu tal-lingwa f'Malta.

Dan mhux 'test' u m'hemmx risposta tajba jew ħażina. M'hemmx għalfejn tikteb ismek fuqu. Jien interessata fl-opinjoni personali tiegħek. Inkun grata jekk inti tkun onest/a kemm jista' jkun. Grazie tal-għajnuna tiegħek.

L-ewwel taqsima

Liema lingwa/lingwi tuża biex titkellem ma' dawn in-nies jew biex tagħmel dawn l-affarijiet?
Immarka (✓) f'waħda mill-kaxx:

	Bil-Malti biss	Iktar bil-Malti milli bl-Ingliż	Bil-Malti u bl-Ingliż indaqs	Iktar bl-Ingliż milli bil-Malti	Bl-Ingliż biss	Lingwa ohra (Liema?)
1. Meta nara t-tele-vixin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Meta naqra ktieb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Meta nibgħat messagġ fuq il-mowbajl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Meta nikteb fuq il-media soċjali	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Meta naqra gazzetta	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Meta nkellem lil ommi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Meta nkellem lil missieri	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Meta nkellem lil ħuti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Meta nkellem lill-ħbieb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Meta nkellem lill-ġirien	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Meta nkun l-iskola	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

It-tieni taqsima

Dawn il-frazzjiet juru l-opinjoni ta' xi nies. Uri l-opinjoni tiegħek billi timmarka (✓) fil-kaxxa.

	Veru ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Naqbel	Veru Naqbel
12. Fl-iskola mistennija li nitkellmu bl-Ingliż					
13. Fl-iskola mistennija li nitkellmu bil-Malti					

14. L-ghalliema jiehdu gost meta nkellimhom bil-Malti					
15. L-ghalliema jiehdu gost meta nkellimhom bl-Ingliż					
16. Il-ħbieb tal-iskola jiehdu gost meta nkellimhom bl-Ingliż					
17. Il-ħbieb tal-iskola jiehdu gost meta nkellimhom bil-Malti					
18. Meta nkun l-iskola, nixtieq ikolli iktar opportunità biex nitkellem bl-Ingliż					
19. Meta nkun l-iskola, nixtieq ikolli iktar opportunità biex nitkellem bil-Malti					
20. Is-Surmast ikun iridni nkellmu bl-Ingliż					
21. Is-Surmast ikun iridni nkellmu bil-Malti					
22. Jien inħobb nitghallem l-Ingliż					
23. Jien inħobb nitghallem il-Malti					
24. L-Ingliż huwa importanti fil-kurrikulu tal-iskola					
25. Il-Malti huwa importanti fil-kurrikulu tal-iskola					
26. Importanti li nistudja l-Ingliż għax se jkolli bżonnu għax-xogħol fil-futur					
27. Importanti li nistudja l-Malti għax se jkolli bżonnu għax-xogħol fil-futur					
28. Jien nistudja l-Ingliż għax b'din il-lingwa nista' nsiefer					
29. Togħgobni meta n-nies jitekellmu bl-Ingliż f'Malta					
30. Togħgobni meta n-nies jitekellmu bil-Malti f'Malta					
31. In-nies Maltin li jitekellmu bl-Ingliż jaħsbu li huma xi haġa					
32. In-nies Maltin li ma jafux Ingliż għandhom livell ta' edukazzjoni baxx					
33. Fil-lokalità tiegħi hemm ħafna nies li jitekellmu bl-Ingliż					

34. Fil-lokalità tiegħi hemm hafna nies li jikkellmu bil-Malti					
35. Toghġobni meta n-nies jaqilbu mill-Malti għall-Ingliż fl-istess sentenza					
36. L-Ingliż huwa mportanti għall-edukazzjoni tiegħi					
37. Il-Malti huwa mportanti għall-edukazzjoni tiegħi					
38. In-nies kollha li jgħixu Malta għandhom ikunu jafu jikkellmu bil-Malti					
39. Il-Maltin li jikkellmu bl-Ingliż huma tal-flus					
40. In-nies kollha li jgħixu Malta għandhom ikunu jafu jikkellmu l-Ingliż					
41. Il-Maltin li jikkellmu l-Ingliż huma amikevoli					
42. Dawk in-nies biss li jikkellmu bil-Malti huma veru Maltin					
43. In-nies li jikkellmu bil-Malti huma edukati					
44. In-nies Maltin li jikkellmu bl-Ingliż jagħmlu hekk biex jidhru iktar superjuri					
45. In-nies li jikkellmu bil-Malti huma edukati					
46. Il-lingwa Maltija qed tintilef minhabba l-influwenza tal-Ingliż					
47. In-nies Maltin li jikkellmu bl-Ingliż għandhom livell għoli ta' edukazzjoni					
48. Il-lingwa Ingliża hija 305mportant għall-ekonomija tal-pajjiż					
49. Il-lingwa Maltija hija 305mportant għall-ekonomija tal-pajjiż					
50. Il-Maltin li jikkellmu bl-Ingliż huma tal-pepè					
51. Il-lingwa Ingliża hija parti 305mportant mill-identità Maltija					
52. Il-lingwa Ingliża qed tħassar il-kultura Maltija					
53. Nixtieq ngħix f'lokalitajiet f'Malta fejn jiġi mitkellem l-Ingliż					
54. Nixtieq ngħix f'lokalitajiet f'Malta fejn jiġi mitkellem il-Malti					

55. In-nies jaħsbu li jien edukat/a jekk nitkellem bl-Ingliż f'Malta					
56. In-nies jaħsbu li jien edukat/a jekk nitkellem bil-Malti f'Malta					
57. Nixtieq nagħmel ħbieb ma' nies li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż					
58. Nixtieq inkun bħall-Maltin li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż					
59. Niġi aċċettat/a fil-lokalità tiegħi jekk nitkellem bil-Malti					
60. Nixtieq nagħmel iktar ħbieb ma' min jitkellem bil-Malti					
61. Niġi aċċettat/a fil-lokalità tiegħi jekk nitkellem bl-Ingliż					
62. Nixtieq inkun bħall-Maltin li jitkellmu bil-Malti					
63. Ninstema' edukat/a meta nitkellem bl-Ingliż					
64. Ninstema' edukat/a meta nitkellem bil-Malti					

Ir-raba' taqsima

In-numru tiegħek:
Raġel

Sess: (Immarka) Mara

X'inhu x-xogħol tal-ġenituri? L-Omm Il-Missier
.....

L-iskola li tattendi (sa 16-il sena) Meta twelidt?
.....

F'liema pajjiż twelidt? Fejn toqgħod?
.....

Grazzi ta' kollox

Parents' and their children's Language Attitudes towards Maltese and English

11 to 12 year olds

As part of my PhD studies, I am carrying out a study on your opinions about Maltese and English in Malta. I would like to ask you to help me by answering the following questions concerning Maltese and English language use in Malta. This is not a test so there are no “right” or “wrong” answers and you don’t even have to write your name on it. I am just interested in your personal opinion and I would be very grateful if you could be as honest as possible. Thank you very much for your help.

Section 1

Which language/languages do you use to speak to the following people and to do the following activities? Please tick (✓) the box to show which language/s you use.

	Always in Maltese	In Maltese more often than in English	In Maltese & English equally	In English more often than in Maltese	Always in English	Other (Please specify)
1. Watching TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Reading Books	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Text Messaging	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Social Media	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Reading newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Speaking to mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Speaking to father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Speaking to siblings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Speaking to friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Speaking to neighbours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. At school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section 2

These are sentences with which some people agree or disagree. I would like you to indicate your opinion after each statement by putting a tick in the box to indicate your opinion.

12. At school we are expected to speak English	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
13. At school, we are expected to speak Maltese	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>

14. My teachers like it when I speak Maltese to them	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
15. My teachers like it when I speak English to them	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
16. My friends at school like it when I speak English to them	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
17. My friends at school like it when I speak Maltese to them	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
18. I would like to have more opportunities to use more English at school	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
19. I would like to have more opportunities to use more Maltese at school	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
20. My Headteacher would want me to speak Maltese to him/her	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
21. My Headteacher would want me to speak English to him/her	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
22. I like learning English at school	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
23. I like learning Maltese at school	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
24. English is an important part of the school curriculum	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
25. Maltese is an important part of the school curriculum	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
26. Studying English is important to me because I will need it for my future career	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
27. Studying Maltese is important to me because I will need it for my future career	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
28. I study English because with English I can enjoy travelling abroad	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
29. I like it when people speak English in Malta	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
30. English is important for my education	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
31. Maltese is important for my education	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
32. I like it when people speak Maltese in Malta	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
33. Maltese people who speak English are rich	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
34. Maltese people who speak English are snobs	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
35. Maltese people who speak English are well-educated	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>

	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. In my hometown there are many people who speak English	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
37. In my hometown there are many people who speak Maltese	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
38. I like it when Maltese people switch between Maltese and English in the same conversation	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
39. People who speak Maltese sound well-educated	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
40. All people in Malta should be able to speak Maltese	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
41. Maltese people who speak English are show-offs	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>

42. All people in Malta should be able to speak English	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
43. Only people who speak mainly Maltese can be considered truly Maltese nationals	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
44. Maltese people who speak English are very friendly	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
45. I would like to live in areas in Malta where English is spoken	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
46. I would like to live in areas in Malta where Maltese is spoken	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
47. People will think that I am well-educated if I speak English in Malta	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
48. People will think that I am well educated if I speak Maltese in Malta	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
49. People respect me more if I speak Maltese	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
50. People respect me more if I speak English	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
51. I would like to make more friends with children who speak English	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
52. I would like to make more friends with children who speak Maltese	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
53. I sound educated when I speak English	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>
54. I sound educated when I speak Maltese	I TOTALLY agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I agree <input type="checkbox"/>	I don't really know <input type="checkbox"/>	I disagree <input type="checkbox"/>	I TOTALLY disagree <input type="checkbox"/>

Section 3

Please fill in the following information about yourself.

Index number: Gender (circle one): M F

What is your father's job?

What is your mother's job?

Where do you live?

When were you born?

In which country were you born?

Thank you for your participatio

L-attitudnijiet tal-ġenituri u t-tfal tagħhom lejn il-Malti u l-Ingliż

Il-kwestjonarju tat-tfal: 11-12

Jien studenta li qed nagħmel id-Dottorat fil-Lingwistika. Qed nagħmel studju fuq l-attitudnijiet tal-ġenituri u t-tfal tagħhom lejn il-Malti u l-Ingliż. Qed nitlob l-għajnuna tiegħek billi timla dan il-kwestjonarju fuq l-użu tal-lingwa f'Malta.

Dan mhux 'test' u m'hemmx risposta tajba jew ħażina. M'hemmx għalfejn tikteb ismek fuqu. Jien interessata fl-opinjoni personali tiegħek. Inkun grata jekk inti tkun onest/a kemm jista' jkun. Grazie tal-għajnuna tiegħek.

L-ewwel taqsima

Liema lingwa/lingwi tuża biex titkellem ma' dawn in-nies jew biex tagħmel dawn l-affarijiet?
Immarka (✓) f'waħda mill-kaxx:

	Bil-Malti biss	Iktar bil-Malti milli bl-Ingliż	Bil-Malti u bl-Ingliż indaqs	Iktar bl-Ingliż milli bil-Malti	Bl-Ingliż biss	Lingwa ohra (Liema?)
1. Meta nara t-tele-vixin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Meta naqra ktieb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Meta nibgħat messagġ fuq il-mowbajl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Meta nikteb fuq il-media soċjali	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Meta naqra gazzetta	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Meta nkellem lil ommi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Meta nkellem lil missieri	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Meta nkellem lil ħuti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Meta nkellem lil hbieb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Meta nkellem lill-ġirien	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Meta nkun l-iskola	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

It-tieni taqsima

Dawn il-frazzjiet juru l-opinjoni ta' xi nies. Uri l-opinjoni tiegħek billi timmarka (✓) fil-kaxxa.

12. Fl-iskola mistennija li nitkellmu bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
13. Fl-iskola mistennija li nitkellmu bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>

	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. L-ghalliema jiehdu gost meta nkellimhom bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
15. L-ghalliema jiehdu gost meta nkellimhom bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
16. Il-ħbieb tal-iskola jiehdu gost meta nkellimhom bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
17. Il-ħbieb tal-iskola jiehdu gost meta nkellimhom bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
18. Meta nkun l-iskola, nixtieq ikolli iktar opportunità biex nitkellem bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
19. Meta nkun l-iskola, nixtieq ikolli iktar opportunità biex nitkellem bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
20. Is-Surmast ikun iridni nkellmu bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
21. Is-Surmast ikun iridni nkellmu bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
22. Jien inħobb nitghallem l-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
23. Jien inħobb nitghallem il-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
24. L-Ingliż huwa importanti fil-kurrikulu tal-iskola	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
25. Il-Malti huwa importanti fil-kurrikulu tal-iskola	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>

26. Importanti li nistudja l-Ingliż għax se jkolli bżonnu għax-xogħol fil-futur	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
27. Importanti li nistudja l-Malti għax se jkolli bżonnu għax-xogħol fil-futur	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
28. Jien nistudja l-Ingliż għax b'din il-lingwa nista' nsiefer	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
29. Togħgobni meta n-nies jitmellmu bl-Ingliż f'Malta	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
30. L-Ingliż huwa mportanti għall-edukazzjoni tiegħi	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
31. Il-Malti huwa mportanti għall-edukazzjoni tiegħi	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
32. Togħgobni meta n-nies jitmellmu bil-Malti f'Malta	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
33. Il-Maltin li jitmellmu bl-Ingliż huma tal-flus	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
34. Il-Maltin li jitmellmu bl-Ingliż huma tal-pepè	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
35. Il-Maltin li jitmellmu bl-Ingliż huma edukati	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
36. Fil-lokalità fejn ngħix hemm hafna nies li jitmellmu bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
37. Fil-lokalità fejn ngħix hemm hafna nies li jitmellmu bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>

38. Togħgobni meta n-nies jaqilbu mill-Malti għall-Ingliż fl-istess sentenza	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
39. In-nies li jitkellmu bil-Malti huma edukati	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
40. In-nies kollha li jgħixu Malta għandhom ikunu jafu jitkellmu bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
41. In-nies Maltin li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż jaħsbu li huma xi haġa	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
42. In-nies kollha li jgħixu Malta għandhom ikunu jafu jitkellmu bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
43. Dawk in-nies biss li jitkellmu bil-Malti huma veru Maltin	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
44. Il-Maltin li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż huma amikevoli	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
45. Nixtieq ngħix f'lokalitajiet f'Malta fejn jiġi mitkellem l-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
46. Nixtieq ngħix f'lokalitajiet f'Malta fejn jiġi mitkellem il-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
47. F'Malta, in-nies jaħsbu li jien edukat/a jekk nitkellem bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
48. F'Malta, in-nies jaħsbu li jien edukat/a jekk nitkellem bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
49. In-nies jirrispettawni iktar jekk jien nitkellem bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>

50. In-nies jirrispettawni iktar jekk jien nitkellem bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
51. Nixtieq nagħmel hbieb ma' nies li jikkellmu bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
52. Nixtieq nagħmel iktar hbieb ma' min jikkellmu bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
53. Ninstema' edukat/a meta nitkellem bl-Ingliż	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>
54. Ninstema' edukat/a meta nitkellem bil-Malti	Veru ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx <input type="checkbox"/>	Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>	Veru Naqbel <input type="checkbox"/>

Ir-raba' taqsima

In-numru tiegħek:
Raġel

Sess: (Immarka) Mara

X'inhu x-xogħol tal-ġenituri? Tal-Omm Tal-Missier
.....

Meta twelidt?

F'liema pajjiż twelidt? Fejn toqgħod?
.....

Grazzi ta' kollox

Parents' and their children's Language Attitudes towards Maltese and English

Lara Ann Vella

Lancaster University

As part of my PhD studies, I am carrying out a study on what you think about Maltese and English in Malta. I would like to ask you to help me. This is not a test so there are no "right" or "wrong" answers and you don't even have to write your name on it. Thank you very much for your help.

Section 1

Which language/languages do you use to speak to the following people and to do the following activities? Please tick (✓) one box.

	Always in Maltese	In Maltese more often than in English	In Maltese & English equally	In English more often than in Maltese	Always in English	Other (Please specify)
1. Watching TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Reading Books	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Speaking to mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Speaking to father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Speaking to siblings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Speaking to friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Speaking to neighbours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. At school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section 2

9. I like learning English at school	I TOTALLY agree 	I agree 	I neither agree nor disagree 	I disagree 	I TOTALLY disagree
10. I like learning Maltese at school	I TOTALLY agree 	I agree 	I don't really know 	I disagree 	I TOTALLY disagree
11. English is an important subject at school	I TOTALLY agree 	I agree 	I don't really know 	I disagree 	I TOTALLY disagree
12. Maltese is an important subject at school	I TOTALLY agree 	I agree 	I don't really know 	I disagree 	I TOTALLY disagree

13. I will need English for my future job

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				

14. I will need Maltese for my future job

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				

15. I study English because with English I can go abroad

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				



This is Nini. Nini was born in Malta. Nini speaks English to parents and friends. At school Nini speaks English.








This is Momo. Momo was born in Malta. Momo speaks Maltese to parents and friends. At school Momo speaks Maltese.






16. I like it when people like Nini speak English in Malta.

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				




17. I like it when people like Momo speak Maltese in Malta.

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				





18. In my hometown there are many people like Nini who speak English

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				






19. In my hometown there are many people like Momo who speak Maltese

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				






20. All people in Malta should be able to speak Maltese

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				






21. I would like to make friends with people, who speak English, like Nini

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				






22. I think people like Nini, who speak English are very friendly

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				






23. I think people like Momo, who speak English are very friendly

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				

24. I would like to make friends with people, who speak Maltese, like Momo

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				

25. I think that people who speak English, like Nini are show-offs

I TOTALLY agree	I agree	I don't really know	I disagree	I TOTALLY disagree
				

26. I think that people who speak English, like Nini, are rich



I TOTALLY agree



I agree



I don't really know



I disagree



I TOTALLY disagree



Section 3

Fill in the following with information about yourself

Index number:

Gender (circle one): M F

What is your father's job?

What is your mother's job?

Where do you live?

When were you born?

In which country were you born?

Thank you for your participation

L-attitudnijiet tal-ġenituri u t-tfal tagħhom lejn il-Malti u l-Ingliż

Il-kwestjonarju tat-tfal: 8-9

Jien studenta li qed nagħmel id-Dottorat fil-Lingwistika. Qed nagħmel studju fuq l-attitudnijiet tal-ġenituri u t-tfal tagħhom lejn il-Malti u l-Ingliż. Qed nitlob l-għajnuna tiegħek billi timla dan il-kwestjonarju fuq l-użu tal-lingwa f'Malta.

Dan mhux 'test' u m'hemmx risposta tajba jew ħażina. M'hemmx għalfejn tikteb ismek fuqu. Jien interessata fl-opinjoni personali tiegħek. Inkun grata jekk inti tkun onest/a kemm jista' jkun. Grazie tal-għajnuna tiegħek.

L-ewwel taqsima
















Liema lingwa/lingwi tuża biex titkellem ma' dawn in-nies jew biex tagħmel dawn l-affarijiet?

Immarka (✓) f'wahda mill-kaxex:

	Bil-Malti biss	Iktar bil-Malti milli bl-Ingliż	Bil-Malti u bl-Ingliż indaqs	Iktar bl-Ingliż milli bil-Malti	Bl-Ingliż biss	Lingwa ohra (Liema?)
1. Meta nara t-tel-evixin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Meta naqra ktieb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Meta nkellem lil ommi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Meta nkellem lil missieri	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Meta nkellem lil ħuti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Meta nkellem lil ħbieb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Meta nkellem lill-ġirien	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Meta nkun l-iskola	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

It-tieni taqsima

X'inhi l-opinjoni tiegħek?

9. Meta nkun l-iskola nħobb nitgħallem l-Ingliż	Veru naqbel 	Naqbel 	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx 	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx 	
10. Meta nkun l-iskola nħobb nitgħallem il-Malti	Veru naqbel 	Naqbel 	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx 	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx 	
11. L-Ingliż huwa suġġett importanti fl-iskola	Veru naqbel 	Naqbel 	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx 	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx 	

12. Il-Malti huwa suġġett importanti fl-iskola

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

13. Se jkolli bżonn l-Ingliż għall-karriera tiegħi fil-futur

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

14. Se jkolli bżonn il-Malti għall-karriera tiegħi fil-futur

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

15. Nistudja l-Ingliż għax bl-Ingliż tista ssiefer

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

Din Nini. Nini twieldet Malta. Nini titkellem bl-Ingliż mal-ġenituri u mal-ħbieb. L-iskola, Nini titkellem bl-Ingliż.



Din Momo. Momo twieldet Malta. Momo titkellem il-Malti mal-ġenituri u mal-ħbieb. L-iskola, Momo titkellem bil-Malti

16. Togħġobni meta nies bħal Nini jitkellmu bl-Ingliż, f'Malta

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

17. Togħġobni meta nies bħal Momo jitkellmu bil-Malti, f'Malta

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

18. Fejn noqgħod, hemm hafna nies bħal Nini li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

19. Fejn noqgħod, hemm hafna nies bħal Momo li jitkellmu bil-Malti

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

20. In-nies kollha li jgħixu f'Malta għandhom ikunu jafu jitkellmu bil-Malti

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

21. Nixtieq naghmel ħbieb ma' tfal li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż, bħal Nini

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

22. Nahseb li nies bħal Nini, li jitkellmu bl-Ingliż, huma amikevoli

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

23. Nahseb li nies bħal Momo, li jitkellmu bil-Malti, huma amikevoli

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

24. Nixtieq naghmel ħbieb ma' tfal li jitkellmu l-Malti bħal Momo

Veru naqbel	Naqbel	La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx	Ma naqbilx	Veru ma naqbilx	

25. Naħseb li nies li
jitektellmu l-Ingliż, bħal
Nini, huma tal-keshin

Veru naqbel



Naqbel



La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx



Ma naqbilx

Veru ma naqbilx



26. Naħseb li nies, li
jitektellmu bl-Ingliż,
bħal Nini huma tal-flus

Veru naqbel



Naqbel



La naqbel u lanqas ma naqbilx



Ma naqbilx

Veru ma naqbilx



It-tielet taqsima

Imla din l-informazzjoni

In-numru tiegħek:

Raġel

Sess: (Immarka) Mara

X'inhu x-xogħol tal-ġenituri? Tal-Omm Tal-Missier

.....

Meta twelidt?

F'liema pajjiż twelidt? Fejn toqghod?

.....

Grazzi ta' kollox

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