Language Maintenance and Language Shift in Wales

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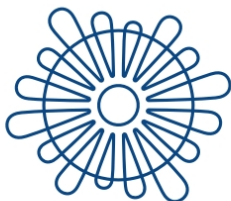
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Sveučilište u Zadru

Odjel za anglistiku

Preddiplomski sveučilišni studij engleskog jezika i književnosti (dvopredmetni)

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Tomislav Nebes

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Zadar, 2016.

Izjava o akademskoj čestitosti

Ja, **Tomislav Nebes,** ovime izjavljujem da je moj **završni** rad pod naslovom Language Maintenance and Language Shift in Wales rezultat mojega vlastitog rada, da se temelji na mojim istraživanjima te da se oslanja na izvore i radove navedene u bilješkama i popisu literature. Ni jedan dio mojega rada nije napisan na nedopušten način, odnosno nije prepisan iz necitiranih radova i ne krši bilo čija autorska prava.

Izjavljujem da ni jedan dio ovoga rada nije iskorišten u kojem drugom radu pri bilo kojoj drugoj visokoškolskoj, znanstvenoj, obrazovnoj ili inoj ustanovi.

Sadržaj mojega rada u potpunosti odgovara sadržaju obranjenoga i nakon obrane uređenoga rada.

Zadar, 28. kolovoza 2016.

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1. Introduction

The history of the Celtic language spoken in Great Britain – Welsh (*Cymraeg*) – is without a doubt, a history of survival against all odds. According to stats provided by Wolfram|Alpha it is spoken by only 575 102 people in 2005 from which there are 536 890 native speakers in 2013. It is paradoxically a minority language in the country where it is an official language (cf. Newcombe 1). Our interest for this "oldest living language of Great Britain" (Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardisation of Geographical Names 1) and the situations that contributed to its current status in the UK are not only aroused by the fact that very little people speak Welsh in Wales, but also because it neighbours the massive English language, which has 119 times more native speakers - only in the UK.

Since the Edwardian conquest of Wales after 1282 A.D., the English language started acquiring a much higher status than Welsh, and subsequently the English courts and formal decrees have done very little to correct this – in fact – they have done the exact opposite (cf. Fishman 275). The sociolinguistic phenomena that occurred after this period in the field of education, language acquisition and language policies interest us the most. By utilising historical records, we intend to establish the correlation between introduction of multiple Welsh language acts, availability of Welsh-medium schools and other educational facilities, language policies, sociolinguistic phenomena such as 'Welsh Not" and 'Treachery of the Blue Books" with the number of Welsh speakers in Wales. By doing this, we will explore the almost symbiotic nature of Welsh and English languages in order to further understand how it is possible that a language with only half a million speakers continues not only to persist, but also to grow next to the English language (cf. Newcombe 5-19).

2. Historical Background

In order to understand the evolution of the Welsh language and the language policies, we must observe the historical context, in particular the rules formulated in London and enforced in Wales. Since the Edwardian conquest, Wales has steadily drifted towards England and the English language. Due to a special set of circumstances, later to be explained in detail, the dominant language, English, has been replacing Welsh in almost all spheres of life to the point that it threatened the existence of the Welsh language. In this chapter, we will explore the natives of present-day Wales, Wales, the Welsh language and the English language.

2.1. Wales

Figure 1 - The position of Wales (dark orange) within the United Kingdom (light orange). Retrieved from:
https://www.wolframalpha.com/input/?i=Wales&rawformassumption=%7B%22C%22,+%22Wales%22%7D+-
%3E+%7B%22HistoricalCountry%22%7D

Wales (*Cymru*) is a country situated in Great Britain and is a part of the United Kingdom. It covers the surface of 21,224.63 km^2 and its population stands at 3.1 million (Office for National Statistics (a)). For the sake of comparison, England covers 132,937.69 km^2 and has 53.5 million people (ibid.). Although Wales has a Secretary who represents Welsh interests in the UK cabinet and promotes the learning of Welsh (Welsh Office) he is still under the authority of the Government in Westminster. Since Wales is a part of the Union, it has two official languages: English and Welsh (Bishop 507).

The first formation of a Welsh state began during and shortly after the 43-410 A.D. Roman occupation of Great Britain (Thomas 547). The Brythonic resistance against the Romans led to the formation of small groups who fought for the right to reign over the contested lands (cf. Pretty 1-7). The Brythonic warriors were ultimately defeated and new, regional kingdoms arose shortly after the power-vacuum created by the Romans' departure in A.D. 410 (cf. Pretty 7-14), which caused the Roman province of Britannia to collapse and Latin to disappear from laws and administration (Davies 4-7). For a short period, the Welsh ruled over Wales, exchanging multiple dynasties until the Edwardian conquests. The Edwardian conquests ended all forms of Welsh reign over Wales and installed English sheriffs who controlled the provinces and collected taxes on the King's behalf (Pretty 20-22). At that time, at around 1283, Wales was a conquered land. There followed an attempt to free Wales from the English occupation, but it ultimately shattered and Wales was annexed by England. The Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542 absorbed Wales into the Union, made the use of English compulsory, consequently decreasing the popularity and the number of people speaking Welsh in Wales (cf. Fishman 275 and Newcombe 4). In essence, English became the dominant language in Wales. Language of the courts in Wales were English, all legal documentation was written in English and the situation was insofar serious, because the English language was steadily creeping into Welsh homes. Since the 16th century, Wales has been lagging behind the rest of the Union in

terms of demographics and socio-economic status. Through the 18th century Wales had been a rural country with at least 489,000 people in 1770, "most of whom were employed in the cultivation of the land or in work directly dependent upon agriculture" (Davies 55). The turbulent 20th century introduced new hazards to Wales. Farming and mining industry collapsed, leaving many people out of work (Jenkins and Williams, Let's Do Our Best 5). The outbreak of the Great War costed Wales approximately 35,000 men (idem 3). The then-ongoing economic and social situation caused waves of migration. As a result, young speakers left the country, while only "middle-aged or elderly people" stayed in Wales, i.e. the ones who could not transmit the language to newer generations (idem 5). With the arrival of new technologies, especially with the telephone, wireless and the railways, came also the English language (cf. (Jenkins and Williams, Let's Do Our Best 6-8). "The increased availability of English language news and entertainment media and a general secularisation of society [led] to a decline in the numbers attending the chapel, where so many traditional Welsh-medium activities were centred" (Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardisation of Geographical Names 2). It therefore becomes quite clear that the possibility of consuming the English language in any shape drastically reduces the number of Welsh speakers by the way of offering alternative sources of information or leisure activity. The lack of independence and of a national government meant that there was no way for the Welsh to secure the rights to speak their own language. Only after 1942, i.e. after the first Welsh Language Act 1942, the situation began to improve when it was decided that "the Welsh language may be used in any court in Wales by any party (…) who considers that he would otherwise be at any disadvantage by reason of his natural language of communication being Welsh" (Welsh Courts Act 1942 1).

2.2. The Welsh

It is currently not safe to say who we can classify as the Welsh people (*Cymry*). The very concept of belonging to the Welsh nation is either tied to the ability to speak Welsh, to reside in Wales or to present unmistakable signs of *Welshness* (cf. (Baker 65)). If we were to classify the Welsh according to their ability to speak Welsh, we risk misclassifying more than 79,2% of the population (cf. Newcombe 7). If we however wish to relate the Welsh people with those who have been living in Wales for generations but have not learned to speak Welsh, we alienate the Welsh-speaking minority, while if we relate *Welshness* with the Welsh, we can include everyone who hangs the flag of Wales above their fireplace without ever hearing Welsh or visiting Wales. It is objectively not possible to say with certainty who or what a Welsh person is:

> "To ask somebody, "Are you Welsh" is ambiguous and imprecise. For some, being Welsh is living in Wales and no more. For others, being Welsh is only possible when the Welsh language is constantly used and when a person identifies with the Welsh culture attached to the language." (Baker 65)

The Welsh people, as encountered by the Romans in A.D. 43, were fierce Brythonic warriors who held their ground against the foreign invaders (Pretty 5). Despite their best efforts, the Romans managed to subdue and pacify the local populace within 30 years and established a firm sphere of influence until their departure in A.D. 410, leaving behind military forts and other archaeological artefacts (Pretty 6-7). The reign of the Romans has changed very little from a linguistic point of view – in fact – the influence of Latin on the still-developing Welsh language was minimal (Pretty 7) introducing "some 800 loanwords from Latin" (Thomas 547):

WORDS OF LATIN ORIGIN IN WELSH

WELSH	LATIN
pont (bridge)	pons
eglwys (church)	ecclesia
lleng (legion)	legio
ystafell (room)	stabellum
trawst (joist)	transtrum
bresych (cabbage)	brassica

Figure 2 - Words of Latin origin in Welsh. Retrieved from Davies (7).

Christianity spread to north Wales officially in 768 (Pretty 19) and it remains to-date their source of pride and identity. The Welsh were, until the Edwardian conquests, all inhabitants of Great Britain who belonged to Welsh kingdoms and spoke Welsh. After the Edwardian conquests, the term becomes ambiguous, as there is an influx of migrants from England. However, as Fishman notes, "[t]he Welsh (…) did not have to abandon their language and homeland for employment abroad (…). This may be the principal reason why modern Welsh identity is more closely linked to the maintenance of language than any other Celtic case" (275) meaning that a significant portion of their national identity is derived from using the language and maintaining it. This notion is strengthened by Romaine's investigation of the Welsh people who are reported to claim that "without the language you are not Welsh" (286).

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the results of the 2011 Census use the term "usually resident population of Wales", "residents of Wales" or "usual residents of Wales" instead of "(the) Welsh" thus trying to make a clear distinction between the Welsh nationality and residents of Wales (White 3-39). It is therefore self-evident that a residence in Wales is not a guarantee of being Welsh. On the other hand, speaking the language does not make someone

Welsh, since the statistics indicate that there exist persons who speak both Welsh and English and feel that their national identity is both British and Welsh (White 14).

2.3. The Welsh Language

THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY TREE

PROTO INDO-EUROPEAN

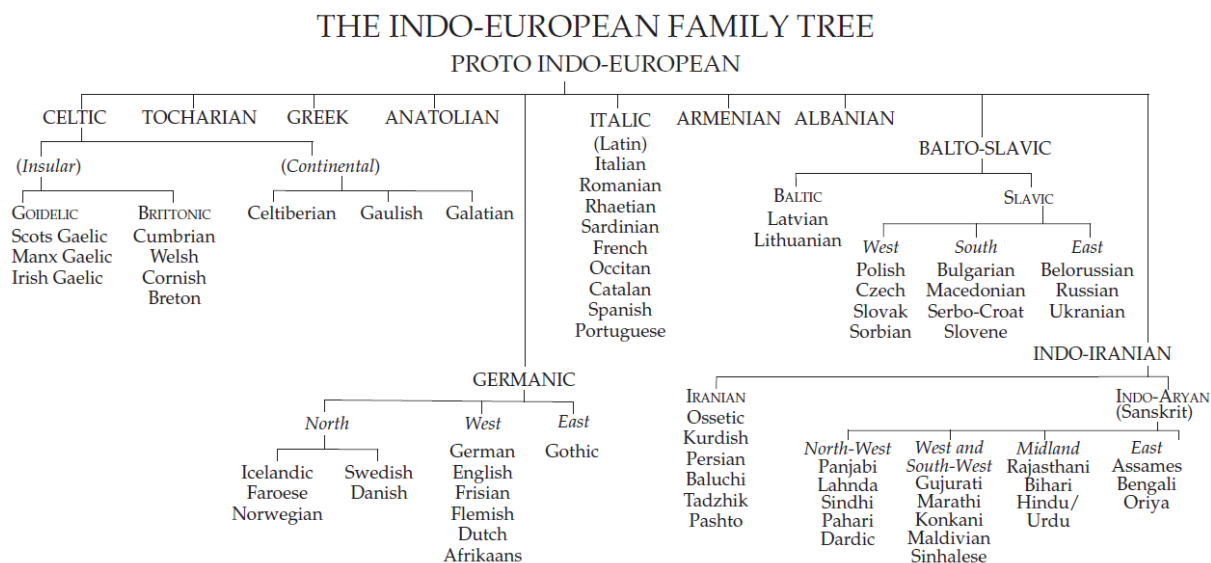| CELTIC	TOCHARIAN	GREEK	ANATOLIAN		ITALIC	ARMENIAN	ALBANIAN

Figure 3 - *Language classification of the Welsh language according to Davies (2). Welsh is located under the Indo-european-Celtic-Brittonic language group.*

The Welsh language (*Cymraeg*) is a "lesser used" Brythonic[1] language spoken in Wales (Newcombe 2), parts of England and, interestingly, in Argentina, where less than 0.1% of the total population of Argentina, i.e. 25 000 people, speak Welsh (Wolfram|Alpha). It was "spoken throughout Roman Britain south of central Scotland" (Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardisation of Geographical Names 2) and it is now an isolated language, even in Wales, since there exist geographical locations where the number of Welsh speakers drastically rises, that is to say, denser concentration of speakers are "spatially isolated" (Baker 13). These

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[1] Brythonic is also written as Brittonic.

anomalies in the number and density of speakers are the consequence of the aforementioned

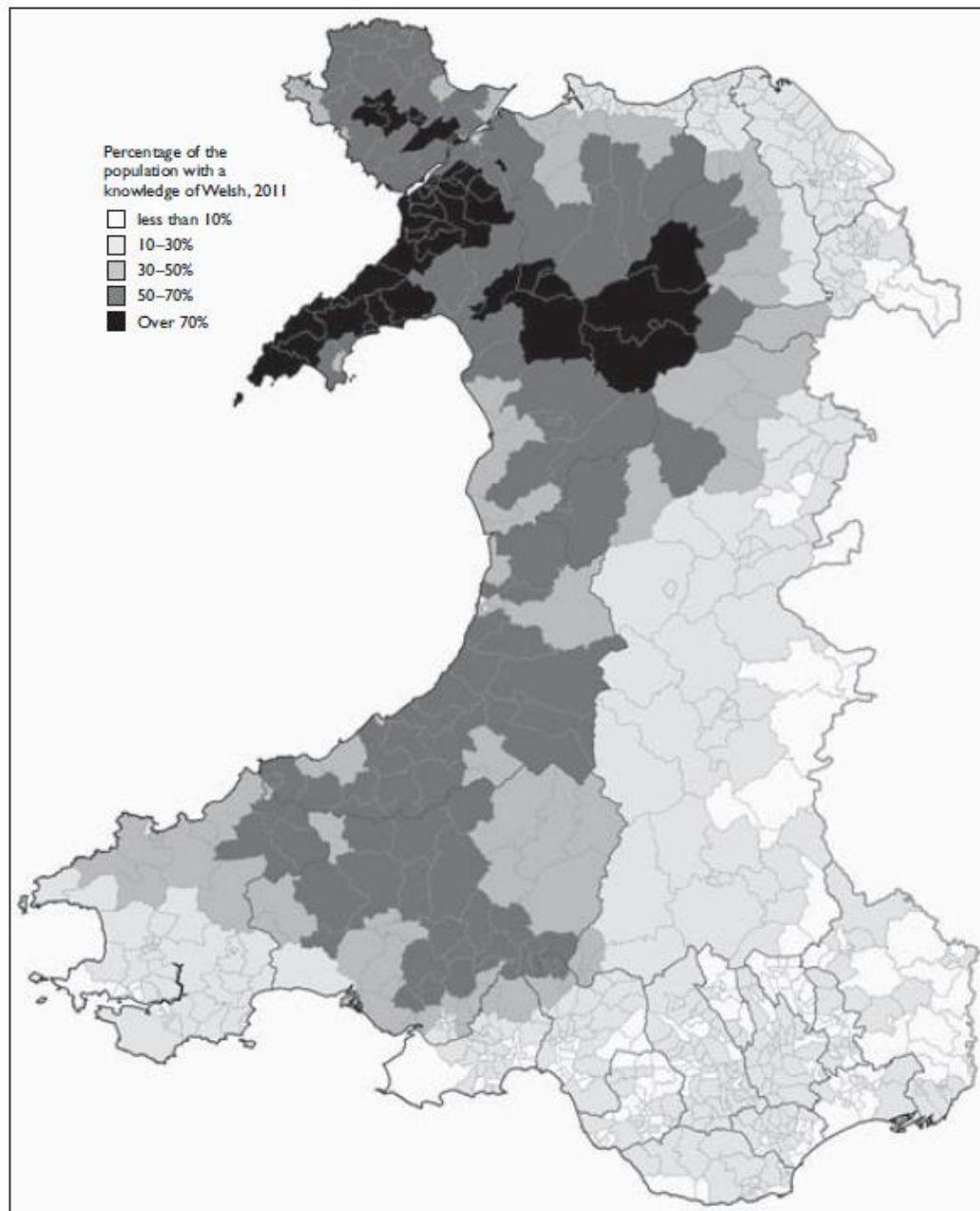historical events and sociolinguistic variables (idem 17):

Figure 4 - Percentage of the population with a knowledge of Welsh in 2011. Note the spatial isolation. Retrieved from Davies (164).
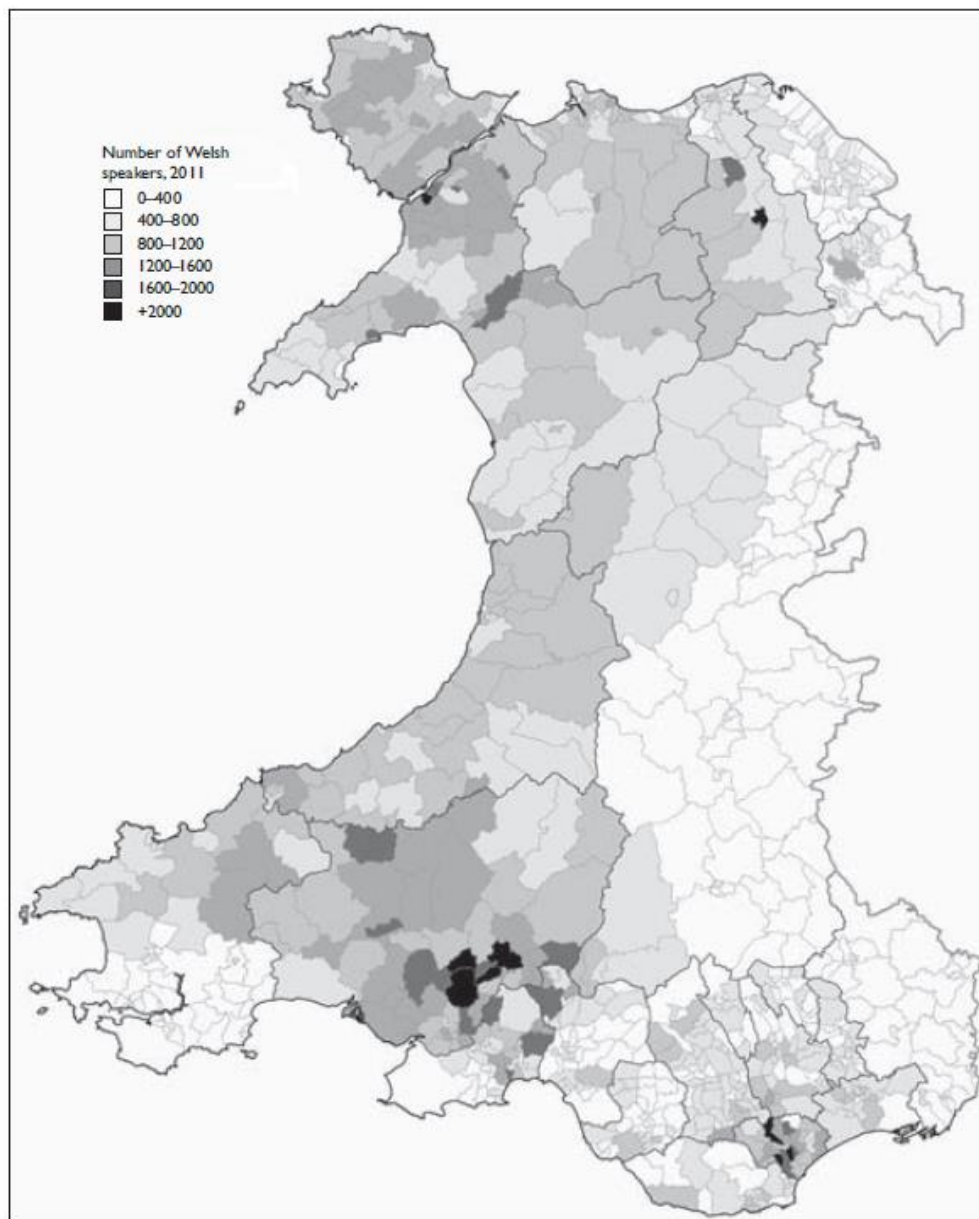
Figure 5 - Number of Welsh speakers in 2011. Note the spatial isolation and differences in comparison to figure 4. (idem 165)

Equally important is the fact that Welsh belongs to the 'B Cluster of Minority Language Reproduction' group (Morris and Jones 128), meaning that only "some young families speak their language with offspring, but mainly with the older generation; a few minority language speakers in mixed families also use the minority language" (ibid.).

Speaking Welsh is often seen as evidence of one's *Welshness* or belonging to the Welsh people (cf. Jenkins, The Welsh Language 1). According to Rassool, after many attempts to lower the status of the Welsh language, "the first positive state support came from Sir James Shuttleworth, who, as Secretary of State for Education in 1849 indicated that the government would enable several members (…) [who] could read and write in Welsh to become inspectors in schools" (268). This positive trend continued developing well into the 20th century, culminating in the 1942, 1967 and 1993 Welsh Language Acts. These acts not only secured the status of Welsh as the official language, but also facilitated the rebirth of the Welsh language. As a result, Wales has, amongst other things, a 'Welsh Language Board' which promotes bilingualism (Fishman 281), a National Curriculum (Rassool 275), multiple Welsh language publications (Baker 126), Welsh BBC TV, private Welsh TV, BBC and private radio broadcasts. Notable Welsh-medium TV stations are S4C[2], BBC Wales[3] and ITV Cymru Wales.

2.4. The Global English Language

The English language enjoys an enviable position amongst all other languages. It is a global *lingua franca* and a preferred means of communication between those who share no common language or culture (Seidlhofer 339). In the course of the 20th century, it established itself as a dominant language in the world, consequently replacing French, and infiltrating many aspects of our lives. The Internet, and a number of media shared over this service is English-medium. We are essentially surrounded by English. As such, it has recently become a necessity for the coming generations as the process of globalisation intertwines nation-states. Business cannot be done without a common, English, language, information cannot be discovered on the Internet without knowing English, connections and friendships abroad are hard to form without

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[2] For additional information, check: http://www.s4c.cymru/abouts4c/e_index.shtml (Accessed 28 August 2016)
[3] For additional information, check: http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/cymruwales/whatwedo (Accessed 28 August 2016)

a unifying language. This effect is intensified once a country is a part of a union with a country where English is the official language.

As a demonstration of the renown of the English language, consider how many times citizens of the European Union or any other European country have seen a 'welcome' mat or a brightly lit 'sale' sign in front of shops and how many times we have seen a 'Willkommen' mat or 'Sonderangebot'[4], or even 'dobrodošli' or 'rasprodaja'[5]. The words 'cool' and 'ok' are also great examples of the infiltration of the English language into European languages. The question of why this happened is closely related to the question of officiality of English and its use in „domains such as government, law courts, media, education system (:..)" (Crystal 4). Crystal asserts that the status that the English language enjoys at the moment stems from the World War 1 to World War 2 period. His justification lays in the comparison between English and the former *lingua francas* such as Latin, Greek and French. Crystal asserts that languages closely follow victorious armies and subsequently the subdued population has no other choice than to learn the language of the conquerors (9). In essence, the reason why Latin and Greek, and consequently, English, were prestigious languages is because they were the languages of the victors.

Following the defeat of Axis powers and the partition of Europe into the East and West, English as a language of the victorious armies of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada and Australia spread around the world as a unifying language.[6] The results of the events from 70 years ago are visible in the tables and figures below:

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[4] Wilkommen (ger.) – Welcome; Sonderangebot (ger.) – Sale.
[5] Dobrodošli (cro.) – Welcome; Rasprodaja (cro.) – Sale.
[6] For the sake of clearer demonstration of how English became a global language, we omitted the involvement of the Soviet Union, France and other Comintern and Allied countries.
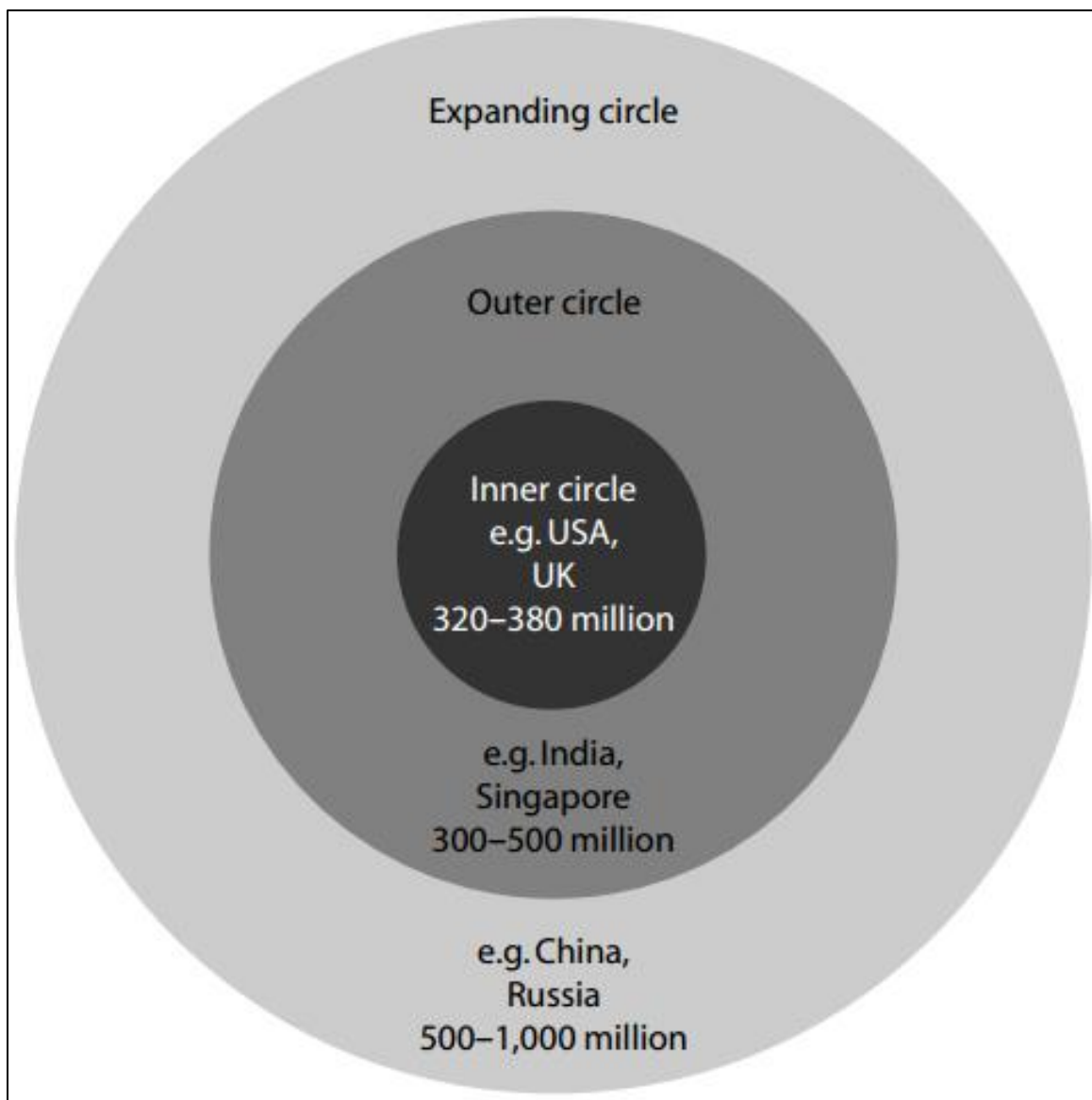
Figure 6 - "The three 'circles' of English". Retrieved from Crystal (61) and first presented by Kachru (5).

The innermost circle includes native speakers from countries where English is the majority and official language. The second circle includes mostly territories where English was introduced by the former colonial powers. The outermost circle includes countries where English is not an official language but is nonetheless taught at schools. When we consider the aforementioned factors, it is remarkable that Welsh has not gone extinct due to its proximity to the English language and England. It had been both occupied and incorporated into a Union with England, the official language was changed to English and the English sphere of influence

covered most if not all of Wales. The next chapter will investigate which factors contributed to the survival of the Welsh language.

3. Legal Documents and Welsh

The health of the Welsh language greatly depends upon the enforced laws:

"In no domain were the people of Wales more acutely aware of the sheer weight and pressure of the English language than in the administrative and legal sphere. Although the Welsh language was used and heard frequently in the courts, it possessed no legal or official status. English was the official medium of the judiciary and its omnipotence was 'deeply ingrained in the mentality of those who administered law." (Jenkins, The Welsh Language 30-31)

Since Wales lacked an entity resembling a government until 1999 with the formation of the Nation Assembly For Wales (Welsh Government (a)), the use of the language depended on the laws enacted by the British Parliament and/or Monarch. All laws dating since the Edwardian Conquest of Wales achieved a considerable impact in Wales among the Welsh-monolingual population, since they were aimed, directly or indirectly, to discredit the Welsh language. This chapter covers some of the many official documents which shaped the Welsh language as it is today.

3.1. Laws in Wales Act 1535

Historical documents dating back to 942 A.D. indicate that Wales had its own independent laws until 1282. In 1284, England annexed Wales and introduced the English common law system to Wales (Law Wales). In the next three hundred years, English replaced Latin and French "in law, in administration and in the social life of the upper classes" in England, and later on in Wales (Davies 30). This process was finalised with the 'Laws in Wales Act 1535', also known as the 'Act of Union', when Henry VIII officially named Wales as a part

of the English Realm (Wikisource, the free online library 1). The summarised content states that the "Dominion, Principality and Country of Wales[sic] [was] justly and righteously (…) incorporated, annexed and united and subject to and under the Imperial Crown of this Realm" and "(…)shall be, stand and continue for ever from henceforth incorporated, united and annexed to and with this his Realm of England" (ibid.). Newcombe notes that "the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542 [sic] had made Wales officially a part of England and subsequent legislation excluded Welsh from the public domain. (…) Thus, the Welsh language became linked with the lower social class (14). The linguistically interesting part follows:

> "All Persons born in Wales shall enjoy all Liberty as other Subjects in England do (6) and that all and singular Person and Persons, born and to be born in the said Principality, Country or Dominion of Wales, shall have, enjoy and inherit all and singular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Privileges and Laws within this Realm, and other King's Dominions, as other the King's Subjects naturally born within the same have, enjoy and inherit." (ibid.)

According to this document, a Welsh person should have been as free as an English person, however this was not the case as the Welsh lost one key aspect of their freedom – the freedom of speaking their own language:

> "Also be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all Justices, Commissioners, Sheriffs, Coroners, Escheators, Stewards, and their Lieutenants, and all other Officers and Ministers of the Law, shall proclaim and keep the Sessions Courts, Hundreds, Leets, Sheriffs Courts, and all other Courts in the English Tongue; (…) and also that from henceforth no Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language, shall have or enjoy any manner Office or Fees within this Realm of England, Wales, or other the King's Dominion, upon Pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language. (idem 6)

Speaking one's mother tongue other than English was not considered a rudimentary right. The publication of this Act significantly diminished the status of the Welsh language and the English language became the official language of Wales (cf. Davies 34). Any Welsh person not speaking English was handicapped in the court of law as he was both unable to understand and unable to speak English. The legal explanation for this situation stems from the fact that the Act of Union labels the Welsh as the English and therefore they have no reason to speak any other language other than English (cf. Davies 33). This state of affairs, however, did not remain unnoticed, as the Welsh demanded "for the repeal of the 'language clause' of the Act of Union of 1536 [sic]" (Jenkins, The Welsh Language 33). Their demands were ignored and the situation stayed consistent until the introduction of the Welsh Language Act of 1956 (ibid.).

3.2. The Treachery of the Blue Books

The opinion on the Welsh people and their traits have not been favourable ever since Wales entered the Union with England (cf. Jenkins, The Welsh Language 6), yet a report on the state of education in Wales made the situation more unfavourable for the Welsh. Although the Industrial Revolution significantly improved the living conditions in urbanised Wales, the amount of progress was relatively insignificant compared to England. The dissatisfaction with the state of affairs sparked multiple protests around Wales during the 1830s and 1840s (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru - The National Library of Wales (a)). The resulting unrest in Wales was swiftly covered by major newspapers in England which claimed that the poor education was to blame for the turmoil in Wales (cf. (Newcombe 4). Coerced by the public interest, "R. R. W. Lingen, Jellynger C. Symons and H. R. Vaughan Johnson were appointed to undertake the inquiry (…) into the state of education in Wales (ibid.). Their 'Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales' covered the entirety of Wales and they gathered as many relevant information as possible. Since the three inquirers did not speak Welsh (cf. BBC Wales, Jenkins,

The Welsh Language 7, Davies 65), they had to rely on information given by the English-speaking populace of Wales who did not view the Welsh or their language positively (Davies 66). Furthermore, they correlated the reports of English-speaking population with the current situation in Wales. These series of unfortunate events resulted in a 3-volume-report published in 1847 which slandered not only the Welsh, but also their language:

> "One of the inevitable results of the report was its effect on the nation's mind and psyche. It was at this time that ordinary Welsh people began to believe that they could only improve themselves socially through education and the ability to speak and communicate in English. It was Samuel Smiles' philosophy that held sway education and the knowledge of English would allow the lowliest among the Welsh to improve their lot and make something of their lives. As a result of the 'Treachery of the Blue Books' the Welsh people began to harbour a complex about their image in the face of the world, and the influence of the Report has not completely waned even to this day."
>
> (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru - The National Library of Wales (a))

Amongst many things, the report established English and English-speaking people as the norm, whilst the Welsh people and everything related to Wales and the Welsh language as uncivilised and inferior (Jenkins, The Welsh Language 7). In an incredible leap of logic, the commissioners concluded that the psychological effects of speaking only Welsh damaged the psyche and overall nature of men and women insofar as making them degenerate. Thus, every last ounce of self-respect towards themselves and their language has been lost for a long time, because the language they spoke seemed to only worsen their predicament (ibid.).

Since the report, the Welsh public opinion regarding English gradually shifted from seeing English as the language of the oppressor, to the language of opportunity and self-improvement. Although it is not possible to correlate the effects of the report with the public

opinion in 1891, it is still undeniable that other, possibly related elements influenced the formation of such opinion:

> "Although it was as a consequence of 'The Treachery of the Blue Books' that the Welsh began to nurture a complex about their image in the eyes of the world, the alleged deficiencies of their language had troubled many Welsh people long before this. Indeed, twenty-three years before the publication of the education commissioners' report, a series of articles about the Welsh language had been published in *Seren Gomer* and these were hotly debated for many months thereafter. These articles, written by David Owen, editor of *Lleuad yr Oes*, *Yr Efangylydd* and later *Yr Haul*, and published under the pseudonym Brutus, brought the author to public attention for the first time, and thereafter he was known to all and sundry by the name of Brutus." (Walters 362)

Williams (754) furthermore states that a correspondent in the English language newspaper, *The Pontypridd Chronicle*, claimed that the affinity displayed for English stems from the possibilities it offers, such as expanded job opportunities, possibility of enjoying new culture via cinemas and music halls, etc. (qtd. in Jenkins 2000a, 15).

3.3. Welsh Courts Act 1942

The Welsh Courts Act 1942, colloquially known as the Welsh Language Act 1942, is the first document to repeal sections of previous documents that denied the Welsh the opportunity to speak their own language in courts:

> "Whereas doubt has been entertained whether section, seventeen of the statute 27 Hen. 8. C. 26 unduly restricts the right of Welsh speaking persons to use the Welsh language in courts of justice in Wales, now, therefore, the said section is hereby repealed, and it is hereby enacted that the Welsh language may be used in any court in Wales by any

party or witness who considers that he would otherwise be at any disadvantage by reason

of his natural language of communication being Welsh." (Welsh Courts Act 1942 1)

Although the publication of this document marked the first step towards the reintroduction of the Welsh language in Wales and the Welsh legal system, "the population of industrial Wales had [within the space of two generations, 1930-1960,] abandoned Welsh as a first language, as both natives and migrants turned to England as the only official language of commerce and industry (…) (Fishman 275).

3.4. The Welsh Language Act 1967

The Welsh Language Act 1967 exemplifies the rules set in the Welsh Courts Act 1942 by repealing the aforementioned section and giving concrete examples of when and how to use the Welsh language:

"In any legal proceeding in Wales or Monmouthshire the Welsh language may be

spoken by any party, witness or other person who desires to use it, subject in the case of

proceedings in a court other than a magistrates' court to such prior notice as may be

required by rules of court; and any necessary provision for interpretation shall be made

accordingly." (Welsh Language Act 1967 1)

The Act also gave permission to ministers and other government officials to make their documents available in Welsh or in Welsh and English (Welsh Language Act 1967 2). The most notable paragraph in the fifth section is the one that officially declares, "Nothing in this Act shall prejudice the use of Welsh in any case in which it is lawful apart from this Act." (idem 3).

3.5. The Welsh Language Act 1993

The latest Welsh Language Act 1993 further broadened the possibility of using Wales not only in courts, but also in various public bodies. The Act firstly aims to promote and facilitate the use of the Welsh language, as well as prescribe that the Welsh language be an equal to the English language (Welsh Language Act 1993 1). Rassool sees the declaration of equality between English and Welsh as the most important thing in the Act, because "for the first time, [Welsh and English were] placed on an equal basis in public life in Wales" (279). This had been done by forming the Welsh Language Board (*Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg*) and by preparing public bodies, such as county councils, police authorities, fire authorities, health authorities", schools, *et cetera,* to treat English and Welsh as equal languages (Welsh Language Act 1993 3). In the interest of preserving the equal status of English and Welsh, "Section 5 of this Act requires every organisation that receives public funding to provide a language scheme, including a system put in place to support its implementation" which is to be overseen by the Welsh Language Board and National Assembly (Rassool 279). From a legal point of view, Welsh could from that point be now spoken in various public bodies without the fear of prosecution or legal fines, since each mentioned public body is to prepare or have their own Welsh language scheme prepared in accordance with the rules included in the Act (Welsh Language Act 1993 2-4) Furthermore, this Act states that the Lord Chancellor may give permission to translate documents so that they have the same effect "as if [they] had been administered and taken or made in the English language" (idem 9). Additionally, public and statutory bodies are to be given alternative names in Welsh (idem 10).

4. The Relationship Between English and Welsh

Before beginning to discuss the unique relationship between the Welsh and the English language, it is important to note that a complete objective approach is needed. Granted that the feelings shared by the Welsh towards the English language and the English towards the Welsh language are not in all cases positive, we must abstain from seeing a language as a villainous creation whose purpose is to dominate and subjugate those who do not speak it. Languages are assets given to us by the means of our evolution, and we are their carriers. In essence, it is an inheritance given to us by peoples before us. We, as speakers, determine what to do with them and how to use them, hence we are the ones who determine the relationship between us and other speakers and in essence use the language to promote our own interests (cf. Crystal 7). Therefore, in this context, the Welsh language is not the 'victim' and the English language is not the 'oppressor'. This chapter will investigate the unfortunate history of the relationship between the languages, and how one was brought to the brink of extinction by the effects of the other.

4.1. The Tale of Hate

The Edwardian conquests marked the culmination of the misuse of languages. What was then seen as a tradition after conquering enemy lands, the English decided that one language is to be used as a unifying force and as a deterrence to possible uprisings of the then subdued Welsh people (cf. Jenkins, The Welsh Language 27). Although we lack proper documentation and statistics on the amount of Welsh speakers in the period from the 13th until the 16th century, one can only assume, judging by the content of the Laws in Wales Act 1535, that the status of the Welsh was not an enviable one. Commonly seen as the language of the disadvantaged (Jenkins, The Welsh Language 7), Welsh has been steadily losing prestige while English was

slowly extending its influence in Europe. Without a doubt, the loss of prestige correlated with the decrease of Welsh speaking people, and an increase of English speakers. The main driving force behind this phenomenon was the lack of faith in the Welsh language and its abilities. The image of the Welsh language projected by the English through legal acts and behaviour greatly influenced the Welsh insofar as instilling the image of the Welsh language as "the language of labour of burdens" (Jenkins, The Welsh Language 12), while the English could achieve anything with their *lingua franca*. This, for example, caused some Welsh to reconsider their stance on their native language and even go so far as to encourage their fellow compatriots to abandon Welsh as its 'practical use' is incomparable to English's (cf. Jenkins, The Welsh Language 19). David Owen, editor of multiple Welsh periodicals, even called for the extermination of the Welsh language so that a better one may take its place:

> "Now Welsh prevents us from increasing our knowledge, and from striving to attain knowledge, and for that reason our duty is to sacrifice it and exterminate it, that by doing so we can make room for a language through which we might make progress, and there are inevitable obstacles before us for as long as we cherish the Welsh language . . . I now ask every impartial mind . . . whether they prefer to be famous English people, or obscure Welsh?" (Owen 83-84 qtd. in Walters 363)

Other Englishmen, such as Thomas Cromwell, considered that the "obliteration of Welsh" could be achieved insidiously by the way of creating a "Welsh ruling class proficient in English" (Davies 35).

Whether it be hatred towards Welsh by the English or the Welsh, a spawn of cruel tensions between the speakers of two languages appeared in the educational system in Wales under the names of 'Welsh Not', 'The Welsh Stick' (Jones 438), 'Welsh Mark' or 'Welsh Ticket' (Jenkins, The Welsh Language 24). It was a harsh and unusual form of punishment administered on pupils who were caught speaking Welsh. The general principle of the

punishment was to hand out one 'Welsh Not' to a pupil who was caught speaking Welsh, which could then be passed on to the next pupil who was unfortunate enough to be heard speaking Welsh. At the end of the week, the pupil who was in possession of the 'Welsh Not' "is punished by flogging" (Jones 438). Although the 'Welsh Not' was abolished with the introduction of the Forster Act 1870, records indicate that some schools continued using this 'method' for some time even though it became forbidden to do so (Jenkins, The Welsh Language 24).

In spite of Welsh remaining predominant in homes (Jenkins, The Welsh Language 1), this situation did not deter outside and domestic influence, coming mostly from the ruling class. "By the seventeenth century, Welsh had lost its status as a language of high culture" (Davies 42). This was indirectly reflected on the educational system, as parents requested that the main language of instruction in schools in Wales be English, for "Welsh could be learned at home and in the chapel" (idem 65) and English was more useful and profitable than Welsh. Despite the obvious popularity of English, Wales survived throughout the 18th and the 19th centuries, according to Brinley Thomas, mostly because of the coal industry:

> "(…)from the point of view of the Welsh language, industrialization in the nineteenth century was the hero not the villain of the piece (…) in opening up the coalfields at such a pace, [it] unwittingly gave the Welsh language a new lease of life, and Welsh Nonconformity a glorious high noon." (Davies 89)

The industrialisation, however, did not come with no strings attached; the increased viability of the Welsh economy and the rising standards of living attracted not only immigrants from England, but also persuaded the Welsh living in rural areas to migrate to urban areas that were predominantly English-speaking, changing the linguistic picture of Wales (Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardisation of Geographical Names 2). An example of Englishmen having notable advantages over Welshmen is the case of railway companies, which gave priority to Englishmen although, as Michael D. Jones, a prominent figure in Welsh history,

stated, "[n]o one should have a job on the railways of Wales unless he learns the language of the inhabitants. A monoglot Englishman is of no use to commerce in Wales, any more than a monoglot Welshman in England" (Y Ddraig Goch 67-68 qtd. in Walters 366).

Generally, it is no surprise that the speakers of Welsh feel concerned about the future of their language due to the proximity to the English and their language. Various acts and laws prevented the Welsh from using their language in their own country and the educational system emphasised the learning of English. Attempts to nullify the importance of Welsh have not had a drastic impact on the number of speakers, but rather lowered the already unprivileged status of the language, making it unattractive to anyone aiming to become a member of a higher class. The average English person on the other hand had no reason to concern themselves with the affairs in Wales, as their language was not endangered by any neighbouring language. However, the ruling class in England had every reason to attempt to eradicate the Welsh language, as it is difficult to rule over someone and work with someone who cannot understand English and wishes to speak only Welsh.

4.2. Differences and Similarities

Excluding the period covering the domination of the French language over the English language (Davies 23), English is a stable language whose number of speakers will undoubtedly continue to expand in the future. The survival of Welsh on the other hand relies heavily on organised events, such as *eisteddfod*, regular visits to chapels, learning of Welsh in schools and at home. Furthermore, Welsh's status is incomparable to English's – there is no practical use of learning the language unless one wishes to explore Wales and its rich history or speak with the Welsh people.

Although there exist massive linguistic differences between the languages, many researches are more interested in the complex sociolinguistic elements that affect Welsh more than English. As seen in Davies' and Jenkins' books, many of the arguments coming from the English side stem from the fact that the Welsh language somehow disallows people to become 'more English', who are implied to be more civilised, hardworking, etc. In essence, Welsh is not as utilitaristic as English (cf. Jenkins, The Welsh Language 17 and Davies 70). However, the counter question would be, since when does the importance of the language depend on its worth in the global economy? Is the underprivileged status of the Welsh language a reason for people living in Wales not to learn an additional language, even if we disregard the psychological benefits of learning another language during the early childhood – or even later on?

4.3. A Bilingual Compromise

Since there is a great possibility of English expanding its influence in the world, and a poor possibility of Welsh being spoken by more people than Wales has, a compromise had to be made. Extinguishing a language just because it is different is not moral or ethical, but neither it is moral or ethical to force someone to learn exclusively one language just because it its roots are where one lives. We can find traces of ideas to enable the learning of two languages even before any of the aforementioned language acts came into effect. Dan Isaac Davies intended to use his powers as a school inspector in the 19th century to promote bilingual education (Davies 76). In the 18th century however, the process of bilingualisation occurred naturally, as some districts in Welsh cities were Anglicised, although it remains debatable whether the cultural transfer can be considered a true process of bilingualism (idem 52). Nonetheless, an U.N. report

notes that "[t]he higher the fluency of English a pupil has, the better he knows Welsh" (Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 39)[7].

There exist multiple reasons for bilingualism and bilingual education, as Baker states. In the fewest possible words, bilingual education, i.e. learning both English and Welsh, is not only a requirement for many job openings in Wales, but also a powerful mechanism which enables one to identify and interact with people of both cultures simultaneously, whilst the same society will grant them the opportunity to reap the fruits of both worlds, for they are embodying two cultures at once (55).

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[7] It is unknown whether this fact affects all Welsh learners, since the report specifically mentions immigrants and non-native population in particular.

5. The Return of Welsh

One of the frequently mentioned turning points in Welsh history is "the publication of the Bible in Welsh in 1588" (Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardisation of Geographical Names 2) which helped to "standardise the language and provide a basis for the development of the language as it is spoken and written today" (ibid.). Even though the Welsh did have a writing system and used it daily (cf. (Davies 117), the benefits of having common words written down, as well as having an intricate grammar available in many homes, helped them in laying the foundation for further language development. The printing of the Bible however was not the only sign of revival. There exist other variables that influenced the comeback of the Welsh language, and this chapter will investigate some of the sources and attempt to associate them with one another so that we can have an overview of the most important events that led to the current state of the Welsh language.

The earliest form of media - written words, especially in the form of books and newspapers, were the carriers of Welsh identity and language. After the discovery of the printing press in Mainz, Germany at around 1440, the idea of publishing periodicals and books came to Wales, but was ultimately realised only in 1718 (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru - The National Library of Wales (d)). The first Welsh periodical, *Tlysau yr Hen Oesoedd*, was not the kick-start that was expected to stimulate the Welsh culture (Walters 349). The noble goal was to entertain and develop an interest for the Welsh culture and language in the Welsh people failed as only one issue appeared (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru - The National Library of Wales (b)) and "no other Welsh periodical appeared until the close of the century when four radical, short-lived titles were launched" (Walters 349).

The first Welsh weekly newspaper, *Seren Gomer*, was published on 1 January 1814 (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru - The National Library of Wales (c)) and "relaunched as a

fortnightly in 1818" (Walters 351). Unlike many subsequent newspapers which dealt mostly with religion (cf. idem 349-353), the *Seren Gomer* covered topics regarding domestic and foreign issues, politics, religion and the protection of the Welsh language (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru - The National Library of Wales (c)).

Following the publication of the Blue Books, the style of Welsh newspapers and other periodicals shifted from non-fiction to 'fiction' and 'historical fiction' (Walters 362). The publications adjusted to the needs, but not necessarily to the wishes, of the Welsh by giving a purpose to the written materials and making them useful. In a way the literary accomplishments and all the contained knowledge would help the Welsh "climb the social ladder" (idem 363). In the 1850s, this goal was attained (ibid.) and it was proven that Welsh, and "the Welsh periodical press [were] highly influential in expressing and moulding public opinion" thus proving that the language was a viable method of communication (Davies 64). From a quantitative point of view, "Some 145 Welsh or bilingual periodicals were published under various titles between 1800 and 1850, and about 250 between 1851 and 1900, a total of approximately 400 periodicals throughout the whole century." (Walters 374):

Y Geiniogwerth (Calvinistic Methodists)	12,900
Cronicl y Cymdeithasau Crefyddol (Congregationalists)	7,320
Y Gymraes	3,500
Y Golygydd (Congregationalists)	3,000
Yr Athraw i Blentyn (Baptists)	3,000
Y Wawr-ddydd	2,580
Tywysydd yr Ieuainc (Congregationalists)	2,500
Y Diwygiwr (Congregationalists)	2,400
Y Drysorfa (Calvinistic Methodists)	2,300
Y Bedyddiwr (Baptists)	1,800
Y Wawr	1,700
Y Traethodydd (Calvinistic Methodists)	1,600
Seren Gomer (Baptists)	1,500
Y Dysgedydd (Congregationalists)	1,512
Y Drysorfa Gynnulleidfaol (Congregationalists)	1,500
Ifor Hael (Friendly Society)	1,050
Yr Athraw (Calvinistic Methodists)	1,025
Yr Haul (The Established Church)	1,000
Yr Adolygydd (Congregationalists)	900
Yr Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd (Wesleyans)	900
Y Tyst Apostolaidd (Baptists)	900
Yr Ymofynydd (Unitarians)	800

Figure 7 - Circulation figures of twenty-three of the principal Welsh periodicals in 1851 and their connections to various churches. Retrieved from Walters (376).

The brilliance of Welsh scholars and admirers also helped Welsh to adapt to modern times by coining new terms and words and providing translations of English words to Welsh (Davies 58), that were later on published in John Walters' dictionary between 1770 and 1794. Consequently, the status of Welsh began to rise slowly, entering its golden age at the beginning

of the 19th century that saw the publication of Thomas Gee's *Gwyddoniadur*[8] and various books of poetry (idem 72).

The reforms in education policies have also drastically influenced the number of Welsh speakers. The beginning of a gradual yet unofficial introduction of the Welsh language to schools began after the introduction of the Elementary Education Act 1870, also known as the the Forster's Education Act (The Elementary Education Act, 1870.). This Act guaranteed that schools will provide "sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools" whereby this and other provisions of the Act will be executed by the school board which will consist of elected persons (ibid.). Having in mind that local schools will be supervised by board, which will consist of locals, there existed a chance that Welsh speaking persons will have been elected and decided to pursue the idea of implementing Welsh as a subject in the curriculum in schools in Wales (mercator, European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning 6). Combined with the grants that the government paid to schools which taught Welsh, this invigorated the process of teaching and learning Welsh in schools (ibid.). Before the Welsh Language Act of 1993 was passed, there appeared the Education Reform Act of 1988 which "gave Welsh the status of a Core Subject of the National Curriculum in Wales in Welsh-medium schools, defined in the Act as 'Welsh-speaking schools', and the status of a Foundation Subject in the rest of the schools in Wales." (idem 11). This Act gave the much needed legitimacy to schools already teaching Welsh in 'Welsh-speaking schools" and officially introduced Welsh as a compulsory subject in Wales to pupils up to age 14 (ibid). The Welsh government is also working on improving the educational standards in Welsh schools by introducing a new curriculum that emphasises the teaching and learning of Welsh as a compulsory language until the age of 16 (Welsh Government (b)). This new curriculum however does not endanger the bilingual future of Wales as English and Welsh are still equal (Welsh Government (c) 7). As a

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[8] Welsh for *Encyclopedia.*

way of motivating the population to learn both Welsh and English, the government notes that one can advance socially by speaking two languages (idem 30). So far the results have been promising, as every school in Wales "continues to receive resources through the *Pori Drwy Stori* Programme so that schools and families can work together on speaking, listening, writing, reading and numeracy in both English and Welsh." (Welsh Government (d) 17). The 2013-2015 Welsh Language Use Survey indicates that 47% of a 7,100-person sample are fluent in Welsh, whereby 59% of the 7,100 questioned persons were aged 3-15:

Table 1: Welsh language ability

Q2 Which of the following best describes your ability to speak Welsh?	%	Lower CI	Upper CI
Fluent in Welsh	47	46	49
Can speak a fair amount of Welsh	21	20	23
Can only speak a little Welsh	23	22	24
Can just say a few words	8	8	9

Sample size: 7,100

Version: 1
Released: November 2015
Source: Welsh Language Use Survey, 2013-15

Key:
- Estimate is precise
- Estimate is reasonably precise
- Estimate is considered acceptable
- Estimate is not reliable
- - Value is suppressed due to small cell size

Figure 8 - Welsh Language Ability. Retrieved from: https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Welsh-Language

Table 16: Frequency of speaking Welsh, by age

Q7 How often do you speak Welsh?	3-15 %	Lower CI	Upper CI	16-29 %	Lower CI	Upper CI	30-44 %	Lower CI	Upper CI	45-64 %	Lower CI	Upper CI	65+ %	Lower CI	Upper CI
Daily	59	56	62	39	35	43	53	49	57	55	52	58	59	56	62
Weekly	27	24	30	21	17	24	16	13	19	14	12	15	14	12	16
Less often	11	9	13	31	26	35	23	20	27	26	24	29	23	21	25
Never	3	2	4	9	7	12	7	5	10	5	4	7	4	3	5

Sample size: 7,100

Version: 1
Released: November 2015
Source: Welsh Language Use Survey, 2013-15

Key:
- Estimate is precise
- Estimate is reasonably precise
- Estimate is considered acceptable
- Estimate is not reliable
- - Value is suppressed due to small cell size

Figure 9- Frequency of speaking Welsh by age. Retrieved from: https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Welsh-Language

The difference between age groups indicates that there has been a shift in the educational system whereby the teaching of Welsh has been prioritised. This claim is supported by another survey that estimates that a majority of 44% of persons aged 3-15 have learned to speak Welsh at primary school (Welsh Government (e)). This can be compared with the fact that such a high

percentage of persons who learned to speak Welsh at a primary school is only visible in persons over the age of 65 (ibid).

Although the educational system has provided a solid foundation for increasing the number of persons fluent in Welsh, the declining population and a lowered natality decreased the number of Welsh speaking persons in 2011 by 1,4% compared to 2001 (Welsh Government (f)):
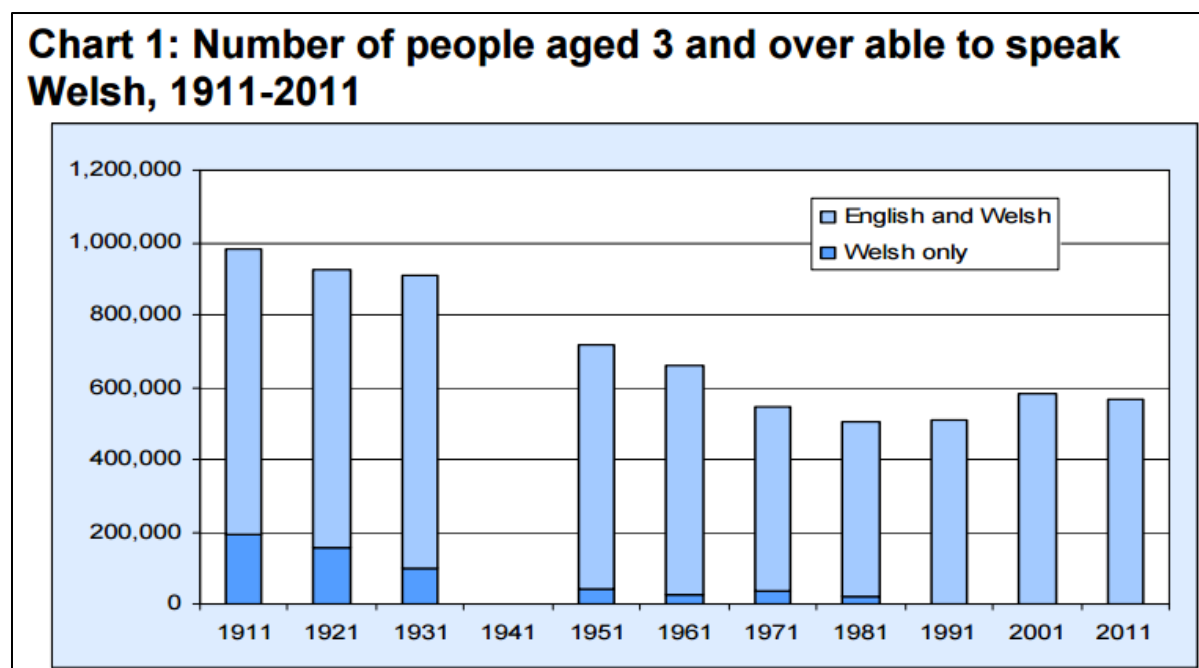
Chart 1: Number of people aged 3 and over able to speak Welsh, 1911-2011

*Figure 10 - Number of people aged 3 and over able to speak Welsh, 1911-2011. Retrieved from:
http://gov.wales/docs/statistics/2012/121211sb1182012en.pdf*

The consequences of pursuing a bilingual education policy is the disappearance of Welsh-monolinguals and the consolidation of the number of bilingual speakers.

By increasing the autonomy of Welsh institutions that deal with the maintenance of the Welsh language, by means of funding or granting legal rights, one can observe that the number of speakers has been maintained at an approximate 20% for the past 4 decades. The shift that has occurred since the beginning of the 19th century is the disappearance of Welsh monolingual speakers and the appearance of bilingual Welsh-English speakers. The disappearance of Welsh monolinguals was to be expected as the actions of the past have done irreparable damage to the Welsh language. For the sake of saving a language from extinction, Welsh has been reintroduced to schools, and thus the bilingual policy was born. Welsh has not returned to its former glory, nor is it likely it will again in the near future, as long as a giant language, such as English, remains its neighbour. Nonetheless, the number of speakers has stabilised and one can hope that further efforts by the local governments and council will make the Welsh language more accessible to the public.

6. Conclusion

In spite of Wales becoming more devolved[9] and consequently gaining much more jurisdiction over the language use, the future of the Welsh language remains uncertain. Current trends indicate that the number of bilingual speakers has stabilised due to the introduction of Welsh in many primary schools which are the second most important source of Welsh language learning. The previous issue, the overwhelming influence of the English language, has been neatly solved by introducing a bilingual educational policy that benefits not only the survival of the language, but also the children who will profit socially and culturally. Most important however is the fact that once the proverbial legal door was opened, the Welsh have seized the chance to stop their language from dying. The case of Welsh can be a precedent to many other endangered languages, which suffer because they are neighbouring a larger and more influential language. It is also quite apparent that one can cause the number of speakers to fall drastically through time by falsely claiming that speaking that one language isolates them from the rest of the world. The data we have collected would point towards the fact that the stabilisation of the number of speakers of an endangered language such as Welsh can be achieved by introducing policies that promote bilingualism. In essence, for the time being, the Welsh and the English language are in a symbiotic relationship.

In conclusion, the number of Welsh-speaking persons in Wales is maintained at a stable number of 562,000 or 19% of the total population of Wales (Office for National Statistics (b) 7). The language shift that occurred in Wales is the transition from speaking Welsh/English only to speaking Welsh and English, in essence, demonstrating English and Welsh competence simultaneously.

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[9] Devolve: "Transfer or delegate (power) to a lower level, especially from central government to local or regional administration" Retrieved from: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/devolve (Accessed 28 August 2016)

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SUMMARY

Language Maintenance and Language Shift in Wales

The Welsh language is the official but not the most used language in Wales. Welsh has developed in a way that differs from the development of many other European languages because of its membership in the United Kingdom. According to the 2011 Census, Welsh is spoken by only 21 percent of the Welsh. This paper therefore investigates the reason why the official language is the minority language, and what is done to encourage people in Wales to learn Welsh. In the process, we consider the history of the peoples on the territory of the United Kingdom, the language laws passed in England as well as the complex relationship between the Welsh and the English language.

Key words: Wales, Welsh language, sociolinguistics, laws, bilingualism, history

SAŽETAK

Očuvanje jezika i jezični pomak u Walesu

Velški je jezik službeni jezik ali ne i najkorišteniji jezik u Walesu. Zbog članstva u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu zajedno s Engleskom, kao i zbog povijesnih razloga, velški se jezik razvijao na način koji odudara od ostalih europskih jezika. Prema popisu iz 2011. godine, velški govori samo oko 21% ukupnog stanovništva Walesa. To je razlog zbog kojeg ovaj rad istražuje čimbenike zbog kojih je službeni jezik „manjinski" jezik, načine na koje se pokušava poticati učenje velškog i rezultate tih procesa. Kao polazišnu točku koristimo povijest naroda na području današnjeg Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva, jezične zakone donesene u Engleskoj i kompleksan odnos engleskog i velškog jezika.

Ključne riječi: Wales, velški jezik, sociolingvistika, zakoni, dvojezičnost, povijest