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Performing Bilingualism in Wales with the Spotlight on Welsh

**A Study of Language Policy and the Language
Practices of Young People in Bilingual Education**

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ABSTRACT

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The recently established National Assembly for Wales (with the vision of a “truly bilingual Wales”) and bilingual schools are but two major sites in which bilingualism is reconstituting and repackaging Welsh.

By close examination of the discourse(s) of language policy texts, the public discourse of one bilingual secondary school and the discussions of four focus groups composed of pupils from the same school, this study identifies three types of discourse which are particularly salient in contemporary Wales: a globalising discourse, a nationalist discourse and an ecology-of-language discourse.

By collating the data from focus group discussions, language use questionnaires and language diaries, this study also identifies three categories of bilinguals based on their reported language use: Welsh-dominant bilinguals, English-dominant bilinguals and ‘floaters’ (balanced bilinguals). These three categories correlate with how individuals discursively construct Welsh and bilingualism. However, the medium of the focus group discussions (English or mixed-medium Welsh) correlates more closely with the category that is dominant in each focus group.

With performativity theory as a framework, bilingualism is to be seen as a dynamic phenomenon, which is constantly being performatively (re)constituted through the situated practices of bilinguals.

In short, this study examines how bilingualism in Wales is being performed, i.e. both how it is discursively constructed by various players in various sites, and how it is formed through everyday bilingual practices, not least those of young people in bilingual education.

Keywords: bilingualism, bilingual education, diglossia, language practices, language policy and planning, Wales, Welsh, code-switching, performativity, discourse analysis, Conversation Analysis.

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1 Introduction

In the mid-nineteenth century, three Englishmen were commissioned by the British Government to carry out an inquiry into the state of education in a mainly monoglot Welsh-speaking Wales. In their blue-book report, which has come to be known in Welsh as *brad y llyfrau gleision* “the treachery of the blue books”, one of the three commissioner’s penned the following:

The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to over-estimate its evil effects. (Lingen, Symons & Johnson 1847 Part II: 66)

Almost exactly 150 years later, the people of Wales voted marginally in favour of devolution, establishing a National Assembly for Wales/*Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru* with some degree of home-rule for Wales. The culmination of a widescale public consultation exercise and the recommendations of an all-party committee within the National Assembly was the publishing of “a national action plan for a bilingual Wales” entitled *Iaith Pawb* “everyone’s language”. In the foreword of this comprehensive document, the First Minister and the Minister for Culture, Sport and the Welsh Language express the aspirations of the Welsh Assembly Government thus:

Our vision is a bold one[...] a truly bilingual Wales, by which we mean a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all. (WAG 2003: 1)

These are but two albeit sharply contrasting language policy documents which have emerged in Wales, shaped by social, political, cultural, economic and historical contingencies. What is the nature of the discourses and their associated ideologies and values which are enshrined in these documents, and to what extent are they present in written and spoken discourse-in-context at different levels of modern Welsh society? Furthermore, to what extent do these discourses correspond to the language practices of bilinguals, not least those who

belong to the growing group of Welsh young people in Welsh-medium and bilingual education?

1.1 Aims

The above two questions are huge in their scope, yet by zooming in on a select, but broad range of contexts, I aim to shed light on the discourses which have been prevalent in shaping language policy in Wales. In particular, my aim is to identify the discourses (discourse types) which have contributed to how bilingualism is construed and understood. The contexts of the data range from policy documents of the kind cited in the introduction above, to how bilingualism is marketed to parents and their children as potential consumers of bilingual education. Furthermore, the intention is to examine the discourse-in-context generated by recipients of bilingual education to discover how they respond to the bilingual ideology of their school in order to co-construct or resist these discourses.

As regards the second question of how these discourses resonate with people's lives, I have chosen to focus on the language practices of young people in bilingual education. These young people have particularly been targeted by the proactive bilingual policies of local education authorities, and more recently those of the National Assembly for Wales¹, not least through the steadily increasing provision of bilingual and Welsh-medium education. Indeed, there is strong evidence that the number of bilingual children of school age has been markedly rising, so much so that this cohort (5-19 years old) now represents by far the largest Welsh-speaking age cohort² with as many as 37.5 per cent being reported as Welsh speaking at the 2001 national census (WLB 2003). At best what these figures can measure is the ability to speak Welsh³. However, rather than considering bilingualism in terms of language ability, the focus of this study is on bilingualism(s)-in-practice, that is, how (and whether) this ability is transformed into language use as well as the nature of their language practices.

¹ These policies have, in turn, come about through the lobbying of pro-Welsh-language grassroots movements.

² By comparison the next largest cohort was 21.1% for 75+.

³ It should be added that for all intents and purposes, all young people in Wales are English speaking.

My theoretical approach to these research questions is that the notion of bilingualism has been socially constructed through the many related discourses in circulation between different social actors in different sites, both past and present as well as through the language practices of bilinguals. The choice of the word ‘performing’ in the title of this book is intended to highlight the fact that the practice of bilingualism is constantly being performatively constructed and reconstructed through discourse as well as the concept of bilingualism constantly being performatively shaped and reshaped collaboratively through the language practices of bilinguals. An important source of inspiration and theoretical point of departure has been Judith Butler’s application and adaptation of Austin’s notion of performativity to the construction of gender (see §2.3 for references). Thus a central tenet of this study is that bilingualism, like gender, can be regarded as a category that does not predate the concept; it is produced by means of repeated discursive acts, “which congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural type of being.” (Butler 1990: 33) Thus bilingualism can be seen as both a social construct and a performed identity.

Although bilingualism presupposes two languages, the two involved in the Welsh context, Welsh and English, do not receive equal attention in this study; the focus is primarily on Welsh as the title suggests. Besides my personal interest in the revitalisation of minority languages, not least Welsh, recent developments in language policy and planning in Wales have focussed on revitalising Welsh to achieve the explicit goal of a bilingual Wales. Nevertheless, in analysing the construction of bilingualism, it would be foolish to ignore the role, status and ubiquitous presence of English. In fact, it has sometimes proved essential to analyse the relative invisibility of English, in order to understand the construction of Welsh bilingualism.

The data on which this study is based consists primarily of video recordings of focus groups of friends, as well as a questionnaire on their use of Welsh. The questionnaire has been used in the analysis to aid the interpretation of the recordings, in which groups discuss their school and questions to do with Welsh (and English). In addition to the focus group discussions, there are video recordings of an open evening at one Welsh-medium secondary school for parents and children who are in the throes of choosing bilingual or English-medium secondary education. Besides a

bilingual introductory address by the head teacher, the open evening also involved a guided tour around the school with presentations by fifteen different teachers. The recorded data also includes audio recordings of two interviews with the head teacher, one of which was conducted prior to the open evening. As regards language policy, I have drawn on various government and school policy documents pertaining to Welsh and bilingualism.

In order to analyse the written and spoken data (discourse-in-contexts), I have used a discourse analytic approach with the aim of identifying different discourses (discourse types). In the analysis of the spoken data, Conversation Analysis (CA) has been used in order to take into full account the contingencies and special properties of talk-in-interaction. My approach to code-switching and code-mixing has also been strongly guided by the principles of CA.

1.2 Outline of the Study

This study consists of seven chapters in total, the first of which is this introduction. The second chapter presents the central theoretical frameworks which underpin this study, starting with the larger frameworks of poststructuralism and social constructionism, within which some of the other main frameworks can be situated, such as performativity theory. Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive and critical examination of various aspects of bilingualism in the literature, such as code-switching, diglossia and bilingual education. Here I start to apply the theoretical tools established in chapter 2, with a view to deconstructing and questioning many of the notions which have otherwise gained widespread recognition in sociolinguistic research on bilingualism. At regular junctures, there are overviews of research on Welsh and bilingualism in Wales, accompanied by my own analyses of the selected areas. The chapter culminates in a summary of the main perspectives on bilingualism which lay at the heart of this study.

Chapter 4 presents the range of spoken and written data which have informed my research and provides an introduction to my discourse analytic approach to the data, which combines discourse analysis and Conversation Analysis. Here I also explain the rationale behind my use of focus groups comprised of school pupils to generate spoken discourse.

The following two chapters constitute the centre point of this study, in that they present and analyse the empirical data on which the study is based. Chapter 5, entitled “The Construction of Bilingualism” examines how bilingualism is discursively constructed in policy documents produced at an all-Wales level, at county level and at school level. Thus the focus gradually narrows and zooms in on one designated bilingual school. The last section of this chapter analyses the discourse produced at a school open evening for prospective pupils and their parents.

Chapter 6, entitled “Bilingual-in-Practice”, starts off by situating the pupils who participated in the focus groups within the school and in an all-Wales context with reference to their language use (as reported in a questionnaire survey). By collating data from the questionnaires, language diaries and the focus group discussions, language profiles are then created for each individual and each of the four focus groups. This chapter then goes on to analyse the language medium of their talk, focussing on the negotiation of the medium (language(s)) used in the discussions of each focus group and their code-switching patterns. The final section of this chapter examines the pupils’ construction of bilingualism (and Welshness) in their discourse.

In the seventh and final chapter the main results and analyses presented in chapters 5 and 6 will be summarised and discussed in the light of the aims laid out in this introduction, with reference to both the theoretical and methodological frameworks laid out in chapters 2 and 4 and the survey of research on bilingualism in chapter 3.

2 Theoretical Frameworks

2.1 A Postmodernist and Poststructuralist Perspective

There can be no simple definition of postmodernism, but one central tenet is that it involves a sceptical and critical stance, “a philosophical questioning of many of the foundationalist concepts of received canons of knowledge” (Pennycook 2001: 134). It is this sceptical and critical position which distinguishes, say, structuralism from poststructuralism in the field of (applied) linguistics.

The stance taken in this thesis is that widely accepted terms such as ‘bilingualism’, ‘mother tongue’, ‘native speaker’ or even ‘language’ are not neutral, essentialist or even static concepts. Nevertheless, they tend to be treated as relatively unproblematic in the structuralist tradition of linguistics and even *applied* linguistics. A poststructuralist paradigm questions the assumed objectivity of terms such as these. Indeed, poststructuralism questions the very premise of scientific objectivity, since

it locates a notion of reality not in the material world (reality is out there in the objects of the real world) or in the individual (reality is only what each individual perceives) but rather as something produced by social and cultural organization. This does not make things less real, but it does mean that we have no unmediated access to the real. (Pennycook 2001: 106)

This viewpoint allows us to shift our focus from discovering an objective reality and ‘truth’ (which is an impossible task), but rather, examine how reality is socially and culturally mediated. Hence, it behoves us to regard assumed categories such as those mentioned above as sociohistorical constructs that are produced, maintained and changed through discursive practices. As a result of this shift in focus, it becomes the analyst’s task to deconstruct terms such as bilingualism and examine their construction in various discursive contexts.

One strategy to problematise the given suggested by Pennycook (2001: 107) may be to pluralise accepted concepts: instead of knowledge, we should speak of knowledges and instead of bilingualism, we should prefer bilingualisms, etc. to emphasise the fact that they are “products of

particular cultural and historical ways of thinking.” (107), i.e. insisting on complexity and the situatedness of knowledge (134).

2.2 Social Constructionism

Social constructionism as a sociological theory of “everything that passes for knowledge in society” was originally developed by Berger and Luckman (1991 [1966]) in their seminal book *The Social Construction of Reality*. The view of society which they propose is “as part of a human world, made by men, inhabited by men, and, in turn, making men, in an ongoing historical process.” (211) Thus society is to be seen as lived social practices exercised in a continual process of interaction, which derive from sedimented and institutionalised social practices but which also reproduce them.

From a social constructionist viewpoint, the way in which we perceive and categorise the world cannot reflect the world as an objective reality. Neither can we divorce ourselves objectively from our social, cultural and historical circumstances. This does not mean that our perceived reality is in some way less real, but that it is contingent and dynamic. Neither does this deny a material or physical reality, but it is through discourse that these realities are constituted as meaningful. It is also through language and discourse that we experience and co-construct our lived reality.

Two phenomena, which are central to social constructionism, are the constructive and reconstructive practices of social interaction, whereby language (including bilingualism), norms, routines and cultures, for example, draw on the continuity of previous interactions and practices but also interactionally regenerate them, potentially resulting in their sedimentation (Linell 1998: 61). Accordingly, language(s) (and bilingualism) can only exist by means of the continuity of embodied social practices. However, the processes of continually reconstructing and reproducing these also allows for transition and change. In this way, social constructionism is not deterministic, in that the continuity of social practices is dependent on human agency, which may also give rise to the contestation of these practices.

When it comes to bilingualism, what would a social constructionist perspective entail? Firstly, there can be no objective ‘truths’ about what

bilingualism is. Indeed, our understanding is historically and culturally contingent, in that our knowledge of the world is socioculturally situated and cannot be divorced from the here and now. Hence how we perceive the notion of bilingualism has been shaped and is continually being reshaped through our social practices (including language practices), as well as the discursive construction of these practices. For example, if public services are only provided in one language in a bilingual society, the unequal distribution of the two languages will readily be built into the notion of bilingualism through the (albeit contestable) processes of institutionalisation (c.f. §3.3.1.3).

Secondly, the sedimentation of these social and discursive practices are formative of worldviews with their associated values. According to these particular worldviews, certain kinds of knowledge and social practices become common sense or taken for granted, whereas others become unthinkable (c.f. Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 11-12, Burr 1995: 2ff). In relation to bilingualism this may mean, for example, that code-switching (or code-mixing) as a language practice belongs to bilinguals who lack proficiency in either or both of their languages, or that it is a feature of sloppy or careless speech. In the Welsh context, it could also mean the common scenario that in the company of even one monolingual English speaker, bilinguals would speak only English.

2.3 Performativity

Within a poststructuralist paradigm, performativity has become a key concept in understanding the role of language in the dynamic constitution of social categories and their linked identities in terms of repeated and ongoing ‘performances’. Pennycook goes as far as to claim that “the notion of performativity fills that gap in poststructuralist theory to do with the making of the subject: From a poststructuralist point of view, the subject is produced in discourse.” (2004: 14) Performativity theory also provides a theoretical framework whereby resistance and change can be accounted for. Insofar as social categories are seen to be constructed and performed *in situ* through discourse, power (in a Foucauldian sense⁴)

⁴ i.e. that “power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations” (Foucault 1990 [1978]: 94), rather than the exertion of control by those legitimised by the state, for example.

can be exerted in its utterance rather than being dependent on prior social power.

The notion of the performative has its roots in the philosopher Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* (1962). Initially, Austin distinguished between constatives and performatives, whereby the latter do or perform what they say. For example, when the vicar declares "I pronounce you man and wife" at the end of a marriage ceremony, the couple actually become married. Thus "a performative is that discursive practice that enacts or produces that which it names" (Butler 1993: 13).

Embracing a postmodernist and poststructuralist paradigm, Butler (1990a, 1993) has particularly applied and adapted Austin's notion of the performative to gender. She writes, "Gender reality is performative which means, quite simply, that it is real only to the extent that it is performed." (1990b: 278) Thus by questioning the essentialist or foundationalist category of gender, she claims that it is a social construction, whereby a body takes on its gender only "through a series of acts which are renewed, revised and consolidated through time" (1990b: 274).

If one extends Butler's thinking to other possible identity constructions, such as to bilingualism, it can be seen as

a sedimentation of acts repeated over time within regulated contexts. And while giving the appearance of substance, of representing an underlying reality, it is actually a result of the repeated layering of acts that purport to correspond to an identity but actually produce it in the doing. (Pennycook 2004: 15)

Thus bilingualism, like gender, can be claimed to be a category that does not predate the concept; it is produced by means of repeated discursive acts, "which congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural type of being." (Butler 1990a: 33)

In Butler's work on gender (1990a, 1993) and later work on the performativity of political discourse (1997) she identifies three key performative discursive processes at work: *iterability* (or *citatoriality*), *interpellation* and *ensorship* drawing on the work of Derrida, Althusser, and Foucault, respectively. These processes are outlined below.

2.3.1 Iterability

In Derrida's (1972) reading of Austin's performative, the force of the performative emanates from its repetition or iterability, which necessarily involves a break with prior contexts. Derrida illustrates iterability with reference to how a signature works. A person's signature is never exactly the same, and its repetition carries the risk of failure, if the gap between the original and the new signature is too great. On the other hand, a signature may also be forged and yet still function. Thus a performative may be infelicitous and fail even if it is backed by someone who is authorised, say, a policeman hailing a passer-by, who fails to respond appropriately to the interpellation or call. Conversely, a performative may be felicitous even if it is uttered by someone who is not "invested with legitimate power" (Butler 1997: 146) In this regard, Butler criticises Bourdieu's insistence "that authority comes to language from outside. [...] Language at most represents this authority, manifests and symbolizes it." (1991: 109) She cites the example of Rosa Parks who sat in the front of the bus and thereby flouted

the segregationist conventions of the South. And yet, in laying claim to the right for which she had no prior authorization, she endowed a certain authority on the act, and began the insurrectionary process of overthrowing those established codes of legitimacy. (1997: 147)

In more general terms, Butler – and indeed, Derrida – assign iterability its transformative power in terms of discursive *de*contextualisation and *re*contextualisation, which places an utterance beyond the control of the 'original' speaker:

The force and meaning of an utterance are not exclusively determined by prior contexts or "positions"; an utterance may gain its force precisely by virtue of the break with context that it performs. Such breaks with prior context or, indeed, with ordinary usage, are crucial to the political operation of the performative. Language takes on a non-ordinary meaning in order precisely to contest what has become sedimented in and as the ordinary. (Butler 1997: 147)

The potential slippage in meaning as a result of using a label such as 'bilingual' in different contexts over time may occasion a discursive reevaluation and thereby a social reconstitution of the subjects that it names. Hence, iterability can help to explain the shift in the associations

of bilingualism as something problematic and ‘othered’ (in relation to monolingualism) in the first half of the 20th century to something which could potentially be valued on its own terms towards the end of the century. Butler illustrates and elucidates this process thus:

A term like “freedom” may come to signify what it never signified before, may come to embrace interests and subjects who have been excluded from its jurisdiction [...] such terms are not property; they assume a life and a purpose for which they were never intended. (Butler 1997: 160-161)

Thus Butler’s view of (re)signification dovetails with dialogism, which stresses the dynamic and open properties of word meanings, contingent on the reflexivity of discourse and contexts as a site for the negotiation of meaning.

2.3.2 *Interpellation*

The concept of interpellation was originally put forward by Althusser (1971) to explain how ideology transforms the individual into a subject. His classic example is of the policeman who calls “Hey, you there!” to a person on the street, and by so doing hails a subject into being, that is, the one who turns around in response to the call. The performative force of interpellation is enabled by means of reiterated convention; “[t]he act “works” in part because of the citational dimension of the speech act, the historicity of convention that exceeds and enables the moment of its enunciation.” (Butler 1997: 33)

In Butler’s application of interpellation to gender (1993: 7-8), she states that the midwife’s utterance “It’s a girl.” to a mother who has just given birth is not descriptive, but inaugurative; it ‘hails’ the subject into being. This interpellating performative “initiates the process by which a certain girling is compelled” (Butler 1993: 232). What this process entails is that

the referent so designated act in accordance with particular norms and create, in doing so, the appropriate gender in every culturally legible act that the person so designated performs, from sitting in a chair, to expressing her desire, to deciding what she ought to eat for dinner. (Kulick 2003: 140)

To return to the context of this dissertation, it is not so far removed to conceive of a process of ‘bilingualising’ in these terms, whereby “the interpellation as performative establishes the discursive constitution of the subject as inextricably bound to the social constitution of the subject.” (Butler 1997: 154) However, unlike the policeman’s interpellating call, Butler insists that “interpellation need not take on an explicit or official form in order to be socially efficacious and formative in the formation of the subject.” (1997: 153) This brings us to Butler’s take on censorship.

2.3.3 Censorship

Not only can one be hailed into social existence by being named, one can also “be interpellated, put in place, given a place, through silence, through not being addressed” (Butler 1997: 27). As Kulick puts it:

performativity theory insists that what is expressed or performed in any social context is importantly linked to that which is not expressed or cannot be performed. Hence, analysis of action and identity must take into account what is not or cannot be enacted. (2003: 140)

To understand “the unspeakable” or “the unperformable”, we need to consider the operations of power that “enforce a limit on speakability” and performativity (Butler 1997: 130). These operations of power are not to be seen merely as a repressive or restrictive force “depriving subjects of the freedom to express themselves in certain ways”, but also as a productive force, “formative of subjects and the legitimate boundaries of speech” (Butler 1997: 132). Here Butler draws on Foucault’s notion of power that “produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth.” (1998: 194) However, whereas Foucault sees power more in terms of producing knowledge and “regimes of truth”, Butler sees the power of censorship as “discursive regimes” that “seek to produce subjects according to explicit and implicit norms” (Butler 1997: 133).

Correspondingly, Butler distinguishes between explicit and implicit censorship. By explicit censorship, she means the “regulation that *states what it does not want stated*” (1997: 130). Implicit censorship, by contrast, “refers to implicit operations of power that rule out in unspoken ways what will remain unspeakable. In such cases, no explicit regulation is needed in which to articulate this constraint.” (1997: 130) However,

the latter is more vulnerable “precisely through being more readily legible.” In other words, it “conducts a performative contradiction” insofar as explicit regulations introduce “the censored speech into public discourse, thereby establishing it as a site of contestation, that is, as the scene of public utterance that it sought to preempt.” (1997: 130) For this reason, Butler argues that “implicit forms of censorship may be, in fact, more efficacious than explicit forms in enforcing a limit on speakability.” (1997: 130) Moreover,

this normative exercise of power is rarely acknowledged as an operation of power at all. Indeed, we may classify it among the most implicit forms of power, one that works precisely through its illegibility: it escapes the terms of legibility that it occasions. That power continues to act in illegible ways is one source of its relative invulnerability. (Butler 1997: 134)

To give an example of how the concept of implicit censorship can operate in relation to bilingualism, one need look no further than the relative invisibility and illegibility of the monolingual norm which reigns in many, if not most, European countries. In a British context, there are relatively few explicit regulations to enforce the norm of English monolingualism, and it is seldom named, yet most of the time it operates invisibly without being questioned. However, despite the “relative invulnerability” of implicit censorship, Butler is not suggesting that there is no room for contestation or change:

Indeed, as we think about worlds that might one day become thinkable, sayable, legible, the opening up of the foreclosed and the unspeakable become part of the very “offense” that must be committed in order to expand the domain of linguistic survival. The resignification of speech requires opening new contexts, speaking in ways that have never been legitimated, and hence producing legitimation in new and future forms. (Butler 1997: 41)

Since the performance of implicit censorship “must be repeated to reconsolidate its power and efficacy” (1997: 139), its very repetition bears the seeds for change by opening new contexts and thereby producing new forms of legitimation. Thus the performative force of iterability applies also in the case of implicit censorship.

2.4 Language

In §2.1 I intimated that even a widely accepted term like “language” should not be viewed as a neutral, essentialist or static, and thus unproblematic concept. The concept of language as a finite and enumerable quantity of discrete languages, each made up of distinct pre-existing repositories of words (with fixed meanings) and a delimited set of grammatical structures which allow these words to be combined into meaningful sentences, must be seen as a socially, culturally and historically contingent construction.

By contrast, I take language(s) to be a by-product of embodied social (including linguistic) practices which are sedimented over time. As such, it is (they are) continually being shaped and reshaped in context-bound discourse (spoken or written), in which meaning is a contingent and negotiated phenomenon. Hence words and grammatical structures only exist in the form of our previously experienced (contextualised) communication, which serves as a resource to draw on in interaction with others (Hopper 1998, Anward 2004). These language resources can only exist through their iterability, i.e. the continuity of practices, whereby they are constantly being reproduced. In short, I concur with Anward that “language is an emergent feature of linguistic practice.” (2004: 31)

Moreover, this view of language is essentially dialogistic, in that it should be seen primarily as discourse, i.e. “as part of the communicative or cognitive practices of actors’ discourses-in-contexts” (Linell 1998: 4). It is precisely the *reflexivity* between discourse and contexts which Linell highlights as the superordinate dialogical principle (88). In other words, discourse and contexts mutually constitute each other. In his theory of spoken interaction⁵, Linell posits three additional fundamental principles⁶: *sequentiality*, *joint construction* and *act-activity interdependence* (85).

The first of these, sequentiality, entails that significant aspects of meaning are situated, in that they cannot be accessed without recourse to the sequential position of the utterance in which they arise (85).

⁵ Much of Linell’s reasoning is extended to written discourse too, which is also argued to be other-oriented, there always being an implied reader. Although he concedes that texts may to some extent govern and constrain the user’s range of interpretations, ultimately the production of meaning must be seen to take place in the reader’s interaction with the text (1998: 269 ff).

⁶ These principles are derived from empirical observations of talk-in-interaction (Linell 1998: 67).

Secondly, discourse is fundamentally social and interactional in nature and actions by speakers must be mutually coordinated (86), hence the term joint construction. This means that no speaker is alone in authoring his utterance; actors actively try to guide each other's participation and understandings in a dialogue, thus resulting in the reciprocal and mutual shaping of their discourse⁷. The final dialogical principle is act-activity interdependence, which co-constitutes the context of the talk-in-interaction. In other words, “[a]cts, utterances and sequences in discourse are always essentially situated within an embedding activity” (of either a general type or particular genre), and the contextual resources of this activity contribute in part to the meaning (87-8).

2.4.1 A Dialogistic Approach to Meaning

Thus extending this dialogistic view of language to meaning and sense-making refutes the presupposition that meaning simply ‘resides’ in a fixed common linguistic code. Rather, “the explanation of shared and mutual understanding must be grounded in analysis of the situated discursive and interpretive activities themselves” (Linell 1998: 113). Hence, linguistic meanings are to be seen as open potentials, where “vagueness, ambiguity and incompleteness [...] are inherent and essential characteristics” (Rommetveit 1984: 335). These open potentials are then subject to the superordinate dialogical principle of *reflexivity* between discourse and contexts. This does not mean, however, that dialogism denies the existence of lexical meanings⁸ altogether, but rather that there are some pre-existing *meaning potentials* which actors use as resources in their linguistic practices (Linell 1998: 118-119). Instead,

⁷ The Russian philosopher and literary scholar Bakhtin, whose work has been seminal to the construction of a dialogistic epistemology, expresses the active role of the interlocutor in the process of sense-making thus:

[A]ll real and integral understanding is actively responsive, and constitutes nothing other than the initial preparatory stage of a response (in whatever form it may be actualized). And the speaker himself is oriented precisely toward such an actively responsive understanding. He does not expect passive understanding that, so to speak, only duplicates his own idea in someone else's mind. Rather, he expects response, agreement, sympathy, objection, execution, and so forth [...]. (1986: 69)

⁸ “i.e. semantic representations tied to lexical items (as entries in the mental lexicon)” (Linell 1998: 111).

dialogism would prefer to talk of *fixations of meaning*, a situated and temporary process of producing fixed meaning (Ibid.: 121-122).

To summarise, dialogism rejects the premise of default or context-free meanings, and instead stresses the dynamic and open properties of word meanings, which actors can negotiate and potentially even redefine *in situ*.

2.4.2 The Emergent Quality of Language Structure

To expropriate Butler's words⁹, not only *language*, but also the grammatical structures of language, can be seen as "a set of repeated acts within a highly regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being" (1990: 33). This view of grammar is also posited by Hopper thus:

We say things that have been said before. Our speech is a vast collection of hand-me-downs that reaches back in time to the beginnings of language. The aggregations of changes and adjustments that are made to this inheritance on each individual occasion of use results in a constant erosion and replacement of the sediment of usage that is called grammar. (1998: 159)

Thus Hopper's sees grammar as an *emergent* property of communication, i.e. an ongoing process which is "always provisional, always negotiable and, in fact, [...] epiphenomenal, that is, [...] an effect rather than a cause." (Ibid.: 157) Hopper also points out that the adjective "emergent" is to be distinguished from "emerging", which might be taken to mean "becoming part of an already existing grammar" (Ibid.) and thus presupposing the existence of a fixed code.

Anward (2004) demonstrates how grammatical structures can 'emerge' as part of the ongoing process of talk-in-interaction, by means of what he terms "recycling with *différance*¹⁰" (31). By this he means that "new turns are made from recycled old turns, in such a way that the overall format, the frame, of the old turn is kept, but a new expression is substituted for a part of the old turn [...]" (42). An additional feature of Anward's model is that it encompasses both grammar and lexicon as "emergent features of linguistic practice." (43)

⁹ Originally penned to explain the ontogenesis of gender

¹⁰ Anward's use of *différance* derives from Derrida (1981: 10), i.e. "difference as it unfolds, or is constructed, in time." (Anward 2004: 41)

By seeing language structure (and lexis) as sedimented linguistic practices, rather than an *a priori* abstracted system of rules, it is easier to account for bilingual talk, whereby bilinguals may mix the linguistic resources from what the analyst might call two separate languages. Yet in talk-in-interaction, bilinguals may only occasionally orient to the analyst's discrete language categories, despite the fact that they would no doubt be able to differentiate between the two if called upon.

2.4.3 The Historical and Cultural Contingencies of Language

To understand our essentially Eurocentric notion of languages as discrete entities, we need to situate the concept both culturally and historically. The following brief historical *tour d'horizon* will serve to illustrate the issue.

The emergence of many of the modern European nation states by the end of the 19th century¹¹ coincided with the final enthronement of national vernaculars united by a written standard. This historical development was precipitated by the spread of nationalist ideologies, whose “novel consciousness of the close ethnic and national associations of language” were reinforced in the Age of Enlightenment and further fuelled by Romanticism (Lewis 1977: 24). Particularly in Germany, Romantic philosophers such as Herder and Fichte saw language as the ‘essence’ of ethnic identification. However, to gain wider currency, this essential bond between language and *Volk* proclaimed by the Romantics required reinforcement

by those factors which put a premium on the growth of interest in the vernacular, namely the rise of a powerful and self-conscious middle class, the invention of printing which made the vernacular a viable literary language, the rapid growth of industrialism which required a proletariat which was literate [...] and an advanced process of social integration which fed on national self-consciousness as a means of ensuring acquiescence in the discomfort of social change. (Lewis 1977: 25)

Hence socio-economic national self-interest could be conceived as being served by *one* national language. Indeed, in an exposition of Herder's ideology, Bauman and Briggs write that to Herder's mind “a nation, a

¹¹ This is, however, only part of the story; the 1990s, for example, saw the emergence of 15 new European states (Carmichael 2000: 287).

culture, a polity must be homogeneous; diversity is unnatural and destructive” (2000: 184). Meanwhile in France, in the wake of the French Revolution, one common language was being promoted as a means of achieving *liberté, égalité, fraternité*¹², despite the fact that what was labelled *français* was spoken by well under 50 per cent of the population¹³ (Barbour 2000: 14-15). In this respect, France is no special case; all over Europe it has come to pass that:

While the linguistically homogeneous state is relatively rare, and while a high proportion of languages are actually not sharply distinct from others, the demand for the linguistically homogeneous nation and the clearly distinct national language has become a standard part of nationalist ideology (Barbour 2000: 14).

In terms of performativity theory, the force of implicit censorship¹⁴ is at work; so apparently inseparable is the bond between language and nation (or ethnic group), that it is almost unquestioned today, precisely through its ‘illegibility’. Indeed, the striking similarity between names of national languages and nations in Europe tends to reinforce the assumed essential link between the two: *français – France, Deutsch – Deutschland, England – English, italiano – Italia, polski – Polska*, etc. This even applies to minority groups: *Cymraeg – Cymru* “Welsh – Wales”, *brezhoneg – Breizh* “Breton – Brittany”, etc. However, wherever the named geographical territory (country or region) does not correspond to a nation state, the bond between territory and associated language has frequently been loosened, as in the case of the latter two. In the case of *England – English*, on the other hand, England has historically been the political and economic power base as well as the most populous country of the United Kingdom.

¹² It should also be pointed out that there is a fundamental difference between the ideologies of the German and French nation states. Despite the political expedience of fostering a national vernacular, common blood ties were central to the German ideology. By contrast, anyone could be a Frenchman by adopting the ideals of the French constitution, which included adopting French as the sole language of those ideals. Today one can discern both of these aspects in the ideology of the modern European nation states, especially in relation to immigration and the emergence of new ethnic groupings, who have no blood ties to their host countries nor in many cases have they automatically adopted the language of that country.

¹³ However, the majority did speak Romance dialects related to French.

¹⁴ See §2.3.3

2.4.4 *The Standardisation of Languages and the Written Language Bias*

Part and parcel of the historical and socio-cultural construction of what constitutes a language is the process of codification of a standard language. Since the existence of a standard written language is readily taken for granted today, it might be easy to overlook the fact that not even the first instance of codifying a language is simply a question of transferring speech to a written form. Choices have to be made and these choices are not made in a social vacuum; they inevitably bear the imprint of their historical and socio-cultural contexts, which inevitably entail ideological concerns.

Hence the emergence of written vernaculars in Europe must be seen against the backdrop of the gradual demise of Latin as the language and written ‘storehouse’ of learning and scholarship. In fact, Classical Latin, or rather *sermo urbanus*, reserved for literary purposes, and Vulgar Latin (*sermo vulgaris*), the spoken language of the ‘Latin’-speaking populace, had diverged by the middle of the 2nd century B.C. (Lewis 1977: 69). It was subsequently *sermo urbanus* that was passed down through the generations into and beyond the Middle Ages, despite its obsolescence as a spoken vernacular. The continuity of Latin was ensured in part by Latin grammars and dictionaries which laid down the rules for its written forms.

Consequently, when the vernacular languages of Europe were codified, there was already a strong tradition of one unified written standard in Classical Latin, which inevitably served as a blueprint. In his history of the English language, Barber (1993: 203) writes: “From the seventeenth century onwards, there was a growing feeling that English needed to be ‘ruled’ or ‘regulated’, as classical Greek and classical Latin were believed to have been.” Although there was no establishment of an English equivalent to the *Académie française* to “donner des règles certaines à notre langue et à la rendre pure, éloquente et capable de traiter les arts et les sciences¹⁵” (Statuts et règlements no. xxiv), 17th and 18th century England did see the publication of a host of grammars, dictionaries and handbooks. The early English grammars were not

¹⁵ In Cooper’s translation: “to give explicit rules to our language and render it pure, eloquent, and capable of treating the arts and sciences” (1996: 10).

surprisingly modelled on grammars of Latin, which tended “merely to reshuffle traditional material”, despite the fact that an analysis suited to the classical languages was less applicable to English (Barber 1993: 204). Furthermore, these works came to be commonly regarded not as descriptive records of usage, but as authorities on correct usage. Handbooks in particular were of a prescriptive ilk; written for the gentry, they exalted the dignified and refined language of the gentry and made frequent scathing reference to the coarse and crude language, not to mention the ‘provincialisms’ of the common people (Barber 1993: 204).

The process of standardising written Welsh has much in common with that of English; once a model had been created, it soon became prescribed. The first translations of the Bible into Welsh - the New Testament by William Salesbury in 1567, and the entire Bible by William Morgan in 1588 – sought their inspiration in part from the bardic tradition, which had otherwise fallen into decline. The result provided “a model of correct and exalted Welsh”, yet at the same time it was “couched in the lofty and archaic diction of the medieval poets” (Davies 2000: 80). Indeed, in the preface to his first book, Salesbury (1546: 5) writes:

Do you suppose that there is no need for fitter words, and a greater variety of phrase, to set out learning, and to discourse of doctrine and science, than that which you use in your daily converse, buying and selling, eating and drinking? If that is what you suppose, you are deceived. And you may take this by way of a warning from me: unless you safeguard and repair and perfect the language before the present generation is out, the work will be done too late. (qtd. in translation in D. G. Jones 1988: 128)

Here the role of the Renaissance scholar, is laid bare: to “repair and perfect” the language, very much in the vein of statute 24 of the *Académie française*.

These few historical snapshots have been selected to illustrate two main points about the nature of codification and standardisation of written languages. The first is that they are historically and culturally situated products. Here it is relevant to refer to the concept of performativity again, which can help to explain the processes at work. Discrete languages, including their written standards, can be seen as the

effect and product of sedimented acts or performances, i.e. constituted through their iterability.

Moreover, once languages have acquired a written standard (the product of a sedimentation of practices), they gain an independent status to the extent that they can even become a model for ‘good’ spoken language. Linell (1997: 28) puts it like this: “Scholars, as well as lay people, take written language, or rather certain forms of written language, as the norm for language, for its structure, use, and description.” It is nigh impossible to detach our thinking of language from written language, which accounts for the prevalence of what Linell calls a *written language bias*. This bias has even permeated linguistics, where the “language described and analyzed by linguists and partly made up by them, is heavily (though sometimes indirectly) dependent on conceptions of written language” (1997: 32). This can be explained, at least in part, by the fact that written language possesses intrinsic qualities: it is permanent, static and discrete as opposed to the ephemeral, dynamic and continuous qualities of spoken language. Linell (1997: 279) expands on this causality:

By carrying more or less stable representations of language, writing supports the conception of language as based upon invariant and discrete units and structures. Writing, especially in print, fixates linguistic signs on record, it freezes aspects of expression and makes them stable across physical copyings. This idea of stability and invariance can then easily spread to our conception of linguistic meaning.

In the next chapter (§3.1.3) we will be revisiting the written language bias to consider its significance for bilingual discourse. Indeed, after having sketched my view of language, it is now time to consider the ramifications for the concept of bilingualism, not least as ongoing performances of sedimented linguistic practices.

3 Bilingualism

3.1 Towards a Definition

Defining exactly what is meant by bilingualism is no straightforward task, not least because different associated values and research traditions have varied over time and space. Indeed, the concept of bilingualism is inseparable from the many related discourses¹⁶ in circulation between different social actors in different places, both past and present. Let us take one fairly recent definition from a reference work to illustrate the point:

Bilingualism

The capacity to make alternate (and sometimes mixed) use of two languages, in contrast to monolingualism or unilingualism and multilingualism. In the social context of languages like English, especially in England and the US, the traditional tendency has been to consider the possession and use of one language the norm. Bilingualism, however, is at least as common as monolingualism; about half the world's population (some 2.5 bn people) is bilingual and kinds of bilingualism are probably present in every country in the world.¹⁷

The first sentence makes reference to linguistic competence (“the capacity”) and contrasts bilingualism firstly with “monolingualism” (or “unilingualism”) and secondly with “multilingualism”. The second sentence proceeds to place the phenomenon of bilingualism in a sociohistorical context, whereby it is alluded that bilingualism has been ascribed less social value than monolingualism (at least in England and the U.S.). The choice of the passive (“has been to consider”) affords the lexicographer some distance from this stance of one language being the norm. Indeed, the final sentence questions this norm by broadening the

¹⁶ Here I use ‘discourse’ in a Foucauldian sense as “a way of talking about and acting upon the world which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices” (Candlin & Maley 1997: 202).

¹⁷ “bilingualism” *Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language*. Ed. Tom McArthur. Oxford University Press, 1998. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Linkopings universitet. 12 October 2005

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t29.e175>>

social context to a global one; since half the world's population is counted as bilingual, bilingualism is "at least as common" and is therefore by inference at least as 'normal' as monolingualism. Not only is bilingualism portrayed as a global phenomenon but "probably present in every country in the world" including England and the U.S. There is an interesting insertion in the final sentence which serves to qualify the term bilingualism, i.e. "kinds of bilingualism". This implies that there is more than one kind of bilingualism, though exactly how these "capacities to make alternate use of two languages" can be distinguished from each other is not made specific.

Before we home in further on selected aspects of this definition which have resonances elsewhere, both in Western society and academia, let us take another definition from a work of reference:

Bilingual

Having an effectively equal control of two native languages. Thus a minority of people in Wales are bilingual in Welsh and English; many in England are bilingual in English and e.g. Punjabi. A bilingual community, as in Welsh-speaking parts of Wales, is one in which bilingualism is normal.

Loosely or more generally, in some accounts, of people or communities that have two or more different languages, whether or not control is effectively equal and whether or not more than one is native. Bilinguals in the ordinary sense are then variously called 'ambilingual' or 'equilingual', or are qualified as 'full', 'true', 'ideal', or 'balanced' bilinguals.^[18]

It should be pointed out that, by contrast, this definition has been taken from a dictionary of linguistics rather than a more general work of reference. This means that the consumer of this information may be assumed to be different in either case.

One striking feature of this definition is that there is an apparent contradiction between the first and second paragraphs; the first talks of "effectively equal control of two native languages" and the second undermines the importance of both "effectively equal control" and the

¹⁸ "bilingual" *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. P. H. Matthews. Oxford University Press, 1997. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Linkopings universitet. 12 October 2005 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t36.e333>>

“nativeness” of both or either of the two languages. However, the second definition is prefaced by “loosely or more generally” and “in some accounts”, which implicitly questions the validity of these “accounts”. This is underscored further in the final sentence, insofar as the first definition (“effectively equal control”) matches “ambilingual” or “equilingual” as “the ordinary sense” of bilingual. In fact, none of the other qualifiers (“‘full’, ‘true’, ‘ideal’, or ‘balanced’”) seem to match the loose or general definition either.

To return to the first paragraph, there are other aspects of bilingualism that come to the fore. In the second sentence the use of “minority” implies by default that the majority are monolingual in the Welsh context. The examples given are Welsh, an autochthonous language, and Punjabi, a so-called community language (spoken by those of immigrant descent from the Punjab provinces of India and Pakistan). A distinction is also drawn between individuals in the first and second sentences who have mastered two native languages and communities in the third sentence, where “bilingualism is normal”. Welsh-speaking parts of Wales are given as an example of such a community. Presumably what is meant by bilingualism being “normal” in a bilingual community also incorporates equal mastery of two native languages, which is rather questionable even in many so-called Welsh-speaking parts of Wales today (precisely because of any insistence on “effectively equal control” and both languages being “native”).

The object of the textual analysis of these definitions is not to criticise them *per se* - indeed, brevity, for example, is a necessary requirement of this encyclopaedic genre. Instead, my aim is to unpack some of the complexities and uncover the sometimes contradictory discourses that are in circulation on the subject of bilingualism. As I have intimated in my analysis above, these discourses are seldom neutral, since they are inseparable from the sociohistorical and sociocultural values associated with them. In the following paragraphs I wish to tease out and unravel various threads which have emerged from the above definitions, and which are also recurrent in the discourses relating to bilingualism. The threads I wish to focus on most are: competence, the native speaker, the monolingual norm and some of the qualifying adjectives which are used to differentiate between different types of bilinguals (e.g. “ideal” and “balanced” bilinguals).

3.1.1 Competence

Competence has been a central concept in linguistics since Chomsky established the term to denote the internalised set of rules that “an ideal speaker-listener” applies to produce and comprehend utterances that he/she may never have heard before. Chomsky distinguishes between *competence*, i.e. our knowledge of a language, and *performance*, i.e. our actual use of language. This binary pair is reminiscent of Saussure’s separation of *langue* and *parole*¹⁹, which constitutes one of the major theoretical bases of structuralism. Like Saussure’s insistence on *langue* as the proper object of linguistics, and at the same time disregarding “everything which does not belong to its structure as a system; in short everything that is designated by the term ‘external linguistics’” (Saussure 1983: 21), Chomsky too focuses on the “internal linguistics” of *competence*. Thus for Chomsky “[l]inguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly.” (Chomsky 1965: 3)

Hamers & Blanc (2000: 23), among many others, are highly critical of the unidimensionality of an approach that defines bilingualism solely in terms of language competence. Indeed, the multidimensional nature of bilingualism means that it “must be investigated as such” (25). They proceed to identify the following dimensions as relevant:

1. relative competence [balanced or dominant bilingualism];
2. cognitive organisation [compound or coordinate bilingualism];
3. age of acquisition [childhood (simultaneous or consecutive), adolescent or adult];
4. exogeneity [presence or absence of L2 in the community];
5. social cultural status [additive or subtractive bilingualism]; and
6. cultural identity [bicultural, monocultural, acculturated or deculturated bilingualism]

(Hamers & Blanc 2000: 25-26)

¹⁹ By *langue* (language) is meant the underlying rules of a given language, whereas *parole* (speech) refers to language use, which may also encompass sentence formation (c.f. Chomsky 1964: 23).

I do not intend to pursue all these dimensions here, nor will all of them receive equal attention in this study. Instead, this list serves to illustrate the narrowness of the preoccupation with competence and ignoring other dimensions, most of which would come under Saussure's umbrella term of "external linguistics".

Another fundamental critique of linguistics' predilection with language structure and individual linguistic competence comes from another quarter, outside the sphere of bilingualism, yet is highly relevant to the phenomenon of bilingualism. Linell (1998) criticises Saussure and Chomsky's formalistic perspective as "unequivocally monologicistic" (4), whereby abstract language systems are given pride of place and communication is treated as an epiphenomenon. In contrast, dialogism gives pride of place to socially embedded and contextually situated communicative interactions and treats language as an epiphenomenon.

In order to exemplify Linell's critique, let us return to Chomsky's "ideal listener-speaker", which constitutes an essentially decontextualised and monologicistic view of the roles of the listener and speaker. Despite the hyphenation of these roles in the quotation, in mainstream linguistic tradition these roles are seen as clearly separated, with a marked bias towards the speaker (109). The speaker is regarded as the truly active interlocutor and the listener's role is reduced to recovering the current speaker's intended meaning (91). This point of view disregards the "partly parallel tasks [speakers and listeners] have to cope with in interaction and sense-making." (109) A dialogistic viewpoint, on the other hand, "regards the utterance as socially, i.e. collaboratively, constituted and generated, and looks upon communicative actions as contextual and dialogical in several senses; they are (doubly) contextualized, socially generated and culturally embedded." (91) This is not to deny individual agency, but rather, to locate the individual's "intentions" as being "generated in a dialogical process with contexts and interlocutors." (93)

Although Hamers & Blanc do not prescribe a dialogistic perspective, in accordance with Linell, they see a functional perspective as missing from mainstream linguistics. It would be a narrow perspective indeed to view bilingualism solely from a structural vantage point, without recourse to the functions of two languages in the double contexts that Linell advocates above: embeddedness in sociocultural practices as well

as in situated interaction. However, this is not to dismiss outright the relevance of linguistic competence in the context of bilingualism. Indeed, it is included in the first “dimension” of Hamers & Blanc’s list above. Instead it must be considered as one of several dimensions of bilingualism.

3.1.2 The Native Speaker

Another aspect of Chomsky’s “ideal speaker-listener” is that he or she is a native speaker. The definition of “bilingual” cited above also make reference to native speaker in the first sentence: a bilingual is to have “two native languages”. The native-speaker ideal is firmly established both in linguistics and education as a norm and benchmark for linguistic competence, but in reality it is difficult to define, not least because it relates to an ideal state. In practice, both the terms *native speaker* and its close ‘ally’ *mother tongue* (or *first language*) are reified constructs in binary opposition to *non-native speaker* and *second language*, respectively. As such, these terms need to be problematised, since their “connotations are now strongly contested by many people.” (Rampton 1990: 97) In his polemic article entitled “Displacing the ‘native speaker’”, Rampton critiques “the whole mystique of the native speaker and the mother tongue” in an attempt to dispel a number of myths associated with these terms: particular languages are not genetically inherited but are acquired in social settings; people do not belong to only one social group; group membership is not static and neither is language; being born into a group is not an automatic guarantee of full functional command of the group’s language; and most countries (and a majority of people) are not monolingual (97-98).

Instead, Rampton proposes *expertise-affiliation-and-inheritance* as “a simple and workable set of terms that try to recognise rather than obscure the dynamic social and institutional processes through which sociolinguistic identities are defined.” (1995: 344) Expertise encompasses the speaker’s proficiency and skills in using a language (rather than a more abstract notion of competence). It also involves a dynamic process of learning rather than a static “innateness” (98). Affiliation and inheritance comprise two socially negotiated paths to *allegiance* (or loyalty) to a language (99). This means that inheritance may not be the only means of acquiring allegiance to a language; by

affiliation one can gain allegiance to another ('non-native') language (and thus by extension, its associated cultural group). This is not to say that there is an inseparable divide between expertise and allegiance. Indeed, they have a reciprocal impact upon each other. Thus a lack of expertise in one language may create ambivalence and weaken allegiance to it. Conversely, a lack of allegiance may affect motivation to improve one's expertise. Rampton's notions of expertise-affiliation-and-inheritance also provide for a more dynamic framework than the notion native speaker, which by definition is necessarily static, in that it is inalienably linked to native origins. Thus bilingual individuals may (and often do) change over time as regards either or both expertise and allegiance vis-à-vis either or both languages.

3.1.3 The Monolingual Norm

Let us recall that Chomsky's "ideal speaker-listener" was set "in a completely homogeneous speech-community". There can be no doubt that this speech community is an idealised monolingual one. This implies at least two things: firstly that a monolingual speech community is a normal and ideal state of affairs, and secondly that speech is normally and ideally monolingual.

Let us consider the norm of the monolingual speech community first. In §2.4.3 I sketched how this norm has arisen in Europe as an integral part of the historically and culturally situated nation-building process. Despite the monolingualising nationalist ideologies of the modern nation states, even today bilingualism (and multilingualism) is more common than monolingualism on a global scale. In a broader historical perspective too, bilingualism has been the norm. As Grosjean puts it:

It is probably true that no language group has ever existed in isolation from other language groups, and the history of languages is replete with examples of language contact leading to some form of bilingualism. (1982: 1)

Even in the European context "there have been bilingual groups and this is reflected in the regard with which the possession of more than one language has been held in even remote countries and undeveloped education systems." (Lewis 1977: 22) Neither has the value attached to possession of more than one language simply been a question of

managing mundane, everyday contacts between different language groups, as Lewis points out:

Bilingualism has rarely been absent from important levels of the intellectual and cultural life of Europe and nearly all European languages have had long, and, in some instances, several successive periods of language contact. (1977: 23)

Nevertheless, the tides of history have turned and monolingualism has, for the most part, come out on top. Yet, despite the pull of these homogenising and monolingualising tendencies, Chomsky's "completely homogeneous speech-community" is still a mirage, very much an idealised postulate, rooted moreover in the hegemony and ideology of the nation state.

Furthermore, the performative fixation of meaning and form in writing (c.f. §2.4.4) has not only involved the construction of languages as discrete linguistic entities, but has also excluded the potential practice of *bilingual* writing in the process. In other words, the very task of codification involves a selection, which largely bars linguistic material which is construed as 'foreign', be it for etymological or other reasons. Again this is a historically, culturally and ideologically situated process. To take an example, let us consider the movement for the purification of French which gained momentum in 16th century France as a backlash to the heavy borrowing in literary French from Greek and Latin as well as provincial terms and idioms (Cooper 1989: 8). The success of this movement is immortalised in statute 24 of the *Académie française* cited above, whereby French should be rendered "pure, éloquente et capable de traiter les arts et les sciences." The "règles certaines" for the pure and eloquent use of French are no doubt more easily enforceable in regard to the written language, but their impact undeniably extends to the spoken language too.

This brings us to the second implication of a "completely homogeneous speech-community", namely the norm of monolingual speech. Although linguists have re-evaluated the phenomenon of code-switching in the speech of bilinguals, the monolingual norm has been difficult to shed, even among linguists. In 1968 Weinreich stated:

The ideal bilingual switches from one language to another, according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc) but not in an unchanged speech situation. (73)

Once again we find the insertion of “ideal” to qualify the bilingual, which implies that any bilingual whose speech does not match up to this ideal is in some way inferior. I shall be dealing with the subject of code-switching in some depth in §3.2, but at this juncture it is pertinent to touch on a few points. Firstly, by now many linguists have analysed code-switching in numerous bilingual speech communities and found that bilinguals regularly change language in an unchanged speech situation. However, they do not do so haphazardly. Indeed, code-switching can signal subtle meanings and may also index group belonging, etc.

To take a case from a specific bilingual speech community, Jørgensen & Holmen (1997) have examined the multilingual speech of Turkish-Danish primary school pupils in Denmark. These Danish researchers have termed the sentiments reflected in the above quotation from Weinreich as the *double monolingualism norm*, by which “persons who command two languages will at any given time use one and only one language, and they use each of their languages in a way that does not in principle differ from the way monolinguals use the same language.” (13) Jørgensen (2005) also draws attention to the attitudes of teachers and parents who are essentially in favour of bilingualism, but who “often think that children should speak both languages ‘purely’, without traces of the other language they know, simply because the languages should be pure.” (393) Here one might add that the written language bias is no doubt lurking beneath this conception that language should necessarily be pure. But another argument put forward is that children will be unable to ‘clean up’ their languages in the company of monolinguals, if they mix their languages at other times (393-4). Jørgensen claims that this argument lacks validity since “people with access to different languages are perfectly capable of using these at the same time when this is appropriate, and perfectly capable of using only one at a time when the situation requires this.” (394) In their review of current research, Hamers & Blanc (2000) reach similar conclusions even for young bilinguals:

Bilingual children also seem to show a great sensitivity to sociolinguistic cues in their environment. An early mapping occurs between the choice and the function of communication with a specific person, as bilingual children are capable of making the correct choice at an early age. (80)

Rather than insisting on a double monolingualism norm, Jørgensen & Holmen (1997) advocate an *integrated bilingualism norm*, by which “persons who command two languages will employ their full linguistic competence at any given time adjusted to the needs and the possibilities of the conversation, including the linguistic skills of the interlocutor.” (13) The integrated bilingualism norm has two obvious advantages over the double monolingualism norm: firstly, it corresponds more closely to real bilingual practices and secondly it acknowledges the sensitivity and skill that bilinguals display in real interaction.

3.1.4 “Ideal” Bilinguals and “Balanced” Bilinguals

In the introduction to *The Bilingualism Reader* (2000: 6-7), Li Wei lists 37 types of bilinguals found in the literature. If one disregards synonyms, the list can be reduced to 27, yet it does not include “full”, “true” or “ideal” bilinguals, which were cited above in the definition from *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. Below I will deal with some of these concepts which are central to understanding the labels that have arisen to categorise bilinguals.

One extension of the monolingual norm is that a bilingual should ideally be the equivalent of two monolingual native speakers rolled into one. In other words, bilinguals should have two equally and fully developed languages. This idealised conception of the nature of bilingualism is what Martin-Jones & Romaine (1985: 32) have termed “the container view of competence”. Figure 1 below depicts this view, whereby linguistic competence is conceptualised as a container, which can be filled to differing degrees. Thus the ideal monolingual adult is seen as having a full container and an ideal monolingual child as being on the way to developing a full container (or even as an impoverished imitation of the adult’s language). By transferring this view to bilinguals, the ideal bilingual adult should therefore have two full containers and the ideal bilingual child should be on the way to developing two equally full containers.

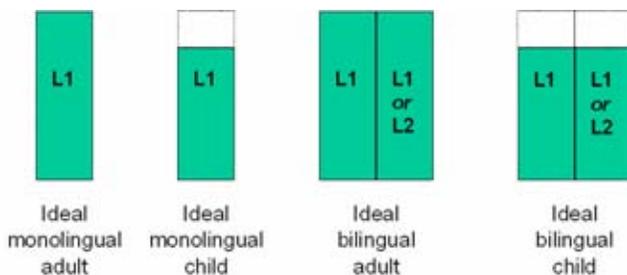


Fig. 1 The container metaphor for bilinguals (based on Martin-Jones & Romaine²⁰ 1985: 32)

The container metaphor has arisen out of the need to categorise bilinguals, since many possible candidates for the bilingual label (if not most) do not measure up to the benchmark of the “ideal” bilingual who has “effectively equal control of two native languages” or even “the native-like control of two or more languages” (55) expressed in Bloomfield’s now classic definition of bilingualism from 1933.

Qualifying adjectives other than “ideal”, which have been used to denote bilinguals who match up to Bloomfield’s definition include, “true” and “full”. Baker (2001: 6) has termed these types of definitions and labels as “maximalist”, insofar as that they represent an extreme at one end of the continuum. At the “minimalist” end of the continuum, one would find “bilinguals” who command just a few phrases in a second language.

One aspect of the container metaphor is that the containers representing linguistic competence should ideally be full, but another aspect is that they should be *equally* full. In the context of early research on immersion education in Canada²¹, the terms “balanced bilingual” and “dominant bilingual” were coined to distinguish between equal competence in both languages and superior competence in one of the two

²⁰ Martin-Jones & Romaine have adapted their depiction of the container view of competence from Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 36. In turn, I have altered Martin-Jones & Romaine’s depiction slightly to allow for two first languages (L1 + L1), i.e. simultaneous bilingualism, or a first language plus a second language (L1 + L2), i.e. consecutive bilingualism. However, this distinction may be difficult to maintain (see discussion on pp. 44-45).

²¹ c.f. Lambert 1955, Lambert *et al* 1959, etc.

languages, respectively. Since this pioneering work in the late 50s and 60s, the alternative expressions, “ambilingual”²² and “equilingual”²³ have emerged with roughly the same meaning as balanced bilingual.

The emergence of early definitions of bilingualism and the subsequent creation of terms to distinguish between different types of bilingualism has given rise to problems and consequently criticism. For example, Appel & Muysken (1987: 3) point out certain social repercussions, since “[a]ll too often imposing Bloomfield’s criteria on bilinguals has led to their stigmatisation as being somehow deficient in their language capacities.” What is worth stressing here is that any categorisation of bilinguals against a monolingual ideal is not a neutral activity; it entails making value judgements which may serve social and political ends. As Baker highlights, “trawling with broad [or narrow] criteria [...] will depend on the purpose of the categorization” (2001: 6). For political reasons it may be prudent to cast the net wide, for example to show the success of language revitalisation efforts. Alternatively, it may be politically prudent to minimise the catch, in order to suppress the need for bilingual resources.

Even for monolinguals, the full container metaphor is problematic; it would be naïve to suggest that all monolinguals have developed their language to an equal degree. With this in mind, it would not be difficult to question the idea of a bilingual being equivalent to two monolinguals, as Grosjean has argued:

Most bilinguals use their languages for different purposes and in different situations, and hence “balanced” bilinguals, those who are equally fluent in both languages, are probably the exception and not the norm. A bilingual develops the four basic skills in each language (speaking, listening, reading and writing) to the levels required by the environment, and it is rare that an identical level is needed for each skill. (1982: 235)

Included in Wei’s list of types of bilinguals is the binary distinction made between *simultaneous* and *successive* (or *consecutive*) bilingualism, which relates to the larger issue of the age of language

²² Coined by Baetens-Beardsmore (1982:9).

²³ Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens (1968) introduced the term “ambilingual” for individuals who are able to use their languages equally well in all domains with no traces of the other language in either language.

acquisition²⁴. As the term suggests, in the case of simultaneous bilingualism both languages are acquired at the same time from the onset of language, i.e. as two first languages. Successive bilingualism, on the other hand, refers to bilinguals who acquire a second language (L2) after first having acquired a first language (L1). The distinction has no doubt arisen from the need to account for the differences observed in many studies between the language attainment of early and late bilinguals, once again a question of competence. In general terms, “the earlier a consecutive bilingual masters the L2, the more likely his [or her] processing will approach that of the simultaneous bilingual” (Hamers & Blanc 2000: 68). Thus an L2 acquired informally before the age of six is “generally mastered with native-like proficiency” (65), even though an early age of onset is no guarantee of such a high level of attainment. Conversely, there is a general consensus that learning languages after puberty rarely results in native-like proficiency. Hence on the grounds of language attainment, it seems more salient to distinguish between successive childhood and adolescent (and adult) bilingualism than between simultaneous and successive childhood bilingualism.

In order to account for age-related differences, Lenneberg (1967) first postulated the existence of a biologically critical period for language acquisition. According to his hypothesis, L2 acquisition needs to commence before puberty to ensure the full development of L2 competence. However, a biologically critical or sensitive period is not the only possible explanation of a difference in linguistic attainment between early and late L2 learners. Indeed, Hakuta (2001: 203-4), for example, claims that the critical period hypothesis lacks conclusive evidence for many of its key assumptions: “There is no empirically definable end point, there are no qualitative differences between child and adult learners, and there are large environmental effects on the outcomes.” Indeed, the age of acquisition necessarily combines with the social context in which the languages are acquired as well as how the languages are used in interaction. Taylor (1990) suggests that early L2 learners enjoy the favourable social conditions that L1 learners enjoy. This would usually include acquiring an L2 in a predominantly natural and informal setting through socialising with other children and adults in

²⁴ c.f. point 3 of Hamers & Blanc’s list in §3.1.1.

the neighbourhood environment and through attending local preschool provision, for example. Since it is nigh on impossible to separate social factors from any possible biological constraints of biological constraints of a critical period of language acquisition, Baker (2001: 98) prefers to talk of *advantageous periods*, such as early childhood and school days. However, he also points out that successful L2 learning is not limited to early L2 learners; adults can also become functionally bilingual, though the success rate is comparatively lower than for early L2 learners.

Despite the general preoccupation with language competence, evidenced in the definitions of bilingualism and bilingual cited on pages 33-34, but also substantiated in much of the discourse on bilingualism, many researchers of bilingualism would maintain that a definition of bilingualism should focus rather on the functions that language performs. This point is succinctly put by Grosjean: “Bilingualism is the use of two (or more) languages in one’s everyday life and not knowing two or more languages equally well and optimally (as most laypersons think).” (2002: 2) Here Grosjean echoes the assertion made by Mackey forty years earlier in the introductory paragraph of an article entitled “The description of bilingualism”:

Bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code but of the message. It does not belong to the domain of “langue” but of “parole”. (1962: 51)

This (re)definition locates the focus of this study: bilingualism is performed and is to be understood as an aggregate of discursive practices, by which I mean the language practices of bilinguals individually and collectively as well as the discourses produced about the phenomena relating to bilingualism. These discourses and language practices are complex and multifaceted. Hence on Pennycook’s recommendation (c.f. §2.1), it might prove more illuminating to talk of bilingualisms in the plural, rather than sticking to the conventional singular form.

Although bilingualism is itself a language contact phenomenon, there are nevertheless a number of phenomena closely related to bilingualism which have traditionally come under the umbrella term of language contact phenomena, such as *code-switching*, *borrowing* and *diglossia*.

Most, if not all, of these phenomena transcend the realm of individual and will be dealt with in the following subsections.²⁵

3.2 Code-Switching

One conspicuous feature of bilingual talk is the occurrence of language alternation (and in many cases even alternation between language varieties), commonly referred to as code-switching. Although there seems good reason not to club together different kinds of language/code-alternation under the umbrella term of code-switching (c.f. Auer 1999, Gafaranga 2000), because of the prevalence of this generic term in the literature, I will use this term as a starting point. Nevertheless, a poststructuralist perspective requires that we question accepted terms such as code-switching as a given meaningful category. Thus it behoves us to delve into how the term and the phenomenon have been socially and historically fashioned. This obtains both in terms of code-switching as a analytical construct and as a socially (often negatively) valued feature of bilingual talk.

3.2.1 Towards a Typology of Code-switching

Auer defines code-switching as the “alternating use of two or more “codes” within one conversational episode” (Auer 1998: 1). This immediately throws up the problem of how to define what constitutes a code. It will be immediately apparent to the analyst if a stretch of talk consists of two or more languages or varieties, but making a strict *a priori* distinction between them would entail adopting an etic rather than an emic position. However, the latter is a prerequisite according to good

²⁵ In many handbooks on bilingualism a distinction is made between individual and societal bilingualism (Grosjean 1982, Romaine 1989, Hamers & Blanc 2000, Baker 2001, Håkansson 2003). The distinction is most refined in Hamers & Blanc’s *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Indeed, they reserve the term bilingualism for:

the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual (societal bilingualism); but it also includes the concept of bilinguality (or individual bilingualism). (6)

Nevertheless, one must not forget that this dichotomy is an analytical construct, which means there is at best a reflexive relationship between the two (also acknowledged by Hamers & Blanc), and at worst it might not be possible to maintain this distinction in all aspects of bilingualism. Thus here I decline to maintain any strict distinction between the two.

CA practice, in that it behoves the researcher to show how the *participants themselves* orient to linguistic features such as switching between distinguishable and recognisable codes. Stroud (1998) explains the CA approach to code-switching thus:

The meaning of any particular code-switch can only legitimately be ascertained in the context of conversational interaction, as the variety of social meanings of code-switching that interactants produce are generated *in situ*, and are 'genuine' meanings only in as far as participants attend to them structurally in their orderly co-construction of sense. (322)

Conversation analysts claim that utterances (including those containing code-alternation) can only be fully understood by close reference to their sequential position in talk-in-interaction. In the context of code-switching, Auer refers to one aspect of this as "the sequential implicativeness of language choice" (Auer, 1984b: 5), i.e. the effect a certain language choice has at a certain point in the conversation on subsequent language choices (either by the same or other participants).

However, unless one is able to show that participants orient in any way to an alternating use of codes, it is highly problematic to talk of code-switching at all. In other words, if switching between codes carries no intrinsic meaning for participants, is it relevant for the analyst to make such a distinction? Several researchers of code-switching have reached the conclusion that we need terms that distinguish between meaningful and non-meaningful code-alternation. Myers-Scotton refers to *marked* and *unmarked* code-switching (1993), whereby unmarked code-switching lacks pragmatic meaning. In the CA tradition, Auer proposes a continuum which includes meaningful code-switching at one end and *code/language-mixing* at a mid-point along the spectrum²⁶. In cases of code-mixing, switching between codes has lost its meaning in the local sense, yet in a more global sense "it may signal group identity." (1999: 318) In the case of code-mixing, it may also prove difficult to ascertain the main or *base language* (Auer, 2000), because of the frequency of intra-turn language alternation. However, Auer does claim that "it is

²⁶ At the other end of the spectrum one finds *fused lects*, where the juxtaposition of codes for certain constituents has become fixed, thus creating a new code.

often possible to identify mixing styles of a more insertional kind and those of a more alternational kind.”²⁷ (1999: 315)

On the other hand, Gafaranga argues that the base language issue is the analyst’s rather than a participant’s problem (2000: 327-328). Rather than orienting to a base language, speakers orient to a default base code or *medium*, which can also be bilingual. Moreover, Gafaranga and Torras (2002) differentiate between *language alternation itself as the medium* (a default option devoid of intrinsic local meaning) and *language alternation as deviance* (a meaning-signalling device) as subcategories of language alternation (see figure 2). Language alternation itself as a medium would be an unmarked choice corresponding to Auer’s code-mixing. As one subcategory of language alternation as deviance, *medium repair* would include any corrected language choice that participants might make. This includes self-initiated and other-initiated repairs, whether or not they are corrected by the originator or another participant. *Code-switching*, by contrast, is cast as the other subcategory of language alternation as deviance which is *not* subjected to medium repair by participants:

Codeswitching is, not any occurrence of two languages within the same conversation, but rather any instance of deviance from [the] current medium which is not oriented to by participants themselves as requiring any repair. (2002: 19-20)

Under their redefined subcategory of code-switching (which necessarily signals “interactional otherness”), the final binary distinction is based on whether code-switching leads to a new medium (*medium switching*) or returns to the previous medium (*medium suspension*)²⁸. In other words, a stretch of talk which starts off in one language, then switches to a new language and continues in that language would be an example of medium switching. However, if a stretch of talk starts off in one language, switches to a new language and then returns to the first

²⁷ As the terms suggest, *insertional code-mixing* involves the insertion of elements from one language into the grammatical and syntactical framework of another (the base language), whereas *alternational code-mixing* entails the alternating use of two languages, neither of which is identifiable as the sole base language.

²⁸ Auer’s taxonomy also distinguishes between the effect of code-switching on the language of the subsequent interaction (code-switching vs. transfer/insertion), but he does not put medium repair in a separate category.

this would be termed medium suspension. Gafaranga and Torras' taxonomy thus identifies four different subcategories of *language alternation* (their generic term)²⁹. These are marked in bold in figure 2 below:

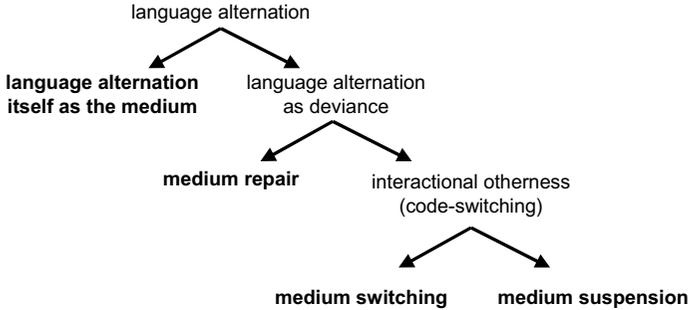


Fig. 2 Types of language alternation according to Gafaranga & Torras' taxonomy (2002: 19)

Gafaranga and Torras' taxonomy captures a participants' perspective in at least four respects. Firstly, by using the term "medium", rather than "language" or "code", they distinguish between a participants' and analyst's perspective, respectively. Secondly, participants have to be shown to orient to language alternation as a meaning-making resource (signalling interactional otherness). Thirdly, repairs made by participants to the medium of the interaction are ascribed special importance. Fourthly, the sequential implicativeness of language choice is also worked out in the participants' interaction. Thus participants co-determine whether each code switch leads to a new language of interaction (medium switching) or returns to the initial language (medium suspension).

Nevertheless, there are also some problems with their taxonomy. Firstly, the terms medium and language are not kept totally apart; "language alternation" is the analyst's category, yet it is also used in the participant's category "language alternation itself as the medium". Here

²⁹ Auer also uses "language alternation" as an umbrella term (1988), but with "code-switching" and "transfer" (insertion) as subcategories, the latter referring to mainly short stretches of talk (most often single words) that have little or no structural influence on the subsequent turns, i.e. the "base language" tends to stay the same.

the term *mixed medium*, on analogy with Auer’s “mixed code” (1998: 15-16), would avoid any unnecessary confusion. Furthermore, the use of both “language” and “code” to refer to the analyst’s categories seems to complicate matters further (c.f. “language alternation” but “code-switching”). Since participants may distinguish not only between different languages but also between different language varieties, *code-alternation* seems preferable to “language alternation”³⁰. Secondly, the distinction between “language alternation as deviance” and “interactional otherness” seems to be an unnecessary one³¹. The three categories which are separated by “language alternation as deviance” (medium repair, medium switching and medium suspension) can still be kept as three discrete categories on the basis of the other distinguishing features described above. Thus one could simply resort to *markedness* to separate these from a mixed medium (= “language alternation itself as the medium”). In other words, a mixed medium would be an unmarked category, whereas the other three categories are marked, in that participants orient to them in their interaction. Figure 3 summarises these suggested improvements, yet retains Gafaranga and Torras’ original four categories:

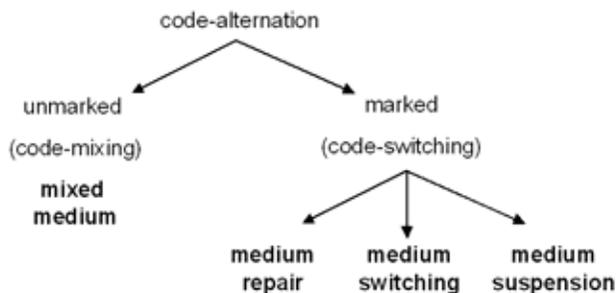


Fig. 3 A revised taxonomy of code alternation based on Gafaranga & Torras’ taxonomy (2002: 19)

Before we look at some examples of these four categories, there is one other major shortcoming of both Gafaranga and Torras’ taxonomy, even after the above revisions, namely that it focuses primarily on form. It

³⁰ Auer (1998: 16) uses “code-alternation” instead of “language alternation”, but with the same meaning (c.f. footnote 29)

³¹ This point will be argued on empirical grounds in §6.4.2

says relatively little about function and it would be wrong to suggest that these four categories correspond to four discrete functions. Indeed, there is no such one-to-one mapping (and nor do Gafaranga and Torras suggest that there is). However, this matter needs to be investigated further, with close reference to examples, to show what interactional work can be achieved by using these four different types of code-alternation. The following two excerpts (1 and 2) will serve to illustrate three of these categories, but the main analysis which also attends to their functions will appear in §6.4, together with further examples from the data.

In excerpt 1, which exemplifies both *medium repair* and a *mixed medium*, four 17-year-old boys from the same secondary school are discussing the advantages and disadvantages of their school, *Ysgol 1*, in relation to the other (English-medium) secondary school in the area, *Ysgol 2*. One main point which has arisen is that the other school has more subject options at A level³² than their school. Cornilov then goes on to illustrate the problem from his own experience:

Excerpt 1 (FGD1, FG4, 05:06)

Participants: Action Man, Cornilov (C), Wesley, Batman

- 1 Cornilov: o' fi isie neud, (.7) french: a chemistry >yn
 was I want to do and in
 I wanted to do French and chemistry at
- 2 dechre blwyddyn ti ddim moyn ca'l y chemistry.<=
 beginning year you not want to get the
 the beginning of the year you don't want to have the chemistry
- 3 → Wesley: =be' i'ffrange? i'cemeg? ((smiling at C))
 what French chemistry
 what French? chemistry?
- 4 Pause: (.)
- 5 Cornilov: ie: (.) turns out o'dd (.) cemeg yn impossible so
 yeah turns out chemistry was impossible so
 yeah turns out chemistry was impossible so
- 6 Cornilov: (.6) >ma' 'di messo lan< i'whole dyfodol fi.γ
 is after mess up i'whole of my future my
 it's messed (up) the whole of my future

Cornilov's use of the English names of school subjects, "French" and "chemistry", in line 1 and the repetition of "chemistry" in line 2 give rise to a medium repair by Wesley in line 3. In the focus group data, there is a strong tendency for school subjects (especially those taught in Welsh) to

³² A (Advanced) levels are the 18+ public examinations typically taken in year 13 of secondary school in England and Wales.

be given their Welsh names, which may open up the possibility for a medium repair in a stretch of talk which is otherwise best characterised as a mixed medium (see below).

Not only does Wesley fail to respond to the content of Cornilov's complaint that he did not get to take the subject combination of his choice, Wesley also initiates a dispreferred other-repair, by saying *be* 'what?' immediately followed by the subject names in Welsh. Furthermore, the substituted Welsh subject names, *Ffrangeg* and *cemeg*, are said using exaggerated rising intonation curves. At the same time Wesley looks at Cornilov with a big smile on his face. After a micropause Cornilov gives a po-faced response to Wesley's tease³³, by treating his response as a request for confirmation of the factual content of his statement rather than as a correction of his Welsh. Although Cornilov now uses the Welsh word for chemistry (line 5) supplied by Wesley, Cornilov provides no explicit response to the language correction but instead he rephrases his complaint. Moreover, he ups the seriousness of his predicament by spelling out that it has messed up his future plans. Wesley does admittedly make a further quip, this time about *maths*³⁴, in the overlap with line 6 in response to Cornilov's repeated complaint, but the very next turn (not included in the above excerpt) shows that Action Man treats Cornilov's complaint with enough seriousness to allow Cornilov to let the matter rest.

If we disregard the medium repair in line 3, the remaining examples of code-alternation (in italics) in lines 5-6 do not appear to be obviously marked. It should also be added that medium repairs are extremely rare in the discussions of this group, but the frequency of the code-alternation in Cornilov's turn does not stand out as unusual in any way. The base language seems to be Welsh, as in the rest of their discussions together, but the insertions are in English. Despite the substitution of *cemeg* for

³³ C.f. Drew (1987) shows that serious or po-faced responses to teases are frequent and do not indicate that a person who is the object of the tease does not realise that they are being teased. According to Drew's findings, teases suggest a subtle form of social control for minor displays of deviant behaviour. A po-faced response is designed to resist any implied deviance.

³⁴ It is difficult to make out exactly what Wesley says in this overlap, but it may be another tease (delivered in a chuckling voice) aimed at Cornilov because he has given up the subject mathematics. The latter fact emerges elsewhere in the focus group discussion. However, if Wesley's overlapping comment is intended as an additional tease, it receives another po-faced response from Cornilov and neither does anyone else appear to orient towards Wesley's quip here.

“chemistry”, Wesley’s correction does not result in Cornilov ‘cleaning up’ his Welsh. Since no other language repairs are occasioned here and the language alternation appears to be unmarked in all cases (or can be accounted for in other ways), there is strong evidence that the talk in this excerpt (and in fact almost their whole discussion) constitutes primarily a mixed medium, more specifically with Welsh as the base or default code with English insertions. In terms of prosody, the English insertions are also fully integrated.

In the following extract (excerpt 2), which exemplifies *medium suspension*, includes the most frequently occurring subcategory, i.e. *quotations*. Here Katy illustrates herself speaking Welsh outside school, where she socialises more often in Welsh.

Excerpt 2 (FGD2, FG2, 07:35)

Participants: Sally, Tina, Katy, Claire

1 Katy: if you could see me [>I mean they would jus’ be
2 Sally: [we would disown you.
3 Katy: like,< ((points to herself in shock)) *A:::::H*]
4 Sally: \$heheh\$]
5 Katy: .hhh ((*shrieking)) >an’ I(’d be saying)<
6 → *helo shw mae o ie* ((*in strong lilting Welsh
hello how is oh yeah accent))
hello how are you oh yeah
7 >an’ I’d go to °so crikey hell god° an’ I
8 do well thinking I enjoy it I I love speaking welsh
9 I’m sorry.< ((buries her head in her hands))

The code-switching in line 6 consists of a mock conversation in Welsh beginning with a standardised greeting (for this part of Wales). Although the quotation does not correspond to any real conversation with any particular person, its delivery in Welsh adds to its authenticity as an example of Katy’s linguistic practices, which she envisages the others as wanting to dissociate themselves from. This is illustrated not least by Katy’s body language in lines 3 and 9. The current medium (English) is thus suspended to provide extra meaning. Furthermore, the quotation is flagged by using a reporting verb in line 5 (“I’d be saying”), as well as the exaggerated lilting Welsh accent for the duration of the code-switched ‘reported speech’. This additional ‘voicing’ is what Günthner

terms the “polyphonic layering of voices”³⁵. Here the exaggerated quality of the ‘quotation’, both in prosody and accent, appears to heighten the level of dissociation that Katy attributes to the others. Thus the code-switching here, together with other lexical and prosodic features, functions as a contextualisation cue.

Medium switching is best exemplified by excerpt 21 in §6.6.3. At the risk of providing unnecessary repetitions, I shall not supply any detailed analysis here. Suffice it to say that a change in situation in this excerpt occasions a gradual medium switch by all participants. The researcher who has just introduced the focus group task in his preferred language, English, leaves the room and the language of the focus group discussion is then open to negotiation. What subsequently unfolds is a *medium negotiation sequence*, i.e. “a stretch of talk in which participants do not agree on one common language^[36] of interaction.” (Auer 1998: 8). Thus a medium negotiation sequence allows participants to attend to each other’s *medium preferences*. As in this case, it does not usually occur by participants explicitly discussing their preferred medium choices, but instead they “carry out language negotiation sequences along with whatever other interactional projects they are producing.” (Cromdal 2000: 75). The outcome of the medium negotiation sequence in excerpt 21 is that the medium switches from English to a mixed medium, characterised by Welsh as a base language with English insertions.

3.2.2 An Organisational vs. an Identity-oriented Approach to Code-switching

Gafaranga and Torras’s taxonomy and definition appears to adhere to the CA tradition most rigorously, in that it is based on next-turn proof procedure, i.e. observable structural features of unfolding talk-in-interaction. Two such features made explicit in Gafaranga and Torras’ model are the presence or absence of any medium repair and the sequential implicativeness of language choice (c.f. medium switching vs. medium suspension). Other discernible features include “prosodic cues (extra emphasis, preceding pause) and verbal markers (metalinguistic

³⁵ By this Günthner refers to the “prosodic means and devices of speech quality [...] used to communicate the speaker’s perspective towards the quoted utterance” (1999: 685).

³⁶ Auer uses the term “language negotiation sequence”, and refers to the “language of interaction”, but this implies that one switches from one discrete language to another, which may not be the case. In my data, participants may switch from English to a predominantly mixed medium.

comments [including repairs], hesitation)” which “may serve to underline the juxtaposition and turn it into a locally noticeable phenomenon.” (Auer 1999: 314) Indeed, some such features have been included in the analysis of the above excerpts (1-2).

In addition to sequential implicitness, Li Wei points out another advantage of adopting a CA approach to code-switching, *viz.* that it “limits the external analyst’s interpretational leeway because it relates his or her interpretation back to the members’ mutual understanding of their utterances as manifest in their behaviour” (Auer, 1984: 6, qtd in Wei, 2005b: 382). This includes maintaining a balance between social and conversational structures. Wei puts it thus:

Those who adopt the CA approach to code-switching argue that one must not assume that, in any given conversation, speakers switch languages in order to ‘index’ speaker identity, attitudes, power relations, formality, etc.; rather, one must be able to demonstrate how such things as identity, attitude and relationship are presented, understood, accepted, rejected, or changed in the process of interaction. (Wei, 2005b: 382)

Wei’s argument here may also be seen as a polemic against the competing approach to code-switching. In general terms, one can say that sociolinguistic perspectives on code-switching can be grouped into two broad categories. On the one hand, there is the organisational approach, which focusses on the management and sequential organisation of conversation, i.e. viewing code-switching as a contextualisation cue. This approach is advocated by researchers who practise Conversation Analysis, such as Wei, Auer, Gafaranga, Torras and Cromdal. On the other, there is the identity-oriented approach, which emphasises the metaphorical link between language and the social identity of speakers, along with the rights and obligations associated with each language. Advocates of this approach include Gumperz and Myers-Scotton.

It is the identity-oriented approach that Wei takes issue with above, by questioning any assumption of an *a priori* match between code choice and identity, e.g. that switching from English to Welsh automatically indexes Welshness. Gafaranga calls this the ‘language-reflects-society’ framework (2005: 284) and he proceeds to lay bare some of its limitations (287-291). These include problems with what society a language may be considered to reflect, since “one needs to view society

as consisting of not one social structure, but of an infinite number of social structures” (289), as well as what counts as language (c.f. the discussion of a monolingual vs. bilingual medium above). Nonetheless, this does not necessarily rule out any potential indexicality between language and social identity, as Gafaranga also readily admits:

there is no doubt that, in the construction of meanings, language alternation interacts with other aspects of the wider non-linguistic social structures. However, the interaction between language choice and the wider non-linguistic social structures is much more complex than the ‘language-reflects-society’ framework implies. (Gafaranga 2005: 297)

Auer also rejects what he terms an “essentialist discourse”, which assumes an iconic relationship between language and identity, whereby “[e]ach collectivity (particularly a nation) expresses its own character (*Volksggeist*) in and through its language.” (2005: 406) Although he also acknowledges that “discourse-related uses of code-switching may be overlaid by identity displays, [and] disentangling the two layers can be a complex matter” (2005: 406). To return to the main thrust of Wei’s argument, he advocates that “any interpretation of the meaning of code-switching, or what might be called the broad why questions, must come after fully examining the ways in which the participants locally constitute the phenomena, i.e. the *how* questions.” (Wei, 2005b: 382) In other words, by attending carefully to the procedures speakers themselves use to create meaning and reach an understanding, the analyst may be able to “disentangle identity displays from discourse-related uses of code-switching”.

3.2.3 Code-switching in Welsh

There has been relatively little research on code-switching in Welsh. Taking a sociolinguistic perspective, K. Jones (2000) has looked at code-switching in bureaucratic discourse, and D. Jones and M. Martin-Jones (2004) have examined code-switching in bilingual mathematics classes. The latter study shows *inter alia* how teachers accommodate students’ different levels of proficiency in Welsh as well as how they attend to students’ individual language preferences. Deuchar (2005) has written more extensively about code-switching, but the focus of her writing is on determining the predominant structural pattern of Welsh-English code-

switching (insertional, alternational or congruent lexicalisation³⁷). The conclusion of her preliminary structural analysis is that insertion is the predominant pattern in informal conversation, with congruent lexicalisation found as a secondary pattern as “compatible with other features reflecting prolonged language contact.” (619) Although Deuchar’s study is the only one to focus on informal talk, she disregards any potential discourse- and identity-related functions of code-switching. Furthermore, not many of the few examples she gives that include a little of the surrounding utterance in which the language alternation occurs would probably be classed as code-switching according to Gafaranga & Torras’ typology³⁸, which takes a participant perspective on what constitutes code-switching.

Although there is a paucity of empirical research on Welsh-English code-switching, especially with a sociolinguistic slant, there has been plenty of writing about language contact phenomena in Welsh. These are too numerous to list or do justice to here, and many take a prescriptive and puristic stance, recommending the avoidance of Anglicisms, particularly in writing. Even in more empirically based studies, such as that of M. Jones (1998) on language obsolescence and revitalisation in two contrasting communities in Wales, there are negative undertones of the threat posed by code-switching. Here she wishes to make a distinction between code-switching in ‘healthy’ and obsolescent languages:

The distinction is undoubtedly affected by a language’s socio-political situation: the fact that Spanish is not perceived to be in any danger of extinction in the United States means that code-switching is seen to be less threatening than if it were occurring in, for example, the Celtic languages, who are facing precisely this threat from the variety used in the code-switch. (246)

Admittedly, the object of M. Jones’s study is in part to discover signs of language obsolescence in Welsh, but given the prevalence of code-switching and code-mixing in many bilingual societies around the world,

³⁷ In the case of congruent lexicalisation “the grammatical structure is shared by languages A and B, and words from both languages a and b are inserted more or less randomly” (Muysken, 2000: 8).

³⁸ Deuchar, in fact, uses the term code-mixing rather than code-switching to refer to “all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence” (Muysken, 2000: 1, qtd in Deuchar 2005: 1).

it seems to give a somewhat distorted picture to relegate the phenomenon simply to “an indication of language obsolescence” (86).

Indeed, Gafaranga and Torras point out the “monolingual bias” prevalent in the Western world, in particular, whereby it is erroneously assumed that “the norm is to use one language only” (4). For this reason, language alternation “is often noticed, not only by researchers but also by community members themselves” (3). This often results in communities assigning labels to talk of this kind, such as Yanito³⁹ (English-Spanish mixing in Gibraltar), mikijimap “mix-’im-up”⁴⁰ (Gurindji-Creole/Aboriginal English spoken by Gurindji Aborigines in the Northern Territory of Australia) and Italo-schwyz⁴¹ (Swiss German-Italian (dialect) spoken by Italian migrant workers in Switzerland). Because of the monolingual bias, such mixed varieties are often looked down upon (though not always⁴²). In Wales, Welsh mixed with English is often referred to pejoratively as *bratiaith* (literally “rag language”). On the BBC Cymru website, *Tacteg Cymraeg* “Welsh Tactics”, *bratiaith* is defined as *iaith lafar o safon wael* “spoken language of a poor standard”⁴³ and gives the following example:

Ma’ fe’n rili grêt
is he part. really great
That’s/it’s really great

It is notable that the example cited here includes two English loanwords found in colloquial Welsh: *rili* and *grêt*, albeit with Welsh spellings. Moreover, this example is strikingly similar to the informal spoken Welsh used by the school pupils in the data. Indeed, their Welsh abounds with ‘borrowings’ from English as we have already seen in excerpt 1 in the previous section.

³⁹ c.f. Moyer 1998.

⁴⁰ c.f. McConvell 1988: 97.

⁴¹ c.f. Franceschini 1998.

⁴² This is exemplified by Auer: “A notable exception from the often negative attitudes towards mixing are the mixed varieties used by the African elites—showing, among other things, that it is not varieties or “codes” that are evaluated but their speakers.” (1999: 318, footnote 14)

⁴³ At the following web address: (22 May 2006)

<<http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru/tacteg/cymraeg/termiadur/bratiaith.shtml>>

It should be added here that *bratiaith* is not a term which has appeared in the data of this study. Instead, the term “Wenglish⁴⁴” appears a couple of times in the focus group data. For example, it is used to describe the language (predominantly Welsh) of *Pam Fi Duw?*⁴⁵ “Why Me, God?”, a television series shown on the Welsh-language television channel, S4C (Sianel Pedwar Cymru): “*Pam Fi Duw* is Wenglish, it’s not even Welsh”. Another focus group member also makes a metalinguistic remark about her mixed-medium Welsh: *fi’n siarad Wenglish nawr* “I’m speaking *Wenglish* now” (see excerpt 34 in §6.5.1.1 for a fuller transcription). In the next section I shall be theorising on the nature of the English insertions in their mixed-medium Welsh and their relation to code-alternation.

3.2.4 Code-alternation, Loanwords or Nonce Borrowings?

Without a vast amount of data, it can prove to be very difficult to decide on whether borrowings from English are one-off nonce borrowings or more integrated loanwords⁴⁶. When it comes to informal spoken Welsh, neither can the question be answered simply by resorting to what is prescribed as ‘good’ Welsh (in grammars, dictionaries and spellcheckers, etc.). Because of the gap between spoken and written Welsh, these aids tend to be prescriptive and puristic. Moreover, if one is to take a participant’s perspective, which a conversation analytic approach requires, the distinction between loanwords and nonce borrowings becomes unnecessary, unless participants orient to these in

⁴⁴ Wenglish was originally coined by John Edwards (1985) to refer to the variety of English spoken in South-East Wales, but its use is now no longer limited to the English of the South East. Neither, it seems, is its use now limited to Welsh varieties of English.

⁴⁵ The series centres around life in a Welsh-medium secondary school in an otherwise Anglicised part of South Wales. The main character, Rhys, comes from a bilingual home, where the father speaks hardly any Welsh. The series is mainly in Welsh, but English is used when characters speak to Rhys’s father. Furthermore, the school pupils tend to speak Welsh mixed with a fair amount of English, but the amount varies somewhat from character to character.

⁴⁶ Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (1987) make this distinction on the basis of: whether the borrowings are morphologically, syntactically and phonologically integrated, whether they are recurrent (for individuals) or widespread (for communities), whether they are accepted and whether they represent a restricted lexicon or the whole lexicon.

some way⁴⁷. Indeed, the same argument obtains, when it comes to distinguishing between different codes as discrete categories, if code-alternation carries no meaning *per se*. Indeed, as I indicated in conjunction with excerpt 1 above, the discussions of this peer group are mainly characterised by a mixed medium, which means that code-alternation is generally unmarked and therefore not used as a contextualisation cue.

Nevertheless, this does not fully solve the analyst's problem, since transcribing the spoken data makes its own demands. Written languages have their own spelling conventions, for example, which means one has to decide which language words belong to, in order to spell them. For example, in written Welsh borrowings tend to be resisted, but when they do become accepted they tend to be respelt according to Welsh orthographic principles. The praxis of transcribing code-alternation has also established principles, which may give rise to conflicts. Thus on the basis of conflicting conventions, I have chosen to be pragmatic in how I transcribe mixed-medium Welsh. Let us take a short extract from the data to illustrate the issue.

In excerpt 3 Louise explains that it is not worth speaking to her father in Welsh, because she would then have to translate the conversation into English for her mother.

Excerpt 3 (FGD1, FG3, 11:28)

1 Louise: ma' fe **rili**, >os ma' fe'n siarad cymraeg mae rhaid
is he really if is he part. speak Welsh is necessary
he **really** if he speaks Welsh you have

2 i **translato** y gyd o **conversation** i saesneg **so might**
to translate the whole of **conversation** into English
to **translate** the whole **conversation** into English **so might as**

3 **as well just**< siarad **like**,
speak
well just speak **like**

The items marked in bold are borrowings from English. In transcribing bilingual or multilingual spoken data, it is common practice to write all examples of code-alternation in italics (or bold), yet this practice takes an etic rather than an emic perspective. If one were to take

⁴⁷ By this I do not mean that Welsh speakers are unaware of which words or phrases are English and which are Welsh, but rather they do not always treat such borrowings as 'intrusions' in their talk-in-interaction.

an emic perspective, one would have to decide in each individual case whether one needs to distinguish between codes. Hence, in cases of marked code-switching, italics would be justified and in cases of unmarked code-mixing (mixed codes) italics would not be called for. In practice, it is not always easy to decide unequivocally whether each case is marked or unmarked. For this reason, I have followed common practice and written most occurrences of code-alternation in italics. In the text accompanying each excerpt, I have then discussed the nature of the code-alternation, where I have deemed it to be relevant to the analysis in question. Naturally, in cases where code-switching is in focus, the analysis then calls for attention to all potential candidates of code-alternation.

Nevertheless, in excerpt 3 some potential candidates have been marked as code-switching (in italics) and some have not. Moreover, those which do not appear in italics have been given Welsh or semi-Welsh spellings: *rili* “really”, *translato* “translate”. The reasons are different in each case. In the former case, *rili* is so common in the spoken data that a Welsh spelling seems justified. All of the following are common in most, if not all, of the pupils’ speech: *ie* “yeah”⁴⁸, *so* “so”, *jyst* “just”, *ocê* “okay”, *oreit* “alright”, *ddo* “though”, *eniwê* “anyway”. As a further guide as to which borrowings should be respelt in this manner, I have referred to other informal Welsh-language sources. Indeed, all of the above borrowings with Welsh spellings also appear in John Owen’s series of diary novels, written for teenagers in informal colloquial Welsh (Owen, 2000 & 2001).

In the case of *translato*, the Welsh verbal noun suffix *-o*⁴⁹ has been added to the English verb, which renders a wholly English spelling impossible. However, this verbal noun suffix is so productive that basically any English verb can be converted into Welsh in this manner, even though the ending does not seem to fulfil any important morphological function. Further examples of verbal nouns from the data which have been adapted in the same way by adding the same suffix are: *tecsio* “text, send a text message”, *wotsio* “watch”, *switsio* “switch” and

⁴⁸ See also “Yes and No” in appendix 1.

⁴⁹ There are also plenty of Welsh verbal nouns which have been borrowed from English with the suffix *-io* (e.g. *ffonio* “to phone”, *recordio* “to record”, *perfformio* “to perform”), but in my data nonce borrowings tend to just add the suffix *-o*.

critiseiso “criticise”. The full or partial adaptation of these borrowings to Welsh orthography depends on their phonological divergence from English and to some extent their frequency in Welsh (in known cases). However, unlike most of the examples cited above, in most cases the English spelling will be retained (with the addition of the Welsh verbal noun suffix) in order to make the words easily recognisable (transparent) to the reader.

Besides verbal nouns, most occurrences of code-alternation either show no morphological adaptation to Welsh⁵⁰ or they are less frequent (or simply ‘one-offs’) in the data. Indeed, Auer (1998: 17) remarks that the high frequency of (unmarked) nonce borrowings, rather than marked medium suspension⁵¹, is characteristic of a mixed medium (“mixed code”)⁵². Therefore they have retained their English spellings in the transcriptions, e.g. “*conversation*”, “*might as well*” in excerpt 3.

Although the frequency of English borrowings in spoken Welsh or their morphological adaptation to Welsh have been guiding principles as to whether I have given them Welsh spellings, the matter is not always so straightforward. For example, in excerpt 3 I have transcribed “so” and “just” as English in line 3, even though these particular words are so common in spoken Welsh that I would normally transcribe them as Welsh (*so*, *jyst*), i.e. they would be spelt as Welsh and not italicised (if Welsh is the base language). However, the phrase “so might as well just *siarad* like” in lines 2-3 shows few signs of formal integration into Welsh syntax, even though the Welsh verbal noun *siarad* “speak” is inserted before the final “like” (the utterance is never completed, but the object English is implied). This makes it difficult even to determine the base language of this phrase, all the more so since the phrase is

⁵⁰ Although the rules of Welsh mutations can be applied to English borrowings from most word classes, they are frequently absent in the spoken data, even when it comes to native Welsh words. For example, in the context surrounding excerpt 3, *translato* is used by two speakers on 6 occasions. Between the fifth and sixth occurrences the ‘indigenous’ Welsh equivalent *cyfieithu* is used. After the preposition *i*, formal Welsh would require soft mutation (**i dranslato*), but the loanword *translato* shows no less formal adaptation to the syntactic rules of Welsh than the more conservative Welsh counterpart, in that *cyfieithu* also occurs after the same preposition without soft mutation (*i cyfieithu* and not its mutated form *i gyfieithu*).

⁵¹ “(Functional) insertions” in Auer’s terminology.

⁵² Auer (Ibid.) also notes that another common feature of mixed media is the occurrence of unmarked discourse markers from the other language, e.g. “you see”, “like”, to mention but two examples from the discussion data.

embedded in a predominantly Welsh conversation. However, since “so” and “just” flank a wholly English syntactic construction, transcribing the whole phrase as English here seems justified.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out once again that determining the base language should not necessarily be a major concern in the analysis, if the participants cannot be seen to attend to such matters in their talk-in-interaction (unless of course code-switching/code-mixing is the focus of the investigation). However, as I have tried to illustrate here, the problem arises in the process of transcribing the spoken data, when conventions of orthography and transcription practices clash with this theoretical vantage point. Hence the rather eclectic stance I take in transcribing spoken data featuring code-alternation.

3.3 Diglossia vs. Bilingualism

As noted earlier, most countries are bilingual or multilingual but to varying degrees. Even within a relatively monolingual country, there is often a standardised language (which may be primarily a written rather than a spoken language) and a number of spoken regional and urban dialects. To give a fairly traditional sociolinguistic account of matters, some of these dialects may diverge considerably from the standard language, yet they are nonetheless considered to be varieties of the standard. However, Ferguson observed that in some speech communities there is “one particular kind of standardization where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play” (2000 [1959]: 65), one of which is a *superposed* variety, that is, not a primary “native” variety, but one learnt in addition to the native variety. This linguistic division of labour he termed *diglossia*⁵³.

By taking Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German and Haitian Creole as examples, Ferguson drew up two generalised categories based on the specialised roles or functions of the two language varieties used in each speech community; he named the spoken or “native” variety Low (L) and the additional variety High (H) (66). In order to justify these labels (which also had corresponding equivalents in each of the defining languages), he related them to the comparative prestige of the two

⁵³ Borrowed from the French *diglossie* (Marçais 1930).

varieties, and compared their complementary functions in twelve “situations”, ranging from sermons in the church or mosque to conversations with family, friends and colleagues, to name just two (68). Thus the prestigious H variety would be used in formal situations such as those of the church or mosque sermon and parliamentary speeches, whereas the less prestigious L variety would be used in informal situations such as conversations with family, friends and colleagues. It should be stressed that these allocations of H and L varieties are based on which variety is deemed appropriate in each situation, i.e. that language choices reflect community norms.

All in all, Fergusson drew up nine categories of characteristic features which demarcate the binary division between H and L: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology. In addition to the distinguishing features already described, the following elaborations will suffice at this juncture to illustrate the distinction:

- *Standardisation*. An established and regulated norm for the standard H variety vs. (at best) a limited standardised form of the L variety (71).
- *Grammar*. The H variety has a greater grammatical complexity⁵⁴ (e.g. more obligatory categories marked by morphemes or concord) (73).
- *Literary heritage*. A sizable body of written literature in the H variety has either been produced long ago or has been in continuous production (70).

One final general feature of diglossia is that it constitutes a stable state that “typically persists for at least several centuries” (72).

Although Fergusson relates diglossia solely to communities with two varieties of the *same* language, he acknowledges “the analogous situation where two distinct (related or unrelated) languages are used side by side throughout a speech community, each with a clearly defined role.” (66-67) It is no doubt Fishman (2000 [1967]) who made the initial most enduring attempt to extend Ferguson’s notion of diglossia to bilingual communities. By combining the binary variables of bilingualism and diglossia, Fishman arrived at the following four-fold table (figure 4):

⁵⁴ Though Fergusson acknowledges that this might not be the case for Swiss German.

		Diglossia	
		+	-
Bilingualism	+	Both diglossia and bilingualism	Bilingualism without diglossia
	-	Diglossia without bilingualism	Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

Fig. 4 The relationship between bilingualism and diglossia (Fishman 2000 [1967])

Although bilingualism is never explicitly defined in Fishman’s article, it appears to mean language ability, pertaining to the bilingual individual. The presence or absence of bilingual ability is then contrasted with the presence or absence of diglossia, pertaining to the complementary functions appropriate for the respective H and L languages in the bilingual speech community.

Category 1, *both diglossia and bilingualism*, corresponds to the diglossia of Ferguson’s four defining examples. However, Fishman’s addition of Spanish (H) and Guaraní (a typologically unrelated indigenous language) in Paraguay “where almost the entire population speaks both” (83)⁵⁵ extends the reach of diglossia to include diglossia between two distinct languages.

For category 2, *bilingualism without diglossia*, the two languages or varieties lack clearly defined or separate functions. This may be indicative of “rapid social change, of great social unrest, of widespread abandonment of prior norms before the consolidation of new ones” (85). As a result this state is prone to be unstable and transitional (87). Fishman exemplifies this category by way of reference to industrialisation in the Western world, whereby the means of production were drawn from one speech community (H), whereas the labour force were drawn from another (L). The ensuing social upheaval tended to result in language shift from L to H.

In the case of category 3, *diglossia without bilingualism*, there are two or more speech communities “united religiously, politically or

⁵⁵ According to Paraguayan census data from 1950 reported in Rona (1966: 284), 76.1% of the population of Asunción claimed to be bilingual in Spanish and Guaraní as opposed to 49% outside the capital.

economically into a single functioning unit” (84). Typically for this category, there is an impermeable group boundary between a small H-speaking élite and the L-speaking masses, that is, any bilingualism that does exist is not widespread. To illustrate this category, Fishman refers to the French-speaking élites in a number of otherwise non-French-speaking European countries prior to World War I.

Category 4, *neither diglossia nor bilingualism*, is theoretically possible, but perhaps only in small, isolated and undifferentiated speech communities. However, since “[a]ll communities seem to have certain ceremonies or pursuits to which access is limited”, this category “tends to be self liquidating.” (87)

Whereas Ferguson’s notion of diglossia pertains to a more restricted group of languages (with two separate language varieties), Fishman’s model potentially embraces all possible language communities with reference to an albeit watered-down version of bilingualism (encompassing language varieties as well as separate languages) and diglossia. One other important addition in Fishman’s model is the incorporation of transition and change; as long as each language (or language variety) has its own compartmentalised roles, which provide sheltered protection, diglossia results and stability may be ensured. Conversely, a lack of diglossic compartmentalisation tends to result in instability and transition, i.e. the abandonment of one language for another more advantageous or prestigious one (language shift).

Since Fishman’s redefinition of diglossia to include “functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind” (2000 [1967]: 82), there have been many attempts to adopt the term and adapt it to circumstances prevailing in numerous communities around the world⁵⁶. As a result, both broad and narrow definitions of diglossia have been put forward. Undoubtedly, the most widely known broad definition of diglossia has been proposed by Fasold:

⁵⁶ Fasold lists three examples of diglossia or polyglossia applied to multilingual communities: *double overlapping diglossia* in Tanzania (c.f. Abdulaziz Mkilifi 1978), which allows for the inclusion of three overlapping languages (e.g. English, Swahili and vernacular languages) with varying internal H-L relations; *double-nested diglossia* in Khalapur, India, which exhibits “two little diglossias” within the “big diglossia” between the H variety Hindi and the L variety Khalapur (c.f. Gumperz 1964); and Platt’s (1977) *linear polyglossia* in Singapore and Malaysia, which allows for a multilingual society with a hierarchy of languages distributed along a differentiated continuum from H to L (Fasold 1990 [1984]: 46-50).

Broad diglossia is the reservation of highly valued segments of a community's linguistic repertoire (which are not the first to be learned, but are learned later and more consciously, usually through formal education), for situations perceived as more formal and guarded; and the reservation of less highly valued segments (which are learned first with little or no conscious effort), of any degree of linguistic relatedness to the higher valued segments, from stylistic differences to separate languages, for situations perceived as more informal and intimate. (1990 [1984]: 53)

Thus, like Fishman, Fasold prefers to focus on the functional distribution of language varieties as primary for diglossia, rather than their typological relatedness. However, Fasold's definition also allows for more than two languages or language varieties, e.g. *triglossia* (with three varieties) or *polyglossia* (with many varieties). Nevertheless, he argues that the term be retained: "We can keep the term if we understand the prefix [bi-] to refer loosely to the two ends of the formality-intimacy continuum of language use, rather than to two linguistic varieties." (53) As well as arguing for the inclusion of more than two languages or language varieties within the concept of diglossia, Fasold opens the door to a continuum, rather than a simple bipartite division between H and L.

Whereas Fasold widens the boundaries of diglossia, in a fairly recent contribution to the ongoing diglossia debate, Hudson (2002) wishes to narrow the scope in an attempt to salvage many of Ferguson's original criteria for diglossia "to reach beyond the purely descriptive and classificatory levels of analysis to the theoretical" (1). Consequently, Hudson argues that diglossia be defined as "a quite specific set of relationships between functional compartmentalization of codes, the lack of opportunity for the acquisition of H as a native variety, the resulting absence of native speakers of H, and the stability in the use of L for vernacular purposes." (40) Thus Hudson argues in favour of maintaining a tripartite distinction between diglossia, societal bilingualism and a standard language with dialects⁵⁷. At the same time, he concedes that, in principle, the codes of diglossia can be "varieties of totally unrelated languages as readily as they might be minimally distinct isolects of the

⁵⁷ This tripartite division corresponds closely to Fasold's three "subtypes of broad diglossia": *classic diglossia*, *superposed bilingualism* and *style shifting*, respectively (1990 [1984]: 54).

same language” (40). Yet he concludes that, in practice, this tends to be the exception rather than the rule.

Let us now take a more critical look at the various conceptions of diglossia, particularly with reference to societal bilingualism. Firstly, the term diglossia has arisen within the structural-functional framework. This implies a view of society that essentially rests on an infelicitous and flawed notion of fixed social relations where appropriacy plays a central role. Appropriacy, in turn, implies general societal consensus as to what norms apply in what situation. By focusing on large-scale structures such as norms and their underlying principles, rather than real-life interactions, there has been a tendency to reduce the role of human agency (Pennycook 2001: 31). However, in reality there is rarely, if ever, total normative consensus as regards language choice in bilingual communities. Instead, since appropriacy is not inherently apolitical, there is more likelihood of associated social norms being contested, not least if there is an inequitable distribution of power between language groups⁵⁸. As Martin-Jones has put it:

Among linguistic minorities everywhere, there are individuals and groups with divergent interests and allegiances which are associated with markedly different linguistic practices and language attitudes. It was sociolinguists working in situations characterized by this kind of diversity who first began to contest the concept of community implicit in the diglossia model. (1989: 108)

Secondly, for bilingual communities, Fishman portrays diglossia (category 1) as a stable condition. The stability of diglossia was a characteristic feature initially established by Ferguson (71). However, meshed with bilingualism according to Fishman’s redefinition, it takes on an ideal quality. This is implied not only by the positive undertones of the term “stable diglossia” (83), but also turns of phrase such as “the maintenance of diglossia as well as its disruption” (82). Any change to the apparently stable diglossic situation, is thus perceived as a “disruption”. Hence it comes as no surprise that the absence of diglossia in Fishman’s category 2 is portrayed as transitional and unstable. Similarly, in describing the shifting patterns of language use in

⁵⁸ This latter critique applies more to Fishman’s model, which allows for different language groups, rather than two language varieties, one of which is a superposed variety.

multilingual Tanzania, Fasold talks of the “leakage” of double overlapping diglossia⁵⁹ (1990 [1984]: 57), which reinforces the notion that any other pattern of societal bilingualism is in need of repair. Taken one step further, bilingualism without diglossia seems by implication to be an inherent threat to social order, as G. Williams has pointed out in his sociological critique of Fishman’s diglossic model:

Bilinguals operate as individuals in the sense that they lack the ‘widely accepted social consensus’ which constitutes the norm, implying that bilingualism is, in some way, non-harmonious and non-cooperative, since these are the very types of behaviour sustained by the normative consensus. Indeed, it would not be too far-fetched to imply that, within this context, bilingualism is implied to be the converse of social order. (1992: 102-103)

According to Fishman (2000 [1967]), the threat of social instability, apparently resulting in inevitable language shift, is to be explained thus:

Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s). (87)

In order to account for what lies behind “the predominant drift of social forces”⁶⁰, Fishman suggests “circumstances of rapid social change, of great social unrest, of widespread abandonment of prior norms before the consolidation of new ones” (85). What he appears to ignore is the fact that a *power differential* between language groups which may have given rise to diglossia in the first place can also be one cause of social unrest, whereby a minority language group contests the status quo. Thus the “compartmentalised roles” of the less prestigious language (L), held in place by notions of apolitical appropriacy, may be perceived by predominantly L speakers as far from equitable or ideal. Indeed, as E. Williams points out: “Obedience to norms, however, should not be

⁵⁹ See footnote 5 for a brief explanation of double overlapping diglossia.

⁶⁰ Note also G. Williams (1992: 104) critique of the “evolutionary schema” implied in this quotation from Fishman:

Not only is this couched in such a way as to exclude the inherent conflict between [the fortunate] ‘language or variety’ on the one hand and ‘others’ on the other, but there is a reification of language so that language becomes ‘fortunate enough’ while social forces ‘drift’ as if separate from agency and control.

mistaken for consensus, though it is so mistaken, particularly if maintained over a long period of time.” (1989: 345)

Thirdly, without recourse to the “disruption” or breakdown of diglossia apparently leading to language shift, there seems to be no scope for change. One lesson we have learnt from the history of languages is that they are dynamic, and that change is inevitable, not least when two or more languages come into contact with each other. As Martin-Jones points out: “[w]ithin [Fishman’s] static model, it is not possible to account for the social and linguistic processes involved in language retention and shift among bilingual minorities.” (1989: 110)

Fourthly, Fishman’s compartmentalised roles and Ferguson’s situations, where the H or L language (or variety) is appropriate are rather fuzzy concepts, to say the least. One of Ferguson’s situations cited earlier includes conversation with family, friends and colleagues. Likewise, Fishman bunches together “everyday pursuits of hearth, home and work” (82) with a rather deterministic broad-brush approach. In reality, even within one family, language practices may vary enormously for reasons which cannot be captured simply by reference to appropriacy.

In “Who speaks what language to whom and when?” Fishman (1965) attempted a more precise analysis of “choice-patterns” in face-to-face encounters through what he termed *domain analysis*. Here he defined domains as “a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accordance with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture” (94). Notwithstanding Fishman’s inclusion here of more parameters that may affect language choice than merely “situations”, and notwithstanding later refinements to the notion of “domain” (e.g. 1972), we cannot escape the fact that diglossia constitutes a deterministic representation of individuals’ language choice. Indeed, if we can talk of choice at all, as Martin-Jones points out:

Fishman (1972) uses the term ‘choice’ quite liberally in describing the language practices of individual bilinguals, however, the use of the term is hardly apt since the model actually denies the possibility of choice. All members of a bilingual community are seen as being constrained to ‘proper usage’ (1972: 435), with languages in the community repertoire falling into a neat pattern of complementary distribution. (1989: 108)

As evidenced in turns of phrase such as “proper usage”, the normative force of the monolingual bias can be seen in operation in Fishman’s framework, insofar as code-switching or other kinds of bilingual talk prevalent in bilingual communities are conspicuous by their absence (a case of implicit censorship). Neither do they fit into Fishman’s diglossic model, except possibly in terms of an evolutionary breakdown of diglossia, whereby “two (or more) carefully separated languages each under the eye of caretaker groups of teachers, preachers and writers” [...] “come to influence each other phonetically, lexically, semantically and even grammatically much more than before.” (1967: 86) Needless to say, countless researchers who have examined bilinguals’ talk-in-interaction witness to the fact that situations and domains are far too “leaky” to be truly useful even as abstract constructs. Today many would also reject the negative implications of an individual’s failure to comply with the monolingual norms implicit in the diglossic framework.

Finally, there is a problem with the binary division between L and H languages (or varieties), which by nature of its simplicity fails to capture the complex realities of bilingual language practices, as Dorian (2002) points out:

[Diglossia] simplifies linguistic space by dividing it into just two categories, then makes a simplified outcome worse by applying invidious labels to the categories cast up by its bipartite approach⁶¹ (64).

She then proceeds to relate Hudson’s (2002) narrow interpretation of diglossia to the language situation of twentieth-century East Sutherland in Scotland, which was the setting for her seminal account of language death (1981). Her portrayal of East Sutherland reveals a complexity, which is far from unique or unusual in a bilingual community. For the traditionally Gaelic-speaking fisherfolk of East Sutherland, English was “undisputed at the top of the prestige hierarchy”, yet English did not have “a monopoly on high-end contexts of use” (64), since “church Gaelic”, heavily influenced by the Gaelic Bible translation, and used by church ministers and elders, was also held in high regard.

Although it would be tempting to describe fisherfolk Gaelic and church Gaelic as likely candidates for a classic case of diglossia, there

⁶¹ Here Dorian acknowledges G. Williams’ previous critique of these biased labels (1992: 96).

are a number of complications and inconsistencies which make for an imperfect match. Some of these include the presence of an additional high-prestige language, namely English. Furthermore, most active users of church Gaelic were not East Sutherland-born, leaving only a handful of users from the local fisherfolk community. Although diglossia does allow for minority or élite control of the H variety, Dorian maintains that: “[t]he scarcity of individuals who had an active control of church Gaelic reduces the utility and validity of identifying vernacular Gaelic and church Gaelic as a diglossic pair in East Sutherland.” (65) Before proceeding to relate diglossia to another example (“the linguistic ecology of Arizona Tewa”), Dorian concludes that: “[i]n a variety of other complex multilingual settings the lack of fit between diglossia and the local linguistic realities seems equally acute, if not more so.” (66) Instead, she suggests that Kroskrity’s (1993) power-vs.-solidarity continuum might provide a more fruitful framework. She relates this continuum to the East Sutherland situation thus:

For the East Sutherland fisherfolk the local Gaelic represented solidarity but no power, church Gaelic some modest solidarity and some modest power, and English no solidarity but a great deal of power. (69)

Although Kroskrity’s power-vs.-solidarity continuum⁶² may not be readily applicable or the most salient continuum in all multilingual settings, the idea of a continuum, rather than a simple dichotomy, has also been posited by others. Yet the picture may be complicated even further, as in the East Sutherland case, by the presence of one or more additional languages or varieties. Indeed, even in Ferguson’s classic case of Arabic, there are not just two varieties: Classical Arabic (H) and vernacular Arabic (L). Indeed, Ennaji (2002: 80) differentiates between at least three varieties and argues the case for four on a continuum:

The continuum in figure 5 has the H variety at one end and the L variety at the other with intermediate varieties in between. However, this arrangement works best if the languages are typologically related.

⁶² There is also another problem with this continuum, that is, the implied iconic or ‘essentialist’ link between a language (variety) and a fixed social value (be it solidarity, power, or something else). Even if such links can be brought into play, people’s code-switching practices may juxtapose languages (or language varieties) to achieve a multitude of local interactional ‘projects’, which are unrelated to any simple iconic links.

Pauwels (1986: 15), on the other hand, suggests a continuum ranging from *rigid diglossia* where there are minimal functional overlaps between codes and to *fluid diglossia* where “several functions are less rigidly attached to a particular code”. Another continuum has been proposed by Fasold and was referred to above (pp. 67-68). His continuum is based on language *functions* ranging from H to L. The advantage of his proposal is that more than two languages or language varieties can be included on the continuum. It also allows for language (variety) overlaps. However, one major problem remains, *viz.* how to determine the formality of different situations independent of the mapping between H and L languages or varieties.

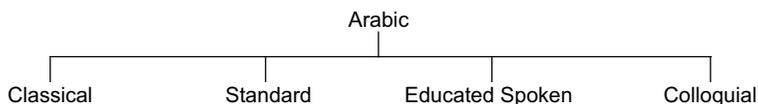


Fig. 5 Quadriglossia in the Arab world

If there are so many problems and flaws in the various conceptions of diglossia discussed above, how can we describe and account for people’s lived bilingual and multilingual realities? Let us wind up this discussion by considering some alternative approaches, taking each point of criticism in turn.

1. Rather than resorting to an apolitical consensus model, conflict and power relations need to be taken seriously. This requires a more dynamic conception of society and communities, whereby “conflict and contradiction is inherent” (E. Williams 1989: 344). Certainly, any suggestion that one-set-of-norms-fits-all can only constitute a gross simplification of people’s real bilingual practices. It ignores any stratification of society on the basis of class or gender, for instance. The individual’s opportunities for social mobility also add to the dynamism of social norms, including those pertaining to bilinguals’ language practices.

Furthermore, one-set-of-norms-fits-all denies the existence of multiple identities. Even within the same language community, individuals often display conflicting group identities in different

contexts. Such acts of identity may involve making active language choices, even to the extent that they flout normative conventions.

Thus an analysis of social relations needs to include power and resistance, and account for multiple identities, even those which are apparently at odds with one another. The latter paradox can be understood if identities are taken to be an aggregate of acts of identity performed largely through talk-in-interaction, rather than one's actions (including language practices) reflecting a more fixed identity.

2. Fishman's portrayal of bilingualism with diglossia as an inherently stable and ideal state is a misconceived political statement. Firstly, insofar as no social system is inherently stable, diglossia cannot be maintained without human agency. Even an apparently stable state needs constant re-enactment to be maintained. Moreover, stability in the guise of "acceptance or acquiescence do[es] not constitute consent" (E. Williams 1989: 350). Secondly, if diglossia is held in place by maintaining a power differential between two language groups, it is questionable whether stability is an ideal state. Indeed, Ferguson also recognised the fact that diglossia can give rise to "communicative tensions"(2000 [1959]: 72).

Thus any model of diglossia – and societal bilingualism come to that – needs to acknowledge the political reality of tensions that may arise from an inequitable compartmentalisation of functions for language (or variety) L and H. It also behoves the researcher to show how any apparently stable linguistic states are maintained through the reiteration of linguistic practices. This also involves an analysis of the dynamism of power relations, including resistance and the contestation of power.

3. Likewise to account for change, the researcher needs to demonstrate how this is brought about through people's changing social behaviour, which includes their linguistic practices. Instead of resorting to the breakdown of diglossia to account for change, we need a dynamic model that also allows for the revival of a minority language, and not just language shift on the slippery slope towards language death.

4. Domain analysis needs to be more fine-tuned to accommodate more parameters (e.g. language repertoires of people in the domain and purpose of talk), in order to acknowledge the real choices that bilinguals make and can make in talk-in-interaction. This also involves an analysis of micro-interactions, which acknowledges the *sequentiality* of talk⁶³ and the dialogical principle of *reflexivity* between discourse and context.

Furthermore, in their search for large-scale structures, Ferguson, Fishman and others have overlooked the performative and transformative power of recontextualisation. The layering or sedimentation of linguistic practices may give the appearance of substance (i.e. societal norms operating in different functional domains), but in order to operate, they need to be continually repeated. Yet the necessity to repeat them paradoxically provides for their potential transformation through the processes of decontextualisation and recontextualisation. Previous experience of language choices in a wide range of situations may provide a pattern or model of what is appropriate, but these patterns or models are at best a resource, and as such they can be resisted and contested.

Through the largely invisible-hand processes of implicit censorship⁶⁴, the monolingual bias has effected the exclusion of code-switching and code-mixing as viable choices. Such commonplace linguistic practices also deserve the analyst's attention on their own terms, and not as "intervening varieties [...] differing in degree of interpenetration" (Fishman 2000 [1967]: 86), that is, tainted by negative and puristic undertones.

5. Although High and Low are loaded terms, they have already gained wide currency in sociolinguistics, and it is impossible to replace them with transparent terms which have universal reach. In many cases formality and intimacy may work as binary poles, but it is safe to say that no simple binary distinction will suffice to capture either

⁶³ Sequentiality is an important concept in Conversation Analysis. In brief, it means that utterances (including language choices) can only be fully understood by close reference to their sequential position in talk-in-interaction. See also §4.4

⁶⁴ c.f. §2.3.3

the range of possible situations or domains, nor in many cases the languages or language varieties. Despite its drawbacks, Fasold's continuum based on language functions ranging from H to L seems the preferable choice in a bilingual or multilingual community. Although the formality/intimacy of a certain situation is not easily measurable, it is highly probable that the formality/intimacy continuum is at least one factor, which can influence the choice of language(s) or language variety(-ies) in bilingual or multilingual societies.

However, if we accept that Fasold's H-L language function continuum may to some extent correspond to sociolinguistic realities, does this render Ferguson's original tripartite division between diglossia, standards-with-dialects and societal bilingualism redundant? This might be the logical conclusion, if all three can be situated along the same continuum, with the possibility of overlaps. Thus we return to the question of whether to adopt a broad or a narrow definition of diglossia. Ferguson and Hudson's narrow definition runs the risk of concealing the inevitable connections between 'classic' diglossia and the other two broad categories, as Fishman points out in direct response to Hudson's theory of diglossia:

[I]t might be more appropriate to view diglossia in more variegated fashion, so as not to fail to see its underlying relationship (i.e. its patterned differences and similarities) to other varieties of societal multilingualism with which it cooccurs. (2002: 100)

Yet if diglossia is watered down to include all three language phenomena, it may lose much of its usefulness as a concept. Indeed, Ferguson did not only single out function as a criterion of diglossia; function was only one of nine characteristic features. Hudson claims that "far too much has been made of complementary distribution of codes" (2002: 39) and too little has been made of "the lack of opportunity for the acquisition of H as a native variety" (40), for example. He argues that it is the latter that ensures the stability of L as the language of normal conversation. At the same time, the lack of native speakers of H prevents language shift from L to H. Should language shift occur, it is always to the detriment of H. These and

other features may justify maintaining a prototypical three-way distinction, with the proviso that more than one prototype (or variant) may be in operation in a speech community simultaneously. Furthermore, adjustments along the lines outlined in points 1-5 above need to be made to accommodate the criticisms levelled at Ferguson's and Fishman's original conceptions of diglossia.

3.3.1 Diglossia and Bilingualism in Wales

Let us now turn to the language situation prevailing in Wales to see whether the prototypical notions of diglossia, standards-with-dialects and societal bilingualism can shed any light on people's real-life language practices. Notwithstanding the problems associated with prototypes discussed earlier in §3.3, I would claim that Wales bears strong traits of all three patterns, albeit with considerable variation both regionally and locally. Figure 6 serves to illustrate, albeit grossly oversimplified⁶⁵, both the relations between different varieties of Welsh and English, respectively, and the relations between Welsh and English as regards *language use*. Hence any overlaps represent situations where both Welsh and English or varieties of Welsh and English may be used in bilingual Welsh communities. Naturally, the overlaps also include the occurrence of bilingual talk (code-switching and code-mixing). What figure 6 does not show is any functional relationship between High and Low or any structural relationship either between the two languages or between the varieties of each respective language. These matters will be commented on separately.

3.3.1.1 Diglossia: Welsh Vernaculars versus Literary Welsh

Starting with the two varieties of Welsh, local dialects (vernacular Welsh, *Cymraeg lafar*) at one end of the spectrum and Literary Welsh (*Cymraeg lenyddol*) at the other, with no doubt myriad admixtures along the continuum⁶⁶, there seems to be a good case for describing the

⁶⁵ I acknowledge the inevitable impossibility of one-model-fits-all, and indeed this graphic representation probably fits no bilingual Welsh community, but with changes to the sizes of the circles and the extent of the overlaps, it could perhaps be adapted in order to generalise regional or local circumstances. Despite the inevitable limitations, at an all-Wales level, a generalised graphic representation may nevertheless clarify some general traits of bilingualism and diglossia in Wales.

⁶⁶ D. G. Jones concludes that there are three main varieties of Welsh: Literary Welsh, the common standard spoken language and the local dialects (1988: 137). The intermediate variety, the common standard spoken language, emerged in the wake of the religious revival of the 18th century as the

relationship between the two as diglossic, that is, without taking onboard the structural-functional consensual view of society. There are, in fact, some similarities with the East Sutherland case, which had church and fisherfolk Gaelic at either end of the language spectrum, even though there seemed to be fewer intermediate varieties of Gaelic. On the other hand, in both Wales and East Sutherland the picture was complicated further by (varieties of) English. We shall be returning to the relationship between Welsh and English below (in §3.3.1.3), but now let us examine in some detail the nature of diglossia between vernacular and Literary Welsh.

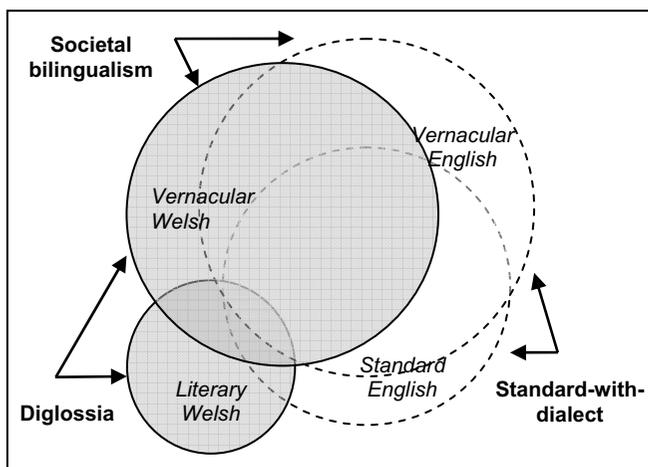


Fig. 6 Diglossia, societal bilingualism and standard-with-dialect in Wales

The gap between the two has, in fact, widened as regards both grammar and lexicon, two of Ferguson’s original diglossic criteria. As regards grammar, there are some 40 rules of initial mutation to be followed in Literary Welsh (D. G. Jones 1988: 140), as well as additional simple (synthetically formed) verb tenses, to mention but two distinguishing features of Literary Welsh. The lexicon of Literary Welsh

language of the chapel. It then spread to secular domains as “the medium of public address and formal discussion, and with the coming of radio communication it was naturally adopted as the language of announcements and news bulletins.” (136) However, with the decline of religion, Jones notes that knowledge of this variety has become more passive.

is an admixture of Southern and Northern dialect words in cases where the dialects diverge, e.g. *arian* (Literary and Southern Welsh) vs. *pres* (Northern Welsh) “money” and *bwrdd* (Literary and Northern Welsh) vs. *bord* (Southern Welsh) “table”. Even more significant, however, is the large number of English loanwords (and nonce borrowings) in spoken Welsh, which would be excluded from the more puristic Literary Welsh, e.g. *iws(i)o* (spoken Welsh) vs. *defnyddio* (Literary Welsh) “use” and *stesion* (spoken Welsh) vs. *gorsaf* (Literary Welsh) “station”. With respect to phonology, Literary Welsh is more likely to exhibit spelling pronunciations when these diverge from spoken forms. For example, in a small-scale study of radio broadcasts, Ball *et al* (1988: 189) note the spelling pronunciation of *ei/eu* [əi] rather than [i] “his, her/their” in 55% of cases in a news broadcast (which is scripted and therefore closer to Literary Welsh). Certainly, when it comes to standardisation, Literary Welsh is highly standardised with plenty of prescriptive grammars, handbooks and dictionaries which also exhibit a firmly established and universally accepted orthography. Spoken Welsh dialects, on the other hand, lack standardised forms.

If we turn to non-linguistic traits of Literary vs spoken Welsh, there is a sizable body of literature written in Literary Welsh, which is held in high esteem. Apart from the continual publishing of new books in Welsh, many contemporary Welsh-speaking writers compete locally, regionally and nationally in *eisteddfodau*⁶⁷ in both prose and poetry. Needless to say, the vast bulk of Welsh writing is in Literary Welsh. The esteem and prestige of Welsh literature is shared by Literary Welsh, which enjoys greater prestige than spoken dialects.

As highlighted earlier, Hudson stresses the importance of H not being anyone’s native language. This certainly rings true for Literary Welsh, which bears many archaic traits that are never used in ordinary conversation. Indeed, it is a superposed variety that has to be learnt in addition to spoken Welsh. According to the 2001 national census 16.3% of the population of Wales claimed to be able to speak, read and write Welsh, as opposed to 20.8% who claimed to be able to speak Welsh. This indicates that 21.6% of Welsh speakers lack both skills of literacy.

⁶⁷ The *eisteddfod* (pl. *eisteddfodau*) is a peculiarly Welsh cultural festival with contests in music, reciting, dancing, etc. besides poetry and prose writing.

One contributory factor is that not all Welsh speakers have learnt Literary Welsh at school. Another may be the wide gap between Literary and spoken Welsh, which may prevent Welsh speakers from acquiring literacy skills off their own bat.

Since Literary Welsh has to be learnt as an additional variety, one could safely rule out the possibility of language shift to Literary Welsh. Instead, Literary Welsh shows some signs of adapting to spoken Welsh, e.g. *chi* instead of *chwi* “you (formal and plural)” and *nhw* is gradually gaining ground to the detriment of the literary *hwy* “they”. Yet despite some adaptations to spoken Welsh and the emergence of intermediate varieties (e.g. pulpit Welsh and media Welsh) since the inception of Literary Welsh, its functional compartmentalisation appears to have remained fairly stable. However, its stability may imply acquiescence rather than general consent.

Out of Ferguson’s nine criteria for diglossia, only one remains: function. It has already been mentioned that Literary Welsh has many archaic features, some of which were archaic when the foundations of modern literary Welsh were being laid. Hence, it would not be used in informal speech, except for special effect. Instead, it is reserved for formal speech and formal styles of writing. Since its use is restricted, the corresponding circle in figure 6 is far smaller than that of vernacular Welsh. It is also more restricted in usage than standard English. Having said that, there is a continuum of formal and informal variants between the poles of Literary Welsh and vernacular Welsh, which share features of both. It is this code-mixing that accounts for much of the functional overlap between the two, illustrated in figure 6 by the overlap between the circles representing Literary and vernacular Welsh.

Thus on the basis of Ferguson’s nine original criteria, there does seem to be a strong case for describing Welsh-speaking Wales as having marked diglossic tendencies. However, the evidence given above has relied heavily on fairly clear-cut examples. There is, in fact, a large grey zone, due to a fundamental lack of empirical data and ethnographic studies that have attempted a mapping of the variants of Welsh.

So far I have made no attempt to account for the maintenance of Welsh diglossia. To do so would require an analysis of power relations in contexts where Literary Welsh is being learnt and used. In very general terms, one could say that the chapel would formerly have been an

important agency in reproducing Literary Welsh in Welsh-speaking communities, but with the increasing secularisation of Welsh society during the 20th and 21st centuries, today Welsh-medium and bilingual schooling will have taken over much of this role. However, there are no empirical studies of how Literary Welsh is superposed in its relevant contexts, such as education. With one notable exception⁶⁸, neither is there any thorough analysis of the day-to-day literacy practices of Welsh-speakers⁶⁹, which would also be a prerequisite for such a study. The data presented and analysed in this thesis provides occasional insights, but otherwise this question goes largely beyond the scope of my data.

3.3.1.2 Standard-with-Dialect: Standard English versus Welsh English Vernaculars

Let us now consider the notion of standard-with-dialect with respect to English. Describing the precise nature of the relationship between standard English and Welsh English vernaculars also goes beyond the scope of this thesis. This is because most of my data does not constitute naturally occurring data⁷⁰ and most of it is in Welsh. Since the spotlight is mainly on Welsh, I will simply make some fairly brief and general comments on these variants of English at either end of the language continuum. Firstly, the relationship between these variants seems to be a fairly typical case of a standard-with-dialects. Since the relationship between standard English and Welsh English dialects is far closer than that between Literary Welsh and vernacular Welsh, there is a greater overlap as regards both function and mixing, as can be seen in the extent of the overlaps in figure 6. The most striking divergence of vernacular Welsh from standard English⁷¹ regards pronunciation, though it is

⁶⁸ K. Jones (2000, etc.) carried out an ethnographic study from 1994-1998 of the literacy practices of Welsh-English bilingual farmers in the Vale of Clwyd in north-east Wales, particularly with a view to discovering the opportunities for using Welsh in institutional contexts.

⁶⁹ However, a major research project entitled "Bilingual Literacies for Learning in Further Education", coordinated M. Martin-Jones is now in progress to investigate the use and development of bilingual literacies of Welsh-speaking further education students. Project website: (6 October 2006) <<http://www.aber.ac.uk/%7Ejmcwww/bilflfe>>

⁷⁰ Much of my data has been gathered from focus group discussions. See §4.2 for further details.

⁷¹ By standard English, I mean the standard written language. In Britain, Received Pronunciation has generally considered to be the standard, particularly in England. However, Barber notes that there has been an increasing tendency for the accent of educated people in the South East of England to replace strict RP as the standard (1997: 265). Indeed, he notes a general increase in the prestige of all regional accents (266).

questionable whether Received Pronunciation or the educated accent of South-East England serves as a universal standard for Wales. Otherwise, in general terms, Welsh English dialects bear heavy traces of the local Welsh dialects as regards accent and to a far lesser extent syntax, e.g. foregrounding for emphasis: *Goin' down the mine 'e is* “He’s going down the mine”; *Money they’re not short of* “They’re not short of money”⁷².

Naturally, as in the case of English in England, accent – and dialect in general – is also a question of class and education. Standard English is also the language (variety) in Britain most closely associated with power. For example, it is the main language of education and political institutions, and as such it possesses considerable cultural and symbolic capital⁷³, to use Bourdieu’s economic metaphors (1986, 1991).

3.3.1.3 Societal Bilingualism: English versus Welsh

The final relationship illustrated by figure 6 is that between English and Welsh and falls under societal bilingualism. Unlike the notion of diglossia (including bilingualism with or without diglossia), there is no comprehensive theoretical framework to describe and account for the practices of societal bilingualism. The taxonomies and theoretical frameworks we do have are dressed in terms of language maintenance vs. language shift, which tends to emphasise the instability of the phenomenon. Thus here I shall return to four of Ferguson’s non-linguistic diglossic criteria to shed light on some of the main features of societal bilingualism in Wales, *viz.* function, prestige, acquisition and stability.

Before we look at function, it behoves us to consider the potential for using Welsh and English in Wales. Since far from everyone is bilingual, language choice cannot be just a simple question of appropriacy (based on normative societal consensus) in different domains. At the last decennial national census in 2001, heads of households reported that

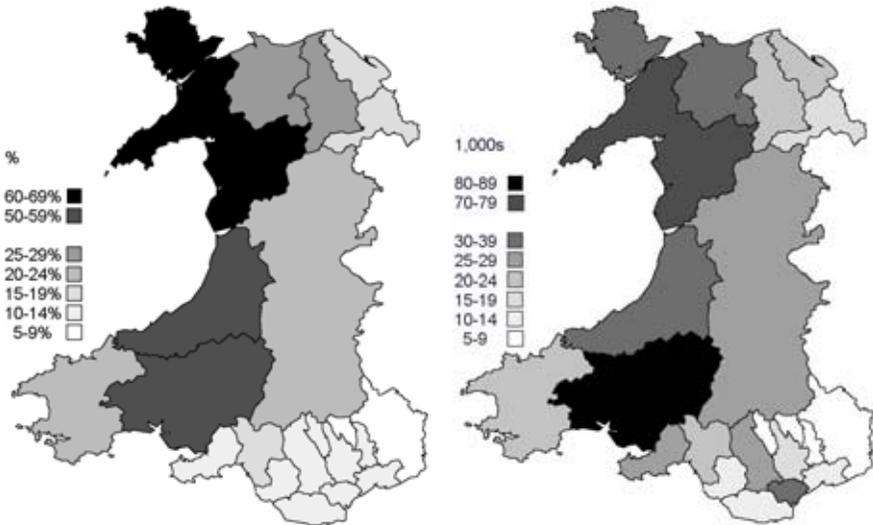
⁷² Examples from “WELSH ENGLISH” *Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language*. Ed. Tom McArthur. Oxford University Press, 1998. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Linköpings universitet. (20 December 2005)

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t29.e1299>>

⁷³ Cultural capital includes linguistic capital, i.e. possession of certain languages and language varieties. Combined with symbolic capital, cultural and linguistic capital are accorded legitimacy in that what they represent is highly valued in certain social fields.

20.8% of the population of Wales above the age of three could speak Welsh⁷⁴. In numerical terms this amounts to 582,400 Welsh speakers. However, the spatial distribution of Welsh speakers is highly uneven, both in terms of density and number as shown in figure 7.

The four counties with the highest proportions of Welsh speakers are (from north to south) Ynys Môn (Anglesey), Gwynedd, Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire (the darkest shaded counties). Yet the more densely populated counties of, say, Cardiff, Swansea and Rhondda, Cynon, Taff have relatively high numbers of Welsh speakers despite their constituting a far lower proportion of their respective populations (less than 13%). The upshot is that the opportunities for using Welsh in all situations will vary considerably between Gwynedd in the north-west and Monmouthshire in the south-east. Even within these counties there will be considerable variation from locality to locality, since the distribution of Welsh speakers is uneven, a fact which is concealed in the maps and statistics in figure 7. This is the backdrop for any analysis of patterns of language use and is the reason why the circle representing vernacular



⁷⁴ Since the 1981 census, it has been assumed that all Welsh speakers are either bilingual or the proportion of monolingual Welsh speakers is negligible. Therefore the question about ability in English has been deleted in subsequent censuses.

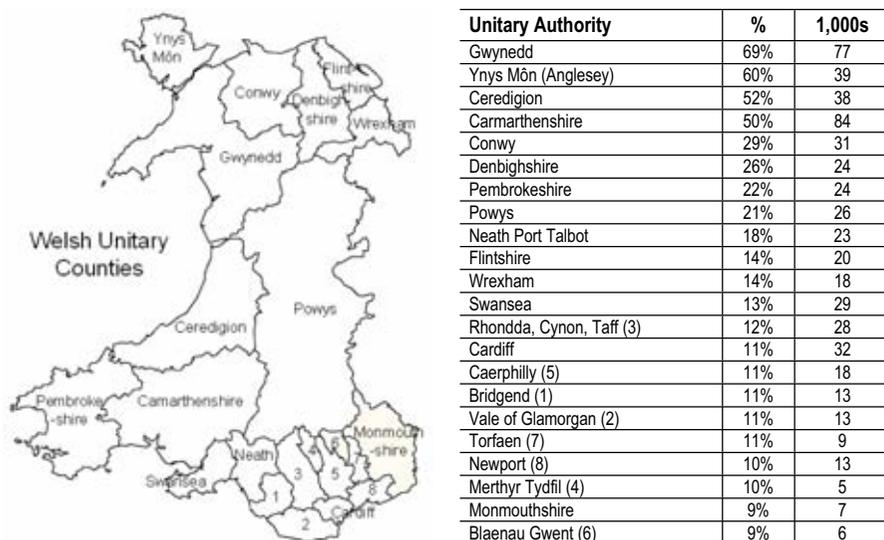


Fig. 7 Distribution of Welsh speakers by unitary authority⁷⁵ (in both percentage and numbers) according to the 2001 national census returns.

English in figure 6 is larger than the corresponding circle for Welsh. The overlap between the two circles is fairly large and represents the many contexts where both languages may potentially be used, although this will vary according to locality.

Given the potential limitations of using Welsh in certain situations because only one party or neither party is bilingual, the question then remains whether Welsh speakers actually choose to use Welsh when the opportunity arises. Despite misgivings and the limitations of surveys of language use (c.f. §4.1.3.1), they constitute most of the empirical data presently available on Welsh speakers' language practices. The most wide-scale survey to date which also includes questions about the potential opportunities to use Welsh is presented in *Language Planning and Language Use. Welsh in a Global Age* (Williams & Morris 2000). This survey includes a sample of 1,000 Welsh speakers stratified on the

⁷⁵ In the mid-1990s there was a reform of local government which resulted in the previous 8 county councils and 37 district councils being replaced by 22 single-tier or unitary authorities.

basis of county-by-county location⁷⁶, age⁷⁷, gender and social class, in order to give a proportional and representative distribution of interviewees. Of these 1,000 respondents, 15% had English as their first language and a further 4% claimed to have learnt Welsh and English simultaneously.

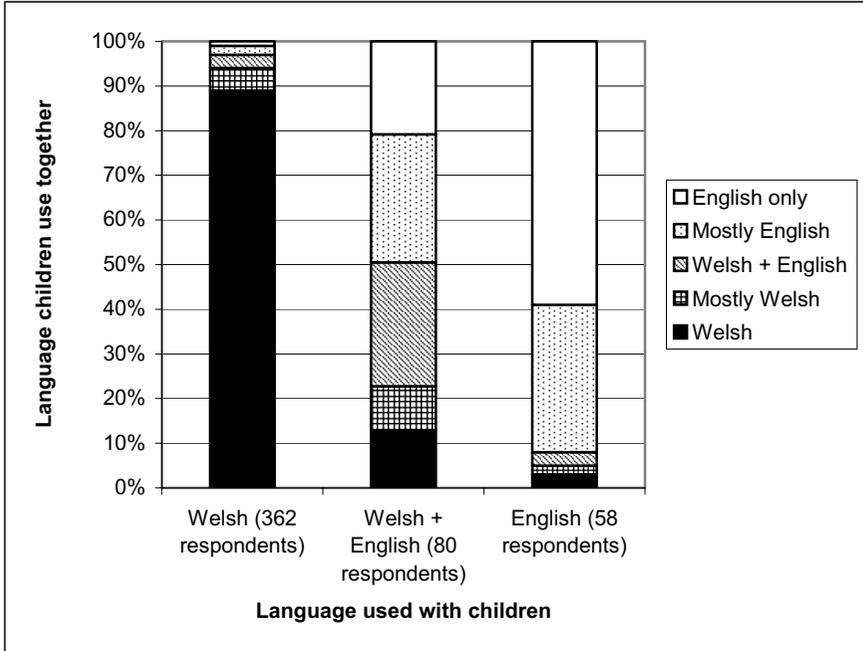


Fig. 8 Language used with children, by language children use together (Williams & Morris 2000: 75)

Within the home, Williams and Morris conclude that those who command a high level of Welsh language competence show a great tendency to use Welsh and this tendency largely holds for their children too. In other words, there seems to be a high degree of intergenerational transmission of Welsh in the home. This is illustrated in figure 8, which

⁷⁶ As defined by the 1991 census, i.e. 8 counties, rather than by the unitary authority divisions of the 2001 census.

⁷⁷ However, only Welsh speakers over the age of 16 were interviewed.

shows that if the parents use only Welsh with the children (72% of all cases), 94% of the children use Welsh or mostly Welsh with each other.

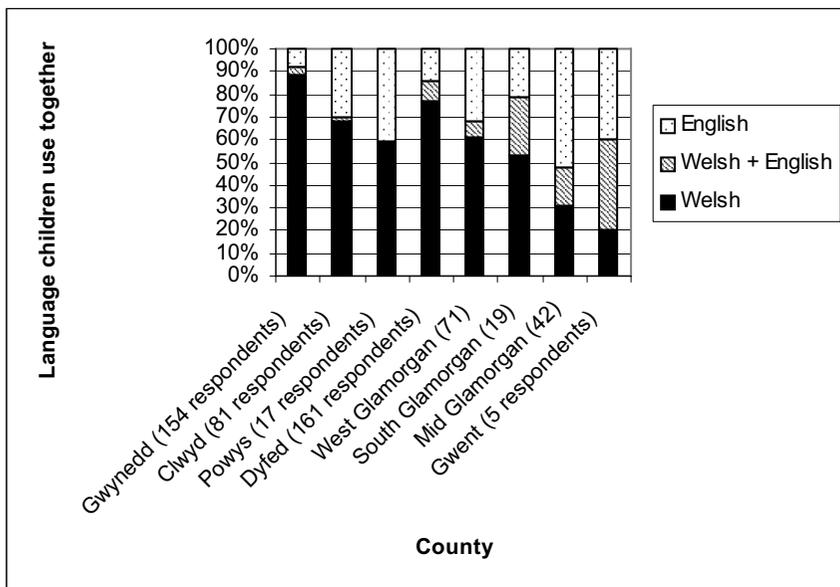


Fig. 9 Language children use with each other, by county (Williams & Morris 2000: 75)

However, the use of Welsh or mostly Welsh between siblings falls drastically to 23%, if the parents speak both Welsh and English to their children (16% of cases). Furthermore, 50% of the siblings in such households speak English or mostly English to each other. Perhaps less surprisingly, in households where the parents speak English to their children (12% of cases), over 90% of their children speak English or mostly English to each other.

However, there is also another important factor which affects whether the children use Welsh together, namely location. This is illustrated in figure 9, which indicates considerable variation between the 8 former counties of Wales. There is a strong correlation between high rates of Welsh language use in the counties with the highest densities of Welsh speakers. Thus Gwynedd (corresponding to Gwynedd, Ynys Môn and half of Conwy in figure 7) and Dyfed (corresponding to Ceredigion, Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire) had the highest proportions of Welsh speakers at 61% and 44% respectively in the 1991 census, and it is in these counties that most Welsh is used between siblings. Conversely, Gwent (corresponding to Monmouthshire, Blaenau Gwent, Newport, Torfaen and half of Caerphilly in figure 7) with the lowest proportion of Welsh speakers at 2.4% in 1991, is the county where fewest siblings use only Welsh with each other. All in all, this suggests that it is not only the language of the home that impacts on the language used between siblings, but also the relative potential to use Welsh outside the home.

It was noted above that for respondents with a high degree of competence in Welsh, there is a strong likelihood of Welsh being used in the home. However, if the respondent's partner does not share a high level of competence in Welsh, less Welsh is used in the home. This is illustrated by figure 10, which shows the language(s) used at mealtimes according to the Welsh language ability of the partner. In the majority of cases (67%), the respondent's partner has a high competence at Welsh and the incidence of solely Welsh at mealtimes is reported as being very high at 90%. Yet, even if the respondent's partner is quite good at Welsh (11% of cases), the use of solely English at the meal table increases drastically from 4% to 46%. On the other hand, if the respondent's partner knows only some or even no Welsh (22% of cases), Welsh or Welsh and English are still used at mealtimes in 51% and 26% of

households, respectively. This is also indicative of another tendency, namely that in cases where the partner has limited Welsh language competence, the respondent tends to use more Welsh with the children than with his/her partner. Williams and Morris conclude that the latter tendency suggests compensation for not being able to speak only Welsh in the home, i.e. a commitment to sustaining Welsh inter-generationally (81). However, this conclusion is hardly justified solely on the basis of the survey. At best, the survey can provide data about language use on a self-report basis, but it cannot in itself provide the intentions or motivations behind language practices, unless this information is supplemented in some way, e.g. through recordings of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction, focus-group discussions or deep interviews.

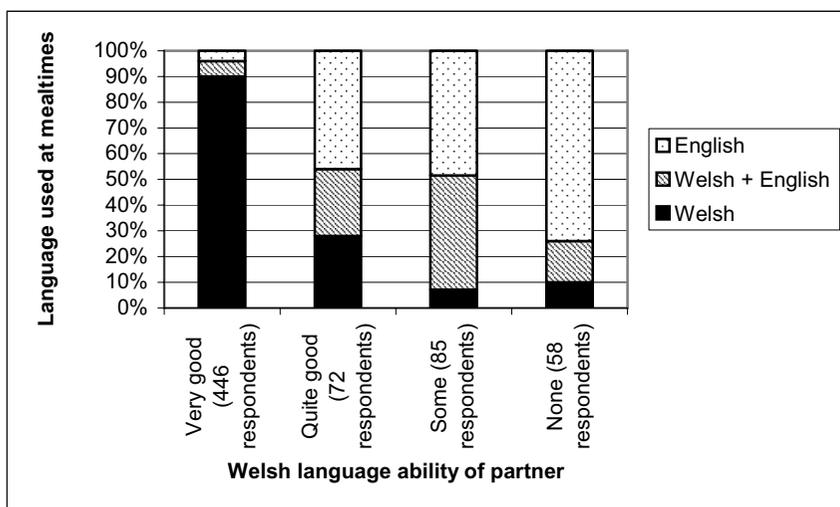


Fig. 10 Language used at mealtimes, by language ability of partner (Williams & Morris 2000: 72)

Williams and Morris's study also examines the use of Welsh in the community with separate chapters about education and the workplace. The role of Welsh in education will be dealt with in some depth in §3.4.1. Here I will summarise some of their findings on the use of Welsh in the community, which also touches on the world of work. First of all,

it is necessary to give an account of some of the theoretical underpinnings of their study. One important aspect is their understanding of the concept community as “institutionalized behaviour that tends to be separate from the activities of the state.” (82) Institutionalised behaviour relates to the establishment of formal institutions but also to any “spatial and social aggregations” which structure such behaviour. Here language plays a central role, insofar as institutionalisation is embedded in language and stabilised in language through repetition, but institutionalisation is also manifested in people’s language practices. Another essential facet of institutionalisation is that it “tends to be taken for granted as part of the common sense of life within the community.” (82) Williams and Morris insist that institutionalisation is not to be equated with normativity “since social norms do not involve a consensus between rational actors as some manifestation of pre-existing social norms.” (82) In this regard, Williams and Morris wish to stress social practices “rather than resorting to culturist or rationalist explanations that derive from the modernist tendency to treat minority groups as a deviance from the normative.” (19) Their notion of institutionalisation belongs to the social constructionist paradigm and is compatible with Butler’s concept of performativity, whereby “the human subject is constituted in and through discourse.” (Williams & Morris 2000: 25)

At the same time as Williams and Morris posit the notion of institutionalisation to explain language choice in the community, they reject the notion of domains. One reason is that it is based on the rational choice of one language or another, which presupposes that there is a choice available. Clearly this is often not the case, as their survey reveals. In figure 11 there is a selection of a number of interlocutors and situations in the community⁷⁸ that are taken up in their study. Not only do Williams and Morris include whether respondents use or do not use Welsh, but also whether it is actually possible, i.e. whether the other party knows Welsh.

If one considers the relative distribution of the three alternatives in applicable cases, two major findings emerge from the data. The first is that the vast majority of respondents claim to use Welsh in contexts where it is possible. If one considers only the categories “I can and do”

⁷⁸ 14 out of 33 listed in Williams & Morris 2000: 93.

and “I can and don’t”, there are only four contexts where fewer than 90% of respondents utilise the opportunity available to use Welsh: with the family doctor (85%), at a restaurant (79%), in sports training (71%) and for taking a driving test (67%). However, the latter contexts are only applicable for just under 30% and 46% of respondents, respectively.

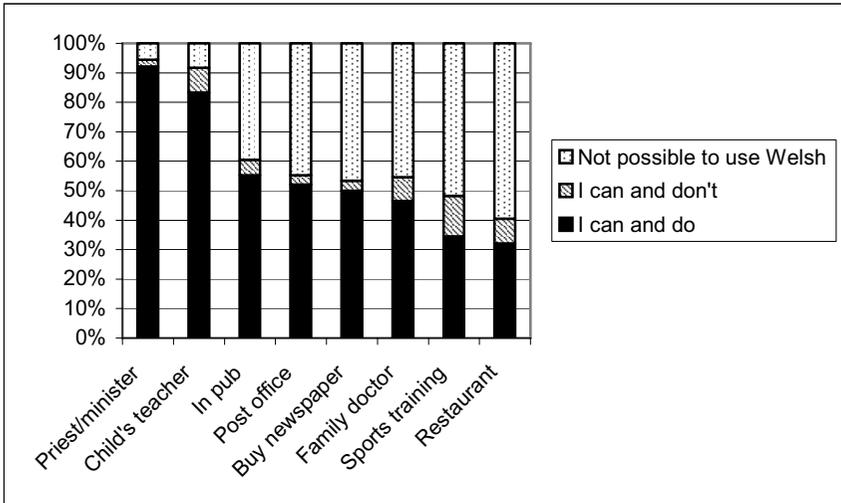


Fig. 11 Use of Welsh by context in the community (Williams & Morris 2000: 93)

Moreover, Williams and Morris attempt to explain the relatively high use of English in these two contexts even when Welsh-language alternatives are available. With respect to sports training, they note that it is likely to be a group activity which also involves non-Welsh speakers. As regards taking a driving test, they refer to “the inconvenience of requesting a test in English, the language used in the learning context, and the desire not to generate a negative reaction in a situation of power imbalance.” (94) Although these appear to be plausible guesses, since they have no additional qualitative data to support these hypotheses, they cannot amount to more than reasonable guesswork.

In more general terms, Williams and Morris claim, on the basis of their data, that the commonly high rate of Welsh use given the opportunity refutes the salience of the domain concept, whereby context

is claimed to be the main factor structuring and conditioning language use (94). Their second major finding is the relative lack of opportunity to use Welsh in many community situations. Taking Wales as a whole, only four out of the fourteen contexts selected here offer the opportunity to use Welsh in more than two-thirds of applicable cases. The priest or minister and the child's school teacher⁷⁹ are most likely to be able to speak Welsh (in over 90% of cases). Williams and Morris posit that the lack of competence in Welsh and thus the absence of any opportunity to use Welsh in many contexts "leads to uncertainty about the relevance of a language for use, something that has a distinct effect upon institutionalization." (94)

Moreover, one would expect the opportunity to use Welsh to vary considerably throughout Wales. In areas with high densities of Welsh speakers (e.g. Gwynedd), a wider range of facilities would more likely be available in Welsh than in areas with numerically and proportionately fewer Welsh speakers (e.g. the former county of Gwent). Indeed, figure 12, which singles out the respondents in South Glamorgan (equivalent to the present unitary authorities of Cardiff and most of the Vale of Glamorgan), gives a clear indication that the opportunity to use Welsh is definitely well below average in all cases except for with the child's teacher. Nevertheless, Williams and Morris conclude that there appears to be a certain degree of selectivity involved in at least some of these activities (95), insofar as one might expect statistically even less opportunity to use Welsh in these community contexts, given the relatively low density of Welsh speakers (7% according to the 1991 national census). Williams and Morris account for this apparent discrepancy with reference to social networks with a preference for Welsh-language-based activities rather than to the community as a whole. Furthermore, they suggest that

[t]his is a manifestation of the high prestige and status of Welsh in South Glamorgan and the increasing tendency for service providers and the private sector to recruit Welsh speakers for functions that pertain to their public profile. (95-6)

⁷⁹ Despite the importance of the educational context for the community as a whole, the child's teacher was an applicable category for only 36% of respondents.

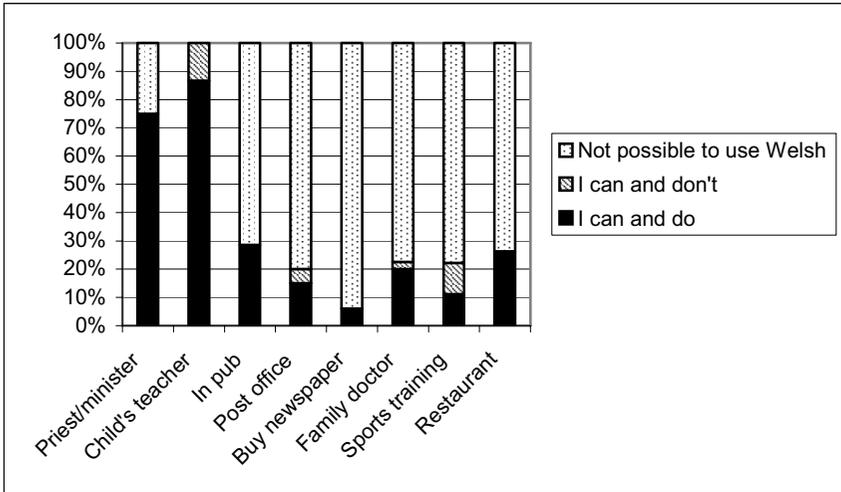


Fig. 12 Use of Welsh by context in the community, South Glamorgan (40 respondents) (Williams & Morris 2000: 96)

Once again, it would have been desirable to have this backed up by a supplementary study providing relevant qualitative data. Indeed, Williams and Morris themselves acknowledge the limitations of their study:

What our analysis cannot do is to explore the nature of the process of language use as it relates to the details of institutionalized behaviour and the constitution of the subject *vis-à-vis* the social construction of meaning, at least not in the detail that we would wish. (30)

They also acknowledge the weakness of relying too heavily on self-report data, for example because of “the recurrent problem of the normative effect, or the manner in which people report that which they feel they should say.” (29) Thus the scope of their study is reduced to describing “the context of language use rather than language use itself.” (29) Besides a supplementary qualitative investigation to support their analysis, their survey would also have benefited from an ethnographic investigation of the actual language practices of the respondents similar to that used by S. Gal in her investigation of a bilingual community on the border between Austria and Hungary (1979).

Despite these shortcomings, what Williams and Morris's survey does tackle is the important issue of one-set-of-norms-fits-all. Besides county-by-county location (referenced above), in several cases they examine their data with reference to societal stratification on the basis of age, gender and social class.

With respect to language use in the home, Williams and Morris find that the highest tendency to use English with their partners occurs at the extremes of the class structure: 38% of managerial and 40% of unskilled respondents, respectively. This pattern does not extend to the incidence of English used with children. Despite these findings, when the more influential factor of the Welsh-language competence of the respondent's partner is brought into play, Williams and Morris conclude that "[n]either age nor social class are significant contributory factors in the patterns of Welsh/English language use within the family" (72) Neither are mothers or fathers more or less likely to use Welsh with their children (73).

In the workplace, neither social class nor age seems to play a significant role in determining the use of Welsh (159-160). By contrast, women appear to use more Welsh at work than men. However, this may relate more closely to the differentiated roles men and women play in the labour market (159). Women and older Welsh speakers are also more likely to be consumers of the Welsh-language media than men and younger Welsh speakers, although Williams and Morris exercise caution in accounting for this trend.

Notwithstanding some significant findings on the basis of location, age, gender and social class, it needs to be reiterated that the competence level of the respondent's Welsh appears to be the most universally significant variable:

By reference to all four self-report measures of competence [understanding, speaking, reading and writing], those with high competence derive from a high incidence of inter-generational competence, tend to use more Welsh at home, at work and in the community, tend to have received more Welsh in their education, are inclined to construct Welsh as a highly utilitarian entity, are more likely to use Welsh-language print media and to use Welsh in professional transactional contexts. (160)

Let us now turn to Ferguson's criterion of prestige. If we compare with the High and Low poles indicative of the allocation of function according to the classic diglossic model, it would seem difficult, on the basis of Williams and Morris's findings, to attribute the language choice of English or Welsh to the relative prestige of these languages. Indeed, Williams and Morris reject the normativity implicit in the notion of appropriacy, which is alleged to steer the functional distribution of H and L language varieties. Instead, their data suggests that the presence or lack of competence in Welsh is more important, not least because it affects the operation of institutionalisation. Furthermore, unlike Ferguson and Fishman, Williams and Morris make direct reference to the operation of power in their analysis. The incorporation of power is achieved largely through the notion of legitimation, which operates through language legislation but also through "a variety of social policies which operate at different political levels." (25) This does not rule out the significance of prestige in language choice, but it shifts the main focus to the interplay between institutionalisation and legitimation:

Thus, while the structuration of minority language groups does have considerable significance, and language prestige becomes a central feature of motivation, it is the relationship between institutionalization and legitimation that plays the main role in transforming structure, ability and motivation into actual language practice as stabilized practices. (25-26)

As Williams and Morris point out, the process of legitimation is partly related to the relative legal status of languages, but also to the implementation of social policies which relate to language. Let us consider the relative legal status of Welsh and English first. The UK parliament retains at present primary legislative powers, including those to do with the Welsh language. Indeed, the most important legislation to date regarding the Welsh language is the 1993 Welsh Language Act, which was passed by the UK legislature. However, the Welsh Assembly Government has more or less taken over the executive functions for Welsh. Otherwise, English is the *de facto* official language of the United Kingdom, although there is no formal statutory provision to grant

English official status in the British constitution⁸⁰. This has been used as an argument against granting Welsh official status through the statute books. Instead, what the 1993 Act, in fact, does is:

establish a Board having the function of promoting and facilitating the use of the Welsh language, to provide for the preparation by public bodies of schemes giving effect to the principle that in the conduct of public business and the administration of justice in Wales the English and Welsh languages should be treated on a basis of equality [...] (Welsh Language Act 1993, Long Title)

Besides the principle of treating Welsh and English “on a basis of equality”, this Act provides for the promotion of Welsh in the public sector. The main instrument for bringing about equality between English and Welsh is the statutory obligation that all public sector bodies draw up and implement Welsh Language Schemes. These are to be submitted for approval by the Welsh Language Board. However, the 1993 Act does not encompass the private sector, even though private businesses are explicitly encouraged by the Welsh Language Board to offer bilingual services.

If we disregard the field of education (which will be dealt with in §3.4.1), the most significant nation-wide social policy legislation affecting the status and legitimation of Welsh is enshrined in two documents issued by the newly devolved Welsh Assembly for Wales. The first is *Dyfodol Dwyieithog: A Bilingual Future* published by the Assembly Government in July 2002. As the title suggests the aim is to bring about:

a truly bilingual Wales [where] both Welsh and English will flourish and will be treated as equal. A bilingual Wales means a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both languages [...] (4)

This policy document was followed up by *Iaith Pawb. A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales* in 2003. This action plan is explicitly proactive in its aim: “to encourage individuals to learn Welsh and to facilitate and empower them to use the language in all aspects of life in

⁸⁰ The British constitution is not enshrined in any single written constitutional declaration, but is rather looser arrangement consisting of statutory law, EU law, common law, custom, etc.

Wales.” (§1.15). Furthermore, the Welsh title *Iaith Pawb*, which literally means “everyone’s language”, emphasises the proactive vision that everyone in Wales should know Welsh. The Welsh Assembly Government’s strategy pursues three strands:

1. A national policy framework, which “will mainstream consideration of the Welsh language into the policy-making processes of all Assembly Ministerial portfolios” (§2.23).
2. Language and the community, “focussing on policies and actions which promote economically and socially sustainable communities throughout Wales including those where Welsh is widely spoken within the community at large” (§1.5).
3. Language and rights of the individual, focussing “on the right of the individual to use the language of their choice and the responsibility of organisations within Welsh society to acknowledge and facilitate the individual’s right to do so” (§4.1), “[a]longside policies to help individuals acquire or learn the language” (§4.31).

Here attention has focused on the status of Welsh in Wales as a whole, but there have been proactive language policies operating more locally over a longer timescale than those proposed by the Welsh Assembly Government, especially in the former counties of Gwynedd and Dyfed. These policies, at both county and country level, work on the assumption that raising the status of Welsh will promote the use of Welsh at home and in the community. For example, it is envisaged that improving the availability of Welsh-language services and promoting the acquisition and use of Welsh will raise the prestige of Welsh *vis-à-vis* English. This may in turn affect the legitimisation process in favour of Welsh and thereby strengthen the role of Welsh in the processes of institutionalisation in the long run.

Now let us move on to the criterion of acquisition. According to Ferguson, diglossia is characterised by the High variety being superposed, i.e. learnt in addition to one’s native variety. Clearly it is not possible to allocate the diglossic labels of High and Low to English or Welsh on the basis of acquisition. As it has already been pointed out, societal bilingualism in Wales does not mean that everyone knows Welsh. On the other hand, everyone is assumed to know English. Of

course, this does not mean that everyone acquires English as a first language, although the majority in fact do. On the basis of the annual assessments made by headteachers of Welsh primary schools (Schools' Census), only 6.2% of pupils between the ages of 5-11 were recorded as speaking Welsh at home in 2001-02, even though a further 10.5% were recorded as being fluent in Welsh. It appears that the majority of fluent speakers of Welsh in this age group do not acquire Welsh as their first language, but learn it in the community, primarily through bilingual or Welsh-medium education. Similarly, the minority who learn Welsh as their first language at home learn English in the community, not least at school. Over time, patterns of acquisition have changed. Previously, it was mainly English that was superposed through education in the case of first language Welsh speakers, whereas today Welsh is also superposed through education. In fact, it appears that numerically more first language English speakers are learning Welsh than first language Welsh speakers are learning English.

So far this section has focussed primarily on present-day relations between different languages and language varieties. In considering the last of Ferguson's criteria, stability, we need to move from a synchronic to a diachronic perspective. Included in Williams and Morris's survey of the use of Welsh in the community, respondents were asked to compare their current use of Welsh in the street, in shops, the chapel or church and in clubs or associations with that of their childhood. The results are illustrated in figure 13 for the respondents who still reside within the county in which they grew up⁸¹. In all four cases, respondents perceive a substantial reduction in the use of Welsh, ranging from a 30% reduction in frequent use in shops to a reduction of 10% in the chapel or church. However, the declining influence of the chapel on Welsh-speaking communities means that it is no longer as important for language production and reproduction (Williams & Morris 2000: 92). Thus it appears that societal bilingualism in Wales is not stable and would appear to be showing telltale signs of language shift, i.e. the increasing non-production⁸² (absence of intergenerational transmission) of Welsh.

⁸¹ This excludes the replies of 80 respondents who grew up outside Wales and a further 252 who had moved outside the county where they were raised.

⁸² Williams and Morris reject "the static concepts of language maintenance and language shift, which also tend to reify language." (2000: 20) Instead they examine the dynamics of social change and how

Yet this is taking place at the same time as the production (inter-generational gaining) of Welsh is increasing.

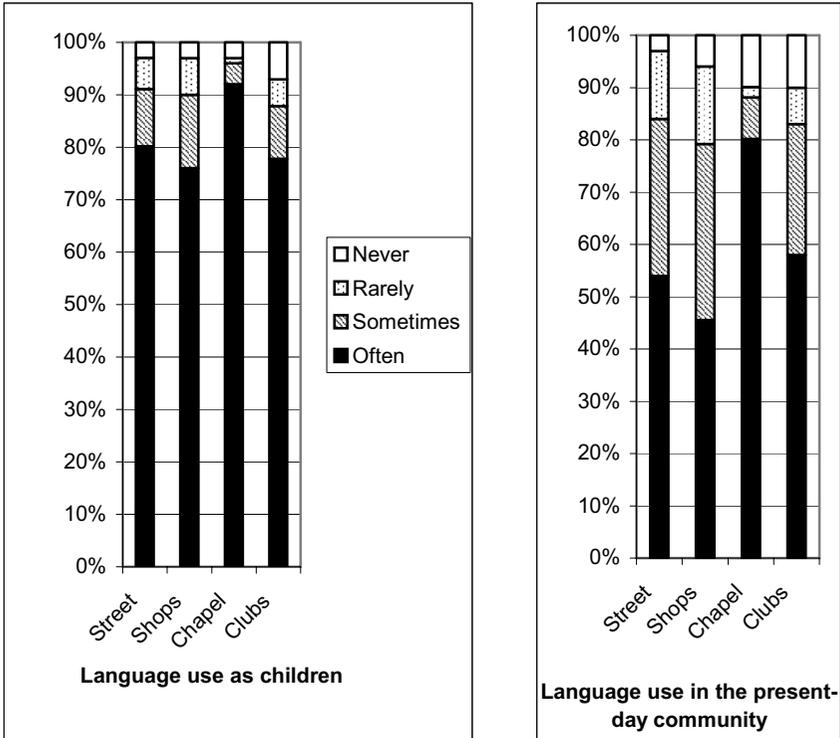


Fig. 13 Use of Welsh in the respondent's community as children versus the present-day community (Williams & Morris 2000: 91-92)

they influence Welsh speakers as a social group with particular reference to its “reproduction or the inter-generational transmission of language competence, language production (the inter-generational gaining of a language) and non-production (where inter-generational transmission is missing).” (Ibid.)

3.4 Bilingual Education

It would be easy to assume that bilingual education is a relatively new phenomenon, which emerged in the 1960s with the genesis of the by now familiar immersion education programmes in Canada⁸³. However, as suggested by the title of Lewis's chapter in the 1977 volume on the frontiers of bilingual education: "Bilingualism and Bilingual Education – The Ancient World to the Renaissance", bilingual education has been around in some form or other for some 5000 years or more (Mackey 1978).

Another fundamental aspect of bilingual education is that even in bilingual communities, bilingual education does not usually arise as a matter of course. As Baker (2001: 183) points out, bilingual education "is one component inside a wider social, economic, educational, cultural and political framework." It may arise in the wake of immigration, language rights movements, regional nationalism or even in response to assimilationist policies (182). Therefore, in dealing with bilingual education, it is important to take into consideration the broader social and political issues, rather than simply focussing on the more obvious issues relating to education and language.

In order to identify some of the broader issues of societal and educational aims, as well as the language outcomes, we shall examine some of the major types of bilingual education with the aid of a simplified typology constructed by Martin-Jones (2001). This is reproduced in an expanded form in figure 14 below:

⁸³ The first experiment in immersion education was set up in St. Lambert in 1965 on the initiative of English-speaking, middle-class parents with fourfold aims (Crawford 1999: 140):

- To acquire functional competence in reading, writing and speaking French
- To attain a normal level of development in English
- To reach normal levels of achievement in all areas of the curriculum
- To appreciate both French-Canadian and English-Canadian culture

The findings of the original experiment indicated that it was a resounding success in terms of all four aims. Furthermore, subsequent research in other contexts (e.g. in North America and Europe) have even provided evidence that "[s]trong forms of bilingual education [such as immersion bilingual education] tend to raise the standards and performance of children." (Baker 2001: 242) Hence the rapid spread of immersion schools not only in Canada, where Baker notes that there were some 2 115 in 2001, but also to Europe, including Wales (205). Furthermore, Baker concludes that: "[w]ith over a 1000 research studies, immersion bilingual education has been an educational experiment of unusual success and growth." (208)

	Transitional Model	Maintenance Model	Enrichment Model
Language of instruction	use of L1 to facilitate the transition to L2	use of L1 to develop alongside L2	use of L2 to develop additive bilingualism
Target group	for learners from linguistic minority groups		for learners from dominant groups
Language outcome	language shift (<i>subtractive bilingualism</i>)	language maintenance	language development (<i>additive bilingualism</i>)
Societal and educational aim	cultural assimilation of minority students	affirmation of cultural identities of minority students	cultural pluralism

Fig. 14 A typology of bilingual education (based on Martin-Jones 2001)

This typology draws a fundamental three-way division between a *transitional* model, a *maintenance* model and an *enrichment* model. The terms reflect the outcomes of the bilingual educational provision. A transitional model implies the use of a child’s L1 (first language) to facilitate his or her transition to the L2 (second language). In other words the outcome can be seen as *subtractive bilingualism*, since there is an explicit or implicit aim of cultural assimilation into the majority culture. This is what Baker terms as a “weak” bilingual model (2001: 194), since it often leads to language attrition in the child’s L1, which may contribute to the process of community-wide language shift.

A maintenance model is aimed – as the term suggests – at the maintenance of a child’s L1, which constitutes the lesser-used language in the society at large. The child will then acquire the L2, the dominant language, alongside his or her L1. This model is thus intended for the language minority with the outcome of *additive bilingualism* and *biliteracy*. The emphasis tends to be on L1 in the classroom.

Finally, the enrichment model is intended for learners of the minority language from the dominant language group. As in the case of the

maintenance model, additive bilingualism and biliteracy are the intended linguistic outcomes. The language of the classroom tends to be the L2 (the minority language), at least initially, and for this reason the term *immersion* is often used for the type of bilingual education programme based on this enrichment model.

Both the maintenance and the enrichment models are considered by Baker to be “strong” models (2001: 194), since the intended language outcome for both is additive bilingualism, i.e. the majority or minority language, respectively, is to be added to the linguistic repertoire of the children. In both cases, the educational discourse underpinning the models is one of cultural pluralism and enrichment, in contrast to the assimilation discourse of the transitional model.

Besides the transitional model, Baker also includes the *submersion* model as a type of “weak” bilingual education, in that subtractive bilingualism often ensues. However, since submersion education simply disregards the minority child’s L1 in favour of the dominant language, it is not really a form of bilingual education at all; it is a *monolingual* model which simply involves bilingual children.

The advantage of using typologies of bilingual education is that it helps to highlight central features such as whether a pupil’s L1 or L2 is the teaching medium and whether the intended outcome is additive or subtractive bilingualism, etc. Nevertheless, there are some drawbacks of a typological approach. Firstly, in reality there is often a mismatch, since each model covers a multitude of variations. In some cases, in Wales for example, more than one model may be in operation in the same school (e.g. maintenance/enrichment models). Baker (2001: 193) also points out that the models address the language medium and language of the pupils (“inputs”) and the intended outcome (“outputs”), yet they may mask the pedagogical and interactional processes in play in the classroom, which may in fact be more salient factors for their effectiveness.

3.4.1 Bilingual Education in Wales

Before we apply Martin-Jones’ typology to bilingual educational provision in Wales, let us take a historical look at the development of bilingual education, followed by a brief excursion into role played by Welsh-medium bilingual schools in the production and reproduction of Welsh.

3.4.1.1 The Development of Literacy and Bilingual Education

Both the established Church and Nonconformism were to be thanked for the spread of literacy in Welsh. One remarkable individual, Griffith Jones of Llandowror, pioneered circulating schools to teach both adults and children to read the Bible and learn the catechism of the Anglican Church. It is estimated that as many as 250,000 people may have attended these schools between 1731 and 1761. The fact that this represented over half the population of Wales, causes Davies (1993) to note that “[i]n the period between the translation of the Bible and the Industrial Revolution, the circulating schools were undoubtedly the most crucial happening in the history of the Welsh language.” (32) Another pioneering individual, the Methodist Thomas Charles of Bala, established the Sunday schools movement. Under his inspiration, Sunday schools were established throughout Wales and helped to maintain the levels of Welsh literacy achieved by the circulating schools (Morgan, ch. IV).

Notwithstanding these pioneering efforts to disseminate literacy in Welsh, a fateful blow was dealt to the Welsh language, following a report published in the traditional blue book format by three English Anglican commissioners in 1847. Their report on the condition of education in Wales came to be known by critics as “the Treachery of the Blue Books” (*Brad y Llyfrau Gleision*) because of their claim that educational provision for the majority of Welsh children was deficient (see §5.1.1 for a more detailed analysis of this report). Furthermore, Welsh was portrayed as a language of disadvantage and backwardness, limited to the spheres of farming and religion. Thus when a network of elementary schools was established in Wales as a result of the Education Act of 1870, English became the almost unchallenged language of instruction. Furthermore, the practice of punishing or humiliating children for speaking Welsh became widespread in Welsh-speaking communities. One frequently cited punishment involved the “Welsh Not”, a piece of wood which children would be forced to wear around their necks if they were caught speaking Welsh.

This is not to say that there were no enlightened individuals in positions of influence - at least locally - as regards the role of Welsh in schools. The first *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Welsh Language Society) was founded in 1885 by Glamorganshire school inspector Dan

Isaac Davies with the specific aim of applying pressure on authorities to give Welsh-speaking pupils fair treatment in education. As a direct result of their lobbying, a Royal Commission on Elementary Education recommended that Welsh be allowed as a school subject. Furthermore, they recommended that the use of bilingual books be authorised. These recommendations were adopted, but there was no obligation for schools to teach Welsh. Indeed, the dominance of English was maintained across the curriculum.

The role of another educationalist, Owen M Edwards, the Welsh Board of Education's chief inspector of schools from 1907-1920, is also regarded as central in securing a position for the Welsh language and Welsh literature in elementary and secondary schools in Wales. For example, the Board's *Regulations for Secondary Schools in Wales* stipulated that "in districts where Welsh is spoken, the language, or one of the languages [taught] other than English should be Welsh" and that "any of the subjects of the curriculum may (where the local circumstances make it desirable) be taught, partly or wholly in Welsh" (BEd 1917: 13). Nevertheless, this enthusiasm and vision for Welsh was seldom shared at local level. Indeed, the Board's annual report for 1920 made specific reference to "indifference on the part of parents" and more significantly for the implementation of the Board's recommendations: the "indifference and even hostility on the part of heads of schools and their staffs" (BEd 1921: 9).

During the inter-war years the chief development at an all-Wales level was the publishing of a report in 1927 "to inquire into the position occupied by the Welsh Language and Literature in the educational system of Wales"⁸⁴ and make recommendations for improvements. The committee consisted of influential members of Welsh society who were favourably disposed to Welsh. The ensuing report came to the conclusion that "the traditional defences" of the Welsh language had been dramatically eroded over the previous decades and that the future survival of the Welsh language would be contingent on the effect of school policy and practice. The report did not go so far as to recommend a policy of full bilingualism, but it did make 72 principal

⁸⁴ Departmental Committee on Welsh in the Educational System of Wales. (1927) *Welsh in Education and Life*. London.

recommendations to promote the Welsh language. These ranged from providing training courses for teachers in the latest methods for teaching the language, to alleviating the current situation, whereby Welsh was being sidelined by French in the curriculum and examination system.

In spite of the pro-Welsh language policies disseminated by the Board of Education, the failure of schools and local authorities to implement the recommendations of the 1927 report was heavily criticised 15 years later by a prominent member of the original committee, W. J. Gruffydd, in the editorial of the influential Welsh quarterly *Y Llenor* (“Nodiadau”). Indeed, the 1930s had seen a general preoccupation with the “problems” of bilingualism and the importance of ensuring the proficiency in English of all children in Wales, whenever and wherever efforts were made to strengthen the status of Welsh.

Both in the 1927 report and in subsequent reports there was far a greater emphasis on Welsh as a school subject than Welsh as a medium of instruction. This focus was to change in the second half of the twentieth century. An important catalyst in this change was the influx of English-speaking children as war evacuees into Welsh-speaking Wales during the 2nd World War. Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards, founder of the Welsh youth movement *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* (and son of Owen M. Edwards), together with a number of enthusiastic parents established the first Welsh-medium primary school in Aberystwyth in 1939. Although the school opened with only seven pupils, *Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth* proved to be a success.

In 1944 a major educational reform for England and Wales was passed by Parliament, ensuring among other things the provision of secondary education for all. It has come to be known as the Butler Act on account of the then president of the Board of Education, R. A. Butler, who, as it happens, had publicly dissociated himself from the “obscurantist” attitude expressed in the blue books of the 1847 Commission of Inquiry (Evans 2000b, 357). Although the Act made no direct reference to Welsh-medium education, certain clauses in the Act paved the way for Local Education Authorities to provide Welsh-medium schooling. One such clause called for the wishes of parents to be taken into consideration in organising school provision (Evans 2000b: 357-9). In effect, the Welsh Department had acquiesced to the principal of Welsh-medium schooling. Consequently, Cardiganshire Education Authority was given a

free rein to reorganise primary education in Aberystwyth to include ab Owen's *Ysgol Gymraeg*. It subsequently reopened with 164 pupils in 1952, funded for the first time by public money (Evans 2000b: 361). However, it was *Ysgol Gymraeg Dewi Sant* that came to be the first state-run Welsh-medium primary school. It had been set up in 1947 in Llanelli in the neighbouring county of Carmarthenshire as a direct result of parental pressure, with 34 pupils (Evans 2000b: 361).

The subsequent growth of Welsh-medium education was rapid; by 1980 there were some 9 769 pupils attending 64 designated Welsh primary schools and 11 designated bilingual secondary schools (Evans 2000b: 365). Initially, many of these schools were in the more Anglicised areas of the north-east and the south-west or in the more Anglicised urban areas of west Wales (Davies 1993: 78). Increasingly, these schools began to attract more and more children from English-speaking homes, which meant that these Welsh-medium schools were also functioning as immersion schools for these children. However, unlike the immersion programmes in Canada, children from Welsh and English-speaking backgrounds were being educated side by side.

Meanwhile, alongside the expansion of Welsh-medium education, there was another development afoot: the setting up of a the Schools' Council Bilingual Project in 1968, three years after the Canadian experimental programme in St. Lambert (c.f. footnote 83). The impetus for this project had come from the so-called Gittins Report (MEd), published in 1967, which welcomed the growth of *ysgolion Cymraeg* (Welsh schools) and called for a positive policy of bilingualism in primary schools. The object of the project, which ran until 1977, was to foster bilingualism in Anglicised areas of Wales, by making a designated part of the curriculum Welsh medium. Although the results proved more favourable at the infant stage (for 5-7 year olds) than for juniors (7-11), pupils made similar progress in Welsh to pupils in Canadian immersion programmes without there being detrimental effects in other areas of the curriculum (M. Jones 1998: 35-36). A similar bilingual education project was set up for secondary schools in 1974, with a view to gaining experience in order to enable local education authorities to establish bilingual schools for Welsh learners throughout Wales. However, the growing demand for Welsh-medium education among English speakers curtailed plans to establish specifically bilingual schools on a larger scale

in line with the Gittins recommendations (Dodson 1995: 113). This is not to say that the models of Welsh-medium education emerging in different parts of Wales were identical – far from it; there is still a general lack of uniformity both in terminology and the extent to which English and Welsh are used to teach the curriculum.

Indeed, Welsh-medium/bilingual education is the result of local and regional policies and pressures rather than any overall design. This is due to the traditional freedom of Local Education Authorities to organise their own educational provision. This has led to a *laissez faire* approach resulting inevitably in a somewhat piecemeal structure of Welsh-medium/bilingual schooling. Today, however, LEAs do not have total *carte blanche* as regards their Welsh-medium provision (or lack of it), since they (and other public and Crown organisations) are now required to prepare Welsh language schemes. This change in *status quo* came about as a result of the 1993 Welsh Language Act, which established the Welsh Language Board with a remit to monitor the operation of LEAs' Welsh language schemes.

Another very significant change, which affected the status of Welsh in all state schools throughout Wales, was the passing of the most comprehensive piece of education legislation for England and Wales since World War II, *viz.* the 1988 Education Reform Act. For the first time in history, there was to be a National Curriculum, which stipulated what subjects were to be compulsory and also proscribed the curricular content. For Wales, Welsh was made a core subject alongside English in Welsh-medium/bilingual schools, and a foundation subject (Welsh as a second language) in all other schools. Particularly – but not solely – in the heartland Welsh-speaking areas, this legislation often endorsed existing practice, but in many Anglicised areas this was to have far-reaching effects, since here there was often very little or no Welsh-language provision at all. Clearly, in these areas teaching Welsh could not be made available simply at the drop of a hat; teachers needed to be recruited or existing Welsh-speaking teachers needed to be specially trained. The education act acknowledged that this provision would have to be phased in gradually, but a timetable was also laid down to ensure its universal implementation. Today the National Curriculum has been fully implemented with respect to Welsh in all unitary authorities. This means that all school children in Wales now have to learn Welsh for

eleven years, either as a first language on parity with English in *ysgolion Cymraeg*, or as a second language in all other state schools.

The devolution of power from Westminster to Cardiff, with the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales in 1999, also heralded a more pro-active stance *vis-à-vis* Welsh and bilingualism, not least in the area of education. This commitment to Welsh (and indirectly to bilingualism) is expressed clearly in *Iaith Pawb* (2003), the Assembly Government's national action plan for a bilingual Wales, with the explicit aim of "extending access to Welsh medium education" (§4.2). Indeed, the action plan goes on to announce imminent plans for expanding provision in a number of local authorities (§4.3). This is in addition to the expansion within the secondary sector from 44 to 53 "schools designated as Welsh-speaking" over a ten-year period from 1992 (Ibid.). Over the same period the percentage of Welsh primary school pupils taught only in Welsh or with Welsh as the main medium increased from 16% (43 984 pupils) to 18.7% (51 977 pupils)⁸⁵. Moreover, this expansion is projected to continue.

3.4.1.2 The Role of Ysgolion Cymraeg in the Reproduction and Production of Welsh

National census returns over the past few decades reveal an apparent increase in the number of young Welsh speakers⁸⁶ (see figure 15). At first glance, this indicates a remarkable success in reversing language shift, but the question is whether the growth is a result of language reproduction (intergenerational transmission) or production (intergeneration gains). The increasing gap between the 3-4 age group and 5-14 year olds suggests that a sizeable proportion of the increase is the result of language production.

⁸⁵ WLB website (29 July 2006). "The Growth of Welsh-medium Education" <<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/cynnwys.php?pID=220&langID=2>>

⁸⁶ The figures refer to those who can *speak* Welsh, based on the assessment of the adult who filled in the census form.

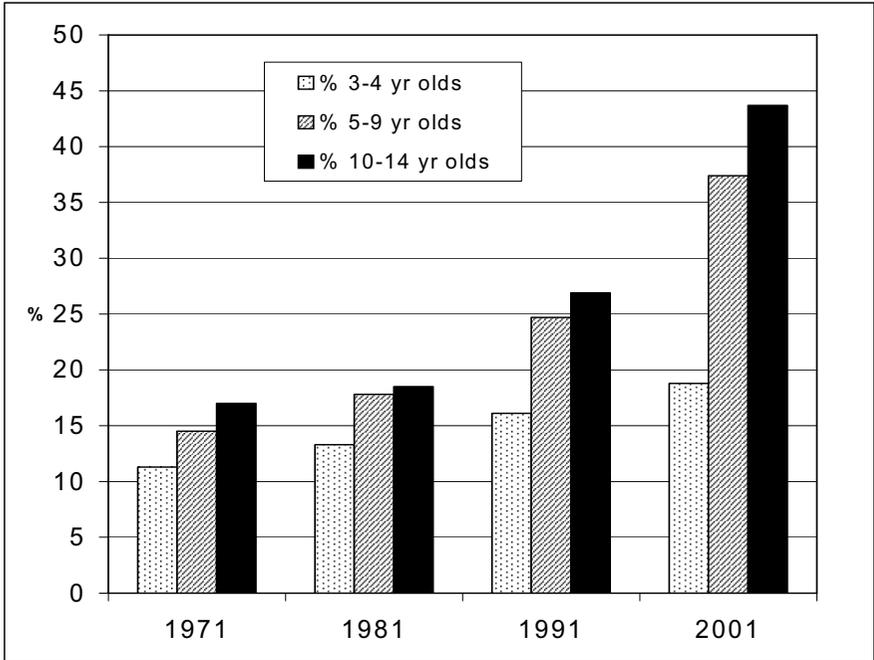


Fig. 15 The percentage of young Welsh speakers according to the national census returns in 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001.

However, since the national census figures are likely to cover a range of ability to speak Welsh, probably a more accurate measurement of language reproduction and production comes from another source. According to figures derived from assessments made by headteachers of primary schools (Schools' Census), only 6.2% of pupils were recorded as speaking Welsh at home in 2001-02, even though a further 10.5% were recorded as being fluent in Welsh. The graph in figure 16 below adds a diachronic aspect to the general picture.

Even though we are examining another age cohort here (5-11 year olds), the trend seems clear: the reproduction of Welsh is gradually being eroded (by 1.1% over 15 years), in contrast with overall gains in the proportion of young fluent Welsh speakers. Thus the rise in the percentage of young speakers is directly attributable to the expansion in

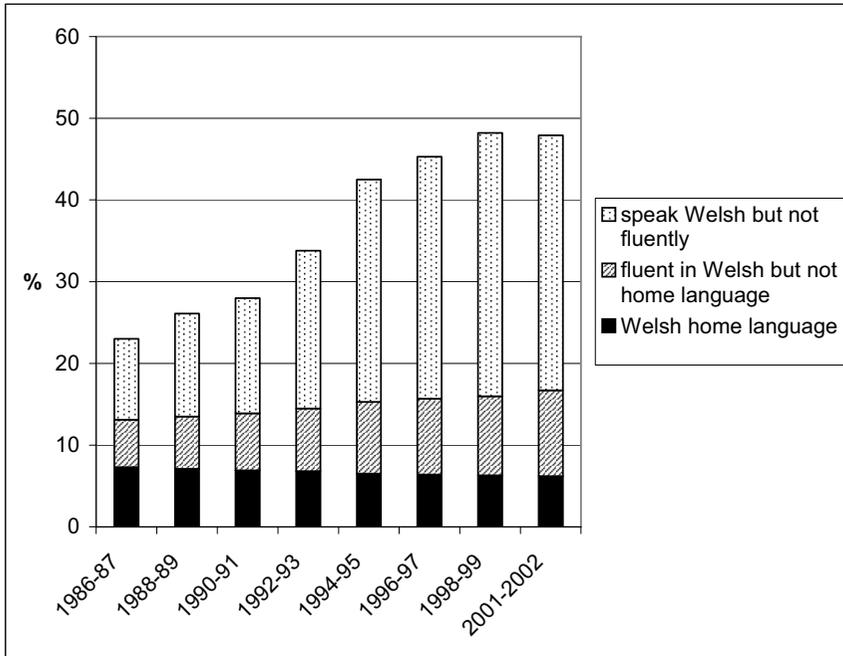


Fig. 16 Maintained primary-school pupils, aged 5 years and over, by ability to speak Welsh (based on the annual Schools' Census).

bilingual and Welsh-medium education provision. Nevertheless, since education is now playing such an important role in raising the number of Welsh speakers, there is a concern at the lack of continuity in bilingual and Welsh schools, as the Welsh Language Board point out:

40% of children who complete primary education as first language Welsh speakers commence their secondary education as second language Welsh speakers and take their curriculum through the medium of English. (WLB 1999: §3.6)

Therefore, without the continuity of a bilingual education, the intergenerational gains are likely to be more moderate than the head teachers' reports from primary schools suggest.

3.4.1.3 Applying a Typology of Bilingual Education

Finally, let us turn our attention to the types of bilingual secondary education provision in Wales. There are various ways in which to differentiate between them, but one way would be to recognise a three-way division between Welsh-medium schools (offering the whole curriculum bar English through Welsh), bilingual schools (offering some subjects through Welsh and some through English) and Welsh-medium/bilingual streams or units of otherwise English-medium secondary schools. These varieties of Welsh-medium provision may be offered in traditionally Welsh-speaking areas, where schools may thus be referred to as *traditional Welsh(-medium)* schools. Alternatively, the schools may be located in Anglicised or mixed-language areas, giving rise to the label: *designated Welsh(-medium)* or *designated bilingual* school. In Welsh (and sometimes in English) the distinction is often collapsed by referring to these schools as *ysgolion Cymraeg* “Welsh schools”.

To return to the matter of taxonomy discussed in the introduction to §3.4, it is evident that the current practice of distinguishing between Welsh-medium schools and bilingual schools, on the one hand, and traditional and designated schools on the other, is unsatisfactory. There are considerable overlaps and the terms are open to local interpretation by different LEAs, parental organisations and the Welsh Language Board, to name but a few important players. Let us therefore refer back to Martin-Jones’s typology, which takes into consideration the language of instruction, the target group, the language outcome as well as the societal and educational aim.

In the case of Welsh-medium and bilingual education in Wales, it is the maintenance and enrichment models which have been applied, although the distinction between the two is very fuzzy to say the least. The reason is that in many areas the bilingual provision is open to either those who have the minority language⁸⁷, Welsh, or the majority language, English, as their home language. The bottom line is therefore that to varying degrees, bilingual and Welsh-medium schools have the

⁸⁷ Of course, by calling Welsh the minority language, I am taking a national perspective, rather than a local perspective, where Welsh may well be the majority language. Here I should add that majority is not synonymous with dominant.

joint aim of maintenance and enrichment, though both subscribe to additive bilingualism. As regards the kind of educational and political discourse underpinning these models, one would expect to encounter that espousing cultural pluralism and linguistic diversity.

3.5 Bilingualisms-in-Practice

To conclude this general overview of bilingualism, let me tease out some of the strands which I deem to be the most important in the continuation of this study on performing bilingualism in Wales. On Pennycook's recommendation (2001: 107), I have deliberately chosen to pluralise the term bilingualism, in order to highlight its multidimensional nature.

- *Varying linguistic competence.* Much of the discourse produced about bilingualism has focussed on matters of linguistic competence. This focus has unnecessarily drawn attention away from lived bilingualisms, the reality of how varying language competence is constituted and performed in linguistic practices. Likewise, biliteracy is not just a question of being able to read and write more than one language (levels of competence), but about how these varying competences are constituted and deployed in real life.
- *Situated social practices.* Language is an inalienable constituent of social practices. Bilingualism arises and is sedimented in situated social practices. Reiterated performances of language practices as social practice in certain settings and with certain interlocutors may take on a certain regularised pattern (through processes of institutionalisation, though this is never totally fixed and always subject to negotiation *in situ*).
- *Affected by opportunities and symbolic value.* Since not everyone may be bilingual, and different languages carry different symbolic value, they may be unequally allocated in different settings and domains and with different interlocutors. The symbolic value associated with each language is historically, politically and socially contingent, in that it is always contestable and therefore subject to change. Not only do the different languages typically

have unequal symbolic value, but also the varieties of those languages (e.g. standard vs. dialects).

- *Dynamic rather than static.* The many dimensions of bilingualism, such as language competence, cultural affiliations, associated symbolic capital, etc. are constantly shifting and evolving according to myriad circumstantial factors, which may affect both individuals and whole speech communities over time. Not only are bilingual practices characteristically dynamic, but so too is the notion of bilingualism. It is constantly being reconstructed, reconstituted and revalued, both through discourses which recontextualise the notion and through the everyday social practices of bilinguals.
- *Code-switching commonplace.* Bilinguals have at least two linguistic repertoires to draw on. In reality, this can give rise to creative language practices, whereby both can be deployed to achieve a multitude of interactional goals. Despite the prevalence of code-switching (and even code-mixing) in many bilingual speech communities, this practice is often negatively valued, as a result of the normative (double) monolingual bias common in modern European nation-states, and it is frequently mistaken for deficient competence.
- *Situated identities as performances.* Rather than viewing language as reflecting a pre-existing identity, a performative approach views identities as a dynamic and observable effect of situated social interaction. Hence to achieve various interactional goals (e.g. alignment/disalignment), individuals perform and co-construct multiple (and sometimes contradictory) identities *in situ*. Their acts of identity are to be seen as performative in the sense that the subject is constituted as an effect of performing them. These performative acts of identity may be more or less closely associated with the code(s) which they deploy. That is, the codes individuals choose may display group identity, but they may equally well perform other interactional tasks (e.g. to achieve a

humorous effect), whereby identity may at best be only secondary⁸⁸.

- *Native speaker vs. learner.* Bilingualism can arise as a result of reproduction or production. Language reproduction in the guise of the native speaker has pride of place in many (predominantly monolingual) western societies. This is unnecessarily socially divisive. Processes of language production may also lead to language expertise and social affiliation as a viable alternative to social allegiance based on inheritance (through intergenerational language transmission). (c.f. §3.1.2)
- *Power differentials.* The different languages in a bilingual or multilingual community are rarely associated with social groups of equal standing. This is often reflected in the qualifying adjectives associated with each language, such as ‘minority’, ‘lesser used’, ‘heritage’, ‘majority’ or ‘dominant’. Besides one language group wielding most political, social and economic clout, the unequal balance of power is often played out in the differential functional allocation of the different languages (e.g. in administration and education).
- *Bilingualism as social planning.* Primarily for various non-linguistic ends, language policy and planning may appear on the political agenda with a view to promoting bilingualism. When this occurs, it is often the result of a prolonged struggle between language groups, and it may also be part and parcel of a broader political agenda.
- *Additive bilingualism through education.* Through carefully planned and skilfully deployed educational resources, bilingual maintenance and enrichment models of education can help achieve additive bilingualism (and biliteracy), whereby language reproduction is reinforced and language production is facilitated.

⁸⁸ Since the modern European nation-states have long been fostering an ‘essential’ link between language and national identity for purposes of national coherence and nation-building, the assumed iconic link between language and (ethnic) identity is all too readily reified.

4 Data and Methodological Frameworks

Before we start to analyse the empirical data on which this study is based, a presentation of the various different types of data is called for, as well as a presentation of the two central methodological frameworks (discourse analysis and Conversation Analysis) and how they tie in with the theoretical frameworks described in chapter 2. In this chapter I also present the rationale behind my choice of setting up focus groups as a means of generating spoken data, together with an account of how the focus group subjects were selected. Let us then start with the data.

4.1 The Data

The empirical data of this study includes both written and spoken sources. The written sources comprise language policy documents, language use questionnaires and language diaries, and the spoken sources comprises of video and audio recordings. Since the language policy documents will be examined first (in chapter 5), let us begin with these.

4.1.1 Language Policy Documents

The language policy documents represent three different levels within Welsh society: the national or all-Wales level, county level and the meso-level context of one designated bilingual school.

The national, or all-Wales level, is represented by documents from two different periods in history. The first period is Victorian Wales, represented by the so-called 1847 Blue Books Report, a government inquiry into the state of education in Wales (Lingen, Symons & Johnson). The second period is from the present century, represented by policy documents published by the devolved National Assembly for Wales, the most important of which is *Iaith Pawb*⁸⁹. *A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales* (WAG 2003).

At county level this study examines two Welsh language schemes produced by the Ceredigion County Council. According to the 1993 Welsh Language Act, it is a statutory requirement for all unitary authorities (county councils) in Wales to submit language schemes for

⁸⁹ Literally “everyone’s language”.

approval by the Welsh Language Board. The first of these schemes, *Ceredigion Council Welsh Language Scheme* (CCC 1997), is a more general in nature, whereas the second, *Welsh Education Scheme* (CCC 2001), relates – as one might expect – to the educational provision of Ceredigion County Council.

At the institutional level, one designated bilingual school (*Ysgol 1*), located in the county of Ceredigion, is represented through two school documents. The first is a fully bilingual *Ysgol 1* school prospectus⁹⁰ and the second is a condensed version (also fully bilingual), *Ysgol 1* mini-handbook, produced especially for the school open evening for prospective pupils and their parents.

Finally, apart from the 1847 Blue Books Report, it should be mentioned that all of the policy documents referred to above are either fully bilingual or available in both Welsh and English versions.

4.1.2 Video and Audio Recordings

There are three kinds of recorded data, which are analysed in this study. The first kind consists of video recordings of an *Ysgol 1* open evening, organised for prospective pupils and their parents. These include an introductory address in the main school hall followed by an (English-language) tour of the school, which involved meeting some fifteen subject teachers and specialist members of staff. The second kind comprises audio recordings of two interviews with the head teacher, one made a week before the open evening referred to above and the other made two years later on a return visit to the school.

The third kind of recorded data consists of video recordings of focus group discussions conducted by four focus groups on two separate occasions. Each focus group had 4-6 members comprised of year 12 pupils (approx. 17 years old) from *Ysgol 1*. The two recording sessions for each focus group, each lasting about 40-60 minutes, were based on two sets of discussion questions (available in both Welsh and English). These can be found in appendices 2 and 3. Further details relating to the composition of the focus groups as well as methodological considerations surrounding the group discussions and the video recordings can be found in §4.2 below. Having said that, there is one

⁹⁰ In order to protect the precise identity of the school, no further details of either the school prospectus or the mini-handbook are provided in the bibliography.

aspect of method I would like to raise here, *viz.* how I have processed the video-recorded data.

The first stage of processing the data was to watch each video recording and write a log summarising the topics, themes and issues taken up in each discussion. The next stage was to select sequences which contained relevant features for this study. As regards content, such features included any accounts of individuals' language choices, for example, or how teachers influenced the language spoken by pupils. As regards form, such features included all examples of code-switching. Initially, these sequences were transcribed as accurately as possible to include exactly what every participant said, and important aspects of body language, etc. In a third stage of the analysis, a number of sequences were selected to be transcribed in greater detail (with overlaps, timed pauses, etc.). It is in this form that most of the transcriptions appear in this study (c.f. §4.4.2). However, far more detailed transcriptions were made than have appeared in the pages of this book.

Finally, a brief word is called for here to explain the references used in the headings for each transcribed recorded excerpt reproduced in this study. There are three separate entries given for each excerpt, separated by commas. The first refers to the occasion of the recording, the second refers to the identity of the interlocutor(s) and the third refers to the precise timed location in the recording (in minutes and seconds). For example, (FGD2, FG3, 06:34) means that the excerpt is from focus group discussion 2, carried out by focus group 3, starting 6 minutes and 34 seconds into the recording.

4.1.3 Questionnaires

There are two questionnaires that have been used in this study. The first was for the most part based on almost identically worded questions from a questionnaire used in a survey commissioned by the Welsh Language Board, entitled *The Use of the Welsh Language 2000*⁹¹. The second is a far shorter supplementary questionnaire, requiring some further personal details. Both of these will be described in greater detail below.

⁹¹ A survey of 1 273 sixth formers (years 12 & 13) in Welsh-medium and bilingual education about their attitudes and use of Welsh.

The full questionnaire (based on the WLB questionnaire) was fielded to all the focus group members, as well as to a whole year group (year 12). Approximately 70% of the questionnaires were returned for the whole year group and 100% for the focus group members. For a number of reasons, I would have preferred to re-word a considerable number of questions in the full questionnaire. Nevertheless, I decided to limit my revisions, in order to compare my relatively small sample of students with a far larger sample. Thus I am able to calibrate (albeit roughly) the collective results from both the focus groups and *Ysgol 1* against those for Wales as a whole. In this way, I can give some indication of their representativeness (c.f. §6.1).

Nonetheless, I have departed from the original survey questions in a number of respects, where I deemed it necessary. Most of these ‘departures’ constitute additions and extensions to the original questions⁹². For example, questions asking which language pupils usually speak with siblings or friends *en masse* (requiring single entry answers) were expanded to specify individual siblings and four specific (closest) friends.

The questionnaires were made available in both English and Welsh. In the case of focus groups 1 and 2 there was a separate English and Welsh version. However, focus groups 3 and 4 (and the rest of their year group) received a bilingual interleaved version with a Welsh cover on one side and an English cover on the other, as is often the case with bilingual Welsh-English publications. Only some of the questions will receive attention here, however, since not all of them relate to the language practices outlined in this study. The relevant parts of the questionnaire have been reproduced in English and Welsh in appendix 4.

The supplementary questionnaire (also available in English and Welsh) was only given to focus group members. It consisted of two A4 sides, which mainly asked for the names of siblings and their five closest friends, together with details of how frequently they spoke Welsh together (appendix 5). However, not everyone returned these (despite reminders); only two out of six pupils from focus group 1, none from

⁹² Some of my revisions were inspired by M. Löffler’s study of the use of Welsh in two towns in West Wales (1999), whose questionnaire was supplied to me personally.

group 2, four out of five pupils from group 3 and two out of four from group 4.

4.1.3.1 Analysing the Questionnaires

Besides giving information about their use of Welsh with various interlocutors and in various situations, these questionnaires also provide certain biographical details, such as whether the pupils have lived elsewhere and whether their parents have learnt Welsh as adults, as well as the ability of family members and friends to speak Welsh. One way in which the results have been collated has been to tabulate⁹³ them for each individual as well as for each focus group as a whole. The tables used in §6.2 are illustrated by figure 17 below. Horizontally, the table is divided into two sections: family and friends. Vertically, there are lines for each focus group member. I have used the letters W, w, e and E⁹⁴ to mean the following:

W	= always Welsh
w	= often Welsh
e	= sometimes Welsh
E	= never Welsh
-	= not applicable/no response

The aim of such tables is provide a quick indication of the language practices of individual pupils as well as the group as a whole, based on their self-reported data. The questionnaires also provide other useful background information, including certain biographical details, such as whether the pupils have lived elsewhere and whether their parents have learnt Welsh as adults, as well as the ability of family members and friends to speak Welsh. Thus the commentaries following each table integrates this background information together with the data from the language diaries and the video-recorded discussions. All in all, the tables and accompanying commentaries constitute a tentative attempt to

⁹³ The form of tabulation adopted is similar to that used by S. Gal (1979) in her study of language shift in a bilingual community in Oberwart in Austria and that adopted by M. Löffler in her study of young Welsh speakers in two communities in West Wales (1999). Unlike Gal's study, however, these results are based on self-reported data, rather than on observations and audio-recordings of naturally occurring data. Neither do I follow Gal's example by ordering the interlocutors on any implicational scale for language choice.

⁹⁴ The alternatives are skewed in favour of Welsh, since they only reference Welsh. However, despite my own misgivings, I decided to keep the same wording of the WLB questionnaire, in order to make these results comparable with theirs.

provide a language profile for each individual as well as for each focus group.

		Interlocutor & usual language of communication (Welsh/English)																
		Family								Friends								
Respondent →		mother	father ¹	mealtimes	sibling 1	sibling 2	sibling 3	grandmother	maternal grandfather	maternal grandmother	paternal grandfather	paternal grandmother	friend 1	friend 2	friend 3	friend 4	friends in general	friends at school
	Name		e	w	e	e	-	-	E	E	-	-	W	w	W	e	w	W

Fig. 17 The tabulation adopted to show the frequency of Welsh used in communication with various interlocutors (or in certain situations)

Finally, we need to take up a couple of methodological issues to do with the use of questionnaires. Firstly, there is a degree of unreliability that belies questionnaire responses with given frequency (and other scaleable) categories. To some extent, each respondent will inevitably draw arbitrary boundaries particularly between what constitutes “often” and “sometimes”. Furthermore, the self-reported nature of questionnaires can only ever result in subjective and potentially idealised pictures of individuals’ use of Welsh and English. In selecting their responses, questionnaire respondents cannot distance themselves from deep-seated and ‘invisible’ ideological positions. Indeed, such objective positions are unattainable even for the researcher. Notwithstanding the inevitable subjectivity which accompanies self-reported data of this kind, the broad-brush impression which the questionnaires provide is useful because it requires all respondents to supply exactly the same information. Moreover, by supplementing this information with additional sources of data, such as the language diaries and video recordings, a fuller picture may be built up. This will not erase all ‘problems’ of subjectivity and unreliability, but on the other hand the picture that respondents construct

of their language practices is *per se* an inseparable and integral part of these practices.

4.1.4 Language Diaries

Given the limitations of the broadbrush responses to questionnaires outlined above, coupled with the time constraints and limited technical resources to make recordings of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction for the participants in this study, I was inspired by use of participant diaries described by Jones, Martin-Jones and Bhatt (2000). In their descriptions of ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork involving participant diaries (including their own projects, which combined diaries with diary interviews), they explore the viability of using language diaries to gain insights into multilingual literacies.

Given the time constraints on my visits to Wales, I had to lower my ambitions and limit myself to participant diaries without any follow-up interviews which were an integral part of Jones, Martin-Jones and Bhatt's projects. Despite this *lacuna*, I decided that using participant diaries would provide a significant complement to the other participant data. Furthermore, in order to reduce the time needed to keep a language diary, and thereby ensure that as many participants as possible would agree to keep diaries, I experimented on different formats with a couple of bilingual friends in Sweden to optimise their potential within these constraints.

The final result was one A4 sheet of paper for each day with English on one side and Welsh on the other. Apart from providing a brief description of all activities generating (or generated by) language which participants undertook before school, during the lunch hour and after school, they were requested to make a note of the language used (W, E, w, e, EW) and a rough estimate of the time each activity took. The key to the symbols is provided at the top of the language diary page reproduced in figure 18. There were also two columns on the page for different kinds of activities. Activities involving speaking were to be noted in the left-hand column and activities involving reading, writing, listening or watching on the right. Participants were also provided with an example of a language diary kept by me to show how to fill in the language diary sheets.

Language Diary (weekday)

Name: _____

Day: _____ Date: _____

Language

W = Welsh

E = English

w = mainly Welsh

e = mainly English

EW = English & Welsh

Time

<2'' (= less than 2 minutes)

<5'' (= 2'-5'')

<15'' (= 5'-15'')

<30'' (= 15'-30'')

<1' (= 30"-1 hour)

<2' (= 1'-2')

>2' (= more than 2')

Activity: what/where/with whom?		Language	Time		Language	Time
Speaking				R(eadin g)/Wr(iting) L(istenin g)/W(atchin g)		

Fig. 18 The heading of the English version of the language diary

The supplementary questionnaire described in §4.1.3 above was also constructed with a view to ascertaining some of the key persons mentioned in the individual language diaries. This also afforded the additional advantage of being able to cross-reference the noted language use with these key persons to a certain degree.

For the 2001 focus group participants, I distributed the language diary sheets and supplementary questionnaires to participants after the second focus group recording session and I requested that they keep a language diary for a week. However, I revised my approach for the 2003 year 12 pupils. Given the fact that they had to return the language diaries to me by post⁹⁵, and perhaps the perceived magnitude of the task, the response was disappointingly meagre; only two students sent their language diaries to me. Hence I decided to hand out the language diary sheets and supplementary questionnaires to the 2003 participants after the first focus group recording session and I requested that they keep a language diary for just two days: a weekday plus either Saturday or Sunday. I would then collect these in at the second focus group session. This change of tack did in fact produce a better response rate, and two of the participants extended the task and kept language diaries for a week. However, despite the additional insights the language diaries have afforded, this supplementary data is limited to those who were willing and able to make the effort. Furthermore, since almost none of the language diaries returned to me were from participants who otherwise report that they use

⁹⁵ I also supplied SAEs.

mostly or solely English, I suspect that the very task of keeping a language diary may imply some commitment to Welsh. Indeed, the four pupils who supplied me with language diaries for a whole week, all provided detailed information in Welsh and all belong to the category of pupils who appear to make most use of Welsh (Welsh-dominant bilinguals).

4.2 Focus Groups

In order to tap into the pupil's discourse on bilingualism and Welsh in naturally occurring talk-in-interaction, I would no doubt have needed to record vast quantities of data. For this reason, and a number of practical reasons⁹⁶, I decided to set up focus groups to generate discussion data. One of the main advantages of using focus groups is that the researcher is able to steer the agenda to some extent, to ensure that the issue-in-focus is discussed. Kitzinger and Barbour extol the virtues of focus groups thus:

Focus groups are ideal for exploring people's experiences, opinions, wishes and concerns. The method is particularly useful for allowing participants to generate their own questions, frames and concepts and to pursue their own priorities on their own terms, in their own vocabulary. (1999: 5)

Hence I anticipated that the discussion data would allow easier access to the ideas, concepts, discourses and ideologies in circulation about bilingualism and Welsh. This is not to say that it is just a question of capturing coherent, ready-made discourses that are shared by all. Indeed, the discourse and discourses generated by the focus groups should also be seen as an effect of their discussions. Linell expresses it thus:

Hence, we look upon the FG [focus group] as a site of meaning production, where people formulate, try out and play with thoughts and ideas, where they together make the vaguely or incompletely conceived into something (a little bit) more precise and complete. (1999: 5)

Naturally, focus groups are not the only site of meaning production; this is a feature of all discourse-in-contexts. However, there are some

⁹⁶ e.g. the time constraints and the availability of suitable recording equipment *in situ*.

special conditions and contingencies which differentiate focus group discussions from casual conversation between friends – not least those related to the researcher’s steering hand – which need to be borne in mind in the analysis of the data (c.f. §4.2.1 below).

Apart from the advantage of generating discourse on the issue-in-focus, the recorded discussion data also offers an important insight into the pupils’ linguistic practices. Thus whereas pupils can only *report* on their language practices in the questionnaires and language diaries, the focus group discussions provide an opportunity to observe how they actually deploy their linguistic resources in their talk-in-interaction.

4.2.1 The Methods of this Study

Having considered some general points and issues to do with the use of focus groups to generate data, let us turn to the specifics of this particular study, both with regard to practicalities and central methodological considerations.

As the main stimulus for both of the focus group discussions, I handed out question sheets with 14-15 discussion questions in Welsh and English (appendices 2-3). On the first occasion, all the questions concerned their school in some way or other and made no mention of Welsh or English (see appendix 2). Nevertheless, I hoped that the questions might prompt the focus groups to discuss language matters, which indeed they did. Although all four focus groups received the same set of questions, groups 2, 3 and 4 were told that they did not have to stick to them rigidly or at all. The result was that groups 1, 2 and 4 worked their way through the questions more or less in order, whereas group 3 selected a few questions, which to some extent took on a life of their own. On the second occasion, after the groups had become familiar with the discussion format, I made no attempt to disguise the language focus of my research. Indeed, all the discussion questions were related to Welsh and English in some way (appendix 3).

For reasons which will be given in §4.2.2 below, focus groups 1 and 2 completed the full questionnaire after the first video recording session, whereas groups 3 and 4 completed theirs beforehand. This may arguably have had an effect on the focus group discussions, since the questionnaire focusses on matters to do with the Welsh language. Nevertheless, in the first recording session, where no direct mention is

made of language issues in the discussion questions, all four groups discussed their language practices and many other matters to do with Welsh and English (and to a lesser extent bilingualism).

In a preamble to the focus group discussions, the pupils were told that their true identities would remain confidential to everyone but the researcher, and they were also invited to think of pseudonyms for themselves. I have adopted their suggestions without exception in this study (including some rather frivolous ones). The preamble was conducted in English, though in each of the focus groups I told them in Welsh that I understood Welsh and that they were free to speak whichever language they wished: Welsh, English or both.

With regard to the setting, all the focus group discussions and video recordings took place in the school conference room. The desks were arranged so that the pupils sat round in a semi-circle and could see each other, yet would not block each other's view from the vantage point of the camcorder.

Normally in focus group discussions, there is a moderator (usually the researcher) who initiates and ensures the smooth running of the discussion. However, I deliberately wanted to avoid my direct involvement for a number of reasons. Firstly, since my preferred (and stronger) language of communication is English, my language preferences would inevitably have impacted upon the language choice(s) of the group, which was precisely one aspect of their talk that I was interested to ascertain (see also §4.2.1.1 below). Secondly, I had only met two participants on an individual basis prior to making the video recordings, namely Louise and Batman (in order to ask them each to put together a group of friends). Thus I assumed that my presence would inhibit them from talking about situations and people of whom I had no knowledge. Indeed, the fact that at least three of the focus groups were groups of friends meant that they would be more likely to feel comfortable to discuss things as a group. Furthermore, since most of the focus group members were *close* friends, this would allow them to draw on experiences they shared as well as reflect and comment on each other's social practices and experiences. Thirdly, the fact that I did not sit in with them also meant that the groups were free to determine both whether to stick closely to the supplied discussion questions and when to move on to a new one.

Nevertheless, I was not truly absent from the room. Firstly, I was present by means of the camcorder. Indeed, on a few occasions, participants did address me directly via the camcorder, especially just after I had left the room. They also mentioned the camcorder explicitly on a couple of occasions, when participants attempted to censor what was being said or what might otherwise have been said. Secondly, I was present via the sheet of discussion questions, which played an important role in setting the agenda as well as structuring their discussions. Thus both of these factors need to be taken into consideration in the analysis.

4.2.1.1 Methodological Considerations vis-à-vis the medium of the discussions

As mentioned above the focus group discussions also provide an opportunity to observe the medium of participants' talk (as well as whether they actually speak what language(s) they say they speak with each other). Thus part of the analysis is to identify patterns of language use, which may characterise their talk in more general terms, such as patterns of code-switching and code-mixing. However, since the focus group discussions are not simply ordinary naturally occurring talk-in-interaction, there are a number of methodological issues which need to be discussed.

Firstly, the task of discussing questions together places certain constraints on the type of language generated and on the possible types of interaction. Hence, these constraints can also be considered in the analysis of their talk. One important part of this is identifying sequential 'structures' of the activity, which are common to all groups, and which may prove to be salient 'zones' for the negotiation of the medium of talk.

Secondly, the school setting and the focus group discussion task may have made the activity seem like another school activity, where Welsh is established as the legitimate language. This may, however, have been offset by the use of the conference room, which is not generally used as a classroom, and by the fact that the researcher is not a teacher at the school. He also points out that the video recording and their identities will remain confidential *vis-à-vis* the school. Although the researcher (whose preferred language is English) did not stay for any of the discussions proper, so as not to influence unduly what language(s) the pupils chose to speak in, the presence of the camcorder may have continued to exert an influence, since the recording is for the researcher.

Thirdly, as regards the seating arrangement, participants themselves chose where to sit, though they did not all arrive together. Moreover, personal language preferences with different friends may potentially be influenced by whom they sit next to and thus talk to, particularly before the commencement of the discussion proper. Partly for this reason, a plan of the seating arrangement accompanies the analysis of each focus group. However, since the focus group discussion is a joint activity for the most part, individual members' choices still have to accommodate the preferences and dynamics of the group as a whole.

Fourthly, as regards the placing of the question sheets, in most cases they were originally set out: Welsh, English, Welsh, English, etc. around the table⁹⁷. Hence, it is conceivable that the language of the questions might have influenced the language of the discussion, at least initially. The seating arrangement plan also traces how these sheets are manipulated by each individual. For each focus group, there is also an accompanying analysis of the significance of participants' use of the question sheets for the medium of their talk.

Finally, as regards the physical environment, it should not be forgotten that the focus group discussion (as well as most of the interaction beforehand) was video-recorded. Thus even when the researcher was not in the room, the camcorder represented his presence, with all that it potentially entailed, including his language preferences. However, all in all, they pay little attention to the camcorder, and there is little evidence to suggest any influence on the language choices of the pupils, except perhaps initially.

4.2.2 The Subjects

The subjects of this study comprise four focus groups of 4-6 pupils, all attending the same designated bilingual secondary school. The focus groups are from two different year groups, but at the time of their composition they were all from year 12 (approximately 17 years old). Hence, focus groups 1 and 2 are from the same year group, whereas groups 3 and 4 were composed a year later from the year below them. For practical and other reasons, the selection process varied between the groups. Initial contacts with the school gave rise to a group of six

⁹⁷ However, in the case of focus groups 3 and 4 each sheet was double-sided with the questions in the other language on the back.

volunteers⁹⁸ (4 girls and 2 boys), who comprised focus group 1. It subsequently emerged that most of these volunteers came from Welsh-speaking homes. Through Gwenhwyfar, one of the pupils in group 1, I was able to compose another group who were primarily from English-speaking homes, *viz.* focus group 2, which comprised of four girls.

For reasons which will emerge later, I suspected that these two groups might be polarised, not only as regards their home language backgrounds, but also as regards their language practices. This resulted in a review of my method of selection. Firstly, how could I discover whether there was any ‘middle ground’, and secondly how could I ensure that any additional focus groups included pupils who potentially represented this ‘middle ground’?

I had already used a questionnaire (see §4.1.3 above) with focus groups 1 and 2 to find out details of their language backgrounds, etc. However, the questionnaires were not distributed and completed until after the first focus group discussions. Since these questionnaires provided (self-reported) data about the pupils’ language background, I decided to field the same questionnaire to a whole year group⁹⁹ and select two pupils, a boy and a girl, on the basis of their language practices. Thus after collating the results of the whole year group, I contacted Louise and Batman¹⁰⁰, two pupils who appeared to use a mixture of Welsh and English at home and with friends both inside and outside school. They were then each asked to put together a group of about four friends. Thus focus group 3 comprises five girls selected by Louise and focus group 4 comprises four boys selected by Batman.

Let us now leave matters to do with focus groups and their composition, and turn our attention to the discourse analytic approaches to be adopted in the remaining chapters of this study.

4.3 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is an umbrella term for a hybrid field of enquiry, which may focus on different aspects of contextualised language beyond

⁹⁸ This was also the only group that was composed through the mediation of a teacher. Together with the fact that these were the only participants ‘volunteer’, the teacher’s mediation may also have influenced who volunteered.

⁹⁹ The result was 48 questionnaire returns out of approximately 68 year-12 pupils.

¹⁰⁰ In this paper I have used the pseudonyms selected by the participants themselves.

the confines of a single utterance (or sentence in written discourse). In the guise of discursive psychology, Critical Discourse Analysis¹⁰¹ (CDA) and discourse theory, for example, discourse analysis is concerned with the interrelationship between language and society. Furthermore, all three approaches share a social constructionist viewpoint (c.f. §2.2), as well as a critical approach to the social contexts which they analyse. Amongst other things, this involves mapping out the operations of unequal power relations in discourse with a view to facilitating social change (Jørgensen & Philips 2000: 8). A separate branch of discourse analysis is concerned more with the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday conversation. Conversation Analysis (CA) belongs to the latter, with a particular concern for the patterns of turn-taking in talk-in-interaction (c.f. §4.4).

As the term suggests, the methods of Conversation Analysis are reserved for spoken discourse, whereas discourse analysis may be applied to either (or both) spoken and written discourse. Since the data on which this study is based includes both written and spoken discourse, my approach will combine both discourse analysis and Conversation Analysis. In order to combine these, I will need to lay some foundations to be shared by both. Nevertheless, the special features of spoken discourse require some different analytical tools, for which CA is most suited. Hence some of the essentials of CA will be presented in the next section (§4.4). The remainder of this section will be devoted to the common ground for the analysis of both the written and spoken discourse in this study.

However, before we go any further we need to identify what is meant by “discourse”. In *Approaching Dialogue*, Linell defines (a piece of) discourse as “a stretch of concrete, situated and connected verbal, esp. spoken actions [...] includ[ing] accompanying paralinguistic and embedding contexts.” (1998: 6) If we disregard Linell’s preference for spoken discourse, this definition will suffice to identify the object of study indicated by the first word of the term “discourse analysis”. Nevertheless, there is another meaning of the term “discourse”, which is more abstract. In the Foucauldian tradition, “a discourse is a way of

¹⁰¹ CDA can itself be seen as an umbrella term; Fairclough and Wodak (1996) differentiate between eight different approaches to CDA.

talking about and acting upon the world which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices.” (Candlin & Maley 1997: 202) An important task of discourse analysis in this study is to identify such discourses (or types of discourse) in discourse-in-contexts (both spoken and written). Notwithstanding the above two definitions, discourse in both senses of the word is to be seen as a social practice.

In order to identify different discourses (discourse types), especially those related to the concept of bilingualism (and Welshness), it behoves the analyst to discover aggregates of features which appear to construct the phenomenon as a ‘social object’ (or ‘social subject’ in the case of bilinguals) by means of the associations and the related values they imply. These aggregate features may constitute particular words and the way in which they are combined in certain collocations or phrases. For example, a ‘nationalist discourse’ may include reference to territorial, political, administrative, institutional and cultural (including linguistic) separateness or separation, with associated aspirations for political (or cultural) self-determination. These aspirations may even extend to nation-building and independence from a larger political and territorial unit. Often these discourses are historically contingent, in that new discourses may become salient under conditions of social change. For example, the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales has helped to pave the way for a legitimated nationalist discourse.

Besides identifying what discursive features can be and are bundled together in each discourse, it is also important to keep a watchful eye on what features are implicit, but which are never usually voiced because of their taken-for-granted quality (c.f. Butler’s implicit censorship, §2.3.3). Occasionally, however, the relative ‘invisibility’ of these implicit norms and values may surface and become discernible through their contestation. For example, Gwenhwyfar (in focus group 1) cites a monolingual Welsh person’s reaction to being asked to pass the *sôs coch* “red sauce, ketchup” at the meal table: “I don’t speak Welsh that’s enough of this cultural exclusion”. Gwenhwyfar then cites her own reply as: “well y’ know I could do the nationalistic thing and tell you, about, cultural exclusion but I won’t, ’cause I don’t wanna annoy you”. Her subsequent assessment of this situation was to point out the absurdity of people being “really like touchy” just because of someone saying *sôs coch*. Thus through the breaking of an ‘unwritten rule’ that Welsh should

not be mixed with English when speaking to monolinguals, as well as Gwenhwyfar's discursive contestation of this 'rule', its relative 'invisibility' is made conspicuous.

No matter what features are more or less easily identifiable in each 'bundle', it must be acknowledged that discourses are to some extent the social construct of the analyst. Nevertheless, they do serve the purpose of recognising more easily the circulation of similar aggregates of features across different contexts. Thus the concept of *intertextuality*¹⁰² is important in discourse analysis, whereby new 'texts' are made from old ones. Fairclough expresses it thus:

[F]or any particular text or type of text, there is a set of other texts and a set of voices which are potentially relevant, and potentially incorporated into the text. (2004 [2003]: 47)

This very process of incorporation (in Butler's terminology *iterability*, c.f. §2.3.1) also allows for the potential performative transformation of texts through the *decontextualisation* of old texts and their *recontextualisation* in new ones.

Despite the reference to 'text', not least in the term "intertextuality", the interconnectedness and borrowings between discourses are not limited to written texts. Indeed, it is precisely the transference between these media which may give rise to significant transformations. Moreover, in institutional contexts, such as education, where written directives and policy documents are supposed to be implemented, this transference from one medium to another is undoubtedly an important contributory factor in the realisation of their performative force. Hence, for the analyst, this meso level of society is important to ascertain the reception (and reproduction) of a chain of discourses enshrined in such policy documents, for example those relating to language policy. Martín Rojo, a Spanish critical discourse analyst, explains the significance of an analysis centred on the meso level for her work in a Spanish educational setting:

Particular attention has been paid to the institutional context because the preferred model of linguistic education in a community not only

¹⁰² The term "intertextuality" was first coined by the Bulgarian poststructuralist Julia Kristeva, but it has since been borrowed and developed by many others.

reflects the community's educational objectives, but also the social groups it serves, the ideologies it sustains and the type of society it aims to reproduce. The implementation of educational legislation, linguistic policies and planning resolutions not only derives from a social order, it also feeds back into it. By analysing the institutional conditions, we could therefore reveal the relationship between legislation and its effective implementation. (2004a: 247)

What Martín Rojo also warns against is the decontextualising practice of disregarding the mediating role of the institutional level, by attempting to establish direct links between “lexical choices” and ideology, that is, between the micro and macro levels of society (2004b). It is also important to note that the implementation of policies etc. feeds back into the social order, which implies that the performative force of these discourses is not just a one-way, i.e. top-down, operation of power. This leads us to consider the nature of power.

Within a CDA framework power is located as a given entity outside language. Foucault (1991), on the other hand, rejects such a view of power. Rather than regarding power as a given entity that explains how things happen, he sees power as “that which must be explained” (148). In other words, we need to explain how power operates. Moreover, according to Foucault, power is not something that is possessed or acquired or appropriated but rather “a multiplicity of force relations” (1990: 92) that operate throughout society. Thus power is not to be ultimately located “in the primary existence of a central point” (93), for example in the institutions of the state, nor does it reside in social or economic relations, but rather “[p]ower is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere” (Ibid). Thus power always implies resistance, yet it “is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power” (95). Indeed, resistance to the social order without legitimated authority is a prerequisite for social change, as Butler puts it:

[I]t is clearly possible to speak with authority *without* being authorized to speak.

Indeed, I would argue that it is precisely the *expropriability* of the dominant, “authorized” discourse that constitutes one potential site of its subversive resignification. (Butler 1997: 157)

This is not to suggest, for example, that a school pupil is always able to exercise as much power as a teacher. However, for teachers to exercise power, they must also have the compliance of their pupils (or at least their acquiescence). Hence wide-scale non-compliance with central tenets of school policy will undermine the authority of the teachers. To take an example, in a Welsh-medium or designated bilingual school resistance may take the guise of pupils refusing to speak the ‘preferred’ language, i.e. Welsh. Continued solid resistance may even renegotiate the ‘right’ to speak English to teachers in the long term. There is both second-hand and self-reported ‘evidence’ in the focus group data to suggest that this is the case for some pupils at *Ysgol 1*. However, this is a case of visible resistance, which some pupils and the head teacher call “rebellion” in the data. Yet there is a whole spectrum of resistance to the school’s ideology and not least its implementation (c.f. §6.5.2), but much of this is not voiced in direct confrontation with teachers. This brings us on to the final term and concept to be considered in this section, *viz.* ideology.

In CDA, ideology is taken to mean “a particular framework of knowledge that is tied to social power and may be manifested in language.” (Pennycook 2001: 82) The task of the critical discourse analyst is therefore to uncover such manifestations of ideology in discourse. Within this framework ideologies are seen to legitimise “existing social relations and differences of power.” (Fairclough 1989: 2) To return to Foucault, not only does he reject the location of power as outside discourse, but he also rejects the notion of ideology as discourses that “either represent or obfuscate truth and knowledge in the interests of pre-given powers.” (Pennycook 2001: 83) Instead, Foucault prefers the notion of discourse as “something which produces something else (an utterance, a concept, an effect) rather than something which exists in and of itself and which can be analysed in isolation.” (Mills 1997: 17) The Foucauldian stance affords the advantage of seeing “discourses as having multiple and complex origins rather than a basis in some form of social reality” (Pennycook 2001: 108), whereby ideologies are produced and maintained by dominant social groups.

In this study I have therefore mainly framed ‘ideological matters’ in terms of discourses and performative processes, such as legitimation and institutionalisation. Nevertheless, although I do not share the stance of

CDA on ideology (or power), I have not avoided the term altogether. Thus it behoves me to explain what I take ideology to mean in this study. In the introduction to *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, Woolard (1998) teases out “four recurring strands or themes”, ranging from ideology as “ideational or conceptual, referring to mental phenomena” (strand 1), i.e. having to do with “consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, ideas” (5) to ideology as “distortion, illusion, error, mystification, or rationalization” (7 – strand 4). In other words they range from ‘neutral’ to ‘critical’ in stance, respectively. The ‘strand’ which most closely corresponds to the meaning of ideology in this study is ideology as “derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience or interests of a particular social position, even though ideology so often (in some views, always) represents itself as universally true.” (6) This strand (strand 2) belongs to the more neutral (or less critical) end of the scale, which allows for ideologies to have more complex origins than simply “the tool, property, or practice of dominant social groups.” (7)

Having laid the groundwork for the discourse analytic practices of this study, let us now turn to the particular features of spoken data, which are best described and approached through the methods developed within Conversation Analysis. However, in closing I would like to note for the record that central principles of CA, such as sequentiality (c.f. §4.4) and the close attention to detail, have also guided my analysis of written discourse.

4.4 Conversation Analysis

Hutchby and Wooffitt define Conversation Analysis (CA) as “the study of *recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction.*” (1999: 14, original emphasis). At the heart of CA is a concern with the nature of turn-taking in talk-in-interaction, i.e. how participants systematically organise and orient to the turn-taking resources that constitute the orderliness (or even the apparent disorderliness) of talk-in-interaction. However, CA is not only in the business of revealing how turn-taking is accomplished, but also what participants are actually trying to accomplish through their talk-in-interaction. Both aspects are essential to this study; an understanding of the organisation of conversational data is

vital for an analysis of how participants negotiate the code(s)/medium (media) of their talk as well as an analysis of participants' accounts of their language practices, which in turn may be embedded in other interactional activities or projects.

As regards CA's preference for naturally occurring data, it should be pointed out that the main concern of this study is not to break new ground as regards the nature of turn-taking and its organisational resources, but rather to apply the 'rules'¹⁰³ that conversation analysts have discovered in talk-in-interaction to my focus group data. This will require taking into consideration, among other things, the effects of the activity (a focus group discussion) on the organisation of the participants' talk.

One central tenet of CA is the *sequentiality* of talk-in-interaction. Utterances can never be fully understood out of context and significant aspects of their meaning are only derivable from their sequential position in a string of utterances. The speaker is continually listener-oriented, monitoring his or her own and the listener's apparent shared understanding. The listener, on the other hand, is speaker-oriented in that he or she strives to understand what the speaker intends. Hence interpretation is not solely the speaker's privilege. Indeed, it is this aspect of talk-in-interaction that allows the analyst an important foothold, since listeners display in their sequentially next turns their understanding of what the prior turn was about. It is this display that allows for the *next-turn proof procedure* central to CA. In their ground-breaking article on the organisation of turn-taking in conversation, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) explain the significance of this procedure thus:

while understandings of other turns' talk are displayed to co-participants, they are available as well to professional analysts, who are thereby afforded a proof criterion (and a search procedure) for the analysis of what a turn's talk is occupied with. Since it is the parties' understandings of prior turns' talk that is relevant to their construction of next turns, it is their understandings that are wanted for analysis. The display of those understandings in the talk of subsequent turns affords both a resource for the analysis of prior

¹⁰³ These 'rules' are to be seen as a set of normative practices that participants orient to in order to achieve orderly turn-taking.

turns and a proof procedure for professional analyses of prior turns – resources intrinsic to the data themselves. (729)

Another important tenet of CA is what Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) term *recipient design*, which they explain thus:

By ‘recipient design’ we refer to a multitude of respects in which talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants. (727)

In other words speakers adjust their talk according to what they know - or assume - to be common knowledge to participants, as regards both the content and design of their talk. This might also include participants’ selection of medium.

4.4.1 Context

Although CA accepts that talk is situated and does not occur in a vacuum, it rejects the ‘container’ view of context, whereby people enter contexts and are causally influenced by them. Instead CA looks for evidence (by proof procedure) of participants actively orienting to the relevance of particular contexts as knowledgeable social agents.

In *Approaching Dialogue* (1998), Linell points out that a theory of discourse needs a theory of contexts; “an utterance or action ‘cannot be properly understood [...] unless one looks beyond the event itself to other phenomena (for example cultural setting, speech situation, shared background assumptions) within which the event is embedded.’ ” (127)

Linell collapses potential contextual resources into three major – albeit not wholly watertight – classes: *co-textual* (or discursive) *resources*, relating back to prior discourse (including non-verbal actions); *situational resources*, relating to the surrounding concrete situation, including physical spaces, persons, objects and artefacts; and *background assumption resources*. The latter includes what actors already assume, believe, know or understand about the things being talked about, i.e. the frame (if the discourse is embedded in a certain activity type) and the broader cultural environment. This means that discourse is embedded in or activates a matrix of different kinds of potential contexts that can be made into relevant contexts through discourse. Moreover, Linell argues the case for a dialogical approach to language (c.f. §2.4), which would

also maintain that contexts do not actually exist prior to discourse. Indeed, the superordinate dialogical principle is that of *reflexivity* between discourse and contexts, i.e. the “co-constitution of discourse and contexts” (136). Hence, one understands an utterance by relating to its contexts and conversely one understands context by relating to an utterance.

In CA co-textual and situational environments are taken into consideration to the extent that parties display an orientation to these, but sociocultural contexts are basically ignored (if parties do not explicitly display an orientation to these). In contrast, Linell advocates what he terms the “double dialogicality” of dialogue (54), i.e. its embeddedness in sociocultural practices as well as in situated interaction. In my analyses, I will pay close attention to participants’ orientation towards co-textual, situational and background assumption resources in their talk-in-interaction, but I cannot and will not limit myself only to their orientations as evidenced in their talk, i.e. I will acknowledge the double dialogicality of their talk. Not to do so would prevent me from making connections between their language practices, not least those emerging from the focus group data, and their discursive construction of these practices, which is one of the central aims of this study.

4.4.2 Transcription

In order to analyse talk-in-interaction, conversation analysts always transcribe their conversation data. However, the transcription does not then become the data, as Hutchby and Wooffitt explicate:

Conversation analysts [...] do not analyse transcripts alone: rather, they aim to analyse the data (the recorded interaction) using the transcript as a convenient tool of reference. The transcript is seen as a ‘representation’ of the data; while the tape itself is viewed as a ‘reproduction’ of a determinate social event. (1999: 74)

Furthermore, the actual process of transcribing the data, which requires repeated listening, is part and parcel of the analysis of the data. Indeed, the very act of transferring the data from one medium to another assists the researcher in observing important features of the talk being transcribed. It is then the task of the transcriber to ensure that the transcription system closely reflects the salient features of the recorded data. The system in regular use by conversation analysts is based on that

developed by Gail Jefferson (see Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). There have been subsequent modifications to this system to include more features. This also applies to this paper, which adopts the conventions found in figure 19.

(.5)	Pauses in tenths of a second		
(.)	Pause of less than 0.2 seconds		
yeah= =yeah	Equal sign: latching between utterances		Double brackets: comments on contextual or other features, eg non-verbal activities
[yeah] [mm]	Square brackets: Between adjacent lines indicate overlapping talk	((slaps desk))	Names in square brackets: changed for reasons of confidentiality
lis-	Dash: cut-off word	[katy]	Encompassing degree signs: noticeably quieter than surrounding speech
sh:::	Colon: prolonged previous sound	°crap°	Underlining: speaker emphasis
(swap)	Words in single brackets: uncertain words	really	Capitals: noticeably louder than surrounding speech
(xx)	Crosses in single brackets: unclear fragment; each cross corresponds to one syllable	AND	Encompassing exclamation marks: animated or emphatic tone
ie yeah	Words in grey: English translation of transcribed (1 st) line	i;try!	Encompassing more than and less than signs: noticeably quicker than surrounding speech
it's uhm, because	Comma in translation line: a pause (marked in the 1 st line)	>an' I was like<	Encompassing less than and more than signs: noticeably slower than surrounding speech
[=soap opera]	Square brackets: changed names or supplied extra information	<oh cool>	Encompassing dollar signs: laughing or chuckling voice
dim ots	Words in italics: code-alternation	\$huhuh\$ \$what do I do\$	Encompassing asterisks: other distinguishing feature
doesn't matter	Words in grey italics: English translation of 1 st line with code-alternation	*military*	Double brackets + asterisk: description of feature encompassed by asterisks
.	Fullstop: a stopping fall in tone	((*deeper voice))	Marked rising intonational shift at this point
,	Comma: 'continuing' intonation	↑	Marked falling intonational shift at this point
?	Question mark: rising inflection	↓	
¿	Upside-down question mark: sharply rising (closing) inflection		

Fig. 19 The transcription conventions used in this book

N.B. In excerpts where the situation calls for more of a monologue, i.e. with minimal co-participation from listener(s), I have departed from these conventions somewhat, in order to cause less ‘interference’ in the text and make the task of reading a little easier. It mainly concerns the introductory address and subject presentations given at the *Ysgol 1* open evening by the head teacher and subject teachers, respectively¹⁰⁴. I have also transcribed the personal interviews with the head teacher in the same fashion, since the interviewer’s ‘contributions’ mainly take the form of *continuers*¹⁰⁵. Rather than ignore continuers, intruding noises (such as a baby crying) and the like, I have included them in the transcription, since they may influence pauses, tempo, emphasis, etc. and therefore may have a bearing on the interpretation of the turns in question. However, in order to make them less intrusive in the transcription, they have not been given separate lines unless they constitute overlaps. Furthermore, they have been marked in grey to avoid unnecessarily diverting the reader’s attention away from the main speaker.

Furthermore, for reasons of space and ease of reading, in chapter 6 (particularly §6.2) full transcriptions are not always provided when just one person is cited. In these quotations the otherwise timed pauses have also been simplified as commas.

4.4.2.1 Transcribing Welsh

Appendix 1 outlines some of the distinguishing features of Welsh. Nevertheless, a few words need to be said at this juncture, which have a particular bearing on the transcription of spoken Welsh.

In keeping with the traditions of Conversation Analysis, I have transcribed the data as closely as possible to the forms and pronunciation of the original talk-in-interaction. This has inevitably led me to document varieties of Welsh that have not yet been fully described by linguists. Indeed, given the high standing of Literary Welsh and a general written-language bias, a considerable proportion of the spoken Welsh in my data would no doubt be deemed as sub-standard¹⁰⁶. Consequently, to some

¹⁰⁴ These appear primarily in §5.2.

¹⁰⁵ Continuers are recipient tokens, such as “mm” and “yeah”, which signal the listener’s understanding that the current turn has not yet reached completion, although they may also occur at a transition relevance place (Schegloff 1982: 80).

¹⁰⁶ In appendix 1 there are details of some of the more frequent non-standard features found in my data.

extent, I have chosen to deviate from the spellings and forms of words found in formal written varieties. Since Welsh spelling generally reflects pronunciation very closely, it is relatively simple to create ‘phonetic’ spellings. I have also relied heavily on the orthographic practice of King’s grammar of modern Welsh (1996), which is based on spoken varieties¹⁰⁷.

Since the word order of translations does not reflect that of English, this sometimes creates problems for the transparency of transcriptions, in that it is only possible to mark various features, such as overlaps in talk, pauses and prosody, in the original Welsh version. Thus in addition to a third line with an idiomatic translation (in grey), a second line with a word-by-word translation has been added to enable the reader who does not know Welsh to ‘observe’ exactly where these features occur (see excerpt 4 below).

Excerpt 4 (FGD2, FG3, 04:05)

fi'n credu (.) ma' (.8) 'falle bo' fi'n *totally wrong* on' y teledu
 I part. believe is perhaps that I part. but the television
 I think, (it's?), perhaps I'm *totally wrong* but television is

yn dylanwad mawr
 part. influence big
 a big influence

Unmarked word order in Welsh is often (but not solely) verb first¹⁰⁸. Thus repairs immediately after the initial verb may be difficult to translate into English, since there may be too little semantic information to go by. In particular, *mae* (or dialect form *ma'*) “is/(are)”, 3rd person singular (and often plural) of *bod* “to be”, offers innumerable continuations and often serves as a default beginning of an utterance, because of its structural versatility¹⁰⁹. Sometimes it is fairly easy to guess what the construction might have been from the context as in excerpt 4,

¹⁰⁷ I have also been guided to a lesser extent by the author J. Owen’s series of *Pam Fi, Duw?* “Why Me, God?” novels, written for teenagers. These are written in a diary format and are intended to reflect young people’s informal spoken Welsh (including Southern dialect forms) in spelling, grammar and vocabulary.

¹⁰⁸ For those who have no knowledge of Welsh or any other Celtic language, the significance of this divergence in word order may be easier to follow after reading appendix 1 “Word Order”, which specifically deals with some of the fundamental features of Welsh word order.

¹⁰⁹ In Swedish there is a similar construction *de' e'* “it is” which can also serve as a default beginning because of its versatility as a building block (c.f. Anward 2004).

where the group are discussing why pupils at their school speak so much English.

Here it seems reasonable to guess that the subject of the verb *ma'* is delayed until after the tentative insertion sequence '*falle bo' fi'n* totally wrong *on'* "perhaps I'm *totally wrong* but" which means that *ma'* can be translated as "is" in English. However, in the following example (excerpt 5), because there are so many repairs, it is more difficult to guess what the subject of the first *ma'* might have been or what the continuation was going to be in both occurrences of *ma'*. The sequence in which this occurs is about what could be done to make younger pupils more proud of speaking Welsh. Here one of the participants brings up a talk given by a fellow pupil, Aled Morris, to pupils in the lower school.

Excerpt 5 (FGD1, FG4, 21:51)

ma' fi'n credu fi'n credu be' sy'n dda yw pan ma'r chweched yn (.4)
 is I part. believe I part. believe what is part. good is when is the sixth [form] part.
 (it's?) I think I think what's good is when the sixth (form),

yn yn sort of (.4) (t- fel na'th) [Aled Morris]
 part. part. (? like did) [fictitious name]
 sort of, (? like [Aled Morris] did)

In the case of the first *ma'*, perhaps the construction might have been *ma'n dda pan ma'r chweched* "it's good when the sixth (form)", but rendering *ma'* here as "it's" seems more conjectural than in the previous example. Here it seems more like a (repaired) default beginning. In the second case, the construction is more transparent: '*r chweched* "the sixth form" is the subject, and the present tense of *bod* (i.e. *ma'*) + the predicative particle (*yn*) are used to construct the present tense of the verbal noun that never materialises. The only candidate to hand for the missing verbal noun appears to be (*gw*)*neud* "do" (i.e. when the sixth form does). This is based on the restart in the last line, which uses the preterite 3rd person singular of (*gw*)*neud*: *na'th* "did" and substitutes the original subject, "the sixth form", with a single member of the sixth form, Aled Morris. That is of course, *if* the same construction is recycled in every way except for the subject and tense (present vs. preterite). However, the evidence from the data is not conclusive. Needless to say, in such cases English translations can only be accompanied by question marks in the second literal translation line and can only be represented by a question mark in the third idiomatic translation line of the transcription.

For further details concerning the transcription of code-switching and code-mixing in Welsh, see §3.2.3 and §3.2.4.

After this presentation of the data and the discourse analytic approach adopted in this study, let us now turn to the data itself. Chapter 5 focuses on the discursive construction of bilingualism in macro and meso-level contexts, whereas chapter 6 focuses on the language practices of the focus group pupils as well as the construction and contestation of bilingualism (and Welsh) in their focus group discussions.

5 The Construction of Bilingualism

It is central to the notion of bilingualism in this chapter that it has been socially constructed through the many related discourses (in a Foucauldian sense) in circulation between different social actors in different places, both past and present. Thus the notion is contingent and is constantly being (re)constructed. Hence, the meaning and connotations of bilingualism are not fixed, but through the performative process of iterability, they are open to negotiation through their recontextualisation in various discourses, be they written documents or talk-in-interaction. The process of recontextualisation will exploit the sometimes conflicting meaning potentials of “bilingualism” and they may occasion the contestation of more dominant meanings (which will vary from context to context) to achieve certain effects and interactional goals. Not only is the meaning of bilingualism shaped by what is explicitly said, but also by what is not said or does not need to be said as a result of the performative process of implicit censorship. The performative can also become operational through the interpellation of groups and individuals, whereby the discursive constitution of bilinguals, Welsh speakers and monolingual English speakers, for example, becomes inextricably bound up with their social constitution.

Moreover, bilinguals are constantly (re)shaping the meaning of bilingualism collaboratively and performatively through their bilingual practices. In this sense, bilingualism can be regarded as a category that is produced by means of repeated and sedimented discursive acts. This sedimentation or layering of bilingual language practices can lead to a process of institutionalisation, which then takes on a taken-for-granted type quality. Furthermore, using Welsh, English or both may be affected by the process of legitimation arising from language policy and language planning in the broadest sense. The inevitable power struggle which lies behind the legitimation process involves not only what social values are associated with bilingualism and monolingualism, etc. but also which social groups (or individuals at a micro level of interaction) have the greatest say in determining these values. Hence any socially valued construction of bilingualism or monolingualism may also be contested both through the performative discursive processes described above as

well as through the everyday language practices of individuals and groups.

The focus of this chapter is on the discursive construction of bilingualism, whereas the construction of bilingualism through people's language practices constitutes the focus of the next chapter. However, this division cannot be watertight; particularly in the last section of this chapter, the performance of bilingualism as social practice in the institutionalised setting of one bilingual secondary school cannot be divorced from the discursive performance of bilingualism.

Otherwise as regards the structure of this chapter, it will start with an analysis of discourses that have arisen in various language policy documents (§5.1). The first three sub-sections (§§5.1.1-5.1.3) focus on language policy at an all-Wales level with a diachronic perspective. The fourth sub-section (§5.1.4) deals with recent language policy in one particular county with a view to homing in on one of the county's designated bilingual schools. This particular school is the focus of the final section (§5.2), as regards both its language policy and how bilingualism is constructed by teachers at an open evening for prospective pupils and their parents. At the same time as this chapter zooms in geographically on the catchment area of one bilingual school with regard to language policy, the lens also zooms in on the realm of bilingual education.

5.1 Bilingualism in Language Policy Discourse

Although the term is recent, language policy and planning¹¹⁰ (LPP) has a long history, even if much of such activity has been implicit and informal (Blommaert 1996: 206). In this respect Wales is no exception. Formerly – and indeed still today – language policy has been embedded in other government policy, often implicitly, but sometimes explicitly.

¹¹⁰ The term “language planning” was first introduced in the literature by Haugen in 1959, but what I take LLP to mean is more akin to Ricento (2000), who regards language planning as a subordinate category to language policy, which for research purposes:

is concerned not only with official and unofficial acts of governmental and other institutional entities, but also with the historical and cultural processes that have influenced, and continue to influence, societal attitudes and practices with regard to language use, acquisition and status. (209, footnote 2)

However, the nature of LPP has recently changed quite radically in Wales, insofar as the comprehensive language policy documents of the kind produced by the National Assembly for Wales are now explicit. Nevertheless, however visible or invisible the activities of language policy are (and have been), they can never be divorced from relations of power. LPP is not a neutral or simple problem-solving activity as Cooper aptly notes:

Language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of non-linguistic ends such as consumer protection, scientific exchange, national integration, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites or the maintenance of old ones, the pacification or cooption of minority groups, and mass mobilization of national or political movements. (1996: 35)

Hence, the Welsh Assembly Government's present-day language policy goal of "a truly bilingual Wales" needs to be explained in terms other than linguistic ones.

In order to highlight the fundamental change in language policy in Wales, I will focus on the discourses in circulation in two narrowly defined time periods and provide an in-depth analysis of these. The first period is the mid-nineteenth century (Victorian Wales) and the second is the early twenty-first century (post-devolution Wales). In both cases I will concentrate on national language policy (either British or all-Wales policy). However, in the latter case I will also examine how central language policy is translated to one Welsh unitary authority with a view to providing the policy context for the bilingual secondary school described in §5.2.

5.1.1 *The 1847 Blue Books Report*

In the case of research on bilingualism, there has been a dialectal turnaround in accepted thinking, whereby bilingualism was construed in the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century as having detrimental effects to having predominantly additive effects from the 1960s onwards¹¹¹. A similar and dramatic U-turn has taken place as

¹¹¹ Baker (2001: 136) divides research on the subject of bilingualism into three partly overlapping historical periods, which are largely in tune with their contemporary societies:

1. The period of detrimental effects, early 19th century-1960s
2. The period of neutral effects, 1930s onwards

regards central language policies over the same period. Initially there was little reference to bilingualism *per se*, but what was expressed in the discourses circulating at the time was more to do with the relative values associated with English and Welsh. In his *tour d'horizon* of Welsh education in the nineteenth century, Evans (2000a) introduces the chapter in the following manner:

Until the final decades of the nineteenth century the Welsh language was regarded by central government as a ‘problem’ or ‘difficulty’ and a major cause of low educational standards, ignorance and backwardness in Wales. The state had no conception of a meaningful ‘bilingual policy’ for schools and colleges. (459)

To illustrate the construction of Welsh and English (and by inference bilingualism) around the mid-nineteenth century, I have chosen to refer extensively to the by now infamous 1847 Blue Books Report. Against the backdrop of rapid industrialisation and the ensuing social upheaval and unrest with frequent uprisings in Wales from 1790s onwards, William Williams, a Welshman and MP (Member of Parliament) for Coventry called for the commissioning of a report on the state of education in Wales (Jones 2000: 431-2). Like many contemporary London-based Welshmen, Williams saw the majority of his fellow countrymen¹¹² as seriously disadvantaged by what he regarded as a non-functional language (Ibid.). He and those of a like mind saw the solution to the Welsh ‘problem’ in terms of an efficient English-language education which would free Welsh monoglots from their linguistic isolation and at the same time foster the loyalty of Welsh Britons (Roberts 1998: 20). In response to Williams’ call, three English commissioners were appointed to carry out the inquiry, each preparing part of the final report according to the counties allotted to them. The three resulting blue-book reports were compiled into one final report which comprised a total of 1 256 pages.

Since elementary educational provision in Wales at the time was a grossly underfunded and piecemeal affair “provided by the religious denominations, often in collaboration with voluntary societies, by private

3. The period of additive effects, 1960s onwards

¹¹² It is estimated that the percentage of Welsh speakers fell from about 80% of the population of Wales in 1801 to about 67% by the mid-nineteenth century (Davies 1993: 36-7).

venture and by a few works' schools" (Jones 2000: 433), it should come as no surprise that the three commissioners were united in their damning verdict of the *status quo*. Yet their report went well beyond a commentary on the educational shortcomings, as Jones summary of their findings suggests:

[The commissioners and the witnesses they chose to cite] agreed that teaching resources were wholly inadequate, that teaching standards were abysmal, that the discrepancy between the language of the hearth and the school exacerbated the problem, that the Sunday schools had achieved much but in ways irrelevant to mid-Victorian realities, that moral shortcomings, including a tendency to riot, were associated with inadequate education and that the Welsh deserved better, both for their own sake and for that of their neighbours. (Jones 2000: 455)

It was the commissioners' particular indictment of the moral turpitude and cultural aridity of the Welsh that provoked their indignation and ire and earned the Report the epithet: *brad y llyfrau gleision* "the treachery of the blue books". However, before we proceed to examine some of the pronouncements of the 1847 Report, I would like to frame them in terms of what I wish to call *colonialist discourse*. Here I focus primarily on language matters, though many other associated factors are also brought into play.

Let us start with the unquestioned and unquestionable superiority of English (and other colonial languages), which was performatively held in place through implicit censorship. Pennycook (2001: 56) describes this axiomatic superiority of English in terms of its intrinsic and extrinsic qualities. The former refer to the nature of language, that some languages should in some way be better equipped than others as vehicles of intellectual thought and learning. The latter, extrinsic qualities, refer to the functions of language, that some languages have already been adapted to new circumstances (e.g. learning and administration) and are fully institutionalised, to the functional exclusion of other languages.

According to Pennycook (1998), the English language teaching enterprise was central to colonialism not just because it led to the spread of English on a massive scale around the world, but also because "it is deeply interwoven with the discourses of colonialism." (2) Besides the promise of bestowing civilisation, knowledge and wealth, access to

English was readily viewed as some kind of panacea for social ills, such as deficient morals, poverty and social immobility (4). English was also constructed as the language of progress, reason and social as well as national cohesion. On the other hand, native languages (including those indigenous to the British Isles) and their peoples were readily portrayed as primitive, backward, uncultivated and immoral. It is also noteworthy that the presumed superiority of English emerges often most clearly in the ‘othering’ of native languages and their speakers. In this respect, it should be said that Welsh and the Welsh were little different from other native languages and peoples throughout the British Empire. Indeed, Jones (2000) remarks that it is not difficult to see “parallels between the imperial mission to bring civilized Britain to the dark corners of the world” and the processes of internal colonialism to seemingly alien parts of the British Isles (Jones 2000: 434).

The religiously and culturally charged metaphor of these alleged dark corners is, in fact, blatant in the following quotation from Symons’ blue-book report:

Superstition prevails. Belief in charms, supernatural appearances, and even in witchcraft, sturdily survive all the civilisation and light which has long ago banished these remnants of the dark ages elsewhere. Little or none of such light has as yet penetrated the dense darkness which, harboured by their language, and undisturbed by availing efforts of enlightenment, enshrouds the minds of the people. (Lingen, Symons & Johnson 1847 Part II: 187)

Apart from the damning indictment of alleged religious beliefs that have stubbornly survived the dark ages, the Welsh language is reified as an agent, which has connived to “harbour” the “dense darkness” and keep the Welsh from enlightenment and the light of civilisation (Roberts 2003: 11-12). Hence the Welsh are constructed here as stubbornly immoral, primitive and uncivilised, abetted by an intrinsically sinister and subversive language. Through the othering of the Welsh language and people, the English are by contrast construed as progressive, enlightened and civilised, aided by the superior qualities of English.

The reification of the Welsh language as a subversive agent is elucidated further in words also penned by Symons on an earlier page of his report:

The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to over-estimate its evil effects. (66)

In case one should be in any doubt as to the level of malevolence inflicted by the Welsh language on its speakers, a number of rhetorical devices are used to knock the message home. For example, the striking effect of hyperbole by using the attributive adjectives: “vast” and “manifold”, the use of a negative construction with “over-estimate” and the choice of the adjective “evil”, which anthropomorphises the Welsh language in the most sinister terms. Once again, by inference, the benevolence of the English language would smooth the way to moral progress and commercial prosperity, which are denied to the Welsh by dint of their native language.

The barrier to progress caused by the Welsh language was also expressed by another of the commissioners, Ralph Lingen:

Whether in the country, or among the furnaces, the Welsh element is never found at the top of the social scale [...] in his new, as in his old, home, his language keeps him under the hatches, being one in which he can neither acquire nor communicate the necessary information. It is a language of old-fashioned agriculture, of theology, and of simple rustic life, while all the world about him, is English (Lingen, Symons & Johnson 1847 Part I: 3)

Rather than Welsh constituting a barrier to moral progress as articulated by Symons, Lingen construes Welsh as a barrier to social progress and advancement in both rural and industrial settings. The language is thus denigrated as a primitive, outmoded and inadequate vehicle of communication, wholly unadapted and unadaptable to the needs of contemporary life. Conversely, it is implied that English was widely and immediately accessible as well as being the fount of up-to-date information and knowledge and the key to social improvement.

These sentiments were echoed with regard to the unquestioned suitability of English as the medium and linguistic goal of education:

Schools are not called upon to impart in a foreign, or engraft upon the ancient, tongue a factitious education conceived under another set of circumstances (in either of which cases the task would be as hopeless as the end unprofitable), but to convey in a language, which

is already in process of becoming the mother-tongue of the country, such instruction as may put the people on a level with that position which is offered to them by the course of events. (Ibid. Part I: 7)

The inappropriateness and futility of using the “ancient” Welsh tongue (i.e. primitive by implication) for educational purposes is underscored by equating it with teaching in a foreign (and thus alien) language. The counties of Carmarthen, Glamorgan and Pembroke which came under Lingen’s remit showed considerably greater linguistic diversity than most of the other counties of Wales and this was reflected in his remark that language shift from Welsh to English was already underway. This development is portrayed as one of progress; access to an English-language education would felicitously provide the Welsh with equal opportunities.

Unlike the vast majority of day schools in Wales, which taught through the medium of English, the Sunday schools were recorded as teaching through the medium of Welsh or at least bilingually in Welsh-speaking areas. Although, the education which they provided was primarily geared to Bible reading and religion, as one might expect, these schools generally received notably less criticism than the English-medium day schools, as Lingen concedes:

These schools have been almost the sole, they are still the main and most congenial, centres of education. Through their agency the younger portion of the adult labouring classes in Wales can generally read, or are in course of learning to read, the Scriptures in their mother tongue. (Ibid. Part I: 3)

Indeed, the three commissioners’ direct their unequivocal and incisive criticism at the day schools on several accounts: teachers, who in many cases lacked a basic command of English; inappropriate teaching materials and ineffectual teaching methods. These and other deficiencies in Welsh educational provision meant that many monolingual Welsh children were learning virtually no or very limited English, despite the fact that this was the main aim of day-school education. The schools’ fundamental failure to deliver in this regard meant that Lingen could envisage the transitional use of Welsh to ease the learning of English:

for so long as the children are familiar with [no other language than Welsh], they must be educated to a considerable extent through the

medium of it, even though to supersede it be the most important part of their education. (Ibid. Part I: 7)

It is, however, made abundantly clear that it is a prototypical transitional model he has in mind, with the loss of Welsh as the outcome – indeed, “the most important part of their education.” Lingen is not alone in his pragmatic standpoint *vis-à-vis* the use of Welsh in the classroom. If anything, the third commissioner, Vaughan Johnson, was more critical of the total exclusion of Welsh in the classroom as a misguided and counter-productive principle. This is particularly clear in his critique of Aberffro School in Angelsey (Ynys Môn):

None of the children can read with ease. They understand nothing of what they read in English, and are unable to translate the simplest English words into Welsh. The master assured me that they knew nothing of the meaning of what they read; that it was impossible for them to do so, considering that at home they never heard a word spoken in English, and considering the utter worthlessness of his materials for translation. He does not attempt to assist them by any system of interpretation *viva voce*, or by any kind of explanation in Welsh of what is read or learned. (Lingen, Symons & Johnson 1847 Part III: 17)

Johnson’s account seems to suggest that the schoolmaster regarded his task as nigh impossible, given that his pupils were monoglot Welsh speakers. Nevertheless, the incisiveness of Johnson’s criticism of the schoolmaster’s materials, as well as his lack of pedagogical skill to convey to the pupils any meaning of what they reading or learning by rote, shows that Johnson did not accept the schoolmaster’s attempt to evade responsibility. In fact, providing an explanation in Welsh is one of the pedagogical remedies Johnson specifically advocated here. Furthermore, he warned of the “injurious effects” of using the infamous Welsh Not¹¹³ to punish pupils for speaking Welsh (Ibid. Part III: 19).

At the same time as the 1847 Blue Book Report seems to allow for the use of some Welsh with monolingual Welsh children primarily to aid the

¹¹³ Johnson explains the practice thus: The Welsh Not “is given to any pupil who is overheard speaking Welsh, and may be transferred by him to any school-fellow whom he hears committing a similar offence. It is thus passed from one to another until the close of the week, when the pupil in whose possession the Welsh [Not] is found is punished by flogging.” (Lingen, Symons & Johnson 1847 Part III: 19)

process of learning English to ‘supersede’ their Welsh, the evidence gathered by the three commissioners from various witnesses suggests the fairly solid opposition of parents and teachers, both Welsh-speaking and English-speaking, to the use of Welsh in the classroom. Despite the altogether damning report of elementary school provision in Wales, particularly as regards the learning of English, it did not lead to any immediate system of state-funded schools. When the 1862 Revised Code of Regulations for the Administration of Grants to Schools introduced a system, whereby schools would receive payment on the basis of pupils’ performance in annual tests, Welsh was not made a grant-earning subject (Evans 2000a: 471; Jones 2000: 456). When the Forster Education Act of 1870 did eventually introduce a comprehensive system of state-funded elementary schools, any consideration of Welsh was notable by its absence. Furthermore, there was very little protest from Welsh speakers either. Indeed, Jones (2000) concludes his summary of the 1847 Report with the following comment:

Already Welsh parents endorsed an English-language future and in the longer term it transpired that the people of Wales agreed with much else in the Report. (Jones 2000: 455)

To sum up the effects of the colonialist discourse of the Victorian Age and the 1847 Blue Book Report on the construction of Welsh and English, one could say that a bilingual Wales was not a viable option. Welsh was readily constructed as a language of superstition, backwardness, cultural isolation and economic stagnation. Partly through the othering of Welsh, English was depicted as the language of enlightenment, progress, civilisation and economic advancement. It must be stressed that English was also the language most closely associated with institutionalised power: political, social, economic and administrative. In this sense, the language issue was just one aspect of the continuing internal colonisation of the peripheral areas of Britain. The inquiry into the state of education in Wales must also be seen in this light; indeed, it was precisely the turbulent expressions of social and political unrest among the working classes that prompted the MP, William Williams, to call for the inquiry in the first place. His assertion was that “the moral power of the schoolmaster was a more economical and effectual instrument for governing this people than the bayonet” (qtd

in Roberts 1998: 24). Hence state control of education, including the language of education, was part of the broader exercise of imperial political and social power. Also in relation to power, it is no accident that the Welsh language was readily acknowledged and constituted as a language of religion and “theology” in the Report, since the Nonconformist chapels¹¹⁴ were the only Welsh-language institution with any real clout.

In the face of such an imbalance of power and status, weighted heavily in favour of English, it is not surprising that bilingualism held little cultural capital. As a result, Welsh was excluded from the expanding institutions of educational provision. A century later, however, this situation was in the throes of dramatic change. Much of this change has already been sketched out in §3.4.1.1. In short, it has entailed a total re-evaluation of Welsh and bilingualism in tandem with the institutionalisation of Welsh in education and several other Wales-only institutions which have as late legitimised the Welsh language. Rather than covering the same ground once again, I am going to skip forward to the present day and examine the discourses evident in the language policy documents of post-devolution Wales.

5.1.2 Five Discourses

Comparatively little survives in the 2003 national action plan of colonialist discourse, besides the unquestioned and unquestionable status of English, which is constructed in part by the very need for proactive policies to support the Welsh language. Hence, it behoves us to identify additional kinds of discourses in these documents of language policy and planning, which are inevitably multi-voiced and multi-layered, and abounding with examples of intertextuality. In order to disentangle some of these voices and layers, I have singled out five different kinds of discourse, the first three of which were initially identified in the work of Heller and Budach (Heller & Budach 1999, Heller 2001) in the Francophone Canadian context.

The three major discourses about French and *la francité* which Heller and Budach identify convey “an anchoring of discourse development in specific socio-historical conditions, and a relative discourse dominance

¹¹⁴ According to the 1851 church census, 68% of the total number of church attendances were attendances at the Non-conformist chapels (John Davies *HW*).

at various historical points.” (Heller 2001: 123) Martin-Jones and Roberts-Young have extended this three-way classification to discourses about Welshness and applied it in their analysis of school websites¹¹⁵. Heller (and Martin-Jones & Roberts-Young) call these three discourses:

- traditionalist discourse
- modernising discourse
- globalising discourse

These represent a chronological development in the French Canadian context, but all three may still exist side by side. In elaborating on these three discourses, I will start with Heller’s account and extend this where expedient to the Welsh context, frequently with reference to Martin-Jones and Roberts-Young’s analysis.

Traditionalist discourse “is traditionalist in the sense that it refers explicitly to the importance of reproducing practices which are identified as embodying significant and historically continuous activities and values.” (Heller 2001: 123) Furthermore, it views speakers of the minority language as a homogeneous and unified group historically linked to a geographical space. To reflect this historical continuity, there may also be reference to icons from the past, such as important figures in history and significant historic events (Martin-Jones & Roberts-Young). Bilingualism here may provide access to the realms of the majority language, yet allow bilinguals to benefit from the solidarity of the minority-language community (Heller 2001: 123).

Modernising discourse in the Canadian context emanates from the growth of nationalism in Québec in the 1960s. It also “focuses on the importance of the state in creating French monolingual bases of power from which to enter the modern world.” (Heller 2001: 124) This involves gaining access to the political, economic and social resources controlled by the dominant language group. Thus the control (or joint control) of contemporary institutions gives the minority-language group its legitimacy (Martin-Jones & Roberts-Young). Separation of domains, both institutional and territorial, is a hallmark of this discourse, as well as the separation of linguistic practices and “structural distinction of posited pure and whole linguistic systems.” (Heller 2001: 124) Although

¹¹⁵ Martin-Jones presented this in a paper given at the Centre of Bilingual Research, Stockholm University during the spring of 2003.

bilingualism is important here too, constant vigilance is needed to avoid assimilation (Ibid.).

Globalising discourse is currently emerging as “a direct consequence of the relative success of modernization.” (124) At the same time, access to societal institutions must “rest on democratic values of inclusion”, which in turn smooths the way for the commodification of language as a means of institutional access (Ibid.). Furthermore, bilingualism offers access to new jobs in the service and information sector, where a knowledge of languages provides “added value¹¹⁶” (137). This development signifies a move from Francophone identity and pride, and the rights and struggles of the Francophone community towards a general recognition of the market value of bilingualism (136). In a similar vein, discourses of public service provision and accountability also belong to globalisation processes, with the adoption of features of corporate-style management.

In the Canadian context there are two international languages, which are of course valued in the global marketplace. In contrast, Welsh cannot vie with English in the global marketplace, but it is increasingly becoming a valued skill in the local marketplace, particularly in the public sector. Hence a similar process of commodifying language skills is developing in Wales to ensure social inclusion and access to public sector employment. Apart from referring to the social and economic benefits which bilingualism can afford the individual, this type of discourse may also emphasise how Welsh has been adapted to modern-day life and contexts. Furthermore, in Welsh globalising discourse, Wales is construed particularly as part (or a region) of Europe but also as part of the world, rather than simply as one of the constituent countries of the United Kingdom (Martin-Jones & Roberts-Young).

Besides Heller’s three discourses, I wish to add two more:

- nationalist discourse
- ecology-of-language discourse

By *nationalist discourse* I mean discourses closely associated with the processes of nation-building. In many ways this mirrors the processes involved in the creation of the modern European nation-states. For

¹¹⁶ Heller notes that the term “added value” or “*la valeur ajoutée*” “is one found echoed across Francophone Canada, at federal, provincial and local levels.” (2003: 491, footnote 5)

example, it entails the discursive constitution of a separate national identity, which includes the selection of a national language or national languages. Nationalist discourse also commonly calls for independence for a territorially defined area or region, or at least devolution of power from the central state, of which it is a part. One aspect of the devolution process is the creation of separate public institutions, which help to legitimise its discrete identity. In this regard, there are similarities with the modernising discourse, but in the nationalist discourse these institutions are not characterised primarily by minority-language-group control, but rather by their separation from the institutions of the central state.

In Ricento's (2000) overview of research on language policy and planning, he includes *ecology-of-language discourse* in the third and most recent stage of his taxonomy, running roughly from the mid-1980s to the present day. As Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996) explain:

[t]he ecology-of-language paradigm involves building on linguistic diversity worldwide, promoting multilingualism and foreign language learning, and granting linguistic human rights to speakers of all languages. (429)

Ecology-of-language discourse can be seen as a reaction against what Skutnabb-Kangas (1998: 12) describes as "monolingual reductionism", the direct threat posed by dominant languages to minority languages and linguistic diversity. As a consequence, (the struggle for) official acknowledgement of linguistic human rights and the official promotion and fostering of linguistic diversity belong to this discourse. It also includes proactive language revitalisation programmes. Furthermore, the related notions of cultural pluralism, emancipation and empowerment also belong here.

This type of discourse also entails a moral dimension; particularly the language rights argument makes it our duty to support minority languages and thus linguistic diversity (Pennycook 2001: 63). This in turn demands a political commitment to the struggle for language rights. Moreover, this commitment can be extended to include the moral imperative to preserve language ecologies, by promoting the maintenance and cultivation of humankind's diverse linguistic heritage on its own merits.

These five discourses can be seen as tuning in with particular aggregates of social, cultural, political and economic conditions as well as tuning in with particular ideological orientations. In this sense, they are part of the struggle to define central values and practices as well as to obtain access to societal resources. Furthermore, these discourses have the potential by their very enunciation to bring about a performative effect. In other words, through the performative discursive process of iterability, whereby coherent discourses are recontextualised, they can discursively (re)construct the reality they purport to reflect.

5.1.3 Iaith Pawb¹¹⁷. A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales (2003)

By way of reference to these five discourse types, we shall now investigate ways in which bilingualism is being discursively constructed in the most comprehensive and important LPP document yet to appear in Wales, namely *Iaith Pawb* (WAG 2003) which enshrines the Welsh Assembly Government's vision and action plan for achieving the goal of a bilingual Wales. Let us start with an analysis of this goal set out in the forward to this 58-page document written by the First Minister and the Minister for Culture, Sport and the Welsh Language:

Our vision is a bold one and was set out in our policy statement on the Welsh language, *Dyfodol Dwyieithog: A Bilingual Future* published in July 2002. Our aspiration is expressed in the title of that document - a truly bilingual Wales, by which we mean a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all. *Dyfodol Dwyieithog: A Bilingual Future* committed the Assembly Government to prepare and publish before the end of 2002 a national action plan which would set out in the clearest terms the strategy and the commitment of resources by which the goal of a bilingual Wales would be achieved. This document is that action plan. (1)

After an initial reference to the 24-page policy statement, *Dyfodol Dwyieithog: A Bilingual Future*, which committed the Assembly Government to producing this national action plan, we get a definition of what is meant by the goal of "a truly bilingual Wales". Their "bold

¹¹⁷ Literally "everyone's language".

vision” is a country where people can choose the language or languages through which to live their lives: Welsh, English or both. Part of the reason why this vision is a bold one is that at the moment people can *de facto* and *de jure* only “choose” to live their lives through English or both Welsh and English, since the individual’s right to choose can only be fulfilled if both parties are bilingual. At the present time, since only approximately one in five people in Wales speak Welsh, this is clearly not possible. Neither do the language laws that are in effect guarantee the right to use Welsh¹¹⁸. Yet this LPP document contributes to a performative discursive process, namely that of interpellation. Welsh people are being hailed or interpellated as ideally bilingual. This is also evident from the title of the document: *Iaith Pawb*, “everyone’s language”, which is not rendered in English. Indeed, here (only) Welsh is being constructed as a language belonging to everyone. Clearly this is not truly possible unless everyone is bilingual (since it is taken for granted that everyone knows English). Consequently, as pointed out above, “a truly bilingual Wales”, where everyone is entitled to choose which language(s) to use, is only possible if everyone is bilingual.

In order to facilitate this language choice, more people need to be able to speak Welsh. Therefore one of the five key targets of the Action Plan is to increase the number of Welsh speakers by 5 percentage points from the baseline of the 2001 national census by the year 2011 (*Iaith Pawb* §2.16). Another key target is that “more services, by public, private and voluntary organisations are able to be delivered through the medium of Welsh” (*Ibid.*), but no indication is given as to the extent of the targeted increase. Thus the intention of this action plan is more than an ideological policy document; it lays down in practicable ways how the goal of a bilingual Wales is to be successively achieved. In doing so it interpellates not just the Welsh people (as ideally bilingual), but also a number of specific actors, who are subsequently charged with the responsibility of facilitating an increasingly bilingual Wales. In fact, *Iaith Pawb* is regularly punctuated by sections entitled “Actions” which are subdivided into three columns headed: description, purpose and lead body. Under the columns, *description* and *purpose*, there is a

118 Nor do they in fact guarantee the right to use English, but as the socially dominant language, the right to use English is totally institutionalised and in most situations (at least between strangers) English operates as the default language.

summarised explanation of what the specific action is and its intended aim, respectively. The final column, *lead body*, lays down who is responsible for implementing the action. Thus particular actors are specifically interpellated and backed by the legitimacy of the Welsh Assembly Government to ensure the felicitous performative force of the action plan. Naturally, this cannot fully guarantee the creation of a bilingual Wales, since resistance is also made possible through the iterability and recontextualisation of discourses, but it does initiate a new set of performative conditions.

Despite the fact that a truly bilingual Wales has yet to be realised, the collocation “a bilingual Wales” occurs 7 times in *Iaith Pawb*. Of these 7 occurrences, one appears in the title and one constitutes the very last words of the document. In addition to one occurrence each of similar collocations: “a bilingual nation” and “a bilingual country”, these constitute the second most common use of “bilingual” in the document. Out of a total of 48 occurrences of “bilingual”, 18 constitute collocations with words to do with education (e.g. “bilingual education”, “bilingual schools”, “bilingual provision”) and there are two cases each of the collocations “bilingual services” and “bilingual skills”. Bilingual education is already a common enough phenomenon in Wales (reflected also in the large number of occurrences in the document). The frequent repetition and recontextualisation of other collocations such as “a bilingual Wales”, “bilingual services” and “bilingual skills”, partly as a potential effect of implementing the Action Plan, could lead to the sedimentation and institutionalisation of these notions. Thus over time the construction and iterability of these collocations could have a performative effect.

To return to the wording of the second sentence of the foreword cited above, not only is there to be a choice, but “the presence of the two languages” is to be “a source of pride and strength” to everyone in Wales. Although, once again, this interpellates the Welsh as ideally bilingual, this includes at present those who do not speak Welsh. This is a far cry from the colonialist discourse of the 1847 Blue Books, where Welsh is constructed as a “drawback”, a “barrier” and even “evil”. Here both languages are being discursively constructed as equally worthy of noble sentiments. The choice of the word “presence”, rather than *bodolaeth* “existence” in the Welsh version, suggests more than

tokenism; it suggests that both languages are being (or are to be) used in a tangible way. In §2.15 the otherwise almost identical wording has been expanded to “a *visible* and *audible* source of pride and strength” (my italics)¹¹⁹. The addition of two different media or senses enhances this effect of languages being used for real purposes.

In the final sentence cited above, derivatives of the verb “commit” appear twice. The first occurrence explains that the Assembly Government’s previous policy statement has “committed” them to produce this action plan and the second talks of their “commitment of resources” to fulfil the Action Plan. The verb form “committed” appears 13 times in *Iaith Pawb*, in almost all cases as “is/are committed to”. The noun “commitment(s)” occurs 16 times. The occurrences in the penultimate sentence cited above are not syntactically representative of how these words are used (c.f. *Iaith Pawb* “Our Vision” & §4.1 cited below), but the general idea of a commitment on the part of the Assembly Government and its partners to a bilingual Wales and the Welsh language (including its promotion and revival) is common to almost every single occurrence of “commitment” and “committed”. This notion of commitment belongs to the ecology-of-language discourse, whereby the government shoulders the responsibility to promote bilingualism and revitalise Welsh, partly in response to Welsh speakers’ struggle for equal language rights.

Now that we have analysed how the goal of a bilingual Wales is framed in the forward, let us now examine the introductory two paragraphs of the forward:

Our Vision

The Welsh Assembly Government believes that the Welsh language is an integral part of our national identity. The Welsh language is an essential and enduring component in the history, culture and social fabric of our nation. We must respect that inheritance and work to ensure that it is not lost for future generations.

From the inception of the National Assembly for Wales, the Assembly Government has been committed to the cause of reviving and revitalising the Welsh language. The Assembly Government’s first strategic plan, *Betterwales.com*, set out the Assembly’s intention

¹¹⁹ In the Welsh version *presenoldeb* “presence” has been used on this occasion instead of *bodolaeth*.

of fostering Wales's unique and diverse identity and promoting the benefits of bilingualism. (WAG 2003: 1)

The opening paragraph combines traditionalist, nationalist and ecology-of-language discourses. The traditionalist discourse is expressed most clearly by reference to the geographical, historical and cultural roots of the Welsh language in Wales. Furthermore, by constructing Welsh as an “essential”, “integral” and “enduring component” of the “social fabric” and “national identity” of Wales, the Welsh are depicted as a homogeneous and unified collectivity. Interestingly, however, there is no specific mention of English in these first two paragraphs, although today English would in fact be a more unifying language than Welsh. Another aspect which belongs to a traditionalist discourse is the portrayal of Welsh as an inheritance, which by rights should be passed down to the next generation to ensure continuity with the past.

This last point also links up with the ecology-of-language discourse, which stresses the importance of preserving language diversity. The moral aspect of this discourse is also expressed by the use of the modal verb “must” to qualify “respect” and “work to ensure” in the last sentence of the first paragraph. There is more than a suggestion here that the Government and people of Wales (“we” extends beyond the Welsh Assembly Government here) owe it to future generations to preserve the Welsh language as a component of Welsh cultural heritage. The ecology-of-language discourse is also evident in the second paragraph, where the Welsh Assembly Government refer to their commitment to “the cause”, i.e. that of reviving and revitalising Welsh. Linguistic diversity is also by implication part of “Wales's unique and diverse identity”, which the Welsh Assembly intends to foster.

As regards the nationalist discourse, there are several examples of how Wales is being constructed as a discrete national entity. By referring to Welsh as a component of a “national identity” in the first sentence as well as a “component in the history, culture and social fabric of our nation” in the second, besides construing Welsh as an integral part of it, emphasises the nation as a inalienable unit and thus contributes to the construction of Wales as separate nation. Furthermore, the depiction of Wales as a nation apart is consolidated by referring to the uniqueness of its identity in the second paragraph. Further evidence of nationalist discourse transpires in the frequent reference to the newly created Welsh

political institutions. In fact, the Welsh Assembly Government is mentioned three times and the National Assembly for Wales is mentioned twice within the space of 5 sentences. The effect of this is to legitimise the performative construction of a nation by reference to its official institutions.

Finally, the reference to “the benefits of bilingualism” in the last sentence belongs to the globalising discourse. In fact, out of 7 occurrences of the noun “bilingualism” in *Iaith Pawb*, 4 appear in this very collocation. Part of the effect of reiterating the benefits associated with bilingualism is to commodify language skills as valued cultural capital in the social and economic marketplace. In §4.8 of *Iaith Pawb* there is a direct reference to the “growing appreciation of the educational, social, cultural and economic benefits of bilingualism” and in §4.42 these benefits are presented as “an important skill and business resource. In both cases, the “value-addedness” of bilingualism is made manifest.

Let us now proceed to examine the second and final section of the foreword to *Iaith Pawb*:

A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales

In constructing a national plan for a bilingual Wales, the Assembly Government recognises that it is not a matter of starting from scratch. Over the last three or four decades, UK governments have enacted legislation and introduced policies which have both raised the status of the Welsh language and contributed in no small way to the stabilisation in its decline between 1971 and 1991. The Welsh Language Acts of 1967 and 1993, the launch of S4C, the Welsh language television station, in 1982 and the establishment of the Welsh Language Board in 1988 and the activities flowing from these initiatives have helped enormously to raise the profile and status of the language in public life and in the public consciousness. The most important policy developments have probably been those in the education sector where the steady increase in the provision of Welsh medium and bilingual education has had a significant impact in the number and percentage of school age children able to speak Welsh.
(1-2)

Both in the heading and first sentence of this section we are reminded that this LPP document is a “national” action plan for a bilingual Wales

(in contrast to a monolingual England), which brings us back to a nationalist discourse. The mention once again of the newly devolved Welsh Assembly Government reinforces its legitimate distinctiveness as before. In order to emphasise the continuity of the language policy enshrined in this Action Plan, there follows a brief survey of recent legislation and institutional change in Wales implemented by UK governments in recent decades. Although the UK governments are given credit for these developments, they were the result of a prolonged political struggle by Welsh language activists. The ensuing Welsh language or bilingual institutions mentioned here: the fourth Welsh-language channel, the Welsh Language Board and not least Welsh-medium and bilingual schools represented access to new mainly monolingual power bases, which legitimised the Welsh language and provided the opportunity for the institutionalisation of Welsh in new domains. Unlike the devolved institutions of the Assembly for Wales, which are also separate and distinct from those of the United Kingdom as a whole, S4C, the Welsh Language Board and *ysgolion Cymraeg* owe their very existence to the Welsh language and the political struggle on behalf of the Welsh language. As such, these gains belong to the era characterised by a modernising discourse, though they are framed here perhaps more in terms of a nationalist discourse, insofar as they underscore the historical and political continuity of present Assembly Government policy. Indeed, the next paragraph of the foreword returns to the activities of the Assembly Government, by mentioning the publication of a Welsh language policy review prepared by two Assembly Government committees (both of which are named here¹²⁰).

After having examined most of the foreword of *Iaith Pawb* in detail, let us turn our attention to a few select excerpts from the Action Plan proper. First let us consider how English is treated, since by what is said and what is not said, some important aspects about bilingualism and Welsh are revealed. In actual fact, “English” is mentioned specifically only 12 times in *Iaith Pawb* (compared to 670 occurrences of “Welsh¹²¹”). Out of these twelve occurrences, six appear with together with “Welsh” (with the coordinating conjunctions “and” or “or”). Of the

¹²⁰ The Culture Committee and the Education and Lifelong Learning Committee, whose joint report was entitled *Our Language: Its Future* (NAW 2002).

¹²¹ Naturally, many of these do not refer specifically to the Welsh language, but to Wales.

remaining occurrences, four appear in the compound adjective “English-medium” and deal with facilitating an increase in Welsh-medium provision of some kind or another, and one appears in the compound adjective “English-speaking” and refers to the distribution of Welsh speakers in the “overwhelmingly English-speaking areas” of south-east Wales (§1.7). Hence in the former six cases, Welsh and/or English are given equal emphasis, but in the latter five cases, the focus is on Welsh rather than English. This leaves one telling occurrence, which appears in the second paragraph of the introduction to chapter 2, which outlines the national policy framework:

2.2 We believe that further positive action on behalf of the Welsh language is needed and justified; English, as the dominant majority language does not need such institutional support.

This is the only place in *Iaith Pawb* where English is explicitly acknowledged and at the same time discursively reconstituted as the “dominant majority language”. Elsewhere, the status of English is simply assumed and performed by a process of implicit censorship. Moreover, the many practical steps to support and reinvigorate the use of Welsh in different spheres, also discursively reiterate the dominance of English in Welsh society. The goal of a truly bilingual Wales does not envisage the Welsh as monolingual Welsh speakers; this is not an option, but it needs no mention because a knowledge of English is simply taken for granted in a way that a knowledge of Welsh is not. In this sense, English has become institutionalised as “part of the commonsense of life within the community.” (Williams & Morris 2000: 82)

On the other hand, as mentioned above, Welsh is explicitly named *iaith pawb* “everyone’s language”, although in reality *English* is (if not by preference, then at least by practice). Apart from interpellating the Welsh as ideally bilingual, this appellation highlights further the proactive stance adopted in this Action Plan. Once again the “need” and “justification” for positive action specifically referenced here, implies and reiterates the dominance of English, since positive action involves supporting the weaker party, in this case Welsh. To return to the matter of discourse types, this proactive stance belongs to the ecology-of-language discourse; supportive policies on behalf of Welsh are aimed at

strengthening the minority language in an attempt to safeguard and protect it from the dominant majority language: English.

Although English is not mentioned in the following paragraph taken from chapter 4, which concerns “the individual and language rights”, it is nevertheless implied:

Raising awareness and profile

4.42 Speaking Welsh is sometimes a matter of having the confidence to use the language in a range of situations. There is a surprisingly widespread notion that Welsh is not a language for business or work for example. The Assembly Government is working hard, through the Welsh Language Board, to **market and promote the language** in all aspects of Welsh life. Many organisations and businesses in the **private and voluntary sectors** already provide services in Welsh, or are taking steps to do so. Whilst we will not seek legislation to compel these sectors generally to deliver their services through the medium of Welsh, we will strongly encourage them to take it upon themselves to develop and provide bilingual services and take advantage of the Language Board’s advice and expertise in this area. Providing services through the medium of Welsh should be seen as a way of providing distinctive and better quality services to customers.

At the same time as *Iaith Pawb* aims at strengthening the Welsh language, it performatively reiterates its weak position *vis-à-vis* English even when English is not mentioned, as is the case here. Framed in terms of confidence to use Welsh, it is suggested that Welsh lacks the institutionalisation of English in the world of work and business; the status of English in this domain is thus unquestioned and taken for granted. Nevertheless, it is stated here that many players in the private and voluntary sectors, who are therefore not obliged by law, either do or are preparing to provide bilingual services (English language services are assumed). It is therefore implied that these players are going against the flow. The last sentence cited above suggests why this might be the case: “as a way of providing distinctive and better quality services to customers.” Indeed, for those businesses that do not already offer bilingual services, this is the message to be marketed and promoted: bilingual provision will add a competitive edge to their business profile. Thus a carrot approach is ordained here, rather than a stick approach via new legislation. The strong market metaphors used here are characteristic

of the globalising discourse: “marketing” and “promoting” Welsh, “developing” and “providing better quality services” and thus providing value-addedness.

After a specific mention of a “successful” Welsh Language Board campaign¹²² as well as current government-funded initiatives to promote Welsh in the workplace (not cited above), the concluding sentence of §4.42 mentions the “benefits of bilingualism” framed in terms of “an important skill and business resource.” The underscoring of bilingualism in terms of a marketable resource is indicative of the commodification of language skills, which in turn is also characteristic of the globalising discourse. Even in the area of education, bilingualism is being discursively constructed as a potentially marketable skill:

The essential role of education through the medium of Welsh and language immersion methodologies in the process of developing strong bilingual skills among pupils is acknowledged. (§4.12)

Seeing bilingualism in terms of skills becomes all the more apparent, when one considers that “language immersion methodologies” are geared towards pupils who do not come from Welsh-speaking homes. Hence, through educational means, they will acquire the skills of an additional language, namely Welsh.

The last excerpt which we will be examining from *Iaith Pawb* is taken from the introduction to chapter 4 entitled “The Individual and Language Rights”. This chapter represents the third strand of the Action Plan, the first being “A National Policy Framework” (chapter 2) and the second being “The Community and the Language” (chapter 3).

Introduction

4.1 The third strand in our strategy will focus on the **right** of the individual to use the language of their choice and the **responsibility** of organisations within Welsh society to acknowledge and facilitate the individual’s right to do so. The Assembly Government is committed to Wales becoming a truly bilingual country and our policies will continue to encourage individuals to learn Welsh and empower them to use the language. But the language will not flourish on the back of institutional support alone – however strong that

¹²² Entitled *Iaith Gwaith* “the language of work” (or Working Welsh in the WLB literature).

support and commitment may be. The Assembly Government and its partners can work to create the right conditions, but individuals themselves must recognise that they too have a responsibility to the language by passing it on to their children and by having the confidence to use it in the widest possible variety of social and business settings.

The very title of this chapter, as well as the first sentences of the introduction, are characteristic of the ecology-of-language discourse, by way of reference to the linguistic “right” to choose, the “commitment” of the Assembly Government both to revitalise Welsh and “empower” individuals to use it. In the whole policy document, there are nine mentions of language-related “rights”, and six occurrences of the verb “empower”. As regards the latter, three cases refer to the empowerment of the individual to use Welsh (as in the cited case above), and three refer to the empowerment of communities to take an active role in their own regeneration, which includes taking a responsibility for local Welsh-language needs.

This brings us to the question of responsibility for implementing the Action Plan (in fairly broad terms). Whereas the noun “commitment(s)” is reserved in the document exclusively for agents associated with the Assembly Government and its partners, the 21 occurrences of the noun “responsibility(-ies)” are not. Ten of these relate directly to the responsibilities of the Assembly Government, and two refer to those of national and local public bodies. A further four refer to shared or spread responsibilities, which could also include those of government bodies, and another two similarly embrace joint responsibilities but limited more specifically to organisations of a public, voluntary or private nature. The first sentence of §4.1 cited above (with “responsibility” in bold type) appears to fall into the latter category. However, the three remaining occurrences relate to the responsibilities of the individual (in two cases) or the community (in one case).

In fact, there is a minor but significant shift in the allocation of responsibility from the brief introduction to the substance of chapter 4 in §1.15 (iii) of *Iaith Pawb* and the actual introduction which appears in chapter 4 (§4.1 cited above). In the former, chapter 4 is presented as “focussing on the rights and responsibilities of the individual”, whereas the latter starts with the language rights of the individual and the

responsibility of “organisations within Welsh society” to facilitate the exercise of these rights. Only in the final sentence of §4.1 does the allocation of responsibility shift to the individual to ensure the intergenerational reproduction of Welsh and to make use of the language in work and social settings. In chapter 3, which concerns the language and the community, the Action Plan similarly calls upon the community to take a responsibility for the survival of Welsh (§3.17). The importance and weighting of this particular message is emphasised further by the wording of the conclusion (chapter 6), which returns to the responsibility of individuals and communities for the survival and promotion of Welsh (albeit expressed without repeating the word “responsibility”). The document then closes on a note of joint responsibility: “Working together, we can create a truly bilingual Wales.” One other trait of the ecology-of-language discourse is evident here, *viz.* the moral overtones implied by discursively constituting the survival and revival of Welsh as a duty and responsibility to be had not only by government institutions and their partners, but also by individuals and communities.

There is one final aspect of this excerpt which I wish to focus on, that is, the use of the word “confidence”. This noun occurs five times in *Iaith Pawb* and four of these occurrences are to do with Welsh speakers having the confidence to use Welsh in a wider range of settings than they do now. Both the last sentence of §4.1 and the first sentence of §4.42 cited above provide examples of this use of “confidence”. The remaining occurrence of the word appears in the context of development initiatives “to ensure that Welsh speakers fulfil their potential in the fields of business, employment and community for the benefit of the economy and the Welsh language.” (§3.12) One such initiative *Menter a Busnes* “venture and business”, an economic development company, is cited as “work[ing] towards increasing confidence and affecting [sic] a major attitudinal change amongst Welsh speakers towards business and the economy in general.” (Ibid.) Here “confidence” is used in a broader sense than in the other cases; it includes the confidence to use Welsh, but also the confidence of Welsh speakers to start and run their own businesses, with the implication that they would support the use of Welsh in the workplace and the community.

The question is what exactly confidence means. In the last sentence of §4.1, the meaning seems to be negotiated as being associated with a

moral responsibility to use Welsh. However, in reference to Menter a Busnes it is discursively linked to attitude. This attitudinal link may be implied in §4.42 too, in that the second sentence makes mention of the “surprisingly widespread notion” of the unsuitability of Welsh as a language of business and work. The confidence to use Welsh, like levels of Welsh fluency, is also construed as something which is measurable in language use surveys (§2.47), and thus perhaps linked to attitudes. In any case, confidence appears to be negotiated in §4.1 in particular as an attitudinal feature which can be influenced by marketing and promoting Welsh or bilingualism in domains such as that of work and business, where English has otherwise become the given choice. In this regard, it is worth noting that Williams and Morris (2000) criticise the Welsh Language Board’s approach to language planning for focussing far too heavily on marketing Welsh as a commodity devoid of power differentials and political dimensions:

We question the validity of a behaviourist approach attempting to change behaviour through changing values and attitudes. (204)

They claim on the basis of their empirical research (c.f. §3.3.1.3) that the attitudes of Welsh speakers are already high enough to enable them to use Welsh in new contexts. However, they point out the danger in assuming the primacy of attitudes, because if further attempts to change attitudes and thus change behaviour do not lead to the desired effect, “[t]his, in turn, will lead the providers to claim that Welsh-language use was never part of the needs and expectations of Welsh speakers, and that it was all a waste of time and should be abandoned” (206). Instead, they insist that any language planning efforts “be accompanied by a clear understanding of the process of institutionalization.” (Ibid.) This means appreciating the complexity of relations between values, and the processes of legitimation and institutionalisation¹²³.

We will be returning to the matter of language values in subsequent chapters, particularly when we examine pupils’ focus group discussions. Now let us move on to look at how *Iaith Pawb* and other centralised LPP

¹²³ It should perhaps be noted here that the strategies laid out in *Iaith Pawb* go further than marketing campaigns to change attitudes and boost Welsh speakers’ confidence in using Welsh, which Williams and Morris criticise the WLB for. Nevertheless, marketing campaigns are still a major element in the Assembly Government’s action plan.

documents have been translated and recontextualised into Welsh language schemes at unitary authority level.

5.1.4 Ceredigion Welsh Language Schemes (1997, 2001)

This section focuses on two Welsh language scheme documents produced by one particular Welsh unitary authority: Ceredigion County Council. According to the 1993 Welsh Language Act, Welsh public bodies, including the unitary authorities, are required to submit Welsh language schemes to the Welsh Language Board (WLB) for approval after the completion of a public consultation exercise. The object of a language scheme is to set out how the organisation intends to implement the principle of equality between English and Welsh stipulated by the 1993 Act. This requires public organisations to consider and organise “the linguistic dimension to their public functions to ensure that their work facilitates linguistic equality, without undermining the Welsh language.”¹²⁴ As such, the schemes constitute one major means by which central government exercises its authority over local government and other public bodies, with a view to unifying language policy and practices throughout Wales.

5.1.4.1 Ceredigion Council Welsh Language Scheme (1997)

Let us start with the more general of the two language schemes for Ceredigion: *Ceredigion Council Welsh Language Scheme*, which was approved by the WLB in 1997. The introduction to the Scheme reads as follows:

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Ceredigion has been a recognised unit since the fifth century. Cardiganshire was formed by the 1536 act. From 1974 to 1996 the historical name Ceredigion was adopted by the District Council and the name Ceredigion County Council by the new unitary authority in 1996.

[...]

59% of the resident population of 70,000 are Welsh speakers according to the 1991 census. Two of the University Colleges of

¹²⁴ WLB website (26 March 2006):

<<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/cynnwys.php?pID=128&langID=2>>

Wales are located in the County, one in Aberystwyth and the other in Lampeter. The county has a College of Further Education and a system of bilingual education is offered in the county's schools.

There are three art centres in the county in Aberystwyth, Felin-fach and Cardigan, and Aberystwyth is the home of the National Library of Wales, the Welsh Books Council and Urdd Gobaith Cymru. Indeed, Aberystwyth in particular and the county in general is an important cultural and academic centre, it is one of the strongholds of the Welsh language and is crucial to the growth and prosperity of the language in Wales.

The introductory paragraph begins with a traditionalist discourse, establishing the long historical continuity of the geographical unit and reintroduced Welsh name of the unitary authority, despite governmental and administrative reorganisations. In fact, the Scheme makes particular mention of the Welsh language name of the county in section 6, entitled “The Council’s Public Face”:

6.1.2 Ceredigion is the name of the Council and there is no translation. The Council’s title is Cyngor Sir Ceredigion County Council.

Thus the Welsh name has ousted the previous English county name, Cardiganshire. However, the title of unitary authority is a bilingual one, starting with the Welsh. It should, however, be noted that the grammatically mirrored word order between English and Welsh requires the Welsh version to come first¹²⁵.

The omitted second paragraph refers to the geographical extent of the authority and the locations of its offices. The third and fourth paragraphs provide a *raison d'être* for a Welsh language scheme, excepting the statutory requirement. The first motivation is by reference to the linguistic demographic make-up of the population, the majority of whom are Welsh speaking (59% in 1991 and 52% in 2001), and the second is by reference to the county as a stronghold of the Welsh language, which is “crucial to the growth and prosperity” of Welsh in Wales as a whole. Furthermore, there are multiple references to bilingual and Welsh-

¹²⁵ This grammatical contrast is often conveniently deployed in titles and signage with the focal word (here “Ceredigion”) acting as a ‘pivot’. A further example from Ceredigion, which is mentioned in §1.1 above, is Canolfan y Celfyddydau Aberystwyth Arts Centre.

language institutions three of which are national institutions. The frequent institutional reference is reminiscent of the modernising discourse, whereby the minority language and bilingualism gain their legitimacy from their institutionalisation in contemporary institutions.

After an intervening paragraph about the composition of Ceredigion County Council and its committees, we come to the central premise of the Language Scheme in the paragraph headed “Bilingualism”:

1.3 Bilingualism

The Council is committed to the principle that the Welsh and English languages should be treated on the basis of equality. Welsh and English will be the Council’s official languages and they will have the same status and validity in the Council’s administration and work.

1.3.1 The Council believes:

- that each member of the public in Ceredigion has the right to deal with the Council in the language of his/her choice.
- that a person can better express his/her opinion and needs in the language of his/her choice.
- that to enable the public to use the language of their choice is a matter of good practice rather than something to be tolerated
- that an individual is at a disadvantage if he/she has to communicate in a language other than the language of his/her choice.

Given the main purpose of the statutory requirement for public-sector bodies to produce language schemes, a statement of the equal validity of English and Welsh is to be expected early on in the document. In fact, even before the introduction a statement with similar contents and wording is found in bold typeface on page 2, as the only other item of text bar an initial note about the Scheme’s approval by the WLB. Apart from expressing a commitment to the principle of equal validity, the Council declares that both languages are “official” as regards both validity and status. Although the first point of §1.3.1 guarantees the individual’s “right” to use English or Welsh in his or her dealings with the Council, the commitment goes further than simply providing

bilingual services to the general public; both languages are to pervade the administration and work of the Council. This point becomes even clearer from an examination of the diversity of ways in which this official bilingual policy is to be implemented in the administrative and working practices of the Council.

As we saw earlier in *Iaith Pawb*, this language scheme acknowledges the linguistic rights of the individual at the same time as clarifying responsibilities and pledging a commitment to take steps to ensure that these rights are fulfilled. This statement of rights, responsibilities and commitments belongs to the ecology-of-language discourse. Like in *Iaith Pawb*, “rights” are mainly the prerogative of the individual¹²⁶ and “commitments” are reserved for public and governmental bodies, in this case the Council. However, the responsibility for maintaining and using the Welsh language is not stated as one to be shared with the general public. All twenty-two occurrences of “responsibility(/-ies)” and “responsible” are reserved for the governmental agents and their partners. This is perhaps not surprising given the aim of Welsh Language Schemes with their origin in the 1993 Welsh Language Act, since one can hardly legislate on the responsibilities of individuals *vis-à-vis* the Welsh Language. Nevertheless, there is a reference to the responsibility of Welsh-speaking individuals in the foreword of the WLB guidelines to preparing Welsh Language Schemes:

And of course, there is the responsibility on Welsh speakers themselves - to use the Welsh language services as they become increasingly available [...].

The Welsh Language Act, therefore, requires that we share the responsibility for taking it forward. (WLB 1996)

Here the spirit of the Welsh language schemes and indeed the 1993 Welsh Language Act is construed by the WLB as identical to that of *Iaith Pawb*: one of joint responsibility for the Welsh language, whereby all members of the general public are interpellated (or at least all Welsh speakers), not only public-sector bodies and their partners.

¹²⁶ On one occasion the Council reserves the right not to provide an English version, when the Welsh name is widely known (particularly for buildings).

If we return to the four-point creed of the Council as regards bilingualism found in §1.3.1, the final three points provide the justification for the individual's right to choose language expressed in the first point. The second and fourth points are almost a paraphrase of the same argument: since one can express opinions and needs better in the language one chooses (presumably one's stronger language), and not being able to do so would put one at a disadvantage. The third point is related to the second (and fourth), since offering bilingual services is depicted as "good practice", justified by not putting anyone at a disadvantage. All of these points thus harbour the moral overtones which also characterise an ecology-of-language discourse. Moreover, "good practice", providing quality services to all members of the general public and thereby meeting the market needs of customers, is also very much a characteristic of globalising discourse.

In fact, it is the provision of bilingual services which preoccupies much of the Language Scheme, under such chapter headings as:

2. SERVICE PLANNING AND DELIVERY
3. SERVICE PROVISION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF WELSH
4. THE STANDARD OF THE WELSH LANGUAGE SERVICE
5. DEALING WITH THE WELSH SPEAKING PUBLIC

Hence most of the 33 occurrences of the adjective "bilingual" are related to the provision of various aspects of service to the general public, from bilingual correspondence and bilingual switchboards to bilingual signs and bilingual advertising.

Apart from the mention of the "system of bilingual education [...] offered in the county's schools" cited above in the introduction, there is little in this language scheme which deals with educational provision. Instead, to gain greater insight into how central LPP has been translated to the educational context, we need to examine the Welsh Education Scheme for Ceredigion.

5.1.4.2 Ceredigion Welsh Education Scheme (2001)

As in the general Welsh Language Scheme (1997), the Welsh Education Scheme has a general introduction about the geographical demographic and linguistic features of Ceredigion with some brief reference to their historical contexts. This introductory section also gives

a brief overview of the county's general educational provision and its organisational structure without any reference to bilingual provision. The second section describes fairly briefly the Welsh-language educational policy and provision of the former Dyfed Educational Authority from 1990 until the reorganisation of Wales into smaller unitary authorities in 1996. The very first paragraph acknowledges the legacy of Dyfed's language policy:

2.1 Dyfed Education Authority acknowledged the basic educational value of fluency in two languages and made a clear statement in support of a bilingual policy in its primary and secondary schools. (CCC 2001)

Indeed, the more comprehensive third section of the Education Scheme entitled "The Current Provision" stresses the continuity in the bilingual policy subsequently adopted by the newly formed unitary authority of Ceredigion. Apart from providing an overview of the present bilingual provision in Ceredigion, the general gist of this section is that this provision has been extended and developed further since 1996. For example, out of the authority's seven maintained secondary schools, six now use Welsh as a teaching medium, four of which are traditional Welsh schools and two of which are designated bilingual schools¹²⁷. Since the school described in the next section is a designated bilingual school, this type of school justifies a little more attention here. In Appendix 2, this model is described as one where "the official language is Welsh and the schools have a Welsh ethos." (37) As regards the target group for this educational model, we are informed that:

[t]hey provide for the indigenous Welsh speakers and proficient learners who are in a position to take advantage of the educational experiences on offer. (Ibid.)

Thus they constitute a combination of the maintenance and enrichment models aiming at additive bilingualism for both first and second-language Welsh speakers, according to Martin-Jones's typology (c.f. §3.4).

¹²⁷ Traditional Welsh schools offer a bilingual education in typically more Welsh-speaking or bilingual areas, whereas designated bilingual schools tend to be located in more Anglicised or mixed-language areas.

After two brief sections about the officer responsible for monitoring the Education Scheme and the timescale for implementing it, respectively, the sixth and concluding section focuses on strategies for future developments with a view to strengthening the current language policy. The following aims and guidelines appear after the statement of a more general aim to “ensure the highest quality of education for all pupils” (§6.1.1):

6.1 *Strengthen the Current Language Policy (see Appendix 1 & 2)*

6.1.2 The specific aim of Ceredigion Education Authority is to ensure a balanced, age-related bilingualism for all pupils within the County so that they become full members of the bilingual community to which they belong. A balanced, age-related bilingualism means that pupils possess appropriate linguistic skills in both Welsh and English.

6.1.3 Each school within the Authority is expected to reflect and support the Language Policy through its administration, its social life, its pastoral arrangements as well as its curricular provision. It should ensure that the ethos of the classroom promotes bilingualism; that the expectations of the teacher are appropriately high and promote the school’s language policy, and that suitable activities are planned to develop bilingualism.

[...]

6.1.5 Each school in its prospectus should outline the advantages of bilingualism for all pupils and to explain these clearly to new parents.

Although the first paragraph cited above (§6.1.2) states that part of the aim of future language policy is that all pupils “become full members of the bilingual community”, the primary aim of ensuring “a balanced, age-related bilingualism” is defined in terms of “appropriate linguistic skills”. Balanced bilingualism is closely related to issues of language competence rather than language use (though becoming members of the bilingual community probably implies using both languages). This focus on two equally developed languages belongs to the globalising discourse, whereby bilingual skills are readily commodified. This commodification of bilingualism is also evident in the final paragraph of §6.1, in that schools are called upon to promote and market the benefits of bilingualism to parents in their school prospectuses.

In the intermediate paragraph (§6.1.3), the exhortation that schools are to implement the language policy of balanced bilingualism refers more to the *use* of both languages in all aspects of the life of the school. Given the taken-for-granted status of English and its historically dominant role in state-funded educational provision in Wales, this paragraph is referring implicitly to strengthening the role of Welsh. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the language policy is part of a Welsh Language Scheme. In Appendix 2, entitled “Bilingual Education in Ceredigion Secondary Schools” (referred to in parentheses in the heading of §6.1), the specific role of the Welsh language is made more explicit in a couple of places, e.g.

The policy must reflect the school’s stated aims and objectives based on the linguistic situation within the school i.e. the place given to the Welsh language and the linguistic ability of the pupils. (36)

By way of explicit reference to Welsh, the unquestioned (and unquestionable) place of English is implicitly being discursively performed.

The commitment of Ceredigion Council and its Education Committee to the strengthening of Welsh and the call for individual schools to adopt a “strong and unambiguous language policy [...], based on the County’s policy” (Ibid.) are characteristic of the ecology-of-language discourse which expresses a political and moral imperative to promote the maintenance of linguistic diversity in the community. Unlike the general Welsh Language Scheme for Ceredigion (1997), this responsibility is extended in Appendix 2 beyond those acting in any official capacity:

When forming the Language Policy of an individual school the consultative process within the school, with governors and parents, is vitally important to the success of the whole development. Everyone who is involved with the school must take ownership of the school policy. (36)

Hence “everyone involved” is interpellated by the Welsh Language Scheme and thereby obliged to make a commitment to the school language policy. We shall be returning to how this call for a commitment is translated to the context of one particular school in the next section.

5.2 Bilingualism in a School Context

This section presents an analysis of the official discourse about bilingualism (and Welsh) produced in one particular designated bilingual secondary comprehensive school in Ceredigion, named *Ysgol 1* “School 1”¹²⁸. Where it is relevant, the analysis will refer to the discourse types discussed and exemplified in the previous section, with a view to ascertaining commonalities between the discourses produced at macro level and those in circulation at meso level, i.e. those produced in the institutional school setting.

The main focus of this section is one particular event: a secondary school open evening in April 2001 for prospective pupils and their parents. Besides video-recordings of the event, I shall also be examining the bilingual mini-handbook produced especially for the open evening and handed out at the door to the main hall and the full school prospectus (handbook), which had been thoroughly revised for 2001-2002. In addition, I will refer to two recordings of two personal interviews with the head teacher, the first of which was made one week before the open evening, and the second of which was made two years later. The latter ‘non-public’ recordings have been included because they shed some important light on the public discourse as well as the meso-level practices of *Ysgol 1*. Before we look at the data, it behoves me to provide some brief background information about the school and the general educational policy which provides the *raison d’être* of the school open evening.

Ysgol 1 is situated in an urban and fairly Anglicised environment. The school’s catchment area is shared mainly with one other secondary comprehensive, named *Ysgol 2*, a predominantly English-medium school. The feeder schools are bilingual primary schools, although the bilingual provision may vary somewhat from school to school. Hence the expectation is that prospective pupils will be bilingual from the outset, albeit to varying degree. For those who are not already fluent in Welsh, additional Welsh-language support is fully available, both prior to joining the school and during the first half of the first year.

¹²⁸ In order to protect the identity of this and other schools mentioned, they have been renamed in this manner. Likewise, no teachers have been named for reasons of confidentiality.

As regards the purpose of the open evening, a fairly naïve answer would be that it provides an opportunity for prospective pupils and their parents to make an informed choice as to which secondary school to choose. However, since the application of free-market principles to education which were largely introduced by Thatcher governments, particularly as a result of the flagship 1988 Education Reform Act, schools are obliged to compete with each other for pupils. The policy discourse arising from this development has been termed as *marketisation* by Phillips and Sanders (2000: 13, 15-16). Generally, the process of marketisation entails a “reorientation of ‘citizens’ as ‘consumers’, and a reshaping of what they can and ought to expect” (Fitz 2000: 29), but it also entails a reorientation of schools within an “educational market”. Since the 1988 Act was passed, schools have become more economically and educationally autonomous. This together with the introduction of a system of per capita funding has also made competition with rival schools an economic imperative (Ibid: 31). Conversely, a school’s failure to recruit pupils would result in a reduction in staff and resources. Consequently, in order to expand or perhaps even maintain their numerical status, schools are encouraged to create their own profile and be able to demonstrate a good educational performance. Typical performance indicators are published school inspection reports and the published results for SATs (Standard Assessment Tasks¹²⁹) and public examinations¹³⁰. Understandably, Welsh-medium schooling constitutes a peculiarly Welsh educational profile, which has also come to be associated with good educational standards¹³¹.

Thus to return to the question of the purpose of the school open evening, it affords the school an important opportunity to market itself with a view to attracting as many pupils as possible, but it may also involve an act (or acts) of ‘gatekeeping’ to ensure that prospective pupils

¹²⁹ These are standardised tests taken by pupils in all state schools in England and Wales at the ages of 7, 11, 14 and 16.

¹³⁰ The most commonly cited examination results are GCSEs (General Certificate of Education), and A levels (Advanced level), which constitute the 16+ and 18+ examinations for England and Wales, respectively.

¹³¹ However, Gorard (2000) claims that the connection between Welsh-medium education and higher examination results is a myth, since it is based on raw-score comparisons, which fail to take into consideration other more significant social indicators.

and their parents are 'compatible' with the school's profile. To facilitate the fulfilment of these aims, each school is obliged to create a marketing profile which sets it apart from its rivals. The school prospectus (handbook) should also be seen in this light. In other words, it should not just be seen as an informative description of the school and school policy, but also as a marketing tool and a gatekeeping exercise. Hence an important part of the analysis of the school data is to examine how the school markets itself and performs any gatekeeping practices, especially in relation to bilingualism and related language issues.

Having provided some brief background, let us now turn our attention to the open evening itself. Despite the expectation noted above that prospective pupils are bilingual, the same assumption cannot be made of their parents, a sizeable proportion of whom do not speak Welsh. Hence, there is a necessity to organise the open evening as a bilingual event. As such, moreover, it can also be regarded as an institutional performance of bilingualism. Here follows a brief ethnographic description of the event accompanied by an analysis of the teachers' discourse.

As parents and children arrived at the open evening, their language preferences were ascertained by the sixth formers¹³² on duty. On the basis of this, they were given instructions as to which side of the hall they should sit: Welsh speakers on the right and English speakers/non-Welsh speakers on the left. The outcome of these seating arrangements was that the distribution ended up as fairly even between the two 'sides'. Each family was provided with at least one bilingual mini-handbook, which was constructed in such a way so as not to favour English or Welsh¹³³.

The reason for the spatial division on linguistic grounds was a logistic one. After the head teacher's bilingual address, families were divided into small groups to be guided around the school either in Welsh or English, accompanied by one teacher and a sixth-form pupil. The guided tour consisted mainly of meetings with fifteen subject teachers (or teachers with special responsibilities), who each gave a brief presentation of their respective subjects (or responsibilities) in their regular classroom/laboratory/studio settings. At regular intervals of about 10

¹³² Pupils from year 12 (17 year olds).

¹³³ It reads in Welsh from the front cover on one side and in English from the front cover on the other side (but upside down).

minutes the school buzzer sounded to signal when it was time to move on to the next 'stop'. I joined an English-speaking group, and video-filmed all the subject presentations but one. Apart from a short drama performance put on wholly in Welsh by a dozen school pupils¹³⁴, the guided tour was conducted solely in English.

The head teacher's initial address lasted about 13 minutes. It was given bilingually, although approximately twice as much time was devoted to English as Welsh. There were 11 switches between languages up until the last minute and a half, where the logistics of organising the groups for the guided tours started¹³⁵. In the first 11½ minutes, the shortest stretch of talk in either language was 13 seconds long (in Welsh) and the longest 2 minutes 50 seconds (in English). Within these stretches there were no 'asides' or examples of code-switching in the other language (apart from proper names). Furthermore, the switches tended to be characterised by preceding longish pauses (of about a second or more). In other words, both Welsh and English were performed monolingually. On the other hand, not all the information given in English was given in Welsh. Hence it was assumed that Welsh speakers would follow both the English and the Welsh. The significance of this will be analysed in more detail below.

The organisation of the information in the monolingual language 'chunks' (i.e. between switches) was roughly thematic as follows: a general introduction, the Welshness of the school, the new building and computer facilities, the sports facilities, the school's language policy and the school as a caring community. With the exception of the school's language policy, the stretches with information given in Welsh came first (all under, but most well under, 50 seconds long). Significantly, about 5½ minutes (just over 40%) of the address were devoted to discussing matters related to language, but less than a minute of this was in Welsh. These stretches constituted the most notable discrepancy between the Welsh and English versions. Since we are most interested in bilingualism and language issues, most of what follows is a detailed analysis of these sections, both in English and Welsh, with reference to the other data sources where relevant.

¹³⁴ A Welsh dramatisation of the English-language quiz programme, *The Weakest Link*.

¹³⁵ There were four switches between English and Welsh in these one and a half minutes, characterised by much shorter stretches of instructions in each language, starting with the Welsh.

all subjects through the medium of Welsh also seems to be implicated, i.e. using the Welsh language. In the final summary of the school's profile (at 11 minutes 19 seconds into the address), the head teacher also uses the English term "Welshness", as the first of the school's two main characteristics. As we have already noted, matters to do with language, and the Welsh language in particular, have taken up about 40 per cent of the whole address. Thus Welshness seems inalienably linked to the Welsh language. However, in order to shed more light on this word, it may help to go beyond this context to two other sources.

The first context is one of a number of long banners suspended from just below the ceiling of the glass-roofed two-storey walkway, which constitutes the school's main public space. Both at the top and the bottom of one of the banners, one can read the Welsh word *Cymreictod* in the largest and boldest letters. In between there are a number of other associated key words in Welsh scattered at random. Some of the words in the next largest and boldest letters are *cyfathrebu* "communication", *dwyieithrwydd* "bilingualism", *cymuned* "community", *iaith* "language", *diwylliant* "culture" and *treftadaeth* "heritage". Clearly from this, language and communication are construed as an important; bilingualism is specifically named here rather than Welsh. On the other hand the banner is entirely in Welsh, which may serve to create a greater association between *iaith* and Welsh, not least since this comes under the heading *Cymreictod*. A sense of historical and cultural continuity with its roots in Welsh communities also seems to be an integral part of this Welshness.

The second context arises in the first interview with the head teacher, recorded a week before the open evening, in fact immediately after the head had been putting the finishing touches to the mini-handbook to be distributed at the open evening. The term came up, because a group of pupils were to have said to the visiting Commissioner for Children in Wales that they would like to increase the Welshness of the school. In reply to a request for clarification of what they had meant by this, the head gave a fairly elaborate response which related a similar wish expressed by pupils in conjunction with the school's move to their new site. In this account, it was made explicit that this wish was to do with raising the profile of the Welsh language in the school. Furthermore,

from what follows in English, the Welsh language seems to be the most central aspect of the term Welshness.

To return to the excerpt 6, when the address switches back to English after a long pause (1.7 seconds), the address carries on from where it left off in English, referring to the mini-handbook, and to the box in the middle of the front page in particular¹³⁶:

One of the school's core characteristics is the place and status given to the Welsh language and all things Welsh. Indeed, that is the *raison d'être* of its existence. Pupils of all backgrounds are welcomed to the school and all pupils and parents are of equal worth. **For children to succeed both child and parent need to commit themselves to actively supporting the child's full use of the Welsh language in lessons and the daily life of the school.**

The first sentence, which is in bold print, seems to enshrine the essence of what has just been said in Welsh; *Cymreictod* might be seen as a succinct summing up of “the Welsh language and all things Welsh” (*yr iaith Gymraeg a phethau Cymreig* in the Welsh version). The second sentence corresponds very closely to the second half of line 9 and line 10 of excerpt 6 above. Notably, what is omitted in Welsh is the rest of the information in this box, i.e. which pupils the school is targeting and the language commitment called for¹³⁷. Immediately after line 11 in excerpt 6, the head teacher compares *Ysgol 1* to *Ysgol 2* once again, this time as “a mirror image” in terms of language policy, the curriculum of *Ysgol 2* being “almost entirely in English other than the subject Welsh”. The next point then proceeds in English to paraphrase the third sentence in the box above, *viz.* to declare that the school welcomes pupils from all linguistic backgrounds. In order to give greater support to the message that children of all linguistic backgrounds are welcome, we are informed that “over half the pupils in school come from homes where they speak very little or no English.”

¹³⁶ What is reproduced in this box is a paragraph from the full school prospectus, which constitutes an entirely new addition to the 2001-2002 prospectus.

¹³⁷ Although this information is written in Welsh on the other side of the mini-handbook.

5.2.2 Gatekeeping and Commitment

At this juncture more chairs are put out for latecomers in front of the stage (where the head is standing). Because of the disturbance, the head pauses for about 20 seconds before resuming (excerpt 7):

Excerpt 7 (Ysgol 1 open evening 1: head teacher: 03:43)

1 so I want to make that crystal clear what we do offer=we're a
2 designated bilingual school one of two in the county. (.9)
3 you can choose to do maths and science in either in english
4 or in welsh, (.5) >an' as I say more than half the pupils
5 come from homes,< (.5) where (.) mo- uh welsh is not the
6 mother tongue. (1.3) but in order to succeed in a school like
7 this as to succeed in an english-medium school. (.4) you have
8 to, (.3) be able to use, (.3) the language the welsh language
9 because >most of the exams will< be: in welsh, (.4) uh:>even
10 if you choose to do science and maths in english,< (.) >most
11 of your exams will still be in welsh and THEREfore,< (.3)
12 your means of succeeding in school depends, (.3) on: the
13 pupil's commitment, (.3) to develop the welsh further, (.)
14 everybody be they welsh, (.3) or english: (.) speakers, (.3)
15 by birth as it were, (.6) an: ' an' also for the parents to:
16 back, (.4) the pupils in that effort. (.3) by supporting them
17 in reading both languages, (.3) and using the media which is
18 a very very powerful. (.) too:l=>in the learning of any
19 language,< (.4) uh:: also to do that bilingually, (.4) so
20 that they are able to take full advantage of >the education
21 that we offer,< (.) at [ysgol 1]. (.3) and I >don't want
22 anybody in,< (.) >under any false pretences=that is what we
23 offer,< (.3) we offer it proudly, (.3) but it IS a commitment
24 to be had from pupils, (.4) and parents to that ideal. (.6)
25 an' the daily language of school, (.4) is the Welsh
26 language. (.5) >an' I'll come back to that a little bit later
27 on.<

Part of what is said in excerpt 7 rephrases what was said before the disturbance (e.g. lines 4-5), but it is also interlaced with new information. Let us focus initially on how the words “bilingual”/“bilingually” (or the Welsh: *dwyiethog* in excerpt 6) are used. In line 2 of excerpt 7 the head teacher declares what type of school *Ysgol 1* is: “a designated bilingual school”. This echoes what was said earlier in Welsh in line 4 of excerpt 6. However, what “bilingual” means is constructed slightly differently in Welsh and English. In the Welsh version, this means offering “every subject through the medium of Welsh for those who want it” (excerpt 6, lines 5-6). In the English version, on the other hand, this means have the option of doing “maths and science in either English or in Welsh”. There

is a potential performative force in this contrast, in that Welsh-speaking parents are constructed as being primarily interested in the possibility to study all subjects through the medium of Welsh, whereas non-Welsh-speaking parents are constructed as being interested in the bilingual subject options.

However, the English version does not stop here, since school success still depends on being able to use Welsh, “because most of the exams will be in Welsh” (excerpt 7, line 8). Therefore, all told, “bilingual” means bilingual options in two subjects only¹³⁸. If we consider who the head teacher is addressing here, parents or prospective pupils, the answer is rarely clear cut. Most of the time, the head teacher’s wording makes it ambiguous. Nevertheless, certain shifts are discernible in excerpt 7; the head starts off by using a potentially general “you” in discussing bilingual subject options in line 2, but this could also be understood as the real choice open to prospective pupils (and their parents)¹³⁹. The referent of “you” in line 7 is equally ambiguous, and likewise the use of “you” and “your” in the repaired version of lines 6-8 after the pause and “uh:” at the end of line 8 (rephrased in lines 9-11, to clarify the validity of the claim that Welsh is essential for success even if one maximises one’s English-medium options). However, the shift from the more impersonal: “most of the exams will be in Welsh” (line 8) to include the second person possessive pronoun: “most of your exams will still be Welsh” (lines 9-10) appears to address pupils more directly. On the other hand, by not continuing to use the second person pronoun with “commitment” in line 11 and instead depersonalising the reference by selecting “the pupil’s”, who is being directly addressed becomes ambiguous again, even though pupils are being explicitly interpellated. In contrast, it can only be the parents who are being addressed (and interpellated) from line 14 to line 18. This now becomes unambiguous because “you” is discontinued as a reference, at the same time as pupils

¹³⁸ Plus the subject English in actual fact, but it is perhaps notable that English is not mentioned here. However, in the mini-handbook the very first sentence (out of three in bold type) under the heading “Language Policy” states: “English is taught in English.”

¹³⁹ In the school handbook whose choice it is to take maths and science through English or Welsh is in fact contradictory, and therefore can shed little light on referents in the head teacher’s address. Under “Bilingual Education” on page 3 the language medium is “according to parental choice” (point 4), but under “Form Organisation” on page 6, groups for maths and science “are formed on the basis of the pupil’s choice of medium of study (Welsh or English).”

are being referred to as “them” and “they” in lines 13 and 17, respectively. From line 19 onwards, however, it becomes less clear who is being directly addressed once again, until both pupils and parents are interpellated in a repeated call for a commitment to the Welsh language in line 21.

If we consider the effect of this shift in addressee through this sequence, it can be understood precisely in terms of interpellation. Success at *Ysgol 1* is being discursively attributed to a commitment to develop pupils’ Welsh not only in school but also outside school. The performative force of interpellation can in part issue from the “historicity of convention” (c.f. §2.3.2), but it can also gain part of its performative force through the process of iterability, whereby the school’s institutionalised commitment and responsibility to “develop the Welsh [language] further” is recontextualised and constructed as one to be shared. This sharing of commitment (and responsibilities) is made very explicit in *Iaith Pawb*, though there the word “commitment” (unlike “responsibilities”) is associated solely with public-sector institutions. In this institutionalised bilingual school setting, a commitment is made discursively unequivocal, though here it is projected on individuals. Thus in excerpt 7, prospective pupils are initially hailed as needing to make a commitment to the Welsh language (though the ambiguity of “you/your” does not exclude parents from playing their part in ensuring that their children take on this commitment). The shift in addressee to embrace only parents after line 14 discursively establishes the parents as also needing to make a commitment to the Welsh language. The head teacher concludes this episode by interpellating both pupils and parents in the same syntactic unit from the end of line 20 to the beginning of line 22. This interpellation of both pupil and parents echoes the commitment called for in the final sentence in the box on the front page of the mini-prospectus, which the head had drawn attention to just prior to excerpt 7.

The use of the word “bilingually” in line 17 of excerpt 7 is related to parents’ commitment to developing the Welsh of their children. The head teacher specifies in a very practical way how their commitment might be realised. They are expected to “use the media” bilingually and also “support them on reading both languages” (line 15). This message is reiterated in greater detail in the school handbook (4):

[...] parents are asked to actively encourage [their children] to read books and magazines in Welsh as well as in English, to watch and listen selectively to television and radio programmes in both languages and to make full use of Welsh in bilingual social contexts. Over the years, many non-Welsh speaking parents have provided their children with excellent role models by learning Welsh themselves. The school is working with other agencies to provide Welsh lessons for parents on the school site during the day and in the evening.

If both parents speak Welsh, this exhortation could readily be seen as a reasonable one. Yet it is also clear that the commitment to Welsh applies to pupils and parents from both Welsh-speaking and English-speaking homes (lines 12-13). However, if only one or neither parent understands Welsh, this may call for a different kind of commitment, since it involves encouragement and support in a language to which they themselves have no direct access. For example, watching television programmes at home in Welsh would exclude non-Welsh speakers¹⁴⁰. Furthermore, non-Welsh-speaking parents are exhorted to make an even greater commitment to the Welsh language by learning it themselves to provide their children with “an excellent role model” (in the second sentence cited from the handbook above). There is, in fact, evidence that many parents of *Ysgol 1* pupils have learnt or have tried to learn Welsh as adults¹⁴¹, but this may or not may not be connected to a commitment to their children’s education.

Although the matter of commitment to the Welsh language has already taken up a considerable amount of time in the introductory address, after discussing the facilities of the new school building, in particular as regards the school’s ICT and sports facilities, the head returns to the matter once again. This time the subject is broached in English first, by referring to the school’s language policy on page three of the mini-handbook. We are informed for the first time that English is

¹⁴⁰ Although the Welsh-language channel, S4C, does have an English subtitling service for some of its programmes (and simpler Welsh subtitles for Welsh learners).

¹⁴¹ From the Welsh language use questionnaire completed by 58 *Ysgol 1* pupils from year 12, 21 had one (or in one case both) parents who had learnt (or tried to learn) Welsh as an adult. 10 of these parents were assessed by their children as fluent or quite good at Welsh, and the remaining 12 spoke some or a little. Otherwise, only 3 pupils who completed the questionnaire had no parent who spoke Welsh fluently or quite well. See §4.1.3 for more details about this questionnaire.

taught in English and reminded of the bilingual options for maths and science. Furthermore it is pointed out that the success rate does not depend on which language medium one chooses. The final point made before the switch to Welsh is then repeated in Welsh as follows:

Excerpt 8 (Ysgol 1 open evening 1: head teacher: 08:19)

- 1 *dysgir pob pwnc arall, (.3) trwy'r gyfrwng (.) y gymrâg. (.4)*
 is taught every subject other through the medium the Welsh
every other subject is taught, through the medium of Welsh,
- 2 *byddwn i'n gwedud mae 'sie ymroddiad felly. (.4) enwedig y*
 would I part. say is need commitment therefore especially the
I would say that there needs to be a commitment therefore, especially
- 3 *sawl sy'n dod o gartrefi digymrâg (.3) mae 'sie ymroddiad ar*
 many who are part. come from homes non-Welsh is need commitment on
those who come from non-Welsh-speaking homes, there needs to be an
- 4 *yn rhan ninne hefyd i fod yn ysgol cynnal pawb (a/â) Γ(xx) ɿ*
 our part our too too to be part. school support everyone (who/with) (?) ɿ
commitment on our part too to be a school to support everyone (who/with) ?
- 5 ((*coughing)) ɿ ((*)) ɿ
- 6 (.7) so that is the: the way that the language policy runs,
 7 (.4) uh:m >therefore there is a commitment there to the welsh
 8 language.< uhm let us not be, (.4) >as it were< blind to that
 9 fact because the support that, (.3) WE NEED from you, (.3)
 10 and the support that we will GIVE (.) the children from
 11 whatever background they come from. (.)

Here for the first time the head teacher says in Welsh that a commitment to Welsh is needed (line 2 of excerpt 8). Initially the choice of an impersonal construction *mae eisiau ymroddiad* (literally “[there] is [a] need [for a] commitment”) does not address anyone explicitly, but interestingly, after a pause, those who come from English-speaking homes are particularly singled out as needing to make a commitment (lines 2-3). The most apparent reason is that in Welsh-speaking homes, pupils will be exposed to more Welsh as a matter of course, or at least this may be assumed. In any case, since this point is made in Welsh, non-Welsh-speaking parents are not being addressed directly here. Instead, when the head teacher switches back to English and winds the subject up, the commitment is initially expressed in an impersonal way (lines 6-7) as in the Welsh version, but then everyone is interpellated as needing to make a commitment, i.e. no particular group is singled out. This is achieved by the use of “you”, which is delivered in a phrase with emphatic prosody (lines 8-9). One further modification is the substitution of “support” for “commitment”, which as in the Welsh

version, is pledged on the part of the school too, irrespective of pupils' language background (lines 3-4, 9-10).

Although the head teacher is the only one to mention explicitly the word commitment during the open evening, on our rounds in an English-speaking tour, the Welsh teacher also establishes the importance of the pupils using their Welsh (excerpt 9):

Excerpt 9 (Ysgol 1 open evening 1: Welsh teacher: 26:08)

1 but THE most important thing >that'll help your children
2 settle here< is that they're willing to use their welsh. (.7)
3 not just, (.3) in class::, (.) but outside class with their
4 friends, (.4) uh:m (.3) an' the best way to ge' (.6) to get
5 this, (.) happening is that you >join in in any extra-
6 curricular activities.< (.4) right? (.3) there WILL be:: (.)
7 choirs.=there will be (.) >eisteddfod practices,< there will
8 [be sports activities] (.7) and the MO:RE that they do: the
 [((buzzer sounds))]
9 more that they'll use their welsh. (.4) and that is THE: the
10 most important thing.

Although excerpt 9 comes towards the very end of the Welsh teacher's presentation of the subject Welsh, a considerable amount of time has already been devoted to talking about the pupils' use of Welsh (c.f. excerpt 10 below). It is here, however, that the matter of the pupil's commitment emerges most clearly. First of all (lines 1-2), the teacher is addressing parents of the need for their children to use Welsh, indicated by the use of "your children" in line 1. Furthermore, the implied commitment to using Welsh extends beyond teaching situations in the classroom to speaking Welsh with their friends. This would include friends who come from English-speaking homes, since the parents and children being addressed in this group comprised mainly non-Welsh-speaking parents (or at least included a non-Welsh-speaking parent). At this juncture, the teacher now addresses the prospective pupils, by using the second person pronoun (line 4), to suggest that they join in extra-curricular activities conducted in Welsh. The teacher-like use of "right?" after the pause in line 5 emphasises the switch of addressee from parents to children in their prospective role as pupils of *Ysgol 1*, and thereby adds to the performative force of this call for a commitment. In other words, the interpellation is aided by dint of the teacher's legitimised authority, which in turn hails from and feeds back into the "historicity of

convention". In the enumeration of extra-curricular activities (lines 5-7), one can perceive yet another shift in addressee by means of the thrice-repeated impersonal construction "there will be". This transition from the prospective pupils back to the parents once again is completed after the longish pause (.7) in line 7, where pupils are referred to twice as "they". The effect of this is that parents are also interpellated as needing to ensure that their children use their Welsh outside the classroom as the teacher has suggested. In fact, this is put across as more than just a suggestion, since this is put across as "the most important thing" Welsh teacher has to say (lines 8-9). This is reinforced by the emphatic prosody ("THE:") and by virtue of the fact that this is one of the last points to be made (the buzzer has also just sounded to indicate that it is time to move on to the next 'stop').

If one considers the purpose and effect of devoting so much time to the commitment aspect of the school's language policy, the most important factor in play here is that the head teacher in particular, but also the Welsh teacher, are acting as gatekeepers, in that prospective pupils and their parents are being interpellated as needing to make a commitment. This commitment is needed on the part of all families, be they Welsh speaking or not (but perhaps more so if they are not). Otherwise the gatekeeping aspect of this discourse is most apparent in the head's fairly forceful expressions, such as "I don't want anybody in under any false pretences" (lines 19-20 of excerpt 7) and "let us not be, as it were, blind to that fact" (lines 7-8 of excerpt 8). Furthermore, in the interview conducted a week before the school open evening, the head teacher said: "I think I have a responsibility to make it clear to parents in the open evening which is occurring next Monday exactly what that choice means." This came at the end of an episode of talk where the need for a commitment to the Welsh language on the part of prospective pupils and their parents was made very explicit.

In *Iaith Pawb*, we saw that the idea of making a commitment to Welsh (and bilingualism) is associated most closely with the ecology-of-language discourse with moral overtones arising from the linguistic rights of the individual but also from a duty to preserve linguistic diversity. This aspect of commitment to Welsh is less obvious here, though there are elements of this for example in the school prospectus, which refers to the right of children and their parents to have an

education through the medium of their own language (3). In the head teacher's address (excerpt 7), however, this commitment is framed and also justified mainly on other grounds, namely it is a necessity to ensure educational success (lines 8-11). Educational success in turn is defined in terms of examination results, which Bourdieu (1986) terms *institutionalised cultural capital* on account of the value society places in them. Although it is not made explicit here, the examinations which matter are the public 16+ and 18+ examinations (GCSEs and A levels, respectively). Not only are these examination results cited as school performance indicators in the mini-handbook, but the Welsh teacher also refers to both SATs results and those of public examinations (excerpt 10):

Excerpt 10 (Ysgol 1 open evening 1: Welsh teacher: 23:47)

1 UHM (.3) now then in the welsh department we (.) place a
 2 GREAT great emphasis on oral work:. (.3) on being able to
 3 speak welsh, (.3) and speak welsh with confidence. (.5)
 4 because that's what you need:. (.4) that's what you need in a
 5 bilingual society. (.4) >you need to be able to use your
 6 english you need to be able to use your welsh< just as well.
 7 (.3) right? (.4) UHM (.6) even in exam:s hhh hhh \$UHM\$
 8 (.3) forty per cent of the sats: (.4) welsh marks go on oral
 9 work. (.4) forty per cent of the (.3) welsh GCSE marks go on
 10 oral work, (.3) and for the first time this year, (.3) forty
 11 per cent of the a-level work is oral work (.7) so it's VERY
 12 very important: (.4) right? (.4) within (.) the school walls
 13 and outside. (1.1)

Hence the Welsh teacher reiterates the framing of the commitment to using Welsh in terms of achieving exam success. However, rather than exam success in the subjects taught through the medium of Welsh, the Welsh teacher emphasises the importance of being able to speak Welsh (rather than being able to write it) in order to acquire institutionalised cultural capital, i.e. succeed in SATs, GCSEs and A levels (lines 6-10). Here the Welsh teacher appears to be addressing prospective pupils by the frequent use of “you” and “your” in lines 3-5. Although this could be interpreted as a generalised “you”, the use of “right?” after the pause in line 3 suggests that this is teacher-pupil talk.

However, a commitment to using Welsh is also framed here in terms of “what you need in a bilingual society” (line 4). In other words,

knowing Welsh is not only needed to succeed “within the school walls” but the teacher constructs it as “very, very important [...] outside” as well (lines 10-11). In excerpt 9, the emphasis was on *using* Welsh both inside and outside the classroom, but in excerpt 10 speaking Welsh is construed more in terms of a language skill than as language use, by prefacing it with “be(ing) able to” (lines 2 & 5). The emphasis on being able to “speak Welsh with confidence” and being able to “use your English” and “Welsh just as well” (lines 3-6) is also strongly reminiscent of the ideal of balanced bilingualism. Indeed, here the teacher is discursively constructing a bilingual society as one where people have equivalent skills in both languages (though English is not specifically mentioned here).

Justifying a commitment to Welsh (and bilingualism) in terms of institutionalised cultural capital and language skills (linguistic capital) has the performative effect of commodifying bilingualism. Consequently, rather than a commitment being framed as an ecology-of-language discourse, it is justified in this institutionalised context more in terms of a globalising discourse, which entails a recognition of the market value of language skills (and the certification of these skills).

5.2.3 Marketing the School Profile

As mentioned earlier, the reorientation of schools and parents/pupils, whereby the latter are seen as consumers, to whom schools are expected to market their ‘services’, has been termed marketisation. Creating a school profile is one major element of this marketisation discourse. In the case of *Ysgol 1*, it was demonstrated that *Cymreictod* “Welshness” has been constructed as the focal constituent of the school’s profile. Nevertheless, there are other facets to the school profile, which the head teacher also puts forward in his ‘marketing pitch’. What is discursively constructed as the second most important facet is the school’s caring nature: “Other than the Welsh language, what would I put down, if I had one other thing to put in the box for Penweddig? It is I think that we are a caring community.” (my punctuation, etc.) The box to which he refers here is on analogy with the one that highlights the Welshness of the school on the front page of the mini-handbook, cited in §5.2.1 above.

The caring community which the head teacher projects here is partly equated with size of the school, not only in the introductory address, but

also in the handbooks. For example, under the heading “The Size of the School” in the mini-handbook, we are informed that:

A school of 660 pupils is large enough to provide a wide range of courses and experiences. It is also small enough to create a warm, close-knit atmosphere where people can get to know each other well.
(4)

To take another illustration of this point from the head’s address, it is noteworthy that within the first few introductory sentences, apart from the contrast in language medium of *Ysgol 1* and *Ysgol 2*, attention is drawn to the respective size of the schools. The significance of this is exploited with the implication that *Ysgol 2*, which is almost twice the size of *Ysgol 1* is more impersonal and therefore less caring than *Ysgol 1*.

There are two other major ‘selling points’ which are worth mentioning here. One concerns the facilities of the new school building and its new site and the other concerns the academic record of the school. The former I will deal with very briefly since it is not directly related to bilingualism or language issues. On the bottom half of the front page of the mini-handbook (below the box cited above), under the heading: “The New Building” there is an extensive and impressive list of the school facilities, which continues onto the next page. In the head teacher’s address, just under 2½ minutes are particularly devoted to outlining the school’s ICT and sports facilities. On our tour around the school, teachers also pointed out numerous features of the schools facilities related to their subjects making frequent comparisons with the relatively poor facilities of the old school. Nonetheless, in answer to the question whether the new school site would influence the choice of school in the interview before the open evening, the head teacher’s first response was: “My hope is that it does entice people to come to partake of Welsh-medium education for the right reason, which is that they believe in Welsh-medium education.” Hence, the attraction of the new school building was discursively constituted as being of secondary importance.

Besides schools creating a distinctive marketing profile for themselves, another central feature of the competition between schools and the marketisation discourse is that schools are able to demonstrate that they offer a good education. Although there is research to support and refute the (alleged) superior performance of Welsh-medium education, through

the performative discursive process of iterability *ysgolion Cymraeg* are widely affirmed as providing a better education than their English-medium counterparts¹⁴². As noted earlier, this is usually measured by means of standardised performance indicators. At the beginning of the third paragraph of this year’s prospectus, one can read the following statement: “[*Ysgol 1*] has an excellent **academic record** at all levels [...]” The bold type was added to the prospectus this year. Nevertheless, at the open evening the school’s academic record does not receive a high profile, though it is mentioned in passing. Indeed, the head teacher says very early on in the introductory address that “if you are undecided [about which school to send your children to], you have a problem because [the town] is served by two good secondary schools”. Thus nothing is made of any difference in performance between the schools.

School	GCSE Results Percentage achieving			Average GCSE / GNVQ points score per pupil	Average A/AS points score per pupil ††
	At least five GCSE A*-G	At least five GCSE A*-C	CSI†		
<i>Ysgol 1</i>	88	66	54	53	18
<i>Ysgol 2</i>	92	57	41	48	22
Average for Ceredigion	89	60	45	48	19
Average for Wales	85	49	36	38	17

† Core Subject Indicator: At least Grade C in Mathematics, Science and either English or Welsh (first language) in combination.

†† Pupils entered for 2 or more A-Levels or AS equivalent or GNVQ equivalent.

Fig. 20 An excerpt from the official school performance tables for 1999-2000 (National Assembly for Wales’ website).

¹⁴² Even Gorard’s (2000) re-examination of research literature which, according to Gorard, propagates the “myth” that Welsh-medium schools are better, in fact discursively reconstructs and reproduces the widespread belief in the process of dismissing it as a myth.

So how does the academic record of *Ysgol 1* compare with that of its “sister school”, *Ysgol 2*, and indeed, other schools in Wales? The performance tables have not been reproduced here from the 2001 handbook and mini-handbook, but rather from the National Assembly for Wales’ website¹⁴³, in order to include comparisons with *Ysgol 2*. The shaded area shows the results actually included in the *Ysgol 1* handbooks:

Certainly, at GCSE level, the head could have claimed at the open evening that *Ysgol 1* outperformed its rival (as well as scoring above the average for Wales across the board), but instead, the school’s Welshness and caring community were invoked first and foremost to distinguish between the two secondary schools. Yet in the mini-handbook, following the results of GCSEs and A levels, etc. there is a box highlighting the school’s performance:

We are very proud of our pupils’ academic success at all levels. The tables presented above bear testimony to this success which is due to the hard work of pupils and teachers and the excellent support of parents.

This is not to say that there is no further reference to the schools’ academic performance in the head teacher’s address. Yet when the matter comes up it is linked once again to language issues (excerpt 11):

Excerpt 11 (*Ysgol 1* open evening 1: head teacher: 08:48)

11 and I think you’ll, (.) >w- we shall see some stats tonight
12 about how successful,< (.3) the children a:re. (.) uhm (.8)
13 >everybody does welsh as a mother tongue in exams for GCSEs,<
14 (.) and though more than half come from welsh uh english-
15 speaking homes, (.5) seventy-three per cent last year
16 achieved an A to C grade at GCSE (.) in WELSH. (.3) so that’s
17 not a problem what- in in any shape or form, (.3) for the
18 pupils or for us.

First of all, I should point out that this excerpt comes immediately after excerpt 8, in the section of the address which deals with the school’s language policy, which may explain why the link between

¹⁴³ Web address (14 April 2006): <<http://education.wales.gov.uk/2000/ceredigion/ceredigion.htm>>

6 be able to uh:: (.3) cope [uh: (.)] (.6) with ease:e,
 7 (.) with uh that aspect of ou-our subject, (.9) ah:: we do
 8 nevertheless try and uh, (.5) make sure that <they *are able
 9 to uh*> ((*in low tone)) (.7) follow the subject >also
 10 through the medium of english< by introducing terms in welsh
 11 and english to them, (.) [(5) although the:] uh written
 12 [aspect of the subject] and the medium of instruction
 13 [((baby spluttering))] is uh:] (.) english. (.3) I'm sorry is welsh. (1.1) ah::
 14 (1.1) if you're if you're interested we have a list here of
 15 the sort of uh, (.3) technical vocabulary to which they will
 16 be introduced, (.5) in uh: (.5) yea:r SEVEN, (.3) it's not a
 17 particularly long one, (.5) °and when you think that uh we're
 18 talking about one year in° school, (.) it's uh not an onerous
 19 task by any means to uh, (.) master what, (.) might >for many
 20 of them< be:, (.3) uh (.6) (wha-) a new vocabulary, (.5) °it
 21 will be for you° I'm sure you might uh, (.3) be surprised to
 22 know that >there are welsh terms for all sorts of things<
 23 these days, (.8) but: uh ah:: (.7) as I say that:, (.) tends:
 24 not to be a problem, (.3) and uh, (.3) *>people are very able
 25 to< uh, () uh: >cope quite well with it.< (*in low and
 quiet tone))

The geography teacher explicitly addresses “English-medium parents” as having potential “doubts” and “worries” about the subject geography being in Welsh in lines 1-3. This is very similar to the paradox created by the head teacher, since this assumption that monolingual English speakers might be dubious of the language policy discursively reconstructs it as a problem, in the very attempt to dispel potential concerns. In fact, in this excerpt such a great deal of ‘footwork’ is done on the part of the geography teacher to allay parents’ fears that it takes 23 lines of excerpt 12 to deal with the ‘problem’. The effect of this is that the potential problem is discursively enhanced in direct proportion to the effort needed to cancel it out. The aspects of the subject medium which are raised here to counterbalance the problem are:

- The vast majority of pupils from English-speaking homes “seem to be able to cope with ease” (lines 3-7).
- Terms are introduced bilingually, so that pupils can also follow the subject in English even though the subject is taught in Welsh (lines 7-12).

- A “not particularly long” list of technical vocabulary to be mastered in Welsh has been produced for year seven (lines 12-19).
- Learning this vocabulary is “not an onerous task by any means” (line 17).

Furthermore, the geography teacher points out that “there are Welsh terms for all sorts of things these days”, which includes specifically geographical terms (lines 19-20). What is noteworthy, however, is that this projects onto non-Welsh-speaking parents the suspicion that Welsh would not have adequate terms for technical subjects. Once again, this assurance to parents seems to be in response to another lingering charge from the colonialist discourse that Welsh is only suited to “old-fashioned agriculture, [...] theology, and [...] simple rustic life” (Lingen *et al.* 1847 Part I: 3).

The modern foreign languages teacher also raises the “problem” of studying the subject through the medium of Welsh. Paradoxically, as with the earlier two cases, the teacher’s attempt to defuse the problem reconstructs and reasserts it in the process, through the performative operation of its iterability. Interestingly, by contrast, it is never suggested that learning any subject through the medium of English for pupils of Welsh-language backgrounds could be a problem. This seems to be a case of the performative operation of implicit censorship, because of the institutionalised taken-for-grantedness of English as an unquestioned and unquestionable medium of education. The same applies, of course, to the inconceivable notion that English might lack the technical terminology needed in any subject of scientific study.

We shall return briefly to the relative ‘invisibility’ of English a little later on in the next section. However, to conclude this section about marketisation and the marketing profile of *Ysgol 1*, it may be of interest to note that the school did increase its intake by about 10 pupils in the school year proceeding the open evening described here. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to account for this increase.

5.2.4 The School and the County Education Scheme

As we saw earlier in excerpts 6 (in Welsh) and 7 (in English), the head teacher explicitly presented *Ysgol 1* as a “designated bilingual school” (line 2, excerpt 7). According to the Welsh Education Scheme analysed

in §5.1.4.2, this educational model is one where “the official language is Welsh and the schools have a Welsh ethos.” (37) What has emerged in the analysis so far in §5.2, the message put across in the head teacher’s address as well as in the school handbooks is very much in keeping with the description in the Education Scheme. The target groups, “indigenous Welsh speakers and proficient learners” (Ibid.) also match up with the target groups constructed in both *Ysgol 1* sources, with additive bilingualism as the explicit intended educational outcome.

In more general terms, the Scheme’s strategy envisages bilingualism in terms of a balanced bilingualism, whereby pupils’ develop “appropriate linguistic skills in both Welsh and English.” (Ibid. §6.1.2). In the *Ysgol 1* discourses analysed above, we have seen that a considerable amount of attention has been devoted to the commitment needed to the Welsh language, particularly on the part of those from non-Welsh-speaking backgrounds, to ensure that all pupils develop the appropriate linguistic skills in Welsh necessary to succeed at the school. Thus in both the Education Scheme and *Ysgol 1* discourses, the commodification of bilingualism as language skills is being performatively invoked. Yet in the school context, there is a marked difference in the discursive space devoted to Welsh and English, even though one of the school’s stated aims is “to enable pupils to master both languages to the best of their ability” (*Handbook 2001-2002*: 3). One important contributory factor which can account for this discursive mismatch is almost certainly the taken-for-granted status of English and the relative lack of necessity to make or call for an explicit commitment to the English language in order to ensure pupils’ academic success. Indeed, the vast amount of attention devoted to asserting and reasserting Welshness and the need for a commitment to the Welsh language paradoxically reaffirms the unquestionable status of English through the discursive and performative process of implicit censorship.

Apart from a brief presentation of the subject English, which made no reference to the particular status of Welsh in the school (as the ‘official’ language of the school), there was hardly any mention of English on the tour around the school or in the head teacher’s address. When English was mentioned, nearly every single occurrence dealt with the language medium of subjects (e.g. English in English and mathematics and science in Welsh or English) or the language background of parents and pupils.

The same applies to the mini-handbook, with one notable exception, *viz.* in the section immediately below the box highlighting the pupils' academic success, cited earlier on page 184:

Some people think that bilingual schools only succeed in Welsh and in Welsh medium subjects such as the humanities. This is not true in general, and it is certainly not true in [*Ysgol I*]'s case. The results in English, Science and Mathematics are good and compare favourably with the County figures and are significantly better than the results for Wales as a whole. Many [*Ysgol I*] pupils who have studied mathematics and science through the medium of Welsh have won places at Oxford and Cambridge. (5)

In the third sentence of the excerpt, it is pointed out that the examination results in English, science and mathematics for *Ysgol I* are of a high standard. However, what is significant here is how this information is framed, i.e. in response to a projected belief that the success of bilingual schools is limited to Welsh and the humanities (which are often taught in Welsh). In other words, some readers at least are constructed as entertaining the belief that bilingual schools are less successful when it comes to typically English-medium subjects¹⁴⁴. The question is how this belief has come about and why it needs to be addressed in the school's discourse.

In the Ceredigion Welsh Education Scheme, it is explained that “the [designated bilingual school] model adopted was that operating in south-east Wales”. In the next sentence we are informed: “Mathematics and science are taught primarily through the medium of English and all other subjects are taught through the medium of Welsh.” (Appendix 2, 37) What appears a little odd here is the switch from the past to the present tense between these sentences, since the designated bilingual schools in Ceredigion do offer all subjects in Welsh¹⁴⁵ (bar English which is not mentioned). Nevertheless, this constitutes a relatively recent development in the history of bilingual education in Wales. As Williams and Morris (2000: 114) point out: “A number of Welsh-medium schools

¹⁴⁴ The three subjects listed are precisely the ones which are offered in English at *Ysgol I*, even though science and mathematics are also offered in Welsh.

¹⁴⁵ At *Ysgol I* the option to study mathematics and science in Welsh was introduced in 1983. In 2001 there were also advanced discussions underway in the school's governing body to remove the English-medium option in these subjects.

and educators have been reluctant to extend the use of Welsh to the teaching of science subjects.” They put this down to “an extension of the modernist discourse and how it distinguishes between reason and emotion” (Ibid.). Accordingly, the sciences, “as the epitomy of reason”, are better suited to English, which is construed (with other national languages) as the language of reason. Welsh, on the other hand, which is construed as the language of emotion, is suited to the arts, “pertaining to the world of emotion” (114-115). This analysis fits in quite well with the projected assumption of a lack of Welsh terminology for technical subjects, which was brought up in conjunction with the geography teacher’s presentation in the previous section (§5.2.3). There I suggested that this was a throwback from what I have termed the colonialist discourse, which readily constructed Welsh as a primitive, outmoded and unsuited to the needs of contemporary life (including the domains of science and learning). Similarly, the projected belief that Welsh-medium schools could not succeed in subjects which are construed as the unquestioned and unquestionable domain of the English language engages with this lingering colonialist discourse. It is certainly not insignificant that three out of the four so-called core subjects (the fourth being Welsh in bilingual schools), which are afforded greatest curriculum status have been historically reserved as English-medium subjects even in bilingual schools, and that even today the majority that offer science and mathematics in Welsh, also offer them in English.

Nevertheless, it is notable that by offering these high status subjects in Welsh can be seen as contesting this last bastion of English in the school curriculum. This contestation is made visible precisely by the discursive space deemed necessary to negotiate and justify the suitability of offering science and mathematics as Welsh-medium subjects. This also helps to explain the final sentence in the excerpt above, which measures the success of Welsh-medium science and mathematics in terms of winning places at Oxford and Cambridge, the institutional epitomy of English-medium scholarship. Clearly the struggle to claim these remaining subjects for Welsh-medium education is still being waged both discursively and in terms of educational practice. Indeed, at *Ysgol 1*, the ‘battle posts’ are in the throes of being moved forwards, since the pressure is on to turn the school into a totally Welsh-medium school, as the head teacher revealed in the interview conducted prior to the open

evening. The following answer comes in reply to the question as to where the pressure is coming from:

From the [...] same kind of people as changed the policy in 1983 really, who believe quite fervently [sic] in that Welsh should and can be used in all areas of life, and therefore why should you not do your science and your maths in Welsh?

There are tell-tale signs here of contesting the implied second-class status of Welsh, by first offering these high status subjects in Welsh and then by discussing the removal of the English-medium option. In another interview two years later, these ‘pressures’ within the governing body had resulted in concrete plans to move ahead to a full-scale public consultation exercise, with a view to seeking approval for the transformation to a Welsh-medium school from the Welsh Assembly.

Apart from the above reference to the examination results in English, mathematics and science in the mini-handbook, the main handbook does include one other unrelated reference to English as the 8th item of a 12-point list of how the school will achieve its explicit aim of a bilingual education:

8) Encouraging English-medium activities, such as theatre visits and suitable clubs. (4)

Whilst not questioning the truth of this claim in any way, it is apparent both from the open evening and the section headed “Activities” further on in the school handbook that the “provision of voluntary school activities” is mainly geared up to “strengthen[ing pupils’] use of Welsh”, that is, to the extent that this provision has a linguistic aim. Hence although pupils from English-speaking homes are exhorted to use their Welsh “not just in class but outside class with their friends” (lines 2-3, excerpt 9 above) both in the spoken and written discourses, there appears to be little necessity for the school to recommend that pupils from Welsh-speaking backgrounds avail themselves of opportunities to develop their English “to the best of their ability”, apart from providing classes in English. This is not to suggest that the school fails to provide the necessary support in English for pupils from Welsh-speaking backgrounds – indeed, the school’s examination results in English demonstrate the opposite – but rather that mastery of English seems to come as a matter of course. By contrast, the inequitable discursive space

devoted to Welsh performatively constitutes Welsh as needing a commitment, and at the same time suggests that mastery of Welsh does not necessarily come as a matter of course. On a similar note, this invokes the paragraph in *Iaith Pawb* which states that “further positive action on behalf of the Welsh language is needed and justified; English, as the dominant majority language does not need such institutional support.” (§2.2) Accordingly, Welsh appears to need greater institutional support simply to deliver the goal of a balanced bilingualism in bilingual (and Welsh-medium) schools, including *Ysgol 1*.

If we return to the name of the school, which includes “designated *bilingual* school” in its title and the Ceredigion secondary school model of this type and of the same name, it would be tempting to wonder whether this is something of a misnomer. In the light of language policy in these schools, whereby “the official language is Welsh” and “speak Welsh”¹⁴⁶ is one of the school’s five core values, the question is whether “designated *Welsh* school” would not be more apt, even though “a balanced bilingualism” is the educational aim. At least the discursive weight given to Welshness and the commitment to Welsh seems to stretch the extension of the word “bilingual” and to some extent renegotiate its meaning through its recontextualisation. Certainly, if we refer back to the meaning of “bilingual” in *Iaith Pawb* where “a bilingual Wales” means “a country where people can choose their lives to live through the medium of either or both Welsh or English” (1), a discrepancy emerges. On the other hand, the school language policy is definitely not out of keeping with *Iaith Pawb*, since “extending access to Welsh medium education” is part and parcel of the strategic plan “to encourage individuals to learn Welsh and empower them to use the language.” (Ibid. 37) Hence some form of coercion (or at least persuasion) is implicated in order to achieve the goal. The use of bilingual in the title of the school does, however, give some leeway for pupils to renegotiate the school’s language policy, which favours Welsh. We shall return to this point, when we look at the pupils’ focus group discussions in the next chapter (§6.5.1.2).

¹⁴⁶ The phrase “the official language is Welsh” is used of the designated bilingual model in the Ceredigion Welsh Education Scheme (Appendix 2, 37) and “speak Welsh” comes under the heading “Discipline and School Expectations” in the main *Ysgol 1* Handbook 2001-2002 (8).

Another aspect of the Welsh Assembly Government's encouragement "to learn and use the Welsh language" is the commitment to "actively promot[e] the benefits of bilingualism (*Iaith Pawb*, 37). This commitment specifically names local government as one of its partners. This is also taken up in the Ceredigion Welsh Education Scheme, which calls for schools to "outline the advantages of bilingualism for all pupils and to explain these clearly to new parents" in their prospectuses (§6.1.5). As noted earlier (in §5.2.2), the call for a commitment to Welsh (and by implication bilingualism) was justified during the open evening primarily by means of a globalising discourse, which readily sees bilingualism as a commodity in terms of language skills. Mastering language skills is construed as essential for academic success in the form of institutionalised cultural capital (e.g. public examination certificates). This is one way in which of the advantages of bilingualism could be framed, but there are others outlined in the main school handbook:

There are a number of reasons for offering bilingual education to children. It is their right, and their parents' right to have their education through the medium of their own language while mastering the community's other language. For those not brought up in a Welsh-speaking home, this is the best way for them to become fluent in Welsh, helps them to live a fuller life in the community and improves job prospects. Bilingual education is the natural order of things in many countries and is a success in Wales too. The aim, simply, is to enable pupils to master both languages to the best of their ability by the time they leave school. [...] (3)

The above quotation is the first paragraph under the heading "Bilingual Education", and it comes immediately before the 12-point bilingual school policy referred to above. Besides mastering the language skills of both languages mentioned in the last sentence, there are other points raised here which also belong to the globalising discourse. For example, improving job prospects also invokes the commodification of language as a skill. Furthermore, the reference to bilingual education as a "natural" and successful phenomenon "in many countries" constructs Wales as a country which shares features (such as bilingualism) with countries beyond the United Kingdom, and thus raises another aspect of the globalising discourse. At the same time, this point echoes and reiterates the positive results of bilingual education in countries like

Canada. The immersion model of education is particularly implied here through the reference to “those not brought up in a Welsh-speaking home” in the second sentence above. The performative potency of the iterability of the success of bilingual education (including immersion education) also surfaces here, just as it does in comparing academic results.

However, the ecology-of-language discourse is also evident here. In the second sentence, the mention of language rights is characteristic of this discourse. Point three in the subsequent list of policies also belongs here:

- 3) Welsh is the medium of the school’s daily life and we aim to contribute to the success and well being of the language in the area and in Wales as a whole. (3)

This point of policy has moral undertones which are expressed through the school’s explicit commitment to the linguistic diversity of the area and Wales.

In the Ceredigion Language Scheme, commitments and responsibilities were reserved for the Council and its partners, especially with respect to serving a bilingual community in both English and Welsh according to the principle of equal validity. Providing bilingual services to the general public, on the basis of the ‘consumer’s’ wants and needs takes us back to the globalising discourse (and the marketisation discourse, which shares many features with the former). Although Welsh is the only language to be legitimised as “the medium of the school’s daily life” at *Ysgol 1*, in the school’s dealings with parents there are two points on the 12-point policy list which relate precisely to providing a bilingual service:

- 10) Using both languages when writing to parents. Letters to individuals are in the language of the home.
- 12) Holding bilingual parents’ meetings. (4)

In fact, both these points were addressed specifically in the head teacher’s introductory open evening presentation (excerpt 13):

Excerpt 13 (*Ysgol 1* open evening 1: head teacher: 09:12)

18 (1.7) if I THEN go o:n, (1.2) the:: the FACT that we serve a
19 bilingual population means that we’re very very conscious,

them to use Welsh, irrespective of their language background, in most classes and outside class. This brings us to consider the outcome of these expectations *vis-à-vis* pupils.

5.2.5 The Mismatch between Ideology and Practice

It should be perfectly clear by now from the many excerpts cited from the open evening and the school handbooks, that in providing pupils with an education *Ysgol 1* gives “particular emphasis to the use of the Welsh language” (point 1 of the school’s aims laid out in the main handbook, 3). The extensive discursive groundwork performed to establish the Welshness of the school and the commitment required from pupils and their parents to the Welsh language irrespective of their language background reiterates and reinforces this emphasis. Beyond this institutional setting, this language ideology is backed up by the Welsh Assembly Government’s national action plan (*Iaith Pawb*), the Ceredigion Welsh language schemes prepared in accordance with the statutory requirements of the 1993 Welsh Language Act, which in turn was passed by the UK Parliament. This law and all the many language policy documents which both legitimate this ideology and provide for its institutionalisation also add to its performative force, through the discursive processes of iterability and interpellation. Yet, for all the performative force and clout behind it, there is room for pupils to contest this ideology both discursively and through their language practices. Furthermore, this is precisely what happens, despite all the rhetoric, not only at *Ysgol 1* but at many (if not all) bilingual and Welsh-medium schools in Wales. In short there is a gap between the school’s ideology and the pupils’ social practices, including their language practices. It is this gap which will be explored further here in terms of the discourse produced by the school’s spokespersons. In the next chapter, however, we will be focussing on the pupils’ discourse, as well as their language practices.

During my many visits to *Ysgol 1*, I actively made a point of observing what language was being spoken by teachers and pupils in different areas of the school. It did not take long before I noticed that a great deal of English was being spoken by pupils outside class. It has emerged in discussions between focus-group participants from a total of

four other bilingual secondary schools in Wales¹⁴⁷ that *Ysgol 1* is by no means unique in this regard. Therefore the discussion that follows is not intended to paint a picture of a failing language ideology in Welsh bilingual schools, but rather to identify some of the complexities, obstacles and adversities of trying to implement this ideology.

In the second interview two years after the open evening, I asked the head teacher why so many pupils were speaking English outside classes at *Ysgol 1*. The reply gives a far more pragmatic view than the official school line to “speak Welsh”¹⁴⁸ (excerpt 14):

Excerpt 14 (Interview 2 with head teacher of *Ysgol 1*: head teacher: 19:50)

1 most of them have no idea they're doing it, (.3) [and
 ((chuckling)) [tuhuhuhu]
 2 the same as the: the welsh speakers have no idea they're
 3 doing it, (.4) [yeah] (.) uhm (.3) they're bilingual beings.
 4 (.) [yeah] (.7) uh:m (.) an' being bilingual, (.) >some of
 5 them are trilingual< but uhm, (.4) the vast majority are
 6 bilingual an:d, (.5) they they just switch languages, (.) as
 7 they want to and very often >they don't realise they're doing
 8 it,< (.3) [mm] >I think it's just a characteristic of being
 9 bilingual.<

The head teacher's understanding of which language or languages pupils speak as something unconscious (lines 1-2, 6-7) with code-switching as “a characteristic of being bilingual” (lines 5-8) acknowledges that, despite the school's official position, pupils' language practices are contingent. The factors mentioned in the next few lines (not reproduced here) which may influence this choice are “language bonds” between groups and even the topic of conversation. The complexity of language choices will be dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter, but the head teacher's insight that code-switching is a ‘natural’ phenomenon is also one of the points made in §3.5 “Bilingualisms-in-Practice”.

Nevertheless, despite the head's pragmatism here, ideological concerns are not far away (excerpt 15):

Excerpt 15 (Interview 2 with head teacher of *Ysgol 1*: head teacher: 20:43)

20 uhm (.) an' they don't relate it to the broader issues of,

¹⁴⁷ These are the findings of focus group discussions which are otherwise not included in this study.

¹⁴⁸ This is one of the 5 core school values under the heading “Discipline and School Expectations” in the main school handbook (8).

21 (.6) the need for, (.) uhm (.5) us who can speak welsh to
 22 perpetuate it and to (.) to strengthen it (exac-) th- th-
 23 they don't pick up that sensitivity. (.3) [no] (.) a very f-
 24 some do but it's a small minority of them that do. [yeah] (.)
 25 feel very strongly.

The “it” in line 20 refers to language choice, and here the matter of a commitment to Welsh comes back again; the head teacher states that there is a “need” for those who can speak Welsh to do so “to perpetuate it and to strengthen it” (lines 20-22). On this occasion this commitment is associated with an ecology-of-language discourse with a moral duty, a “sensitivity” (line 23), to maintain a linguistic heritage. This ideological concern, on the one hand, and a pragmatic acknowledgement of linguistic realities on the other are pitched against each other a little further on in the interview (excerpt 16):

Excerpt 16 (Interview 2 with head teacher of Ysgol 1: head teacher: 22:05)

74 I mean they have a, (.) a basic human right of course uhm,
 75 (.5) and one has to be very careful how one treats the
 76 language in term- of the expectations of what they speak.
 77 (.6) [mm] because being bilingual they have a very basic
 78 human right of d- (.3) deciding which language to use. (.4)
 79 [mm] (.3) [mm] (.) uhm (.) >I don't think it can be
 80 conferred< [sic] upon them >as to insist< they do, (1.2)
 81 >speak this language or that language.< (.) they they have,
 82 (.3) facility in both. (.3) so they can, (.9) choose that.
 83 (.3) you have to respect that I think. (.4) [mm] uh I think
 84 the point we make, (.) uhm now and again in assemblies for
 85 example, (.7) I've had several assemblies, (.7) mention
 86 minority languages. (.5) and there are various statistics
 87 aren't there in in the wind about, (.) >over the next century
 88 about two and half thousand to three thousand languages,<
 89 (.5) worldwide will disappear. (.3) they're under threat.
 90 (.4) are not viable etcetera. (.4) uh::m when you raise this
 91 issue with them, (.7) and the fact that overa::ll, (.) uh the
 92 census figures in wales showed >for the first time for many
 93 decades< an upturn in the overa::ll figure. [mm] (.3) uhm and
 94 we: we did picked it up on saint david's day. (.3) [it] so
 95 happens and we, (.) happened to have this year an eisteddfod
 96 on saint david's day. (.5) uh:m (.4) and making the point
 97 that this saint david's day was historic in the sense that
 98 the figures for w- for the first time >for a long time< (.3)
 99 showed an upturn. (.) [mm] (.) an' asking what would be their
 100 role. (.7) yeah in the census, (.) the next time round. (.3)
 101 [would] that upturn be sustained. (.5) [and] put it to them
 102 if it we-as to be sustained or built upon, (.4) that would

103
 104 very largely be their influence. (.3) [mm] (.4) [mm] 'cause
 105 very many of them by that point will will be parents. (.3)
 106 [mm] (1.1) s_[mm]o] they will have a direct knock-on effect on
 107 the statistics, (.6) by perpetuating the language themselves
 108 after they've left school if it is a second language, (.3)
 109 [mm] but also in the way they bring up their children, (.7)
 110 a:nd what emphasis they put on being, (.5) bilingual or being
 111 Welsh speakers as well. (.4) so (.) we do that but we don't
 112 overegg that one. (.8) [becau-] it can become a huge turn-
 113 off, (.7) and they become, (.4) very negative. (.) you've
 114 already got negativity flowing because of (.5) SOME of them
 115 can use the Welsh language or the lack of use of Welsh
 116 language as one of the adolescent's tools of revolt and
 117 rebellion, (.) as well. [mm] (.6) so you have to be sensitive
 118 to all those factors I think and try to tread (.5) [mm] uh::
 119 (.) a wise path *through the middle or try to anyway.* ((*in*
a low and quiet tone))

Another aspect of the ecology-of-language discourse emerges strongly at the beginning of excerpt 16, namely by way of reference to language choice as a “basic human right” in line 74, which is repeated and upgraded to a “very basic human right” in line 77. However, here it refers more specifically (albeit implicitly) to the right to use English. Despite the clear message given at the open evening and in the school handbook that pupils should speak Welsh, off the record the head teacher advocates a more careful stance, whereby one cannot insist dogmatically that pupils do speak Welsh (lines 78-80). In fact, there are dangers in not showing a sensitivity in this matter, because “it can become a huge turn-off” (lines 106-107). One additional factor which is raised in this regard is that there is already “negativity flowing” because refusing to speak Welsh is “one of the adolescent’s tools of revolt and rebellion” (lines 108-110), the implication being that Welsh is then not the issue, but rather rebellion. We shall be returning to this point, when we examine the pupils’ focus-group discussions.

Despite this call for sensitivity, the head teacher expounds one way in which the importance of using Welsh is raised with pupils in the school context. On a particularly symbolic day, St. David’s Day¹⁴⁹ as well as the

¹⁴⁹ St. David is the patron saint for Wales, and St. David’s Day can be celebrated as the national day for Wales.

day of the school eisteddfod¹⁵⁰ (lines 91-93), another celebration of Welsh culture, the head teacher relates one example of how the pupils' role in "perpetuating the [Welsh] language" was brought up in assemblies (line 102). Before we examine the way in which the maintenance of Welsh was framed in this example, a few words are called for as regards the significance of assemblies. Firstly, they constitute one of the few times when the whole school is gathered. Besides being fairly formal occasions, they usually include an element which could be likened to a sermon in a church setting, often with a moral of some kind. This is also one of the only opportunities for the head teacher to address the school about matters of general concern for the school as a whole. Being the face of the school's ultimate authority, the head teacher's words carry considerable clout, and assemblies provide the opportunity for the head to exert his or her authority directly.

As regards the assembly taken up in the interview, it is worth noting that the framing of it as one of several assemblies that "mention minority languages" and their threatened status worldwide (lines 82-88). This provides the backdrop for the recently published national census figures which showed an increase in the number and percentage of Welsh speakers in Wales (lines 88-95). This "historic upturn" is then used as a pivot to address the question as to what role the pupils would play in sustaining this upturn at the next national census in 2011 (lines 96-98). The message is that pupils need to be committed to perpetuating the Welsh language by using the Welsh language even after they have left school to the extent that they bring up their children to be Welsh speakers or bilinguals (lines 99-105). Here the discourse is very much in ecology-of-language mode, in that it implicitly advocates linguistic diversity on a global scale and a commitment to maintaining Welsh on a local scale. Rather than a commitment to ensure academic success at *Ysgol 1*, which is pushed at the open evening and in the school handbooks, the commitment called for here entails a moral duty which extends well beyond school. In the final chapters, we shall be examining among other things the extent to which pupils "pick up on the sensitivity" of this commitment and how they respond to the interpellation.

¹⁵⁰ A Welsh cultural festival with various different competitions in singing, poetry, dancing, etc.

6 Bilingualism-in-Practice

The focus of the last chapter was on the discursive construction of bilingualism on the basis of various different sources of data – both written and spoken – in institutional settings. How bilingualism is talked and written about is important in the performance of what bilingualism is, but bilingualism is also performed through the everyday language practices of bilinguals. Although this chapter focuses initially on how bilingual practices themselves shape the notion of bilingualism, its discursive construction and associated ideologies cannot be entirely divorced from these practices, even less so when people talk about and reflect on these practices. Indeed, one of the main aims of this chapter is to collate the language practices of *Ysgol 1*¹⁵¹ pupils as they emerge in the data with both their reflections on the language policy and practices of the school and on their own everyday language practices within and beyond the confines of the school.

The data on which this chapter is based comprises language questionnaires and language diaries, but more importantly video recordings of focus group discussions, involving groups of pupils from *Ysgol 1*. The data has already been fully presented in chapter 4, together with an outline of my data-collecting procedure and some important methodological considerations. However, before the data for the focus groups is presented and analysed in the next section of this chapter, I will use the language questionnaire data to situate these focus groups within the school and within Wales as a whole, in an attempt to reveal the representativeness of these focus groups. In the second section, all the data is collated in order to produce language profiles both for individuals and each of the four focus groups. The third and fourth sections focus on two aspects of the language practices of the focus groups; section three provides an analysis of how each focus group negotiates the language medium of their discussion and section four analyses the code-alternation practices of these four groups. The fifth section returns to the theme of the last chapter, *viz.* the discursive construction of bilingualism

¹⁵¹ i.e. the school which was presented in detail in the penultimate section of the last chapter (§5.2).

(including the language practices of bilinguals) as revealed in the focus group discussions.

6.1 Situating the Focus Groups

The individual subjects of each of the four focus groups will be presented in the next section, but here I wish to deal with the matter of the representativeness of these groups as a whole, both with regard to how representative they are of their particular school and how representative they are of other bilingual and Welsh-medium schools in Wales. Since this study is first and foremost a qualitative study I cannot and shall not make any major claims that the language practices and discursive reflections that emerge in the focus groups represent those of their peer group in all parts of Wales. However, what I can do is to use one source of data to relate their language practices to the broader picture, namely the questionnaire survey. In this way, I am able to show that individually and collectively the focus groups of this study are not entirely unique. Indeed, in many respects they do in fact reveal similarities to the language practices of young people in bilingual education elsewhere in Wales.

As I pointed out in §4.1.3, the main questionnaire deployed in this study was based on an almost identically worded questionnaire used in a recent survey of 1,273 sixth formers attending 49 *ysgolion Cymraeg* throughout Wales, which was commissioned by the Welsh Language Board (WLB). With some limited departures from the original WLB questionnaire, it was fielded to one lower sixth year group (aged 17-18) attending *Ysgol 1* in 2003. A total of 48 questionnaires were returned which represented just over 70% of the total number of pupils for that year. These questionnaires have then been supplemented by 10 questionnaires completed by the focus group members taken from the lower sixth in the year 2001, thus making a total of 58 questionnaires.

In order to make a comparison, I have selected only the questions which constitute the focus of this study, namely the language(s) used with the family and with friends. Whereas the questionnaire findings are directly comparable between the focus groups and the whole lower sixth age group, there are two differences between the original WLB questionnaire and my version, which need to be elucidated. The first

regards a new category which is absent in the original survey, namely an aggregate of what language is spoken with the respondent's four best friends. Hence this category is only useful in comparing the focus group pupils to the whole of the lower sixth age group at *Ysgol 1*. The second difference pertains to the category siblings. In the original questionnaire all siblings are grouped together under one entry. Since the language(s) spoken between siblings may in fact vary considerably within one family, I chose to separate the responses for the frequency of Welsh spoken with the respondent's siblings. In order to produce a percentage which is roughly comparable to that of the WLB survey, the percentages for *Ysgol 1* have been calculated from an average frequency for each respondent.

Before we look at the survey results for Wales as a whole, let us compare the 19 focus group members with the rest of their year group. The graph in figure 21 illustrates the aggregate responses of the 19 pupils who made up the four focus groups. I have used the letters W, w, e and E¹⁵² to mean the following:

W	= always Welsh
w	= often Welsh
e	= sometimes Welsh
E	= never Welsh

If one compares the focus group responses to those of the whole lower sixth age group in figure 22, the results tally best when it comes to friends if one adds together those who always speak Welsh (W) with those who often speak Welsh (w). Likewise those who only speak English (E) tally very closely when it comes to all three categories of friends (ranging between 60-78% for both groups). The biggest discrepancy emerges between those who always speak Welsh and those who often speak Welsh; whereas focus group pupils are 9% more likely to speak only Welsh to friends at school (at 32%), the *Ysgol 1* year group are about 17% more likely to stick to Welsh with friends outside school (at just under 40%). With their four best friends, the whole year group are also more likely to always speak Welsh. On the other hand, here the discrepancy drops to about 7%, with just under half of the whole year group always speaking Welsh.

¹⁵² See footnote 94 in §4.1.3.

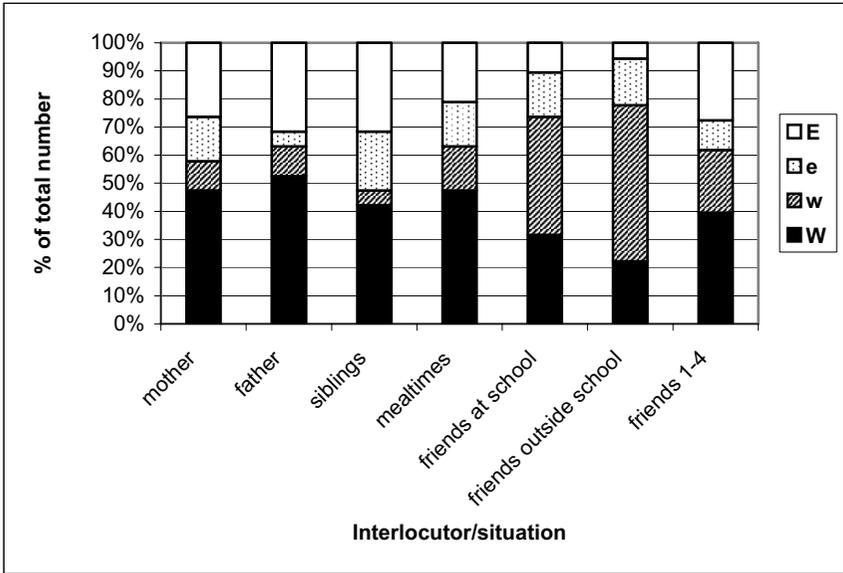


Fig. 21 *Ysgol 1* focus groups (19 pupils): The frequency of Welsh used in communication with various interlocutors (or in certain situations)

If one compares the language(s) spoken within the family, there is almost a total match between the two groups when it comes to the language(s) spoken at family mealtimes, with 63-64% always or often speaking Welsh. As regards the language(s) spoken with the respondent's parents, focus group respondents are more likely to always or often speak Welsh with their fathers than with their mothers (at 63% and 58%, respectively), whereas the reverse applies to the whole year group (at 53% with fathers and 65% with mothers). There is also a discrepancy as regards the language(s) spoken with siblings, with 32% of focus group respondents speaking only English and 42% speaking only Welsh, compared to 23% and 49% respectively for the whole year group. If one adds together the percentages of those always and often speaking Welsh in both groups, this mismatch amounts to about 7%.

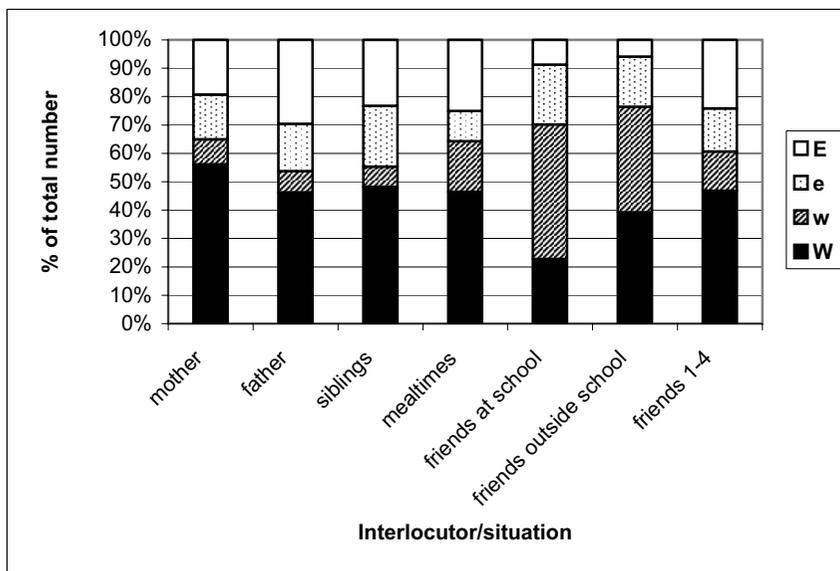


Fig. 22 Lower sixth year-group of *Ysgol 1* (58 pupils): The frequency of Welsh used in communication with various interlocutors (or in certain situations)

Notwithstanding problems with the reliability of questionnaire surveys such as this one, dealt with in §4.1.3, one could conclude that, all told, the focus group pupils tend to be more likely to speak only English than the the whole year group average, particularly in the case of siblings. With the exception of fathers, family mealtimes and friends at school, focus group pupils also tend to be a little less likely to stick exclusively to Welsh, though any discrepancies are reduced if one adds together the categories always Welsh and often Welsh.

Let us now compare the focus group responses in figure 21 to those of the original survey in figure 23. A cursory comparison reveals a strikingly similar pattern of language use when it comes to the sole use of Welsh, yet there is one significant difference: the frequency of always speaking Welsh is consistently higher for the focus group respondents by 4-9%. The only exception pertains to friends outside school, where about 22% stick solely to Welsh in both cases. Furthermore, in both cases there is a significantly higher frequency of speaking solely Welsh within the

family (ranging from 42-53% among focus group pupils and 41-44% among the WLB survey pupils) than among friends (ranging from 22-32% and 22-26%, respectively). Similarly, in both groups the percentage of pupils always speaking English is significantly higher within the family than among friends. In other words, in both the WLB survey and the focus group survey, pupils are more likely to use at least some Welsh with friends than with family members.

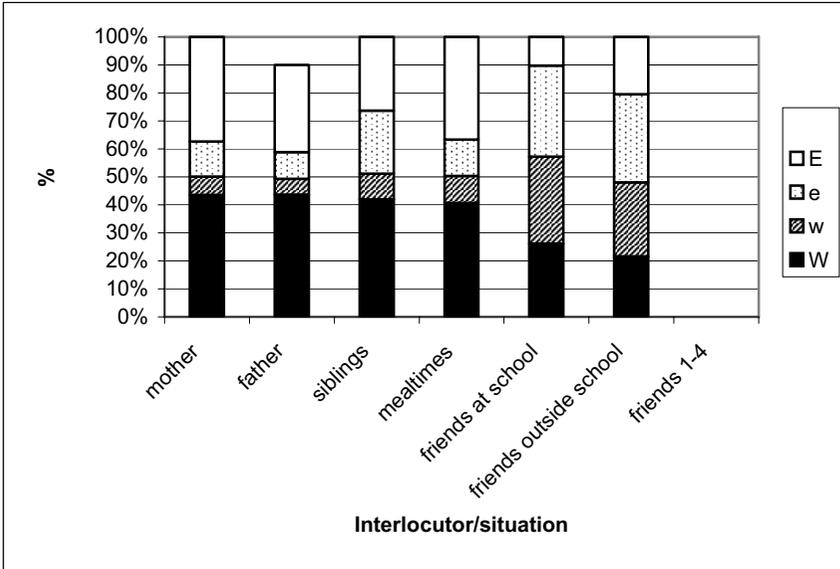


Fig. 23 Survey results of *The Use of the Welsh Language 2000* (1 273 pupils): The frequency of Welsh used in communication with various interlocutors (or in certain situations)

Notes for Fig. 23

- 1 Unfortunately, in the published results of this survey the percentages of given responses to the language spoken to the father only add up to 90%.
- 2 There is no data in the original survey for the category "friends 1-4".

If one adds together the responses for always speaking Welsh and often speaking Welsh, there are also consistently higher frequencies for the focus groups. With the exception of mother and siblings (at 8% and

6% higher), the gap between the two groups is even wider than for always speaking Welsh (ranging from 13-30% higher).

At the risk of over-simplifying the findings of this questionnaire survey with respect to the three groups, one might say that the frequency of pupils' use of Welsh tends to be a little lower in the focus groups than their year group as a whole. On the other hand, there is a tendency for the focus group pupils to use more Welsh than the pupils in the all-Wales survey. However, it should also be pointed out that the WLB survey carried out in the year 2000 included both traditional Welsh-medium schools and designated bilingual schools (in roughly equal proportions). One finding of this survey is that "Designated Bilingual school Sixth Formers reported more use of Welsh than those in 'Welsh medium' Sixth Forms in: speaking with friends inside and outside school" (WLB 2000, Section D §1). Since *Ysgol 1* is in fact a designated bilingual school, the higher frequency of Welsh with friends, both for the lower sixth age group as a whole and also for the focus group pupils, is in keeping with the findings of the WLB survey. Furthermore, as regards geographical trends, the all-Wales survey also notes "a very consistent pattern of actual use of the Welsh language by 6th formers in most domains (i.e. family, friends [...])", whereby the "South West school pupils" rank second out of four geographical areas in terms of most Welsh language use (Ibid. Section C §1). With *Ysgol 1* being situated in an area with above average use of Welsh, this finding is also consistent with the results of the *Ysgol 1* survey.

Having now contextualised the focus groups within their year group in *Ysgol 1* and in relation to their peer group in *ysgolion Cymraeg* on an all-Wales basis, let us now turn to the data which the four focus groups have generated.

6.2 Who Speaks What to Whom?

As the heading of this section suggests, here my intention is to provide a language profile for each of the 19 focus group participants and for each of the four focus groups, in order to lay the foundations for analysing and interpreting the form and content of the video-recorded data, which is to be examined more closely in the following sections of this chapter. In order to produce these language profiles I have extracted

and collated the relevant information from three main sources of data: the questionnaires (including the supplementary questionnaires, cf §4.1.3), the language diaries and the video-recorded focus group discussions.

The questionnaire specifically takes up issues of which language(s) pupils speak at home with members of their family and also with friends, both at school and outside school. The questionnaires also provide certain important biographical details, such as whether the pupils have lived elsewhere and whether their parents have learnt Welsh as adults, as well as the ability of family members and friends to speak Welsh. However, since far from each participant kept language diaries and the detail and quality is varied, they can only shed some light on some of the subjects of this study. Neither do the discussion questions directly address these matters in any systematic way, yet when they do arise, they can cast a different light on the nature of their language choices with different interlocutors. Indeed, in the focus group discussions the associated reflections on their language choices and stories which include retold examples of their language practices are just two of the ways in which subtleties such as value judgements and associated ideologies are made manifest. However, these considerations will receive fuller attention in §6.5 later on in this chapter. To return to the matter in hand: since the questionnaires constitute the only source of data which systematically provides the same information for each focus group member, this data will be presented first and will then be supplemented by relevant information that arises from the language diaries and the recordings.

Before we move on to examine each focus group and its constituent members in turn, it may be wise to reiterate briefly some of the most important reflections brought up in chapter 4 with regard to this kind of data. All three sources of data are self-reported, and each has arisen under different conditions and contingencies, which makes for somewhat different provisos. Yet what they all share in common is that they can only reveal a *picture* of what language participants speak to whom, and this picture is subject to 'distortion' by matters such as personal values, interactional strategies and prevailing ideologies. Much of this is deep-seated and unconscious and not readily available for analysis. Yet at the same time, it must be pointed out that the picture which individuals

sketch of their language practices is also an inalienable part of these practices. Nevertheless, without the backup of naturally occurring data of their actual everyday interactions with other bilinguals and monolinguals, the profiles presented here are limited to providing us with a broad-brush picture of the subjects. In the next two sections, however, where the language(s) of the focus group discussions are to be examined, some finer brush-strokes will be added to this picture. Notwithstanding these limitations, the language profiles presented in this section do in fact allow us to gain an important impression of each individual and each focus group, which is essential for interpreting both their language-in-interaction in the focus group discussions and the discursive constructions of their language practices.

As regards the video-recorded data, for the sake of space and the necessity for brevity in the language profiles, I have departed from the transcription practices elsewhere in this study, by not providing full transcriptions or word-by-word translations from Welsh. Nevertheless, I myself have made full transcriptions and worked directly with the video recordings in order to carry out a CA-based analysis. The way in which I have worked will, however, be made completely transparent in the analysis of longer transcribed sequences of talk-in-interaction presented in §6.3-6.5.

Now let us turn to each focus group in turn starting with the 2001 year 12 focus groups and then moving on to those from 2003. The selection process for the focus groups has been fully described in §4.2.2.

6.2.1 Focus Group 1

The first focus group is made up of six members, four of whom are girls and two of whom are boys. Besides being the largest group, it is in fact also the only mixed group out of the four.

The tabulations in figures 24, 26, 27 and 29 present some of the results from the questionnaires (c.f. §4.1.3 for fuller details). The interlocutors in each table have been divided into family and friend ‘domains’. In the following commentaries for each individual, the order of these domains has also been adhered to. As to the order of focus group members within each table, it roughly follows their reported use of English and Welsh; participants who use most English come first and those who use most Welsh come last.

		Interlocutor & usual language of communication (Welsh/English)																
		Family									Friends							
Respondent ↓		mother	father ¹	mealtime ^s	sibling 1	sibling 2	sibling 3	grandmother	maternal grandfather	maternal grandmother	paternal grandfather	paternal grandmother	friend 1	friend 2	friend 3	friend 4	friends in general	friends at school
	Maud		E	E	E	E	-	-	E	E	E	-	w	E	E	E	w	W
Geoff		e	w	e	e	-	-	E	E	-	-	W	W	W	W	W	W	
Ifan		W	W ²	W	w	W	W	-	-	-	-	w	w	w	w	w	w	
Bridget		W	- ³	W	W	W	W ⁴	W	W	W	W	w	W	W	W	W	w	w
Belinda		W	W ²	W	W	-	-	W	W	W	-	W	W	W	W	W	w	W
Gwenhwyfar		W	- ³	W	W	-	-	W	W	-	-	W	W	W	W	W	W	w

Fig. 24 Focus Group 1: The frequency of Welsh used in communication with various interlocutors (or in certain situations)

- W** = always Welsh
w = often Welsh
e = sometimes Welsh
E = never Welsh
- = not applicable/no response

Notes for Fig. 24

- 1 In the Welsh version of the questionnaire "father" was accidentally omitted.
- 2 This information has been supplied on the basis of Ifan's and Belinda's language diaries.
- 3 In both cases the fathers are fluent Welsh speakers and have not learnt Welsh as adults.
- 4 Bridget has four siblings and she reports that she always speaks Welsh to sibling 4 too.

The tabulations in figures 25, 28 and 30 have extracted information from the supplementary questionnaires about what language(s) they use with other members of the focus groups, insofar as the other group members are listed among their five best friends or insofar as the questionnaires have been returned at all. In the case of focus group 1, only Ifan and Belinda kept language diaries and they were also the only ones to return their supplementary questionnaires.

		Interlocutor & usual language of communication					
		Maud	Geoff	Ifan	Bridget	Belinda	Gwenhwyfar
Respondent ↓	Ifan	-	w		-	-	W
	Belinda	-	-	-	-		W

Fig. 25 The frequency of Welsh used in communication between members of focus group 1

Maud

Maud only speaks English at home with her parents and elder sibling. None of her living grandparents in fact speak any Welsh, but both her parents have learnt Welsh as adults to varying degrees; her father speaks it fluently, as does her elder sibling, whereas her mother only speaks a little. Maud was born in England, but lived there for only two years, after which her family moved to South Wales and then South West Wales before settling in Mid Wales. All of her schooling has been through the medium of Welsh despite living elsewhere in Wales for nine years. In the focus group discussions, Maud informs the others that her father loves languages (*ma' dad fi'n, caru ieithoedd*¹⁵³), and he saw it as a duty to learn Welsh, when the family moved to Wales. However, whenever he attempts to speak Welsh with Maud, she cannot speak Welsh to him (*fi'n methu siarad Cymrâg i fe*), which is to be taken as an expression of what feels natural or comfortable rather than her linguistic ability.

Three of Maud's closest friends are from outside school and she never speaks Welsh to them. Unfortunately, without her supplementary questionnaire, there is no way of telling whether they know Welsh. However, her best friend is a school friend and they often speak Welsh together. Furthermore, she reports that she always speaks Welsh with

¹⁵³ The quotations in this section do not follow the transcription conventions used in longer excerpts of talk for reasons of space and ease of reading. Any pauses are marked with commas rather than the traditional timed pauses in parentheses. A translation has not been supplied here, since apart from the substituted pronouns ("her" for the original "my") the English wording before the quotation in Welsh is already in effect a translation of the Welsh. This praxis is adhered to in all cases where quotations in Welsh are supplied in parenthesis with no accompanying translation.

schoolfriends in general and often speaks Welsh to friends outside school. In the group discussion Maud mentions that she has two friends with whom she speaks in English and they could never change and go over to Welsh (*fi'n siarad 'da dou o ffrindie fi yn Saesneg a galle' ni byth newid a myn' i Cymrâg*). The reason she gives is that once you form a friendship in one language you can't change languages. Yet when this focus group talks of language matters, Maud often affiliates herself with the rest of this group who are solidly Welsh-speaking. This is illustrated by the following, where the group have been talking about pupils who speak English not being involved in running school clubs for the lower year groups: *'falle dylse' ni ddim edrych i lawr ar nw ddo on' fel, os chi'n rîli ca'l y cyfle i dysgu Cymrâg gyment o unryw un o ni* "perhaps we shouldn't look down on them though but like, if you really get the chance to learn Welsh as much as any of us". By using the pronoun *ni* "we/us", Maud aligns herself with those who speak Welsh at school and counts herself as having had as much opportunity to learn Welsh as the others, who are in fact all first language speakers of Welsh.

Geoff

Geoff often speaks Welsh to his father and sometimes to his sister, both of whom are fluent Welsh speakers. He also reports that he sometimes speaks Welsh to his mother, who speaks Welsh quite well, having learnt it as an adult. Since neither of Geoff's maternal grandparents speak any Welsh, we can safely assume that his mother grew up in a non-Welsh-speaking home. As one would expect, Geoff speaks only English to his maternal grandparents. In the focus group discussion, following Ifan's comment that he does not know always who comes from an English-speaking home, Bridget asks Geoff whether he speaks Welsh at home (presumably because she does not know). Geoff replies that he does, which is then challenged by Maud. At the same time as Maud shows her surprise, Geoff modifies his reply to *fi y fi yn weithie ond ti'n gw'od* "I uh I do sometimes but y'know". Apparently still not entirely satisfied with Geoff's modified answer, she then asks whether his parents speak Welsh, to which Geoff laconically replies *ie* "yeah" without looking up.

In contrast to Maud, all of Geoff's four closest friends are school friends and according to his questionnaire replies, he always speaks to them in Welsh as well as to friends in general both at school and outside

school. Geoff is in fact included among Ifan's best friends, and according to Ifan's supplementary questionnaire, he often speaks Welsh to Geoff. However, according to two entries in Ifan's language diary which only included Geoff (a telephone call and lunch in town), they spoke only Welsh. On the other hand, on six additional occasions where Geoff is specifically mentioned together with other friends, the language varied from only Welsh to Welsh and English.

Ifan

Ifan was born in a city in South Wales, where he lived fairly briefly. The family then moved to another town in South Wales for a further four years, before moving to Mid Wales. Ifan has attended Welsh-medium schools in both South and Mid Wales. Like the remaining focus group members, Ifan comes from a solidly Welsh-speaking home background. In the numerous entries in his seven-day language diary which involve family members, they are all recorded as having been solely in Welsh. Even in the six entries which involve only his elder brother the language they use is noted as only Welsh. This contrasts slightly with the questionnaire, where Ifan reports that he often speaks Welsh to elder brother.

According to his answers in the full questionnaire, Ifan often speaks Welsh with his closest friends and with friends in general. In the separate sheet which calls for closest friends to be named, he notes that the only friend he always speaks Welsh to is Gwenhwyfar. However, according to the supplementary questionnaire Ifan often speaks Welsh to his girlfriend, yet according to the numerous entries in his language diary which name his girlfriend, they speak only Welsh on every single occasion. To a slightly lesser extent this also applies to activities involving Geoff, where there is a very strong tendency that they speak only Welsh or at least mainly Welsh. The same applies to the other named schoolfriends in Ifan's diary, unless the activity is band practice, in which case both Welsh and English tend to be spoken. It seems therefore on the basis of Ifan's language diary that he has tended to underestimate his use of Welsh with friends. This may even be supported by a comment Ifan makes in the focus group discussion: immediately following a remark Bridget makes that more people in their year now speak Welsh, to which Ifan responds: *fi'n siarad Cymraeg gyda, yn jyst fwy*, sort of *gyffredinol* "I speak Welsh with, just more, sort of

generally”. Thus Ifan’s comment indicates an increase in his use of Welsh at school.

Bridget

Since Bridget did not return a supplementary questionnaire or a language diary, her profile relies entirely on her main questionnaire responses and the video-recorded discussions. Nevertheless, the picture these paint is unequivocal.

Bridget comes from a solidly Welsh-speak family in all generations. In the focus group discussions when Ifan comments that they all come from Welsh(-speaking) families (*o ga’ trefi Cymraeg*), apart from Maud, Bridget responds: *ie hollol Gymrâg* “yeah completely Welsh”. Very shortly after, Bridget tells a little story about American friends of her parents who commented: “ah wow you speak Welsh how interesting!” to which Bridget responds (in English too) “no it’s not interesting it’s like the most natural thing in the world”. Although it is a little ambiguous whether this is what she actually said or an expression of her reaction to the Americans’ comment (which she cites with an American accent), it is clear that to Bridget Welsh is not a showpiece but an integral part of her life. In fact, it also emerges that Bridget did not learn to speak English until she was about 7 years old. However, Bridget also complains about her youngest brother’s Welsh: *dyw safon e ddim yn dda* “the level of it isn’t good”, although he has always gone to an *ysgol Gymraeg*, and as Maud points out he has had perfect conditions for learning Welsh at home. Bridget concludes with a little chuckle that she doesn’t know what’s wrong with people (*sa i’n gwbo’ beth sy’n bod â bobol*). Clearly it matters to Bridget that there are language standards to be kept within Welsh-speaking homes.

Although Bridget’s family have now moved, she grew up in a fairly small village in Ceredigion, where she went to the local Welsh-medium primary school for all but the last year, when she had to change schools (to another Welsh-medium primary school in the same town as *Ysgol I*). From her account, the village seems to have been unusually Anglicised for rural Ceredigion, so that when Bridget started school, she was the only one out of the five in her class who already spoke Welsh. She also says that she didn’t have any Welsh(-speaking) friends there (*’da fi ddim ffrindie Cymrâg*). According to the main questionnaire, Bridget’s four best friends are now Welsh-speaking school friends, three of whom she

speaks only Welsh to and one of whom she often speaks Welsh to. To friends in general she reports that she often speaks Welsh, both at school and outside school. In the group discussion, Bridget mentions that more pupils in their year group now speak Welsh and she illustrates this point by referring to a particular pupil: *o'n i byth yn siarad Cymrâg 'da [Rhodri Prys], o'r bl'an on' nawr fi'n gallu siarad Cymrâg 'da fe* “I never spoke Welsh with [Rhodri Prys], before but now I can speak Welsh to him”. Maud then goes on to confirm that [Rhodri] now speaks Welsh to her too.

Belinda

Besides Ifan, Belinda is the only other group member to submit a supplementary questionnaire and a language diary (for seven days, written in Welsh). Hence the picture of her interactions with family and friends is fairly comprehensive.

Like Ifan and Bridget, Belinda comes from a solidly Welsh-speaking family background in all generations. From the eleven entries in her language diary involving family members, every single one of them is reported as being solely in Welsh.

As regards friends, Belinda's supplementary questionnaire, where her five best friends are named, she reports that she always speaks Welsh to all of them but one, her boyfriend to whom she often speaks Welsh. In the main questionnaire, Belinda also notes that she often speaks Welsh to friends in general outside school, but always to friends at school. Indeed, in the group discussion, when they are discussing the amount of Welsh and English being spoken at school, Belinda says that she never speaks English now (*fi byth yn siarad Saesneg nawr*). In her detailed diary, Belinda notes that they speak only Welsh in almost all the entries involving different constellations of schoolfriends, Gwenhwyfar, who is listed among her best friends, and her other best friends. There is only one exception to this: activities involving her boyfriend Thomas¹⁵⁴, about whom she notes (in the supplementary questionnaire): *wedi dysgu Cymraeg, teulu Saesneg* “has learnt Welsh, English(-speaking) family”. For the nine entries including Thomas, three are solely in Welsh and six are mainly in Welsh. Moreover, there are suggestions of a pattern of

¹⁵⁴ The names of family and friends have also been changed in all cases, for reasons of confidentiality.

language use emerging from these entries. Two of the three occasions when they only speak Welsh, they are at Belinda's house. On the other hand, on the three occasions they meet at Thomas's house, they speak mainly Welsh. Furthermore, his parents do not speak Welsh and it is also noted that on these occasions Belinda speaks English to them and a mixture of Welsh and English to Thomas's brother. On the remaining occasions, Belinda and her boyfriend speak either Welsh or mainly Welsh. It should perhaps be added that Thomas is also one of Ifan's best friends (and apparently one of Geoff's friends too). In Ifan's several diary entries involving Thomas, Ifan and Thomas also speak either mainly Welsh, or in the case of band practice a mixture of Welsh and English. Returning more specifically to Belinda's friends, there are two other friends who warrant a particular mention. Firstly, Belinda's best friend besides her boyfriend used to go to *Ysgol 1*, but she has now moved to England. Belinda has three telephone calls to this friend, all of which are solely in Welsh. Secondly, in three diary entries another friend is mentioned, who is not listed among her best friends. Hence there is no information about whether she is a school friend or whether she speaks Welsh. However, Belinda only speaks English to her, even on the occasion she calls round to Belinda's house with Gwenhwyfar, to whom she records as having spoken mainly Welsh.

Gwenhwyfar

Gwenhwyfar returned neither her supplementary questionnaire nor her language diary, but her main questionnaire shows a very consistent pattern of speaking Welsh. She grew up in the town where *Ysgol 1* is situated and all her family appear to have Welsh as their first language and Gwenhwyfar always speaks Welsh to them all. In fact, she makes more than one comment in the focus group discussions to suggest that her parents are also actively committed to the Welsh language. For example, when the group are talking about problems of making Welsh attractive to young people (because there is so much more on offer in English), Gwenhwyfar says: *fi'n dod o ga'tref lle o'dd mam yn, pusho y Cymrâg trwy'r amser a diwylliant Cymrâg a darllen trwy'r amser* "I come from a home where mum, pushed Welsh all the time and Welsh culture and reading all the time". Although Gwenhwyfar also indicates in the discussions that she is committed to Welsh, here for example there is also an underlying critique of her parents' zeal.

When it comes to friends, Gwenhwyfar also reports that she always speaks Welsh in all cases but one: schoolfriends in general to whom she often speaks Welsh. As noted earlier, Gwenhwyfar appears in Belinda's language diary and they speak only Welsh apart from one occasion when they mainly speak Welsh, but this is in the company of a friend that Belinda usually speaks English to. In the video recordings there is at least one comment worth noting here. After Ifan has mentioned that the three of them who went to the same primary school now speak more Welsh than they used to, Gwenhwyfar says: *yr unig berson ni'n siarad Cymrâg chi'wo' y Saesneg iddo yw fel [Rhodri Prys]* "the only person we speak Welsh y'know uh English to is like [Rhodri Prys]". Here *ni* "we" refers to this group of three, since Gwenhwyfar also went to the same school. She initially makes a slip in saying that they speak Welsh to Rhodri, but she then corrects this to English. Although the other two in fact agree to differ on what language they speak to Rhodri, the point is that Gwenhwyfar singled him out as the only exception to her speaking Welsh.

Towards a Group Profile

One important finding from Ifan's and Belinda's supplementary questionnaires and language diaries is that, given the way in which the participants volunteered on an individual basis to be part of a focus group, they are not a closely knit group of friends. However, Gwenhwyfar is on both Belinda's and Ifan's list of best friends and Geoff is on Ifan's list. Furthermore, Belinda's boyfriend Thomas is also among Ifan's (and probably also Geoff's) best friends. Otherwise Maud is not specifically named in either Ifan's or Belinda's language diary, and Bridget's name appears only in Belinda's diary, and then just twice (once at school and once for lunch in town joined by Gwenhwyfar, Geoff and Ifan's girlfriend).

As regards their use of Welsh, Maud and Geoff stand out from the rest of their group in that they speak most English at home and in Maud's case also with her friends. Yet neither of them are reluctant to use their Welsh, particularly with schoolfriends. For all the remaining pupils, Welsh is consistently the dominant language of both home and school. All their parents and living grandparents are fluent Welsh speakers and they appear to have Welsh as their first language. When I address the whole group at the end of the second recording session, I ask them

whether they think their views are representative for the sixth form as a whole. Ifan then replies: “we’re probably more pro-Welsh” to which Belinda and Maud both respond by saying “yeah”. A couple of turns later, Belinda then says: “we all speak Welsh to each other in school and stuff so maybe it would’ve been better to have, someone that speaks English all the time”. Thus they portray themselves as a pro-Welsh, Welsh-speaking group.

As regards the group members’ choice of language for the questionnaire, it may be significant to note that both Maud and Geoff opted for the English-language version. These two pupils also happen to be those who appear to speak most English (though in Geoff’s case this applies only to home). However, I should add here that since I was only expecting four pupils to turn up, there were not enough Welsh-language questionnaires to go round. When I put the questionnaires in two piles on the table in front of them, Geoff took his questionnaire from the pile closest to him, but Maud hesitated, looked closely at the two piles and then reached for an English-language version which was further away. The other four pupils chose the Welsh version with no hesitation.

6.2.2 Focus Group 2

The second focus group was recruited by Gwenhwyfar, and is made up of four girls. Unfortunately, none of the group members returned their supplementary questionnaires or language diaries. Therefore, the language profiles of this group are solely reliant on the main questionnaire and the video-recorded group discussions. Nevertheless, simply combining these two data sources seems to give a fairly conclusive picture.

Claire

Apart from Katy, only Claire appears to have at least one native Welsh-speaking parent, although all the members of this focus group come from families with at least one parent who speaks fluent Welsh. Claire was born in a city in England, but she has lived locally in Wales since the age of four. In addition to a fluent Welsh-speaking father whose father is also a fluent Welsh speaker, Claire’s mother has tried to learn Welsh as an adult, and as a result she can speak a little. Both Claire’s younger and older siblings speak Welsh quite well, yet Claire never speaks Welsh to them or indeed to any of her family members, including

her father and paternal grandfather. Indeed, Claire says that neither she nor her older sister (aged 20) learnt Welsh until they went to a Welsh-medium primary school. However, whereas Claire “learnt Welsh really easily” from the age of four, her sister “found it much harder to learn Welsh”, because “she was a lot older” when they moved to Wales. Nevertheless, it emerges from the second group discussion that Claire was in fact rather reluctant to speak Welsh at all: “I went to a Welsh primary school and I spoke Welsh to all my friends I mean English to all my friends I mean and only spoke Welsh to the teacher, and well and only then if they shouted at me.” This resolve not to speak Welsh is also made manifest when the group discuss the language of their home in the future, when Claire tells the others: “my kid I know my kid no well wouldn’t kn- learn any Welsh at all because I wouldn’t speak to them”.

		Interlocutor & usual language of communication (Welsh/English)																
		Family									Friends							
Respondent ↓		mother	father	mealtimes	sibling 1	sibling 2	sibling 3	grandmother	maternal grandfather	maternal grandmother	paternal grandfather	paternal grandmother	friend 1	friend 2	friend 3	friend 4	friends in general	friends at school
	Claire		E	E	E	E	E	-	E	-	-	E		E	E	E	E	E
Tina		E	E	E	E	E	E	-	-	-	E		E	E	E	E	-	E
Sally		E	E	e	E	E	E ¹	E	E	E	-		E	E	E	E	e	e
Katy		w	w	w	e	e	-	w	W	e	w		W	E	E	E	w	w

Fig. 26 Focus Group 2: The frequency of Welsh used in communication with various interlocutors (or in certain situations)

Notes for Fig. 26

1 Sally has five siblings and she reports that she always speaks English to sibling 4 and 5 too.

This pattern is repeated when it comes to Claire’s friends. She speaks only English to her friends both at school and outside school, despite the fact that all her closest friends are schoolfriends (and can therefore presumably all speak Welsh). In the discussion group when they are talking about why pupils speak English at school, Claire says to Tina: “I

never I never speak to you in Welsh 'cause I can't." What she appears to mean by this is not so much that she can't speak Welsh, but that she does not feel comfortable doing so. This interpretation is supported by her saying a few turns later: "I can only speak Welsh to you like in a piss-take way." Thus for Claire, speaking Welsh to Tina, for example, would have to be interpreted as anything other than 'normal' everyday language behaviour.

However, in more general terms, Claire does reveal that she is sometimes addressed in Welsh at school: "I do have two-way conversations though, [...] they speak Welsh and I speak English." However, she acknowledges that replying in English is a dispreferred response, by the vehemence with which she then defends herself: "I haven't got anything against people speaking Welsh to me if they're comfortable with that as long as they don't expect me to speak Welsh to them back 'cause I'll speak whatever language I damn well want to!" Thus Claire makes it blatantly obvious on this and several other occasions that she is prepared to flout the conventions of a monolingual norm in that she repeatedly replies in English when addressed in Welsh by pupils, teachers and even strangers.

Tina

Tina's father has learnt to speak Welsh fluently as an adult, but her mother speaks no Welsh and neither does her only living grandparent, her paternal grandfather. She has three elder siblings, the two eldest of whom speak Welsh quite well and the youngest of whom speaks a little. Just like Claire, Tina reports that she speaks no Welsh with any of her family members. In the group discussion, Tina tells a story about her elder sisters who could speak Welsh just as well as anyone else" and who "used to speak Welsh the whole time, during school, when she was here", but because of an incident to do with the eisteddfod, where she was told "oh no you can't do it because you're not Welsh or something like that", she left *Ysgol 1* and went to the English-medium school instead. Thus one of Tina's three elder siblings had rejected Welsh and Welsh-medium education, and when it was time for Tina to choose a secondary school her parents suggested she went to the English-medium school. However, after going to the two school open evenings, Tina opted for *Ysgol 1* just like her three older siblings. Otherwise Tina's language practices at primary school seem to resemble those of Claire's.

For example, Tina responds: “yeah and me” to Claire’s story cited above about Claire only speaking Welsh even to teachers if they shouted at her. A couple of turns later Tina then proceeds to express her experience in her own words: “I spoke English to all the teachers and all the pupils but if I got a row then I spoke Welsh.” This same preference emerges when the group discusses what language they would speak at home in the future, at which point Tina responds laconically: “English I’d’ve thought.”

When it comes to Tina’s friends, her questionnaire responses are wholly consistent with her language choices at home: she speaks no Welsh with any of her friends at school, including her three closest friends, who are also schoolfriends. The same applies to friends in general. Although Tina’s preferences for English are very similar to those expressed by Claire, they are sometimes subtle differences. For example, Claire tells a story where she says that she didn’t read Welsh when she was stopped on the street by a lady conducting a survey in town, “’cause I knew she’d start speaking Welsh to me”. Tina’s response to Claire’s story is: “no I don’t do that I I do actually s- I do say I can speak fluently and all that”. In response to another story told by Sally about her talking to the ‘wrong’ people in Welsh by accident, Tina says “I did that the other day”, to which Claire responds: “[Tina] goes *byth*, *pam* all the time” (*byth* “never”, *pam* “why”). A couple of turns later, Tina also adds that sometimes she gets stuck and cannot think of the English word either at home or at work. Her own concluding comment to not being able to find the right word is: “and I don’t actually know for some reason I don’t know it’s a bit weird.” Otherwise, Tina’s preference for English appears to be a consistent one.

Sally

Sally’s father speaks no Welsh, but her mother has learnt Welsh as an adult and is a fluent Welsh speaker. Neither of Sally’s living grandparents speak any Welsh, but all of her brothers and sisters are fluent Welsh speakers, apart from the youngest who is a preschooler. Besides reporting that she speaks Welsh sometimes at mealtimes, Sally speaks no Welsh at home. The fact that Sally’s 3-year-old sister only speaks a little Welsh also seems to suggest that little Welsh is spoken at home. However, in the group discussion one comment Sally makes suggests that she does sometimes speak Welsh at home. Although she

first tells the others: “I feel such a twat ’cause I start stuttering ’cause I get nervous” when she speaks with Welsh people in Welsh, a little later she says: “when I’m at home I’m okay ’cause it’s mostly sort of *o helo shw mae shw mae* [...] I can do that that’s fine.” The words in Welsh are delivered in a parrot-like tone of voice and the actual words she says are simple Welsh greetings. The parrot-like voicing seems to suggest that these phrases are said without much thought and this is then contrasted with a different situation where Sally lacks confidence in speaking Welsh: “but if I have to come across and explain something oh my God I’m bad enough at that in English let alone in Welsh”. Otherwise, there is one other situation, where Sally seems more comfortable speaking Welsh (perhaps also in the company of other family members): “I like speaking when I’m abroad”, to which Tina replies: “yeah it’s great doing that because they haven’t got a clue what you’re saying.”

Like Tina, Katy and to a large extent Claire, Sally has grown up locally and gone to a Welsh-medium (or bilingual) school. Both Sally’s brothers also went to *Ysgol 1*, yet one of them had problems settling in and was nearly moved in the first form “because he found the Welsh really difficult he wasn’t any good at Welsh”. Despite his discouraging experience, Sally was adamant that she wanted to go there, and she also says her 10-year-old younger brother “is desperate to come here already”.

In the questionnaire, Sally reports that she sometimes speaks Welsh at school and outside school with friends in general, yet she only speaks English with her four closest friends. As indicated above, her preference to speak English to everyone is at least partly due to her lack of confidence to speak Welsh, which emerges on more than one occasion in the group discussions.

Katy

Katy has grown up in the town where *Ysgol 1* is situated and she has been in bilingual education right the way through. Katy is also the only participant in this group who has a family background where all the family members are fluent Welsh speakers, including all her grandparents. It does not follow, however, that her family only speak Welsh together. It is noteworthy, for example, that she only sometimes speaks Welsh to her two younger sisters. Yet when the group are discussing brothers and sisters going to *Ysgol 1* or *Ysgol 2*, Sally

comments on one of Katy's younger sisters: "oh can you imagine [Rhian] anywhere else but speaking Welsh?", to which Katy replies "no I know". Evidently at least one of Katy's younger sisters is seen to prefer speaking Welsh, even though Katy does not speak Welsh to her all the time. On a separate occasion, when the group are discussing what language they would speak in their respective future homes, Katy mentions her father winding her sisters up: "if they start speaking English to him he'll say what, pardon, sorry, [...] or he'll repeat it in Welsh." Besides being a wind-up (Katy's interpretation), it also appears to be a possible strategy to mark one's language preferences. In fact, Sally also says that Katy's father has indicated his preference to speak Welsh despite her reluctance. Sally cites him (in a persuasive tone of voice) as saying: "[Sally] why don't you speak Welsh to me?" Katy accounts for her father's behaviour thus: "he's not used to s- he doesn't he can't basically he can speak English just not very well". A little more will be said about the language of the home below.

When it comes to friends, Katy always speaks Welsh to her closest friend, but not to her other closest friends, who are also schoolfriends. In the focus group discussion, when they are talking about the language in which they speak to each other, Sally says to Katy: "like you would speak Welsh at home whereas I couldn't to you in Welsh no way 'cause I never have", to which Katy replies "no I always speak only English to you". Given Claire's and Tina's general reluctance to speak Welsh to anyone, it seems even less likely that Katy would speak Welsh to them than to Sally. Despite Katy not speaking Welsh to the other members of this group, she reports that she often speaks Welsh to friends in general both at school and outside. In the group discussion she tells the others: "I speak Welsh, fine I speak Welsh with some people and I speak English with others" as a preface to her complaint that she hates "people like [Ifan]" (from focus group 1) speaking English to her even after she has replied in Welsh, just because she hangs around with the others. In fact, Katy remarks on another occasion: "before I came to, [Ysgol 1], and I started hanging around with you lot I used to speak Welsh constantly". Thus it becomes evident that Katy's dominant language at school has changed, yet she does not always want to be treated as only a member of the English group.

On another occasion Katy tells the others that she is almost like two different people when she speaks English and Welsh: “when I’m speaking English I’m like you know me like [Katy]”, which she then contrasts with how she is when she speaks Welsh: “I’m really, sort of, probably the Welshie basically”. She concludes this particular episode with the words: “I enjoy it I I love speaking Welsh I’m sorry”, after which she buries her head in her hands almost as if in shame (c.f. except 2 in §3.2.1 for a fuller transcription). Apparently Katy sees speaking Welsh like “a Welshie” almost as an act of disloyalty to the others, since she feels obliged to apologise (albeit in a somewhat dramatic and jocular fashion). This divide between worlds also comes to light on another occasion when Katy contrasts home and school: “I speak Welsh at home, but then I come to school and I just switch straight away”. It also emerges from the continuation of this episode that Katy’s boyfriend Cynan is Welsh-speaking too, and that they always speak Welsh together: “this week now we’ll’ve been off school been with [Cynan] all weekend, and I’ll be speaking Welsh all the time the whole week, I’ll come back here, and I’ll, put Welsh words in with my English sentences”. Hence, here Katy seems to construct her life outside school, at home and with her boyfriend as a Welsh speaker, and her life at school particularly within this group as an English speaker. Along with this split there appear to be underlying tensions and divided loyalties, not least illustrated by her complaint about “people like [Ifan]” cited above.

Towards a Group Profile

None of these four pupils returned the additional questionnaire sheet, where they were asked to name their closest friends, and neither did they keep language diaries. Consequently, there is no conclusive evidence from the main questionnaire to indicate whether these particular pupils are close friends or what language they normally use with each other. However, all four pupils have at least three closest (school¹⁵⁵) friends to whom they always speak English. It is therefore not inconceivable that they each have the other three focus group members in mind. Furthermore, strong evidence from the video recordings suggests that they hang around together and are in fact close friends, who furthermore

¹⁵⁵ Sally is the only one who omitted to note in her questionnaire which of her closest friends were school friends (unless none of them were, in which case there is no accidental omission).

normally always speak English to each other. On numerous occasions they portray themselves as a group, for example through the juxtaposition of personal pronouns, as well as calling themselves an English group. Indeed, before their first focus group discussion when I tell the group they can speak in whichever language they wish, Katy tells me that she has been informed by Gwenhwyfar that “it was a, Welsh group, before or something, they’ve had Welsh and now they want English.” By responding in this way to Gwenhwyfar’s request and interpellation, the group also performatively construct themselves as an English group. The fact that it is Katy, the only member of the group who is happy to speak Welsh, that responds in this way is also noteworthy. Although the whole group generally speak of a divide between Welsh and English groups, they acknowledge (particularly Katy) that they still socialise with the Welsh group: “there isn’t as much as a divide as us as other schools, if you get what I mean it’s usually just Welsh and English but then still, we mix with the Welsh people and they mix with us.” Here Katy compares groupings at *Ysgol 1* with those of other schools, and although she goes on to exemplify who they mix with in the “Welsh group” (Ifan, for example), Katy places herself and the other three in the English group through her use of the personal pronouns “we”, “they” and “us”.

To summarise the language practices of this group, one could say that in contrast to focus group 1, English is the dominant language at home and among friends for all pupils apart from Katy, who belongs to the English group at school, but also socialises in Welsh outside school.

Finally, all four pupils chose the English-language questionnaire, though it must be said that I did produce the English version first and then offer the Welsh one (which they all declined).

6.2.3 Focus Group 3

Both the third and fourth focus groups were recruited two years after the first two and in a different manner, which has been described fully in §4.2.2. However, in common with focus group 2, this group is also made up of girls, though there are five participants in this case rather than four.

All the group members but one (Louise) returned their supplementary questionnaire and also kept language diaries for at least two days. Llinos

		Interlocutor & usual language of communication (Welsh/English)																
		Family									Friends							
Respondent ↓		mother	father	mealtimes	sibling 1	sibling 2	sibling 3	grandmother	maternal grandmother	maternal grandfather	paternal grandmother	paternal grandfather	friend 1	friend 2	friend 3	friend 4	friends in general	friends at school
	Carys	e	E	e	E	e	-	W	-	-	-	-	e	e	w	w	e	w
	Louise	E	e	e	E	E	e	E	E	W	W	E	e	w	w	e	w	
	Llinos	W	W	W	W	-	-	e	w	W	W	W	W	W	w	w	w	w
	Amy	W	W	W	W	-	-	W	W	e	-	W	W	W	W	w	W	
	Martha	W	W	W	W	-	-	-	-	W	-	W	W	W	w	W	W	

Fig. 27 Focus Group 3: The frequency of Welsh used in communication with various interlocutors (or in certain situations)

in fact kept a detailed diary for eight days. To a large extent this focus group also ran their own agenda in two full-hour recording sessions, which generated a good deal of personal information about their

		Interlocutor & usual language of communication				
		Carys	Louise	Llinos	Amy	Martha
Respondent ↓	Carys		e	e	e	e
	Llinos	w/e	w		W	W
	Amy	e	w	W		W
	Martha	e	e	W	W	

Fig. 28 The frequency of Welsh used in communication between members of focus group 3

language practices and values. Thus the sources of data for this group have provided the fullest and most comprehensive picture. For this

reason, there is generally a more detailed language profile for the individuals of this group.

Carys

According to Carys's main questionnaire, both of Carys's parents are likely to be first language Welsh speakers, since neither of them have learnt Welsh as adults and both sets of grandparents are/were fluent Welsh speakers. However, Carys's paternal grandmother seems to be the only grandparent still alive, and she is the only family member with whom Carys always speaks Welsh. This is also confirmed by Carys in the group discussion. Thus despite her family all being fluent Welsh speakers, Carys only speaks Welsh sometimes to her mother and younger sister, but never to her father or elder brother. Carys's two-day language diary has four entries involving family members, three of which are solely in English and one of which, breakfast with her sister, was completely in Welsh. In the group discussion, after Amy has said that her parents no longer speak Welsh at home together, Carys responds: *ie dyna teulu fi* "yeah that's my family", by which she means neither do her parents. Yet on another occasion Martha claims in a jocular fashion that Carys's parents speak Welsh to her, but Carys replies in English. This tease attracts considerable amusement from the others, but receives a pofaced response from Carys: *dw i ddim yn [Martha]!* "I don't [Martha]!". However, when Martha proceeds to mention a particular occasion when they were all in the car together, Carys explains herself thus: *ie yn y car o blae- o blaen ti!* "yeah in the car in fro- in front of you!". After Martha reiterates the tease, Carys changes tack and gives a different account: *achos ma' jyst naturiol siarad Saesneg* "because it's just natural to speak English". A few turns later, a diachronic dimension opens up, when Amy suggests that it has been like that since Carys was little, to which Carys responds: *wel na dim yn wir pan o'n i'n fach o'n i'n siarad Cymraeg* "well no not true when I was little I spoke Welsh"¹⁵⁶. Carys then proceeds to explain why she thinks this all changed: *achos, ffrindie fi, pan o'n i'n, llai, yn [ysgol gynradd] o' ni gyd yn Saesneg* "because of, my friends, when I was, smaller, at [primary school] we were all English

¹⁵⁶ This also comes up on another occasion when Carys says that she spoke Welsh all the time at home until the age of seven or eight. It also emerges in the same sequence that she was reminded of this when she watched an old family video where she was speaking Welsh to her sister.

(speaking)". Hence, she attributes the change to peer-group pressure at a young age. This neatly brings us to the language Carys speaks with her friends.

According to the main questionnaire, Carys tends to speak mostly English, although all her friends are fluent Welsh speakers. However, Carys does have two school friends with whom she often speaks Welsh and she also reports that she often speaks Welsh to schoolfriends in general, but only sometimes to friends outside school. In Carys's supplementary questionnaire, she lists all four of the other focus group members as her closest friends, but here she notes that she only sometimes speaks Welsh to all of them. Thus there may be a small discrepancy between the two questionnaires, or the lists of friends may be a little different. According to Llinos's language diary, on the two occasions where Llinos speaks to both Carys and Louise, they speak either English or mainly English, yet if the whole group meet up, the language tends to be Welsh and English. This pattern also matches entries in both Martha's and Amy's diaries and perhaps two entries in Carys's diary where the group of schoolfriends mentioned are not specifically named.

If we turn to the group discussions, one of the most revealing sequences involves Martha calling Carys to give an account once again for not speaking Welsh. Martha says that she gets the impression that Carys does not want to speak Welsh, so Martha speaks English to her, but she wonders if her impression is perhaps wrong (*'falle bod e'n anghywir*). After a delay in answering, which prompts the others to suggest reasons, Carys then says: *fi ddim moyn si-, fi yn moyn siarad Cymraeg* "I don't want to sp-, I do want to speak Welsh", after which Louise suggests: *on' ma' ti ddim yn bothered amdano fe* "but you isn't aren't *bothered* about it". However, Carys rejects Louise's account and offers her own: *nage dim 'na yw e o gwblw rili, fi ddim yn hyderus yn siarad Cymraeg, fi'n well yn siarad Saesneg* "no that's not it at all really, I'm not confident speaking Welsh, I'm better at speaking English". It is at this point that Louise first makes a suggestion that they all speak Welsh together (c.f. Louise's profile below). In other words, in order to improve Carys's confidence in speaking Welsh.

Despite a lack of confidence, which Carys mentions on more than one occasion, Carys shows that she still has a commitment to Welsh. Firstly,

when Louise tries to make a three-way categorisation of the group according to their stance on Welsh, she attempts to align herself with Carys, with Martha at the other end of the scale as most passionate about Welsh. However, Carys responds in English: “well I dunno” and when Amy then says that she loves Welsh too, Carys responds: *ie* “yeah” with some emphasis. The second and more significant factor is that Carys joins Martha in the Urdd weekend trip to the organisation’s activity centre at Llangrannog, where Carys spoke only Welsh to friends, looked after younger children swimming and spoke mainly Welsh to them. The main object of such activities is to promote the use of Welsh among children and young people.

Louise

Louise is the only group member not to have returned her supplementary questionnaire or language diary. Nevertheless, a comprehensive picture emerges from the others’ language diaries and supplementary questionnaires, coupled with Louise’s main questionnaire and the video recordings.

Starting with the main questionnaire, Louise’s maternal grandparents speak Welsh and consequently her mother has only learnt a little Welsh as an adult. Not surprisingly, Louise reports that she never speaks Welsh to either of them. Nevertheless, Louise does note that her mother speaks Welsh to Louise’s niece and she cites her mother speaking Welsh: *ew’ ni lan y grisie i gweld [Louise] [...] ‘drycha gwisgo shoes nawr* “let’s go upstairs to see [Louise] [...] look put on shoes now”. Louise’s father, on the other hand, appears to be a first language Welsh speaker, since he has not learnt Welsh as an adult and both of his parents are fluent Welsh speakers. Louise always speaks Welsh to her paternal grandparents, and sometimes speaks Welsh to her father. All of Louise’s siblings are also fluent Welsh speakers, but she never speaks Welsh to her elder siblings and only sometimes to the youngest (probably the brother referred to below). However, in the group discussions, Louise reveals that what she speaks at home to others does not necessarily match up with what others speak:

fi’n teimlo yn bad ambell waith adre achos ma’ dad fi’n siarad Cymrâg i brawd fi a ma’ brawd fi jyst yn siarad Cymrâg i pawb adre heblaw mam fi ma’ brawd fi ddim yn dda iawn yn Saesneg, like, ond (raid ym) ma’ dad fi ambell waith yn siarad Cymrâg i fi a fi’n ateb e yn Saesneg fi ddim yn siarad Cymrâg gyda fe, fi jys’ methu achos fi methu siarad Cymraeg i fe o gwbl

I sometimes feel *bad* at home because my dad speaks Welsh to my brother and my brother just speaks Welsh to everyone at home apart from my mum my brother isn't very good at English, *like*, but (has/have to¹⁵⁷ uhm) my dad sometimes speaks Welsh to me and I answer him in English I don't speak Welsh with him, I jus' can't because I can't speak Welsh to him at all

A few turns later Louise then illustrates this by reenacting two separate situations with two-part dialogues between her and her father, in which he speaks Welsh and she replies either in English or just “pardon?” because she couldn't understand him at all (*o'n i methu deall e o gwbl*).

Although Louise says she cannot speak Welsh to her father, this is not an expression of her lack of ability, but it is more likely to be a question of what she feels most comfortable with. A few turns after Llinos has said that she is more comfortable in Welsh and that she is better at standard Welsh, Louise says: *iaith gynta fi yw Saesneg so 'na pam fi mwy cyffyrddus yno fe ond fi wedi dysgu Cymrâg yn digon safonol i* “my first language is English so that's why I'm more comfortable in it but I've learnt Welsh to a high enough level¹⁵⁸ to”. Louise does not complete her utterance because of Llinos's overlapping comment that Louise has learnt it well. This causes Louise to rephrase: *ie fi gallu byddwn i gallu deall unrwbeth bydde rhywun yn rhoi i fi yn Cymrâg, neu yn Saesneg*, basically “yeah I can I'd be able to understand anything anyone put to me in Welsh, or in English, *basically*”. Interestingly there has been a shift from Llinos's preceding statement, where she talks about *speaking* standard Welsh, to *understanding* Welsh or English.

Nevertheless, in a different context, where the group are discussing whether they are satisfied with their upbringing as far as language is concerned, Amy has just said that she is happy with her upbringing (*fi'n hapus gyda magwraeth fi*), which has mostly been in Welsh. Louise then goes on to say: *ie fi'n hapus gyda'r ddau iaith achos fi gallu siarad yn rhugyl yn Cymrâg a'n Saesneg* “yeah I'm happy with both languages because I can speak fluently in Welsh and in English”, at which point

¹⁵⁷ It is impossible to guess what the subject is here, because in the Welsh construction, which is not completed, necessity is expressed by means of an impersonal construction (*mae*) *rhaid* “it is necessary” + prepositional phrase, *i* “to” + personal pronoun.

¹⁵⁸ Here Louise recycles the Welsh adjective/adverb *safonol* “standard” which Llinos used earlier (c.f. quotation under Llinos's profile below). Translated literally the Welsh reads: “*I've learnt Welsh standard enough to”.

Carys chimes in and says: *ie a fi* “yes and me”. Louise then concludes: *ie* [...] *a fi'n teimlo'n cyfforddus yn y ddau iaith rili* “yeah [...] and I feel comfortable in both languages really”. Unlike Louise’s statement above, she now says she’s comfortable in both languages, which on the surface seems contradictory. However, the contexts need to be examined carefully here. In the latter case, it is a matter of expressing whether one is satisfied with one’s linguistic ‘lot’, and since Louise is, the advantages of being fluent and comfortable in both languages are expressed in support of this statement, even though the final *rili* “really” may signal a slight degree of uncertainty. Yet if we contrast this context with the former, in one of the intervening turns between Llinos saying that she is a lot more comfortable in Welsh and Louise saying she is more comfortable in English, Amy has talked about making her provisional driving licence application in Welsh. Here Amy has said that although Welsh is her first language, she was unfamiliar with the Welsh terms and had to check them against the English version. Moreover, when they return to the subject of driving later on, Louise brings up her uncertainty about doing her driving test in Welsh even though she has a “*Welsh driving instructor*”. Pieced together with the fact that Louise also chose to fill in the English version of the questionnaire, there are two possible explanatory factors which emerge here: a preference for form filling in English and the unfamiliarity with Welsh terms to do with driving. In this context it seems, Louise is more comfortable with English.

When it comes to friends, both Louise and Carys tend to speak mostly English, though both have school friends with whom they often speak Welsh. All of their closest friends are fluent Welsh speakers with the exception of Louise’s best friend who knows no Welsh. The latter is also the only friend that Louise never speaks Welsh to. It is very likely that this is Louise’s boyfriend, whom she speaks of a few times in the group discussions and who we learn speaks no Welsh (apart from the odd phrase). In the first group discussion, Amy says that she speaks English to Louise at school, but that Louise always sends text messages to her in Welsh, which Louise then confirms in a chuckly voice: *ie fi wastad yn tecsio hi yn Cymraeg* “yeah I always text her in Welsh”, accompanied by a reaction of surprise from Llinos: seriously, *wir!* “*seriously, really!*” Amy’s and Louise’s amusement, coupled with Llinos’s surprise, indicates that one might expect them to be in the language in which they

usually speak together, i.e. English. Although Louise herself kept no language diary, there is one entry in Llinos's diary which involved only Louise and this is recorded as being mainly in Welsh. Hence there may, nevertheless, be some variation. Indeed, both Llinos's and Amy's supplementary questionnaire say that they often speak Welsh to Louise.

One more ethnographic detail I can add here about Louise's language practices is that when I asked for Louise's help to find Batman (from focus group 4), she made enquiries with friends in the 6th form common room in Welsh and she then telephoned him on her mobile and spoke to him in Welsh too.

Finally, it is Louise who suggests in the second discussion session that the group speak only Welsh together for a day. Anyone who starts a conversation in English is to pay a 10p fine to be donated to charity. Thus Louise does show some degree of commitment to the Welsh language. Yet in the same stretch of talk that is referred to above, where Martha declares her level of commitment to the Welsh language, Louise remarks in response to a comment that Amy also loves the language: "*I'm not so passionate about it*". This is also a notable case of medium suspension, which underlines Louise's divergent stance. The fact that Louise code-switches to English at this point is all the more significant, since Amy (and Carys) have just realigned themselves to some degree and joined in with Martha's declaration of commitment to Welsh.

Llinos

According to the questionnaire, Llinos always speaks Welsh with all her immediate family. In the first group discussion Llinos also says: *ma' rhieni fi ni ddim yn siarad Saesneg o gwbl* "my parents we don't speak English at all". In common with Amy, Llinos speaks only Welsh with one set of grandparents. However, since Llinos's maternal grandmother speaks only some Welsh, Llinos consequently only sometimes speaks Welsh to her, but she often speaks Welsh to her maternal grandfather who is a fluent Welsh speaker. In the second group discussion, Llinos tells of her first experiences of having to try and speak English to her "nanna", when her maternal grandparents came to visit. It is clear from the way she talks of her fumbling attempts to speak English, including saying the wrong words (*dweud y geirïe* wrong), she now finds her earlier frustration amusing. According to Llinos's detailed and carefully written eight-day language diary, on all seven entries but one, Llinos

notes that they spoke only Welsh. The only exception involves Llinos's sister, where they spoke mainly Welsh together.

To return to the group discussion, one of the questions that this group talk about is whether there could be any disadvantage of going to *Ysgol I*, as opposed to an English-medium school. One aspect that Llinos takes up is that although she will say she is bilingual, she is really worried now (*fi rili yn poeni nawr*) about going off to college and sitting in lectures in English not understanding anything, which she acts out at the same time in body language with a shocked but vacant look on her face. She returns to this matter about five minutes later in the discussion, when they are talking about the need to be able to speak both languages in the service sector, not just Welsh but also English:

fi'n teimlo inbalance o Cymrâg, a Saesneg ar gefn mewn application form neu os ma' rhywun yn gofyn i fi bydda i'n dweud bydd- y fi'n bilingual, ond eto fi'n lot fwy cyffyrddus yn y iaith Gymrâg a fi'n gallu siarad lot fwy safonol yn y iaith Gymrâg

I feel an *inbalance* of Welsh, and English on the back of an *application form* or if someone asks me I'll say I'll uh I'm *bilingual*, but again I'm a lot more comfortable in the Welsh language and my spoken language is a lot more standard in Welsh¹⁵⁹

Thus it becomes apparent that Llinos is more confident when it comes to understanding and speaking standard Welsh than standard English in formal situations such as lectures, application forms and the world of work.

If we now turn to the language Llinos speaks to friends, Welsh also appears to be the dominant or at least a frequently used language both with her closest friends, and also with friends in general both at school and outside school. Llinos differs only in degree to Martha and Amy, in that she tends to speak Welsh often rather than always to friends in general. If one compares Llinos's responses on the supplementary questionnaire where all the other members of this group are listed among her closest friends, they match Martha's and Amy's closely, yet there is a slight discrepancy as regards Louise and Carys. Llinos seems to speak more Welsh to Louise than Martha and more Welsh to Carys than either Martha or Amy so. In the group discussion, however, Llinos chimes in with Amy, when she says that she feels more comfortable speaking English to Louise and Carys (c.f. Amy's profile below). If we look at the

¹⁵⁹ Literally: “*I can speak a lot more standard in the Welsh language.”

evidence from Llinos's comprehensive language diary, the one entry for Louise alone was mainly in Welsh, whereas the two entries involving both Louise and Carys were either mainly in English or solely in English. In the latter case, this was until Martha and Amy arrived five minutes later, when the language then changed to Welsh and English. The two other occasions which include all five friends are noted as mainly in Welsh and in Welsh and English, respectively. This contrasts with one entry for Martha alone plus two entries for both Martha and Amy, which were solely in Welsh. Among the other friends Llinos meets, there is only one (Sioned, whose house Llinos stays at) to whom Llinos only speaks English, but this shifts to mainly English on two occasions, that is when they meet up with a third friend, Aled. Out of the four general diary entries marked schoolfriends or talking to others in the 6th form common room, three are marked as being in Welsh and English and one mainly in Welsh. Furthermore, there are entries for two organised activities outside school: drama practice and choir practice, both of which have two diary entries each and both of which are solely in Welsh.

Amy

According to the main questionnaire, the language of Amy's immediate family is solidly Welsh. However, it emerges from the discussion data that Amy's father's family moved to Wales when he was only three. As result, her father speaks Welsh fluently, but his mother only speaks quite well. Probably as a result, Amy only sometimes speaks Welsh to her paternal grandmother, whereas she always speaks Welsh to her maternal grandparents. In fact, in the group discussion, Amy explains that speaking English to her paternal grandmother helped her to learn English: *fi'n credu, fi 'di ca'l y help yn, y:: siarad Saesneg achos o'n i wastad yn siarad Saesneg gyda mam-gu* "I think, I've had uh help in, uh:: speaking English because I always spoke English to my grandma".

Out of the seven entries in Amy's language diary involving other family members, five are reported as being solely in Welsh, and two were in Welsh and English. Of the latter two, one involved a visit from Amy's uncle, and one was supper with her parents, the only mealtime where both parents were present at the same time. In fact, Amy notes that since doing the questionnaire, she realises that her parents speak English together a lot (*fi'n sylweddoli bo' mam a dad yn siarad saesneg ei gilydd lot*). Furthermore, she revises slightly the language in which she speaks

to her dad: *fi'n switsio i'r saesneg gyda fe'n amal* "I often switch to English with him". Nevertheless, Amy's dad shows a degree of commitment to Welsh, when Amy speaks English to her cousin:

ma' dad wastad yn roi row i fi am siarad ym, Saesneg gyda cousins fi [...] 'chos ma' fe wastad fel na siarad Cymraeg i nw acho' ma' nw'n siarad Cymraeg a nei di helpu nw i dysgu

dad always give me a row for speaking uhm, English to my cousins [...] 'cause he's always like no speak Welsh to them 'cause they speak Welsh and you'll help them to learn

When it comes to Amy's friends, there is also a slight discrepancy between the main questionnaire and Amy's supplementary questionnaire, in that Amy reports that she always speaks Welsh with two friends, but often to two friends in the former. Thus one of the two friends whom she often speaks Welsh to appears to be changed to only sometimes in the supplementary questionnaire (indeed if the friends referred to are the same on both lists). In any case, those whom she does not always speak Welsh to match those on Martha's list, i.e. Louise and Carys, for whom she reports often and sometimes, respectively. This pattern is compatible with Amy's two-day language diary, where she speaks only Welsh to Martha and Llinos over lunch, but when all of the group are present in the 6th form common room, they speak Welsh and English. Furthermore, in the first focus group discussion Amy says:

'falle bod e'n wael (arno) fi ond fi'n teimlo yn fwy, confident, dim confident, comfortable yn siarad Saesneg i [Louise] a [Carys] na byddwn i'n siarad Cymraeg i nw

maybe it's bad of me but I feel more, *confident*, not *confident*, *comfortable* speaking English to [Louise] and [Carys] I wouldn't speak Welsh to them

In response to this, Llinos chimes in and says: *i chi dou*, definite "to you two, definite(ly)". Thus not only does Louise seem to prefer to speak English with Amy, but Amy (and Llinos) also feel more comfortable doing so. However, this is prefaced by "maybe it's bad of me", which expresses her not being entirely at ease either with her actions or with admitting this, at least in the present company. On another occasion, Amy points out that with Carys she is not alone in speaking English: *os y' ni'n cwrdd â [Carys] tu allan ysgol bydde' ni'n awtomatigly siarad Saesneg 'da hi* "If we meet [Carys] outside school we'd *automatically* speak Welsh to her."

As regards Amy's boyfriend, Gareth, who appears in two entries in her language diary, they speak only Welsh together on both occasions. In

the group discussion, Amy also says that to start with they sent text messages to each other in English, but “*just like out of the blue*” she questioned why they did this, and since neither of them knew, they started writing them in Welsh from then on. Amy also mentions that her dad always speaks Welsh to Gareth.

Martha

Like Llinos and Amy, Martha is also from a solidly Welsh-speaking home. According to Martha’s main questionnaire, there are no exceptions, and the three language diary entries including family members are also noted as being wholly in Welsh. According to the group discussion, after Amy has been talking about her parents speaking a lot of English together, Martha also reveals that she would get a row for speaking English (*’swn i’n ca’l row am siarad Saesneg*).

In the second group discussion, when the others are talking about the need to praise and encourage learners of Welsh, Martha remarks: *’sneb yn gweud da iawn i fi am ddysgu Saesneg* “no one says well done to me for learning English”, and shortly after she develops this point further: *fel ail iaith yw e i fi* second language *yw e i fi* “to me it’s a second language it’s a second language to me”. The example of code-switching (medium suspension) in the second quotation serves to emphasise Martha’s point. Apart from English being her second language, it emerges time and time again that Welsh is her preferred language, expressed most succinctly in the following quotation: *Cymrâg yw iaith fi naturiol a Cymrâg fi’n gyfforddus yno* “Welsh is my natural language and it’s Welsh I’m comfortable in.” On another occasion Martha even goes as far as to say: *sa i’n gallu siarad Saesneg fi methu siarad Saesneg* “I can’t speak English I’m not able to speak English”, which is immediately challenged by Amy (and later by Carys too). Thus a few turns later, Martha is obliged to modify this to: *does dim diddordeb i fi siarad Saesneg ddim moyn siarad Saesneg* “I’m not interested in speaking English don’t want to speak English”.

When it comes to friends, there may be a discrepancy between the frequency of Welsh spoken to Martha’s best friends in the main questionnaire and the supplementary questionnaire. In the former, Martha reports that she always speaks Welsh to all her friends bar one and always to friends in general. In the latter, on the other hand, where she names all the other members of this focus group, she notes that she

only sometimes speaks Welsh to Louise and Carys. This discrepancy may be due to the fact that the lists do not refer to exactly the same friends, but this is speculation. In any case, according to Martha's two-day language diary, the entries which include Amy and Llinos are solely in Welsh, as well as one including Louise. The only exception is one entry that also includes Carys in the 6th form common room where they are noted as having spoken English and Welsh.

In the focus group discussions, however, Martha expresses her personal preference for Welsh on a few occasions, for example: *bydde well i fi siar- fi fi'n moyn siarad Cymrâg gyda [Louise] a [Carys] achos na ma' nw'n siarad Cymrâg nôl* "I'd better spea- I I want to speak Welsh to [Louise] and [Carys] because they don't speak Welsh back." There is no causal link as one might expect after the conjunction *achos* "because"¹⁶⁰, but rather the effect of this comment is a mild criticism of Louise and Carys. This complaint is said with a chuckling voice and is accompanied with a lot of laughter from everyone except for Carys (see Carys's profile above for her response). On another occasion after Martha's stance on English has repeatedly been challenged by the others and she tells the others to stop picking on her, Martha gives a fuller account of her passion for Welsh:

fi moyn neud yn siwr bod yr iaith yn ca'l ei chario ymlaen [...] fi moyn joino cymdeithase fel hyn er mwyn, bod yn rhan o'r f- fatha cymdeithas, sy'n, fel gyfrifol am hybu'r iaith yn y dyfodol [...] fel, fi moyn neud j- swydd, gobeithio gyda'r Urdd 'falle, sy'n myn' i hybu plant i siarad Cymraeg [...]

I want to make sure that the language is carried on [...] I want to join societies like that to, be part of the s- sort of society, that's, like responsible for promoting the language in the future [...] I want to do a j- work, I hope with the Urdd perhaps, which will encourage children to speak Welsh

The sort of society Martha is referring to here is the Welsh Language Society, which is a pressure group working actively to extend the use of Welsh and the rights of Welsh speakers to use Welsh. Their methods do also involve breaking the law on occasion. Hence, Martha's passion and commitment for Welsh embraces the values of the Welsh Language Society¹⁶¹, which the others are not prepared to go along with, despite

¹⁶⁰ However, the causal link seems to fit in better with how Martha starts off her turn: "I'd better speak [English?] [...] because they don't speak Welsh back".

¹⁶¹ The Welsh Language Society is an organisation of Welsh language activists, campaigning for Welsh to be an official language, etc. etc.

Amy's declaration here that she also loves the language (*fi'n caru'r iaith hefyd*). Another expression of Martha's commitment to Welsh is her intended career with an organisation like the Urdd, which is a Welsh youth organisation, one of whose central aims is to promote the use of Welsh. In fact, one of Martha's diary entries involves accompanying a group of younger Urdd members on a Sunday, together with Carys, to the Urdd activity centre at Llangrannog.

Towards a Group Profile

All of the pupils in focus group 3 were born locally and have attended bilingual or Welsh-medium education throughout their schooling. More closely related to their 'group status', one of the most important findings is that the four returned supplementary questionnaires named the other four among their five closest friends, confirming that the members of this focus group indeed constitute a group of friends. This is also borne out by the many entries in the four returned language diaries, which specifically name the others in various constellations, including at least five entries where all the group members are present.

Furthermore, the language diaries provide further support for the language patterns revealed in the questionnaires. To sum things up, Carys indicates a higher frequency for speaking English to the other group members than Llinos, Amy and Martha, who always tend to speak Welsh to each other, unless they all meet together as a group. In the latter case the language tends to be mixed, both English and Welsh. Although Louise did not return her questionnaire or diary, the four who did all show a reduced tendency to speak Welsh to her than to all the others with the exception of Carys, a pattern which is supported both in the diaries and the group discussions. The preferred language between Louise and Carys is undoubtedly English.

Finally, Carys and Louise chose to fill in the English version of the questionnaire, whereas the others filled in the Welsh version. This also matches rather neatly Carys's and Louise's more frequent use of English at home and with friends. However, the language of the four returned diaries does not neatly conform to this mould, since all four, including Carys's, were written in Welsh.

6.2.4 Focus Group 4

Whereas focus groups 2 and 3 comprised only girls, group 4 is made up of four boys.

		Interlocutor & usual language of communication (Welsh/English)															
		Family										Friends					
		<i>mother</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>mealtime</i>	<i>sibling 1</i>	<i>sibling 2</i>	<i>sibling 3</i>	<i>grandmother</i>	<i>maternal grandfather</i>	<i>maternal grandmother</i>	<i>paternal grandfather</i>	<i>paternal grandmother</i>	<i>friend 1</i>	<i>friend 2</i>	<i>friend 3</i>	<i>friend 4</i>	<i>friends in general</i>
Respondent ↓		E	W	w	E	w	-	E	E	W	W	e	e	e	W	w	w
<i>Batman</i>		W	E	w	w	W	-	e	E	E	W	e	e	W	W	w	w
<i>Action Man</i>		w	W	W	E	-	-	E	-	e	-	E	E	W	w	w	e
<i>Wesley</i>		W	W	W	W	-	-	W	W	W	W	W	w	W	W	w	W
<i>Cornilov</i>																	

Fig. 29 Focus Group 4: The frequency of Welsh used in communication with various interlocutors (or in certain situations)

Only two pupils from this focus group returned the supplementary questionnaire and submitted language diaries: Batman and Cornilov. The results of the former appear in figure 30 below.

		Interlocutor & usual language of communication			
		<i>Batman</i>	<i>Action Man</i>	<i>Wesley</i>	<i>Cornilov</i>
Respondent ↓					
<i>Batman</i>			e	W	W
<i>Cornilov</i>		W	W	W	

Fig. 30 The frequency of Welsh used in communication between members of focus group 4

Batman

Apart from Cornilov, Batman was the only other member of this focus group to return a supplementary questionnaire and a language diary. However, the latter is only for one day and contains only two entries for spoken activities.

Of Batman's parents only his father is a fluent Welsh speaker. His mother, on the other hand, speaks some Welsh, after having learnt it as an adult. Their differing ability to speak Welsh is also reflected by the fact that Batman always speaks Welsh to his father but never to his mother. Yet Batman reports that he often speaks Welsh at family mealtimes. Since both of Batman's paternal grandparents are fluent Welsh speakers, his father is likely to have Welsh as his first language. Whereas Batman speaks only Welsh to his paternal grandparents, he speaks only English to his maternal grandparents, neither of whom know more than a little Welsh. Although his 14-year-old brother speaks fluent Welsh, Batman speaks only English to him. Batman's younger brother of preschool age only speaks some Welsh as yet, but in contrast, Batman often speaks Welsh to him. One of the entries in Batman's language diary describes a fairly long car journey with his father and youngest brother where he spoke both English and Welsh. The video-recorded discussions also reveal a little more about the language spoken at home. In response to Wesley's question about whether Batman speaks Welsh at home, he replies that he speaks it to his dad and that they speak a mixture of languages at the dinner table. He also says that his 14-year-old brother speaks Welsh to his dad although Batman speaks to his brother in English. On the other hand, although Batman says that his 3-year-old brother speaks English a lot better than Welsh so far, not only does he say that he speaks Welsh to his youngest brother, but also: *fi'n dysgu brawd fi nawr* "I'm teaching my brother now", which also implies some degree of commitment to Welsh.

According to the main questionnaire, Batman often speaks Welsh to friends in general, both at school and outside school. The supplementary questionnaire, includes five named friends, all of whom are fluent Welsh speakers and school friends, and three of whom are the other members of this focus group. Batman reports that he always speaks Welsh to Cornilov and Wesley but only sometimes to Action Man. The remaining two school friends are also included on Cornilov's list of best friends, but

whereas Cornilov always speaks Welsh to one of them and often speaks Welsh to the other, Batman only sometimes speaks Welsh to the former and never to the latter. However, according to the four entries in Cornilov's language diary which include Batman plus one or more of their joint best friends, the language spoken is reported as Welsh (or mainly Welsh) in all cases. Hence, in Cornilov's company at least, Batman (and Action Man) tend to speak more Welsh.

Action Man

Neither Action Man nor Wesley returned a supplementary questionnaire or a language diary, so once again we are largely reliant on the information gleaned from the remaining sources.

Action Man is the only group member to have been born in England. Even so, for part of the the five years he lived in an English city, he attended a Welsh-medium preschool. The reason Action Man gives for changing schools reads: "Because my family moved to Wales, because they wanted me to speak Welsh." His mother is a fluent Welsh speaker, but his father has learnt Welsh "quite well" as an adult. Action Man reports that he always speaks Welsh to his mother, but never to his father. One paternal grandparent (his grandfather) and one maternal grandparent (his grandmother) speak fluent Welsh, whereas the other two speak only a little. Not surprisingly, Action Man speaks only English to the grandparents who speak only a little Welsh. However, given that he always speaks Welsh to his mother and never to his father one might expect him to speak more Welsh to his maternal grandmother than his paternal grandfather, whereas the reverse seems to be the case. Both Action Man's younger siblings are fluent Welsh speakers but he speaks more Welsh with the younger of the two ("always" as opposed to "often" with the older one). The group discussions shed some further light on the language of the home. Although Action Man often speaks Welsh at the family meal table according to the questionnaire, his mother and father tend to speak English together, and when he is speaking to both parents he has to speak English (*ma' rai' fi siarad Saesneg gyda'r ddau*). After explaining this to the others he concludes: *so y general iaith yn tŷ ni yw Saesneg* "so the *general* language in our house is English", unless he is speaking only to his mother. This is amended slightly on another occasion after Wesley is obliged to account to the others for speaking English to his mother. At this juncture Action Man says *fi'n siarad kind*

of *Cymraeg i ma-am Saesneg mix gyda mam fi os fi'n myn' mewn* conversation in depth “I speak *kind of* Welsh to mu-um English *mix* with my mum if I get into *a conversation in depth*”. It is perhaps also worth noting that the language codes of this utterance also constitute a mix of Welsh or English, but there is nothing either in Action Man’s or the others’ subsequent turns to single out this example of code-mixing as remarkable in any way.

To return to the questionnaire responses, as regards Action Man’s friends, all his closest friends are fluent Welsh speakers and school friends to boot, two of whom he sometimes speaks Welsh to and two of whom he always speaks Welsh to. To friends in general both at school and outside school he often speaks Welsh. According to both Cornilov’s and Batman’s supplementary questionnaire, Action Man is listed as one of their best friends, but whereas Cornilov reports that he always speaks Welsh to Action Man, Batman reports that he only sometimes speaks Welsh to him. The three entries which include Action Man in Cornilov’s diary confirms that they only spoke Welsh or mainly spoke Welsh. On the occasion they mainly spoke Welsh, Batman was also present. As to the language(s) Action Man and Batman speak together, in the group discussion Action Man says: *fi 'di arfer siarad Saesneg gyda [Batman], a ma' fe'n rili rili od os fi'n siarad Cymraeg nawr* “I’ve got used to speaking English with [Batman], and it’s really really odd if I speak Welsh now”. Hence it seems likely that Action Man normally speaks only or mainly English to him.

Wesley

Since Wesley neither returned his supplementary questionnaire nor kept a language diary, his profile is based only on the main questionnaire and the focus group discussions.

Wesley was also born elsewhere, but unlike Action Man, he moved from another part of Wales, where he lived in a town in the south-west for 11 years. He has also attended Welsh-medium schools in both places.

Both of Wesley’s parents are fluent Welsh speakers and he speaks Welsh with both, always with his father and sometimes with his mother. At the family meal table, he reports that they always speak Welsh. His maternal grandmother speaks no Welsh and consequently Wesley speaks only English to her, whereas he speaks only Welsh to his paternal grandmother, who as one might expect is a fluent Welsh speaker.

Although Welsh appears to be weaker on his mother's side of the family, his mother has not learnt Welsh as an adult. Wesley's only sibling is a year older than him (18), but although she is also a fluent Welsh speaker, Wesley notes that he never speaks Welsh to her.

From the group discussion it emerges that Wesley's sister went off to college and since she has come back, she always speaks English to her mother and to Wesley and he has found that this has not only influenced the language he uses at home, but that this has also affected his Welsh to the extent that he realises he was better at Welsh in year seven (when he moved to secondary school). In fact, on another occasion he goes as far as to say: *er bo' fi'n do- y digwydd dod o cefndir Cymraeg, fi'n ffino Saesneg lot haws i siarad* "although I co- uh happen to come from a Welsh background, I find English a lot easier to speak".

When it comes to friends, all of Wesley's closest friends are school friends and expectedly fluent Welsh speakers, yet he never speaks Welsh with two of them. Although his friends are not named, both Batman and Cornilov list Wesley among their five best friends in their supplementary questionnaires and both report that they only speak Welsh to him. Furthermore, in one entry in Cornilov's language diary, he notes that he had a 10 minute telephone conversation with Wesley in Welsh. When it comes to friends in general, Wesley reports that he speaks Welsh only sometimes to school friends, but often with friends outside school. In the focus group discussions, Wesley also admits that he speaks a lot of English at school (*fi'n cyfadde' fi'n siarad saesneg lot*), but at two other junctures Batman says that Wesley speaks more Welsh than him and Action Man. It should also be mentioned that *fi'n cyfadde'* "I admit" prefacing the above quotation also indicates either that Wesley is not entirely at ease with this state of affairs, i.e. speaking so much English, or that it is not entirely acceptable language behaviour given the present company. Indeed, Cornilov's immediate response is to reprimand Wesley: *dyle' ti ddim* "you shouldn't".

Cornilov

Apart from the additional information about Cornilov supplied by the supplementary questionnaire, he also kept a carefully written and detailed eight-day language diary. The entries are all written in English-free Welsh.

Among the members of this group the linguistically most consistent pupil appears to be Cornilov, who always speaks Welsh with all his family. Cornilov and his family moved from a city in South Wales while he was very young and they have remained in the area ever since. All of Cornilov's family are fluent Welsh speakers, including his grandparents, which suggests that they are all first language Welsh speakers. All nine entries in Cornilov's language diary for activities with other family members also report that he used only Welsh.

Among Cornilov's four closest friends, all of whom are school friends, Welsh is the dominant language. He also notes that he always speaks Welsh to friends at school and often to friends in general outside school. In the supplementary questionnaire, he reports that he always speaks Welsh to all the other focus group members. This is also confirmed fairly consistently in his language diary; there are seven separate entries where he has spoken with different combinations of these three friends and apart from on one occasion, they have only spoken Welsh. Even on the one occasion that they diverge from this pattern (involving Batman and Action Man), Cornilov reports that they mainly spoke Welsh. Out of the other three named friends in Cornilov's supplementary questionnaire, he reports that he always speaks Welsh to two of them and often Welsh to the third. This pattern is borne out for two of these friends by three separate diary entries. In fact, it is striking that Cornilov speaks only Welsh to the majority of his friends and speaks at least some Welsh to every single named friend over the eight days in which he keeps a diary.

In the focus group discussions Cornilov also says: *fi'n siarad Cymraeg 'da pawb*, seriously, to everyone "I speak Welsh to everyone, seriously, to everyone". The code-switching to English for "to everyone" simply adds emphasis to his statement (c.f. more detailed analysis in conjunction with excerpt 31). A little later, after the group have been discussing which other friends they speak Welsh to and it turns out that Cornilov speaks Welsh to almost all of them, he accounts for this as follows: *achos bo' fi'n siarad Cymraeg mwy naturiol na yn y Saesneg, fi, yn dueddol yn neud ffrindie ie gyda bobol Cymraeg* "because I speak Welsh more naturally than in English, I, tend to make friends yeah with Welsh(-speaking) people". Furthermore, a few minutes later he says that he sometimes gets a little stutter when he speaks English, after which he

reiterates and upgrades the point he made earlier that speaking Welsh is “loads more natural” (*loads mwy naturiol*).

Towards a Group Profile

The fact that both Cornilov and Batman have listed all the other group members among their closest friends provides strong evidence that this focus group is in fact also a group of friends. Cornilov’s language diary also confirms this, insofar as he socialises with all three outside school. Furthermore, on four separate occasions both Batman and Action Man have been present.

As regards language choices within the group, Cornilov has a marked tendency to speak only Welsh with the other three. Furthermore, Wesley is also more likely to use Welsh than either Action Man or Batman. In fact, Action Man and Batman are also least likely to speak Welsh with one another. Since neither Action Man nor Wesley returned their additional questionnaire, there is little evidence to suggest the frequency of Welsh used between the two of them. Nevertheless, in various constellations which include Cornilov, all the members of this group seem likely to use Welsh or mainly Welsh.

Finally out of this group only Action Man chose to fill in the English version of the questionnaire. The other three completed the Welsh versions. However, although Batman selected the Welsh version of the language diary sheet, what he wrote was in English.

6.2.5 Summary

In order to provide a simple and lucid reference for the remaining sections of this chapter, the table in figure 31 is intended to provide a summarised overview of the individual and group profiles presented in §6.2. The letter combinations used here differ from those used in previous tables, partly because now there are only three main categories, but also because I wish to highlight the fact that all participants possess two languages (symbolised by the two letters: W and E). The order of the individuals within the table indicate their language use of Welsh and English with family members and friends, but also how capable, confident and comfortable they are to use both languages. Closely linked with capability, confidence and comfort is the will and inclination to speak both languages. The nature of the relationship between language use and language values will be dealt with in greater depth in §6.5.

Suffice it to say that on its own this table risks oversimplifying complex language practices. However, coupled with the data presented in the rest of this chapter, it will help to clarify the connections between different aspects of these practices and unearth some of the more significant factors which are associated with these practices.

Category ↓	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3	Focus Group 4
We Welsh-dominant	Gwenhwyfar Belinda Bridget Ifan		Martha Llinos Amy	Cornilov
WE 'floaters'	Geoff Maud	Katy	Louise Carys	Wesley Action Man Batman
wE English-dominant		Sally Tina Claire		

Fig. 31 Summary of the bilingual profiles of individuals and focus groups

Vertically the table is divided into three sections: bilinguals who are *Welsh-dominant* (We), *'floaters'*¹⁶², who float between Welsh and English (WE), and bilinguals who are *English-dominant* (wE). However, since these terms have been used in a rather specific way in this taxonomy, a more detailed description of the three terms is called for. Apart from the difference in the dominant language, the nature of Welsh-dominant and English-dominant bilinguals is not entirely identical. Typically, Welsh-dominant bilinguals prefer to use Welsh in communication with other Welsh-dominant bilinguals and generally with 'floaters'. This does not necessarily mean that they lack confidence in speaking English, though many may feel they are more confident in speaking Welsh.

¹⁶² This term is in fact a member's category, i.e. a term which has arisen in the focus group data, with precisely this meaning. However, it did not arise in the data for *Ysgol 1* focus groups, but in a focus group with members from four different *ysgolion Cymraeg* in South Wales.

English-dominant bilinguals, on the other hand, tend to experience a lack of confidence in speaking Welsh. Furthermore, their preference is to speak English with all three categories of bilinguals, including Welsh-dominant bilinguals. This also means that Welsh-dominant bilinguals are usually prepared to speak English to English-dominant bilinguals too.

‘Floaters’, are less likely to experience a lack of confidence in either Welsh or English, but they may feel more comfortable speaking English with some people and Welsh with others (including other floaters). Yet there is a greater tendency to speak (and feel more comfortable speaking) Welsh to Welsh-dominant bilinguals and English to English-dominant bilinguals. With other floaters, there is typically a greater tendency to use both English and Welsh even with the same person, though the proportions may vary in each case, especially when group interactions include other bilinguals who are either Welsh or English-dominant.

When it comes to language backgrounds, it is also significant to note that all Welsh-dominant participants have Welsh as their first language and all English-dominant pupils have English as their first language¹⁶³. Floaters, however, may have Welsh, English or Welsh and English as their first language.

Despite there being only three categories, the participants have been placed on a continuum from most Welsh-dominant at the top to most English-dominant at the bottom of the table. In fact, those at the extremities, Martha and Claire, may even wish to avoid using the other language. Individuals have also been placed in such a way as to indicate the relationships between the columns representing each of the focus groups. In this way, I have also tried to make the language patterns within and between each focus group transparent, in order to ease comparison.

With these summarised language profiles as a backdrop, let us now examine the actual language choices made by each of the focus groups as they unfold in the focus group discussions, starting with the nature of the language medium negotiations in the next section.

¹⁶³ That is insofar as it is possible to determine an individual’s first language on the basis of the data in this study.

6.3 Negotiating the Medium of Focus Group Discussions

The aim of this section is to examine how the focus groups establish the medium¹⁶⁴ of interaction for their first group discussions. A detailed analysis of the precise nature of the language media will be postponed until the next section (particularly §6.4.1), but for the time being the medium will be referred to as Welsh or English. Besides exploring how each focus group negotiates the medium of their discussion, a close examination of these ‘negotiations’ also provides the opportunity to test the validity of the language profiles (both for individuals and groups) summarised in §6.2.5.

Nevertheless, apart from the individual language preferences occasioned by sedimented language practices among this group of friends highlighted in the previous section, we must acknowledge that focus group discussions are subject, in part at least, to particular conditions and contingencies which distinguish them from informal, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. Indeed, there are a number of situational and interactional factors which must be taken into consideration, including anything from the school setting, physical artefacts in the room (e.g. the question sheets, the seating arrangement and the camcorder), to what language was being spoken and by whom when each pupil arrived in the conference room, where the discussion and recording took place, etc. These factors have been discussed in §4.1.2, but they will also be brought up below, insofar as they can be seen to affect the medium of the group discussion in each individual case.

If we set aside these factors for a moment, and focus on the language profiles of each group, certain expectations arise, as to which medium each group might opt for. Focus group 1, for example, consists of four Welsh-dominant bilinguals and two ‘floaters’, who are confident Welsh speakers, whereas focus group 2 consists of three English-dominant bilinguals and only one ‘floater’. In both cases one would expect the medium of the discussion to be predominantly Welsh and English, respectively.

¹⁶⁴ The term ‘medium’ is used here to stress that it is a member’s category, rather than ‘code’ which is an analyst’s category (c.f. discussion in §3.2.1.).

In focus groups 3 and 4, on the other hand, there are no English-dominant bilinguals, but the balance between Welsh-dominant bilinguals and floaters is different from focus group 1. In focus group 3, the two floaters usually speak English together, and one (Carys) expresses a lack of confidence in speaking Welsh. On the other hand, the three Welsh-dominant bilinguals normally always speak Welsh together, even though they frequently speak English to the two floaters (and vice versa). According to language diary entries, in group interactions involving all five, the language is most often Welsh and English. By contrast, in focus group 4, the numerical balance favours the floaters, by three floaters to one Welsh-dominant bilingual. Like focus group 3, at least two of the floaters usually speak English together, but in this case all floaters are confident Welsh speakers, who are more likely to speak Welsh when Cornilov is present. Hence on the basis of group language profiles, one might expect focus groups 1 and 2 to settle for one medium for their discussions more readily than groups 3 and 4, which are composed of proportionately more floaters. Indeed, the question is whether groups 3 and 4 can settle for one medium at all.

Before we examine in detail how each focus group determines the medium of their discussions, let us consider some of the interactional features which are activity-specific and therefore common to all four focus group discussions. Firstly, before the focus group discussion proper commences (phase four), there are three identifiable phases: a *pre-presentation sequence*, the researcher's *presentation sequence* and a *pre-discussion sequence*. The pre-presentation sequence occurs when the group members are assembling, selecting where to sit, etc. During this sequence, participants may, for example, be talking about what they have been doing prior to the discussion session, talking about artefacts in the room (the question sheets, the camcorder, etc.) or about the task in hand. At the same time, the researcher is setting up the camcorder (and microphone) or organising the question sheets as well as answering any questions as they arise. For practical reasons, the pre-presentation sequences are not fully recorded in all cases, though more so for groups 3 and 4. When the equipment is set up and all the group members are

assembled¹⁶⁵, the researcher dominates the proceedings, while he presents the task in English. This presentation sequence always includes a reference to the discussion question sheets, which are made available in English and Welsh versions, as well as an explicit invitation for the group to hold their discussions in Welsh or English or both.

The presentation sequence comes to a close when the researcher withdraws and prepares to leave the room. Hence when the researcher is no longer present at the table, the pre-discussion sequence commences. What is typical for this phase is that someone makes a brief comment in a whispered or quiet voice. This may be a light-hearted reference to the camcorder, or another light-hearted remark, which triggers the others to respond by giggling or suppressed laughter. In no case do the participants proceed to discuss the questions as soon as the researcher withdraws, though the pre-discussion sequence always commences before the researcher has left the room and is of varied duration. If the matter of the discussion medium has not already been negotiated, it occurs either in the transition between the pre-discussion sequence or in the early stages of the discussion proper. In fact, in no case does the discussion proper progress until the medium has been satisfactorily negotiated.

Let us now examine in detail what actually happens as regards medium choices within these four phases for each of the focus groups in turn.

6.3.1 Focus Group 1

The video recording for this focus group does not include the pre-presentation sequence, but starts with the researcher's English-language presentation of the task. Part of the way through this presentation, during which (among other things) the group are told to choose pseudonyms for themselves, the researcher gets up to get the question sheets. At this point Geoff whispers something about names in English and wanting to be called Geoff. The others respond with suppressed laughter and Belinda whispers an inaudible response (i.e. not picked up by the camcorder¹⁶⁶).

When the question sheets are handed out, there are only four copies of Welsh and four of the English versions. Since it is conceivable that the

¹⁶⁵ In focus group 3, one participant is missing for the presentation and the start of the discussion proper.

¹⁶⁶ Unfortunately, I did not use an additional microphone for 2001 focus group discussions.

language of the questions might influence the language of the discussion, at least initially, it is of significance to retrace exactly what happens to them. Figure 32 shows the seating arrangement for the six participants and the language versions of the question sheets in front of them within seconds of them being distributed. The letter ‘W’ stands for the Welsh version and ‘E’ stands for the English version. What in fact takes place is that Maud swaps her Welsh version for Bridget’s English version (indicated by the arrow). Geoff, who gets both versions leaves the Welsh version further away and checks the English one. Ifan, who also receives both versions, puts both side by side.

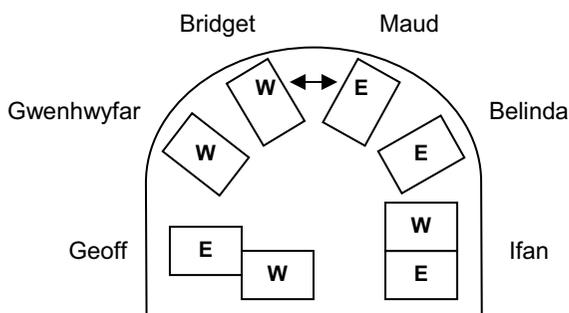


Fig. 32 The seating arrangement for focus group 1

When the pre-discussion sequence starts, all of the participants apart from Ifan look at each other and laugh in a suppressed fashion. Ifan looks up from reading the questions and asks the others *reit fi?* “alright me?” to which Belinda and Gwenhwyfar reply *ie* “yeah” followed by more laughter. Then Geoff initiates a joke about pseudonyms aimed at Belinda, using her fictitious name, and a few overlapping turns later, all in Welsh, the following sequence unfolds (excerpt 17):

Excerpt 17 (FGD1, FG1, 04:15)

Participants: Geoff, Gwenhwyfar (Gwen), Bridget, Maud, Belinda, Ifan

- 1 Ifan: ocê
okay
- 2 Belinda: wel
well
- 3 Maud: gang mau:dɨ
Maud's gang

- 4 Ifan: >y' ni jys' myn' i neud e yn gymraeg ie?ɿ<
are we just go to do him in Welsh yeah
are we just gonna do it in Welsh yeah?
- 5 Geoff: ((points to M)) L°maud° ɿ
- 6 Bridget: ieɿ: ɿ
yeah
- 7 Gwen: i|e: |
yeah
- 8 Maud: Lmaud \$uɿhu:huh\$ ((in response to joke about
fictitious names))
- 9 Belinda: °ydyn°
(we) are
yes
- 10 Ifan: ɿocê ('te)ɿ
okay then
okay (then)
- 11 Maud: Lie: ɿ
yeah
- 12 Belinda: (>ocê go<)
okay go
- 13 Pause: (1.5)
- 14 Ifan: so ((moves Welsh qq on top of English qq and bangs
audibly on q sheet))
- 15 Belinda: sut fy' ti'n disgrifio [ysgol ɿ]
how would you part. describe [name of their school]
how would you describe Ysgol 1
- 16 Ifan: >°sut ysgol ydy hi°<
how school is she
what sort of school is it
- 17 Gwen: [((clears throat))]
- 18 Belinda: [ysgol gymraegɿ
school Welsh
a Welsh school
- 19 Pause: (.)
- 20 Geoff: °ysgol newydd°
school new
a new school

Ifan's "okay" in line 1, marks that Ifan has taken on the role of moderator, which has just been briefly negotiated, and is preparing to take on the task. Maud's humorous naming of the group in line 3 is a continuation of jokes about their pseudonyms. At the same time as Geoff points towards Maud and makes an almost inaudible but mouthed enquiry of her new name in response to Maud's joke (line 5), Ifan gets down to initiating the discussion proper in line 4, starting with the language in which they are going to discuss the questions. In lines 6, 7 and 9, three different participants respond affirmatively to Ifan's suggestion that they carry out the discussion in Welsh, while Maud is

reacting with amusement to her new name (line 8) in confirmation of Geoff's enquiry. In line 10, Ifan's recipient token acknowledges that the others have approved his suggestion, and after Belinda's exhortation to get going in line 12, there is a longish pause followed by Ifan's "so" which is accompanied by him moving the Welsh version of the questions on top of the English version and banging the sheet with his hand as a final confirmation that his motion to do the discussion in Welsh has been carried. Despite Ifan moving the Welsh version away from Belinda, it is in fact Belinda that articulates the first question in Welsh in line 15. In line 16, Ifan quietly rephrases the question, as if reappropriating his role as moderator. In line 18 Belinda responds laconically to the question, followed by an equally laconic whispered response by Geoff in line 20. In the next turn (not included in the excerpt above), Ifan reprimands Geoff in Welsh for whispering, which makes the others laugh. The upshot of this and additional jovial comments is that Bridget then fires the first discussion question back at Ifan a few turns later, which he then proceeds to answer in a serious fashion.

As far as the medium of the discussion is concerned, the group turn to Welsh as soon as the researcher withdraws, marking the end of the presentation sequence. However, perhaps as a result of the two language versions of the questions, a very brief medium negotiation sequence takes place, before the discussion can start. However, the question Ifan puts to the group in line 4, has an affirmative response as the preferred response. At the same time, Ifan's question acknowledges the medium which has already been used in the pre-discussion sequence, i.e. Welsh. In fact, in focus group 1 the medium used in the pre-discussion sequence is adhered to throughout the discussion proper, until the researcher returns to the room at the end and addresses the group again in English. The nature of the language medium of this group will be explored in more detail in §6.4.1, but for the moment we can say that it is predominantly Welsh.

6.3.2 Focus Group 2

The video recording for the second focus group catches only about three seconds of the pre-presentation sequence, and only Claire's turn is audible enough to ascertain that she at least is speaking English. Otherwise in this particular group the language medium negotiations, in

fact, take place in the subsequent presentation sequence, when the researcher offers the alternative of discussing the questions in English or Welsh. The relevant sequence is reproduced in excerpt 18:

Excerpt 18 (FGD1, FG2, 01:04)

Participants: Nigel (N=researcher), Sally (S), Tina (T), Katy (K), Claire (C)

1 Nigel: uhm (.7) I've I've got the questions here in uhm
2 (.) english and welsh it's up to you what (.) what
3 language,
4 Katy: I think [we're meant] t- we've been told we have to
5 Nigel: [you
6 Katy: [do it in english.]
7 Tina: [\$hnh\$
8 Pause: (.)
9 Nigel: you've been TOLD oh by [HEAVens. (.) n-]
10 Katy: [to:ld (.) 'cause]
11 Pause: (.3)
12 Katy: it was a (.) welsh group (.) before or something,
13 (.) they've had welsh and now they want english.
14 Pause: (.8)
15 Tina: yeah=
16 Nigel: =°I see° [well it's] (.) it's a bit s-
17 Tina: [°uh hm°
18 Tina: \$hhhh\$
19 Pause: (.)
20 Nigel: it's really you that decide. (.3) I mean I I
21 Pause: (.3)
22 Katy: we'll do it in english.=
23 Tina: well [\$hhhh\$
24 Claire: [shuhhh\$
25 Sally: [I prefer] english.
26 Claire: \$huhhh\$
27 Nigel: okay (.)

In line 4 Katy interrupts the researcher's instruction as to the open language choice for the discussion, to inform him that the group have already been instructed to carry out their discussion in English. In line 9 the researcher expresses his surprise, since he had given no such instructions to Gwenhwyfar (from focus group 1), who had recruited the group. However, the researcher's expression of surprise prompts Katy to expand on the instructions which she had received in lines 12-13. Although these instructions were closer to the original 'terms of reference' I gave to Gwenhwyfar, I had not intended them to be disclosed to the new recruits. Thus lines 16 and 20 aimed at cancelling out the erroneously issued instructions as regards the language of the

discussion. Nevertheless, in response to the exhortation that the group decide for themselves, Katy acts as spokesperson for the group and decides (line 22) that they will carry out their discussion in English. Besides Tina's and Claire's chuckled responses in lines 23 and 24, Sally adds her support for Katy's proposal in line 25, by expressing her preference for English. This sequence is then closed by the researcher's recipient token acknowledging the group's stance in line 27.

Nevertheless, the matter surfaces again a little later on in the presentation sequence, when the researcher hands out the English and Welsh versions of the question sheets and reiterates the option of choosing to discuss the questions in English or Welsh and adds a third alternative of mixing languages if they wish. He also informs the group in Welsh that he understands Welsh. However, when the question sheets are distributed the English ones are picked up and the Welsh ones are either ignored or pushed aside by all four participants.

In the relatively brief pre-discussion sequence consisting of a few quiet jokey comments accompanied by laughter, only English is spoken and there is no further medium negotiation sequence either prior to or during the discussion proper. Thus although negotiating the language of the discussion takes place in different phases in focus groups 1 and 2, in both cases the matter is dealt with in the medium of the ensuing discussion. Furthermore, the selected medium remains the same throughout both focus groups' discussions.

6.3.3 Focus Group 3

For this focus group, the video recording includes all three phases before the discussion proper, and since the language choices are more complex in all phases bar the presentation sequence (dominated by the researcher), each of these phases needs to be examined closely.

However, let us start with the seating arrangement, since the girls in focus group 3 do not all arrive together and this affects the interactions in each sequence. When Llinos returns to the room a few seconds into the discussion proper, the participants are sitting as illustrated in figure 33. The numbers under each name show the order in which they arrive in the room. While Llinos is away, Amy takes Llinos's original seat, so she has to sit on the only remaining chair opposite Louise.

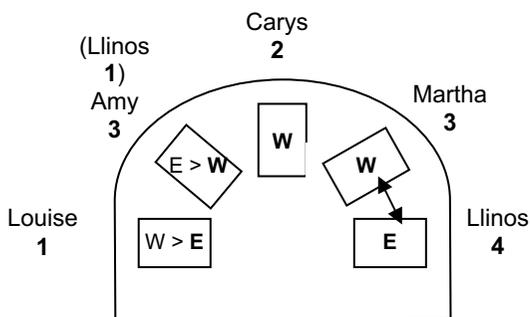


Fig. 33 The seating arrangement for focus group 3

As regards the placing of the question sheets, they are originally set out: Welsh, English, Welsh, English, Welsh around the table. However, on this occasion each sheet is double-sided with the questions in the other language on the back. Individuals' preference for the Welsh or English version does, in fact, impact on the medium negotiation sequence. Thus figure 33 also traces the initial changes that take place. The letters in bold (**W** or **E**) indicate the language of the question sheet in front of each respective pupil by the start of the focus group discussion. However, there are some minor complications. Louise is the first to take any notice of the questions. She first moves the English language questions (originally in front of Llinos) closer to read them through. Carys, who arrives just before Llinos leaves the room, does not change the language of her question sheet; it remains in Welsh throughout. When Amy arrives, she moves the English question sheet that Louise was originally reading closer to her and turns it over to the Welsh version. Louise then has the Welsh version closest to her, which she then turns over so she now has the questions in English once again. As soon as Martha sits down, she reaches across and takes the Welsh version (in front of where Llinos sits when she comes back into the room). Martha then moves the English version over to where Llinos will sit. These movements take place during the few minutes before the discussion begins. When Llinos comes back into the room, the discussion is already in full swing and she does not touch or take much notice of the question sheet at all, especially since the group do not stick to the

questions very closely. When they initially refer to the question sheets, Louise and Martha compete to read out the first question in English and Welsh, respectively (see excerpt 21 and the following discussion). After this, it is mainly Louise that reads out the questions. Interestingly, she keeps the English questions uppermost although the medium of their discussions is predominantly Welsh. All the same, Louise proceeds to ask the questions in Welsh, though on one occasion she turns over to the Welsh questions to check the Welsh word for “disadvantage” in what constitutes a self-initiated medium repair.

At about 26 minutes into the recording, Carys and Martha have to leave, at which point Llinos moves into Carys’s seat. This means that Llinos now has the Welsh questions in front of her. About 34 minutes into the recording, Llinos refers to the question sheet for the first time and reads out a question in Welsh. This prompts Louise to turn over to the Welsh version. From this point on, Louise, Amy and Llinos all have the Welsh version face upwards. The conclusion from these, at times, somewhat complex movements surrounding the question sheets, is that the initial language of the question sheet in front of each participant does not seem to have any great bearing on the language of the discussion. Rather, it seems that the bilingual nature of the question sheets allows individuals to choose their preferred language until interactional problems arise, e.g. the need to negotiate the medium of the discussion or difficulties in translating a question off the cuff.

Let us now turn to the video recording and the transcribed data, starting with the pre-presentation sequence from when the camcorder starts rolling in excerpt 19. Initially only Louise and Llinos are sitting in the room at the table where the question sheets have been laid out as described above.

Excerpt 19 (FGD1, FG3, 00:02)

Participants: Nigel (N=researcher), Louise (L), Llinos (LI), Carys (C)

1 Louise: ((reads questions)) °(d’you think x_[xx])°
 2 Llinos: °\$°what do I do]
 3 I jus’ say excuse me.°\$
 4 Louise: °wait a minute=((carries on reading questions))and
 5 involved do you (.) contact with other clubs° *did
 6 you (n-)* ((*whispers)) ((C arrives and door
 7 bangs)) (alright) then
 8 Llinos: where are they?
 9 Carys: yeah they’re on their way.

10 Pause: (.)
11 Louise: ((to C)) okay you [can speak in welsh or english
12 Llinos: [I'm goin' to the
13 Louise: whatever,]
14 Llinos: toilet] just in case:. (.4) I [okay
15 Llinos: go in the middle of it. [\$ehehehe\$]
16 Louise: [hehe]
17 Pause: (.3)
18 Louise: it's whatever you've: wanna talk in (.) welsh or
19 english. ((Ll gets up to leave the room))
20 Carys: alright well in [both yeah] [(door bangs)]
21 Louise: [*I can't] [(speak)] I
22 Louise: can't speak in welsh* ((*whispers))
23 Pause: (.9) ((C sits down and makes herself comfortable))

During the course of this sequence, the researcher is busy checking the camcorder and sorting out his things a few metres away from where the students are sitting. Thus the initial exchanges are of a fairly private nature. Louise is reading out the questions in English under her breath in lines 1 and 4-6. She is interrupted in line 2 by Llinos who wonders what to say to the researcher, because she needs to leave the room to go to the toilet (c.f. lines 12 and 14). So far both Louise and Llinos have only spoken English to each other in the conference room, and when Carys arrives (lines 6-7), both Louise and Carys address her in English. At the same time as Llinos excuses herself to go to the toilet, Louise tells Carys in English that they can speak Welsh or English (line 11). Since Louise gets no recipient token from Carys, she repeats this information with a slight modification in line 16. This time Carys replies that she will talk “in both then” (line 17). Louise’s whispered response, intended for their ears only, is that she “can’t speak in Welsh”. Louise’s choice of words is noteworthy, in that she uses the modal verb “can’t”. By contrast, in her modified statement in lines 18-19, she has substituted “can” (line 11) with “wanna”. However, rather than recycle “wanna” in relation to herself in line 18 (i.e. “I don’t wanna speak in Welsh”), she adjusts this to “I can’t speak in Welsh” (lines 20-21). Judging by her active participation in Welsh in the discussion later on, her ‘secret’ (whispered) admission here should not be taken as an expression of her inability to speak Welsh, but rather an expression of how comfortable she feels to carry out a discussion in Welsh, given the present company or in view of all the group participants.

excerpt 19 and lines 1-2 of excerpt 20, apart from the language in which it is delivered, *viz.* in English to Carys and in Welsh to Martha. Besides code-switching, there is one other notable difference here: Louise uses *ni* “we” to Martha rather than “you”, which she uses with Carys. Given Louise’s preference to speak in English, expressed in lines 21-22 of excerpt 19, her double use of self-inclusive *ni* “we” in lines 1-2 of excerpt 20 rather than a more generalised and neutral “you” may be a further indication of Louise attending to Martha’s medium preferences (rather than her own).

Amy’s first turn in line 5 is intended as a fairly private one, in that it is whispered to Louise. The fact that Louise has just spoken Welsh to Martha does not prevent Amy from addressing Louise in English. This might also be taken as accommodating medium preferences, this time Louise’s preferred medium of communication. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that Louise answers in English in line 49, where she asks what the problem is with Amy’s boot, which Amy subsequently responds to and develops in English in lines 8 and 10.

The final excerpt (21), which comes just under 4 minutes into the recording, includes the final words of the presentation sequence, the pre-discussion sequence and the beginning of the discussion proper, during which Llinos returns to the room (line 57).

Excerpt 21 (FGD1, FG3, 04:01)

Participants: Nigel (N=researcher), Louise (L), Carys (C), Llinos (Ll), Martha (M), Amy (A)

1 Nigel: okay well maybe I could just let you start an'
 2 theⁿ, the person who comes] in, uhm she [can join]
 3 Louise: [yeah where's [Llinos]?)
 4 Amy: ((looks up from reading the questions)) yeah]
 5 Nigel: in when she she feels like it.
 6 Pause: (.)
 7 Martha: phone 'er.
 8 Pause: (.3)
 9 L/A: [\$ghhhhh\$]
 10 Amy: [\$uhuh huh\$]
 11 Pause: (.)
 12 Nigel: okay=
 13 Louise: =okay
 14 Pause: (.3)
 15 Nigel: uh (.) as I said if you get fed up >I'll be sitting
 16 out_{side} the door<
 17 Louise: [okay]
 18 Pause: (2.8) ((N goes to door))
 19 Nigel: °I'll >jus' take a chair<°

20 Louise: \$ughuhoo\$
 21 Pause: (1.2)
 22 Louise: °ok [ay] ((N removes a chair))
 23 Amy: °wa_{ve} to the camera¿° ((hand in front of her mouth))
 24 Martha: (xx)
 25 Louise: huh?
 26 Amy: °wa_{ve} to the camera¿°
 27 Pause: (1.2)
 28 Louise: \$chhh\$
 29 Amy: ((stifled laughter))
 30 Carys: huh?
 31 Louise: wa_{ve} to the camera¿
 32 Pause: (.4)
 33 Louise: looking at the [camera
 ((door slams))] now
 hi?
 34 Carys:
 35 Martha: \$uhoo [huhuh\$]
 36 Amy: [\$hh.h\$]
 37 Louise: [\$chhh\$] go on then.
 38 Martha: 'nei di siarad.
 do you (sg) speak
 you talk
 39 Pause: (0.8)
 40 Louise: [okay uhm:]
 41 Martha: [ocê jyst] mixo fe lan ie?=
 okay just mix him up yeah
 okay just mix it up yeah?
 42 Louise: =yeah
 43 Pause: (.3)
 44 Martha: ocê
 okay
 45 Pause: (.5)
 46 Martha: ((reads out)) su' [fyddet]
 how would
 how would
 47 Louise: ((reads out)) [how would you] describe
 48 [ysgol 1]?
 49 Pause: (2.4)
 50 Martha: ocê ym barn fi:,
 okay in opinion my
 okay in my opinion
 51 Louise: yeah
 52 Martha: fe(-) fel ysgol dda iawn, (.8) y:m (.5) ni'n ca'l
 he/li- like school good very uhm we part. get
 it's/li- like a very good school, uhm, we get
 53 y cyfle i siarad >pa bynnag iaith ni moyn siarad<
 the chance to speak what ever language we want to speak
 the chance to speak whatever language we want to speak
 54 mewn ffor'.
 in way
 in a way

55 Louise: *ie ond >fi ddim yn hoffi ffordd bo' nw'n dweud<*
 yeah but I not part. like way that they part. say
yeah but I don't like the way they say

56 *bo:d siarad saesneg yn WAEL, (.5) i stopio chi*
 that speak English part. bad to stop you
that speaking English is bad, to stop you

57 *si-, (.8) ((Ll comes in, to Ll)) °ti ocê?°*
 sp- you okay
 sp- you okay?

58 Martha: *((door slams)) hê*
 hey

59 Louise: *ocê mae [Martha] newydd dweud bod (.7) hi'n meddwl*
 okay is [fictitious name] just say that she part. think
okay [Martha] has just said that, she thinks

60 *bod [ysgol 1] yn rili (.) dda (.) yn cael cyfle*
 that [name of school] part. really good part. get chance
that [Ysgol 1] is really, good, get a chance

61 *siarad unryw iaith ni moyn o'n i'n dweud bod*
 speak any language we want was I part. say that
to speak any language we want I said that

62 *fi'n r'anghytuno (os xx) ¶* ¶ *rie ¶*
 I part. disagree (if ?) ¶ ¶
I disagree (if ?) yeah
 yeah

63 Martha: *L>y' ni'n ca'l cyfle¶ ddysgu then i< ¶ca'l¶*
 are we part. get chance learn (then to) get
we get a chance to learn then to get

64 Martha: *cyfle i dysgu >unryw iaith ni moyn,< (.3) ¶fel¶*
 chance to learn any language we want
a chance to learn any language we want, like

65 Louise: *Lie ¶*
 yeah

66 Martha: *almaeneg ffrangeg cymraeg saes ¶neg ¶*
 German French Welsh English
German French Welsh English

67 Louise: *Lie ¶*
 yeah

In lines 1-2 and 5 the researcher initiates his departure from the room, despite the fact that Llinos has not yet returned, but Louise's recipient token of his last utterance in line 22 marks the end of the presentation sequence. While the researcher is picking up a chair to take outside with him, the pre-discussion sequence commences in overlap, whereby Amy returns in line 23 to the subject of the camcorder (which they discussed earlier between excerpts 19 and 20). This moves the focus from the researcher to the researcher's 'extended presence' via the camcorder: she tells the others very quietly to "wave to the camera". At the same time she has her hand over her mouth, which makes it doubly difficult for the others to catch what she says. Indeed, she has to repeat it twice, once at Louise's request in line 24, and once again at Carys's request in line 30. Amy's low-key exhortation prompts Louise to look straight at the

camcorder and give a commentary on her actions in line 33, and prompts Carys to greet the camcorder in line 34: “hi”.

As regards the medium of this pre-discussion sequence, English remains the language of interaction until line 37, where Louise takes the initiative to start the discussion proper by selecting Martha to be the next speaker: “go on then”. In response to Louise’s exhortation, Martha retorts that Louise should start talking: *’nei di siarad* “you talk”. At the same time Martha initiates a medium negotiation sequence (see §6.4.1) which eventually leads to a medium switch to Welsh (or rather a mixed medium¹⁶⁸). After a fairly long pause, Louise and Martha start their turn in unison with “okay/*ocê*”. Louise’s brief turns in lines 40, 42 and 51 could equally be in Welsh (*ocê ym, ie* and *ie*, respectively), but since Louise does not otherwise switch medium until line 64 for sure, Louise’s turns have been transcribed as English. This position can be justified most in the case of lines 51 and 53, since Louise reads out the first question in English in line 58. However, it must be said that the problem of which language to transcribe Louise’s turns in is an analyst’s problem, rather than a participant’s problems. Indeed, the ambiguity of the medium of Louise’s responses – and Martha’s for that matter – might well be part of the recipient design, precisely by virtue of its ambiguous quality. If this be the case, Louise is not be the only one to attend to the medium preferences of the other. In line 52, Martha’s response to Louise’s long pause, indicates that she locates her medium switch in line 49 as a potential cause of Louise’s delayed response. Martha’s turn: *jys’ mixo fe lan ie?* “just mix it up yeah?” serves at least two functions. Firstly, the wording (albeit with a Welsh suffix) recycles “mix”, which was used by the researcher earlier (line 2 of excerpt 22) in the presentation sequence:

Excerpt 22 (FGD1, FG3, 03:38)

Participants: Nigel (N=researcher), Louise (L), Amy (A), Carys (C), Martha (M)

1 Nigel: and a- as I said it before you came you can d- you
2 can do it in whatever language mix them, pphh
3 (.5) whatever. whatever you,=
4 Martha: =\$pphh\$

¹⁶⁸ From the rest of excerpt 21, it is not apparent that the medium subsequent to the medium negotiation sequence is a mixed medium, but we will be returning to this matter in more depth in §6.4.1.

5 Carys: yeah
6 Nigel: feel comf- most comfortable doing.

By alluding to the researcher's instruction, Martha can justify her code-switching, which might otherwise have been construed as dispreferred (c.f. Louise's long pause in line 39 of excerpt 21). Secondly, using *mixo* "mix" can also be seen to accommodate Louise's medium preference, since it sanctions Louise's (continued) use of English, despite Martha having switched to Welsh.

Following Louise's positive latched response in line 42 to Martha's tentative question about mixing languages, Martha sticks to Welsh and in line 46 she proceeds to read out the first question. However, Louise chimes in and reads out the same question in English in lines 47-48, only just after Martha has read the first word. Despite the fact that Louise has started reading the question slightly later than Martha, Martha stops two words into the question and allows Louise to complete the question in English. What then follows is an extended pause of 2.4 seconds, after which Martha self-selects. Before launching into her answer proper, she qualifies it by stating that what she is about to say is an expression of her own opinion. To explain the occurrence of extreme case formulations, Pomerantz (1986) points out that people are not only in the business of persuading others, but they also design their talk to allay critical or unfavourable responses. In Martha's turn there is no evidence of an extreme case formulation, but her preliminary utterance: *ocê ym barn fi* "okay in my opinion" does appear to serve the same purpose, i.e. by making her point of view a personal one, rather than that of the whole group, she might be able to limit the potential damage by any unsympathetic response.

Martha's initial attempt to answer the discussion question in line 52, receives no immediate back-channelling, despite two fairly long pauses flanking a hesitation ("uhm"). Martha then proceeds to qualify why she thinks their school is "a very good school". Interestingly, she singles out the language question as her first justification for her initial statement, i.e. they get the chance to speak whatever language they like. In spite of the fact that Martha has framed this point of view as her own opinion and weakened the strength of her claim by ending in *mewn ffor* "in a way", this does not make her immune to a hostile response. Indeed, Sacks

(1992, vol. 2: 348-53) observes that arguing one's point of view is an asymmetrical activity, in that whoever "goes first" is in a weaker position. This is because the first argument is then open to challenge by other participants. This is precisely what happens here, though the blow from Louise's challenge is lessened slightly by *ie ond* "yeah but", which initially signals agreement. The point Louise makes is that her preferred language, English (c.f. excerpt 19 lines 21-22), is not the preferred and legitimate language of the school. Her claim is that the school makes this very explicit to pupils to stop them speaking English: [...] *nw'n dweud bod siarad Saesneg yn WAEL* "they say that speaking English is BAD" (lines 55-56). Note that in this turn Louise has also switched to Welsh. Disagreement is a dispreferred response in itself. If Louise had continued in English, this might also have amplified the conflict.

Moreover, this is not the only occasion Louise selects Welsh; when Llinos returns to the room and interrupts Louise's flow in line 57, in contrast to their earlier exchanges (c.f. excerpt 19), Louise now addresses her in Welsh: *ti ocê?* "you okay?", before recapping the discussion so far for Llinos's benefit in lines 59-62. Hereafter Louise continues in Welsh and does not medium-switch to English for the rest of the discussion of this first question. Louise's summary of the discussion only reaches the point where she is about to express the bone of contention between her and Martha, since Martha comes in at the point where Louise says: *anghytuno* "disagree". Louise is then forced to concede the turn to Martha, who swiftly proceeds to modify her justification of why their school is very good; she substitutes one word: *siarad* "speak" for *ddysgu* "learn". This alteration dilutes her line of argument sufficiently for Louise to respond positively in line 67 and a partial compromise is reached¹⁶⁹, whereby they agree that they get a chance to learn any language they like. Martha's exemplification of the languages they can learn starts with the foreign languages: German and French, before Welsh and English (the contending languages) are re-mentioned. Louise provides additional back-channelling in line 67 (which is followed by a fairly long one-second pause).

¹⁶⁹ However, in the continuation of this sequence (c.f. excerpt 45 in section §6.5.2), Louise does in fact reiterate her criticism of the school's practiced language policy.

By way of conclusion, let us now address the question as to how the focus group of five bilingual girls negotiate the medium of their discussion. It is in fact determined for almost the whole discussion in the initial medium negotiation sequence, played out mainly between Louise and Martha surrounding the borderline between the pre-discussion sequence and the discussion proper (lines 37-55) of excerpt 21), resulting in an unambiguous medium switch to Welsh (or a mixed medium with Welsh as the base language) by both Martha and Louise. Despite Louise having previously expressed a preference to carry out the discussion in English, despite Martha's concession that they mix languages and despite Louise having read out the first discussion question in English, Martha takes the initiative to answer in her preferred medium, Welsh, whereupon Louise also switches to Welsh. After this, there are no more examples of medium switching in this recording session, though there are many examples of other types of code-switching (which will be examined in §6.4).

6.3.4 Focus Group 4

For the fourth and final focus group, the camcorder is rolling for the last seven seconds of the pre-presentation sequence, during which Wesley, Action Man and Cornilov make exchanges in Welsh. In the following presentation sequence, during which the matter of the discussion questions comes up, Wesley in fact raises the matter of the language of the discussion, reproduced in lines 1-2 of excerpt 23 together with the ensuing exchange.

Excerpt 23 (FGD1, FG4, 01:59)

Participants: Nigel (N), Action Man (A), Cornilov (C/Cornil), Wesley (W), Batman (B)

- 1 Wesley: ((*turning over question sheet to English qq*)) would
 2 it be easier for you if we did it in english.
 ((*pointing to the English qq*))
 3 Pause: (.3)
 4 Nigel: it's
 5 Wesley: °maybe°
 6 Nigel: it's (.1) easier f-
 7 Wesley: maybe it's easier for us as well.
 8 Pause: (.8)
 9 Nigel: it's [uh
 10 Wesley: [°(x)?°] ((*looks at C for a response*))
 11 Pause: (.5)
 12 Nigel: th- that's entirely up to you. (.3) you've I've
 13 you've got questions there you can do it in

should be determined by their comfort and habit, rather than his language preference.

What is also significant during this sequence is what the focus group members do with their question sheets. Figure 34 traces these changes.

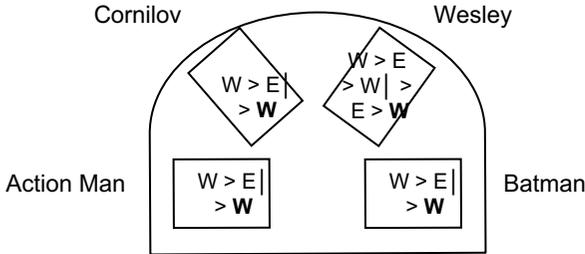


Fig. 34 The seating arrangement for focus group 4

The more-than sign (>) signifies turning the page over from one language version to the other. All the symbols to the left of the vertical line (|) signify what happens during the above sequence (excerpt 23), whereas everything to the right of the vertical line denotes developments that occur during excerpt 24, which will be dealt with shortly. To recap on what is described in excerpt 23: Wesley is the first to turn over his sheet to the English questions, when he asks about the researcher's preference in line 1. During the researcher's long turn in lines 12-17 the other three group members also turn their question sheets to the English version one by one, but after the researcher has code-switched and then explained why he is not speaking in Welsh all the time, Wesley turns his question sheet back to the Welsh version. Hence at the end of this sequence, Wesley is the only participant to have the Welsh version uppermost. This constitutes an important backdrop to what happens when the discussion proper starts up. However, before we look at that, we need to deal briefly with the pre-discussion sequence.

When the researcher gets up from the table and prepares to leave the room, Wesley makes two quiet, jocular comments in Welsh, the first of which is about the camera and attracts an amused response from Action Man. Excerpt 24 reproduces the end of the pre-discussion sequence,

starting from the point where the researcher is leaving the room, as well as the initial phase of the discussion proper.

Excerpt 24 (FGD1, FG4, 01:59)

Participants: Action Man (A/A Man), Cornilov (C/Cornil), Wesley (W), Batman (B)

- 1 Pause: (.8)
- 2 Wesley: \$hmhmhmhm [hm\$ ((W stares] towards camcorder)
3 [((door bangs))]
- 4 A Man: \$hehehe\$
- 5 Pause: (.3)
- 6 Cornilov: ((to the camcorder)) \$hi\$=
7 A Man: =\$hhhe\$
- 8 Wesley: ((to the camcorder)) \$hey\$
- 9 Pause: (.)
- 10 Cornilov: uhm
- 11 Batman: ((looking down)) helo ((or maybe "hello"))
- 12 Pause: (1.3)
- 13 Cornilov: ((looking at qq)) I think [ysgol 1]'s a good school
14 over all;
- 15 Wesley: >°neu yn gymraeg°<
or in Welsh
or in Welsh
- 16 Pause: (1.0) ((W looks at C's and B's question sheet and then turns over his own to English qq but C turns his over to Welsh qq))
- 17 Cornilov: [we're doing] it in welsh.
- 18 Batman: [uh
- 19 Wesley: °(over) to the [english]° (.) okay ((W grabs C's q sheet to turn it back to Eng qq))
- 20 Cornilov: Loh J
- 21 Batman: [cymrâ:g?]
Welsh
- 22 Wesley: L°(uhuh uh uh)°J cymraeg ((both W and B turn to Welsh qq))
Welsh Welsh qq)
- 23 Pause: (.4)
- 24 A Man: right (iawn) ((A turns to Welsh qq))
right (alright)
- 25 Wesley: ((to C))>cymraeg yw iaith [ysgol 1]<
Welsh is language [name of their school]
Welsh is the language of [Ysgol 1]
- 26 Pause: (.3)
- 27 Cornilov: ((glances at camcorder)) cymRAEG yw IAITH [ysgol 1]
Welsh is language [name of their school]
Welsh is the language of [Ysgol 1]
- 28 Pause: (.)
- 29 A Man: °disgrifio'r [ysgol hon]°] ((reading question))
describe the school this
describe this school
- 30 Wesley: ((reads q)) Lsut y' chi'n disgrifio'r ysgol hon
how are you part. describe the school this
how do you describe this school

31 Pause: (1.0)

32 A Man: ((reads q)) *da neu'n*
good or part.
good or

33 Pause: (.2)

34 Wesley: *wel i g- i gymharu gyda'r hen adeilad mae'n well,*
well to c- to compare with the old building is part. better
well c- compared to the old building it's better

35 (.8) *er ma'r adeilad bach yn >wedi cael ei*
though is the building little part. past get his
though the little building has been

36 *adeiladu< braidd yn (.7) yn cheapi*
build rather part. part.
built rather cheap

37 Pause: (.4)

38 Cornilov: *o'dd mwy o atmosphere yn yr hen ysgol wy fi'n*
was more of in the old school am I part.
there was more atmosphere in the old school I

39 *me-ddwl, ʃ*
think
think

40 Wesley: *Lie J*
yeah

In line 1 Wesley looks towards the camcorder and chuckles, which attracts the others' attention and encourages them to also focus on the camcorder. This triggers three different greetings in fairly quick succession by three participants in lines 6, 8 and 11. The medium of the last greeting is most ambiguous in that it could be in either Welsh or English. However, if one considers who is at the receiving end of the these greeting via the video recording, i.e. the researcher who has just demonstrated his preference for English, one might expect these greetings to come in English.

Cornilov's clear "uhm" in line 10 (just before Batman's *helo/hello*) signals a transition point between the pre-discussion sequence and the discussion proper. Indeed, after a long pause, and after reading the first question to himself on the English version of his question sheet, Cornilov then proceeds to answer the question in lines 13-14. This immediately prompts a swiftly and softly delivered medium repair in Welsh from Wesley, who is the only participant with the Welsh version in front of him. During the ensuing pause in line 16, Wesley quickly checks the language version of his other neighbour's question sheet, and seeing that Batman also has the English version uppermost, Wesley then turns over to the English version too. At the same time Cornilov responds to

Wesley's medium repair by turning his question sheet over to the Welsh version and confirming, in English, that they will do it in Welsh (line 17). However, Wesley's immediate response, also in English, is to grab Cornilov's sheet with a view to turning it back to the English version whilst commenting on what he is about to do (line 19). However, in the confusion, Batman laconically enquires in Welsh in line 21 whether they are going to do it in Welsh. Wesley takes Batman's request for clarification as further confirmation of the validity of his original medium repair, insofar as he confirms the choice of Welsh in line 22 and subsequently turns his question sheet back to the Welsh version. Both Batman and Action Man then follow suit, at which point all four participants now have the Welsh version uppermost. These movements are summarised in figure 34 (after the vertical line).

Despite the fact that the other participants have now gone along with Wesley's suggestion to hold the discussion in Welsh, his other-initiated other-repair is a dispreferred response (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). This is displayed by the soft voice in which it is delivered, but also by Wesley giving an account of his medium repair in line 25, i.e. that Welsh is justified because it is the language of their school. This account is specifically addressed to Cornilov, whose talk was subject to Wesley's original medium repair, and it is Cornilov that responds by repeating Wesley's exact words with heightened emphasis. Since Cornilov glances at the camcorder while he repeats Wesley's words, it appears that Cornilov is not only accepting Wesley's account of his medium repair, but also making a public stand (also aimed at the researcher).

What then follows in lines 29 and 30 is a restart of the discussion proper, but this time both Action Man and Wesley rephrase in Welsh the first question in overlap. Following a two-second pause after Action Man has broken off his rendering of the second part of the question, Wesley makes a second attempt at answering the question in a long turn in lines 34-36, only this time in Welsh. The final word "*cheap*" should, however, not be seen as an example of code-switching, but rather as evidence that the medium selected is, in fact, a mixed medium with Welsh as the base language. The fact that there is a delay in producing the English word (a 0.7 second pause) suggests that Wesley has been conducting a word search. Furthermore, the Welsh predicative particle *yn* is also repeated

after the pause, which treats the adjective as Welsh and makes the code-alternation seamless. Neither is the word “cheap” subjected to a medium repair, either by Wesley or by Cornilov in line 38. Indeed, Cornilov also uses a prosodically and grammatically unmarked English word: “atmosphere”, which serves to confirm that the medium here is mixed, i.e. with unmarked English insertions. In the next section (§6.4.1), the nature of this mixed medium, will receive greater attention. Suffice it to say here that the medium which emerges after the medium negotiation sequence is maintained until the researcher returns to the room at the end of the focus group discussion, at which point it reverts to English.

6.3.5 Summary and Conclusions

Before we can summarise and draw conclusions about the influence of personal and group preferences and habits on the medium of interaction in the focus group discussions, it behoves us to return to some of the important situational factors surrounding this activity, in order to weigh up their relative importance.

Let us start with the medium preference of the researcher: English. Almost all direct interaction with the researcher takes place in English. This is particularly noticeable in the presentation sequence, which is dominated by him. In the case of focus group 4, one member specifically addresses the language preference of the researcher and suggests that it might be easier to hold the discussion in English. As a result, the researcher tries to cancel out his own influence and shift the onus to the group. It is then the same participant who initiates a medium switch to Welsh when the researcher has withdrawn. In the other three cases, the researcher has offered a free choice of medium for the discussion: Welsh, English or both. In only one case, was there no subsequent medium switch: focus group 2, who jointly negotiated their group preference for English in the presentation phase.

As regards the researcher’s ‘extended arm’, the camcorder, participants do not ignore its presence. Indeed, initially participants often orient in some way towards the camcorder and in both focus groups 2 and 3, these sequences are carried out in English (“wave to the camera” and a string of greetings, respectively). Yet subsequent to any medium switch to Welsh, any orientations towards the camera are usually (if not always) in Welsh (c.f. Cornilov addressing the camera: *Cymraeg yw iaith*

[Ysgol 1] “Welsh is the language of [Ysgol 1]” at the close of group 4’s medium negotiation sequence). Hence any influence from the researcher’s medium preference appears to be local and short term, even via the camcorder.

A considerable amount of attention has been devoted to the role of the question sheets in the detailed analyses above, since they evidently play an important part in the negotiation of the medium of the discussion. This is hardly surprising since reading the questions aloud is a regular feature of the discussion proper. Nevertheless, there is nothing in the analysis to suggest that the language version of the question sheets has exerted its own influence, i.e. because one language version happens to be uppermost in front of particular group members. Instead, the question sheets are used actively as an integral part of the medium negotiation of each group.

Having concluded that the direct influence of these three main situational factors on the medium of the focus group discussions is negligible, let us compare the outcome of the medium negotiations in each respective group to their respective language profiles. Focus groups 1 and 2 have the most homogenous group profiles and therefore one might expect that they would opt for Welsh and English, respectively. This is precisely what happens. Furthermore, in the case of focus group 1, the duration of the negotiation sequence is minimal and involves no medium switch. In focus group 2 there is no medium switch at all, and any suggestion that the group might like to discuss the questions in Welsh is contested immediately and then rejected.

The language profiles for focus groups 3 and 4, on the other hand, are more variegated, since there are relatively more floaters, some with conflicting medium preferences in relation to the other individuals within the group. The divergence in preferences from the language profiles is greatest in group 3 and it is this group that displays the longest and most complex medium negotiation sequence in the ‘transition zone’ between the pre-discussion sequence and the discussion proper. Likewise in group 4, this is the location of their medium negotiation sequence. Indeed, in both cases there are ‘true’ medium negotiation sequences (c.f. §3.2.1), in that medium switches occur.

The outcome is that group 1 carry out the discussion proper in English and the other three groups opt for Welsh. This is rather interesting since

one might expect further medium switches perhaps accompanied by medium negotiation sequences, particularly in focus group three and perhaps even in group four, given the mix of languages recorded in the language diaries and questionnaires. However, this does not happen. Moreover, it is difficult to account for this consistency with any manner of certainty. There may be something in the nature of the task, which makes it difficult to renegotiate the medium of discussion once it is underway. Here the question sheets may have a certain role to play, since reading out the questions plays an important part in structuring the activity. Another more general factor is the strong monolingual norm, which operates in many Western cultures (c.f. §3.1.3), and disprefers language alternation in any form. Clearly, a strict adherence to this norm is not applicable here, particularly when the groups speak Welsh, since their Welsh can be more readily described as a mixed medium. Furthermore, code-switching occurs in all four groups (albeit to varying degrees). Nevertheless, the base language of the two media: English and mixed-medium Welsh remain constant within the discussion proper phase in all four groups despite their varied language profiles.

Let us now turn to the nature of the Welsh and English spoken in the four focus groups, in order to compare and contrast the patterns which emerge in their talk-in-interaction.

6.4 Code-alternation

In order to explore the nature of the codes (and media)¹⁷⁰ spoken by the focus group participants, I will draw on the revised typology of code-alternation based on Gafaranga and Torras's classification presented fully in §3.2.1. This typology is based on a CA approach to code-alternation, whereby the onus is on the analyst to show how or whether participants orient in any way to the code-alternation in their talk-in-interaction. Thus if they display no such orientation, the code-alternation is unmarked and constitutes *code-mixing*. If, on the other hand, they do display some kind of orientation, and the code-alternated elements are marked (as an additional meaning-signalling device, recoverable by the

¹⁷⁰ *Codes* constitute the analyst's categories (discrete languages and language varieties such as standard Welsh and English), whereas *media* constitute the participants' categories which may or may not always coincide with the analyst's categories, particularly in the case of Welsh.

next-turn proof procedure, for example), it is a case of *code-switching*. Hence the paragraph divisions of this section are based on the four categories, which arise from drawing this distinction, i.e. one category of code-mixing: *a mixed medium*, and three categories of code-switching: *medium repair*, *medium switching* and *medium suspension* (c.f. §3.2.1).

By presenting examples and some statistical counts of four types of code-alternation, I wish to elucidate what interactional work they perform as well as outline links between form, function and the language profiles of the four focus groups. Part of this analysis will be to examine whether the distribution of these four code-alternation types in predominantly English or Welsh talk is the same or different in each case, and to discuss possible reasons for any similarities and differences. However, in order to do this we shall need to go beyond the confines of strict conversation analysis. Indeed, this is necessary in order to discuss the construction of bilingualism, not just in terms of its discursive construction, but also in terms of its performance in the language practices of these bilinguals.

Let us now turn to each of the four categories of code-alternation in turn and examine the video-recorded focus group data.

6.4.1 Mixed Medium

In very many of the excerpts transcribed in Welsh so far, with the exception of the head teacher's opening address at the *Ysgol 1* open evening (c.f. §§5.2.1-5.2.2 excerpts 6 & 8), there have been English words and phrases marked in italics. Where the focus has been on form (e.g. code-alternation), the excerpts have been accompanied with a commentary stating that the English words are unmarked and therefore do not constitute examples of code-switching. This pertains particularly to excerpt 1 in §3.2.1, excerpt 3 in §3.2.4 (transcribing code-alternation), and excerpt 24 in §6.3.4 of the previous section (c.f. the English words "*cheap*" and "*atmosphere*" in lines 36 & 38). Indeed, when the participants' medium is Welsh, it is invariably a mixed medium, that is the default medium is bilingual. Moreover, an analysis of the codes in this bilingual medium reveals that Welsh is typically the base language with an identifiable pattern of insertional mixing (Auer 1999: 315), i.e. the English insertions fit into the grammatical syntactical framework of Welsh. The following brief excerpt (25) will serve to illustrate this point.

At this juncture, Wesley is describing the respective Welsh and English medium schools in the town where he used to live:

Excerpt 25 (FGD1, FG4, 10:25)

Participants: Action Man (A/A Man), Cornilov (C/Cornil), Wesley (W), Batman (B)

Wesley: ma' un ysgol cymraeg fel yn wyth cant *pupil*, (.)
 is one school Welsh like part. eight hundred
 there's one Welsh school like eight hundred *pupils*,
 7 a ma' dau ysgol two thousand (.5) *pupils* ie
 and is two school yeah
 and there are two schools of *two thousand*, *pupils* yeah
 8 Cornilov: *rîli?*
 really?
 9 Wesley: yn saesneg
 in English
 in English

Here the English noun “pupil(s)” in lines 1 and 2 and the numeral “two thousand” in line 2 have been ‘slotted into’ an otherwise Welsh syntactical framework. In line 1 “pupil” is preceded by the Welsh numeral *wyth cant* “eight hundred” and, in keeping with the grammatical rules for Welsh, “pupil” even appears in the singular. This is also aptly illustrated by *dau ysgol*, literally “two school” in the next line. However, immediately after this in line 2, the English numeral “two thousand” is combined with the expected English plural “pupils” after the pause. These borrowings from English neatly conform here to their linguistic environments, but the most important aspect is that they are not marked in any way, they are produced in a syntactically and prosodically seamless utterance. Neither are they subject to medium repairs of any kind. In fact, Cornilov responds with surprise to the content using a commonly occurring borrowing *rîli* “really”, which has been respelt in Welsh mainly because of its high frequency in the focus group data. As regards the noun “pupil”, it should be pointed out that a few turns earlier Wesley used the Welsh equivalent *dysgyblion* (plural), which suggests that the English and Welsh words may be used interchangeably in this mixed medium without the need for any medium repair. With regard to numerals, it is far from uncommon to find English numerals combined with Welsh or English nouns or even mixtures of Welsh and English numerals in the same utterance, as in this case (excerpt 25).

Although the unmarked mixed medium predominantly takes the guise of insertional code-mixing, very rarely the insertional pattern approaches

alternational code-mixing, but such sequences are quite short and transitional, such as in excerpt 26, where Louise is telling the others (with Amy's support) about their local English-medium secondary school's high ranking in the national 'league tables' as regards their 18+ public examination results:

Excerpt 26 (FGD1, FG3, 24:52)

Participants: Louise (L), Carys (C), Llinos (LI), Martha (M), Amy (A)

- 10 Louise: Lfi'n credu gyda [ysgol 2] ddo os chi'n edrych ar
 I part. believe with [name of English school] though if you part. look on
 I think with [Ysgol 2] though if you look at
- 11 y tables thing nw sy' gyda nw fel un o'r top (.)
 the they who are with they like one of the
 the tables thing they have they're like one of the top,
- 12 rones for a rlevels an' (uh through) ma' pobol
 are people
 ones for A levels an' (uh through) people
- 13 Amy: Lmm J
 14 Carys: L ie J
 yeah
- 15 Louise: yn ffonio lan 'na yn meddwl mai private school
 part. phone up there part. think that
 phone up there thinking that it's a private school
- 16 ryw ei' 'chos ma'r results mor dda r yn a level 7
 is he 'cause are the so good in
 'cause the results are so good at A level
- 17 Llinos: Lwir. J
 true
 really
- 18 Amy: Lma' nw yn y-
 are they part. uh
 they are uh
- 19 Amy: darllen r'di nw mm mm
 read past they
 they've read mm mm
- 20 Louise: L y fourth t- uh out o- the to- uh
 the
 the fourth t- uh out o- the to- uh
- 21 Amy: °(xx)°
 they're the fourth top in britain: school
- 22 Louise: rryw 7 ei' two years ago 7
 is he
 it is two years ago
- 24 Amy: L on' | ma' nw'n r i:l i encourago plant nw.
 but are they part. really encourage children their
 but they really encourage their children
- 25 Llinos: Lffach J
 cor

Although Louise is at a Welsh-medium school and the Welsh terms for school matters such as examinations will also be familiar, the Welsh and English terms are both common in the data. Thus there is nothing unusual about Louise's use of the words "tables thing", "A levels", "results", "private school" in her mixed-medium Welsh. However, it does seem as though these words sometimes seed longer phrases in English. In lines 6-7 "top" is also a recognised loanword in Welsh dictionaries, but it can of course be readily incorporated into a longer phrase in English as in this case. After a brief pause, Louise produces an English construction which continues into the next clause starting with "an(d)". However, this clause is not completed, either in English or in Welsh and she restarts in Welsh at the end of line 7. Note that the back-channelling from Amy and Carys in lines 8 and 9 show no orientation to the form of Louise's mixed medium; they respond only to the content.

In lines 15 and 17 Louise starts with the Welsh definite article *y*, but she selects the English ordinal "fourth" and this may seed the continuation in English although there are two restarts in line 15, probably in response to Amy's overlapping turn in line 14. After the second repair Louise provides the subject and the verb in English "they're" and then completes the phrase in English with a final repair after Britain (marked prosodically) in order to add the word "school". Thus for the first time in this sequence, line 17 could constitute a syntactically complete unit, but in fact it is prefixed by *yw e* "it is", which embeds the preceding English syntactical unit in a Welsh syntactical framework employing focussed word order (or foregrounding¹⁷¹). The final increment, however, comes in English: "two years ago;" with the same rising completion intonation as "*yw e*". This, together with the mismatch between the Welsh present tense and the time adverbial, seems to suggest that it is an afterthought. Here we also have another example of a numeral in English. Note that the overlapping responses here too, from Amy and Llinos in lines 14, 19 and 20, do not orient towards the code-mixed form of Louise's turn, but simply attend to the content. Otherwise this example is about as close as we get to alternational code-mixing in the focus group data.

¹⁷¹ C.f examples of foregrounding in Welsh English dialects in §3.3.1.2.

Although the nature of these participants' default medium is a mixed medium, this does not mean that they are unaware of the fact that their Welsh is mixed with English, it is simply that they do not usually orient towards this as marked or “framed” (c.f. §6.4.4). However, on occasion the code-mixed nature of their talk may surface, for example in the guise of a metalinguistic comment as in line 6 of excerpt 27:

Excerpt 27 (FGD1, FG4, 08:41)

Participants: Action Man (A/A Man), Cornilov (C/Cornil), Wesley (W), Batman (B)

- 1 Cornilov: *ie fi hef_uyd yn meddwl fod yn r_uli bwysig i ni*
yeah I also part. think that is part. really important to us
yeah I also think that it's really important that we speak Welsh
- 2 *siarad cymraeg.*
speak Welsh
speak Welsh
- 3 Pause: (.3)
- 4 Cornilov: *Γ>a'i_u cadw cymraeg i myn' ac ym [ysgol 2] < (.3)*
and her keep Welsh to go and in [name of English school]
and keep it – Welsh – going and in [Ysgol 2]
- 5 A Man: *Lyd_y ↓*
is
yes
- 6 → Cornil: *as it is (.4) ((sniffs)) (.5) °cymraeg da iawn (.3)*
Welsh good very
as it is, very good Welsh,
- 7 *ond° \$pffh:y\$*
but [snort]
but pffuh
- 8 Pause: (.)
- 9 Wesley: *\$mhmh [mhmhmh\$]*
- 10 Cornilov: *(no bod) yn bwysig i siarad cymraeg cadw i*
(no that is) part. important to speak Welsh keep to
(no that it's) important to speak Welsh keep [it]
- 11 Cornil: *mynd a:,*
go and
going and

In this extract the focus group are discussing why they and their parents chose to go to the bilingual secondary school as opposed to *Ysgol 2*, which is the English-medium alternative. Here Cornilov is asserting the importance of speaking Welsh and keeping the language alive, which is made more possible at their school. It is in this context of the importance of maintaining Welsh that the English phrase “as it is” becomes glaringly evident and attracts a softly spoken, ironic metalinguistic comment: *Cymraeg da iawn ond* “very good Welsh but”, followed by an amused snort and Wesley’s chuckle in line 9, and then a

restating of Cornilov's point in lines 10-11. We shall be returning to the pupils' discursive portrayal of their mixed medium Welsh in the next section. However, before we leave the default bilingual nature of the pupils' Welsh, we also need to examine their English, to see whether or not it shares the features exemplified by their Welsh in the above examples.

Only one of the focus groups (group 2) chose to hold their group discussions in English and it is this particular group's English which will be examined here. This means that it is not possible to generalise their English with the English of all the other groups, not least because it is the only group which has English-dominant bilinguals. Nevertheless, a comparison of their English with the mixed-medium Welsh of the other groups throws up a marked contrast. If we disregard the remarkably low occurrence of code-switching in Welsh for the moment (until §6.4.3), there were only a total of seven lexical items in Welsh which were unmarked in the two discussion sessions. These are: *ffreutur* "dining hall", *add gref* "R.E., religious education", *tech* "technology", *chwb cristnogol* "Christian Union", *Awr Fawr* "literally: big hour, a competitive school show", *dawns disgo* "disco dancing (a competition in the eisteddfod)", *cadair* "literally chair, the chair of honour at the eisteddfod". Most of these words have the status of proper nouns: a particular locality within the school building, school subjects taught through the medium of Welsh and activities organised at school or through the Urdd (a Welsh-language youth organisation). Hence the nature of this group's English does not constitute a mixed medium, i.e. English mixed with Welsh as a default medium. Instead, any occurrence of Welsh – besides the above-listed words which function essentially as names – is marked and therefore falls under the category of code-switching.

6.4.2 Medium Repair

According to Gafaranga and Torras's original category a medium repair can occur if the medium to be corrected is a marked choice and deviates in some way from the default or unmarked medium. As regards all repairs, the preferred option is a self-initiated self-repair (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977), whereby the need for a repair is indicated by the speaker of the trouble source and is then carried out by the same

speaker. For example, in excerpt 27 Cornilov indicates that there is a trouble spot in his talk, which arises because he uses the English words “as it is” while he is talking about the importance of maintaining the Welsh language. At the other end of the scale, the most dispreferred repair would be an other-initiated other-repair, which is both marked as a trouble source and carried out by someone other than the speaker of the trouble source. One such example is the tease initiated by Wesley in excerpt 1 in §3.2.1. After Wesley’s other-initiated other-repair of Cornilov’s use of the English words for the school subjects “French” and “chemistry”, Cornilov produces a po-faced response, although he does use the Welsh equivalent: *cemeg* in his subsequent turn. Before we examine any further examples of medium repair, let us compare the total occurrences of medium repair between the four focus groups collated in figure 35:

Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3	Focus Group 4
0	0	5	6

Fig. 35 Number of medium repairs per focus group

Focus group 2, which was the only group to hold their discussions in English had no examples of medium repair. However, given the very low frequency of Welsh in their discussions, this is perhaps not so surprising. The other group with no medium repairs was group 1, which also showed the lowest incidence of code-switching (marginally less than group 2). Interestingly, it is the two groups (3 and 4) who are least homogeneous that have by far the highest incidence of code-switching overall and also the most cases of medium repair, even if the count is quite low. In order to account for this we need to examine the nature of these medium repairs. In other words, what is their function?

One notable function which groups 3 and 4 both share is to indicate a medium preference in a bid to bring about medium switching. In both groups a medium switch takes place in the transitional zone between the pre-discussion sequence and the discussion proper. As part of the medium negotiation sequence, during which the medium switching occurs, there is at least one turn in each sequence which appears to be a candidate for other-initiated repair. In group 3, English and Welsh have

- 3 Amy: n̩ra fi'ŋ'n cre'ɹdu bod y,ŋ
no I part. believe that uh
no I think that uh
- 4 Louise: L̩na ɹ | |
no
- 5 Llinos: L̩ma' ma' ɹma' fe'n,
is is is he part.
it's it's it's
- 6 Pause: (.)
- 7 Amy: ma'r (.) d̩daʊ yn d̩o:d o cymru thoughɹ
is the two part. come from Wales
both, come from Wales though
- 8 Martha: 'swn ɹi'n ca'l row am siarad saesneg.ŋ
would I part. get row about speak English
I'd get a row about speaking English
- 9 Llinos: L̩wel ie on' ma' mam d̩dim 'di ɹ
well yeah but is mum not past
well yeah but my mum hasn't
- 10 Llinos: hollol ɹgymr̩ag chɹ ɹwaithɹ ɹ
completely Welsh either
completely Welsh either
- 11 Louise: ((to M)) L̩adre bydde' ti?ɹ | |
home would you
at home would you
- 12 Martha: L̩(byddwn)ɹ
(yes)
- 13 Pause: (.3)
- 14 Carys: ((to L)) ɹbe:th? ɹ
what
- 15 Llinos: L̩achos o'dd yɹ ma- ɹo'dd nan
because was uh mu- was nan
because uh mu- nan was
- 16 → Louise: ((to C)) L̩>she'd have a row for
- 17 Llinos: yn saesnegɹ ɹ
part. English
English
- 18 → Louise: speaking english at home, <ɹ
- 19 Pause: (.4)
- 20 Martha: achos pan fi'n ɹsiarad saesneg i un o'ch-ŋ
because when I part. speak English to one of you
because when I speak English to one of you
- 21 → Amy: L̩!NO >Sorry sorry sorry ɹsorry
sorry ti yn swiɹtsio i siarad saesneg i [carys]
sorry you part. switch to speak English to [fictitious name]
sorry you're switching and speaking English to [Carys]
- 23 Louise: L̩\$hhhhuh ((covers mouth with hand))
- 24 Amy: fanna yn si- fel<ɹ ((turns head from side to side))
there part. sp- like
there sp- like
- 25 Louise: .h.h.h.h.h\$ ɹ
- 26 Martha: pan ɹfi'n ɹ
when I part.
when I
- 27 Louise: L̩\$.hhhɹ hihihih\$
- 28 Llinos: \$heheheh\$

- 29 Louise: ɾ\$.hɦh\$ *w̃ps:* ((*high pitched))
oops
- 30 Martha: ɽpan fi'n ɽ
when I part.
when I
- 31 Carys: \$hhuh\$
- 32 Amy: [\$uh\$]
- 33 Martha: ɽpan ɽ fi'n pan fi'n siarad saesneg i un o
when I part. when I part. speak English to one of
when I when I speak English to one of
- 34 Llinos: ɽ*caught on camera* \$ahuh\$ ((*posh English
35 Pause: (.) accent))
- 36 Martha: chi'ch dou ɽfi'nɽ ca'l row gyda mam am siarad
you you two I part. get row with mum for speak
you two I get a row with mum for speaking
- 37 Louise: ɽie ɽ
yeah
- 38 Martha: ɽgyda chi a fi:n
with you and I
with you and I
- 39 Louise: ɽna fi'n cofio unwaith yn tŷ,ɽ
no I part. remember once in house
no I remember once at (your?¹⁷²) house
- 40 Martha: a fi yn troi rown' fy hunen actually fi'n
and I part. turn round myself I part.
and I turn round to myself actually I
- 41 meddwl ar ôl ɽchi fynd, ɽ
think after you go
think after you've gone
- 42 Carys: ɽie fi'n creɽdu bo' 'na yn digon
yeah I part. believe that there part. enough
yeah I think that it serves
- 43 Carys: deɽg i ni? ɽ
fair to us
us right
- 44 Martha: |fi yn me|ddwl ɽar ôlɽ chi fynd,
I part. think I after you go
I think after you've gone
- 45 Louise: ɽie: ɽ | |
yeah
- 46 Amy: ɽbe' ɽ
what
- 47 Pause: (.)
- 48 Martha: ɽ[martha] pamɽ fi yn siarad ɽsaesnegɽ i chi
[fictitious name] when I part. speak English to you
[Martha] why am I speaking English to you
- 49 Louise: ɽo dylen ɽ ɽie ɽ
oh (we) should yeah
oh we should yeah

¹⁷² In these young people's Welsh the possessive pronoun usually comes after the noun, but here Louise does not complete what she is saying.

- 50 Amy: achos ɾ ie: rili ddyle' ni fod yn encourʔago
 because yeah really should we be part. encourage
 because yeah really we should be encouraging
- 51 Martha: |sa i'n gwbo' pam (xxx) i bod yn onest |
 am not I part. know why (?) to be part. honest
 I don't know why (?) to be honest
- 52 Carys: ie fair enough ie ↓
 yeah yeah fair enough yeah
- 53 Amy: chi'ch dou ri siarad cymraeg mwy.ʔ
 you you two to speak Welsh more
 you two to speak Welsh more

In line 1 Llinos is describing her Welsh-speaking home environment, in response to Amy's circumstances described in the turns immediately preceding this excerpt. The fact that Amy's father is Welsh-speaking, but originally born in England, occasions Amy's comment in line 7 that her circumstances are different. Just before Llinos responds to this in line 9, Martha makes a comment about her own home circumstances in line 8 that cuts across Llinos's and Amy's exchange. However, Louise responds to Martha's comment (line 11) in overlap with Llinos's claim that her circumstances are not so different from Amy's (since her nan was English). Two different 'conversational threads' are now running in parallel, which may have caused Carys to miss Louise's turn which in turn is a response to Martha's comment. Hence she addresses Louise for clarification in line 14. In responding to Carys's *beth?* "what?", Louise paraphrases both hers and Martha's turns in English in lines 16-17. When Martha then adjusts her original point to make it more relevant for both Louise and Carys (that she gets a row because of Louise and Carys), who have been more attentive to her 'thread' than Llinos's, Amy interrupts Martha emphatically both prosodically and by code-switching (medium suspension)¹⁷³. The repeated "sorry" functions both as an apology to Martha for interrupting so abruptly, and as a medium repair aimed specifically at Louise's 'aside' to Carys. The trouble source is clarified in the completion of Amy's turn in lines 22 and 24, both verbally and by her body language, in that she indicates with her head movement that she has noticed Louise's code-switching to English for Carys's benefit. Louise responds in turn with embarrassed and suppressed giggling. Louise's high-pitched "oops" in line 29, moreover, constitutes an acknowledgement of her misdemeanour. The only participant who shows

¹⁷³ Though it must be said that "sorry" (or *sorri*) is common in Welsh speech.

no amusement at Amy's other-initiated medium repair is Martha, whose turn is interrupted by Amy's medium repair. Instead, Martha does not succeed in completing her complaint to Louise and Carys until her fourth attempt, which comes in lines 33, 36 and 38. Even so she has to compete with Llinos's joke in line 34, a code-switched quip (medium suspension) in upperclass English about Louise's code-switching being caught on camera. Thus the question arises as to why a fairly innocuous code-switched side-sequence to Carys invokes a medium repair, whereas Amy's code-switched repair initiation and Llinos's little joke in English seem apparently immune. Indeed, even Louise's mixed-medium turns in excerpt 26, about the high-ranking of their neighbouring English-medium school, are not subject to medium repair. The key to answering this question comes in Amy's turn beginning in line 50, after both Louise and Carys have responded to Martha's elaborated complaint, where Amy singles out Louise and Carys as needing the others' encouragement to speak more Welsh. This links back to Louise's suggestion about twenty minutes earlier: *fi'n credu dyle' ni ni gyd siarad cymrâg am diwrnod i g'wod sut ma' fe'n mynd* "I think we we all should speak Welsh for a day to see how it goes". The suggestion arises after Carys has expressed a lack of confidence in speaking Welsh. Although this suggestion is not specifically referenced here, it may help to explain the force of Amy's other-initiated medium repair, since the suggestion to speak Welsh for a day came from Louise, who has just been 'caught' speaking English to the person who was supposed to benefit most from keeping to Welsh. Moreover, this helps to account for the degree of (nearly) all round hilarity at Louise's offence. Thus although Amy initiates a medium repair as a 'true' medium repair here, the conditions under which it arises are unusual and contingent. There may also be an element of teasing in Amy's medium repair, as in the case of Wesley's medium repair of the two school subjects Cornilov says in English, which was referred to earlier (c.f. excerpt 1 in §3.2.1).

Otherwise, it appears that medium repairs may, in fact, be initiated to carry out other interactional business than simply constituting a correction to the medium of the 'offending' element. The final example is an example of what complex interactional strategies may be lurking behind what, on the surface, may seem to be a simple linguistic repair. In excerpt 29, group 4 have been discussing the need for S4C (*Sianel 4*

Cymru), the Welsh-medium television channel to produce more (and better) programmes for young people of their age group.

Excerpt 29 (FGD1, FG4, 24:57)

Participants: Action Man (A/A Man), Cornilov (C/Cornil), Wesley (W), Batman (B)

- 1 Cornilov: ma' sky channel yn prynu sgorio. ɿ
 is part. buy score
 Sky Channel is buying Sgorio [=Welsh sports programme]
- 2 Batman: L>fi ddim yn mein do pobol y cwm
 I not part. mind people the valley
 I don't mind *Pobol y Cwm* [=Welsh soap opera]
- 3 → 'chos ma'n neis ca'l fel< (.) national ym (.4) soa-
 'cause is part. nice get like (.) national ym (.4) soa-
 uhm
- 4 → sebon. \$hyhy\$
 soap
 soap huhuh
- 5 Pause: (.3)
- 6 → Cornil: ɿ sebon.ɿ
 soap?
- 7 A Man: |ie:: | ɿie ɿ
 yeah yeah
- 8 Wesley: L ie ɿ | |
 yeah
- 9 → Batman: L sebon,ɿ
 soap
- 10 → Cornil: pobol y ɿcwm? ɿ ɿsoapɿ
Pobol y Cwm? soap
- 11 Wesley: Lon' felɿ ɿie ɿ pobol y cwɿm: ɿ yn
 but like yeah people the valley part.
- 12 Batman: L ie:ɿ
 yeah
- 13 Wesley: em̩barassment.
 an embarrassment
- 14 Batman: L iNA: ! ɿ
 no!
- 15 Batman: ɿ iNA ma' ɿ NA: !
 no is no
 no! it's no!
- 16 Cornilov: L wel ieɿ
 well yeah
- 17 A Man: ddyle' nw neud yn ɿmwy kind of i pobol, ɿ ɿie ɿ
 should they do/make part. more kind of for people yeah
 they should make more kind of for people yeah
- 18 Batman: L ma'n cwɿl ca'l nationalɿ seɿbonɿ
 is part. cool get nationalɿ seɿbonɿ
 it's cool having a national soap
- 19 A Man: fi'n gwbod fi'n ɿgwbod on', ɿ
 I part. know I part. know but
 I know I know but

repeated *sebon* is in need of repair. This means that although they are speaking a mixed medium with Welsh as the base language, a direct Welsh translation of the English “soap” is not only contested, but also corrected. The Welsh word *sebon* may have been perceived as closer to the literal meaning of “soap” (as a cleaning substance) than the by now familiar English word for a drama serial about people’s everyday lives.

Nevertheless, there seems to be more at stake here than just a medium repair. Despite Wesley’s initial affirmative recipient token, which seems to signal agreement with the point that having a national soap opera is nice, in lines 11 and 13 Wesley challenges Batman’s point outright. Although Batman defends his stance emphatically before Wesley has even finished the word “embarrassment”, Cornilov chimes in with Wesley’s standpoint on *Pobol y Cwm*. In fact, several turns earlier Cornilov had already expressed his opinion of the Welsh soap opera: *ie ma’ angen mwy o rhaglenni Cymraeg i apelio i pobol ifanc, dim blydi Pobol y Cwm* “yeah we need more Welsh programmes that appeal to young people, not bloody *Pobol y Cwm*”. It seems probable that Action Man is trying to make a similar point, at least as regards making more programmes for young people in line 17, although his turn remains incomplete. Despite the opposition Batman ups the stakes and suggests that having a national soap is “cool”. Neither does he accept Cornilov’s repair of *sebon*, which he retains in line 18. However, neither Action Man nor Wesley seem to go along with Batman’s upgraded stance on *Pobol y Cwm* in lines 19 (indicated by the final *on’* “but”) and 20. Furthermore, Cornilov upgrades his challenge of Batman’s persistent use of *sebon*, by addressing Batman by name and requesting him to say “soap” instead. Although Batman does do as Cornilov has requested, by pronouncing both “okay and soap” with a very English accent, he also signals a degree of resistance to Cornilov’s renewed other-initiated repair. The result is an amused response from both Cornilov and Action Man followed by a self-repair of “soap” by Cornilov in line 28. In line 29 Batman then challenges Cornilov’s medium repair, this time more directly by accusing Cornilov of promoting English, whereupon Cornilov immediately produces yet another self-repair, by producing a Welsh version of “soap (opera)” in line 30: *opera sebon*. This is accepted by Batman in line 31 and the finishing touch is added by Wesley in line 33,

where the approved Welsh version is pronounced with an exaggeratedly strong Welsh accent.

The question then arises whether so many repairs are warranted purely on the grounds of an offending medium choice. The accumulative evidence from this sequence and from Cornilov's earlier pronouncement on *Pobol y Cwm* is that Cornilov's repeated medium repairs and Batman's resistance to these repairs performs additional interactional work. In fact, Cornilov's request that Batman say "soap" in line 22 (following Action Man's and Wesley's negative response to Batman's stance) finally thwarts Batman's repeated attempts to assert the virtues of the Welsh national soap opera, *Pobol y Cwm*. It is precisely this additional interactional agenda which is evident in many of the examples of medium repair in the focus group data that leads me to reject Gafaranga and Torras's insistence that medium repair constitutes a separate category from code-switching. Instead, both medium repair and medium suspension can be deployed to perform a seemingly infinite range of functions, which are locally occasioned and jointly negotiated *in situ*.

6.4.3 Medium Switching

This section will be brief since there is no further need to exemplify this type of code-switching. The reason being that §6.3 provided a detailed analysis of two of the three¹⁷⁴ total occurrences of medium switching that occur in the discussions proper: the first is in focus group 3, illustrated by excerpt 21, and the second is in focus group 4, illustrated by excerpt 24. Both of these medium switches are achieved by means of a medium negotiation sequence, described in conjunction with the analysis of each respective excerpt. In both cases the medium switch takes place only once and the medium then remains the same for the duration of the discussion proper. As regards the function of medium switching and the preceding medium negotiation sequences, one could say that it allows participants to attend to their own medium preferences and those of their co-participants with respect to both personal and situational contingencies.

¹⁷⁴ The third occurs in the second discussion session for focus group 3, as the result of a medium negotiation sequence not so dissimilar from the equivalent sequence in their first discussion session.

6.4.4 Medium Suspension

Auer's *sequential implicativeness of language choice* (c.f. §3.2.1), i.e. the effect of an interlocutor's medium choice (language choice in Auer's terminology) on the subsequent medium of the conversation, is central in distinguishing between medium switching and medium suspension. Thus in contrast to medium switching, occurrences of medium suspension tend to be short stretches of talk in a divergent medium, which have a negligible effect on the medium of subsequent turns. Furthermore, medium suspension may also be accompanied by other contextualisation cues (Gumperz 1992), such as "prosodic cues (extra emphasis, preceding pause) and verbal markers (metalinguistic comments, hesitation)" (Auer 1999: 314). The function of these contextualisation cues is to open new "frames", to use Goffman's term (1974). Such frames provide listeners with additional background information or framing, which allows them to understand and interpret talk more easily. Thus through medium suspension and other contextualisation cues these frames may become become 'visible'. It is precisely this 'visibility', which is exploitable in talk-in-interaction for an infinite number of functions.

Regardless of the presence or absence of additional contextualisation cues, medium suspension constitutes by far the most frequently occurring type of code-switching in the focus group data. Nonetheless, there is considerable variation both between the four focus groups and among the individuals within one and the same group, as illustrated by figure 36:

Despite the individual variation, it is notable that both focus groups 1 and 2 score very low as regards the frequency of medium suspension. Within groups 3 and 4 the two individuals (both floaters) who are responsible for a disproportionate share of occurrences are Louise and Action Man, respectively. This tendency is particularly marked in Louise's case, who alone produces over three-fifths of her group's occurrences of medium suspension.

Out of the total occurrences of medium suspension for all four focus groups, by far the largest proportion constitutes quotations of some kind. This subcategory is illustrated by figure 37, which also contrasts the frequency of code-switched with non-code-switched quotations as a point of reference. Hence it emerges that the rhetorical device of using reported speech in the focus group discussions occurs in all four groups, but the balance is notably different in each. Groups 1 and 2 deliver only

Category	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3	Focus Group 4
We	Gwenhwyfar 2		Martha 0	Cornilov 17
	Belinda 1		Llinos 18	
	Bridget 2		Amy 15	
	Ifan 1			
WE	Geoff 0	Katy 1		Wesley 15
	Maud 0		Louise 62 Carys 6	Action Man 23 Batman 2
wE		Sally 3 Tina 0 Claire 4		
Total	6	8	101	57

We = Welsh-dominant
WE = 'floaters'
wE = English-dominant

Fig. 36 Occurrences¹⁷⁵ of medium suspension per individual and per focus group

just over one fifth and just over one quarter of their quotations in a code-switched medium, respectively. Group 3 on the other hand has roughly equal proportions of code-switched and non-code-switched quotations, whereas group 4 displays the converse pattern to groups 1 and 2 with just under a quarter of their quotations being delivered in the same medium as the surrounding speech, i.e. mixed-medium Welsh. Although the same two floaters in groups 3 and 4, Louise and Action Man respectively, are responsible for an even greater proportion of code-switched quotations than they were for occurrences of medium suspension in general, it is hard to draw any decisive conclusions about the three different categories of bilinguals. This is partly because there is so much individual variation within each category both within the same focus group and between the different focus groups, but it is also because individuals vary in total

¹⁷⁵ In calculating these frequencies, I have only counted a series of quotations which belong to the same conversational exchange as one single occurrence. Thus some of these 'occurrences' may in fact consist of several 'quotations'.

speaking time as well as in their speech styles, etc. Instead the most marked differences occur between the total occurrences of each focus group as a whole.

Category	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3	Focus Group 4
We	Gwen 2 / 4 Belinda 1 / 11 Bridget 2 / 4 Ifan 0 / 2		Martha 0 / 5 Llinos 4 / 6 Amy 8 / 10	Cornilov 6 / 0
WE	Geoff 0 / 0 Maud 0 / 2	Katy 1 / 5	Louise 32 / 19 Carys 0 / 1	Wesley 10 / 4 A Man 21 / 4 Batman 2 / 1
wE		Sally 3 / 9 Tina 0 / 5 Claire 4 / 10		
Total	5 / 23	8 / 29	44 / 41	39 / 9

Fig. 37 Occurrences of code-switched/non-code-switched quotations per individual and per focus group

Indeed, almost all occurrences of medium suspension in groups 1 and 2 constitute quotations, whereas medium suspension is deployed for a wider range of discourse functions in groups 3 and 4. Yet even within the largest category, the ‘quotation function’ displays different characteristics in different groups. Excerpt 2 in §3.2.1 serves as a typical example of how the quotation function is used in focus group 2. When Katy code-switches and quotes herself saying *helo shw mae o ie* “hello how are you oh yeah” in a strong lilting Welsh accent in line 6, it is not reported speech referring back to a particular conversation she has had. Indeed, it does not make much sense in one single turn like this. Instead it is a ‘performance’ of her speaking Welsh with relish in a way that might not meet the approval of other members of the group. Although she says in line 8 that she loves speaking Welsh, in the following line she apologises and buries her head in mock shame.

Out of the remaining seven examples of medium suspension in group 2, six more are of this type. They constitute greetings in Welsh or simply

6 → Bridget: ahe so\$ ym () >ma' nw'n myn'< *ah WO::W (.) you
ah eh so uhm are they part. go
ah eh so uhm, they go ah wow! you

7 → *speak welsh how interesti:ng** ((*in a loud American
8 → *accent*)) (o ie) rno it's not interesting
(oh yeah)
(oh yeah) no it's not interesting

9 Gwen: L_{ie::} J
yeah

10 → Bridget: [it's like the most] [natural thing] in the world
11 Belinda: [\$hhhhh\$]
12 Geoff: [\$hhhhh\$]

13 → Bridget: o'dde' nw fel *WO: r:W*₁
were they like
they were like wow!

14 → Gwen: L_{how} J *quaint*
15 Bridget: ie: o god rBETH yw hwnna J
yeah oh what is that
yeah oh God what is this

16 Maud: L_{a a ma' nw wastad} J ma' teulu fi gyd yn
and and are they always is family my all part.
and and they're always my family are all

17 → *saesneg* ma' nw wastad yn gofyn, (.) so y' chi'n
English are they always part. ask so are you part.
English they always ask, so

18 → *gallu astudio y llyfre yn cymrâg 'se' nw'n (.5)*
can you study the books in Welsh would they part.
can you study the books in Welsh they'd,

19 *meddwl* ma' gyda ni fel rma' fe wrong gyda ni dim
think is with us like is he wrong with us no-
think we have like it's wrong we have nothing

20 Gwen: L_{\$aheheheh\$}
21 Bridget: L_{\$heheh\$}
22 Maud: byd jys' gyda ni ddim shakespeare so, (.) basically
thing just with us not so
just we don't have Shakespeare so, basically

23 *jys' gyda ni ddim llenyddiaeth* rma' nw₁ jys'
just with us not literature are they just
we just don't have literature they just

24 Bridget: L_{mm} J
25 Bridget: mh-phhh J
26 → Maud: L_{ddim yn} (.) a ma' nw'n gofyn so: yw cymrâg i ym
not part. and are they part. ask so is Welsh to/for uhm
don't, and they ask so is Welsh to uhm,

27 → (.) gcse mor anodd â saesneg
GCSE as difficult as English
GCSE [=16+ exam] as difficult as English

28 Bridget: mm
29 Pause: (.4)
30 → Maud: jys' wel (.) actually ma'n anoddach₂ \$yhy\$
just well is part. more difficult uhh
just well, actually it's more difficult uhh

31 Gwen: \$mhmhmhm\$
32 Maud: \$uh uh\$

Before Bridget cites her parents' American friends she indicates in line 4 that there is something uncanny about them, since they are from "somewhere a bit odd", to which Maud chimes in *o Americanwyr* "oh Americans" in line 5. Besides flagging the quotation with a reporting verb *mynd* "go" in line 6, Bridget adds an additional "layering of voice" (c.f. footnote 35 in §3.2.1), not only in the guise of prosodic features such as increased volume to represent a loud American, but also by performing the quotation (lines 6-7) in an American accent. Bridget disaffiliative response to the American's/Americans' comment in lines 8 and 10, where she cites herself in English (probably not uttered in this way, if uttered at all) with the effect that speaking Welsh should not be treated as something weird and wonderful, but rather as something mundane and commonplace. In overlap with the Americans' reiterated "wow" flagged by the reporting particle *fel* "like" in line 13, Gwenhwyfar adds "how quaint" (line 14) to Bridget's quotation. However, Gwenhwyfar's 'quotation' is of a more general nature, i.e. it is meant as a typical American response to anything unfamiliar and 'olde worlde'. Bridget recipient token in line 15 *ie* "yeah" indicates that Gwenhwyfar's 'addition' is in keeping with her Americans' reactions. The continuation of Bridget's turn in line 15 marks further her irritation with these Americans¹⁷⁷.

The continuation of this stretch of talk is included in excerpt 30, since Maud's story about her English-speaking family, probably involving her relatives in England, are also quoted here in lines 17-18 and again in lines 26-27. Like the Americans who Bridget quotes above, Maud's family are not portrayed in a favourable light. However, although Maud's family are likely to have asked their questions in English, she does not quote them in English, but in Welsh. She also interprets in Welsh what is to be read between the lines of the first question (lines 18-19 & 22-23), i.e. that in asking about studying books in Welsh they are really expressing their surprise that there can be anything of value written in Welsh. When Maud cites herself (also in Welsh) in line 30 as replying to her family's second question (lines 26-27) about whether

¹⁷⁷ I have not counted "oh God" as an example of medium suspension, since it is so frequent as an expletive in the data. Rather I have regarded it as a feature of mixed-medium Welsh, despite the fact that it is (expectedly) prosodically marked.

doing GCSE in Welsh can be as difficult as that in English. Maud's reply: actually *ma'n anoddach* "actually it's more difficult" signals that she contests the assumptions underlying her family's condescending question, and thereby takes exception to monolingual English speakers in a manner similar to that displayed by Bridget in her previous story.

In focus groups 3 and 4, where code-switched quoting is far more frequent, there are no clear-cut patterns. Unlike the speaker's disaffiliation from those quoted in English in group 1, disaffiliation is not necessarily a feature in the third and fourth groups' use of English code-switched quotations (though it is not unusual here either). Nevertheless, there are other, albeit less common, functional subcategories of medium suspension in the focus group discussions of groups 3 and 4, which also deserve some attention here. As I indicated at the outset of this section, the possible functions of medium suspension are infinite. Hence many of the functions of medium suspension seem to be 'one-offs' in the data. Nevertheless, some of the more frequent subcategories which can be identified include addressee specification, reiterations (e.g. for emphasis)¹⁷⁸, asides (parenthetical comments) and a "change in footing" (Goffman 1979, 1981).

In order to elucidate and exemplify some of these somewhat broad subcategories of discourse functions, let us return to the focus group data. In excerpt 28 we have an example of addressee specification in lines 16 and 18, when Louise responds to Carys's *beth?* "what?" and repeats in English what Martha has said in Welsh. By attending to her own preferred medium of interaction with Carys (and perhaps also Carys's preferred medium of interaction), Louise code-switches to English, even though this incurs an other-initiated medium repair from Amy (from line 21 onwards).

The brief excerpt below (31) serves to illustrate the somewhat vague discourse function, which Gumperz terms reiteration (c.f. footnote 178). In lines 1-2 Cornilov repeats *pawb* "everyone", which has already been prosodically stressed, but the second time it is uttered in English. Forewording the reiteration with another possible candidate for medium suspension, "seriously", heightens further the effect of the code-switched

¹⁷⁸ C.f. Gumperz's (1982) preliminary typology of six discourse functions: (i) quotations, (ii) addressee specification, (iii) interjections, (iv) reiterations, (v) message qualification, (vi) personalization vs. objectivization.

reiteration, which in turn provides emphasis and reinforces the impact of Cornilov's claim.

Excerpt 31 (FGD2, FG4, 08:16)

Participants: Action Man, Cornilov, Wesley, Batman

1 Cornilov: fi'n siarad cymraeg 'da pawb (.4) *seriously* (.)
 I part. speak Welsh with everyone
 I speak Welsh with everyone, *seriously*,
 2
 3 Batman: [*everyone*]
 [ie]
 yeah

Let us move on to another broad subcategory of discourse functions, namely what Goffman terms a “change in footing”, which

implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. (1981: 128)

Although a change in footing may be accomplished by a multitude of means in interaction, code-switching constitutes one way of marking a change in alignment. To illustrate this let us take just one example from group 3, reproduced in excerpt 32. In this sequence Louise attempts to make a three-way categorisation of the group members on the basis of their stance on Welsh.

Excerpt 32 (FGD2, FG3, 49:12)

Participants: Louise (L), Carys (C), Llinos (LI), Martha (M), Amy (A)

1 Louise: L>'chos fan 'yn ma' fe *quite good* achos ti'n
 'cause here is he because you part.
 'cause here it's *quite good* because you're
 2 Louise: rîli cymrâg ((to M, moves hands to left))
 really Welsh
 really Welsh
 3 wedyn ma' [amy] a [llinos]< yn, (.3) *in: f:- fy-*
 then is [name] and [name] part/in ? ?
 then [Amy] and [Llinos] are (in) in ??
 ((moves hands to middle and waves them up and
 4 down)) >a [wedyn] fi a [carys],< (.3) *sort of*
 and then I and [name]
 and then me and [Carys] are, *sort of*
 5 Llinos: Lmm J
 6 Pause: (.4)
 7 Llinos: \$tu-huhuh\$
 8 Louise: L*slightly on*] the scale *that way*.. ((moves hands
 9 to the right)) (.9) an' *dat way*: ((moves hands to

10 left) (.) [an'ɹ *I'll do a little look cooɹkie*ɹ
 ((does dance moves with hands; *sings))

11 Amy: [mm]

12 Carys: [well]

13 Carys: I [dunno.
 (shwt xx)°] \$hh\$

14 Amy: (how ??)
 (how ??)

15 Pause: (.5)

16 Louise: eh? (.8) or (.) are you

17 Pause: (.)

18 Louise: [\$huhh\$]

19 Amy: [I mean] FI'n caru'r iaith heɹfyd. ɹ
 I part. love the language too
I mean I love the language too

20 Carys: |ie:: |
 yeah
 [yeah yeah]

21 Louise: [a fi ddimɹ ɹmoyn eɹ marw allan neu dim ɹbyd?
 and I not want him die out or nothing
 and I don't want it to die out or anything

22 Amy: [tha's the] [fi (x)] [yeah
 I ?

23 Louise: [tha's the] [fi (x)] [yeah

24 Carys: [fi (x)] [I ?

25 Amy: on' hefyd fi ddim yn gweld ɹ bo' raid i
 but also I not part. see that is necessity for
 but also I don't see that I have

26 Louise: I'm not so passionate about it though]

27 Amy: fi: (.8) ti'bod joino dim cymdeithas (.) i fi
 me y'know join no society for me
 to, y' know join any society, for me

28 caru'r iaith.
 love the language
 to love the language

29 Pause: (.)

30 Llinos: mm

31 Amy: ɹfi jyst yn hapus fel i fi (fan 'yn).ɹ
 I just part. happy like for me (here)
 I'm just happy like for me (here)

In line 4 Louise tries to place herself in the same category as Carys, but Carys does not go along with her categorisation (lines 12-13). Furthermore, Amy also breaks ranks and realigns herself with Martha, who is supposed to be the sole member of Louise's category *rili Cymraeg* "really Welsh" (line 2). Amy does this by reiterating Martha's earlier words (from just before this excerpt) in line 19: *fi'n caru'r iaith hefyd* "I love the language too". Carys subsequently aligns herself with Amy too in line 20. Louise's overlapping response in line 21: "yeah yeah" followed by the uncompleted utterance "that's the" in line 23

already shows signs of disalignment with Amy not least by means of the divergent medium in which it is expressed; Amy’s turn is delivered in mixed-medium Welsh (lines 19, 22, 25, etc.), yet Louise’s overlapping talk is in English throughout. Louise’s disalignment culminates in line 26 by recycling the word “passionate” from Amy’s earlier turn (a few turns before the beginning of this excerpt): “I’m not so passionate about it though”, thereby further underscoring the content of her turn by her maintained medium suspension.

Before we wind up this section, let us take one more excerpt (33) from one of the group 3 focus group discussions. Here Action Man is claiming that in contrast to pupils at the English-medium school only a couple of pupils in their year smoke regularly (lines 1 & 4). In response to this claim, Cornilov initiates a change in footing, whereby he insinuates in a humorous fashion, by pointing at Action Man and looking directly at the camera, that Action Man is one of the regular smokers. By responding physically (slapping Cornilov’s finger) and then code-switching into English in line 6 to admonish him for his intrusion, Action Man achieves an aside from his own claim within the adjoining “frame” which Cornilov has established. The effect is a jovial tease, which Action Man wards off in a light-hearted manner.

Excerpt 33 (FGD1, FG4, 11:56)

Participants: Action Man (A/A Man), Cornilov (C), Wesley, Batman

- | | | |
|---|-----------|---|
| 1 | A Man: | ʃsa iɿ 'n nabod unryw ʃunɿ sy'n smygu yn blwyddyn ni
am not I part. know any one who is part. smoke part. year our
I don't know anyone who smokes in our year |
| 2 | Batman: | Locê ɿ
okay |
| 3 | Wesley: | Ls-ɿ
? |
| 4 | A Man: | hebla'n fel cwpwl yn rheolaidd
apart from like couple part. regular
apart from like a couple regularly |
| 5 | Pause: | (2.0) ((C points at A and looks at the camera))
((A slaps C's finger)) |
| 6 | → A Man: | [*stop it*] ((*affected)) [ʃehh hih\$
yn rheolaidd] [yn ʃrheolaidd hh\$]
part. regular part. regular
regularly hh
regularly hh |
| 7 | Wesley: | |
| 8 | Cornilov: | Lʃuhuhuhuhuh huh\$ ɿ |

The object of these examples is not in any way to provide any kind of exhaustive list of possible functions of medium suspension in the focus

group data. Indeed, if it were at all possible to create a list, it would be of limited usefulness, since the subcategories would no doubt be infinite, that is if one were to go beyond the focus group data. Instead, the examples serve to illustrate a range of discourse functions for which medium suspension can be deployed. However, one major finding is that medium suspension is confined almost exclusively to quotations in focus groups 1 and 2, whereas the range of functions is most extensive within groups 3 and 4. This pattern also correlates with the linguistically more homogeneous and the linguistically more heterogeneous groups, respectively. Furthermore, the code-switched quotations in Welsh in focus group 2 appear to signal speaking Welsh for various reasons, rather than to convey actual reported speech.

6.4.5 Summary and Conclusions

One of the major aims of this section on code-alternation has been to identify patterns in the language practices of the participants who make up the four focus groups. In order to identify such patterns, I have drawn heavily on a taxonomy of code-alternation constructed by Gafaranga and Torras (2002), albeit in a revised form. This taxonomy distinguishes between four categories of code-alternation according to formal rather than functional features, one of which is unmarked and three of which are marked and therefore constitute code-switching proper. In this section these four categories have also been examined with close reference to the focus group data in order to reveal their functions in talk-in-interaction.

If we return briefly to the unmarked category of code-alternation first, the most significant finding from the focus group data is that there is a marked difference between the two medium choices. Group 2 is the only group to carry out their discussions in English, and the unmarked or default medium can be characterised as monolingual. The few unmarked occurrences of Welsh bear similarities to names or proper nouns and are therefore allowed to pass without recourse to medium repair. By contrast the medium of groups 1, 3 and 4 is bilingual; the base language is Welsh with unmarked English insertions. Thus the Welsh spoken by these three focus groups is by default *a mixed medium*. Having said that, there are some differences between group 1 on the one hand, and groups 3 and 4 on the other. Although I have not attempted to make an empirical frequency count, my impression from transcribing vast amounts of focus

group data is that despite individual differences, the members of group 1 tend to use a wider vocabulary in Welsh. Furthermore, there seem to be fewer English discourse markers in their mixed-medium Welsh, e.g. “like”, “you know”, “I mean”. Another difference is that the Welsh-dominant members of group 1 (and also Martha in group 3) have a greater tendency to use mutations according to the rules for standard Welsh¹⁷⁹, although there is considerable variation not only between individuals, but also for one and the same individual.

Let us now turn our attention to the three code-switched categories. Firstly, it emerges from the data that the frequencies vary considerably between the three. The overall totals can be found in the final column of figure 38. The frequency of the least commonly occurring category, *medium switching* with only 3 occurrences, can immediately be accounted for with reference to its function. All three arise in medium negotiation sequences, which attend to the medium preferences of the focus group participants. The final outcome of these sequences is a medium switch to the medium in which the discussions are then carried out: mixed-medium Welsh. The three occurrences are limited to groups 3 and 4, because groups 1 and 2 automatically adopt the medium of the discussion as a matter of course. Therefore no renegotiation of the medium proves necessary.

An examination of *medium repairs*, which amount to a total of 11 occurrences in the focus group data, reveals that this category is also restricted to groups 3 and 4, even though the totals for each group are comparatively low (at least in comparison with medium suspension). Since groups 3 and 4 both settle on a default medium of mixed-medium Welsh, one might expect there to be little need for ‘true’ medium repairs, since unmarked English insertions are a characteristic of mixed-medium Welsh. In fact, there are few such corrections to the medium on linguistic grounds, and when they do occur (as in the case of excerpt 28), they are occasioned by special local contingencies. Instead, the mixed-medium nature of the groups’ Welsh is exploited on occasion to accomplish other interactional work, which may take the guise of a medium repair (c.f.

¹⁷⁹ This is not to say that any of the focus group members do not master the Welsh mutation rules. Indeed, those who fill in their language diaries in Welsh provide evidence that they generally do. However, in the informal peer-group discussions the use of Welsh mutations generally tends to be highly erratic.

excerpt 29). Hence, medium repairs may be deployed for a potentially infinite range of discourse functions, which are worked out jointly in *situ*. For this reason, it seems that this category of code-switching does not justify its own special category, constituting code-alternation as deviance but not a subcategory of code-switching (c.f. Gafaranga and Torras' taxonomy in figure 2).

	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3	Focus Group 4	Overall total
Medium switching	0	0	2	1	3
Medium repairs	0	0	5	6	11
Medium suspension	6	8	101	57	172
Total / focus group	6	8	108	64	186

Fig. 38 Occurrences of code-switching per focus group

The third and final category of code-switching proper, *medium suspension*, is by far the most frequent and is the only category to occur in all four focus groups. Nevertheless, groups 1 and 2 diverge once again from the more heterogeneous groups 3 and 4 to such a degree that the latter are responsible for 172 occurrences out of a total of 186. Not only are there vast differences in frequency, but there are also marked differences as regards which functional subcategories they deploy. The relatively low number of occurrences of medium suspension in groups 1 and 2 are almost exclusively reserved for the 'quotation function'. Furthermore, in group 2, the quotation function differs in quality, in that it is used to signal 'performing' speaking Welsh. By contrast, groups 3 and 4 are not only responsible for the vast majority of medium suspension occurrences, but these occurrences also perform a wider range of functions, despite code-switched quotations accounting for the highest proportion of cases .

Rather than accounting for the divergence between the different groups solely for this final category of code-switching, let us now take an overview of all four categories of code-alternation, both code-mixing and code-switching. By far the greatest contrast is between groups 1 and 2 on the one hand, and groups 3 and 4 on the other, with regard to the

frequency of code-switching, whereas the most significant contrast with regard to code-mixing is between group 2 and the other three. The relative heterogeneity of groups 3 and 4 is likely to be a contributing factor when it comes to code-switching in particular. It appears that the greater the proportion of floaters in a group, the greater the likelihood of them code-switching and to a lesser extent code-mixing. Although floaters are not the only ones to use code-alternation in these two groups, the two members to produce a disproportionate share of code-switching occurrences (62% and 40%, respectively) happen to be floaters (see figure 36).

By definition most of the floaters (though not all) are comfortable and confident in both English and Welsh. Nevertheless, within groups 3 and 4 there are more complex medium preferences between the focus group members, which depend on the exact group constellation. For example, it emerges from the language profiles that Louise and Carys in group 3, and Action Man and Batman in group 4 usually speak English together, even if they may (at least on occasion) speak Welsh to the other members of their respective groups or when the whole group is gathered. It should be reiterated that both of these groups (unlike group 1) are composed of groups of friends, with established interpersonal language habits. Hence the higher occurrence of English code-switching in their mixed-medium Welsh may be seen as medium accommodation within their respective groups, i.e. the use of English code-switching may be part of attending to the variation in medium preferences represented in the group as a whole. Indeed, one of the functions of medium suspension, addressee specification, specifically attends to such individual preferences (c.f. excerpt 28). The largest subcategory of medium suspension and code-switching, quotations, also allows members to acknowledge and receive acknowledgement of their bilingual lives, insofar as they reproduce reported speech to match the language of the original exchange. In fact, Louise is almost unique in this regard in that she is almost alone in reproducing a number of bilingual conversational exchanges (14 in total), each with turns reported in both English and Welsh. By contrast, every single quotation ascribed to teachers in focus group 2 is delivered in English, even though they most probably spoke Welsh (c.f. lines 47, 51-52, 56 & 58 of excerpt 43).

This brings us back to one of the other major contrasts which arise from the focus group data, that between group 1 (who stick to English throughout) and the other three groups who carry out their discussions proper in mixed-medium Welsh. However, there are also contrasts which differentiate groups 1 and 2 from groups 3 and 4, which are dominated by floaters. Thus it appears more salient to make a three-way distinction. Drawing on some of the conclusions already discussed, and augmenting them with some additional reflections, the contrasts (and similarities) are summarised in figure 39 below.

Before we examine these points in more detail, it warrants reiterating that these contrasts do not necessarily have any universal applicability even among pupils at *Ysgol 1*, not least because we are only able to compare the English of group 1 with the Welsh of the other three groups. Nevertheless, since it is the groups themselves who established (through medium negotiation sequences or otherwise) the medium of their discussions, the data is based on the preferred discussion medium for each group. Furthermore, the contrasts (and similarities) are so striking that they call for a discussion in their own right.

The first contrast as mentioned several times before is the nature of the default medium. The English of group 1 is monolingual, i.e. there is no evidence of code-mixing. Thus the monolingual norm which tends to prevail in Western societies, whereby languages are kept apart as discrete code systems, is in operation. Since a sizeable proportion of people in this part of Wales are monolingual English speakers, one might expect there to be good reason for bilinguals to be able to regularly produce non-code-mixed English. However, since all the members of the group are bilingual (even if three of them are English-dominant and not entirely comfortable or confident at speaking Welsh), code-mixing would not be a barrier to comprehension. Nevertheless, the monolingual norm applies even in Katy's case, the group's only floater.

English-dominant group: FG2	Welsh-dominant group: FG1	Floater-dominant groups: FG3 & FG4
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No <i>medium-negotiation</i> sequence • <i>English</i> as the discussion medium • <i>monolingual norm</i> evident even in informal talk • no <i>code-mixing</i> • little <i>code-switching</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Short <i>medium-negotiation</i> sequence • <i>Mixed-medium Welsh</i> as the discussion medium • <i>monolingual norm</i> does not apply in informal talk • <i>code-mixing</i> is the default medium (Welsh with English insertional mixing) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relatively long <i>medium-negotiation</i> sequence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>medium repairs</i> do not occur 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>medium repairs</i> rarely occur (even less rarely as medium correction)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>medium suspension</i> rarely used (only for quoting) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>medium suspension</i> common as a contextualisation cue for a wide range of functions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lack of code-alternation may index a weak (group) bilingual identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lesser degree of code-mixing and code-switching may index a more Welsh (group) identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • relatively high degree of code-mixing and code-switching may index a bilingual (group) identity

Fig. 39 Contrasts in the discussion media and code-alternation between the three group categories

By contrast the monolingual norm is not in operation in the other three groups' Welsh. Thus, at least in informal peer-group situations (such as

this), the double monolingualism norm (c.f. §3.1.3), whereby both languages are kept apart, does not apply. There are, in effect, no truly monolingual Welsh speakers (even though there are many Welsh-dominant bilinguals), which has removed the necessity to maintain Welsh as a pure and discrete code. Even in focus group 1, who generally make use of a wider vocabulary in Welsh than groups 3 and 4, certain subjects do with modern-day living almost necessitate some use of English. In group 4, there is even a discussion about the lack of Welsh vocabulary in some areas of life. This is not to say that Welsh has serious lexical deficiencies, but rather that not all Welsh speakers have access to wide and specialist vocabularies. Even those who do may not necessarily display this in informal speech situations. Instead, monolingual Welsh is genre-specific and tends to be reserved for formal situations, such as the head-teacher's open-evening address (see excerpts 6 & 8).

When it comes to code-switching in general, the monolingual norm also seems to be remarkably resilient in the English-medium discussions of group 2. The only occurrences of Welsh are reserved for the quotations, which function as 'performing' speaking Welsh for various reasons (discussed in §6.4.4). Furthermore, since the monolingual norm is in operation, the need for medium repairs or even medium switching does not arise. For the groups whose medium choice is (mixed-medium) Welsh, i.e. the Welsh-dominant and floater-dominant groups, both medium suspension and medium repair are deployed as meaning-signalling devices to accomplish a wide range of interactional functions which are negotiated *in situ*. However, as pointed out earlier, the extent of code-switching varies considerably from group to group; the more members who are floaters, the more code-switching (and code-mixing) there is.

The final point in figure 19 takes us beyond a strict CA approach to code-alternation. Here I tentatively suggest that the frequency of code-alternation may index each group's bilingual identity. In the case of group 2, a lack of code-alternation as well as the way in which the rare occurrences of code-switching are used may signal a weak bilingual identity for the group as a whole. If nothing else, there is a strong correlation between the group being made up of a majority of English-dominant bilinguals and a lack of Welsh code-alternation. Conversely, there is also a strong correlation between the groups dominated by

floaters (3 and 4), who feel most at home in both languages, and the frequent occurrence of code-alternation. Group 1, on the other hand, includes a majority of Welsh-dominant bilinguals and the frequency of code-switching is more or less on par with that of group 2. Furthermore, there is a difference in frequency between the Welsh-dominant group (1) and floater dominant groups (3 & 4), when it comes to unmarked code-alternation in their mixed-medium Welsh, in that there are generally fewer English insertions in the Welsh-dominant group. Hence the higher frequency of code-alternation in the floater-dominant groups may signal a stronger bilingual group identity than in either groups 1 or 2. Finally, the lower frequency of English code-alternation in the Welsh-dominant group (1) might also signal a stronger Welsh rather than bilingual identity. The substance of this hypothesis will be explored further in the next section, by linking the participants' language practices with how they construct (and contest) bilingualism and Welsh in their discourse.

6.5 Constructing and Contesting Bilingualism

So far in this chapter, we have examined the various different types of data generated by the focus groups, in order to sketch rough language profiles both for individuals and groups. This self-reported data has then been complemented and collated with an analysis of their language practices as they emerge in the focus group discussions, particularly with regard to the medium of their discussions and the occurrence of code-mixing and code-switching. The aim of this section is to make a diversion from these practices for a while, in order to uncover links between these practices and potential accounts for these practices in their discourse. In other words, here we will be examining the content of their discussions (without disregarding matters of form where it is relevant), with a view to revealing how these bilingual young people discursively construct – but also contest – aspects of bilingualism and Welsh(ness). Part of the analysis will involve revisiting some of the five discourses outlined in §5.1.2, which were then applied in the subsequent sections of chapter 5.

6.5.1 Bilingual/dwyieithog

If one adds up all the occurrences of the word “bilingual”¹⁸⁰ or the Welsh equivalent: *dwyieithog* in the focus group discussions, they amount to 43 in total, divided among the groups according to figure 40.

Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3	Focus Group 4	Overall total
9	1	33	0	43

Fig. 40 Occurrences of “bilingual/*dwyieithog*” per focus group

The distribution of these 43 occurrences between the four groups is highly uneven, with 33 (77%) of all cases occurring in group 3. Of these 33 occurrences, 24 co-occur within 10 interactional sequences. In other words, in ten cases bilingual/*dwyieithog* appears two or three times within the same sequence.

Without drawing any major conclusions for this discrepancy between the groups at this stage, it should be pointed out that the term bilingual/*dwyieithog* (or any derivative) does not occur either in the focus group questions, or in the questionnaires. Instead, the questions are always framed in terms of English and/or Welsh. Therefore, any specific mention of the term¹⁸¹ should be seen as a “member’s category” (Sacks 1979, 1992) rather than that of the analyst. However, strict adherence to the discussion questions, which avoid specific mention of the term may possibly have influenced its occurrence. It is notable, in any case, that focus group 3, which accounts for such a high proportion of the total occurrences of the term, is also the only group which does not systematically work through all the discussion questions. Instead, they select a few that interest them and expand on these. Thus it is conceivable that the scope for potential member’s categories emerging is somewhat uneven between the groups. Having said that, it is how the term is actually used in the members’ discourse, which is the main focus of this section.

Of the 43 occurrences of the lexical item bilingual/*dwyieithog*, just over 60 per cent (26), can be grouped roughly under two broad headings,

¹⁸⁰ The noun: “bilingualism” or *dwyieithrwydd* does not occur at all in the focus group data.

¹⁸¹ Derivatives, such as bilingualism/*dwyieithrwydd* do not occur in the focus group data.

“being bilingual” and “bilingual schooling”. Since these receive most discursive space in the discussions, as well as reveal the most interesting contrasts between the four groups, the following analysis will focus on these two areas.

6.5.1.1 Being bilingual

A quarter (11) of the occurrences of bilingual/*dwyiethog* emerge in sequences which could roughly come under the topic ‘being bilingual’. All of these occur in the discussions of group 3. Let us examine three of these, which basically cover the meanings and associations which are negotiated in the discourse of group 3. In the first, excerpt (34), Martha has been complaining about *Cymry Cymraeg* “Welsh-speaking Welsh people¹⁸²” speaking English together outside school because it is “more cool”. Amy immediately pipes up and says that this is what they do with Carys¹⁸³, which is where we come in at excerpt 34:

Excerpt 34 (FGD2, FG3, 06:06)

Participants: Louise (L), Carys (C), Llinos (Ll), Martha (M), Amy (A)

- 1 Amy: os ŷ' ni'n cwrdd â [carys] tu allan ysgo:l, (.)
if are we part. meet with [fictitious name] outside school
if we meet [Carys] outside school,
- 2 bydde' ni'n automatically siarad saesneg r'da hi.ɿ
would we part. automatically speak English with her
we'd automatically speak English with her
- 3 Carys: Lmm J
- 4 Pause: (.3)
- 5 Amy: fi'm g'bo' pam a rchosɿ rfi wastad 'di siarad
I not know why because I always past speak
I don't know why because I've always spoken
- 6 Louise: Lie J |
yeah
- 7 Llinos: Lie f- fi fel
yeah I I like
yeah I I like
- 8 Amy: saesneg i [carys] fi ddimɿ yn meddwl bod e'n cŵl
English to [name] I not part. think that he part. cool
English to [Carys] I don't think it's [to do with] a cool
- 9 Llinos: achos bo' ni J
because that we
because you
- 10 Amy: ffactor, (.) ti'bod fi ddim yn rmeddwl bo' fi'n
factor (.) y'know I not part. think that I part.
factor, y' know I don't think I'm

¹⁸² It is also made explicit in this sequence that she means those from Welsh-speaking homes.

¹⁸³ And to Louise it emerges in the same sequence, but Carys is singled out especially here, because both her parents are *Cymry Cymraeg*.

11 Carys: L*'*s jus' the way it

12 Amy: cŵl̩
cool

13 Carys: is.

14 → Llinos: *yeah i's achos ni'n ddwyieithog ma' 'da ni fel*
because we part. bilingual is with us like
yeah it's because we're bilingual we've got like

15 Pause: (.)

16 Louise: tenden [c*ies*]

17 Llinos: [DAU] IAITH sydd (.3) yn .ts (.3) okay fi
two language which are tut, okay I'm
two languages which are, tut, okay I'm

18 ddim mor dda dweu' yn saesneg (na) dweu' yn cymrâg
not as good say in English (than) say in Welsh
not as good say in English (as) say in Welsh

19 Carys: ie
yeah

20 on' ma' dal 'da fi fe: at y tip of my tongue.
but is still with me him the
but I still have it at the tip of my tongue

21 Pause: (.)

22 Louise: ie:
yeah

23 Pause: (.)

24 Llinos: os (.) och- os chi'n deall be' fi'n meddwl (.)
if ? if you part. understand what I part. think
if, ? if you understand what I mean,
achos fi'n siarad WENGLISH nawr.
because I part. speak now
because I'm speaking *Wenglish* now

26 Pause: (.)

27 Carys: ie
yeah

28 Pause: (.)

29 Llinos: tod
y' know

30 Amy: [e*xactly*]

Although Amy admits here that they (all) do what Martha is complaining of (i.e. speak English to *Cymry Cymraeg*) when it comes to Carys (lines 1-2), Amy is not prepared to go along with Martha's account of why they do so; in lines 8, 10 and 12, Amy dismisses the relevance of any "cool factor" in general and that she is being "cool" by speaking English to Carys. Instead, after not being able to state exactly why she does, Amy explains this in terms of habit in lines 5 and 8: *fi wastad 'di siarad Saesneg i [Carys]* "I've always spoken English to [Carys]". After Amy has first dismissed Martha's "cool factor", Carys's overlapping account for their language practices in lines 11 and 13 is that "i's just the

way it is". Cary's turn is framed by code-switching, which given Martha's complaint, underscores further her disalignment with Martha, at the same time as Cary affiliates herself with Amy.

In line 14, Llinos also aligns with Carys, in particular. This is shown primarily through her initial recipient token (which could be either Welsh or English) followed by "i's", which recycles the beginning of Carys's turn in English. Llinos then switches back to (mixed-medium) Welsh (from *achos* "because" ...), to give her affiliative account that they are "bilingual". She does not leave it here, but she goes on to define what she means by this; disregarding Louise's suggestion in line 16, Llinos completes her interrupted turn in line 17, to say that being bilingual means having two languages. In the continuation of this turn, Llinos admits that in her case this does not mean being equally as good at both English and Welsh, but it does mean having both (even her weaker language, English) at the tip of her tongue, i.e. ready to use. The mixed-medium formulation neatly demonstrates her point, that being bilingual also means using both languages. Moreover, the bilingual nature of the medium in which she delivers her turn receives a metalinguistic comment, in that Llinos states that she is speaking "Wenglish"¹⁸⁴ at this very moment in line 25. Carys's recipient token in line 27 does not seem to suffice as a response to her account, but Llinos's incremental *to* "y' know" triggers Amy's response: "exactly", which allows this sequence to come to a conclusion¹⁸⁵.

In summary, Martha's critique that Welsh speakers from Welsh-speaking homes should only speak Welsh together is therefore jointly rejected by the other group members, via an initial rejection of her account of this behaviour as being "cool". The final blow to Martha's thesis and stance on this matter is achieved by Llinos's competing account of their behaviour as simply being bilingual, which also entails using both languages. In this respect, the jointly negotiated meaning of "being bilingual" is not far from that expressed by the head teacher in

¹⁸⁴ Wenglish was originally coined by John Edwards (1985) to refer to the variety of English spoken in South-East Wales, though its use is now no longer limited to the language of the South East. However, here the meaning seems to have been extended to include a variety of Welsh interdispersed with English code-alternation.

¹⁸⁵ Louise's partially overlapping turn from line 31 (not included in excerpt 34 above) involves giving an account of her bilingual practices, whereby she speaks English to Amy most of the time, but always sends her text messages in Welsh.

11 Llinos: L_ie J
yeah

12 Louise: fel< ŵ (.4) y beth yw hwnna yn cymrâg i_e?
like ooh uh what is that in Welsh yeah
like ooh, uh what's that in Welsh yeah?

13 Pause: (.)

14 Martha: i_er: ɿ
yeah

15 Llinos: |i_e|
yeah

16 Louise: L_ie J
yeah

17 Pause: (.)

18 → Louise: so rîli ma' rhai' ti r_fod yn dwy_ie_i- da: yn y dau
so really is necessity you be part. biling- good in the two
so really you have to be biling- good at both

19 Martha: L_ie ond NW: gwlad
yeah but they country
yeah but they it's the country

20 Louise: i_aith.ɿ
language
languages

21 Martha: cym_ru yw e! gwlad ni yw e dyle' n- t'wod (.3)
Wales is he country our is he should th- y'know
of Wales! it's our country they shou- y' know

22 nw s' angen dysgu cymrâg i_re?ɿ
they who're need learn Welsh yeah
they need to learn Welsh yeah?

23 Louise: L_ie on' †beth os ma' nw
yeah but what if are they
yeah but what if they're

24 ar †gwylie fan 'yn.
on holidays here
on holiday here

25 Pause: (.3)

After the initial amusement and commotion brought about by Louise's self-initiated self-repair in lines 1 and 3 dies down, she presents her hypothetical bilingual job situation to Martha. It subsequently unfolds in Louise's description, that this scenario is being played out in a bilingual shop (line 10), and that someone has asked Martha a difficult question in English (lines 8-9). It should also be added here that before Martha said she didn't want to speak English, she had previously said that she couldn't speak English (*sa i'n gallu siarad Saesneg fi methu siarad Saesneg*¹⁸⁷). Although this statement did not go unchallenged at that juncture (resulting in Martha downgrading her claim), its feasibility in a

¹⁸⁷ She expresses roughly the same thing in two ways: "I'm unable to speak Welsh I can't speak Welsh".

bilingual shop is being challenged once again. In line 12, Louise offers Martha's hypothetical response *y beth yw hwnna yn Cymrâg?* "uh what's that is Welsh?". What Louise appears to mean here is that Martha is taken by surprise by the difficulty of the question (perhaps even to the degree that she does not understand it). Louise's facial expression, the rapidly falling intonation on *w!* "ooh!" and the initial hedge *y* "uh" add support this interpretation.

Martha's initial response is to accept Louise's scenario in line 14. However, when Louise starts to draw out the significance of Martha's response in line 18, that *rîli ma' rhai' ti fod yn dwyiei-* "really you have to be biling-", Martha is obliged to defend her position further. In fact, Louise repairs the incompleting word *dwyiei[thog]* "biling[ual]" and substitutes it for *da yn y dau iaith* "good at both languages (lines 18 & 20), which either implies that being bilingual does not necessarily mean being good at both languages, or that her repair is a clarification of what she means by bilingual. Furthermore, the fact that Louise uses the singular (familiar) *ti* rather than the more general (and plural) *chi* for "you" makes Louise's criticism all the more personal. The result is that Martha tries to turn the tables and put the onus on monolingual English speakers to learn Welsh, because Wales is their country (implying that everyone in Wales should be able to speak Welsh). Louise's immediate response is to counter this argument with her hypothetical (presumably English) customer being on holiday in Wales, and therefore cannot be expected to know Welsh (lines 23-24). In Martha's reply (which goes beyond excerpt 35 above), she too takes an imagined situation where she finds herself in France asking in English (because she does not know French), but at the same time realising that it might not always work. After a few more hypothetical cases and further arguments from the others, Martha returns to her original point, i.e. that it would not be her problem but their problem, if a customer did not know Welsh. At this juncture Martha's mobile rings, she answers it and then carries on a brief conversation (in Welsh). In the meantime, the others bring this sequence to a close without her, as shown in excerpt 36.

Excerpt 36 (FGD1, FG3, 18:32)

Participants: Louise (L), Carys (C), Llinos (LI), Martha (M), Amy (A)

1 Llinos: ocê ANYway
okay anyway

2 Pause: (.8)

3 Amy: mm: [r:::

4 Louise: [ie >fi'n cre] du dyle' chi gallu bod< yn RHUGyl
 yeah I part. believe should you be able be part. fluent
 yeah I think you should be able to be fluent

5 yn saesneg a [cymrâg.ɿ
 in English and Welsh
 in English and Welsh

6 Amy: [I mean J NAWR >yn byw yng nghymru ma'
 now part. live in Wales is
 I mean now living in Wales

7 rhai' ti ca'l y cymrâg a'r saesneg
 necessary you get the Welsh and the English
 you have to have Welsh and English

8 Llinos: [ie J
 yeah

9 Carys: ie r::: ɿ
 yeah

10 Amy: [does 'daJ -a ti ddim yr opsiwn o jyst ca'l
 not is with -ith you not the option of just get
 you haven't got the option of just having

11 cymraeg [ma' 'da tiɿ fwy (o) cyfleon os ti'n gwbod
 Welsh is with you more (of) opportunities if you part. know
 Welsh you have more options if you know

12 Llinos: [i:e: J
 yeah

13 Amy: saesneg hefyd.<=
 English too
 English too

14 Llinos: =yn [UNionɿ
 part. exact
 exactly

15 Louise: [ie J
 yeah

In lines 3-4, Louise reinstates what she has meant by “bilingual” and she also seems to go one step further by saying that people (c.f. general *chi* “you”) should be fluent in both languages. At least Amy’s overlapping turn from line 6 onwards suggests that this is a requirement in Wales nowadays, and her point receives affirmative back-channelling from both Llinos and Carys. Amy then proceeds to rule out the option, previously put forward by Martha, of just speaking Welsh (lines 10-11). Moreover, she adds that knowing English affords more opportunities (lines 11 & 13). With both Llinos and Louise’s seal of approval, the group (which has continued without Martha) is able to achieve a consensus of opinion and conclude the topic.

As in excerpt 34, Martha’s stance is resisted by the other members of the group. In connection with the job market, Martha’s version of

bilingual jobs appears to mean that she should have the freedom to choose language (Welsh), which the others challenge by means of several modulations of Louise's original hypothetical case. Although Martha's interpretation of bilingual is not accepted by the others, it does in fact resonate with one of the central tenets of *Iaith Pawb*, viz. that "a truly bilingual Wales" is one "where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh and English." However, this is a utopian state, and as I pointed out in §5.1.3, this is only possible if both parties are bilingual in all cases. Although Martha's fellow group members do endorse another of the ideals enshrined in *Iaith Pawb*, namely the idea that everyone should be bilingual (and fluent in both languages), they dismiss the right to choose only Welsh. It is construed as an untenable option, particularly for an employee. In this sense, the way in which they construct being bilingual dovetails with a central theme belonging to the globalising discourse, whereby bilingualism is seen as a valued skill. Given the dominance of English in the Welsh workplace, it is hardly surprising that they reject Martha's idealistic stance, whereby Welsh speakers always speak Welsh to each other and English speakers should be expected to learn Welsh or else accept that they might not be understood. Indeed, here the performative force of implicit censorship *vis-à-vis* English in Welsh society precludes the possibility of operating solely through Welsh. In fact, these otherwise invisible-hand processes manifested through the institutionalisation of English, not least in the world of work, only surface here and become more visible through Martha's contestation of the social order.

Besides the globalising discourse, there is also evidence in here of the nationalist discourse in excerpts 35 and 36, whereby Wales is discursively constructed as a separate country from the rest of the United Kingdom on the basis of linguistic differences. This discourse is displayed most clearly by Martha, for example by her claim that "most jobs in Wales" have become bilingual, which certainly overstates the linguistic reality of Wales as whole. Furthermore, by claiming "it's our country" and that everyone should learn Welsh (excerpt 35, lines 21-22), Martha also invokes the unity of Wales as a bilingual nation, where everyone should be bilingual, albeit with the emphasis on fluency in Welsh. Although the others disassociate themselves from Martha's brand of bilingualism, which gives Welsh speakers the right to use Welsh with

everyone, in excerpt 36 Amy does state that “living in Wales you have to have Welsh and English” (lines 6-7). Even if she goes on to make the point that this rules out “just having Welsh”, Amy nevertheless reconstructs Wales as a discrete and bilingual nation too.

Returning to the globalising discourse, the commodity aspect of bilingualism also arises in the discussions of group 4, although they do not specifically use the word bilingual or bilingualism. When Batman reintroduces the discussion question of the extent to which knowing Welsh is useful, he presses the others for an answer, owing to the fact that the discussion has drifted somewhat. Cornilov’s immediate response is to point out the usefulness of having two languages (rather than focus directly on the usefulness of Welsh). Although he receives affirmative recipient tokens from both Batman and Action Man, the other three subsequently compete for the floor to give their own examples of the usefulness of Welsh. Wesley’s example concerns providing better “job opportunities” and with Batman’s proviso (*o fewn Cymru ie, yn sicir* “within Wales yeah, certainly”), Wesley’s example also meets with the group’s approval. It also connects with the discussion in group 3 mentioned above, where knowing both English and Welsh is seen as an advantage in the world of work. Although Wesley’s point refers more specifically to Welsh, when no more new examples of the usefulness of Welsh are forthcoming, Cornilov returns to his original point in the following excerpt (37):

Excerpt 37 (FGD2, FG4, 31:54)

Participants: Action Man (A/A Man), Cornilov (C/Cornil), Wesley (W), Batman (B)

- 1 Cornilov: ond fi 'sie meddwl cymraeg yn advantage (.) wel
but I want to think Welsh part. well
- 2 → chi'n me- dw- siarad dau iaith METHu bod
you part. th[ɪnk]/ca[n't] [I] don[t] speak two language fail be
you ca-/thi- I don- speaking two languages can't be
- 3 yn disadvanta rge
part.
a disadvantage
- 4 Batman: la disadvanta [ge] yeah
5 A Man: >na be' fi] ddim yn deall< ie >pam
no what I not part. understand yeah why
no what I don't understand yeah why
- 6 nage nw'n anfon plentyn nw i ysgol gymraeg achos
are not they part. send child their to school Welsh because
don't they send their child to a Welsh school because

Despite the comments to do with the quality of their (informal?) Welsh, it is significant that “speaking two languages” has been brought up as an advantage specifically in connection with a discussion of the question of the usefulness of Welsh. Furthermore, the question of job opportunities also arises in this context. For this reason, there are definite parallels with the discussions in group 3 above in conjunction with excerpt 36. Bilingualism is thus contextualised within a globalising discourse, whereby “having/speaking two languages” is construed as “useful” and as an advantage, even to the extent of enhancing job opportunities.

6.5.1.2 Bilingual schooling

In line 6 of excerpt 37, Action Man mentions *ysgol Gymraeg* “a Welsh-medium school”, literally “a Welsh school”. This term is often synonymous with “bilingual school”, though as we shall see from the data the terms may sometimes be juxtaposed to make a distinction. Out of all the occurrences of “bilingual/*dwylieithog*” in the discussion data, fifteen appear in the collocation “bilingual school/*ysgol ddwylieithog*”. This accounts for a third (3) of the occurrences in group 1, the only occurrence in group 2, and a third of the occurrences (11) in group 3. Hence this collocation occurs in all the three groups where the word “bilingual/*dwylieithog*” is specifically mentioned¹⁸⁸. However, a comparison of the ways in which bilingual school/*ysgol dwylieithog* is used in the three groups’ interaction throws up interesting contrasts in the ways in which bilingualism (as well as Welsh and English) is valued.

Let us start with a couple of excerpts from group 3, who are responsible for most of the occurrences of the collocation “bilingual school/*ysgol ddwylieithog*”. Although the first excerpt (38) in some ways belongs more to the previous section than to this one, i.e. under the heading “being bilingual”, it has been included here since it acts as a bridge between the two topics. The reason is that it has to do with how children are brought up linguistically and connects to the role of bilingual/Welsh-medium education.

Immediately before excerpt 38, Louise has been telling the group of her surprise at her otherwise English-speaking mother speaking Welsh to her granddaughter who now goes to a Welsh school (*ysgol Cymrâg*).

¹⁸⁸ And all four groups, if one counts *ysgol Gymraeg* as a synonym.

In the next excerpt (38), an explicit link is forged between nurturing Welsh early on and bilingual/Welsh-medium primary education. The discussion immediately before this excerpt has touched upon who is Welsh. Llinos makes the point that *Cymry yw pobol sydd yn ca’l eu geni yng cymru* “Welsh people are those who are born in Wales”, including those who have completely English(-speaking) parents (*rhieni hollol Saesneg*). In response to this, Carys says: *dim bai nw yw hwnna* “it’s not their fault”, which leads to a side-discussion about whose fault it is that Welsh people have not learnt Welsh, led by Martha. Thus in parallel with Louise’s account of her non-Welsh-speaking boyfriend, who went to a primary school that taught very little Welsh, Martha first blames schools in general, and then his school in particular. Martha also explicitly acknowledges that Louise’s boyfriend is not to blame, *achos mwy na lai dyw e ddim ’di ca’l y cyfle dysgu ’te* “because more or less he hasn’t had the opportunity to learn then”. Having reached agreement on this point, Carys and Louise proceed to jointly construct a related point that if you don’t speak Welsh it does not make you less Welsh. Martha explicitly aligns herself with Louise and Carys on this point too: *fi’n cytuno gyda chi fan ’na* “I agree with you [plural] there”. It is at this juncture that Llinos tries to sum up what the group appears to have reached a consensus on, at the beginning of excerpt 39.

Excerpt 39 (FGD2, FG3, 22:05)

Participants: Louise (L), Carys (C), Llinos (LI), Martha (M), Amy (A)

- 1 Llinos: ^Lso basically ni gyd yn cytuno ar y ffaith bod (.)
so basically we all part. agree on the fact that
- 2 y problem yw gyda’r ^η addys:g ysgol gynradd.
the problem is with the education school primary
the problem is with primary school education
- 3 Louise: ^Lpawb yn equally cymraeg.^L
everyone part. Welsh
everyone’s equally Welsh
- 4 Pause: (.)
- 5 Carys: ie=
yeah
- 6 Louise: =ie
yeah
- 7 Pause: (.4)
- 8 Louise: dyle’ rpob ysgol dysgu cymraeg a saesneg equal^η
should every school teach Welsh and English
every school should teach Welsh and English equally

be responding to and performatively reproducing the school's Welsh ethos (c.f. §5.2.1 on *Cymreictod* "Welshness").

However, it is when Llinos comes to describe the task of primary schools to ensure that those from English-speaking backgrounds acquire Welsh that Llinos disaffiliates herself from Louise's earlier point that schools should teach both English and Welsh equally. This does not emerge until line 31, after Llinos has stated the need for more "bilingual schools" (rather than Welsh-medium schools). Thus until the end of line 30, Llinos seems to be taking Louise's stance, insofar as bilingual schools may be construed as teaching both subjects equally. In fact, at this point Louise makes an aborted attempt to re-enter the discussion (line 32). However, Llinos's *on*' "but" at the beginning of line 31 signals disalignment, which is then made explicit by stating that there is a problem with bilingual schools. The line of argument which she subsequently develops in lines 33-34 is that pupils from English-speaking homes might not get enough input in Welsh in order to acquire Welsh. Llinos gets immediate backchannelling from Amy (an accentuated "mm") in line 36, but Llinos's incremental clarification in line 37 does not attract any uptake from anyone else but Amy, who proceeds to initiate a topic shift to the problems associated with the closure of local village schools. Yet in Amy's partially overlapping turn (from lines 38 onwards, not included in excerpt 39), she talks about a new trend of parents sending their children to Welsh-medium schools, because there is too much English being spoken in local (bilingual) schools. Thus it becomes evident from Amy's turn that she has interpreted Llinos's criticism to the effect that bilingual primary schools may not be able to provide enough Welsh-language input to ensure that English-speaking pupils become bilingual.

Hence, although the term *ysgolion Cymraeg* "Welsh schools" is often used as a blanket term for both Welsh-medium and bilingual schools, in this excerpt a potential difference in meaning is exploited in members' talk-in-interaction to argue their point of view. In this case, making a distinction allows Llinos to put forward an argument that bilingual primary schools may not be sufficient to ensure that all pupils become bilingual, particularly those from English-speaking backgrounds. This ties in with the point she later makes in excerpt 38, which also stresses the particular importance of learning Welsh early on (lines 4-5). At the

same time, Llinos’s stance marks a degree of disalignment with Louise’s point that “every school should teach Welsh and English *equally*” (line 8). In fact, right at the very beginning of the first focus group discussion, Louise marks her disapproval of their school’s preference for Welsh: “I don’t like the way they say that speaking English is bad, to stop you” (lines 55-56 of excerpt 21). On that occasion, Louise took issue with Martha, who experienced that the school allowed them to speak whatever language they liked (line 53). Thus by combining the stances adopted in excerpt 39 with those of other sequences, a divide emerges which tallies with the division of group 3 into floaters (Louise and Carys) and Welsh-dominant bilinguals (Llinos, Amy and Martha). Whereas the floaters (particularly Louise) stress the importance of both languages (and the equal treatment of speakers of either language), the Welsh-dominant bilinguals tend to stress the importance of ensuring that all pupils become bilingual, particularly that all pupils become fluent in Welsh. As mentioned above, the particular emphasis given to Welsh is at the same time performative of the implicit censorship of English manifested through its taken-for-granted institutionalisation in the community, whereby English needs no extra fostering.

Returning to the juxtaposition of the two terms *ysgol Gymraeg* “Welsh(-medium) school” versus *ysgol ddwyieithog* “bilingual school” a similar case appears in the following excerpt (40) from focus group 1. This sequence comes from a broader discussion about the language spoken by pupils at primary school. The primary school that Ifan refers to in line 1, *Ysgol Gynradd 2*, is in fact the school that three of the participants (Ifan, Gwenhwyfar and Belinda) went to. Moreover, on the questionnaire, all three note that this school is (or was) a Welsh-medium school¹⁹⁰.

Excerpt 40 (FGD2, FG1, 10:28) (continued from excerpt 44)

Participants: Geoff, Gwenhwyfar (Gwen), Bridget, Maud, Belinda, Ifan

- 1 Ifan: on' pan (o'n i/o' ni) yn [ysgol gynradd 2]
 but when (was I/were we) in [name of primary school]
 but when (I was/we were) at [Ysgol Gynradd 2]
- 2 >o'n i'n teimlo bo' hi'n ysgol< (.4) gymraeg.
 was I part. feel that she part. school Welsh
 I felt that it was a Welsh school

¹⁹⁰ It is interesting to note that Amy also went to the same primary school, but on her questionnaire the boxes for bilingual and Welsh-medium are both ticked, but Welsh-medium has been crossed out.

3 Pause: (.)

4 Belinda: mm

5 Pause: (.3)

6 Ifan: >(on' dyw 'i xx) dyw 'i ddim nawr
(but isn't she ?) isn't she not now
(but it isn't ?) it isn't now

7 (yn ddiwylliannol), < (.) saesneg yn ysgol hollol
part. cultural English part. school complete
(culturally), English a completely English

8 Belinda: Lie ('na fe ie) J
yeah (that's he yeah)
yeah (that's it yeah)

9 Ifan: saesneg on' mewn, o- y (.) >f- fel edrych fan hyn<
English but in ? uh l- like look here
school but in ? uh, l- like look at this place,

10 (.6) chi ddim r r- r rîli yn teimlo bod hi yn
you not r- really part. feel that is she part.
you don't r- really feel that it's

11 Belinda: L(ti)J
(you)

12 Ifan: r ys-gol gymraeg y' chi chi'n teimlo bo' chi mewn
school Welsh are you you part. feel that is you in
a Welsh school do you you feel that you're in

13 Belinda: L(xx)J
(?)

14 → Ifan: ysgol ddwyieithog.
school bilingual
a bilingual school

15 Pause: (.4)

16 Maud: °(>ni'n ie fel<)° (.) ni yn fel blwyddyn cymraeg.
we part.yeah like we part. like year Welsh
we're yeah like, we're like a Welsh year

17 \$hh\$=

18 Ifan: =ie <on' mewn r mewn ysgol: seisnigedd>
yeah but in in school Anglicised
yeah but in an Anglicised school

19 Maud: Lie J
yeah

20 Pause: (.)

21 Geoff: rblwyddyn cymraeg tu fewn ysgol saesneg:
year Welsh inside school Welsh
a Welsh year inside an English school

22 Belinda: Lmm J

23 Ifan: mm mm

In accordance with the questionnaire entries, Ifan notes that he felt that their primary school was “Welsh(-medium)” in line 6, although since they went there it has changed into “a completely English school” (lines 7-9). Belinda backs up Ifan’s observation in overlap in line 8. In line 9 Ifan then switches focus and makes an observation about their present school, *Ysgol 1*, that it does not really feel like a Welsh school

but a bilingual school (lines 10, 12 & 14). Maud's response in line 16 is to modify Ifan's comment somewhat, by singling out their year as an exception in this regard, as "a Welsh year". Her point here is in fact in keeping with a sequence in the discussion they had had a week earlier, where Ifan, Belinda and Gwenhwyfar jointly constructed their year as one with an English-speaking minority. Also in keeping with their earlier discussion, Ifan adds that their "Welsh year" is in an otherwise "Anglicised school" in line 18. Geoff then proceeds to complete the modulation to a "Welsh year inside an English school" in line 21. Moreover, this transposition from a Welsh to a bilingual to an Anglicised and then to an English school within this sequence is not expressed in a neutral manner; it represents a deterioration, whereby a supposedly Welsh school¹⁹¹ has turned into an English school. The fact that this construed transformation is being negatively valued becomes even clearer in Belinda's subsequent turn (beyond excerpt 30 above), which ends: *ma' nw'n pethe myn' i fyn' yn wa'th* "they're things are gonna get worse". Here she widens the focus to the language situation beyond their school, but the final word *wa'th* "worse" confirms that the development jointly constructed in the above sequence represents a drop in standards.

Thus whereas Louise in group 3 sees bilingual schools, which teach Welsh and English equally, as the ideal, and Llinos calls for more bilingual schools, albeit fearing that they might not provide enough input for all pupils to acquire Welsh, in group 1 bilingual schools are negatively valued. For group 1 the ideal school appears to be a Welsh-medium school. Hence a bilingual is construed as a step on the slippery slope towards Anglicisation.

The final excerpt (41) exemplifying how the collocation "bilingual school" is contextualised in the pupils' discourse comes from group 2. In this sequence Claire also juxtaposes "Welsh school" and "bilingual school" in line 42, but she does so in order to exploit a completely different meaning potential (c.f. §2.4.1). The excerpt comes right at the beginning of the discussion proper, and starts with Katy reading out the very first discussion question.

¹⁹¹ The implication of Ifan's turn in lines 10 and 12 that their school does not really feel like a Welsh school is that it is supposed to be.

Excerpt 41 (FGD1, FG1, 05:53)

Participants: Sally (S), Tina (T), Katy (K), Claire (C)

1 Katy: ((reading out question)) how would you describe
 2 [ysgol 1] what sort of school is it (.7)
 3 *military* ((*deeper voice))
 4 Pause: (.7)
 5 Sally: ((orchestrating with hands)) [°well we're] all big
 6 Claire: [welsh
 7 Sally: (0.2) one° (.3) *one big* ((*louder)) (.4)
 8 [°happy fami-ly°
 9 Katy: [happy fami-ly]]
 10 Claire: [sha] haha that's wrong\$
 11 Tina: (°xx°xxx°)
 12 Katy: [no they try to make] people [think that we're
 13 Claire: [but they do an'
 14 Katy: one big happy family
 15 Claire: there's there's definitely] a (.) sort of (.) a
 16 (.3) divide between the welsh groups and the
 17 english groups (.) DEFINitely
 18 Pause: (.)
 19 Katy: \$eheheh\$
 20 Claire: they get away with much more than we do
 21 Pause: (.)
 22 Katy: yeah (.) they're they're [they're not as strict
 23 Tina: [that's the issue claire
 24 Katy: they're (oh yeah)]
 25 Tina: likes to stress] ((thumps desk))
 26 Claire: well ↑NO I do get really [an↑noyed
 27 Tina: [shaha\$
 28 Katy: [they're] not as [strict
 29 Sally: [yeah
 30 Katy: on the welsh group
 31 Sally: but then at the end of the day] they have to be in
 32 a way 'cause I mean,
 33 Pause: (.4)
 34 Claire: no=
 35 Sally: =-they speak NO] they speak welsh in school
 36 Tina: =yes they do]
 37 Sally: [and they're mean-] we're meant to an' we [DON'T;]
 38 Claire: [oh yeah but it's] [I know
 39 Sally: so it's not surprising they get annoyed]
 40 Claire: bu' we know I know we're meant to but] it's not
 41 → it's not a welsh school it's a bilingual school.
 42 Pause: (.5)
 43 Katy: yeah [but then it does prefer] it it does
 44 Claire: [if it was a welsh school then]
 45 Katy: [prefer the welsh
 46 Claire: [it does [prefer bu' they] can't
 47 Sally: [they're trying to promote,]
 48 Claire: they can't make you because it's (.3) it's a (.)
 49 you know like=

50 Katy: =they no they can't make you but,
51 Pause: (.7)
52 Katy: [when you thi]nk of [ysgol 1] and [ysgol 2] you
53 Tina: [\$(why d' y-)\$(
54 Katy: think of [ysgol 2] as a english school
55 [you think of] [ysgol 1] as a welsh school so
56 Claire: [yeah
57 Claire: but it,
58 Pause: (.3)
59 Katy: you did have the choice at the [start
60 Sally: [yeah at the end of
61 Katy: so,
62 Sally: the day] yeah.
63 Pause: (.)

As soon as Katy has read out the first discussion question, the group adopt a critical stance towards their school. Katy's initial laconic response "military" is followed by Sally's more elaborate attempt at orchestrating a joint response that they are "one big happy family" in lines 5, 7-8. Apart from the jocular way in which Sally orchestrates this response, the underlying irony becomes evident from Claire's and Katy's subsequent turns; in line 10 Claire laughs and contests the literal meaning of Sally's orchestrated statement, and in lines 12 and 14 Katy states that being one big happy family is the (implied erroneous) image the school wishes to project¹⁹². It is the nature of this mocked image which Claire then develops in lines 15-17, where she states that there is a divide in the school on linguistic grounds. However, it is when Claire complains that the teachers treat the English and Welsh groups differently (line 20) that tensions in the group rise. Whereas Katy agrees that teachers ("they") are not as strict on the Welsh group (lines 22, 24, 28 & 30), Tina makes a jocular quip in lines 23 and 25, implying that this is one of Claire's hobby-horses. Tina also bangs the desk to add to the force of Claire's mocked complaint, which leads Claire to admit her annoyance in line 26.

However, it is Sally's justification of the teachers' differential treatment which triggers Claire to juxtapose "Welsh school" and "bilingual school". Starting in line 31, Sally sanctions the teachers' more favourable treatment of the Welsh group, because "they speak Welsh"

¹⁹² Note that "a warm, close-knit atmosphere" (Ysgol 1 Mini-handbook 4) is an important part of the school's profile (c.f. §5.2.3).

(line 35) as they are supposed to. Sally's juxtaposition of "they" and "we" in lines 35 and 37 has the discursive effect of placing the members of this focus group in the "English group". This is strengthened further by the content of Sally's utterance in line 37, where she acknowledges that they are meant to speak Welsh, but they don't. Thus because of the group's non-compliance, Sally maintains that the teachers are entitled to "get annoyed" (line 39). In line 36, Tina also backs up Sally's argument that teachers have to be stricter on the English group. Tina's swift response, in fact, takes issue with Claire's initial rejection of Sally's stance in line 34. Although Claire subsequently concedes that they are meant to speak Welsh in line 40, she nevertheless contests the fact that they should have to in the continuation of her turn (lines 40-41). Thus when she states that their school is not a "Welsh school" but a "bilingual school", the implication is that in a bilingual school, pupils should be free to speak the language of their choice. In this way, Claire exploits one aspect of the meaning potential of "bilingual", which is at loggerheads with the Welsh ethos of their school. This becomes even clearer when Claire insists that teachers have no right to force them to speak Welsh (lines 46 & 48). Although Katy has previously agreed with Claire that teachers are stricter on the English groups, she now aligns with Sally, firstly by acknowledging that the school "prefers the Welsh" (line 45) and secondly by pointing out that they all had the initial choice of whether to go to *Ysgol 1* or the neighbouring English-medium school, *Ysgol 2*. In lines 60 and 62, Sally makes a bid to close this sequence by framing it with the same phrase ("at the end of the day") as she opened on in line 31, after having achieved alignment with Tina and Katy.

The meaning potential of "bilingual" which Claire utilises in the above sequence (excerpt 41) is in fact similar to that which Martha appeals to in excerpt 35, i.e. the principle of "a truly bilingual Wales" which is enshrined in *Iaith Pawb*, "where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh and English." The difference is that Martha attempts to recontextualise this meaning potential with regard to Welsh in the job market, whereas Claire attempts to draw on this meaning potential with regard to English in the context of a designated bilingual school. In so doing both Martha and Claire contest the *status quo*, but neither receive the backing of their respective focus groups (both of which consist of groups of friends). Instead, the other

members of their respective groups performatively reproduce the institutionalised and legitimised social order in their discourse.

In terms of what discourse Martha and Claire draw on, their stance matches most closely the ecology-of-language discourse, which embraces linguistic human rights. However, in Claire's case a conflict arises within the ecology-of-language discourse, since the discourse also encompasses the promotion of linguistic diversity, for example through proactive language planning. In fact, in excerpt 41 Sally specifically refers to this aspect of school policy in her uncompleted turn in line 47: "they're trying to promote [Welsh]". Thus this clash is played out discursively in the talk-in-interaction generated by focus group 1. Whereas Claire resists the principle (and practice) of linguistic compulsion, the other members of her group acknowledge the legitimacy of the school's mission to promote Welsh. Nevertheless, despite their acquiescence, there is a mismatch between their language practices and their apparent ideological stance (at least in this particular sequence¹⁹³), insofar as group members mostly speak English together even at school (and in Katy's case, especially at school).

With the analysis of the final excerpt illustrating the re-contextualisation of the collocation "bilingual school", we have touched upon the contestation (by Claire and Sally – c.f. footnote 193) of the language policy of *Ysgol 1*. In the next section, we will examine further examples of the way in which pupils respond to (i.e. reproduce and contest) the language ideology of their school and that of society at large.

¹⁹³ However, on another occasion it is Sally who displays her unequivocal contestation of the school language policy:

I write about the stuff in *tech* [=technology], but, that's fine, I speak to ALL my teachers in English, [...] if I don't understand something in Welsh I speak to them in English, miss (nags) 'bout it d'n't she ((*to Tina who then smiles*)) but I speak to her in English, I NEVER speak to th-, the art teacher in Welsh EVER, because if I don't understand it there's no point in me doing it, so I think well I may as well speak English, so that I understand it 'cause at the end of the day it's my education I'm learning so:

It becomes apparent here that Sally's contestation is played out on two levels: firstly through her insistence on speaking English to teachers and secondly by discursively reproducing her *de facto* resistance in the focus group discussion. To her defence, it is interesting to note that Sally invokes the marketisation discourse, which entails a reorientation of citizens as consumers (c.f. §5.3.1). This is made manifest by Sally's assertion that it is *her* education, implying that she has consumer rights to demand service in her preferred language.

6.5.2 Responding to the School's Ideology

In the previous chapter considerable space was devoted to examining the discourses underlying the ideology of *Ysgol 1* (§5.2) and also that of schools in Ceredigion in general (§5.1.4.2). Moreover, in the section entitled “The Mismatch between Ideology and Practice” (§5.2.5), it was pointed out that the language practices of the pupils at *Ysgol 1* do not always tally with the *Cymreictod* “Welshness” that lays at the heart of the school’s core values, not least the call for commitment to the Welsh language. The aim of this section is to take a closer look at how the pupils respond to this interpellation and discursively (re)construct as well as contest the school’s language ideology.

Given the language profiles of the four focus groups and their members sketched above, it would be extremely naïve to think that these bilingual young people would show no resistance at all to the call to “use their Welsh, not just, in class, but outside class with their friends” (excerpt 9), as the Welsh teacher exhorted prospective pupils at the school open evening. In order to counter pupils’ resistance, I have identified three recurrently mentioned means to which teachers resort to try to ‘enforce’ the school’s preference for Welsh. The first entails direct action in reprimanding pupils for speaking English, the second entails the differential treatment of “English” and “Welsh groups” and the third involves what the pupils refer to as “preaching” or “lecturing”. Thus the first means involves most direct intervention and the third constitutes the most indirect. To exemplify the second, in-between category, I refer back to excerpt 41, where group 2 members talk of teachers treating the English groups more strictly. They even go on (beyond excerpt 41) to claim that teachers are stricter with them on school uniform. Nevertheless, despite one or two group members drawing attention to injustices or in other ways contesting the language policy of the school, there are always tensions and counter-arguments, as illustrated by the analysis of excerpt 41. Let us then take a few more examples for the focus group discussions which both exemplify the pupils’ responses to these three means of teacher intervention and the tensions which often accompany their articulation.

The first example (excerpt 42) comes from focus group 1 and deals with reactions to teachers reprimands, but also with the possible outcomes of the school’s language policy. Immediately before this

- 14 Ifan: L₀N: :D pan ma' nw'n gadel ysgol ma' nw'n
but when they are they part. leave school are they part.
but when they leave school they
- 15 ffindio bod nw 'di neud lot o ffrindie trwy'r
find that they past make lot of friends through the
find that they've made lots of friends through
- 16 gymraeg neu ma' nw yn actually troi N₀L i isie y
Welsh or are they part. turn back to want the
Welsh or they actually turn back to wanting
- 17 gymraeg.
Welsh
Welsh
- 18 Pause: (.3)
- 19 Belinda: mm
- 20 Pause: (.)
- 21 Bridget: mm (.) ma' yn wir (.3) on' ma' ma' achos bo- yr
is part. true but is is because that the
mm, it's true, but it's it's because
- 22 holl athrawon be' *o: >siaradwch cymraeg siaradwch
all the teachers what oh speak Welsh speak
all the teachers what oh speak Welsh speak
- 23 cymraeg* yn amal y' chi o: yn amlwg yn mynd i
Welsh part. often are you oh part. obvious part. go to
Welsh often you're oh obviously going to
(*in an irritated voice)
- 24 rebelio yn erbyn rhwnna<7 (.) ma' jyst r'yn rhwbeth
rebel part. against that is just part. something
rebel against that, there's just something
- 25 Gwen: Lie: J |
yeah
- 26 Ifan: L*ma' rhai
are some
some
- 27 Bridget: yn rebelio<7
in rebel
in rebelling
- 28 Ifan: dim pawb J yn ym::* ((*in low growling voice))
not everyone part. uhm
not everyone does uhm
- 29 Pause: (.)
- 30 Bridget: well NA:'n chi'n g'wod pawb sy moyn: (.) re<7 rebelio<7
well no part. you part. know everyone who is want to rebel
well no y' know everyone who wants to, rebel
- 31 Ifan: Lie J
yeah
- 32 Bridget: yn erbyn rwbeth (.6) r'ch'w bod<7
part. against something y' know
against something, y' know
- 33 Maud: Lmm J

Maud's turn in lines 1 and 3 should be seen as a response to Belinda's turn rather than Ifan's, insofar as she offers an explanation as to why pupils speak English outside school. The implication is that once you

form a friendship in one language (say English), this cannot be readily changed because of the school language policy. Rather than resigning herself to the ineffectual school policy implied by Belinda, Maud suggests in lines 5, 6 and 8 that the school ensure that pupils form friendships in Welsh, by sending them to the Urdd's activity centre, where they would be encouraged to speak Welsh all the time.

In line 7, Ifan explicitly aligns with Maud, but he takes issue one again with Belinda's bleak representation of the school's mission to promote Welsh. Thus in the continuation off his turn in lines 9-12 and 14-17, he claims that even if pupils rebel by refusing to speak Welsh, because they have made a lot of friends in Welsh, they may turn back to Welsh after they have left school. Ifan's thesis, in fact, draws directly on the point that Maud has made in lines 1 and 3. After Bridget's aborted attempt in line 13 to enter the conversation, from line 21 onwards she develops the rebellion theme introduced by Ifan. Thus it is Bridget who spells out what the rebellious pupils are responding to; Bridget enacts a teacher's reduplicated and irritated reprimand to speak Welsh (lines 22-23), which is allegedly doled out frequently (*yn amal*) by all the teachers (*yr holl athrawon*). It is evident that Bridget's generalised quotation implies criticism of such reprimands by the continuation of her turn in lines 23-24, where she suggests that this would be enough to make anyone rebel. Ifan's disaffiliative response in lines 26 and 28, causes Bridget to downgrade her claim to "anyone who wants to rebel", which allows Ifan to concede (line 31) and the topic to be brought to a close.

As in the case of excerpt 41, clearly this excerpt is characterised by tensions in the discursive representation of the school's language policy. Whereas Belinda's implies that the school language policy is ineffectual beyond the school walls, Maud suggests one way in which it could be made more effectual at the same time as Ifan questions the very substance of Belinda's claim. Nevertheless, none of them actually question the goal of this policy, viz. to promote Welsh. Instead, the most substantial challenge comes from Bridget, who suggests that admonishing pupils for speaking English will result in rebellion, albeit among those who have a propensity to rebel. In fact, groups 3 and 4 also explicitly link linguistic rebellion with the teachers' direct intervention into what language pupils speak. On the other hand, as in excerpt 42, the criticism of teacher's reprimands is accompanied by alternative ways in

which to make the school's language policy more effectual. It is in this regard that the criticisms of group 2 diverge; their criticisms (usually spearheaded by Claire) tend to challenge the very basis of the school's *Cymreictod*.

The next excerpt (43) illustrates this very point. Here members of group 2 illustrate how they have responded to teachers' exhortations and reprimands in the past. Since this is not an issue which is unique to *Ysgol I*, but one that is no doubt familiar to all *ysgolion Cymraeg*, the following extract refers to the pupils' respective primary schools. In fact, it comes almost immediately after Katy has read out the question about whether many pupils spoke English at primary school.

Excerpt 43 (FGD2, FG2, 03:27)

Participants: Sally (S), Tina (T), Katy (K), Claire (C)

1 Sally: I went to a welsh primary school and I spoke
2 [english] to [emma]
3 Claire: [so did I]
4 Pause: (.4)
5 Claire: I spo- [I went to] a wel [sh primary,]
6 Tina: [I sp- I]
7 Sally: [!but [BRON]wen] an'
8 [emma] spoke welsh;
9 Pause: (.3)
10 Claire: I went to a welsh primary school an' I spoke welsh
11 to a:ll my friends
12 Pause: (.)
13 Katy: [*I dunno*] ((*high pitched, looks away with
puzzled look, as if trying to remember))
14 Claire: [an' I used] (.) ENGLISH to >all my friends I mean
15 an' only spoke welsh to the tea-cher an' well an' <
16 Sally: [yeah
17 Tina: [yeah
18 Katy: [they used to]
19 Claire: ONLY ↑THEN if they shouted at me.
20 Pause: (.3)
21 Katy: [they used to] teach us through,=
22 Sally: [yeah
23 Tina: [yeah
24 Tina: =an' me.
25 Pause: (.)
26 Katy: welsh but then, (.) [aled lloyd] was always
27 speaking english he hardly ever spoke
28 Pause: (.3)
29 Katy: [welsh like] [[siôn)]
30 Tina: [yeah I used to] [] agh do most of my

After Katy has told a diverging story of never getting a row for speaking English at her primary school (lines 39-40), Claire illustrates how she would get a row in line 47, where she quotes an irritated teacher in English. In fact none of the teachers are quoted in Welsh by any participants in this sequence (or anywhere else in their discussions), although it is highly unlikely that they would have spoken anything but Welsh, given the circumstances. In line 48 Claire introduces her response to the teacher's exhortation as what she actually said, with the past tense of the verb "to be" and a quotative marker "like", yet her response contains a tense shift "I mean", which suggests that her "why?" is more her response in the here and now than a direct challenge that was delivered to the teacher. Claire's quotation triggers Sally to quote her teacher's more gentle approach, with a soft but repeated "try it" in lines 51-52. Claire then proceeds to elaborate on Sally's teacher's gentler approach, by mimicking a meek schoolgirl's appeal to her teacher let her answer in English (line 55). In Claire's version, the teacher's initial response is also a gentle encouragement to "try it in Welsh" in line 56, but the explicit challenge to the teacher's prompting (also delivered in the same meek schoolgirl's voice) in line 58, results in a sharp order to "try!" accompanied by a stern look to mark the teacher's resoluteness. Tina and Sally find Claire's little act highly amusing and Sally finishes off the performance by launching into an exaggerated stutter (lines 61 & 63) to indicate the plight of the tongue-tied pupil at having to produce a response in Welsh¹⁹⁴.

In this sequence of retold primary school situations where these pupils 'perform' their response to teachers' encouragement, exhortations and orders to speak Welsh, it is clear that – at least in the recontextualisation of their stories – Claire, Tina and Sally display their resistance to the school's language policy in face-to-face conflict with their teachers. Katy's account diverges from that of the others, in that she does not purport to have challenged the teacher's authority, nor have her language practices (speaking Welsh and English, lines 42 & 45) led to conflict (lines 39-40). By referring to Aled Lloyd as an example of someone who "hardly ever spoke Welsh" (lines 26, 27 & 29), Katy does seem, however, to make an attempt at alignment with the others. Yet the above

¹⁹⁴ Elsewhere Sally tells the others that she often stutters if she has to speak Welsh.

sequence is more characterised by her disalignment (and the others' disalignment with her). Besides the mismatch between her primary school experience and that of the others, Katy does not share the amusement of the others at the reenacted teacher-pupil 'performances'. Instead, in overlap with Tina's and Sally's laughter, she attempts to initiate a topic shift, by trying to draw the others' attention to a new discussion question in line 62. It is probably no coincidence that the three English-dominant bilinguals adopt an affiliative stance in this sequence, in contrast to Katy, who is the only floater in the group. Since Katy neither lacks the confidence to speak Welsh, nor shares the others' experience of resisting speaking Welsh to teachers (or other willing Welsh speakers), her discursive construction of the language practices of her primary school is essentially disaffiliative.

The next excerpt (44) is also taken from the discussions of group 2, but this time there is reference to the third and least direct type of teacher intervention, *viz.* "preaching". The discussion question that frames this excerpt concerns why parents send their children to *Ysgol 1* and not to their neighbouring English-medium school, *Ysgol 2*. Within this frame, Katy's turn in line 1 marks a topic shift, which brings into focus the new pupil intake in the school's new premises.

Excerpt 44 (FGD1, FG2, 13:16)

Participants: Sally (S), Tina (T), Katy (K), Claire (C)

1 Katy: [but] guaranteed, (.) i- in september, (.3)
 2 there'll be more kids, (.6) [coming to [ysgol 1]]
 3 Sally: [yeah yeah def'nitely]
 4 Pause: (.3)
 5 Katy: [s- simply because of the]
 6 Sally: [jus' for the new school yeah]
 7 Tina: new [facilities
 8 Katy: [facilities] an' the buildings
 9 Sally: [which is fair] enough (for the xx)]
 10 Katy: [an' stuff.
 11 Tina: [well I think] so yeah [because I mean] they can't
 12 Sally: [ie:
 13 Claire: they've got all these new facilities an' stuff so
 14 they, (.3) y' know [they they haven't really got a
 15 Katy: [half [ysgol 2], ((making
 beckoning gesture with her hand))
 16 Claire: RIGHT to not let [other people] use them.
 17 Sally: [yeah
 18 Pause: (.4)

19 Sally?: °mm°
20 Pause: (.)
21 Katy: but what the problem is gonna be, (.3) s:pecially
22 what people (.) like (.3) [the head teacher] who
23 preach (.) constantly about welsh, (.3) >what
24 they're gonna find is<, (.) because people are jus'
25 coming here for the building there's gonna be so:
26 much more english around the school ['cause] people
27 Claire: [yea:h]
28 Tina?: [mm]
29 Katy: who have,
30 Claire: >well tha's why 'e's going on about it now
31 Claire: ['cause of the]
32 Katy: [people who are] [absolutely terrible at english
33 Tina: ((to C)) [yeah but it doesn' do any
34 Katy: they're all gonna ((to S)) >they're all gonna come
35 Tina: good †does †it when he goes on about
36 Katy: here jus' [because of the<]] building >none of 'em
37 Tina: [it('s:)]
38 Claire: [well no:
39 Katy: are gonna speak welsh because<
40 Pause: (.4)
41 Katy: [half of them can't,]
42 Claire: ['cause they don']
43 Sally: =m-m:
44 Claire: [an' they] don' †understand ((leans forwards
across the desk in front of K to address T & S))
45 Katy: [an' they just
46 Claire: they don' understand]
47 Katy: an' they jus' kinda]

The point which Katy makes in her first turn, the completion of which is jointly constructed with Tina (lines 7-8), is that the new school facilities will attract more pupils. The significance of this is initially taken up by Sally (line 9), seconded by Tina (line 11) and spelt out fully by Claire (lines 13, 14 & 16). Hence it is Claire's treatment of the subject that displays most clearly their disalignment with the school's language policy, though this is not made explicit until Katy's turn beginning in line 21, where she develops the nature of "the problem", i.e. that more predominantly English-speaking pupils will be attracted to the school because of the new building and facilities. The fact that Katy makes a direct reference to the head teacher's constant preaching about Welsh (line 23) implies that many new pupils will be coming to *Ysgol 1* (rather than going to *Ysgol 2*, line 15) for the 'wrong' reason, i.e. not because their school is a designated bilingual school with a preference for Welsh

(c.f. Katy's formulation in excerpt 41, lines 43 & 45). Although Katy's choice of the words "preach constantly" implies criticism of this kind of teacher intervention, the point which she develops is that it will be impossible to maintain the school language policy, because of the influx of people, half of whom can't speak Welsh¹⁹⁵ (line 41).

When Katy has made the point that "there's gonna be so much more English around the school" in lines 25 and 26, she receives recipient tokens from Claire and probably Tina (lines 27 & 28), but although Katy proceeds to account for her claim, she has to compete with Claire and Tina for the floor, since they branch off into their own overlapping side-discussion (lines 31-38), forcing Katy to address Sally. In Claire and Tina's parallel dialogue, they agree that the head teacher's preaching is to no avail (lines 33, 35, 37 & 38). In lines 42, 44 and 46 Claire then competes directly with Katy for the floor, in a bid to return to a unified group discussion. This is evident from her body language in line 44, where Claire leans across the table to vie for Sally's attention too, but also from Claire's three attempts to deliver the same formulation: "they don't understand" (lines 42, 44 & 46). Although it remains unclear what point Katy is trying to make in her repeated formulation "and they just" (lines 45 & 47), it seems likely that "they" refers to the new pupil intake, rather than teachers, to whom Claire's "they" refers. This becomes most apparent in the continuation beyond the last line of excerpt 44, where Claire explains that "they don't understand that [...] you can't speak Welsh to people that you've never spoken Welsh to before you jus' it's just unnatural". In other words, Claire takes issue with an implied misguided language policy, which forces pupils like herself to act unnaturally.

Once again, Claire is the group member that discursively displays the most solid resistance and contestation of the school language policy. By stating that "they haven't really got a right not to let other people use" the school's facilities (lines 14 & 16), Claire means that the school ("they") has no right to vet the new school intake on linguistic grounds to ensure that the school's preference for Welsh is maintained. In fact, this stance is at loggerheads with the school's gatekeeping practices and

¹⁹⁵ Although Katy actually initially talks of "people who are absolutely terrible at English" (line 32) rather than Welsh, this is no doubt a slip, since it is repaired in the continuation of this turn (lines 36, 39 & 41).

interpellating call for commitment performed at the open evening for prospective pupils and their parents (c.f. §5.2.2). Indeed, much of the discourse generated by teachers on this occasion would probably be classed as “preaching”.

Returning to the present excerpt, there appears to be a general consensus of opinion that “preach[ing] constantly about Welsh” if ineffectual now, it will definitely be when the school attracts more pupils who “can’t speak Welsh”. More damning than the ineffectiveness of preaching is Claire’s criticism of the school’s inability to understand that its language policy even goes against nature, insofar as is unnatural to expect people to make a break with their previous language practices by changing their ‘institutionalised’ language preferences. Once again, Claire’s line of argument belongs to the ecology-of-language discourse with its inherent tensions as expounded in the analysis in conjunction with excerpt 41 in §6.5.1.2.

The next extract also challenges the school’s preference for Welsh and makes a critical reference to “preaching”, but the tensions in this sequence are of a different nature to those emerging within group 2 in excerpt 44. Here it is group 3 who are discussing the school’s language policy in the continuation of the opening of the discussion proper found in excerpt 21. In fact, Louise’s first turn in the excerpt below reiterates her earlier complaint that teachers tell them “speaking English is bad”.

Excerpt 45 (FGD1: FG2: 05:11) (continues on from excerpt 21)

Participants: Louise (L), Carys (C), Llinos (LI), Martha (M), Amy (A)

69 Louise: >fi ddim yn hoffi'r ffordd mae yn [ysgol 1] bo' nw
I not part. like the way is in [name of their school] that they
I don't like the way it is in [Ysgol 1] that they
70 deud i chi bod sae- siarad saesneg yn wael a
say to you that Eng- speak English part. bad and
tell you that Eng- speaking English is bad and
71 dyle' chi ddim neud e.< (.5) on' fi'n gweld pam
should you not do him but I part. see why
you shouldn't do it, but I see why
72 >ma' nw moyn i chi siarad cymraeg on' sa i'n credu
are they want to you speak Welsh but am not I part. believe
they want you to speak Welsh but I don't think
73 dyle' nw'n deud i'bo' saesneg< yn ɿ
should they part. say that English part.
they should say that English is

- 74 Martha: Lfi'n meddwl w- ↓
I part. think ?
I think ?
- 75 Pause: (.5)
- 76 Louise: waeɪ. (.)
bad
- 77 Martha: GWERThoedd [ysgol 1] yw siarad cymraeg
values [name of school] is speak Welsh
it's the values of [Ysgol 1] to speak Welsh
- 78 Pause: (.4)
- 79 Llinos: h:: ie on' fi yn fi'n gweld bod cymrâg yn rîli
yeah but I part. I part. see that Welsh part. really
h yeah but I do I see that Welsh is really
- 80 bwysig (.3) ym (.4) i dywylliant ni a dyfodol
important uhm to culture our and future
important, uhm, to our culture and the future
- 81 Llinos: Γcymru a: (.4) hh. i ni fel unigolion
Wales and to us as individuals
of Wales and, h to us as individuals
- 82 Louise: Lmm ↓
- 83 Louise: mm
- 84 Pause: (.5)
- 85 Llinos: on:d (.7) fi yn teimlo ambell waith ma' nw'n rî:li
but I part. feel some time are they part. really
but, I do feel sometimes they're really
- 86 Llinos: pregethiwrol,
preachy
preachy
- 87 Pause: (.)
- 88 Louise: mm
- 89 Pause: (.)
- 90 Llinos: a mewn gwasath- gwasar_{naeth}
and in asseb- assembly
and in asseb- assembly
- 91 Carys: Lie ↓
yeah
- 92 Llinos: Γa ma' nw'n₁ (.4) rî:li rhy strict Γynghlyn â fe₁
and are they part. really too strict Γynghlyn about him
and they're really too strict about it
- 93 Amy: L(m- mm) ↓ |wel ma' nw |
well are they
- 94 Louise: (? mm) well they
Lie ↓
yeah
- 95 Amy: yn Γa: 1
part. and
are and
- 96 Llinos: La 'falle ma' pobol myn' i'r ochor arall ac
and maybe are people go to the side other and
and maybe people will go to the other side and
- 97 yn bwrpasol yn siarad saesneg.=
part. deliberate part. speak English
deliberately speak English

- 98 Amy: =ie a ym (.) beth sy yn *annoying* yw (.4) >fi'n
 yeah and uhm what is part. is I part.
 yeah and uhm, what is *annoying* is, I
- 99 gw**o**bd dyle' ni siarad cymraeg a ma'n bwysig
 know should we speak Welsh and is part. important
 know we should speak Welsh and it's important
- 100 i ni siarad cymraeg>, (.) on' pobol sy ddim yn
 to us speak Welsh but people who are not part.
 for us to speak Welsh, but people who don't
- 101 siarad cymraeg o gw**o**bw**l** (.4) jyst er mwyn rebelio
 speak Welsh at all just in order to rebel
 speak Welsh at all, just to rebel
- 102 Amy: yn erbyn athrawon₁ ₁(yn) meddwl₁ >na ma' nw'n
 against teachers (part.) think no are they part.
 against teachers thinking no they
- 103 Louise:
 104 Llinos: ┌mm └
└ie └
yeah
- 105 Amy: gwell ni siarad cymraeg (on' ni'n) myn' i siarad
 better us speak Welsh (but we part.) go to speak
 we'd better speak Welsh (but we're) gonna speak
- 106 saesneg.> a os ma' nw'n teimlo fel 'a pam
 English and if are they part. feel like that why
 English and if they feel like that why
- 107 nathe' nw 'm jyst myn' i [ysgol 2] yn y lle gynta?
 did they not just go to [name of English school] in the place first
 didn't they just go to [Ysgol 2] in the first place?
- 108 Carys: ia
 yah

The first time Louise voices her criticism of teachers' denigration of pupils speaking English is in response to Martha's claim that they "get the chance to speak whatever language [they] want to speak" (excerpt 21, lines 52-53). Despite Martha downgrading her claim (lines 63, 64 & 66), Louise does not drop her complaint. Although she concedes that she understands why teachers try to stop pupils speaking English (lines 71-72 of excerpt 45), Louise completes her turn by condemning teachers for the third time for telling them that speaking English is bad (lines 72, 73 & 76). Martha's response in lines 74 and 77 is to defend teachers' actions by discursively reproducing the school's language policy and declaring that speaking Welsh is one of the core values of *Ysgol 1*. The beginning of Llinos's following turn *ie on'* "yeah but" signals disaffiliation, yet her tripartite declaration of why "Welsh is really important" in lines 80-81 bears some resemblance to the preaching in school assemblies which she criticises in lines 85 and 86 and then rephrases as being "too *strict* about [Welsh]" in line 92. Llinos then goes on to expound the danger of being

too strict in lines 96-97, *viz.* that it might cause people to rebel and purposely speak English. This argument is similar to the one which Bridget put forward in lines 23-24 of excerpt 42, albeit in response to teachers reprimanding pupils for speaking English. In focus group 4, Wesley also complains on two separate occasions that both preaching at pupils in assembly to speak Welsh and teachers telling them to speak Welsh *trwy'r amser* “all the time” puts people off. However, it should be pointed out that the criticism is levelled at how teachers go about trying to enforce the language policy, rather than criticising the language policy *per se*. Indeed, the members of group 4 discuss alternative ways of making Welsh “cool” in order to persuade pupils to speak it.

To return to excerpt 45, Amy’s initial “well” in line 93 signals a disaffiliative response although she explicitly agrees with Llinos that teachers are too strict about speaking Welsh. In her renewed bid for the floor, Amy’s turn from line 98 onwards then delivers a scathing attack on pupils who rebel against teachers by deliberately speaking English, suggesting that they should have gone to the English-medium secondary school instead (lines 106-107). Thus although Llinos points out the risk of causing pupils to rebel by being “really preachy” and “too strict”, Amy’s unequivocal condemnation of pupils’ rebellion against teachers rules out any justification of their behaviour. In Amy’s next turn, which comes immediately after line 108 of excerpt 45, she initiates a topic shift by comparing the standard of education offered by the two schools. At the same time, her conclusion that both schools are of an equal standard implies that pupils who object to teachers insisting that they speak Welsh have no excuse, since *Ysgol 2* can offer an education of the same standard.

Amy’s condemnation of pupils refusing to speak Welsh to rebel against teachers bears similarities with a point which Wesley makes in the discussions of group 4. Although there is no explicit mention of pupils speaking English in order to rebel against teachers, Wesley does condemn “a lot of pupils at [Ysgol 1]” who speak English all the time (lines 1-2).

Excerpt 46 (FGD1, FG4, 20:49)

Participants: Action Man (A Man), Cornilov, Wesley, Batman

1 Wesley: on' ma' lot lo bobol yn [ysgol 1] yn sia- yn
but is/are lot of people in [name of their school] part. sp- part.
bu' there's a lot of people at [Ysgol 1] sp- speaking

2 sia^lrad saesneg trwy'r amser a a criticiso ni yn
speak English through the time and and criticise us part.
speaking English all the time and and criticising us

3 siarad cymraeg
speak Welsh
speaking Welsh

4 Cornilov: ie=
yeah

5 A Man: =ie:=
yeah

6 Wesley: =a sa i'n credu beth yw pwynt i nw fod yma
and don't I part. believe what is point to them be here
and I don't think what's the point in them being here?

7 Pause: (.6)

8 A Man: ie:
yeah

9 Wesley: >alle' nw myn' i r[Ysgol] 4]<
could they go to [name of another county secondary school]
they could go to [Ysgol 4]

Nevertheless, it is not just the fact that they always speak English, which Wesley takes issue with, but the fact that these pupils criticise group 4 members for speaking Welsh (lines 2-3). Similar to Amy's indignation at pupils who refuse to speak Welsh being at *Ysgol 1*, Wesley also questions why these pupils are at their school. Rather than suggesting that they should have gone to their neighbouring English-medium school, *Ysgol 2*, (like Amy does), Wesley suggests that they should go to another secondary school in the county (line 9).

Whereas members of both group 3 and 4 level criticism at the ways in which teachers intervene both directly in reprimanding pupils for speaking English or indirectly through “preaching”, there is also scathing criticism of pupils who constantly rebel and refuse to speak Welsh. By objecting to the rebellious practices of these pupils and questioning their very presence at the school, both groups are in fact discursively reproducing the legitimised social order of the school. Not surprisingly, those pupils who most readily conform to the school's preference for Welsh are also numbered amongst those who most readily defend the school's language policy, even if some are critical of the means by which the policy is enforced. Conversely, in group 2 for example, where at least three group members (the English-dominant bilinguals) are reluctant to speak Welsh, there is not only condemnation of the means by which the

school's language policy is implemented, but also explicit contestation of the school's preference for Welsh, and thus resistance to the legitimised social order of the school. Thus their resistance is played out on two levels, firstly by refusing to conform to the language preference legitimised by the school, and secondly by discursively articulating their conflictual practices and the grounds of their resistance. This is not to say that there is total agreement within each group, indeed their discussions are largely characterised by internal tensions, but there is a remarkable correlation between the position of individuals in figure 31, which summarises their bilingual profiles, and the stance they take *vis à vis* the school language policy. In other words, individuals at the upper end of the Welsh-dominant group are most likely to discursively reproduce the legitimised social order, whereas individuals at the lower end of the English-dominant group are most likely to contest this order. Thus there is a continuum within each group, whereby language practices roughly correspond to their degree of discursive acquiescence or resistance to the school's language ideology.

6.5.3 Whose Welsh Counts?

The first excerpt of this section acts as a bridge between the last section and this. Besides including another discussion of teachers' direct intervention into which pupils language speak, it includes another kind of direct intervention by teachers, namely in response to the nature of the Welsh they speak. The reason being that the Welsh spoken by pupils does not always match up with the more formal varieties, which are more highly valued by the school and the Welsh-speaking élite. In section §6.4, earlier on in this chapter, it emerged that the Welsh of the focus group discussions is essentially a mixed medium, with English insertions. Hence the question addressed by this section is how these focus group members discursively construct the Welsh they speak, as well as how they reconstitute others' evaluation of their Welsh, including that of teachers.

The context for excerpt 47 is made apparent in the extract itself, since Louise (in focus group 3) reads out one of the discussion questions in line 1, and thereby initiates a topic shift. The full question is whether teachers have ever tried to influence what language they speak to each other outside class.

Excerpt 47 (FGD2, FG3, 59:16)

Participants: Louise (L), Carys (C), Llinos (Ll), Martha (M), Amy (A)

- 1 Louise: have teachers ever tried to influence?
- 2 Pause: (.3)
- 3 Louise: [that >have we talked about that?<]
- 4 Amy: [ie
yeah
- 5 Carys: |ie >ma' nw wastad yn.< |
yeah are they always part.
yeah they always do
- 6 Llinos: L yes hhhh ((=sigh)) J
- 7 Pause: (.)
- 8 Amy: un r̄mwy annoying na'r ll̄ r̄all̄ ((to L))
one more than the other
the one more annoying than the other
- 9 Llinos: Lgormod yw e fel arferJ | |
too much is he as usual
it's too much usually
- 10 Carys: Lie:J
yeah
- 11 Amy: .ts r̄.ts .ts .ts .ts .ts *yŵ::*γ ((as if in pain,
(tuts) ee-oo to Ll))
- 12 Llinos: Lfel [mrs price] fel *ipei^Jdiwch r̄chi siarad
like [fictitious teacher's name] like don't you speak
like [Mrs Price] like don't speak
- 13 Carys: Lfel over
like over
- 14 Llinos: cymr̄raeg!* γ ((high-pitched shrieking))
Welsh
Welsh!
- 15 Carys: r̄|the top| 'sdim angen na γ
is not need no
the top there's no need, no
- 16 Martha: Lsa i'n Jcytuno gyda 'na sa i'nJ cyr̄tuno 'daγ
don't I part. agree with that don't I part. agree with
I don't agree with that I don't agree with
- 17 Louise: Lna J
no
- 18 Martha: [mrs price]
- 19 Amy: Lachos] nes r̄i:: r̄os γ o'n i'n
because did I if was I part.
because I (spoke), if I was
- 20 Louise: L>ma' hi dros y |top<J
is she over the top
she's over the top
- 21 Carys: Lo'dd e'n rhoi
was he part. put
it put
- 22 Amy: siarad i hi nes i gweud r̄:lliγ a nath 'i jys' myn'
speak to her did I say really and did she jus' go
speaking to her I said really and she jus' went

- 23 Carys: pobol off siarad cymraeg. J
people off speak Welsh
 people off speaking Welsh
- 24 Amy: ((wagging her finger)) dim 'sie gymyn- gair o cymrâg
not need so much word of Welsh
 there's no need for so mu- word of Welsh
- 25 r:îrli! a'n i fel₇
really and was I like
 really! and I was like
- 26 Carys: |i:!! |r'sdim angen r 'na 77
oh isn't need that
 oh! there's no need for that
- 27 Louise: L o:: J Lma' hwnna | yn J
oh is that part.
 oh that's
- 28 Amy: Lannoyo J rfi nawr₇
annoy me now
 annoys me now
- 29 Martha: Lna: J
no
 no
- 30 Amy: achos: (.) ti'bo' (.) ti ffi- i fi fi ffili g-
because y' know you can[t] to me I can't s[ay?]
 because, y' know, you can- to me I can't s-
- 31 siarad cymraeg (.3) brawddeg cymraeg (.) ti'wod
speak Welsh sentence Welsh y' know
 speak Welsh, a Welsh sentence, y' know
- 32 jys' (.) whole conver₇sation yn cym₇raeg₇ fi ffili₇
jus' in Welsh I can't
 jus', a whole conversation in Welsh I can't
- 33 Martha: Lfi'n meddwl |bod, J |
I part. think that
 I think that
- 34 Llinos: ((smiles and points at A)) Lshw hy\$ J
hoo huh
 hoo huh
- 35 Amy: whole conversation.
 a whole conversation
- 36 Martha: fi'n rmeddwl fel ang₇en dweud w'th plant ddo i
I part. think like need say to children though to
 I think that like they need to tell children though to
- 37 Carys: Lna ma' f'yn J
no is he part.
 no it's
- 38 Martha: siarad cymrâg on' r₇mewn ffordd neis fel o *come on₇
speak Welsh but in way nice like oh
 speak Welsh but in a nice way like oh come on
- 39 Amy: |*ie* ((*creaky voice)) |
 yeah
- 40 Louise: Lmm ie J
 mm yeah
- 41 Martha: boys* siar'wch r₇gymrâg fel [rhys owen]₇ ((*gentle
speak Welsh like [fictitious (teacher's?) name] tone of
 boys speak Welsh like [Rhys Owen] tone of
 voice))
- 42 Amy: LenCOURago nw dim J
encourage them not
 encourage them, not

43 Martha: yn arfer rgweud fel ni fel₁ come on boys siaradwch
 part. usual say like we like speak
 usually says like we like come on boys speak

44 Louise: |ie: |
 yeah

45 Amy: | ie: |
 yeah

46 Carys: L ie: J
 yeah

47 Martha: gymrâg nawr
 Welsh now

48 Pause: (.)

49 Amy: enrcourago₁ nw dim=
 encourage them not
 encourage them not

50 Martha: 'acho' J
 'cause

51 Martha: =ie:=
 yeah

52 Amy: =LECTuro nw
 lecture them

53 Carys: rie:ɿ
 yeah

The first responses to this question indicate that these pupils do not regard teachers exerting their influence as a neutral activity. Carys (line 5), Llinos (lines 6 & 9) and Amy (line 8) all display overt criticism of their teachers' actions. Furthermore, both Amy's and Llinos's turns lead into parallel performances of teachers' behaviour. In line 11 Amy starts tutting and wagging her finger to show teachers' general disapproval. Llinos, on the other hand, imitates a particular teacher, Mrs Price, who shrieks out an order that pupils refrain from speaking Welsh (lines 12 & 14). Although "Welsh" this is not repaired to "English", from the remainder of this excerpt (e.g. lines 21 & 23¹⁹⁶), as well as a repeat performance of Mrs Price's shrieking at Martha's request (beyond excerpt 47), "Welsh" must have been a slip of the tongue. At the mention of Mrs Price's name, Amy immediately interrupts her tutting and turns to Llinos to issue a pained "ee-oo!" (line 11), which comes immediately before Llinos's impression. This time Carys (line 15), Martha (lines 16 &

¹⁹⁶ It would make no sense for Carys to complain that Mrs Price's over-the-top and unnecessary reprimand "put people off speaking Welsh", if this was in fact what Mrs Price was ordering them to do.

18) and Louise (lines 17 & 20) express their disapproval of such vitriolic intervention.

Llinos's performance of Mrs Price's vehement reprimand also triggers Amy to recount another clash with this teacher in lines 19, 22, 24 and 25, whereby Mrs Price reprimanded Amy for inserting the English word "really" too much in her Welsh. Amy's prolonged initial rolled "r" when she says *rili* "really" in lines 22 and 25 seems to add more weight to her gripe, by making the borrowing as Welsh-sounding as possible. Both Carys and Louise immediately respond with shocked "oh"s (lines 26 & 27 respectively) and Amy follows up her story with a negative evaluation of Mrs Price's admonishment (lines 25 & 28). Furthermore, Amy justifies her annoyance by maintaining that she can't have a whole conversation solely in Welsh (lines 30-32 & 35). In fact, she starts out by attempting to make a more widely applicable comment about the group's Welsh by using the second person pronoun (*ti ffi*- "you can[t]") in line 30, but she makes a self-repair (*i fi fi ffi* "to me I can't") which limits its applicability, but thereby reduces the potential for the others' attack. Although Carys's response in line 37 seems to signal that Amy is not the only one to insert English words in her Welsh, Llinos reacts with amusement in line 34 to the fact that Amy's statement that she can't have a whole conversation in solely in Welsh is also being demonstrated by Amy's turn, since it also contains the English words: "whole conversation" (lines 32).

However, the most disaffiliative response comes from Martha (lines 36, 38, etc.), since she asserts the need to tell children to speak Welsh, and thereby discursively reproduces and re-affirms the school's language policy. Yet rather than engaging with Amy's complaint about being admonished for inserting *rili*/really in her Welsh, Martha returns to the matter of teachers influencing *which* language pupils speak. Her initial reaction after Llinos's impression was to denounce Mrs Price's outburst (lines 16 & 18), but now she revisits the subject and differentiates between the principle of direct intervention and the way in which it is carried out. Instead, Martha advocates "a nice way [...] like [Rhys Owen]", presumably another teacher at the school. The fact that Martha also refers to this teacher by his first name stands in contrast to Mrs Price. It is also interesting to note that Martha's recommended softer

approach is ‘performed’ with an initial phrase in English¹⁹⁷: “*come on boys*” followed by the command which is frequently cited in the focus groups: *siaradwch Gymraeg!* “speak Welsh!”. This particular teacher’s approach seems to find favour with Louise, Amy and Carys (lines 44, 45 & 46, respectively), and Amy’s modification (or interpretation) of Martha’s recommendation is that teachers should encourage pupils to speak Welsh, rather than lecture them (lines 42, 49 & 52).

In keeping with the conclusions of the previous section, members of group 3 take exception to the methods of reprimanding and lecturing pupils, rather than rejecting the school’s language policy *per se*. On this occasion it is Martha, rather than Amy, who spearheads a defence of the legitimised social order, albeit with Amy’s backing. However, it is Amy who launches an attack on another kind of direct intervention by teachers, in the guise of disapproval of Amy’s mixed-medium Welsh. Amy’s stated and performed inability to hold a whole conversation solely in Welsh also implies resistance to the teacher’s demand for English-free Welsh. As we shall see, Amy’s annoyance is not an isolated occurrence, particularly in groups 3 and 4, whose Welsh contains the greatest proportions of code-alternation. These are also the groups with the highest proportions of ‘floaters’.

Let us now turn to focus group 4, who are in fact most vocal on this issue. At the outset of excerpt 48, Wesley initiates a topic shift to “one aspect of Welshness [he] finds difficult” (lines 1-2). Immediately before this extract Batman has pointed out the need for more Welsh-language input for year 8, in order to foster a pride in their Welshness. Hence Wesley’s initiated topic shift is characterised by a degree of disalignment.

Excerpt 48 (FGD1, FG4, 14:41)

Participants: Action Man (A Man), Cornilov, Wesley, Batman

- 1 Wesley: l^hbe' be' un^l agwedd o gymreictod fi'n ffeindio yn
 what what one aspect of Welshness I part. find part.
 what what one aspect of Welshness I find
- 2 anodd a: sy'n roi (.) fi fwrdd siarad y iaith yw
 difficult and which is part. put me off speak the language is
 difficult and which puts, me off speaking the language is

¹⁹⁷ Although it should also be said that in informal mixed-medium Welsh, this would be unmarked. Indeed, “come on” is even in the title of a popular long-running Welsh-language comedy series: *C'Mon Midffild* (Come on, Midfield).

3 bo' bo' peth yn: (.4) dweud (.7) ym (.) d- dim ym
that that thing part. say uhm n[ot] not uhm
that that [the] thing, say(ing), uhm, n- not

4 gymaint yn saesneg ym cymraeg chi'n cael 'ch
so much in English in Welsh you part. get your
so much in English in Welsh you get

5 cywiro os chi'n gweud ryw gair anghywir chi'n
correct if you part. say some word wrong you part.
corrected if you say any wrong word you

6 A Man: Lie: J
yeah

7 Wesley: cael 'ch cywiro trwy'r ramser
get your correct through the time
get corrected all the time

8 A Man: Lie: J
yeah

9 Cornilov: rie
yeah

10 Batman: Lmm

The aspect of Welshness that Wesley takes up in this short sequence concerns his annoyance at their Welsh always being corrected in lines 4, 5 and 7. He also goes as far as saying that this constant correction puts him of speaking Welsh (line 2). Wesley's pronominal shift from *fi* "I/me" in lines 1-2 to the general second person pronoun *chi* "you" in lines 4, 5 and 7 also widens the applicability of his complaint (c.f. Amy's pronoun shift with the opposite effect in line 30 of excerpt 47 above). Wesley's complaint receives most positive feedback from Action Man in lines 6 and 8, but the other two group members also provide affirmative recipient tokens (lines 9 and 10).

If we try and pin down the precise nature of Wesley's gripe, in line 5 he explicitly mentions that saying "any wrong word" prompts correction, though it is not made explicit here exactly what constitutes a "wrong word". Neither is there any explicit mention of who initiates these corrections, though given the fact that they have previously been discussing the need to boost a pride in Welshness in the lower years of the school, no doubt teachers are implicated by this. Yet in the continuation of this sequence, Wesley widens the scope of his grievance, by exemplifying the problem. He recounts the experience of a friend of his who worked at a Welsh-language bookshop, but ended up leaving because of the constant correction of her Welsh. Moreover, according to Wesley, her Welsh was *perffeth iawn* "perfectly alright". Thus Wesley's grievance against this aspect of *Cymreictod* is not just limited to school.

In the next excerpt (49), taken from the second focus group discussion, group 3 revisit this issue and thereby reveal more about the nature of the corrections they are subject to. Immediately prior to excerpt 32, Cornilov has asked the other group members whether they agree with the actions of the Welsh Language Society¹⁹⁸. Both Action Man and Cornilov express their support and Batman agrees but has reservations about their favouring the removal of the option to study maths and science through the medium of English in *ysgolion Cymraeg*. Wesley, on the other hand, produces a blank *na* “no”, but the account for his dispreferred response (from line 1 onwards) is delayed until Batman has accounted for his reservation. This is where Wesley returns to the topic of correction.

Excerpt 49 (FGD2, FG413:35)

Participants: Action Man, (A/A Man), Cornilov (C/Cornil), Wesley (W), Batman (B)

- 1 Wesley: (eto) be' sy'n frustrato fi e- eto hefyd be' sy
(again) what that is part. frustrate me [again] again too what that is
(again) what frustrates me a- again too what
- 2 y whole cymdeithas y iaith thing (.5) pobol (.)
the society the language people
the whole [Welsh] Language Society thing, people,
- 3 sy'n rhedeg y so fel yn ysgol hwn ma' [aled morris]
who're part. run the so like in school this is [fictitious name]
who run the so like in this school it's [Aled Morris]
- 4 Pause: (.3)
- 5 A Man: mm
- 6 Pause: (.)
- 7 Wesley: os chi'n gweud (.4) GAIR yn saesneg neu
if you part. say word in English or
if you say, a word of English or
- 8 cam dreig lio (base) fe yn gweu' ma' yn wrong yn
mutate wrongly (would) he part. say is part. part.
mutate wrongly he'd say it's wrong it's
- 9 Cornilov: Lie:]
yeah
- 10 Wesley: wrong a chi'n teimlo wel rchi'n neud
and you part. feel well you part. make
wrong and you feel well you're making
- 11 A Man: Lie]
yeah
- 12 Cornilov: ma' hwnna yn rhoi
is that part. put
that puts

¹⁹⁸ The Welsh Language Society (*Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*) is a pressure group, which has campaigned for increased language rights for Welsh speakers since the 1960s, often through (non-violent) direct acts of civil disobedience.

- 13 Wesley: ymdrech₁
effort
an effort
- 14 Cornilov: chi off₁ | rma' ₁ r'na'n rhoi chi off₁
you off is that part. put you off
you off that puts you off
- 15 A Man: | ie | | |
yeah
- 16 Batman: | ie | | |
yeah
- 17 Wesley: Lma' 'na'n rî:li | J roi chi off
is that part. really put you off
that really puts you off
- 18 a pa- ((shrugs shoulders))
and wh[y]
and wh-
- 19 Pause: (.3)
- 20 Batman: ie (.) ma' nw'n rhoi off the fel their own kind.
yeah are they part. put off like
yeah, they put off the like their own kind
- 21 Wesley: ie ma'r poor rfront₁ peo₁rple₁ (i y s-) i'r
yeah is the (for the wh[_o are?]) for the
yeah it's the poor front people (of the wh-) of the
- 22 A Man: | ie | | |
yeah
- 23 Batman: | ie | | |
yeah
- 24 Wesley: cymdeithas yr iaith yn yr ysgol hyn yn roi chi off
society the language in the school this part. put you off
[Welsh] Language Society in this school put you off
(for me) y' know?
- 25 Pause: (.)
- 26 Cornilov: a fi'n rmeddwl₁ rsiarad₁ cymraeg nawr naturally yn
and I part. think speak Welsh now part.
and I think speaking Welsh now naturally
- 27 Batman: | a- | | |
?
- 28 A Man: | ie | | |
yeah
- 29 golygu ((points towards himself with both hands &
mean
means
smiles)) naturally yn golygu ca'l geirie saesneg
part. mean get words English
naturally means having English words
- 30 ynddo rfe he₁fyd rie?₁=
in him him too yeah
in it too yeah?
- 31 A Man: | ie | | |
yeah
- 32 Batman: | ie | | |
yeah
- 33 Wesley: =mm

35 Cornilov: on' ma' ma' rai' rchi derbyn 'wnna achos ma'ŋ
 but is is necessary you accept that because is
 but you have to accept that because it's

36 A Man: L's- 'sdim rŋ:li ots J o
 th[ere] there's not really matter of
 th- that doesn't really matter

37 hwnna achos os ni'n achos os chi'n siarad fel 'na
 that because if we part. because if you part. speak like that
 because if we because if you speak like that,

38 (.6) fel chi dal gallu s:- (.) fel sgwennu n- yn
 like you still can wr[ite] like write of[] in
 like you can still wr-, like write o- in

39 cymraeg neu siarad cymraeg yn ffurfiol os chi rŋli
 Welsh or speak Welsh part. formal if you really
 Welsh or speak Welsh formally if you really

40 rmoynŋ ni jys' fel (.3) ghetto slang (.3) fan 'yn
 want we just like here
 want we're jus' like, *ghetto slang*, here

41 Wesley: Lmm J

42 Pause: (.)

43 A Man: rni'n siarad fel ghetto \$ehehehe\$
 we part. speak like
 we speak like *ghetto* eheheheh

44 Cornilov: Lni ddim yn ghet- ni ddim yn ghetto J
 we not part. we not. part.
 we're not *ghet-* we're not *ghetto*

45 Pause: (.4)

46 A Man: rie fi'n jôco (fe) [cornilov] \$hehe hh\$ŋ
 yeah I part. joke (him) [fictitious name]
 yeah I'm joking [about] it [Cornilov] heheh hh

47 Wesley: |ioio fi'n ghet- ioio fi'n ghetto | rslang.ŋ
 yoyo I part. yoyo I part.
 yoyo I'm *ghet-* yoyo I'm *ghetto slang*

48 Cornilov: L \$hehehehehe\$ J

In the first context where Wesley broached the matter of correction, he discursively associated it with *Cymreictod*, but on this occasion he associates correction with the Welsh Language Society, and especially its representatives within the school (lines 2- 3, etc.). One particular individual, Aled Morris, comes into Wesley's firing line to exemplify what Wesley finds frustrating. One again he introduces his gripe as a personal frustration with *fi* "me" in line 1, but the pronominal switch to *chi* "you" from line 7 onwards generalises his complaint, albeit aimed specifically at one representative for the Welsh Language Society.

In this sequence, Wesley reveals in greater detail what the corrections consist of. Firstly, they pertain to any English words (line 7) and secondly not following the formal rules of Welsh mutations, succinctly expressed as *camdreiglo* in Welsh. To illustrate what Wesley means, if

he had followed the formal mutation rules, he should have said *gamdreiglo* after the conjunction *neu* “or” (which should trigger ‘soft mutation’¹⁹⁹). It is also interesting to note that Wesley cites Aled as saying *ma’ yn* wrong *yn* wrong “it’s *wrong* it’s *wrong*”, which contains the English word “wrong”²⁰⁰, rather than *anghywir* (c.f. line 5 of excerpt 48). By doing so, Wesley allows Aled to commit the offence, for which he is reproaching others. There is however a further irony which emerges in the continuation of Wesley’s turn and jointly constructed with the co-operation of his group members (lines 10-24), i.e. that contrary to the Welsh Language Society’s goal to promote Welsh, the constant correction of people’s Welsh, when they are “making an effort” (lines 10 & 13), is in fact “put[ting] off [...] *their own kind*” as Batman puts it in line 20. Indeed, the relentlessness of their complaining is ‘performed’ by the repetition of *rhoi off* “put off” five times by three different group members between lines 12-24. To close Wesley’s complaint sequence he re-introduces a reference to the Welsh Language Society and refers ironically to the “*poor front people*” in the school who are doing the society a disservice by putting people off Welsh. The frame closes with a return to the first person pronoun “(*for me*) *y’ know*” delivered, moreover, in English.

In line 26 Cornilov also initially frames his response to Wesley’s renewed complaint as a personal view: *a fi’n meddwl* “and I think”, before he goes on to expound what “speaking Welsh *naturally*” entails, viz. “having English words in it” (lines 30-31). While he is expressing this point, he becomes aware of the mixed-medium nature of his Welsh, which causes him to repeat the English insertion “naturally” with a smile and a gesture signalling metalinguistically that he is ‘performing’ the language behaviour he is purporting to have (lines 29-30). Moreover, Cornilov justifies his mixed-medium Welsh by appealing to what is natural. After receiving back-channelling from the other three (lines 32-34), Cornilov switches to the general second person pronoun *chi* “you” in a plea for others to accept this in line 35.

In overlap with Cornilov’s turn, Action Man provides further backing for Cornilov’s stance from line 36 onwards. The point he makes is that

¹⁹⁹ An overview of the Welsh mutation system is to be found in appendix 1 “Mutations”.

²⁰⁰ Though it should be added that “wrong” occurs on several occasions in the mixed-medium Welsh of the focus group data.

even if people speak Welsh in the way Cornilov describes (with English insertions), what does it matter, since they can still write and speak “formal” Welsh if they really want to. The repair to the pronoun *ni* “we” which is replaced by the general *chi* “you” in line 37 seems to have the same effect as the pronominal shifts described above; rather than constructing this mixed-medium Welsh as a language practice which belongs to this group, both this bilingual medium and the ability to switch register (which implies excluding English) to write and speak Welsh gains more general applicability. The fact that Action Man introduces the skill of writing for the first time (line 38) is hardly coincidental either, since writing Welsh typically requires a more formal (English-free) register. Moreover, it is writing that is mentioned before speaking.

However, the earnestness which has otherwise characterised this sequence in the group’s discussion is broken by Action Man’s more light-hearted comment at the end of his turn in line 40: “we’re just like, *ghetto slang*, here” and reformulated in line 43 followed by laughter. Cornilov’s initial po-faced dispreferred response in line 44 refutes any factual substance to Action Man’s comment, at least as regards “ghetto”. This causes Action Man to address Cornilov by name and state that he is only joking in line 46. At the same time Wesley puts on a performance of ‘being ghetto’ in the style of a rap artist with accompanying hand gestures (line 48), which triggers Cornilov’s laughter in line 48. Although Cornilov rejects the appropriacy of “ghetto”, he does not dismiss the appropriacy of “slang” about 20 minutes later (excerpt 37), when Action Man defends Cornilov after he has accused himself of speaking “crap Welsh” (line 12), by saying “yeah just because we we do like slang” (lines 14 & 16). In fact, on this occasion Cornilov responds with an affiliative response token: “yeah” (line 18).

To recap on significant new details which emerge in excerpt 32, we discover that two aspects of this group’s Welsh attract the correction of certain other Welsh speakers: inserting English words and the ‘faulty’ use of Welsh mutations. Furthermore, they defend their mixed-medium Welsh as natural and downplay any potential ‘problem’ since they also have a command of a formal register of Welsh when it is called for (in writing for example). The target of the group’s criticism in this excerpt is not the school, however, but representatives of the Welsh Language

Society, who, ironically, are constructed as putting people off speaking Welsh by their insistence on formally correct Welsh.

The final excerpt (50) from the discussions of focus group 4 adds one significant new factor, which is used to account for and justify the use of English words in their Welsh. On this occasion it is Batman who is adamant that the problem is with the Welsh language itself, namely that there is a lack of vocabulary. The context for this excerpt is that the group have been discussing whether their English or Welsh is better. Just prior to Wesley's assessment of his English in lines 1-3, Cornilov has told the others that although he can speak English fluently, for him "W-speaking Welsh is *loads* more natural" (*ma' C- siarad Cymraeg yn loads mwy naturiol*).

Excerpt 50 (FGD2, FG4, 15:52)

Participants: Action Man (A/A Man), Cornilov (C/Cornil), Wesley (W), Batman (B)

- 1 Wesley: er bo' fi'n do- y digwydd dod o cefndir cymraeg
although I part.cof[me] uh happen come from background Welsh
 although I co- uh happen to come from a Welsh background,
- 2 (.6) fi'n ffino saesneg lot haws i siarad
I part. find English lot easier to speak
 I find English a lot easier to speak
- 3 rfi byth yn stop i r i meddwl am gair
I never part. stop to think for word
 I never stop to think of a word
- 4 A Man: Lie a: fi J | |
 yeah and me
- 5 Cornilov: Lwyt ti rriili J
are you really
 do you really?
- 6 Pause: (.)
- 7 A Man: ((clears throat)) na
 no
- 8 Wesley: rcymraeg (fi'n wa'th xx)
Welsh (my part. worse ?)
 (my) Welsh (is worse ?)
- 9 Batman: |be' saesneg? |
what English
 what in English?
- 10 A Man: Lachos achos achos J ma:' ym (.4) achos ma'
because because because is uhm because is
 because because because it's uhm, because it's
- 11 teledu ra popeth
television and everything
 television and everything
- 12 Batman: Lna achos J rma' r 'na rhwystre yn gymrag do's
no because is/are there hindrances in Welsh isn't
 no because there are hindrances in Welsh there's

35 A Man: dysgu rbe' bleᵊ bydde' rchi'n defnyddio hwnna neu
 learn wha[t] where would you part. use that or
 learn wha' where would you use that or

36 Cornilov: L\$nhhh\$J

37 A Man: fel guerilla warfare neu rywbeth so fel dim on' nw
 like guerilla warfare or something so like only they
 like guerilla warfare or something so like they're only

38 yn saesnegᵊ
 in English

The trigger for the group to revisit the matter of putting English words into their Welsh arises in line 3, where Wesley explains why he finds English a lot easier to speak (even though he comes from a Welsh-speaking background), *viz.* because he never has to stop to think of a word in English. This implies of course that if he speaks Welsh, the words do not come to him as easily. Action Man aligns with Wesley, in that he also finds it easier to speak English (line 4) and that he is not at a loss for words in English either (line 7), whereas Cornilov's response signals surprise (line 5).

After a successful bid for the floor in line 10, Action Man then proceeds to account for his/their better English and/or better vocabulary recall in English. No sooner has Action Man ascribed it to television (line 11), than Batman rejects Action Man's explanation with a decisive *na* "no" accompanied by an alternative account (from line 12). It is here that Batman apportiones the blame to the Welsh language itself, insofar as it has "no vocabulary" (lines 12 & 14), which is then reformulated as "a very bad vocabulary" (line 16). He exemplifies the "hindrances" by referring to business (line 14) and physical education (line 18), the latter of which suggests that here he primarily has the school subjects in mind. Batman then expands on what he means by "a very bad vocabulary" in lines 22-23, i.e. as having to "Anglicise" English words. What he no doubt means by this is that the Welsh words are simply modelled on the English ones (e.g. *busnes* – business), a practice which is hardly unusual in an increasingly internationalised world, but the significance here is that this is constructed as an inherent weakness of Welsh²⁰¹.

²⁰¹ The fact that Batman construes the modelling of Welsh words on English ones as a "bad" practice may be compounded by the fact that formal Welsh is otherwise relatively puristic, even when it comes to many common business terms. However, the question is whether the prolific coining of Welsh neologisms can compete with the English terms in order to gain general currency in informal conversation.

In overlap with Batman, from line 19 to line 21, Cornilov draws out another significant aspect of Batman's complaint at the lexical paucity of Welsh, namely that this explains why they have to put English words in their Welsh. Wesley's affiliative recipient token in line 24 comes in response to Cornilov's turn. This is immediately followed by a disaffiliative response from Action Man, signalled by *on'* "but" and "*though*" and moderated somewhat by *weithie* "sometimes". From the continuation of his turn, it seems on the surface that his initiated search for a "really really *rare*" word in English (lines 28-29) and conclusion that these words only exist in English (lines 37-38) supports both Batman's point that Welsh lacks vocabulary and Cornilov's point that this is why they have to resort to the English words. It seems, however, that his disaffiliative "but" is a reaction to Batman's brusque dismissal of the influence of television. Therefore his turn(s) from line 25-38 should be seen as making his and Batman's (and Cornilov's) points compatible. Action Man's reference to their school world in line 27 seems to connect with Batman's reference to school subjects, but the questions about where you would learn and use rare words such as "guerilla warfare", the word which Action Man himself supplies, seem to relate less to realm of school and school subjects, and more to the realm of world news, one major source of which is television. However, this is not explicitly spelt out and Action Man is having to compete with Wesley for the floor from line 35 onwards, though Wesley's many restarts render his turn incoherent and more or less incomprehensible until Action Man has completed his turn. Then Wesley goes on to complain that they are expected to speak Welsh all the time at school, yet in the subject business they (i.e. the school) don't even have any Welsh-language facilities (*ym pwnc o busnes dim hyd yn o'd gyda nw cyfleustere Cymraeg*). Thus we return to the school subject business, which they construct as not only lacking 'proper' Welsh vocabulary, but also lacking suitable materials in Welsh.

Whereas members of group 4 discuss the paucity of Welsh vocabulary to account for their having to resort to English when they speak Welsh, group 3 bring up a related problem, but which is diametrically opposite, *viz.* understanding Welsh vocabulary in an unfamiliar field. Since formal Welsh tends to be lexically puristic, the often more familiar English or English-based terms are substituted by words coined from Welsh lexical

and morphemic resources. To some extent these may be transparent, but a concentration of such neologisms can make heavy reading even for those who are literate in Welsh. Texts that have been translated from English for official purposes may make particularly heavy reading. The following excerpt (51) provides an example of the problem.

Immediately before Amy recounts her experience of making an application for her provisional driving licence (from line 1 onwards), Llinos has been talking of an “imbalance” between her English in Welsh although she would write that she is bilingual on an application form. It is likely that Llinos’s mention of an application form and perhaps also Llinos’s declared linguistic imbalance (in favour of Welsh) triggers Amy’s story.

Excerpt 51 (FGD1, FG3, 19:16)

Participants: Louise (L), Carys (C), Llinos (Ll), Martha (M), Amy (A)

- 1 Amy: on' nes i: (.7) wthnos yn ôl llenwi mewn ym (.)
but did I week ago fill in uhm
 but I, a week ago [I] filled in uhm,
- 2 cais am provisional licenŷce fiŷ ie? (.) o'ddwn i
application for my yeah was I
 an application for my provisional licence yeah?, I was
- 3 Llinos: Lie J
yeah
- 4 Amy: neud e yn cymrâg on' o'n i goffo' go i'r saesneg
do him in Welsh but was I have to to the English
 doing it in Welsh but I had to go to the English
- 5 Amy: ri deall y terme ynŷ cymraeg
to understand the terms in Welsh
 to understand the terms in Welsh
- 6 Llinos: |ie ie |
yeah, yeah
- 7 Louise: L(xx byth yn xx) J
(? never part. ?)
(? never ?)
- 8 Martha: (a byddwn ri ddim) ry termeŷ saesnegŷ
(and would I not the terms English)
 (and I wouldn't the English terms)
- 9 Amy: La'n i'n |o'n i'n| meddwl J fel 'a o: (.)
and was I part. was I part. think like that oh
 and I was I was thinking like oh,
- 10 Llinos: Lie: J
yeah
- 11 ti'bo' (.) cymraeg yw iaith cynta fi on' fi dal
y' know Welsh is language first my but I still
 y' know, Welsh is my first language but I still
- 12 ddim yn deaŷll rhai o terme raiŷd yn myn' i'r
not part. understand some of terms necessary part. go to the
 don't understand some of the terms [I] had to go to the

In excerpt 49, Wesley complained of two ways in which their Welsh was constantly being corrected. The first was to do with the correction of English words, which we have already looked at in some detail. The second was to do with the correction of ‘faulty’ mutations. Let us examine one final excerpt (52), this time from the discussions of focus group 1, where this matter also arises. The conversation leading up to this excerpt has been about the school’s expectation that they write grammatically correct Welsh, yet they complain in no uncertain terms that they are not taught the grammatical rules. In their discussion they explicitly mention the rules for Welsh mutations, which then precipitates Maud’s account of her problems with mutations.

Excerpt 52 (FGD1, FG1, 35:43)

Participants: Geoff, Gwenhwyfar (Gwen), Bridget, Maud, Belinda, Ifan

- 1 Maud: fi 'di tyfu lan gyda ddim cliw shwt i treiglo
 I past grow up with no clue how to mutate
 I've grown up with no clue how to mutate
- 2 unrywbeth. (.3) fel ma' pobol yn clywe' o iaith fi
 anything like is/are people part. hear from language my
 anything, like people hear from my language
- 3 ma' nw'n gwbo' bo' fi'n (.3) fi 'di dysgu fe achos
 are they part. know that I part. fi past learn him because
 they know that I, I've learnt it because
- 4 treiglade fi'n warthus;
 mutations my part. shameful
 my mutations are shameful
- 5 Ifan: L>dw i byth yn meddwl bo' ti 'di dy^lsgu fe fi
 am I never part. think that you past learn him I
 I never think that you've learnt it I
- 6 jys' yn meddwl (.) a ma' hwnna jys' achos bod lot o
 jus[t] part. think and is that jus[t] because that lot of
 jus' think, and that's jus' because there's a lot of
- 7 iaith warthus i('w) gael.
 language shameful to (him) get
 shameful language to be had
- 8 Pause: (.8)
- 9 Maud: (na) r'on' (ma' jys' x)
 (no) but (is jus[t] ?)
 (no) but (it's jus' ?)
- 10 Bridget: L^{ie} ma' pobol ma' pobol yn^l cwyno bod safon yr
 yeah is/are people is/are people part. complain that level the
 yeah people people complain that the level of the
- 11 iaith yn dirywio
 language part. deteriorate
 language is deteriorating
- 12 Ifan: on' dim yn r^ldysgu fe
 but not part. teach him
 but not teach it

subsequent turns. Indeed, Ifan reconnects the problem to the school situation in line 14, and Bridget recycles the same lexical items as Ifan in lines 13-14, but supplying the subject *nw* “they”, which unequivocally links her complaint to teachers and school.

Rather than complain at the correction of pupils’ Welsh *per se*, group 1 criticise the fact that the teachers take it for granted that pupils should be able to adhere to the rules of formal Welsh, such as the mutation rules, without teaching them. However, unlike the complaints of group 4, the members of this group construct and thereby discursively reproduce the inability of pupils to follow these rules as evidence of the deterioration of Welsh. By complaining that they should be taught properly at school, they also display their acquiescence *vis-à-vis* maintaining the ‘standards’ associated with formal Welsh.

In this section a number of tensions come to the surface within the focus groups which are associated with the diglossic situation between vernacular Welsh and literary or formal Welsh described in §3.3.1.1. By referring to their spoken variety of Welsh as “slang” (or even “ghetto slang”) and by talking of “shameful language” as commonplace and a sign of the “level of language deteriorating” these pupils are reproducing the lower prestige of vernacular Welsh and at the same time reasserting the higher prestige of formal Welsh. Furthermore, by complaining that the school does not teach the grammatical rules (e.g. mutations) of formal Welsh, two other characteristics of diglossia come to the fore. Firstly, that formal Welsh is a superposed variety, in that it has to be learnt, and secondly, that formal Welsh has greater grammatical complexity. Complaints about the opaqueness of Welsh vocabulary in unfamiliar subject areas also serve to highlight another trait of diglossia; the purism of formal Welsh which differentiates it from the lexicon of vernacular Welsh, which borrows heavily from English. However, since Ferguson’s notion of prototypical diglossia (c.f. §3.3) was conceived of in an otherwise monolingual society, the mixed-medium nature of vernacular Welsh is a characteristic of the combination of both Welsh diglossia (vernacular and formal Welsh) and societal bilingualism (Welsh and English). In fact, it is also the implicit censorship of the monolingual norm emanating from a presupposed monolingual society that is being reasserted by teachers’ (and others’) insistence that pupils should not mix their Welsh with English. Yet at the same time this

legitimated norm is being regularly violated and even flouted in performative acts of contestation, displayed in the mixed-medium Welsh of these pupils.

Nevertheless, the different groups discursively reproduce to varying degrees the stability of formal Welsh. Whereas group 1 calls for better teaching in order to prevent the deterioration of Welsh and thereby reconstitute the higher prestige of formal Welsh, members of groups 2 and 3 display their indignation at their vernacular Welsh being constantly subject to correction by teachers and other representatives of the Welsh-speaking élite. Members of group 4 in particular point out that speaking a mixed-medium vernacular does not preclude them from also having a command of formal Welsh for writing, etc. The situation reconstructed by these pupils underscores the ideal state of stable diglossia (posited by Fishman, c.f. §3.3) as politically and ideologically naïve as well as misguided, since even a degree of acquiescence *vis-à-vis* stability does not equal consent. Indeed, the tensions manifested in the focus group discussions witness to the fact that the relative stability of diglossia in Wales is also being contested, not least by bilingual ‘floaters’, who are not only confident enough to use both their languages but regularly do so. Moreover, according to Ferguson’s diglossic model revisited by Hudson (2002), any shift between the H and L varieties will always favour the ‘Low’ vernacular variety, not least because this constitutes people’s first language.

6.5.4 Summary and Discussion

The aim of this section (§6.5) has been to examine the discursive constructions of bilingualism as revealed in the focus groups discussions. In order to do so, three separate but interrelated areas were singled out. The first analysed the occurrence of the term “bilingual/*dwyieithog*” as a member’s category under the two broad headings: “being bilingual” and “bilingual schooling”. The second delved into the various responses to the ideology behind the school’s language policy, not least in relation to the ways in which teachers attempt to enforce this policy, ranging from direct reprimands for speaking English to more indirect “preaching” or “lecturing” on the importance of speaking Welsh. The third and final selected area analysed the values attached to the formal or standard variety of Welsh legitimated and endorsed by the school versus those

associated with the vernacular Welsh of the focus group members. As indicated by the heading of §6.5, these pupils have not simply embraced and reproduced the values of the school and society at large in their discourse. Indeed, they have displayed a range of responses from consent, to acquiescence, to resistance, to contestation, and on occasion they have contested these values vociferously.

As one might expect, the responses of the four focus groups in these three areas has been far from unanimous, although most of the members of one group may have pulled in the same direction on some issues. Yet at the same time, there have often been tensions within each group, which on occasion have led to heated discussions and general dissent. Let us now review their discourse in relation to the group and individual language profiles established in figure 31 in section §6.2.5.

As regards the occurrence of the “bilingual/*dwylieithog*” as a member’s category, there was a marked difference between the different groups. It arose by far the most frequently in group 3, one of the groups dominated by ‘floaters’. As regards the contexts in which the term arises, it is often used in sequences characterised by group conflict. The meaning of “bilingual/*dwylieithog*” is also subject to negotiation and often juxtaposed with Welsh and English to argue a particular point of view. In fact, the discussions of group 3 are particularly characterised by conflict (e.g. excerpt 34), often with Louise and Martha taking opposite sides (e.g. excerpt 35) and the others taking on mediating roles or pushing for a mid-position (particularly Llinos and Amy, e.g. excerpts 39, 45 & 47). Interestingly, this corresponds very closely to the continuum suggested within each focus group according to the individual language profiles in figure 31, insofar as Martha is most pro-Welsh (e.g. favouring the right to speak only Welsh, excerpt 35) and Louise is pro-bilingualism, by which she means English and Welsh on equal terms (excerpt 39). Llinos and Amy, the other two Welsh-dominant bilinguals besides Martha, acknowledge the importance of English (like Louise), but maintain the particular importance of nurturing Welsh at an early age (excerpt 39), and criticise pupils who rebel by refusing to speak Welsh (excerpt 45), respectively.

What unites group 3 is their condemnation particularly of teachers’ direct and insensitive intervention into the language spoken by pupils, regarding both which language they speak as well as the mixed-medium

nature of their spoken Welsh (c.f. excerpt 47). However, a consensus of opinion is achieved more easily on the method of intervention than the principle of intervention. Martha most readily reproduces the legitimated social order of the school by supporting the right of teachers to intervene in a more sensitive fashion. She receives Amy's backing on the proviso that it involves "encouraging" pupils to speak Welsh. On the other hand, whereas Louise does not reject encouraging pupils to speak Welsh, she is opposed to teachers' negative comments about speaking English.

Focus group 4, the other group dominated by floaters, display fewer conflicts in their discussions relating to language matters. Like group 3, the group unite in their condemnation of teachers' reprimands to speak Welsh²⁰⁴. Likewise, the members of this group consent to the Welsh language ethos at the heart of the school's language policy. Indeed, they discuss several ways in which to increase pupils' pride in *Cymreictod* "Welshness". Furthermore, this group are unanimous in their condemnation of frequent attempts to correct their spoken Welsh (e.g. excerpt 48), whether it be by teachers or members of their peer group (e.g. representatives of the Welsh language society – c.f. excerpt 49). In fact, they construct these attempts as counter-productive, in that they put people off speaking Welsh. They are also adamant that speaking Welsh also means inserting English words, and demand that others accept that, especially since they can also write and speak formal Welsh if need be (excerpt 49).

In contrast, focus group 1, consisting mainly of Welsh-dominant bilinguals, do not defend the Welsh spoken by the peer-group. Instead, members reproduce the complaint (presumably by teachers) that the language has deteriorated, evidenced by the prevalence of "shameful language" (excerpt 52). Rather than contest the substance of this complaint, they criticise the school for taking it for granted that pupils know grammatical rules of formal Welsh and not teaching them. Otherwise, this group generally support the school's language policy including its preference for Welsh, though they spend a considerable amount of time discussing how (and to a lesser extent why) the Welsh ethos of the school is waning. The implied fall in standards is demonstrated not least in the jointly constructed transposition from

²⁰⁴ However, the empirical evidence for this claim has not been presented in §6.5.

Welsh school to bilingual school to Anglicised school to English school in excerpt 40. Finally this group construct themselves as a Welsh group, for example by depicting themselves as a Welsh year (excerpt 40, line 16).

Focus group 1, on the other hand, clearly construct themselves as an English group (c.f. excerpt 41). This is also the only group to consist of mainly English-dominant bilinguals. The only occurrence of the term “bilingual” in this group appears in the collocation “bilingual school”, which is used by Claire to assert her linguistic right to speak English, since the school is not a Welsh school (excerpt 41). The others fail to align with Claire on this occasion, but instead discursively reproduce the Welsh preference of the school’s ideology. However, it emerges in other contexts (e.g. excerpt 43) that at least three members of the group have a history of resisting the Welsh preference of their Welsh-medium/bilingual schools. Furthermore, they are highly critical of any direct or indirect attempts by teachers to curb their use of English (c.f. excerpt 27). Even when these members acknowledge the school’s mission to promote Welsh, it is more a case of acquiescence than consent. Yet there are obvious tensions within the group, particularly between Claire and Katy, the group’s only floater. These group members display disalignment in all three excerpts reproduced in this section (§6.5), but their clashes are frequent elsewhere too. In these clashes, Katy’s stance is regularly more favourable towards the Welsh language and the school’s preference for Welsh (c.f. excerpt 41, lines 43, 45, etc).

All in all, the discursive constructions of bilingualism and *Cymreictod* generated in the focus group discussions show somewhat different correlations to those in §6.4, which focussed on the patterns of code-alternation in their talk-in-interaction. Whereas code-alternation patterns tended to orient to the predominance of English-dominant bilinguals, Welsh-dominant bilinguals or floaters in each group (c.f. fig. 39), here the picture is more complex. Although the three selected areas of bilingualism do show some differences which correlate roughly with the three group categories, there are also tensions within each group between individuals at either end of the continuum from the most Welsh-dominant to the most English-dominant. In other words, within each group (column) individuals towards the upper (Welsh-dominant) end of the table in figure 11 are more likely to favour the promotion of Welsh

and thus consent to the school's language policy, whereas the individuals furthest down each column are more likely to defend the right to speak English and thus contest the school's language policy. These internal group tensions are most characteristic of groups 2 and 3, between floaters and the English-dominant or Welsh-dominant bilinguals, respectively.

Before we bring this section to a close, let us also take a closer look at which of the five discourses outlined in §5.1.2 have emerged in the focus group discussions and also consider their function. In the floater-dominant groups (3 & 4), the globalising discourse was discernible in the guise of the commodification of bilingualism as language skills, in relation to the job market (excerpt 35 & run-up to excerpt 37). In group 3, this aspect of globalising discourse was triggered by Martha questioning her need for English. The others were insistent that a good command of both languages (particularly English) was a requirement in the Wales of today (excerpt 36). In group 4, on the other hand, the advantage of having two languages was expressed more directly in response to one of the discussion questions (about the usefulness of Welsh – excerpt 37).

In order to defend her position of not needing English (excerpt 35), Martha drew on two other discourses. Firstly, she invoked the nationalist discourse to construct Wales as a discrete nation, where everyone should also have to learn Welsh. A similar evocation was also made by Amy in excerpt 36, where she constructs Wales as bilingual to argue that everyone has to know both languages. This links up with the second discourse to be invoked here, *viz.* the ecology-of-language discourse which is associated with linguistic rights. By asserting her right to use the language of her preference within a bilingual society, Martha's claim also resonates with one of the central tenets of the Assembly Government's language policy document *Iaith Pawb*. Nevertheless, the other members of Martha's group counter the ecology-of-language discourse with the social realities of the job market enshrined in the globalising discourse.

The linguistic rights which are central to the ecology-of-language discourse were also invoked by Claire insisting that their school is a bilingual school and therefore teachers have no right to force them to speak Welsh (excerpt 41). Similarly Claire, backed particularly by Tina (another English-dominant bilingual), challenged the right of the school

to insist that the new intake of pupils (which they presume to be more English speaking) speak Welsh (excerpt 44). However, within the ecology-of-language discourse, claiming one's linguistic rights usually pertains to speakers of the minority language group with a view to promoting language diversity. Clearly, this is not the case here, yet Claire's claim also resonates with the same central tenet of *Iaith Pawb* as Martha's claim for the right to speak Welsh.

There is also another fundamental difference between Martha and Claire's claim. Although the other members of Claire's group displayed acquiescence to the school's preference for Welsh, in that they acknowledged the school's mission to promote Welsh, the context is confined to their designated bilingual school. In Martha's case, on the other hand, she claimed to right to speak solely Welsh in the workplace, with the result that her position was constructed as wholly untenable by the other members of her group. Besides the fact that not everyone speaks Welsh in Wales (which the others also mentioned), by Martha contesting the otherwise 'invisible' and unquestionable status of English, the performative force of implicit censorship becomes discernible here. In contrast to the discourse types referred to above, the operation of implicit censorship relates to what normally cannot be said precisely because of its 'invisibility'. However, by Martha speaking the 'unspeakable' or "speaking in ways that have never been legitimated" (Butler 1997: 41), Amy voices the incontestable status of English: *does 'da ti ddim yr opsiwn o jyst ca'l Cymraeg* "you haven't got the option of just having Welsh" (excerpt 36, lines 10-11).

Another way in which the tacit institutionalisation of English as the default medium becomes visible in the focus group discussions is through Llinos (a Welsh-dominant bilingual) pointing out the particular need to nurture Welsh at an early age to ensure that children receive enough input to attain fluency in Welsh (excerpts 38 & 39). For this reason, bilingual schools, that is with equal influence on English and Welsh (advocated by Louise – excerpt 39), may fail in this task. The implication is that children will learn English anyway, but Welsh needs fostering in a protected environment, such as that provided by *ysgolion Cymraeg*.

Finally, implicit censorship is also operating in the guise of the monolingual norm, whereby bilinguals are expected to keep their Welsh

free from English. The fact that informal peer-group Welsh is, by default, a bilingual or mixed medium (with English insertions) means that the performative force of this implicit censorship is being violated. Yet by referring to their informal Welsh as “(ghetto) slang” (excerpt 49) or as “shameful language” (excerpt 52), these pupils are implicitly reproducing the values enshrined in the monolingual norm. Indeed, it is through the iterability of these values that the monolingual norm gains its performative force. Nevertheless, it is also the discursive recontextualisation of these values that allows their performative transformation, by “contest[ing] what has become sedimented in and as the ordinary.” (Butler 1997: 147) Hence although the above labels performatively assign their vernacular to the diglossic L variety, the floater-dominant groups (3 & 4) in particular contest the demeaning corrective practices of certain Welsh speakers (including teachers – e.g. excerpt 47). Indeed, Cornilov even goes as far as to declare: *siarad Cymraeg nawr naturally yn golygu naturally yn golygu ca’l geirie Saesneg ynddo fe hefyd* “speaking Welsh now *naturally* means *naturally* means having English words in it too” (excerpt 49, lines 26 & 29-30).

The final chapter of this study will be revisiting the main areas of the pupils’ bilingualism-in-practice and collating them with some of the main threads of chapter 5, in order to unearth discursive commonalities, not least with reference to the discourses (discourse types) identified in the LPP documents and the discourse (discourse-in-contexts) of *Ysgol 1*.

7 Summary, Discussion and Conclusions

Over the past half a century, there has also been a rapid growth in bilingual education, not least in Anglicised areas of Wales. This growth has been primarily demand-driven at grass-roots level by parents and lobby groups. Yet local education authorities (LEAs) in Wales have also responded to the challenge of expanding bilingual educational provision, although their response has often been local and somewhat piecemeal. Understandably, the counties with the greatest densities of Welsh speakers have been among the first to develop comprehensive language policies, not only in the field of education, but also as regards the provision of bilingual services in the public sector.

The 1993 Welsh Language Act established the Welsh Language Board (*Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg*) with the statutory mandate to demand Welsh Language Schemes from all public sector bodies in Wales, including all unitary authorities (counties) and LEAs irrespective of the proportions of Welsh speakers within their boundaries. The genesis of the National Assembly for Wales (*Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru*) in 1999 saw the transfer of powers in matters to do with language from Westminster to Cardiff, and thereby created new opportunities and challenges to coordinate language policy and planning (LPP) efforts at an all-Wales level. This has ushered in a new era with the Assembly Government's vision of a "truly bilingual Wales".

Given that only just over one in five people in Wales speak Welsh today, such a vision implies far-reaching proactive methods in order to achieve this long-term goal. At the same time it has become a matter of social and political expediency to inquire as to the nature of bilingualism envisioned in the LPP documents produced in recent years, as well as the nature of bilingualism as it is practised by Welsh bilinguals. Furthermore, what is the effect of such language policy and its associated ideology, not least at the interface where it is to be implemented in meso-level educational institutions? In other words, how do young people respond to the norms and values which are being fostered in bilingual state schools? These are some of the central issues which have been addressed in the pages of this book.

In addressing these questions, this study adopts a social constructionist perspective within a poststructuralist paradigm, whereby categories such as bilingualism are regarded as socially, culturally and historically contingent. Thus bilingualism can only exist by the continuity of social practices encompassed by the category.

One central pillar underpinning this approach to bilingualism is performativity theory developed by Butler (1990a, 1993) to question any pre-given notions of gender and sexuality. By applying performativity theory it is possible to view bilingualism in terms of a sedimentation of discursive and linguistic practices, rather than a reflection of a static pre-existing category. Accordingly, bilingualism can be seen as “a set of repeated acts within a highly regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being” (Butler 1990a: 33). Despite Butler’s reference to a “highly regulatory frame”, performativity theory provides a theoretical framework whereby resistance and change can be accounted for. Since categories are seen to be constructed and performed *in situ* through discourse, power (in a Foucauldian sense) can be exerted through the constant reconstitution (iterability) of discursive and linguistic practices, rather than being dependent on prior social power. Thus, all in all, bilingualism is not to be seen as a static concept, but as a dynamic, living phenomenon, the substance of which is constantly being (re)constituted through its performance(s). Hence the wording in the title of this study: “performing bilingualism”.

In order to show how bilingualism is performed in contemporary Wales, this study has collated data from a wide range of primary sources: for example, LPP documents at macro and meso-levels of society, including those pertaining to one designated bilingual school. Within the context of this particular school, I have also made video recordings of an open day for prospective pupils and their parents as well as video recordings of four focus groups comprising of year 12 pupils (aged about 17). The recordings have been supplemented with language use questionnaires and language diaries. Moreover, the language use questionnaire (fielded to a whole year group) has been used to situate the findings of this study within an all-Wales context, since it was based on a recent survey of all *ysgolion Cymraeg* (Welsh-medium and bilingual schools), commissioned by the Welsh Language Board in 2000.

The methods adopted in this study to analyse these primary sources of data draw on different discourse analytic traditions. The tradition adhered to closest is Conversation Analysis (CA), which is applied to the spoken data. Nevertheless, since the issues raised in this study go beyond those usually addressed by those who practice CA, not least when it comes to the dialogical principal of the reflexivity between discourse and context, I have had to lay some common foundations for all the discourse analysis carried out in this study. The most central aspect of this common ground has been to identify a number of discourses which are associated with the discursive construction of bilingualism and Welsh. Here discourses, or discourse types, are taken to mean bundles of discursive features with their associated values. It is the nature of these discourses, which will be examined in the next section.

7.1 Discourses in Language Policy and Planning

Using discourse analytic methods at least six discourses have been identified in the LPP documents, the first of which is rooted in the values and ideologies of the Victorian Age:

- *colonialist discourse*, whereby English was readily constructed as the language of progress, reason and social as well as national cohesion. By contrast, the indigenous languages of the colonies (including Welsh and the other Celtic languages spoken on the periphery of the British Isles) and their speakers tended to be ‘othered’ and readily portrayed as primitive, backward, uncultivated and immoral.
- *traditionalist discourse*, whereby the Welsh are constructed as an essentially homogenous people with their historical roots in a geographically defined space.
- *modernising discourse*, whereby Welsh speakers gain their legitimacy through the creation of modern Welsh-speaking institutions under Welsh control, such as the Welsh-language television channel (S4C), *ysgolion Cymraeg* and the Welsh Language Board. Here there is some emphasis on the separation of domains, institutions and territories to avoid assimilation into English-speaking society.

- *nationalist discourse*, whereby Wales is constructed as a nation, with a discrete national (bilingual) identity, complete with its own post-devolution institutions.
- *globalising discourse*, whereby democratic values make it politically expedient to offer bilingualism to everyone in Wales through education, not least because of the success of Welsh-language (and bilingual) institutions. Hence the increase in the market value of bilingualism, thereby paving the way for the commodification of language as language skills.
- *ecology-of-language discourse*, which pays homage to linguistic human rights (i.e. the right to speak Welsh and by default English) and the promotion of linguistic diversity through efforts to ensure the maintenance and revitalisation of Welsh.

These discourses are socially, politically and historically contingent, in that they have arisen under different conditions over time. Although all of them may surface in contemporary Wales, the first three have mainly played out their role.

The colonialist discourse was evident in the so-called 1847 Blue Book Report, which basically ruled out the option of bilingualism as an alternative to a socially cohesive and progressive monolingual English-speaking Wales. At best bilingualism was seen as a transitional means to acquiring English.

The traditionalist discourse has typically appeared in the forewords of policy documents such as *Iaith Pawb* (WAG 2003) and the *Ceredigion County Welsh Language Scheme* (CCC 1997). The former portrays the historical continuity of the Welsh language as part of Welsh inheritance, and the latter invokes historical continuity as the *raison d'être* of Ceredigion as a territorial unit. Thus the function this discourse seems to have here is to give a historical justification for the Welsh language action plan and for the existence (and name) of Ceredigion, respectively.

In its contemporary guise, the modernising discourse emerges in the enumeration of Welsh-language institutions. However, owing to the democratic values of inclusion, both the traditionalist and modernising discourses have become less salient in LPP. Combatting assimilation, for example, has been superseded by making bilingualism a goal for all.

Rather than being constructed as separate and exclusive institutions for Welsh speakers, enumerations of Welsh-language (and bilingual) institutions are now more likely to belong to the nationalist discourse. Especially in post-devolution Wales, the establishment of the National Assembly has ushered in a new era of nation-building, part of which has been to create a new profile for Wales to distinguish it from its eastern neighbour. Bilingualism is thus to be seen as part of the process of creating a national identity, i.e. language policy and planning for non-linguistic ends. Hence Welsh (and by default bilingualism) is constructed as *iaith pawb* “everyone’s language”, as an aspiration for everyone in Wales. Understandably, the nationalist discourse arises solely in the all-Wales LPP documents produced by the newly fledged Welsh Assembly, the Assembly Government and other national bodies (e.g. the Welsh Language Board).

The globalising discourse, on the other hand, is prevalent in the LPP documents at both national and county level. Thus all the documents acknowledge the market value of bilingualism in terms of language skills and the provision of bilingual services. Bilingualism is thereby justified in terms of meeting the demands of a Welsh and English-speaking general public and thus providing ‘added value’.

The moral imperative often implied by the ecology-of-language discourse also serves to justify Welsh-speakers’ linguistic rights. In the LPP documents, English-speakers’ rights may be mentioned together with those of Welsh speakers but never on their own. The moral imperative of this discourse is also readily extended to an expressed commitment to promote Welsh in order to ensure the maintenance of linguistic diversity in Wales. At an all-Wales level a commitment is pledged by the Assembly Government and its co-partners, but individuals are also called upon to take a responsibility to use their Welsh and to pass it on to the next generation.

If we consider these discourses in more general terms, they can be seen as tuning in with particular aggregates of historically situated social, cultural, political and economic conditions. At the same time, they resonate with particular ideological orientations. In this sense, they are part of the struggle to define central values and practices as well as to obtain access to societal resources. Thus the most salient three discourses in contemporary Wales have different origins, as well as different goals.

The nationalist discourse can be seen in terms of a long struggle for political self-determination, which was not adopted by the political mainstream until the last quarter of the 20th century. This was made most manifest when the Labour Party held two referenda on Welsh devolution, the second of which eventually led to the setting up of the Welsh Assembly in 1999. With a political power base in Wales, the foundations were laid for increased national aspirations, such as the vision of a bilingual Wales.

The globalising discourse, as the term suggests, is part and parcel of an international development, whereby marketable skills such as a knowledge of languages constitute valued cultural (including linguistic) capital. Possessing this linguistic capital in turn provides job opportunities in the Welsh public sector, which is increasingly requiring a bilingual workforce to meet the demand of the general public, who in turn are increasingly being constructed as consumers.

The ecology-of-language discourse, on the other hand, has originated among academics and activists concerned with the reduction in linguistic diversity and the twinned issue of the linguistic rights of speakers of indigenous and minority languages (Freeland & Patrick 2004: 1). Language ecology and linguistic diversity have become powerful rhetorical metaphors, which have been used “in national and international campaigns for resources to be committed to the promotion and revitalization of languages undergoing shift.” (Ibid: 9) In other words, this discourse has been taken over from those campaigning for language rights and linguistic diversity and incorporated into the official LPP documents.

Let us now try to sum up the nature of bilingualism being promoted by the recent LLP documents examined in this study. Firstly, bilingualism is being marketed as a national profile for Wales. However, since “English, as the dominant majority language does not need [...] institutional support” (WAG 2003: §2.2), bilingualism is taken to mean English plus Welsh. English is therefore taken for granted, even for those who come from Welsh-speaking backgrounds. One of the main LPP imperatives is to ensure an increase in the number of Welsh speakers. Thus bilingualism seems to be another way of reconstituting, repackaging and marketing Welsh, particularly to those who are monolingual English speakers.

Secondly, bilingualism is being discursively constructed as commodified skills in two separate and discrete languages, implying a double monolingual norm, whereby bilinguals will use only one language at a time in the same way as monolinguals do. For example, in the *Ceredigion Welsh Education Scheme*, bilingualism is framed as “a balanced age-related bilingualism” which means “possessing appropriate linguistic skills in both Welsh and English.” (CCC 2001: §6.1.2)

Thirdly, bilingualism implies having the right to use either English or Welsh or both in their dealings with all public sector bodies in Wales. However, “a truly bilingual Wales”, where everyone is entitled to choose which language(s) to use, is only truly possible if everyone is bilingual. With only one bilingual to four monolinguals in Wales at present, this vision remains somewhat utopian. Nevertheless, irrespective of whether people in Wales are monolingual or bilingual, Welsh is being hailed as the language belonging to everyone, not least by the title of *Iaith Pawb* “everyone’s language”.

Fourthly, bilingualism requires a commitment and a responsibility. Not only are public sector bodies being interpellated as providers of bilingual services, but Welsh speakers are also being hailed as needing to play their part in order to ensure the survival of Welsh.

In terms of performativity theory, the different discourses described above have the potential by their very enunciation to bring about a performative effect. In other words, through the discursive process of iterability, whereby coherent discourses are recontextualised, they can discursively construct the reality they purport to reflect, *viz.* bilingualism. This is not to suggest that the performative can only operate if backed by the authority of the state and its institutions. In other words, this does not presuppose a top-down view of society, whereby the Assembly Government sets the agenda. Indeed, *Iaith Pawb* itself is the result of a massive consultation exercise. Furthermore, schools and pupils, for example, are not just to be seen as powerless recipients of the Government’s language policies. Let us now turn our attention to the school setting, to examine whether any of the above-mentioned discourses can be found in circulation there too.

7.2 The School's Discourse

Here the focus is on one particular designated bilingual school, *Ysgol 1* “school 1”, situated in the unitary authority of Ceredigion. In terms of the discourses in circulation in this meso-level context, two of the above have been particularly prevalent, namely the globalising discourse and the ecology-of-language discourses. To these I wish to add one other, which in many ways is akin to the globalising discourse:

- *marketisation discourse*, which entails a reorientation of citizens as consumers. In the context of education, this has meant that schools have had to market themselves, often creating their own profiles, in order to compete with other schools for market shares.

If we are to start with the marketisation discourse, the most fundamental feature of *Ysgol 1*'s profile in its public discourse is the school's *Cymreictod* “Welshness”, which gives the Welsh language – not bilingualism – pride of place. Despite *Ysgol 1* being a so-called designated bilingual school, the meaning of “bilingual” is renegotiated at the school open evening for prospective pupils and their parents as well as in the mini-prospectus distributed on the same occasion. As far as pupils are concerned, bilingual means a commitment to speaking Welsh and developing their skills in Welsh. Furthermore, parents are called upon to “back the pupils in that effort” in the home “to develop the Welsh further”. Thus by placing *Cymreictod* centre stage, it is not only constructed as the most important part of the school's profile, but it also constitutes a gate-keeping exercise, whereby pupils and their parents are interpellated as requiring to make a commitment to the Welsh language.

In the LPP documents, commitment typically belongs to the ecology-of-language discourse, yet here it is framed more in terms of the globalising discourse. Consequently, a commitment to Welsh is necessary to ensure academic success at *Ysgol 1*. Success in turn is constituted in terms of institutionalised cultural capital in the guise of public examination results, thereby commodifying Welsh as a language skill. At the same time, the school's success in examination results is also part of the school profile, a reputation which is shared with other *ysgolion Cymraeg*. Moreover, the accountability of schools to parents

and pupils (in terms of overall examination results) as consumers of education is also part of the marketisation discourse.

Whereas bilingualism means Welsh as the official and legitimated language of the school as far as the pupils are concerned (with the commitment and support of their parents), in the school's dealings with parents bilingualism means something different. In the latter case it entails "serving a bilingual population" according to their language preferences (excerpt 13). Thus *vis-à-vis* parents bilingualism is framed in terms of the globalising discourse in that the school is "very, very conscious of [its] responsibilities" to provide a bilingual service "in the language of [their] choice" (Ibid.).

If we return briefly to the goal of "a balanced age-related bilingualism" expressed in the *Ceredigion Welsh Education Scheme*, one might wonder about the role of *Ysgol 1* in developing the pupils' English. Besides the reference to English at the open evening as a medium option alongside Welsh for mathematics and/or science, there was one reference in the mini-prospectus to the school's favourable academic record in the subject English. Notwithstanding a few references to English in the main school prospectus²⁰⁵, English is almost conspicuous by its absence. The status and prestige of English and the apparent lack of need to allay any parental fears that their children's English will lag behind is paradoxically discursively performed by the fact that so much discursive space is devoted to Welsh. Through the performative workings of implicit censorship, delivering the goal of "a balanced bilingualism" requires the creation of a monolingual Welsh space, with a commitment to "developing the Welsh". In other words, the need for proactive support for Welsh is an implicit prerequisite. To use the words of *Iaith Pawb*, what this implies is:

that further positive action on behalf of the Welsh language is needed and justified; English as the dominant majority language does not need such institutional support. (WAG 2003: §2.2)

Essentially, this seems to be the official line, yet 'off the record' in an audio-recorded interview the head teacher acknowledges that speaking Welsh, which is one of the school's "core values", is not strictly adhered

²⁰⁵ E.g. one of the seven aims of the school is "to help every pupil to develop competencies in language (Welsh, English and others) [...]" (*Ysgol 1 Handbook*: 3).

to, and neither can the school “insist they do”, “because being bilingual they have a very basic human right of deciding which language to use” (excerpt 16). Here the head teacher invokes the ecology-of-language discourse, but this time with different associations, *viz.* in terms of linguistic rights.

Another aspect of the ecology-of-language discourse follows on immediately in the same stretch of talk: that of commitment. However, rather than being framed in terms of ensuring academic success, as in the open evening, it is constructed as a commitment to preserve linguistic diversity with reference to talking about such matters in school assemblies. Here the head cites himself as putting it to pupils that if the growth in the number of Welsh speakers were to be sustained, “that would very largely be their influence, [...] by perpetuating the language themselves after they’ve left school if it is a second language” (Ibid.). Hence pupils from English-speaking backgrounds are cited as particularly called upon (albeit implicitly) to make a commitment to Welsh after they have left school. Immediately afterwards, the head points out the danger of pushing this commitment too much in that “it can become a huge turn-off”.

To summarise, the marketisation discourse has become an economic imperative, in that providing the school with a marketable profile may allow for its expansion. Although *Cymreictod* is the most important aspect of this profile, demanding a commitment to the school’s Welshness also has a gate-keeping function. At the school open evening, it is otherwise the globalising discourse that is dominant, whereby success is constructed in terms of the pupil’s commitment to develop their Welsh to acquire institutionalised cultural capital (in the form of good examination results). Off the record, however, language rights and the linguistic diversity²⁰⁶ come to the fore, both of which belong to the ecology-of-language discourse.

Let us now turn to the focus group pupils from *Ysgol 1* to examine how they in fact respond to the school’s discourses and associated ideologies. But before we home in on their discursive construction of bilingualism, we need to consider their language practices.

²⁰⁶ However, it should be noted that the call for a commitment to linguistic diversity is reported as arising in conjunction with a school assemblies, i.e. here it is pupils that are being ‘hailed’.

7.3 Bilingualism(s)-in-Practice

By collating the data about individuals’ reported language practices from the language questionnaires, language diaries and the focus group discussions, I was able to create a broad-brush language profile for each of the 19 focus group participants. On the basis of each individual language profile, participants were then sorted into three broad categories: Welsh-dominant bilinguals (We), ‘floaters’ (WE), who float between Welsh and English, and English-dominant bilinguals (wE). These summarised individual profiles were then arranged according to which focus group they belonged to (c.f. figure 31 in §6.2.5), thereby also creating a rough-and-ready language profile for each group. The language profiles for each group are summarised in figure 41 below.

Category ↓	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3	Focus Group 4
We Welsh-dominant	4		3	1
WE ‘floaters’	2	1	2	3
wE English-dominant		3		

Fig. 41 Summary of the bilingual profiles of the four focus groups

The numbers in figure 41 represent the sum of participants in each category for each of the four focus groups. In figure 31, the individuals have been placed along a continuum within the table according to their language use. In figure 41 this has been simplified by the placement of the numbers in each box, so that the numbers placed towards the top of each box indicate that these participants use more Welsh, and those towards the bottom of the box use more English. The characteristics for each of the three categories are summarised below:

- *Welsh-dominant bilinguals*: have Welsh as their first language; may be more confident speaking Welsh; speak Welsh to other Welsh-dominant bilinguals and to floaters but are usually prepared to speak English to English-dominant bilinguals.
- *Floaters*: may have Welsh, English or Welsh and English as their first language; are less likely to experience a lack of confidence in

either Welsh or English; are more likely to speak Welsh to Welsh-dominant bilinguals and English to English-dominant bilinguals and speak both to other floaters.

- *English-dominant bilinguals*: have English as their first language; tend to lack confidence in speaking Welsh; prefer to speak English with all three categories

The next section summarises how these three categories relate to the language(s) spoken in the focus group discussions.

7.3.1 The Medium of the Focus Group Discussions

In this study a distinction is drawn between language, code and medium. The term “language” tends to be defined in terms of its relation to the standard (written) language, but because of the ambiguity of this term, it has been largely avoided in my analysis of talk. Instead, in keeping with the principles of CA, “code” has been used as the analyst’s category and “medium” as the participants’ category. Thus talk containing more than one ‘language’ or ‘language variety’ may be described as containing code-alternation, e.g. Welsh dialect and English. However, from a participant’s perspective this may not be oriented to as a mixture of codes, despite participants being able to distinguish between them. Indeed, talk containing code-alternation may be the default or unmarked medium – or to use the term adopted in this study a *mixed medium*. On the other hand, if participants do orient towards a shift in medium, e.g. from English to Welsh dialect mixed with English (i.e. mixed-medium Welsh), it may be a case of *medium repair*, *medium switching* or *medium suspension* (c.f. figure 3 in §3.2.1).

The four categories in italics have been described fully in §3.2.1, but here it will suffice to point out that the marked/unmarked distinction is determined on the basis of how participants orient to the switch in medium. If it is unmarked and assigned no additional meaning, it constitutes a mixed medium, and may also be referred to as *code-mixing*. If it is marked and therefore signals additional meaning, it may be referred to as *code-switching*. *Code-alternation* is thus taken to be the superordinate term for both (unmarked) code-mixing and (marked) code-switching. With the aid of these categories, let us first consider the medium of the discussions in each of the four focus groups.

In the group discussions proper, focus group 2, which is composed mostly of English-dominant bilinguals, was the only group to opt for the medium of English throughout. Groups 1, 3 and 4, on the other hand, spoke mixed-medium Welsh. The nature of these two different media was also different: the English of group 2 did not contain code-mixing, whereas the mixed-medium Welsh spoken by the remaining groups was characterised by being Welsh (dialect) with English insertions.

In a further analysis of the talk generated by the focus groups, it emerged that there were also marked contrasts in the occurrence of code-switching between the different groups. These contrasts are summarised in figures 38 and 39 in §6.4.5. The most significant finding is that by combining the medium of talk with the occurrence of code-switching, a tripartite division emerges between the focus groups. This division correlates roughly with which of the three categories (We, WE or wE) is dominant in each group. Thus focus group 1 constitutes a Welsh-dominant group, focus group 2 constitutes an English-dominant group and focus groups 3 and 4 constitute floater-dominant groups²⁰⁷. What code-switching patterns add to the picture is that there is a new two-way distinction between the Welsh-dominant and English-dominant groups on the one hand and the floater-dominant groups on the other. In the former (groups 1 & 2), the code-switching that occurs is almost exclusively reserved for quoting. In the latter (groups 3 & 4), there is a markedly higher degree of code-switching. Although quoting is also a common function of code-switching (medium suspension) in the floater-dominant groups, code-switching is also used for a far wider range of functions.

In this section (§7.3), the self-reported data used to construct language profiles for both individuals and focus groups has been complemented and collated with the spoken data from the group discussions. In the next section, we shall revisit the pupils' discursive construction of bilingualism and Welsh in their talk with a view to discovering possible links with the tripartite individual and group categories which have already been discussed above.

²⁰⁷ Numerically, focus group 3 consists of more Welsh-dominant members, but this is offset by the fact that the two floaters are situated more towards the English-dominant end of their category as well as by the fact that one of these floaters, Louise, plays a very active role in the group discussion.

7.4 The Pupils' Discourse

In order to illustrate how the nineteen pupils who comprised the four focus groups construct – and contest – bilingualism and Welsh, three areas were singled out: their use of the term bilingual/*dwylieithog*, their responses to the school language policy and way in which they discursively construct their mixed-medium Welsh (as well as how they reconstitute other's evaluation of their Welsh). Since the findings have already been summarised and discussed in §6.5.4, they will receive fairly short shrift here. We shall therefore limit ourselves to two aspects of the pupils' discourse. Firstly, how do the findings of their discursive construction of bilingualism and Welsh tie in with the three categories of individuals and groups discussed in §7.3? Secondly, which of the seven discourses enumerated in §§7.1-7.2 re-emerge in the discussion data? Let us start with the first question.

Although the picture is fairly complex as regards potential links between discourses and the three categories of bilinguals (and/or the three categories of focus groups), one significant tendency is discernible. In the two focus groups where there appear to be greatest tensions as regards language matters (groups 2 and 3), the main protagonists are typically at either end of the language use continuum within their respective groups. In group 2, the greatest tensions are between Claire and Katy, who is the only floater in the group. For example, Katy defends the school's preference for Welsh, whereas Claire demands the right to speak English without having to suffer the school's sanctions. In group 3, the most Welsh-dominant group member Martha and the floater Louise regularly find themselves at loggerheads with each other. For instance, whereas Louise is pro-bilingualism (with English and Welsh being treated equally), Martha is pro-Welsh (defending her right to speak only Welsh). Generally when clashes arise between participants at either end of the continuum, the intermediate members of the group tend to mediate or adopt compromise points of view.

Hence in cases of conflict, there is a tendency for English-dominant bilinguals to be critical of any attempts by teachers to curb their use of English and thereby resist the school's central tenet of *Cymreictod* "Welshness". Conversely, Welsh-dominant bilinguals are likely to condemn pupils who rebel and refuse to speak Welsh, whilst approving

of the school's *Cymreictod*. Floaters may also condemn English-dominant 'rebels', but they also tend to be vocal in their criticism of some teachers' methods of implementing the school's preference for Welsh, whilst consenting to the school's language ideology. Furthermore, Welsh-dominant bilinguals and floaters tend to demonstrate a commitment to Welsh in their discourse, not least by suggesting, debating and assessing different ways of promoting Welsh (but seldom bilingualism). Thus, all in all, there seems to be a correlation between individuals' language use and the value they attach to the languages they prefer or decline to use. For example, the most English-dominant bilingual, Claire, discursively constructs most resistance to the Welsh language, whereas the most Welsh-dominant bilingual, Martha, discursively constructs the most resistance to English. Thus there is a fairly close correlation between the way bilingualism and Welsh are discursively constructed and the three categories of bilinguals (We, WE & wE), but not between the three categories of focus groups and their discourse.

As regards the second issue, that is, which discourses are present in the pupils' discussion data, there are basically three: the globalising discourse, the nationalist discourse and the ecology-of-language discourse. Rather than revisiting the examples enumerated and summarised in §6.5.4, let us make some generalisations about their occurrence. They have tended to emerge in cases of group tension or conflict, as discursive resources that can be invoked in order to strengthen a particular line of argument. Paradoxically, both Claire and Martha invoke the language rights of the ecology-of-language discourse, for example, in order to assert their right to speak English and Welsh, respectively. In fact, the rights of both resonate with the one of the (rather utopian) central tenets of *Iaith Pawb*: the right to live one's life through either or both Welsh or English (WAG 2003: 1).

The last consideration in this section is whether there is a link between language practices and identity, and in which case how this link is characterised.

7.4.1 Bilingualism, Welsh and Identity

At the heart of performativity theory developed by Butler is the construction of the subject through the sedimentation of repeated

discursive acts. Thus a performative approach views identities as a dynamic and observable effect of situated social interaction, rather than a manifestation of some pre-existing inner essence. Moreover, In interaction we may perform multiple and even conflicting identities. These performative acts of identity may also be more or less closely associated with the medium/media in which they are expressed. Thus, the individual's choice of medium (and the nature of this medium) may constitute a display of identity. Likewise, such choices in a group situation may constitute an orientation towards a group identity.

In §6.4.5 I tentatively suggested that patterns of code-alternation might signal acts of (group) identity. In the analysis of the talk generated by the four focus groups, a correlation in fact emerged between the dominant bilingual category of each group and the nature of the medium of their discussions. Firstly, the chosen medium was subject to group negotiation in one way or another, but once it had been co-determined, in all cases it remained the default medium of their discussions. Secondly, not only the medium, but also the occurrence of code-switching also correlated strongly with the dominant group category, so that floater-dominant groups tended to make far more use of code-switching than the others, for example.

What I am not suggesting here is that there is some kind of essential or iconic link between speaking Welsh and being Welsh, or between speaking English and being English (and thereby less Welsh). However, what I am proposing is that the individual or the group's selection of medium (and the nature of this medium) may be a vital part of creating group cohesion – or conversely signalling disalignment – and as such their choices may constitute acts of identity. For example, Louise, who mainly speaks English at home but a mixture of English and Welsh to her closest friends bar one (her monolingual English-speaking boyfriend), produces 32 code-switched quotations or quotation sequences in her talk, 18 of which are in English and 14 of which include bilingual exchanges in addition to 19 quotations in Welsh. By producing both Welsh and code-switched quotations in this way, Louise's actions may be seen as acts of identity, in that she constructs herself as a bilingual person, in a network of Welsh and/or English speakers (whom she cites).

To take one other example, when Claire retells stories of herself not replying in Welsh to questions in Welsh and thereby producing a

dispreferred medium response (which is also reflected in her monolingual English quotations), Claire is also performing acts of identity. She does this by constructing herself primarily as an English speaker through her display of resistance to Welsh.

Consequently, the medium of the pupils' talk and their performances of code-switching may constitute a performative act of identity, which in turn may align or disalign with other interlocutors. As in the case of Louise, being bilingual can also be seen as a performed identity. Yet at the same time, this opens up a space for the contestation of *Cymreictod* and bilingualism as an identity category. Claire's repeated resistance of Welsh may also be seen as such, through the performative process of iterability.

If we add individuals' discursive construction of bilingualism and Welsh to the nature of their medium choices, a more composite picture emerges. Thus the stance and values which participants display in the way they talk about bilingualism and *Cymreictod* also contributes to their performance of identities, thereby producing the identity it purports to be. For example, Louise's suggestion that bilingual schools should teach both Welsh and English equally may be seen as an act of identity, whereby she affirms her bilingualism and displays resistance to the school's preference for Welsh and scorn for English (c.f. excerpt 45). Thus it is precisely an aggregate of such performative displays of stance, alignments and disalignments which 'congeal' to create the substance of bilingualism. Nevertheless, this is not to rule out the performance of other interactional tasks by interlocutors (e.g. teasing), which may in fact be more primary to their talk. Rather, these are also an integral part of the performance of identity, or conversely the performance of identity is an integral part of interactional resources.

The performative construction of identities through bilinguals' language practices (their medium choices, etc.) and through their discursive (re)constitution of these practices appears to be a fruitful line of enquiry to account for the social construction of bilingualism. Although it has not been pursued to any great extent in this study, it certainly deserves greater attention.

In the final section of this chapter, and indeed this book, we shall be revisiting the performative operation of the monolingual norm and how it

may be contributing to diglossia between spoken Welsh and standard (Literary) Welsh.

7.5 The Monolingual Norm and Diglossia

The foundations of a written Welsh standard hark back to William Morgan's translation of the whole Bible in 1588. Even at the time it was written, its language was archaic, and with the passing of time, the gap between standard Literary Welsh and spoken varieties has widened. One important difference is that Literary and formal spoken Welsh is characteristically puristic and conservative as regards lexis. In other words, it endeavours to exclude English loanwords wherever possible²⁰⁸. For example, the head teacher's address to prospective pupils and parents at the open evening was held alternately in Welsh and English, usually starting with a (briefer) Welsh version. Yet these languages were never mixed, with the result that both were kept 'pure' (c.f. excerpts 6 & 8 in §5.2). Thus on this official occasion at this designated bilingual school, the head teacher gave a public performance of bilingualism, which reproduced the double bilingualism norm (Jørgensen & Holmen 1997), whereby only one language is used at a time.

Not only are the two languages kept apart in this public discourse, but it contains many structural features of Literary Welsh. The mutations²⁰⁹, for example, closely follow the accepted formal rules. Furthermore, there are a number of inflected verb tenses, which rarely occur in everyday speech, such as the present tense²¹⁰ (3rd person singular): *myn* "wants, wishes" (excerpt 6, line 7) and the present passive: *dysgir* "is taught" (excerpt 8, line 1). *Nid* "not" (excerpt 6, line 11) and *ninnau* "we/us/our too" (excerpt 8, line 4) and also belong to a formal style register

²⁰⁸ As regards the resources of Welsh to meet the demand for new words, Williams (1980) lists no fewer than 30 derivational endings to create nouns. Many, if not most, of these are still used actively to augment the Welsh wordstock, e.g. *porwr* "web browser" (from *pori* "to surf, browse" + *-wr*). *Pori* itself is a loan extension, since it originally meant "to graze". Another loan extension, again from the realm of information technology is *y we* "the web". A synonym of this is the compound noun *y rhyngwrdd* "the Internet" (from *rhwng* "between, inter-" + *rhwyd* "net"). Although all these neologisms are clearly based on the English equivalents (as is the case for many other languages), they have drawn on Welsh lexical resources rather than borrowing them direct into Welsh. Even when English words are borrowed they tend to follow the orthographic conventions of Welsh, which often renders them almost unrecognisable, e.g. *ffôn* "phone", *sgrin* "screen".

²⁰⁹ See appendix 1 "Mutations (*Treigladau*)".

²¹⁰ See appendix 1 "Inflected versus Periphrastic Verb Tenses".

characteristic of Literary Welsh. Let us contrast this with the Welsh spoken by pupils in the focus group discussions.

As we have seen, the pupils' Welsh can be characterised as a mixed medium with English insertions. Furthermore, the floater-dominated groups, in particular, frequently code-switch to convey added meaning. Moreover, some of the prestigious features of Literary Welsh, such as mutations and the inflected verb tenses appear to be greatly reduced. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that they have no active command of the more prestigious written standard (Ferguson's 'High variety'). Indeed, the Welsh of their language diaries, for example, displays, a grasp of such features as 'correct' mutations and lexical purism.

It is this gap between the High variety (Literary Welsh) for formal purposes and the Low spoken variety which constitutes a fairly classic case of diglossia according to Ferguson's nine criteria (c.f. §3.3). One of Ferguson's criteria is the stability of diglossia, which came to be promoted as an ideal state by Fishman (2000 [1967]) in order to combat language shift²¹¹. Yet as many critics have pointed out (e.g. Martin-Jones 1989, E. Williams 1989 & G. Williams 1992), the stability of diglossia does not imply societal consensus, but is more likely to harbour social tension and conflict. This may not always be apparent, however, since acceptance and acquiescence may be mistaken for consent (E. Williams 1989: 350). Furthermore, given the right conditions, passive acceptance and acquiescence may be transformed into active resistance and contestation.

In we return to the focus group data, there are clear examples whereby diglossia (underpinned by the monolingual norm) comes under fire. The floater-dominant groups, in particular, contest the constant correction of their spoken Welsh on this account. For example, Wesley, backed by the other members of group 4, points out the counter-productiveness of such normative intervention; Batman sums this up by saying that those who participate in such corrective practices ironically "put off *their own kind*" (excerpt 49). Cornilov also goes as far as to say that *siarad Cymraeg nawr* naturally *yn golygu* naturally *yn golygu ca'l geirie Saesneg ynddo fe hefyd* "speaking Welsh now *naturally* means *naturally* means having

²¹¹ However, Fishman applied diglossia to societal bilingualism (c.f. §3.3).

English words in it too” (Ibid). Cornilov’s utterance is also performative display of this contestation, since his code-mixing is also a performance of the point which he is making. Hence these pupils discursively contest the monolingual norm, which is implicit in standard Welsh, whereby Welsh must be kept pure from English words.

In fact, even the head teacher acknowledges the prevalence of code-switching and code-mixing in the language of *Ysgol 1* pupils switching languages “as they want to and very often” without realising. Furthermore, he frames this practice as “just a characteristic of being bilingual” (excerpt 14). By so doing, he discursively reconstitutes these practices as an integral part of being bilingual. Thus there is a dichotomy between the everyday practice of bilingualism and the ideal, which is performatively held in place by the implicit censorship of the monolingual norm.

This dichotomy becomes all the more clear when even those who contest this monolingual norm paradoxically also reconstruct it by designating their mixed-medium Welsh as “crap Welsh” or “ghetto slang²¹²”, and thereby assigning it the label ‘Low variety’ (Ferguson 2000 [1959]).

Nevertheless, it must also be said that not all the groups contest the monolingual norm or diglossia. Indeed, the members of group 1 (the only Welsh-dominant group) discursively reproduce it. Thus when Maud (the group’s only floater with a wholly English-speaking family background) says that her “mutations are shameful”, another member of her group proceeds to generalise the ‘problem’ as there being “a lot of shameful language about” (excerpt 52). This results in the reconstitution of (teachers’) complaints that “the level of the language is deteriorating” (Ibid.). However, unlike Wesley’s resistance to corrections mentioned above, the members of this Welsh-dominant group do not contest the ideology which holds diglossia in place (which in turn is backed by the monolingual norm). Rather, the group’s complaint is aimed at the school for “not teaching y’ know how we should do [mutations] ” (Ibid.).

If we consider the implications of bilingualism, diglossia and the monolingual norm for bilingual education, there are clearly tensions which are made manifest in the discussion data. Two of the

²¹² Admittedly, Cornilov objects to Action Man’s jocular use of this label, but on another occasion

institutionalised and legitimated language norms which the school attempts to reproduce are:

1. Welsh is the official and preferred language of the school
2. Standard (Literary) Welsh is the prestigious (H) variety

If we then compare these norms (language ideology) with the language practices of the pupils who make up the four focus groups, it becomes immediately apparent that these norms are violated by all and flouted by some. The distinction can be drawn mainly on the basis of the group members' discursive construction of their language practices and the school's language ideology.

English-dominant bilinguals tend to flout the first norm and discursively contest the school's ideology. Floaters often violate the first norm, but they generally accept the school's ideology even if they may contest the way in which the school implements it. However, they often flout the second norm, especially when it comes to code-mixing and code-switching, which they may fervently defend. Welsh-dominant bilinguals, on the other hand, may violate both norms but accept the school's ideology. Hence there are tensions of varying magnitude for each of these groups, since none fully reproduce the school's legitimated norms in their language practices.

Let us now link these practices and their discursive construction. There appears to be a reflexive relationship between bilingualism-in-discourse and bilingualism-in-practice. In other words, the discourses associated with bilingualism (and Welsh/English) have a performative effect on the language practices of bilinguals; conversely, their language practices have a performative effect on discourses about bilingualism (and Welsh/English). However, there are inherent and inevitable tensions between the two, in that language practices do not and cannot correspond fully with the ideologies and values (re)produced in discourse. Moreover, these tensions open up spaces for transformation and change through the performative operations of iterability. If the tensions become too great they will need to be resolved either by bilinguals changing their language practices or by changing the discursive construction of these practices – or both.

Finally, let us revisit the dictionary definition of “bilingual” on page 34, where the term is described as “having an effectively equal control of

two native languages”. It would be tempting to regard floaters as those who match the definition most closely. Yet far from all of them have both Welsh and English as native languages (in the strictest sense). Furthermore, the language practices of this category are those furthest from the monolingual norm. They are also the bilingual category to contest diglossia most fervently²¹³. Moreover, since floaters are the only bilinguals to be recruited from all types of linguistic backgrounds, they seem likely to become an ever-expanding category in the future, not least through the intergenerational production²¹⁴ of Welsh through bilingual education. If we disregard English-dominant bilinguals, who are less likely to use their Welsh anyway, the tensions between bilingualism-in-discourse and bilingualism-in-practice are greatest in the case of floaters. Thus it seems likely that the resolution of these tensions, that is to say those of floaters, will precipitate change in Welsh language practices and hence bilingual practices in the future. This in turn will probably make it increasingly harder to maintain diglossia and the monolingual norm, both of which are implicit in the language ideology of *ysgolion Cymraeg*; indeed, the ideology of a “truly bilingual Wales”.

²¹³ In the focus group data English-dominant bilinguals contest the school’s preference for Welsh (norm 1), but they say nothing about the school’s preference for standard (Literary) Welsh (norm 2).

²¹⁴ As opposed to the intergenerational reproduction (or transmission) of Welsh.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 The Welsh Language

Welsh belongs to the Celtic branch of Indo-European languages. For historical and linguistic reasons the Celtic languages are further divided into two: Brythonic and Goidelic. Of the surviving Celtic languages Welsh (*Cymraeg*) and Breton (*brezhoneg*)²¹⁵ belong to the Brythonic sub-branch, and Irish (*Gaeilge*) and Scottish Gaelic (*Gàidhlig*) belong to the Goidelic sub-branch (figure 42). Two other Celtic languages have experienced a revival, namely Cornish (Brythonic) and Manx (Goidelic) after first having died out as living native languages.

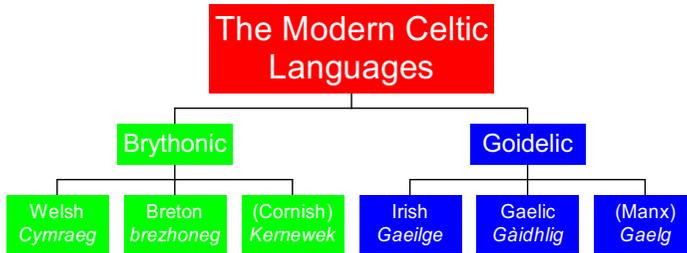


Fig. 42 The Celtic language tree

In order to demonstrate some similarities and differences between the two sub-branches of the Celtic languages and their relatedness to other Indo-European languages, the first five cardinal numbers have been collated in figure 43. To represent the Germanic and Romance languages, as the currently geographically closest branches of the Indo-European languages, Danish and Spanish have been selected.

The Celtic languages can all be described as ‘*Abstand* languages’ (c.f. Kloss 1967) *vis-à-vis* the majority languages (English, and French in the case of Breton) of their respective regions, since they are linguistically remote from both the Germanic and Romance branches to which the majority languages respectively belong. Nevertheless, the modern Celtic languages show considerable influence from English and French,

²¹⁵ Breton is spoken in Brittany in North-West France.

especially as regards vocabulary, but also in terms of syntax and grammar. It should also be said that a strong puristic stance prevails in the written standard and other formal varieties, which involves resistance to linguistic interference. This in turn means that the gap between colloquial and formal language has tended to widen. In the case of Welsh, the grammarian Gareth King goes as far as to claim that the difference is “so great, in fact, that there are good grounds for regarding them as separate languages.” (3) This divergence mostly concerns morphology²¹⁶, but also lexis insofar as Literary Welsh prefers an apparently arbitrary mixture of Northern and Southern dialect words in cases where the dialects differ.

	Danish	Welsh	Breton	Irish	Gaelic	Spanish
1	<i>en</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>unan</i>	<i>aon</i>	<i>aon</i>	<i>uno</i>
2	<i>to</i>	<i>dau</i>	<i>daou</i>	<i>dó</i>	<i>dà</i>	<i>dos</i>
3	<i>tre</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>trí</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>tres</i>
4	<i>fire</i>	<i>pedwar</i>	<i>pevar</i>	<i>ceathair</i>	<i>ceithir</i>	<i>cuatro</i>
5	<i>fem</i>	<i>pump</i>	<i>pemp</i>	<i>cúig</i>	<i>còig</i>	<i>cinco</i>

Fig. 43 The cardinal numbers 1-5 in four Celtic languages and two other Indo-European languages

Thus the Welsh spoken by pupils, students and teachers shows considerable variation and deviates to varying degrees from standard written (Literary) Welsh. Since many features of Literary Welsh hark back to the first translations of the Bible into Welsh in the second half of the 16th century, this should come as no surprise, especially considering that it bore archaic traits even then (Davies 2000: 80). Therefore many formal aspects of Literary Welsh have to be learnt at school and/or through extensive contact with written Welsh. More about the divergence between Literary and spoken Welsh and their functions has been discussed in §3.3.1 “Diglossia and Bilingualism in Wales”.

Since much of the spoken recorded data which makes up a major proportion of data to be analysed in this study is in Welsh (albeit accompanied with English translations), it is no doubt in its place to provide some very basic grounding in the Welsh language, particularly

²¹⁶ Some of the most notable morphological differences are dealt with below under the headings “Mutations” and “Inflected versus Periphrastic Verb Tenses”.

for those who are not acquainted with any Celtic language. The following paragraphs single out particular characteristics of Welsh, which distinguish it from its neighbouring non-Celtic Indo-European languages, not least English. The descriptions represent both a fairly conservative account of the features described, together with some details of selected common features of pupils' informal spoken Welsh, which diverge from the 'standard' or traditionally expected forms of spoken Welsh. For details of Welsh transcriptions and a brief discussion of some of the problems of translating Welsh into English, see also §3.2.4.

This appendix also provides some more details to do with selected non-standard forms of Welsh which have emerged regularly in the informal peer-group discussions. Since the focus of this study has not been to analyse formal elements of Welsh syntax and grammar, these matters have received little attention in the main text. Nevertheless, particularly for those who know Welsh, it may be of interest to address some of these aspects here.

Word Order

Despite variations and deviations, Welsh does exhibit a number of features which are shared by most of the varieties of spoken Welsh occurring in the data of this study. One such feature is that Welsh tends to be a VSO (verb-subject-object) language in respect of unmarked word order²¹⁷. This stands in contrast to English, which like most other Indo-European languages, is a SVO language. The following excerpt from my data will serve to illustrate the point. The transcription includes both a literal (word-by-word) and more idiomatic translation into English.

²¹⁷ Though some colloquial varieties do not conform to this as much as formal and written varieties. Indeed, in the recorded data the verb *bod* "be" is most often omitted altogether in the present tense with the 1st person singular and plural, and in the 2nd person singular and plural, e.g.

Fi'n siarad saesneg adre i mam fi
I part. speak English home to mum my
I speak English at home to my mum

M. Jones (1998) also notes the absence of the auxiliary *bod* in 53% of cases in the age group 7-19 in a study of the Welsh spoken in Rhymney, S. Wales (78).

pan o'n i'n fach o'n i'n siarad cymraeg
 when was I part.²¹⁸ little was I part. speak Welsh
 when I was little I spoke Welsh

Also unlike English, but in common with French, adjectives usually follow the nouns they qualify (e.g. *ysgol dda* “a good school”, literally “school good”).

The Particle yn

The presence of a so-called predicative particle or complement marker *yn* (or its contracted form *'n*) is also a peculiarity of all varieties of Welsh. The particle (abbreviated in transcriptions to “part.”) occurs most often in sentences with some form of the verb *bod* “be”, either before a complement beginning with a noun or adjective, or before a complement verbal noun, e.g.

pan o'n i'n fach o'n i'n siarad cymraeg
 when was I part. little was I part. speak Welsh
 when I was little I spoke Welsh

Yn has other regular and common grammatical functions, such as an adverbial particle (similar to the adverbial ending “-ly” in English) and as a proposition (“in”), e.g.

sa i gallu translato o cymrâg nôl i saesneg **yn dda** iawn
 am not I be able to translate from Welsh back to English part. good very
 I can't translate from Welsh back to English very **well**

pan o' ni **yn** y car
 when were we in the car
 when we were **in** the car

However, as a predicative particle and an adverb-deriver, there is normally no equivalent in English and thus *yn* need not be translated. At the same time, it should be noted that *yn* is extremely frequent in the data, since it is an important building block for so many different constructions.

M. Jones (1998: 85) also notes an innovative use of the predicative particle among schoolchildren in Rhymney in South Wales with an emphatic function, much like the use of emphatic auxiliaries in English. This use is also paralleled in my data, e.g.

²¹⁸ “part.” is an abbreviation for the predicative particle *yn*. See under the heading “The Particle *yn*” below.

Excerpt 53

Martha: >fi moyn siarad cymrâg gyda [louise] a [ca:rys]
 I want to speak Welsh with [fictitious name] and [fictitious name]
 I want to speak Welsh to [Louise] and [Carys]

achos na ma' nw'n siarad cymrâg †nôl
 because not are they part. speak Welsh back
 because they don't speak Welsh back

Carys: fi †yn ar y ffôn::n
 I part. on the phone
 I do on the phone

In the following example, the emphatic predicative particle is used with the negative particle *dim* (or rather its mutated form *ddim*):

Excerpt 54

Martha: ma' hi'n siarad saesneg †nôl †
 is she part. speak English back
 she speaks English back

Carys: L; \$dw i- †ddim yn [martha] ! \$
 not am I not part. [fictitious name]
 I don't [Martha]

Mutations (*Treigladau*)

Another unique feature of Welsh (and the other Celtic languages) is the mutation system, whereby the initial consonants of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and numerals change according to their grammatical context, to mark such diverse phenomena as gender, negation, subject/object and 'contact' with certain prepositions, pronouns, numerals and particles. The table in figure 44 gives an example of one mutation series for the initial consonant <c> [k].

Mutation Type →	Radical	Soft (SM)	Aspirate (AM)	Nasal (AM)
Consonant	c [k]	g [g]	ch [x]	ngh [ŋh]
Example	Cymraeg	y Gymraeg	â Chymraeg	fy Nghymraeg
Translation	"Welsh"	"(the) Welsh (language)"	"as Welsh"	"my Welsh"

Fig. 44 The mutation series for <c> [k]

In many regards, the mutation system of Welsh bears similarities to the inflectional endings of languages such as German in that it is an integral part of the language (King: 14). The following sentence, taken

from a news article, “Casglu arian i godi ysgol yn y Wladfa” (“Collecting money to erect a school in Patagonia”), illustrates how common mutations are in formal Welsh. The abbreviations in the 2nd line (immediately under the original text) correspond to the types of mutation listed in the table above, and the words in brackets show the radical (unmutated) forms.

Fe fydd ocsiwn yn cael ei **ch**ynnal yn Eisteddfod **G**enedlaethol Eryri
SM (bydd) **AM** (cynnal) **SM** (cenedlaethol)
 part. will be auction part. get her hold in Eisteddfod National Snowdonia
 An auction will be held at the Eryri (Snowdonia) National Eisteddfod

ddechrau Awst i **g**asglu arian i **g**odi adeilad ar gyfer ysgol **f**eithrin
SM (dechrau) **SM** (casglu) **SM** (codi) **SM** (meithrin)
 beginning August to collect money to erect building for school nursery
 at the beginning of August to collect money to erect a building for the Welsh nursery

Gymraeg yn **Nh**relew, Patagonia.
SM (Cymraeg) **NM** (Trelew)
 Welsh in Trelew Patagonia
 school in Trelew, Patagonia.

Although the above sentence indicates the potential frequency of mutations in Welsh, there is no reason to reflect their presence or absence in the English translations. Neither is there much occasion to pay them any attention in analysing the data, except where they can be shown to carry meaning *per se*, for example in repairs. However, the language of school pupils, in particular, does show a great deal of reduction in this regard, which gives rise to a number of discussions on the problems of doing mutations ‘correctly’ in Welsh. The reason is that this happens to be one area where the gap between written and spoken Welsh seems particularly wide. Indeed, Literary Welsh invariably shows “a more complex and rigidly applied system” than spoken Welsh and “soft mutation is far more generalized [...] at the expense of both AM [aspirate mutation] and NM [nasal mutation]” (King 1996:16). It should also be mentioned that even when the mutation rules are strictly followed, soft mutation is also far more common than aspirate and nasal mutation (as also reflected in the sentence analysed above).

Possessive Pronouns and Mutations

One notable reductional feature in the Welsh of many school pupils is the lack of mutations with possessive pronouns. In formal varieties of Welsh one would expect the following:

1 st person sing.	<i>fy mrawd (i)</i>	“my brother” (radical form: <i>brawd</i>)
2 nd person sing.	<i>dy ben (di)</i>	“your head” (radical form: <i>pen</i>)

Thus the pre-nominal personal pronoun is mandatory, but the additional post-nominal pronoun is optional. However, in the data one regularly finds the pre-nominal pronouns deleted altogether along with the expected contact mutation. Instead, one finds the radical (unmutated) form of the noun followed by the post-nominal pronoun:

1 st person sing.	a brawd fi'n siarad [...] and brother my part. speak and my brother speaks [...]
2 nd person sing.	translato ym pen ti translate in head your (fam.) translate in your head

In M. Jones's sociolinguistic study of the Welsh spoken in two contrasting communities²¹⁹, she finds the deletion of the pre-nominal possessive pronoun in 75% of cases in Rhymney and 64% of cases in Rhosllannerchrugog, for the age group 7-19 (78, 181). Furthermore, she notes high rates in the absence of expected mutations together with possessive pronouns for the same age group (78). Roberts (112, 118) also notes of the Pwllheli dialect (north-west Wales) that “amongst the younger generation, children in particular” the pre-nominal first person singular possessive pronoun can be deleted along with nasal mutation (e.g. *tŷ fi 'di hwn* “this is my house”) and that deletion is “common among all speakers” in the first person plural (e.g. *tŷ ni* “our house”). Thus it appears that in the informal speech of young people, post-nominal pronouns with no mutation of the preceding noun may be in the throes of replacing pre-nominal pronouns.

Inflected versus Periphrastic Verb Tenses

Literary Welsh has a wider range of inflected tenses than spoken Welsh, which only regularly has two: the future²²⁰ and the preterite²²¹.

²¹⁹ i.e. Rhymney (24 miles North of Cardiff, South Wales) and Rhosllannerchrugog (5 miles south-west of Wrexham, North East Wales).

²²⁰ Less commonly the same inflections can be used with present meaning, e.g. with some auxiliary and stative verbs.

All other tenses, i.e. the present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect and future perfect, are otherwise formed periphrastically with various forms of the verb *bod* “be” + predicative particle (or *wedi*²²²) + verbal noun²²³, e.g.

Present:	<i>Mae e'n mynd.</i>	“He goes/he’s going.”
Literally:	is he part. go	
Imperfect:	<i>Roedd e'n mynd.</i>	“He was going.”
Literally:	was he part. go	

However, even the two inflected tenses can be constructed periphrastically, with *bod* “be” or *gwneud* “do”. Indeed, there are relatively few examples of inflected tenses in the conversational data, except in the case of auxiliary verbs (*bod*, *gwneud* and modal verbs).

The passive is also usually constructed periphrastically in speech in a manner peculiar to Welsh, by using the auxiliary *cael* “get” + verbal noun with a possessive pronoun that reflects the subject of the sentence, e.g.

Present:	<i>Mae e'n cael ei anfon.</i>	“It’s being sent.”
Literally:	is he part. get his send	
Preterite:	<i>Gaeth e ei daro.</i>	“He was hit.”
Literally:	got he his hit	

Pronominal Prepositions

Pronominal or inflected prepositions constitute another unique feature of Welsh (and the other Celtic languages). Many prepositions have special inflected forms when combined with personal pronouns (similar to those found in the inflected tenses of verbs): e.g.

	<i>ar</i> “on”	
1 st person sing.	<i>arna</i> (<i>i</i>)	“on me”
2 nd person sing.	<i>arnat</i> (<i>ti</i>)	“on you”
3 rd person sing.	<i>arno</i> (<i>fe</i>)	“on him”
	<i>arni</i> (<i>hi</i>)	“on her”

²²¹ The conditional can also be expressed by means of inflections, but its use is more restricted than the inflected future and the preterite. It is more commonly constructed periphrastically with the conditional of *bod* “be”.

²²² The perfect and pluperfect and future perfect are formed with *bod* “be” + *wedi* “past” + verbal noun, e.g.

Perfect:	<i>Mae e wedi mynd.</i>	“He has gone”	Pluperfect:	<i>Roedd e wedi mynd.</i>	“He had gone”
Literally:	is he past go			was he past go	

²²³ Welsh grammar traditionally calls the basic (uninflected) form of verbs “verbal nouns” because in other contexts they can also function as nouns.

Since Welsh uses prepositions in many idiomatic expressions with no corresponding preposition in English, the potential occurrence of pronominal prepositions is far greater than preposition + personal pronoun in English. For example, the following idioms are constructed with the preposition *ar*:

Mae ofn arna i. “I’m afraid.”
 is fear on (me) me

Mae eisiau bwyd arna i. “I’m hungry.”
 is lack food on (me) me

However, not all prepositions have inflected personal forms, one common example being *gyda* (contracted form *'da*) “with”. One of its frequent uses is to construct the Welsh equivalent of the verb “have”, e.g.

Mae dau frawd 'da fi. “I have two brothers.”
 is two brother with me

In the conversational data, on analogy with *gyda*²²⁴, prepositions which have inflected forms may lack their suffixed inflections and are followed simply by the otherwise optional personal pronouns, e.g.

Instead of *iddi hi* “to her”:

ma' mam a dad hi'n siarad cymraeg **i hi**
 is mum and dad her part. speak Welsh to her
 her mum and dad speak Welsh **to her**

Instead of *iddyn nhw* “to them”:

beth yw pwynt **i nw** fod yma
 what is point to them be here
 what's the point **in them** being here

Instead of *ohonon ni* (in speech often *onon ni*) “of us”:

ma' mwy **o ni**'n siarad cymraeg
 is more of us part. speak Welsh
 there are more **of us** speaking Welsh

These findings also match those of M. Jones for the age group 7-19 for the South Wales town of Rhymney, where she notes the non-inflection of prepositions in 72% of cases (78).

²²⁴ *Gyda* “with” lacks the inflected personal forms of the preposition typical of Welsh.

Yes and No

In formal varieties of Welsh there are no one-word equivalents to “yes” and “no”. Instead, answering in the affirmative or the negative is most often expressed with an appropriate form of the verb *bod* “to be” with or without the negative particle *na* (or *nag* before vowels)²²⁵, e.g.

<i>(Wyt) ti'n siarad Cymraeg?</i>	“Do you speak Welsh?”
<small>(are) you part. speak Welsh</small>	
<i>Ydw.</i>	“Yes.”
<small>(I) am</small>	
<i>Nag ydw.</i>	“No.”
<small>no (I) am</small>	

One regular exception is that responses to questions in the preterite tense are always *do* for a “yes” answer and *naddo* for “no”. Having said this, “in the spoken language an all-purpose *Na* is frequently heard in place of the standard person-specific responses.” (King: 325). However, King does not acknowledge the existence of an all-purpose “yes”. Yet in the data, it is rare to find any yes responses that match the above pattern. By far the most common response appears to be *ie*, which to all intents and purposes corresponds remarkably closely to English “yeah”, not only as regards usage but also pronunciation. Moreover, Welsh formally requires the response *ie* (or negative *nage*) in the case of focussed questions which for reasons of emphasis start with a non-verbal element, e.g.

<i>Fi sy ar fai?</i>	“Am I to blame?”
<small>I who is on blame</small>	
<i>Iel/Nage</i>	“Yes/No.”

Since Welsh already possesses a potential candidate for an all-purpose “yes”, conveniently reinforced by the English sound-alike “yeah”, it does not seem difficult to account for the occurrence of an all-purpose affirmative *ie* alongside an all-purpose *na*. The following example from the data will serve to illustrate the point:

²²⁵ The reason why inflected forms of *bod* “be” are often found in the answer is that questions are often asked using periphrastic tenses using the verb *bod*. Questions constructed with the inflected forms of other auxiliaries, for example *gwneud* “do” and *cael* “may, will”, are answered using the appropriate forms of these verbs and not *bod*.

Excerpt 55

Wesley: wyt ti'n siarad yn cymraeg adre
 are you part. speak in Welsh home
 do you speak in Welsh at home?
Pause: (.7)
Batman: ie siarad 'da dad fi
 yes speak with dad my
 yeah speaking with my dad

In answer to a question beginning *wyt ti?* “are you?”, the appropriate form of “yes” should be *ydw* “(I) am” and not *ie*.

Once again M. Jones finds historically inappropriate forms of “yes” in 77% of cases in the language of 7 to 19-year-olds in Rhymney (78), though there was a marked difference between L1 and L2 speakers (140).

Phrasal Verbs

Compared to English, Welsh traditionally has far fewer phrasal verbs. These consist of a verb + adverb, verb + preposition or verb + both adverb and preposition, which together have a single meaning. Jones (1998) records a number of direct translations of English phrasal verbs in her data, e.g. *troi i ffwrdd* “turn off” (instead of *diffodd*), *dihuno lan* “wake up” (instead of simply *dihuno*), *trio allan* “try out” (instead of *profi*), *gwneud (i) fyny* “do up, repair” (instead of *trwsio*). Deuchar (2005) also lists a number of calques of English phrasal verbs in her data and notes that “[t]his type of loan translation also tends to be one of the focuses of prescriptive attempts to avoid anglicisms in Welsh” (616). Calques such as those listed by Jones and Deuchar are also frequent in my data, e.g. *pigo ar* “pick on, bully”, *mixo lan* “mix up”, *rhoi off* “put off, repel” with the English adverb “off” borrowed into Welsh too.

Other informal spoken forms

All in all, in keeping with my own findings, Jones also notes that the many forms in the Welsh of informants “do not comply with those prescribed in grammar books.” (80) Most if not all of the discrepancies apart from those mentioned above, such as inappropriate grammatical gender²²⁶ (including correct pronoun substitution²²⁷, gender agreement by

²²⁶ Welsh has two grammatical genders: masculine and feminine.

²²⁷ *fe* “he” or *hi* “she”

means of the mutation system²²⁸, the choice of appropriate form of the numerals 2-4), match those found in my data, despite the schools being in geographically different areas. On the basis of her findings, she poses the question whether “a school-based dialect with its own distinctive features” is emerging (149), concluding that more research would be needed “to substantiate or dismiss such a theory” (149).

²²⁸ For example feminine nouns take soft mutation after the definite article (e.g. *merch* “girl” *y ferch* “the girl”) and attributive adjectives take soft mutation after feminine nouns (e.g. *bach* “little” *merch fach* “little girl”).

Appendix 2 Questions about [Ysgol 1]

[name of the secondary school]

- How would you describe [Ysgol 1]? Is it a good school or a bad school or a mixture of the two?
- What do you think of the other secondary schools in your area?
- What do you think pupils at those schools think of your school?
- Why do you think parents choose to send their children to your school and not to the others?
- Why do you think your parents chose to send you to [Ysgol 1]?
- How do you think [Ysgol 1] is different to the other secondary schools?
- Can you think of any good things about going to [Ysgol 1] (compared to the other secondary schools)?
- Can you think of any disadvantages of going to [Ysgol 1] (compared to the other secondary schools)?
- Does the school have good facilities? What facilities does it have/doesn't it have?
- Are there any activities before school, during lunchtime, after school or at any other time outside school hours? If so, what are they?
- How much are you and your friends involved?
- Does the school have contacts with any other clubs or organisations outside school? Have you had any visits from them? Have teachers encouraged you to join any?
- Did you notice any differences in the school when you went into the sixth form?
- Did any pupils leave before you went into the sixth form? Do you know why they left?
- If you had children and lived in or near [Ysgol 1] in the future, would you send your children to the same school? Why/why not?

Cwestiynau am [Ysgol 1]

- *Sut fyddet ti'n disgrifio [Ysgol 1]? Ydy hi'n ysgol dda neu'n ysgol wael neu'n dipyn o'r ddau?*
- *Beth rwy'ti'n feddwl o'r ysgolion uwchradd eraill yn dy ardal di?*
- *Beth rwy'ti'n feddwl mae disgyblion yr ysgolion hynny yn feddwl o dy ysgol di?*

- *Pam rwynt ti'n meddwl bod rhieni'n dewis anfon eu plant i'r ysgol rwynt ti'n mynd iddi (a dim i'r ysgolion eraill)?*
- *Pam rwynt ti'n meddwl y dewisodd dy rieni dy anfon di i [Ysgol 1]?*
- *Ym mha ffordd rwynt ti'n meddwl bod Penweddig yn wahanol i'r ysgolion uwchradd eraill?*
- *Alli di feddwl am bethau sydd yn dda am fod yn mynd i [Ysgol 1] (o'u cymharu â'r ysgolion uwchradd eraill)?*
- *Alli di feddwl am anfanteision o fynd i [Ysgol 1] (o'u cymharu â'r ysgolion uwchradd eraill)?*
- *Oes gan yr ysgol gyfleusterau da? Pa gyfleusterau sydd/nad oes ganddi hi?*
- *Oes gweithgareddau cyn amser ysgol, yn ystod yr amser cinio, ar ôl amser ysgol neu am unrhyw adeg arall y tu allan i oriau ysgol? Os oes, pa rai ydyn nhw?*
- *I ba raddau rwynt ti a dy ffrindiau yn cymryd rhan?*
- *Oes gan yr ysgol gysylltiadau â chlybiau neu gymdeithasau y tu allan i'r ysgol? Ydyn nhw wedi ymweld â chi? Ydy athrawon wedi eich annog chi i ymuno â nhw?*
- *Oes gwahaniaeth rhwng bod yn ddisgybl chweched dosbarth a bod yn ddisgybl yn y dosbarthiadau eraill?*
- *Adawodd rhai disgyblion yr ysgol cyn i ti ddod i'r chweched dosbarth? Wyt ti'n gwybod pam gadawon nhw?*
- *Pe bai gen ti blant ac yn byw yn Aberystwyth neu yn yr ardal yn y dyfodol, fyddet ti'n anfon dy blant i'r un ysgol? Pam byddet ti/pam na fyddet ti?*

Appendix 3 Follow-Up Discussion Questions

- Have you thought at all about the questions you discussed a few days ago? Do you have any new thoughts?
- Why do you think many pupils at [Ysgol 1] speak English to each other outside the classroom?
- Did many of the pupils at [Ysgol 1] speak English to each other at their Welsh-medium primary schools too? If there is a difference between the schools, why do think there's a difference?
- Have teachers ever tried to influence what language you speak to each other outside class? If so, how?
- Do you speak English or Welsh to pupils from Welsh-speaking homes and English-speaking homes respectively? Does it make a difference?
- Are you better at speaking Welsh or English? When do you notice this most?
- On the whole do pupils from Welsh-speaking and English-speaking backgrounds mix with each other irrespective of language background? How is it in the 6th form?
- How much are you involved in the Urdd and eisteddfodau? What is the general image of the Urdd and eisteddfodau, seen by those involved and those less involved?
- What would you say Welsh speakers think of monolingual or mainly English-speaking Welsh people?
- What would you say monolingual or mainly English-speaking Welsh people think of Welsh speakers?
- How useful is it to know Welsh? Think of different situations where it's useful to know Welsh.
- What do you think of S4C and Radio Cymru or any other Welsh-language radio station? What image do they have among your friends?
- Would Wales be Wales without Welsh and Welsh-language culture?
- If you had a family in the future, what language would be the language of the home (either with a Welsh-speaking partner or non-Welsh speaker)?

Cwestiynau ychwanegol i'w Trafod

- *Wyt ti wedi meddwl o gwbl am y cwestiynau y trafodon nhw rai dyddiau yn ôl? Oes gen ti feddyliau newydd?*

- *Pam rwyt ti'n meddwl bod llawer iawn o ddysgyblion yn siarad Saesneg y tu allan i'r ystafell ddosbarth yn [Ysgol 1]?*
- *Gafodd mwy na lai o Gymraeg ei siarad yn eich ysgolion cynradd chi y tu allan i'r ystafell ddosbarth? Os oedd gwahaniaeth, pam rwyt ti'n meddwl?*
- *Ydy athrawon erioed wedi dylanwadu ar ba iaith sy'n cael ei siarad y tu allan i'r ystafell ddosbarth? Os ydynt, ym mha fyrdd?*
- *Wyt ti'n siarad Cymraeg neu Saesneg gyda disgyblion o gartrefi di-Gymraeg neu oes 'na ddim gwahaniaeth?*
- *Alli di siarad Cymraeg neu Saesneg yn well? Pryd wyt ti'n sylwi hymny'n fwy?*
- *Ar y cyfan, ydy disgyblion o gefndir Cymraeg neu di-Gymraeg yn cymdeithasu gyda'i gilydd? Sut mae'r llun yn y chweched dosbarth?*
- *I ba raddau rwyt ti a dy ffrindiau yn cymryd rhan yng ngweithgareddau'r Urdd a'r eisteddfodau? Pa ddelwedd sy ganddyn nhw rhwng dy ffrindiau di?*
- *Beth fyddet ti'n ddweud mae Cymry Cymraeg yn feddwl o Gymry di-Gymraeg?*
- *Beth fyddet ti'n ddweud mae Cymry di-Gymraeg yn feddwl o Gymry Cymraeg?*
- *Pa mor ddefnyddiol ydy'r iaith Gymraeg? Ym mha sefyllfaoedd gwahanol ydy yn dda i allu defnyddio'r Gymraeg?*
- *Beth rwyt ti'n feddwl o S4C a Radio Cymru neu orsafoedd radio Cymraeg eraill? Pa ddelwedd sy ganddyn nhw rhwng dy ffrindiau di?*
- *Fyddai Cymru yn bod yn Gymru heb y Gymraeg a'r diwylliant Cymraeg ei iaith?*
- *Petai gennych chi deulu yn y dyfodol, pa iaith fyddai iaith eich gartref chi (un ai gyda phartner Cymraeg neu di-Gymraeg)?*

Appendix 4 Welsh Language Use Questionnaire²²⁹

- Please fill in the following questionnaire as completely as you can.
- Most questions simply require ticking (✓) a box or boxes.
- Your identity will be kept totally confidential.

1. Which members of your family are able to speak Welsh? (Leave blank any family members you don't have)

	<i>Fluent</i>	<i>Quite well</i>	<i>Some</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>None</i>
<i>Mum</i>					
<i>Dad</i>					
<i>Stepmother</i>					
<i>Stepfather</i>					
<i>Grandmother (your mum's mother)</i>					
<i>Grandfather (your mum's father)</i>					
<i>Grandmother (your dad's mother)</i>					
<i>Grandfather (your dad's father)</i>					

Put your brothers and sisters in order of age (i.e. 1 = oldest, 5 = youngest)

	<i>Fluent</i>	<i>Quite well</i>	<i>Some</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>Age</i>
<i>Brother/Sister 1</i>						
<i>Brother/Sister 2</i>						
<i>Brother/Sister 3</i>						
<i>Brother/Sister 4</i>						
<i>Brother/Sister 5</i>						

Put the age of your brothers and sisters? (in the boxes above) ↑

2. Have either of your parents (or stepmother/stepfather) learnt/tried to learn Welsh as adults?

	✓
Yes	
No	

<i>Who?</i>

If so, write who (in the box above) ↑

²²⁹ The whole questionnaire has not been reproduced here, but only the sections which have been used in the analyses for this study.

3. How often do you speak Welsh in the following situations?

a: **AT HOME?** (Leave blank any family members you don't have)

	<i>All the time</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Never</i>
<i>Mealtimes</i>				
<i>With mother</i>				
<i>With father</i>				
<i>With stepmother</i>				
<i>With stepfather</i>				
<i>With brother/sister 1 (oldest)</i>				
<i>With brother/sister 2</i>				
<i>With brother/sister 3</i>				
<i>With brother/sister 4</i>				
<i>With brother/sister 5 (youngest)</i>				
<i>With grandmother (mum's mother)</i>				
<i>With grandfather (mum's father)</i>				
<i>With grandmother (dad's mother)</i>				
<i>With grandfather (dad's father)</i>				

b: **AT SCHOOL**

	<i>All the time</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Never</i>
<i>With teachers</i>				
<i>With friends</i>				

4. Outside school, how often do you speak Welsh with your closest friends?
(Friend 1 = your closest friend, friend 2 = your next closest friend, etc.)

	<i>Always</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Some- times</i>	<i>Never</i>	<i>School friends?</i>	<i>Fluent</i>	<i>Some</i>	<i>None</i>
<i>In general</i>								
<i>Friend 1</i>								
<i>Friend 2</i>								
<i>Friend 3</i>								
<i>Friend 4</i>								

5. Which of these friends are school friends?
(put a tick in the boxes above) ↑

6. Which of these friends are able to speak Welsh?
(put a tick in the boxes above) ↑



7. Do you have a part time job (jobs)? If so, how often do you speak Welsh?

	✓	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never	Job Description(s)
Yes						
No						

8. If you have a part time job (jobs), can you describe it (them)?
(in the box above) ↑

9. Outside home, school & work, how often do you speak Welsh in these situations?

	Always	Often	Some-times	Never
<i>In the local shops</i>				
<i>In leisure/sports/cultural activities</i>				
<i>Ordering a drink in a pub or cafe</i>				
<i>Ordering a meal in a restaurant</i>				

10. If the choice was available, would you use Welsh in these situations?

	Always	Often	Some-times	Never
<i>In the local shops</i>				
<i>At the supermarket</i>				
<i>At the post office counter</i>				
<i>In leisure/sports/cultural activities</i>				
<i>Ordering a drink in a pub or cafe</i>				
<i>Ordering a meal in a restaurant</i>				
<i>In the surgery or local hospital</i>				
<i>At the bank or building society</i>				

11. How confident are you in your ability to speak Welsh in each of these situations?

	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all	Don't know
<i>In the local shops</i>					
<i>At the supermarket</i>					
<i>At the post office counter</i>					
<i>In leisure/sports/cultural activities</i>					
<i>Ordering a drink in a pub or cafe</i>					
<i>Ordering a meal in a restaurant</i>					
<i>In the surgery or local hospital</i>					
<i>At the bank or building society</i>					

12. Do you write or complete the following in Welsh? (Leave blank any writing activities you don't do in any language)

	<i>Always</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Never</i>
<i>Notes or postcards to friends or family</i>				
<i>Birthday & Christmas cards</i>				
<i>Keep a diary</i>				
<i>Text messaging</i>				
<i>E-mail</i>				

13. Would you be willing to discuss some questions about your school, etc. with a group of friends?

Yes	
No	

N.B. Your discussions would be video-recorded, but your identities would be kept totally confidential.

Thank you very much for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire 😊

Nigel Musk

Holiadur Defnyddio'r Gymraeg

- A fydddech gystal â llenwi'r holiadur canlynol mor gyflawn ag y bo modd?
- Mae angen rhoi tic (✓) mewn blwch neu blychau yn unig i ateb rhan fwyaf o'r cwestiynau.
- Cedwir eich hunaniaeth yn hollol gyfrinachol.

1. Pa aelodau o'ch teulu chi sy'n gallu siarad Cymraeg? (Gadewch y blychau yn wag os nad oes gennych unrhyw aelod teuluol)

	Rhugl	Eithaf da	Rhywfaint	Ychydig	Dim
Mam					
Tad					
Llysfam					
Llysdad					
Nain/mam-gu (mam eich mam)					
Nain/mam-gu (mam eich tad)					
taid/tad-cu (tad eich mam)					
taid/tad-cu (tad eich tad)					

Trefnwch eich brodyr a'ch chwirydd yn ôl oedran (h.y. 1 = yr hynaf, 5 = yr iau)

	Rhugl	Eithaf da	Rhywfaint	Ychydig	Dim	
Brawd/chwaer 1						Oedran
Brawd/chwaer 2						
Brawd/chwaer 3						
Brawd/chwaer 4						
Brawd/chwaer 5						

Rhowch oedran eich brodyr a'ch chwirydd yn y blychau uchod ↑

2. Ydy eich mam neu eich tad (neu lysfam/llysdad) wedi dysgu/ceisio dysgu Cymraeg fel oedolyn?

	✓
Ydy	
Nac ydynt	

Pwy?

Os ydy, ysgrifennwch bwy. (yn y blwch uchod) ↑

3. Pa mor aml fyddwch chi'n siarad Cymraeg yn y sefyllfaoedd canlynol?

a: GARTREF (Gadewch y blychau yn wag os nad oes gennych unrhyw aelod teuluol)

	Bob amser	Yn aml	Weithiau	Byth
Dros bryd o fwyd				
Gyda'ch mam				
Gyda'ch tad				
Gyda'ch llysfam				
Gyda'ch llysdad				
Gyda'ch brawd/chwaer 1 (hynaf)				
Gyda'ch brawd/chwaer 2				
Gyda'ch brawd/chwaer 3				
Gyda'ch brawd/chwaer 4				
Gyda'ch brawd/chwaer 5 (iau)				
Gyda'ch nain/mam-gu (mam eich mam)				
Gyda'ch taid/tad-gu (tad eich mam)				
Gyda'ch nain/mam-gu (mam eich tad)				
Gyda'ch taid/tad-gu (tad eich tad)				

b: YN YR YSGOL

	Bob amser	Yn aml	Weithiau	Byth
Gyda'ch athrawon				
Gyda'ch ffrindiau				

4. Y tu allan i'r ysgol, pa mor aml fyddwch chi'n siarad Cymraeg gyda'ch ffrindiau gorau? (Ffrind 1 = eich ffrind gorau, ffrind 2 = eich ail ffrind gorau, ayyb.)

	Bob amser	Yn aml	Weithiau	Byth	Ffrindiau ysgol?	Rhugl	Rhywfaint	Dim
Yn gyffredinol								
Ffrind 1								
Ffrind 2								
Ffrind 3								
Ffrind 4								

5. Pa rai o'ch ffrindiau chi sy'n ffrindiau ysgol? (rhowch dic yn y blychau uchod) ↑

6. Pa rai o'ch ffrindiau chi sy'n gallu siarad Cymraeg? (rhowch dic yn y blychau uchod) ↑

7. Oes gennych chi waith rhan amser? Os oes, pa mor aml fyddwch chi'n siarad Cymraeg?

	✓	Bob amser	Yn aml	Weithiau	Byth	Disgrifiad(au) eich gwaith
Oes						
Nac oes						

8. Os oes gennych chi waith rhan amser, gallwch chi ei ddisgrifio?
(yn y blwch uchod) ↑

9. Y tu allan i'ch cartref a'r ysgol, pa mor aml fyddwch chi'n siarad Cymraeg?

	Bob amser	Yn aml	Weithiau	Byth
Yn y siopau lleol				
Gweithgareddau hamdden				
Archebu diod mewn tafarn neu gaffi				
Archebu pryd o fwyd mewn bwyty				

10. Pe bai'r dewis ar gael, fydddech chi'n defnyddio Cymraeg yn y sefyllfaoedd canlynol?

	Bob amser	Yn aml	Weithiau	Byth
Yn y siopau lleol				
Yn yr archfarchnad				
Wrth y cownter yn y swyddfa bost				
Wrth wneud gweithgareddau hamdden				
Archebu diod mewn tafarn neu gaffi				
Archebu pryd o fwyd mewn bwyty				
Yn y feddygfa neu'r ysbyty leol				
Yn y banc neu'r gymdeithas adeiladu				

11. Pa mor hyderus ydych chi yn eich gallu i siarad Cymraeg yn y sefyllfaoedd canlynol?

	Hyderus iawn	Gweddol hyderus	Ddim yn hyderus iawn	Ddim o gwbl	Ddim yn gwybod
Yn y siopau lleol					
Yn yr archfarchnad					
Wrth y cownter yn y swyddfa bost					
Mewn gweithgareddau hamdden					
Archebu diod mewn tafarn neu gaffi					
Archebu pryd o fwyd mewn bwyty					
Yn y feddygfa neu ysbyty leol					
Yn y banc neu'r gymdeithas adeiladu					

12. Ydych chi'n ysgrifennu'r canlynol yn Gymraeg? (Gadewch y blychau yn wag OS NAD YDYCH CHI'N GWNEUD UNRHYW WEITHGAREDD YSGRIFENNU O GWBL)

	<i>Bob amser</i>	<i>Yn aml</i>	<i>Weithiau</i>	<i>Byth</i>
<i>Llythyrau neu gardiau post at ffrindiau/teulu</i>				
<i>Cardiau penblwydd/Nadolig</i>				
<i>Cadw dyddiadur</i>				
<i>Anfon negesau testun</i>				
<i>e-bostau</i>				

13. Fydech chi'n fodlon i drafod rhai cwestiynau am eich ysgol chi ayyb gyda grwp o ffrindiau?

<i>Byddwn</i>	
<i>Na fyddwn</i>	

D.S. Bydd eich trafodaethau yn cael eu fideorecordio ond bydd eich hunaniaethau yn cael eu cadw yn hollol gyfrinachol.

Diolch yn fawr iawn i chi am roi o'ch amser i lenwi'r holiadur 😊

Nigel Musk

Appendix 5 Friends Questionnaire

- Please fill in the following questionnaire as completely as you can.
- Most questions simply require ticking (✓) a box or boxes.
- Your identity (and the identity of your family/friends) will be kept totally confidential.

1. Which members of your family are able to speak Welsh? (Leave blank any family members you don't have)
Put your brothers and sisters in order of age (i.e. 1 = oldest, 5 = youngest)

	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None	Age
Brother/Sister 1 (name: _____)						
Brother/Sister 2 (name: _____)						
Brother/Sister 3 (name: _____)						
Brother/Sister 4 (name: _____)						
Brother/Sister 5 (name: _____)						

Put the age of your brothers and sisters? (in the boxes above) ↑

2. Outside school, how often do you speak Welsh with your closest friends?
(Friend 1 = your closest friend, friend 2 = your next closest friend, etc.)

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never	School friends?	Fluent	Some	None
<i>In general</i>								
Friend 1 (name: _____)								
Friend 2 (name: _____)								
Friend 3 (name: _____)								
Friend 4 (name: _____)								
Friend 5 (name: _____)								

3. Which of these friends are school friends?
(put a tick in the boxes above) ↑

4. Which of these friends are able to speak Welsh?
(put a tick in the boxes above) ↑

5. Personal details (these will be kept totally confidential)

Name: _____

Pseudonym: _____

E-mail: _____

Thank you very much for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire ☺

Nigel Musk

Holiadur Ffrindiau

- A fyddech gystal â llenwi'r holiadur canlynol mor gyflawn ag y bo modd?
- Mae angen rhoi tic (✓) mewn blwch neu blychau yn unig i ateb rhan fwyaf o'r cwestiynau.
- Cedwir eich hunaniaeth (a'r hunaniaeth eich teulu/frindiau) yn hollol gyfrinachol.

1. Pa aelodau o'ch teulu chi sy'n gallu siarad Cymraeg? (Gadewch y blychau yn wag os nad oes gennych unrhyw aelod teuluol)
Trefnwch eich brodyr a'ch chworydd yn ôl oedran (h.y. 1 = yr hynaf, 5 = yr iau)

	<i>Rhugl</i>	<i>Eithaf da</i>	<i>Rhyw-faint</i>	<i>Ychydig</i>	<i>Dim</i>	<i>Oedran</i>
<i>Brawd/chwaer 1 (enw: _____)</i>						
<i>Brawd/chwaer 2 (enw: _____)</i>						
<i>Brawd/chwaer 3 (enw: _____)</i>						
<i>Brawd/chwaer 4 (enw: _____)</i>						
<i>Brawd/chwaer 5 (enw: _____)</i>						

Rhowch oedran eich brodyr a'ch chworydd yn y blychau uchod



2. Y tu allan i'r ysgol, pa mor aml fyddwch chi'n siarad Cymraeg gyda'ch ffrindiau gorau? (Ffrind 1 = eich ffrind gorau, ffrind 2 = eich ail ffrind gorau, ayyb.)

	<i>Bob amser</i>	<i>Yn aml</i>	<i>Weithiau</i>	<i>Byth</i>	<i>Ffrindiau ysgol?</i>	<i>Rhugl</i>	<i>Rhywfaint</i>	<i>Dim</i>
<i>Yn gyffredinol</i>								
<i>Ffrind 1 (enw:)</i>								
<i>Ffrind 2 (enw:)</i>								
<i>Ffrind 3 (enw:)</i>								
<i>Ffrind 4 (enw:)</i>								
<i>Ffrind 5 (enw:)</i>								

3. Pa rai o'ch ffrindiau chi sy'n ffrindiau ysgol?
(rhowch dic yn y blychau uchod)



4. Pa rai o'ch ffrindiau chi sy'n gallu siarad Cymraeg?

(rhowch dic yn y blychau uchod) ↑

5. Manylion personol (Cedwir y rhain yn hollol gyfrinachol)

Enw: _____

Enw ffug: _____

Ebost: _____

Diolch yn fawr iawn i chi am roi o'ch amser i lenwi'r holiadur ☺

Nigel Musk