PRIFYSGOL
BANGOR
UNIVERSITY

Defiance within the decline? Revisiting new Welsh speakers' language journeys

Hodges, Rhian

Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Cyswllt i'r cyhoeddiad / Link to publication

28. Apr. 2024

Defiance within the decline? Revisiting new Welsh speakers' language journeys

Rhian Hodges

Defiance within the decline? Revisiting new Welsh speakers' language journeys

Rhian Hodges

School of History, Philosophy and Social Sciences, Bangor University, Bangor, Wales, UK

ABSTRACT

The Welsh Government's Welsh language strategy, Cymraeg: A million Welsh speakers [Welsh Government. 2017a. *Cymraeg 2050: A Million Welsh Speakers*. Cardiff: Welsh Government], aims to increase the numbers of Welsh speakers to one million by 2050. The creation of new Welsh speakers and immersion education form an integral part of the Welsh Government's language revitalisation strategy and this study revisits new Welsh speakers from the Rhymney Valley, South Wales in 2016/2017 a decade on from the 2006 research study [Hodges, R. 2009. "Welsh Language Use Among Young People in the Rhymney Valley." *Contemporary Wales* 22: 16–35. http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/uwp/cowa/2009/00000022/00000001/art00004]. This longitudinal research provides further insights into their continuing language journeys, and indicates there has been a sustained reduction in this group's use of Welsh by 2016/2017 due to factors relating to fluency, confidence and a lack of opportunities to use Welsh. However, the results indicate that new speakers play an important role in influencing family language transmission and in increasing language awareness within the workplace. This paper calls for further longitudinal research on new Welsh speakers' language journeys so that this group may be appropriately supported as they make a crucial contribution to language revitalisation in Wales.

Introduction

The research findings reported in this paper are those of a qualitative, longitudinal investigation carried out with eight former pupils of Welsh-medium immersion education in the Rhymney Valley, South Wales in 2016/2017. This study is a decade on from a previous 2006 study with the same participants (Hodges 2009). Of the eight participants, five can be described as 'new speakers' and a brief summary of how this linguistic category has been defined in other studies has been included. Following this is a discussion of *mudes* (singular: *muda*) or linguistic transition points as this concept is central to how the results of the study are interpreted. Also by way of background information, a brief outline of the Welsh language legislative and policy context has been included.

New speakers

The study of new speakers of minority languages is an established field of investigation, often drawing together disciplines such as language policy and planning, sociolinguistics and the sociology of

language. New speakers feature prominently in the field of minority language education (Robert 2009; Grinevald and Bert 2011; Hodges 2012, 2014; Hornsby 2015a) and are considered by some to be an essential component of language revitalisation efforts. As minority languages increasingly face losing significant numbers of speakers or even extinction (Crystal 2014), research involving new speakers of these languages are clearly necessary and worthwhile. Studies which assess the contribution of new speakers to the fate of minority languages are now in existence worldwide. Key examples include research on new speakers of Breton, Yiddish and Lemko (Hornsby 2015b), Galician (Bermingham 2017; O'Rourke 2018b) Gaelic (Dunmore 2017) and Irish (O'Rourke and Walsh 2015).

New speakers are often defined as those who have attained the minority language through the formal education sector (Hornsby 2015a). Consequently, new speakers are often a target of policymakers who aim to increase the numbers of speakers of minority languages through immersion education (García 2009). However, new speakers could also refer to regular users of a language in various linguistic contexts; but those who were not raised with that language as primary language of socialisation in their early years:

> New speakers are multilingual citizens who, by engaging with languages other than their 'native' or 'national' language(s), cross existing social boundaries, re-evaluate their own levels of linguistic competence and creatively (re)structure their social practices to adapt to new and overlapping linguistic spaces. (O'Rourke and Pujolar 2019, 29–30)

Furthermore, new speakers is also a term used for adult learners from different ethnic backgrounds, as in the research of Rosiak (2018) where it is used to described Polish migrants learning Welsh.

One reason for developing the classification 'new speaker' has been dissatisfaction with previous linguistic categories which have been used to describe the individuals who adopt a new language: they have included 'learner', 'L2 speaker' and 'non-native' speaker (O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo 2015). It has been argued that terms such as those listed tend to create a derogatory linguistic hierarchy (Bourdieu 1991), where the emphasis is on perceived deficiencies in the speaker's use of the language (O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo 2015). The use of the term 'speaker', rather than 'learner' provides parity for those who have not spoken the language from birth and encourages a sense of belonging to a language community. As O'Rourke and Pujolar (2013, 56) point out, the term 'new speaker':

> … prompts a movement away from the deficiency model sometimes implied in being a 'non-native' as opposed to a 'native' or a 'second' as opposed to a 'first' language speaker of a language.

Indeed, ideas about which language(s) are 'appropriate' and questions relating to speakers' authenticity (Coupland 2003; Hornsby 2015a; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013), legitimacy (Bourdieu 1977, 1991; Costa 2015; Pujolar and O'Rourke 2016), ownership and linguistic competence (Jaffe 2015) may contribute to the creation of what might be considered a derogatory linguistic hierarchy (Bourdieu 1991). This linguistic hierarchy could influence how certain types of speakers are prioritised over others and this could affect how the minority language is used in real terms (Creese, Blackledge, and Takhi 2014; Hodges 2014; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013). Research on new speakers attempts to concentrate on the speaker of a language rather than on the language itself per se in order to better understand individual linguistic behaviour and practices (Pujolar and O'Rourke 2016). Furthermore, new speaker research also seems to echo existing concepts surrounding the multi-dimensional aspects of language learning such as, 'the multilingual subject' (Kramsch 2010, 1) and 'emergent bilinguals' (García and Kleifgen 2010, 1). It may, therefore, be considered a worthwhile addition to the research field.

However, the usefulness of the term new speaker has been questioned when the minority language might be viewed as a rediscovery of the language by speakers with previous family connections, a concept Hodges referred to as a '*cenhedlaeth goll*' (lost generation) of Welsh speakers

(Hodges 2010, 21). Tilley (2020) also discusses the challenges experienced by some adult new speakers of Welsh aiming to regain their lost Welsh identities. Some researchers have also questioned the purpose of creating new speakers and believe language planners should focus on linguistic heartlands with high percentages of native speakers (Brooks and Roberts 2013). Indeed, the author of this paper is a new Welsh speaker who has learnt Welsh through immersion education and views this as an important field that challenges some negative connotations associated with minority language speakers who did not speak the language at home. Importantly, O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo (2015, 6) therefore argue that only new speakers themselves should be able to frame the new speaker concept as a social category.

The concept of *mudes* or linguistic transition points

Central to this study is the concept of *mudes* or important biographical linguistic transition points that impact upon the language choices and trajectories of new speakers (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015). *Muda* (the singular of *mudes*) is a Catalan word meaning change or transformation which refers to crucial points in a language speaker's journey when they change their linguistic practices. Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015, 171), developed the concept of *muda* ' … to characterise … how native speakers of Spanish become users of Catalan at specific moments in their lives'. Moreover, Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015) recognise the inter-relationship a *muda* has with an individual's identity and sense of self. This represents a distancing from language, ethnicity and territory-based identities such as the linguistic territoriality principle (as critiqued by De Schutter 2008) and moves towards language choice created through a social identity:

> The notion of *muda* simply expresses the recognition that language choice has implications for social identity … what kinds of changes in social identity are brought about by changes in patterns of language choice. (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015, 172)

Naturally, linguistic transition points or *mudes* are most likely to arise when an individual's life is in a state of change (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013), particularly when he/she achieves significant milestones such as going to university, experiencing a first job, meeting a partner or starting a family. Gonzàlez et al. (2009) has also noted the importance of transition from primary school to high school to university as key *mudes*. Further to this, Bourdieu discusses 'social trajectories' (1996, 259) and explores the series of positions individuals inhabit that are influenced by other social actors within the same social space. Language trajectories are undoubtedly associated with the collective practices of others and this is a meaningful concept within this paper. O'Rourke and Walsh (2015), Woolard (2011) and others have pinpointed age, biographical change and key intervals in the life cycle as crucial factors influencing language trajectories amongst new speakers. It could be argued that at these junctures significant construction (or reconstruction) of 'meaningful selves, identities, and realities' (Chase 2011, 422) is most likely to occur.

Despite the increase in attention given to new speakers of minority languages, there remains a need for more research on biographical changes and their impact on language use behaviours (Coupland 2004; Dunmore 2017). Dunmore (2017) also calls for more research that assesses ideologies and language behaviours of adult new speakers educated within a minority language context. Indeed, it is hoped that this longitudinal research into new Welsh speakers will be a catalyst for much needed further research.

The Welsh language context

The 1997 referendum on devolution brought about the shift of power from a centralised to a decentralised government (Williams 2011). This development stimulated a change in policy modelling that incorporated minority language policy as part of mainstream social policy for the first time (Williams 2011). In 1999, the National Assembly for Wales was afforded limited decision-

making powers across key fields such as education (which would prove important for the growth of Welsh-medium education) (Royles 2007). Within a legislative context, the Welsh language now has official status in Wales following the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 (Welsh Government 2011a). This enabling act encourages the use of Welsh within the public sector and within companies providing services in Wales (such as gas, electricity and telephone companies) (Parry 2012). Despite providing official status for the Welsh language in Wales, this measure does not guarantee absolute rights for Welsh speakers, but concentrates on enabling language use at a practical level (Parry 2012). This measure also saw the establishment of the Welsh Language Commissioner to promote and facilitate the use of the Welsh language (Welsh Language Commissioner 2015).

According to the 2011 Census, 562,000 people speak Welsh in Wales (ONS 2012) but only 13% of Welsh speakers use the language daily (Welsh Government and Welsh Language Commissioner 2015). The Welsh Government's current Welsh language strategy, Cymraeg 2050: A million Welsh speakers, ambitiously aims to create one million Welsh speakers by 2050. The Welsh Government recognise the importance of Welsh-medium immersion education in creating new Welsh speakers and have framed their strategy around the education system (Welsh Government 2017a). Understanding the linguistic journeys of Welsh speakers is also already an important consideration for the Welsh Government (2017a) however further research is needed to fully explore this field.

Welsh-medium education has been at the forefront of the language revitalisation drive (Hodges 2012; Jones 2017; Thomas and Williams 2013). Indeed, 30% of all Welsh speakers (169,000) are aged between 3 and 15 years old (ONS 2012). However, a well-documented challenge for Welsh-medium education is the lack of linguistic progression between primary, secondary, further and higher education sectors in Wales (Davies and Trystan 2012; Welsh Government 2017a; Jones 2019). The low numbers of Welsh speakers studying their university courses through the medium of Welsh[1] is also impacting upon the sustainability of a bilingual workforce (Jones 2019). Moreover, some new Welsh speakers do not readily use Welsh once they have left the education system, largely due to limited social opportunities to use Welsh (Baker 2011; Hodges 2009, 2012; Thomas, Apolloni, and Lewis 2014). This is a theme that will be explored further within this paper.

The research study

This qualitative, longitudinal research drew upon eight in-depth interviews with former pupils of Welsh-medium immersion education in 2016/2017, a decade on from the initial data collection in 2006 in the Rhymney Valley (Hodges 2009). The participants come from different linguistic backgrounds (five of the eight participants are from non-Welsh-speaking backgrounds (NWL), two are from Welsh-speaking backgrounds (WL) and one is from a mixed language background (ML)). The majority of the sample could be classed as new speakers of Welsh according to key definitions in the field in that they have learnt Welsh through education (Hornsby 2015a) and did not speak Welsh at home (O'Rourke and Pujolar 2019). However, participants' self-understanding of their own identity as new speakers is a complex field and will emerge as the research themes are discussed. An important consideration is how active the participants are as new speakers of Welsh and does inactivity in terms of Welsh usage mean they no longer consider themselves new speakers of Welsh? This is why the *mudes* conceptual framework will be drawn upon to explore their new speakerhood in relation to key linguistic transition points that have influenced their use or lack of usage of Welsh.

Drawing upon the *mudes* framework of Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015), this research essentially poses two research questions:

(1) What are the specific linguistic transition points that new speakers have encountered that have led either to their general use or lack of usage of the Welsh language?
(2) What can these linguistic transition points tell us about the complex journey to the use, or lack of usage of Welsh that these new speakers describe?

It is important to note that of the eight participants in the study, only five meet the definition of 'new speakers'. However, data is presented for *all* eight participants, as their experiences are also of considerable importance in informing language planning and the direction of future research.

The research will compare data from two time periods which will provide rare longitudinal data relevant to the formulation of revitalisation strategies. This research is underpinned by an interpretivist tradition as participants' feelings and the meanings associated with them are at the forefront of the research (Berg 2007). This research tradition compliments the *mudes* conceptual framework as it affords participants the opportunity to explore their detailed and often complex linguistic journeys. The present research sample is drawn from former pupils of the local Welsh-medium secondary school and consists of four males and four females, who were aged between 21 and 23 years old in 2006 and who were aged 31–33 years old during the 2016/2017 data collection. The original purposive sample was drawn on a basis of age, gender and home language background from one year group.

The in-depth interviews were carried out in the respondents' preferred language (fewer respondents conducted their interview through the medium of Welsh in 2016/2017 compared to 2006; interestingly, there was also evidence of code-switching within interviews). Interview data was recorded and transcribed and the NVivo software package was used to create research themes. Participants will be referred to by their original family language categorisations – Welsh speaking (both parents speak Welsh, WL), Non-Welsh-speaking (neither parent speaks Welsh, NWL) and Mixed Language (one parent speaks Welsh, ML). Pseudonyms are used to protect the anonymity of the research participants.

Table 1 summarises research participants' vignettes from the 2006 and the 2016/2017 data collections.

Observations on the 2006 study (Hodges 2009)

Before mapping the language journeys of the research participants in 2016/2017, it is important to summarise the main findings from the original 2006 research (Hodges 2009). In 2006, the participants' Welsh language use varied according to the different language use spheres (family, education, community and the workplace) however, the anglicised nature of the locality influenced English language use even amongst speakers from a WL background. The workplace was a crucial language use sphere for new speakers' language journeys as it provided a formal structure (not too dissimilar to education) in which to use Welsh daily. The 2006 research highlighted limited social opportunities to use the Welsh and a geographical dislocation as many new speakers' found opportunities to use Welsh in Cardiff.

Location of study

The original study location is the Rhymney Valley, a post-industrial, mining valley within Caerffili County. Caerffili, the most southern town of the valley is located approximately eight miles north of Cardiff, Wales' capital city. Of the county's 171,972 population, 11.2% (19,251) can speak Welsh and 80.5% described their identity as 'Welsh' (Welsh Government 2011b). Welsh-medium immersion education is responsible for the increase in Welsh speakers in this locality. By 2017, 16.9% of the primary school population and 12.7% of the secondary school population were in Welsh medium education (Caerffili County Borough 2017b). Moreover, Welsh-medium school pupil numbers have increased 60% to 2900 pupils and secondary school pupils have increased 75% to 1600 pupils respectively (Caerffili County Borough 2017a).

Despite its success and hard fought campaigns to secure its inception (Hodges 2012; Thomas and Williams 2013: Jones 2017), Welsh-medium education within the valleys has not always developed without opposition from the local community; especially when building new Welsh-medium schools possibly threatens the resources of local English-medium schools (Pierce 1990, 80).

Table 1. Research participants' vignettes from the 2006 and 2016/2017 data collection: Hodges 2021 for the purpose of this paper.

Research participant	2006	2016/2017
Alex (NWL)	Alex is from a non-Welsh-speaking background; both his parents come from the Rhymney Valley. None of his grandparents speaks Welsh. As a child, Alex attended an English-medium chapel, and he was a member of Urdd Gobaith Cymru. He studied at Bangor University and now works in Cardiff	Alex lives in Cardiff with his partner and works as a secondary school teacher in England. His use of Welsh is limited as his partner is a non-Welsh-speaker and he does not use Welsh regularly with his siblings or friends. He does use Welsh occasionally on social media and when texting/emailing certain friends
Buddug (ML)	Buddug comes from a 'mixed language' home, with her father coming from north Wales and her mother from England. Buddug has spoken Welsh since she was a toddler with her father but does not use the language regularly with him. She comes from Caerffili but is at present working in London, after spending three years at university in that city. Buddug used to attend the Welsh-medium chapel in Caerffili regularly	Buddug lives in London with her husband and works in HR. She lives her life through the medium of English, as there is no call for Welsh within her daily life. She spoke Welsh mainly with her 'Nain' (grandmother) but since she passed away, she does not use the language regularly (occasionally with her Welsh speaking father) and lacks confidence to use it socially
Dafydd (NWL)	Dafydd is from a non-Welsh-speaking background. He studied in London before returning to the area recently. He uses Welsh regularly in his job as a translator. His parents are from the Rhymney Valley, neither speaks Welsh. He has a sister who teaches at a local Welsh-medium primary school. He attended the Urdd regularly and is now a member of a Welsh-medium drama group and Welsh choir	Dafydd lives in London and is a teacher. He lives with his partner, who is non-Welsh-speaking. He recently attended a language refresher course to feel more confident using Welsh every day. He often attends Welsh language events held in London. He uses Welsh whilst texting and communicating online with select family members and friends
Elizabeth (NWL)	Elizabeth is from a non-Welsh-speaking background. She has just returned to the area after attending university in England. Her mother attended Welsh lessons, but is not a fluent speaker. Elizabeth came into Welsh-medium education later on in her school career. Currently, she works through the medium of Welsh on a local authority education scheme	Elizabeth lives in the Rhymney Valley with her partner and her child. The language of the home is mainly English although she will choose Welsh-medium education for her child. She teaches in an English-medium school. She tries her best to speak Welsh to her young niece who attends Welsh medium nursery ('Meithrin')
Hywel (WL)	Hywel is an only child, who has always spoken Welsh at home with both parents. He used to attend the Welsh-medium chapel and the Urdd regularly and now plays football with a Welsh club. He graduated in Welsh and works for the National Assembly for Wales	Hywel lives in Cardiff with his wife, who is a non-Welsh speaker. His wife will learn Welsh when they have a child. He uses Welsh in his work for the Welsh Government. He plays football for a Welsh-medium local team; the majority of their mutual friends are non-Welsh-speaking
Lliwen (NWL)	Lliwen has just returned to the area after studying in England. As a child, she attended the Welsh-medium chapel, a Welsh-medium youth club, and received piano and harp lessons through the medium of Welsh. She comes from a non-Welsh-speaking background. Her mother is from the Rhymney Valley and her father is from England. Lliwen works through the medium of Welsh for a private sector company in Cardiff. She sings with a Welsh choir	Lliwen lives in Cardiff and works as a civil servant. She uses both Welsh and English daily in her work and is very comfortable using both languages socially too. She moved to London for a period but has since moved back to Cardiff. She used Welsh in every aspect of her life with her ex-husband who was a fluent Welsh speaker. She uses English (and some Welsh) with her sibling but uses only Welsh with her young nephew and niece who attend Welsh-medium education
Meleri (WL)	Meleri comes from a Welsh-speaking family background, with her father from north Wales and her mother from the Rhymney Valley. She attended the Welsh-medium chapel, and was a member of the Urdd and local Welsh choir. She has just returned to the Rhymney Valley after spending four years in England studying. She is presently looking for work	Meleri lives in Cardiff with her partner. They are hoping to move back to the valley soon. Her partner is non-Welsh speaking but hopes to learn Welsh someday. She works in telecommunications and uses Welsh informally within her job. She uses Welsh with her parents whom are Welsh speaking but mainly English with her siblings despite her WL background
Rhun (NWL)	Rhun is on the last year of his university course. He is from a non-Welsh-speaking background, with a mother from England and father from the Rhymney Valley. The majority of his father's family have chosen Welsh medium education for their	Rhun lives in Cardiff and works for a major public sector employer. He lived in London for a number of years. He uses the Welsh language within a work setting and amongst some select school friends socially. Despite

Table 1. Continued.

Research participant	2006	2016/2017
	children. However, none of his grandparents speaks Welsh. He has an older sister who lives abroad. He used to attend the Urdd youth club regularly and compete in the Eisteddfod when he was in school	not using Welsh with his sibling, he does use Welsh with his niece who attends Welsh-medium education

Therefore, the study location could be described as being complex as language, nationhood and various forms of collective identity exist simultaneously (Evans 2019). Possible divisions or 'the thick white line[s]' (Tannock 2012, 1) could emerge between Welsh-medium schools and their local neighbourhoods in terms of class, locality and Welsh identity when attempting to facilitate Welsh language revitalisation. Issues of resentment could also be exacerbated by the decline of heavy industry in the 1960s and 1970s (David et al. 2004) which has led to economic downturns in many valley locations (Llywelyn 2019). According to the 2011 Census, 30% of males and 40.1% of females aged 16–74 years old were economically inactive in Caerffili County (Caerffili County Borough 2011).

Analysis of research findings and themes

The main findings and themes of the research will now be discussed under a series of explanatory headings:

English with the extended family

By the time of the second data collection, all research participants were living independently of their original families. Participants were not living in the same household as siblings with whom they might previously have spoken Welsh. Unsurprisingly, English remained the main communication language within most families during the 2016/2017 study. However, some participants within ML and WL families continued to use Welsh with their parents mainly and with their siblings, to a lesser extent.

Siblings' language choices remain a complicated facet of language use. Alex (NWL) discusses an awkward language negotiation when conversing with his siblings and how they ' … always revert to English after an initial few (almost fake) sentences in Welsh'. Alex also refers to a feeling of *hiraeth* (a longing) to use Welsh with his siblings as they did when they were younger, but he is realistic and realises that English is firmly their chosen language of communication. Other participants view the initial use of Welsh as an acknowledgement of their past school days before reverting to 'English the language of my current life' (Buddug, ML). As evidenced in 2006, the notion of language courtesy (Hodges 2009) remains prominent in 2016/2017:

> English still dominates family time as it's quite rare for us all to be together, so we want to make the most of this time and include everyone (I mean Mam and Dad) in the conversation. (Dafydd, NWL)

However, interestingly 2016/2017 data also reveals the use of Welsh within some ML and WL families is relatively low given that Welsh language competence is well established between them. According to Meleri (WL):

> Rwy'n siarad Saesneg gyda fy mrawd a fy chwaer oherwydd yr ysgol a'r ardal ni'n byw ynddi, siŵr o fod. Doedd fy mhrawd a chwaer ddim yn credu bod siarad Cymraeg o fewn yr ysgol yn cwl. Bydde mam a dad yn siarad Cymraeg â nhw ond bydde nhw'n ateb yn Saesneg. Mae gan y ddau blant yn ysgolion cyfrwng Cymraeg, ond mae iaith eu cartrefi nhw'n Saesneg.

> I speak English with my brother and sister, probably because of the school and the area we live in. My brother and sister didn't think it was cool to speak Welsh in school. My parents would speak Welsh to them, but they would answer them in English. Both have children in Welsh-medium schools, but the language of their homes is English.

Despite a decline in the use of Welsh with their siblings, half the 2016/2017 sample make a concerted effort to use Welsh with their nieces and nephews. Many participants' are eager to give them extra opportunities to use Welsh as they recall their own difficulties in using the language socially. This could highlight how the experience of minority language education can act as a bridge between generations within families and offer increased language use opportunities (Baker and Prys Jones 1998). According to Rhun (NWL) his niece is a 'Welsh language catalyst' to kick-start Welsh conversations:

> *Fy nith sy'n newid pa iaith ni'n siarad gyda'n gilydd. Mae hi'n awyddus a mae ganddi falchder mawr yn y Gymraeg. Mae hi'n hoffi siarad Cymraeg gyda fi mwy na ei Mam!*

> My niece changes which language we speak together. She's very keen and she has great pride in the Welsh language. She likes to speak Welsh to me more than with her mother!

In terms of *mudes* or linguistic transition points, the birth of siblings' children has been a catalyst towards increased language use opportunities within the extended family and this has taken the place of previous language use with siblings. This is an example of new Welsh speakers facilitating language transmission and becoming language teachers themselves. Interestingly, some new speakers in this sample are more comfortable speaking Welsh with younger members of their families. This is a trend seen amongst other new speakers of Welsh (Hodges 2012, 2014).

Language use with new families

Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015) and Gonzàlez et al. (2009) note the importance of meeting a partner as a key *muda* in determining language use, and this is evident within the Rhymney Valley 2016/2017 dataset. None of the research participants (except Lliwen who is divorced) have a Welsh-speaking partner and this is a key obstacle to their regular use of Welsh:

> I feel disadvantaged if I speak Welsh, it's like I lose my personality somehow, but I really love the language and wish that my husband could speak Welsh, that would be a different ball game for me. (Buddug, ML)

Lliwen (NWL), however, is a new speaker who lives her life fully through the medium of Welsh, but she notes how this was easier when she was married to her husband who moved in Welsh language circles. She describes how daily tasks were always undertaken in Welsh:

> *Roeddwn i arfer ysgrifennu fy rhestr siopa yn Gymraeg, ond rwy'n ysgrifennu hynny yn Saesneg erbyn hyn sy'n drist i mi.*

> I used to write my shopping list in Welsh, but I write it in English now which saddens me.

There is evidence of non-Welsh-speaking partners showing positive attitudes towards the Welsh language and some are willing to learn Welsh themselves (especially with a view to bringing up future children) such as Hywel (WL) and Meleri's (WL) partners. Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015) recognise the importance of becoming a parent as many re-learn the minority language with their child. Only one research participant has had a child since the 2006 study and Elizabeth (NWL) uses incidental Welsh and does not fully transmit the Welsh language at home. Her use of Welsh mirrors her work as a teacher in an English-medium primary school:

> I feel I use Welsh as much as I can in my day-to-day life. I wish it were something that I was able to use more but as my close friends and family do not speak Welsh it is a challenge.

This accentuates the challenges that still face new Welsh speakers' transition from what Carty (2018, 1) termed 'potential speakers' to more active new speakers engaged in daily language use. Without

an accessible network of speakers, it is difficult for new speakers to become proficient and confident users of the language. Indeed, some new speakers in the sample have what might be described as 'dormant' linguistic skills.

Digital communication

Communicating through the medium of Welsh via email, text messages and on social media rather than communicating orally remains a prevalent language behaviour pattern amongst new speakers in 2016/2017 as in 2006. This would confirm the suggestion that digital communication is a meaningful language planning tool to encourage language use amongst new speakers of minority languages (Crystal 2014; Cunliffe 2019; Kornai 2013). New speakers within the study note that it would not feel 'natural' to communicate face-to-face with their siblings exclusively in Welsh (Alex, NWL). Furthermore, Dafydd (NWL) explains:

> We tend to use a mixture of Welsh and English together when conversing but more Welsh if we're texting or emailing, there's more time to construct a sentence when you're writing it, it's a bit less scary!

This suggests that some participants may be more confident in their written rather than their oral Welsh skills. Indeed, this cyber safe space in which to use Welsh could be reminiscent of what O'Rourke (2018a, 1) referred to as 'breathing spaces' meaning spaces where new speakers feel safe enough to use a minority language within domains usually dominated by majority languages. However, Welsh language use on social media tends to be contextual and almost event-specific:

> I have a lot of friends from school on *Facebook*, they're from the same language background as me … They would not post a lot in Welsh at all, but there's more use of Welsh during specific times such as when the Urdd Eisteddfod [youth cultural festival] was held in Caerffili. (Dafydd NWL)

Hywel (WL) also acknowledges the increase in Welsh language use online (he refers to the 2016 European Football Championship where Wales experienced success) but notes that these are one-off uses and should not be seen as sustainable language use.

In the 2016/2017 study, the participants do not report significant use of traditional forms of Welsh media such as TV and Radio, and this echoes the 2006 research. However, some participants have begun to use traditional media via new viewing platforms, especially as they don't live in Wales. This could be an important language planning tool and deserves further attention:

> I've been through a few phases of listening to *Radio Cymru* (Welsh-medium Radio Station) by downloading it to my phone to keep my Welsh language skills going. I've been trying to listen to the news in Welsh and I've started to read more books in Welsh too. I'm really trying to keep my skills alive; Welsh is important to me. (Dafydd, NWL)

Despite some of the research participants being consistent viewers of S4C, such as Lliwen (NWL) and Meleri (WL) most new speakers watched Welsh language television infrequently.

Different types of Welsh

As Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015) and Gonzàlez et al. (2009) note, education is a key *muda* when assessing how biographical changes influence language behaviour. A decade on, new speakers continue to link the Welsh language to their school-based identity (Baker 2011; Hodges 2009). Alex (NWL) mentions how the different types of Welsh language hindered his linguistic journey in higher education:

> I think there's a bit of a miss-match when it comes to different types of Welsh … When I was taught Welsh in school, it was formal and almost 'dictionary' Welsh. But I got told in university that the words I used were 'unnatural' … In the end, I changed my course to study in English as all my confidence had been taken away.

This language ideology highlights the complexities associated with linguistic hierarchies and the legitimacy of new speakers (Bourdieu 1977, 1991). Furthermore, it describes the complex ideologies

involved in the linguistic journeys of new speakers. In this example the new speaker is made to question his particular 'type' of Welsh, which leads him to query his speaker authenticity. Other research participants felt that the standard of their Welsh affects how freely they use the language. Rhun (NWL) notes; '*Dyw fy Nghymraeg ddim bob tro'n swnio fel y dylai swnio, rwy'n siwr bod siaradwyr eraill yn credu, beth yw'r iaith yma?*/My Welsh doesn't always sound like it should, I'm sure other speakers are thinking, what is this language?'. Other participants are also self-conscious about using 'correct' Welsh:

> Up until I was 18 years old, Welsh very much felt like the primary language in my life. I was using it often and it became a comfortable language for me … but now I feel very much on the back foot and I just feel silly using the language as it doesn't feel very grammatically 'correct' to me. (Buddug, ML)

Buddug questions whether she could be classed as a Welsh speaker at all if using the language feels so unnatural to her. Her own perception of her linguistic identity suggests that education was the post important *muda* in her past and that other *mudes* such as university, location, and having a partner have led her to distance herself from the language.

Other research participants described what could be viewed as a linguistic hierarchy. They did not always feel accepted within a first language community. Lliwen (NWL) describes how she didn't quite fit the stereotypical image of a Welsh speaker when she socialised with her ex-husband's friends; '*bydden nhw'n gofyn fy enw ac o ble yr oeddwn i'n dod gyda'r acen gwahanol a chyfenw di-Gymraeg*/they'd ask my name and where I came from with this different accent and a non-Welsh surname'. Gaining entry to a speech community is an important concept in new speaker research, and can be based on imagined or constructed communities often within specific geographic locations (O'Rourke and Pujolar 2013, 51). O'Rourke and Pujolar (2013, 51) describe how certain speakers are permitted or refused entry to the community and are classed as the 'in-group' or the 'out-group'. Lliwen's experience here suggest she feels she belongs to the 'out-group' which highlights the complexities associated with linguistic journeys. On the other hand, there is also evidence of new speakers using more Welsh when coming into regular contact with first language Welsh speakers. According to Hywel (WL):

> *Rwy'n siarad Cymraeg gyda ffrind ysgol erbyn hyn gan ein bod yn teithio i wylio Cymru yn chwarae pêl-droed gyda grŵp o Ogledd Cymru sy'n siarad Cymraeg.*
>
> I now speak Welsh with a friend from school because we travel to watch Wales playing football with a group of Welsh speakers from north Wales.

Welsh identity and future language use

A strong sense of Welsh identity remained evident amongst research participants in 2016/2017, as in 2006:

> Even though I don't speak Welsh very regularly, I'm very proud of the fact that I can speak Welsh. It is a part of my identity, although I am quite removed from the language by now as I have nobody to speak Welsh to. I still count myself as fluent; I can still watch a *Pobl y Cwm* (Welsh language soap opera) episode and understand it fully. (Alex, NWL)

On the one hand, Alex seems to distance himself from the Welsh language due to his low daily usage, but he also continues to self-identify as a fluent Welsh speaker, almost testing his Welsh to see if his fluency deteriorates. However, some participants feel a greater sense of embarrassment at their lack of Welsh language usage in 2016/2017. According to Buddug, (ML), 'I feel very ashamed; there was a time when I was very passionate about using Welsh, but my circumstances have changed'. Elizabeth (NWL) also acknowledges her pride in speaking Welsh and a *hiraeth* (longing) for it to be an integral part of her daily life, 'I am extremely proud that I can speak Welsh and wish it was a bigger part of my life'. Despite this, there is indication that some new speakers live their lives through the medium of Welsh:

> *Mae'r Gymraeg yn ganolog i fy mywyd i, dw i'n ei defnyddio hi'n ddyddiol ac y mae'n rhan annatod ohona i. Rwy'n falch iawn fy mod i'n gallu siarad Cymraeg a fy mod yn berson Cymraeg.*

> The Welsh language is a central component of my life and I use the language daily. I'm so proud to be able to speak Welsh and call myself a Welsh person. (Lliwen, NWL)

Factors such as geographic logistics, fluency, confidence and non-Welsh speaking family and friendship groups have impacted upon regular Welsh language use amongst research participants in 2016/2017. However, some new speakers remained optimistic that Welsh would remain a part of their lives, and were keen to find other opportunities to use Welsh. Rhun notes how he would like a network of Welsh-speaking friends where his language use would be normalised:

> *Rydw i angen grŵp o ffrindiau sy'n siarad Cymraeg, byddai bywyd llawer haws a buaswn i'n teimlo llawer mwy catrefol yn defnyddio'r Gymraeg yn gymdeithasol ac yn y gwaith.*

> I need a group of Welsh-speaking friends, I would feel so much more comfortable speaking Welsh socially and within work. (Rhun, NWL)

This suggests the importance of social trajectories, and how individual linguistic practices are influenced by the linguistic behaviour of a collective group. Indeed, Dafydd is hoping to use more Welsh in the future by investing in formal activities such as a 'gloywi iaith' course (a language refresher course). Furthermore, new speakers would still choose Welsh-medium education for their children in 2016/2017 as in 2006, but geographic logistics mean that this might not always be practical for those living outside Wales (e.g. Dafydd and Buddug). The juxtaposition between choosing Welsh medium education for their children yet not transmitting the language at home remains a clear language planning challenge, as evidenced by a recent report on Welsh language transmission (Welsh Government 2017b).

Moreover, living outside Wales is a crucial *muda* and means that speakers no longer come into contact with other key situations for using Welsh (e.g. community networks, workplace, friends, and children's education). Such a lack of exposure to the Welsh language could question some participants' self-understandings of their linguistic identity. Did, and do they, still consider themselves new speakers of Welsh? The research participants in question, Dafydd (NWL) and Buddug (ML), have very different perceptions of their speakerhood. Dafydd has a strong self-perception of himself as a new Welsh speaker and is planning to reintroduce Welsh to certain aspects of his life. He has attended a language refresher course ('*gloywi iaith*') and listens to Welsh radio, where possible. He continues to speak Welsh with certain friends and family members. Buddug's self-perception of her speakerhood is very different. Despite being from a ML household (her father is a Welsh speaker), she does not define herself as an active Welsh speaker. She is involved in the world of international business where English dominates daily life. Despite showing regret at her diminishing linguistic skills, key *mudes* (university, occupation, partner and location) mean that is not an active Welsh speaker anymore.

Workplace Welsh

During the 2006 study, the workplace provided a formal language use platform on which entire Welsh language practices were based (Hodges 2009). Despite some participants living outside Wales, the workplace continues as a crucial linguistic *muda* that offers key opportunities to use the Welsh language (presently Hywel, Lliwen and Rhun use Welsh at work, in 2006 Meleri, Elizabeth and Alex were also able to use Welsh in work).

However, a decade on, and a decrease in Welsh language confidence seems to be the greatest barrier to using Welsh within formal settings. One could argue that using Welsh was useful in a work setting when leaving university, but many participants who were working in Welsh in 2006 are not doing so a decade later. Three participants out of the eight continue to use Welsh within their workplaces. Those working as civil servants continue to do so bilingually and are confident

of their bilingual skills, but other research participants often jostle with fluency and legitimacy issues within a formal work setting. Rhun (NWL) is almost resigned to his different standard of Welsh and is aware of a linguistic hierarchy:

> *Allai ddim cysylltu'n iawn gyda siaradwyr iaith gyntaf yn y gwaith. Dw i byth yn mynd i allu cystadlu gyda Cymraeg perffaith a mae hynny'n iawn. Dw i angen cynyddu fy hyder ond mae pwysau gwaith yn golygu does dim amser gen i.*

> I can't 'connect' with first language Welsh colleagues at work. I'm never going to be able to compete with super correct Welsh and that's fine, I need to build my confidence, but work pressures mean I don't have the time.

Many new speakers actively choose to work through the medium of English where they are at their most competent a decade on. According to Alex (NWL):

> At the moment working through the medium of Welsh would not be a consideration; it's been too long since I wrote formally … it would be too much pressure.

Interestingly, despite many new Welsh speakers not having the confidence to use Welsh within work, Elizabeth who works in an English-medium school still believes new speakers have an important supporting role in implementing language use within schools:

> Use of Welsh within school is my main use of Welsh. Incidental Welsh, as it's an English-medium school. I lead Welsh language sessions and I always support other staff to use Welsh with the children in school. (Elizabeth. NWL)

Dafydd (NWL) notes how the workplace has played a transforming role in encouraging language resurgence among specific new speakers:

> One of my oldest school friends never used Welsh much when we were growing up. He has started working as a Welsh-medium primary school teacher and has rekindled his interest and … uses the language a lot more socially.

Hywel (WL) and Lliwen (NWL) highlight how the workplace has given new speakers an added confidence to use Welsh daily (they both refer to teachers in Welsh-medium education). The workplace remains an important language use sphere for new speakers but only for those who have continued to use Welsh during the two data collection periods, others have lost the formal language skills needed to play an active role in the current bilingual labour market.

Discussion

Research on new speakers of minority languages often emphasise a language policy shift from macro to micro-level strategies validating speakers' linguistic practices and identities (Darquennes and Soler 2019). The analysis within this paper demonstrates the importance of exploring this shift as it highlights the multi-dimensional challenges facing new speakers of Welsh. Exploring the language journeys of eight former pupils of Welsh medium education in Rhymney Valley has re-affirmed the belief that for many new speakers their Welsh language use remains connected to the educational sector. Indeed, some participants place the Welsh language within an imagined vision of Welshness and of Wales associated with their past (Evans 2019). The implication of this finding could point towards an increased need for Welsh-medium education to foster a further sense of 'community belonging' as noted by Dunmore (2017, 737) in his research on adults educated within Gaelic-medium education. It will be interesting to chart the impact of the '*Siarter Iaith*'[2] (Welsh Language Charter) in terms of increasing the social use of the Welsh language across communities with different linguistic profiles in Wales such as the South Wales valleys – a strategy not in place when these participants attended Welsh-medium education.

However, there is evidence that some new Welsh speakers are highly proficient Welsh speakers with successful, professional bilingual careers. The implication of this finding is that new Welsh speakers do have a role to play in reversing language shift (Fishman 1991) and that education

can be a meaningful language revitalisation tool as it provides a platform for certain Welsh speakers to continue their linguistic journey. However, what this research highlights is that there is currently a 'low return rate' for investment in Welsh-medium education as relatively few new Welsh speakers become proficient and confident speakers. The documenting of language journeys allows language planners and policymakers further insight into the obstacles limiting the progression of such journeys. Furthermore, it could also allow the opportunity to provide further support and financial investment within some linguistic domains (e.g. education, community activities and the workplace) to aid the progression of complex language journeys.

The workplace remains an important 'breathing space' (O'Rourke 2018a, 1) for new speakers to use Welsh within public sector employment but its influence has declined between 2006 and 2016/2017. Some speakers use Welsh daily due to their public sector employment. This provides (much like education did) a linguistic gateway for further language use within different aspects of their lives. However, there is also evidence that some new Welsh speakers are not comfortable using Welsh within a formal work setting. The Welsh Government, and other key agencies, need to commission further research into the language progression of new Welsh speakers from education into the workplace. The prestige and status of bilingual public sector employment needs to be discussed within schools and actioned by local councils.

Some new Welsh speakers within this sample demonstrate a renewed effort to speak Welsh with younger family members and bridge linguistic generations (Baker and Prys Jones 1998). The implications of this finding are that the Welsh Government and other organisations should invest in new speakers as gateway Welsh language speakers and teachers paving the way for future language use within families and beyond education. The 2016/2017 sample note that new Welsh speakers would continue to choose Welsh-medium education for their children but would not necessarily transmit the language at home – a prominent theme in 2006 (Hodges 2009) and within a recent Welsh Government report (Welsh Government 2017b). This creates a situation where linguistic skills are not utilised fully. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that some of the sample would consider transmitting the language at home in the future, this is largely dependent on the support of non-Welsh-speaking partners – a *muda* highlighted by Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015).

Despite the small sample, these participants seem to encapsulate many meaningful themes within new speakers research. Important questions arise relating to new Welsh speakers' lack of Welsh language use within different aspects of their lives due to location, occupations and the linguistic competence of partners. Some language trajectories have almost completely ground to a halt which suggests that language journeys could be dependent on individual choices. Indeed, Hodges and Prys (2019, 1) emphasise the importance of the community beyond the education sector as a 'language planning crossroads' that brings the different influences of linguistic behaviour together. Hodges and Prys (2019) also point to the importance of studying micro-level community linguistic interactions which could provide further insight into new speakers' linguistic daily practices beyond education. Research into new speakers however, can also influence language policies on a macro-level (e.g. Cymraeg 2050: a million Welsh speakers, Welsh Government 2017a) suggesting a need for both approaches to work together. Darquennes and Soler (2019, 486) suggest a 'top-down, bottom-up continuum' navigated in both directions. In terms of new speakers' contribution to official language policies and strategies, this could be a key platform from which to discuss, 'practical constraints that influence language policies' (Darquennes and Soler 2019, 486).

Conclusions

This paper explores the specific *mudes* that influence language use amongst new Welsh speakers in the Rhymney Valley. The transition points highlighted emphasise that the language journeys of new speakers and their attempts to retain the use of Welsh are complex, as are the challenges that lie ahead for policy makers to create opportunities to use Welsh in all communities across Wales. The self-perceptions of new speakers themselves are also a crucial consideration. Key questions

arise, such as whether the new speakers within this research ever considered themselves new speakers, and whether they would still consider themselves new speakers today? Is the Welsh language something that can be revisited within new speakers' lives or will it remain peripheral in their lives? *Mudes* or linguistic transition points are key in determining whether new speakers are actively engaged or disengaged with Welsh.

It would be fair to say that new speakers' self-perceptions vary greatly within this research. The majority of the sample recognise their Welsh-speaking roots and still maintain they are Welsh speakers, but their levels of engagement with the language differ greatly, thus questioning their new speaker status. There is evidence of new Welsh speakers living their lives completely through the medium of Welsh and being actively engaged in particular linguistic networks. However, others no longer see themselves as Welsh speakers. Crucially, however, the majority of Rhymney Valley new speakers are somewhere in between these two positions. They often engage only intermittently with the Welsh language, but they do find context-specific opportunities to reintroduce Welsh which suggests positive associations with being a new speaker.

This paper argues that the concepts of *mudes* (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015) and 'social trajectories' (Bourdieu 1996, 259) are key language planning strategies to gauge the complex linguistic journeys of new speakers. Utilising the *mudes* framework when discussing new speakers of Welsh is useful as it is not a linear concept. There is always the possibility that biographical changes could alter participants' linguistic journeys and that they could revisit Welsh in another context. Indeed, if the ambitious target of creating a million Welsh speakers is to be achieved, the Welsh Government may need to invest in more longitudinal research that studies how different linguistic experiences can prolong some linguistic journeys or bring a premature end to others.

Notes

1. In the Higher Education sector, 6335 students studied some part of their course through the medium of Welsh, representing 5% of students in Wales (https://www.assembly.wales/research%20documents/17-015/17-015-web-english.pdf).
2. Each school completes a baseline exercise to determine current language use before developing an action plan to work towards a bronze, silver or gold award. https://gov.wales/cymraeg-education/schools/welsh-language-charter.

Acknowledgements

Disclosure statement

References

Baker, C. 2011. *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
Baker, C., and S. Prys Jones, eds. 1998. *Encyclopaedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Berg, B. L. 2007. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
Bermingham, N. 2017. "Double New Speakers? Language Ideologies of Immigrant Students in Galicia." In *New Speakers of Minority Languages*, edited by C. Smith-Christmas, N. Ó. Murchadha, M. Hornsby, and M. Moriarty, 111–130. London: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/978-1-137-57558-6_6.
Bourdieu, P. 1977. "The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges." *Social Science Information* 16 (6): 645–668.
Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Bourdieu, P. 1996. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Brooks, S., and R. E. Roberts, eds. 2013. *Pa Beth Yr Aethoch Allan I'w Achub? Ysgrifau i gynorthwyo'r gwrthsafiad yn erbyn dadfeiliad y Gymru Gymraeg*. Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch.

Caerffili County Borough. 2011. *Census Ward Profiles*. Caerffili: Caerffili County Borough Council. Accessed February 3, 2020. https://www.caerffili.gov.uk/CaerphillyDocs/Statistics-and-data-2011/Caerphilly_county_borough_profile.aspx.

Caerffili County Borough. 2017a. *5 Year Welsh Language Strategy*. Caerffili: Caerffili County Borough Council. Accessed February 25, 2020. https://www.caerphilly.gov.uk/My-Council/Strategies,-plans-and-policies/Equalities/Welsh-Language-Strategy.

Caerffili County Borough. 2017b. *Welsh in Education Strategic Plan 2017–2020*. Caerffili: Caerffili County Borough Council. Accessed February 17, 2020. https://www.caerphilly.gov.uk/CaerphillyDocs/Schools/WelshEducationStrategicPlan201720.aspx.

Carty, N. 2018. "New Speakers, Potential New Speakers, and Their Experiences and Abilities in Scottish Gaelic." In *New Speakers of Minority Languages*, edited by C. Smith-Christmas, N. Ó. Murchadha, M. Hornsby, and M. Moriarty, 253-270. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chase, S. E. 2011. "Narrative Inquiry: Still a Field in the Making." In *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, 421–434. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Costa, J. 2015. "New Speakers, New Language: On Being a Legitimate Speaker of a Minority Language in Provence." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 2015 (231): 127–145. doi:10.1515/ijsl-2014-0035.

Coupland, N. 2003. "Sociolinguistic Authenticities." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (3): 417–431. doi:10.1111/1467-9481.99233.

Coupland, N. 2004. "Age in Social and Sociolinguistic Theory." In *Handbook of Communication and Aging Research*, edited by J. F. Nussbaum and J. Coupland, 69–90. New York: Routledge.

Creese, A., A. Blackledge, and J. K. Takhi. 2014. "The Ideal 'Native Speaker' Teacher: Negotiating Authenticity and Legitimacy in the Language Classroom." *The Modern Languages Journal* 98: 937–951. doi:10.1111/modl.12148.

Crystal, D. 2014. *Language Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139923477.

Cunliffe, D. 2019. "Minority Languages and Social Media." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Minority Languages and Communities*, edited by G. Hogan-Brun and B. O'Rourke, 451–480. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Darquennes, J., and J. Soler. 2019. "'New Speakers' and Language Policy Research: Thematic and Theoretical Contributions to the Field." *Language Policy* 18: 475–491. doi:10.1007/s10993-018-9506-2.

David, R., N. Blewitt, E. Johnston, and S. Grazier. 2004. *The Socio-Economic Characteristics of the South Wales Valleys in a Broader Context: A Report for the Welsh Assembly Government*. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.

Davies, A. J., and D. Trystan. 2012. "'Build It and They Shall Come?' An Evaluation of Qualitative Evidence Relating to Student Choice and Welsh-Medium Higher Education." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 15 (2): 147–164. doi:10.1080/13670050.2011.607230.

De Schutter, H. 2008. "The Linguistic Territoriality Principle – A Critique." *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 25 (2): 105–120. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5930.2008.00397.x.

Dunmore, S. S. 2017. "Immersion Education Outcomes and the Gaelic Community: Identities and Language Ideologies Among Gaelic Medium-Educated Adults in Scotland." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38 (8): 726–741. doi:10.1080/01434632.2016.1249875.

Evans, D. 2019. "Welshness in 'British Wales': Negotiating National Identity at the Margins." *Nations and Nationalism* 25 (1): 167–190. doi:10.1111/nana.12390.

Fishman, J. A. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

García, O. 2009. *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

García, O., and J. Kleifgen. 2010. *Educating Emergent Bilinguals: Policies, Programs and Practices for English Language Learners*. New York: Teacher's College Press.

Gonzàlez, I., J. Pujolar, A. Font, and Roger Martínez. 2009. *Entre la identitat i el pragmatisme lingüístic. Usos i percepcions lingüístiques dels joves catalans a principis de segle. Research report*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.

Grinevald, C., and M. Bert. 2011. "Speakers and Communities." In *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*, edited by P. K. Austin and J. Sallabank, 45–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hodges, R. 2009. "Welsh Language Use Among Young People in the Rhymney Valley." *Contemporary Wales* 22: 16–35. http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/uwp/cowa/2009/00000022/00000001/art00004.

Hodges, R. 2010. "Tua'r Goleuni: Rhesymau Rhieni dros Ddewis Addysg Gymraeg i'w Plant yng Nghwm Rhymney." *Gwerddon* 6: 9–33. http://www.gwerddon.cymru/en/editions/issue6/article1/.

Hodges, R. 2012. "Welsh-Medium Education and Parental Incentives – The Case of the Rhymney Valley, Caerffili." *International Journal of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* 15 (3): 355–373. doi:10.1080/13670050.2011.636796.

Hodges, R. 2014. "Caught in the Middle: Parents' Perceptions of New Welsh Speakers' Language Use: The Case of Rhymney Valley, South Wales." *Zeszyty Łużyckie / Sorbian Review* 48: 93–112. ISSN 0867-6364.

Hodges, R., and C. Prys. 2019. "The Community as a Language Planning Crossroads: Macro and Micro Language Planning in Communities in Wales." *Current Issues in Language Planning* 20 (3): 207–225. doi:10.1080/14664208.2018.1495370.

Hornsby, M. 2015a. "The 'New' and 'Traditional' Speaker Dichotomy: Bridging the Gap." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231: 107–125. doi:10.1515/ijsl-2013-0045.

Hornsby, M. 2015b. *Revitalising Minority Languages: New Speakers of Breton, Yiddish and Lemko*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jaffe, A. 2015. "Defining the new Speaker: Theoretical Perspectives and Learner Trajectories." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231: 21–44. doi:10.1515/ijsl-2014-0030.

Jones, S. 2017. "What Do We Know and Not Know About Choice of Medium of Education in South-East Wales?" *Wales Journal of Education* 19 (2): 143–162. doi:10.16922/wje.19.2.8.

Jones, S. L. 2019. "Perspectives and Attitudes Towards Welsh-Medium Study at Post-Compulsory Level among 15–16-Year-old Students in the South Wales Valleys." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. doi:10.1080/13670050.2019.1668349.

Kornai, A. 2013. "Digital Language Death." *PLoS One* 8 (10): e77056. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0077056.

Kramsch, C. 2010. *The Multilingual Subject*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Llwelyn, D. H. 2019. "Transforming Landscapes and Identities in the South Wales Valleys." *Landscape Research* 44 (7): 804–821. doi:10.1080/01426397.2017.1336208.

Office for National Statistics. 2012. *2011 Census: Key Statistics for Wales*. Newport: Office for National Statistics. Accessed February 19, 2020. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/bulletins/2011censuskeystatisticsforwales/2012-12-11#proficiency-in-welsh.

O'Rourke, B. 2018a. "Carving out Breathing Spaces for Galician: New Speakers' Investment in Monolingual Practices." In *Critical Perspectives on Linguistic Fixity and Fluidity: Languagised Lives*, Chapter 5, edited by J. Jaspers and and L. M. Madsen. New York: Routledge.

O'Rourke, B. 2018b. "Just Use It! Linguistic Conversion and Identities of Resistance Amongst Galician New Speakers." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 39 (5): 407–418. doi:10.1080/01434632.2018.1429455.

O'Rourke, B., and J. Pujolar. 2013. "From Native Speakers to 'New Speakers' – Problematizing Nativeness in Language Revitalization Contexts." *Histoire Épistémologie Langage, tome 35, fascicule 2, 2013*, 47–67.

O'Rourke, B. and J. Pujolar, eds. 2019. *From New Speaker to Speaker: Outcomes, reflections and policy recommendations from COST Action IS1306 on New Speakers in a Multilingual Europe: Opportunities and Challenges*. Colwyn Bay: IAITH: Welsh Centre for Language Planning.

O'Rourke, B., J. Pujolar, and F. Ramallo. 2015. "New Speakers of Minority Languages: the Challenging Opportunity – Foreword." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 2015 (231): 1–20. doi:10.1515/ijsl-2014-0029.

O'Rourke, B., and F. Ramallo. 2013. "Competing Ideologies of Linguistic Authority Amongst New Speakers in Contemporary Galicia." *Language in Society* 42 (3): 287–305. doi:10.1017/S0047404513000249.

O'Rourke, B., and J. Walsh. 2015. "New Speakers of Irish: Shifting Boundaries Across Time and Space." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231: 63–83. doi:10.1515/ijsl-2014-0032.

Parry, R. G. 2012. *Cymru'r Gyfraith: Sylwadau ar Hunaniaeth Gyfreithiol*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.

Pierce, G. 1990. *Nabod Cwm Rhymni*. Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer.

Pujolar, J., and I. Gonzàlez. 2013. "Linguistic 'Mudes' and the De-Ethnicization of Language Choice in Catalonia." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 16 (2): 138–152. doi:10.1080/13670050.2012.720664.

Pujolar, J., and B. O'Rourke. 2016. "New Speakers, Non-Native Speakers: Towards a Post-National Linguistics." Draft Paper. Accessed July 10, 2019. https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/50780525/DE-02hkd.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAIWOWYYGZ2Y53UL3A&Expires=1554465978&Signature=EfwB5cHygBxLUVZstLN4%2BukSyLc%3D&response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DTheorizing_the_speaker_and_speakerness_l.pdf.

Pujolar, J., and M. Puigdevall. 2015. "Linguistic *Mudes*: How to Become a New Speaker in Catalonia." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231: 167–187. doi:10.1515/ijsl-2014-0037.

Robert, E. 2009. "Accommodating New Speakers? An Attitudinal Investigation of L2 Speakers of Welsh in South-East Wales." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 195: 93–116. doi:10.1515/IJSL.2009.007.

Rosiak, K. 2018. "Polish New Speakers of Welsh: Motivations and Learner Trajectories." *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 31: 168–181. doi:10.1080/07908318.2017.1415925.

Royles, E. 2007. *Revitalising Democracy: Devolution and Civil Society in Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Tannock, S. 2012. "Across a Thick White Line: The Relationship of a Welsh Medium School and a Low Income Neighbourhood in the South Wales Valleys." *Critical Social Policy* 32 (2): 184–120. doi:doi.org/10.1177/0261018311420277.

Thomas, E. M., D. Apolloni, and W. G. Lewis. 2014. "The Learner's Voice: Exploring Bilingual Children's Selective Language Use and Perceptions of Minority Language Competence." *Language and Education* 28 (4): 340–361. doi:doi:10.1080/09500782.2013.870195.

Thomas, H., and C. H. Williams, eds. 2013. *Parent, Personalities and Power: Welsh-Medium Schools in South-East Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Tilley, E. 2020. "Narratives of Belonging: Experiences of Learning and Using Welsh of Adult 'New Speakers' in North West Wales." Unpublished PhD Thesis, Bangor University, Bangor.

Welsh Government. 2011a. *Welsh Language (Wales) Measure*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government. 2011b. "Stats Wales: Welsh Speakers by Local Authority, Gender and Detailed Age Groups, 2011 Census." Accessed February 3, 2020. https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Welsh-Language/Census-Welsh-Language/welshspeakers-by-localauthority-gender-detailedagegroups-2011census.

Welsh Government. 2017a. *Cymraeg 2050: A Million Welsh Speakers*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government. 2017b. *Welsh Language Transmission and Use in Families*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government and Welsh Language Commissioner. 2015. *National Survey for Wales, 2013–2014. Welsh Language Use Survey*. Cardiff: Welsh Government and Welsh Language Commissioner.

Welsh Language Commissioner. 2015. *The Commissioner's Functions Include*. Cardiff: Welsh Language Commissioner. Accessed October 30, 2018. http://www.comisiynyddygymraeg.cymru/english/Pages/Home.aspx.

Williams, C. H. 2011. "Paradigm Shifts, Geostrategic Considerations and Minority Initiatives." *Treatises and Documents: Journal of Ethnic Studies* 66: 8–23.

Woolard, K. A. 2011. "Is There Linguistic Life After High School? Longitudinal Changes in the Bilingual Repertoire in Metropolitan Barcelona." *Language in Society* 40 (5): 617–648. doi:10.1017/S0047404511000704.