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Introduction

The Welsh language, although native to the country of Wales, has been marginalised for many centuries and, without intervention, would perhaps have long since declined into linguistic obscurity. Factors such as the conquest of the island by outside forces, the annexation to the English crown, the (global) success of its most immediate neighbour, the English language, have all shaped the history of Wales. The Welsh people, like their language, were subject to anglicization that penetrated all areas of life. However, since the late 20th century the Welsh language has been making a distinct comeback. A change in attitude has led to the initiation of a multifaceted language revitalization process in which translations – and thus the translation industry – play a key role.

The reasons for and consequences of this changing consciousness and attitude towards the language are the subject of this master's thesis. The aim of this thesis is to identify the factors that have affected and continue to influence the development of the translation industry in the unique linguistic context of today's bilingual Wales. On the one hand, it aims to ascertain the scope of the industry, and determine the legal situation and legal requirements, as well as the consequences on translation practices, approaches and methods; on the other hand, it reflects upon issues such as professionalism and image as well as the discourse surrounding the translation industry, which ultimately influence the market and affect the legal framework, amongst other factors, as well as the scale and range of translation activities within the country. As the identified factors contributing to the industry's development are proven to show, translation activities and practices are sometimes heavily dependent upon public demand.

While this newfound consciousness for the Welsh language in Wales poses many challenges, at the same time it provides a remarkable opportunity for the translation industry in Wales. A sense of curiosity about questions concerning the daily handling of multilingualism by both government and community and resulting influences on the translation industry were motivation for the composition of this thesis.

Main research questions which guided the thesis included: "How does the relationship between the languages of Welsh and English influence the provision of bilingual communication in Wales?", "Considering the thereby presented opportunities, how are the translation industry and translation practices perceived by the wider community?"; "What role do translations play in language revitalization?"; and "Can a correlation be established between the image of the Welsh language and the perspectives of Welsh speakers and non-Welsh

speakers, and what are the impacts of the area-specific image on corresponding Welsh language translations.

Speaking in the broadest terms the thesis can be divided into three major parts. Firstly, an outline of the theoretical framework is given before an analysis of multilingualism in Wales in the second part strives to show how the theory of language revitalization (as discussed in part I) has been put into practice in Wales over the last century. Finally, the concluding part is composed of the analysis of a questionnaire specially developed for this thesis.

More specifically, the first chapter of the thesis offers a review of important and relevant scientific research and concepts as well as clarifies key terminology. It is followed by a brief presentation of the history of Wales and the Welsh language in chapter two, that provides examples of central historical events that significantly influenced the development of the language in Wales until the beginning of the 20th century. Furthermore, it addresses the decennial Welsh language census, carried out to determine the relative health of the language.

The third chapter identifies central factors which have contributed to the revitalization process that span the political, legal and social dimensions and which were thus instrumental to the development of the translation industry in Wales in the 20th century. The focus of chapter four is on implementation: it delineates measures taken in the public and private sector as well as in the media industry to provide bilingual communication and to foster advancement in the language sector with the purpose of guaranteeing the continuation of successful language revitalization.

The following, penultimate chapter attends to the discourse around translation activities. To this end, the chapter aims to compile a number of different arguments from various interested groups in order to capture a barometer of public opinion regarding recent translation activities and practices in Wales. This chapter also serves as a guide to the survey and its analysis in the following chapter.

The final part of the thesis, therefore, aims to show how the reported implementations were received by the public and whether previously introduced arguments that dominate the discourse and that are distributed via the media can be confirmed by participants of the survey. The questionnaire covered general topics based on the concepts of identity, image, language use and revitalization, and was designed to contrast the answers of Welsh speakers, non-Welsh speakers and professional translators alike. The working conditions and practices of professional translators in Wales were captured by an additional section of the questionnaire.

Finally, it should be noted that while it is acknowledged that there are a number of distinct linguistic communities in Wales, this thesis focuses solely on the relationship between the Welsh and English languages. Likewise, in an attempt to limit its scope, the thesis focuses on societal multilingualism, rather than addressing multilingualism from the perspective of individuals.

1. Literature review and theoretical framework

The literature review provides the theoretical framework for this thesis. It serves to introduce major concepts, clarify essential terminology and highlight relevant studies in addition to identifying key works in the studied field. The literature review aims at providing an insight into the current scientific research approach while at the same time relating to the history and development of the research area.

1.1. Translation and interpretation

The terms “translation” and “interpretation/interpreting” are frequently used synonymously outside the professional sphere and language industry. This phenomenon can not only be witnessed in the English language but also affects other languages (e.g. in German the terms “Übersetzen” [translation] and “Dolmetschen” [interpretation]). It is also worth mentioning, that in the UK, Canada and the US, the term “interpreting” is now the preferred term over “interpretation” which is more frequently used in continental Europe where the term “interpreting” is found to relate to the process and “interpretation” to the product (Mason & Laver 2018) for which reason the term “interpretation” shall henceforth be used in this paper.

To highlight the inaccuracy of common usage of the terms “translation” and “interpretation” their distinct meanings and definitions shall be laid out here. Traditional definitions of the terms (esp. prior to the 1960s) focus on the written vs. oral presentation of the text. Likewise, the ISO (International Organization for Standardization) proposed that translation be defined as “rendering source language content into target language content in written form” (ISO 2018:3.2.2) and interpretation as “rendering spoken or signed information from a source language to a target language in oral or signed form” (ISO 2018:3.1.2) While this definition specifically includes sign language, it does not consider other criteria, which are highly regarded within the realms of translation and interpretation studies, to distinguish between the terms that have been identified. Additionally, there are many situations – such as sight interpretation (written source text – oral target text) – that show the need for further distinguishing criteria. Within translation and interpretation studies, Otto Kade’s definitions (1968) are still widely used and considered more inclusive compared to traditional definitions, as – rather than the “written”-“spoken” dichotomy – he stresses the “one-time-ness” of interpretation, which he defines as “the rendering of a source-language text which is presented only (usually orally) in a target-language text which can only be checked to a limited extent

and which due to lack of time can hardly be corrected” (Kade 1968 as translated in Snell-Hornby 2006:28). Comparatively, according to Kade, translation is “the rendering of a source-language text that has been preserved (in writing) and is hence permanently available or can be repeated at will in a target-language text which can be checked any time and can be repeatedly corrected.” (ibid.). Accordingly, the target text (= the resulting, translated text) can be reviewed, corrected and alternative solutions considered as opposed to the target text of interpretations where, due to time constraints, the decision-making process is immediate.

Further factors which have been identified in current definitions, e.g. as by AIIC (Association internationale des interprètes de conference), the international association of conference interpreters, in addition to “time” (interpretation is in (near) real time) as suggested by Kade above, are the “extreme speed” at which interpreters have to work and the close and “immediate interaction” between participants involved in interpreting (speakers, listeners, interpreter) (AIIC 2012).

For completeness, it should be mentioned at this point that in the evolution of the terms and as a shared characteristic, concepts such as “equivalence” (between target and source text) and “skopos” have been a major point of discussion and controversy (see Prunč ²2002 for an analysis of the controversy). For the purpose of defining the terms “translation” and “interpretation” a closer inspection of this discussion shall be omitted. Nevertheless, as it poses great significance for the arguments made in this thesis, it shall be brought to attention that neither translation nor interpretation “is simply replacing the words of one language by those of another” and that “intellectual effort [is] required” (AIIC 2012:para. 1). It shall further be pointed out that the focus of this thesis lies primarily on (written) translation practices.

As this short overview shows, translation and interpretation practices can present themselves in different forms and a clear-cut distinction between the two can sometimes be difficult.

1.2. Language, dialect, vernacular

The distinction between “language”, “variety” and “dialect” is widely debated and implies important consequences in terms of political matters and symbolic meaning (Ruíz Vieyetz 2004). A differentiation between the aforementioned terms is deemed difficult because languages are dynamic and continually evolve and change (Milroy & Milroy 1997).

Simply put, dialects are subdivisions of a language (Wolfram 1997:107). However, as this statement suggests and as pointed out by Haugen (1966a), an imbalance of power and prestige surrounds the two terms “language” and “dialect”. Alluding to the formal structures in which the terms meet, he illustrates that the former is superordinate while the latter constitutes the subordinate term: a “dialect” always refers to another super-ordinate language, e.g. “X is a dialect of the language Y” Haugen (ibid.:923). Referring to this imbalance, Haugen records that, as is the case in many asymmetrical situations, the subordinate is frequently stigmatized Haugen (ibid.:924). Generally speaking, the different terms “language” and “dialect” are used differently depending upon the field the research in which they are being employed.

Wolfram (1997) warns that concepts of regional, social and ethnic dialect can overlap as individuals belong to a number of groups and that the resultant form of language used can be a mixture of all three. Wolfram further points out that linguistic variables can affect any level of language, such as pronunciation, grammar, semantics and use. Additionally and referring to the English language in particular, according to Trask (1999:50), phonetic variables in British usage typically fall under the category of “accent”.

The boundaries between “dialects” (or “variants”) and what constitutes an autonomous “language” are often argued by scholars to lie within structural similarity and mutual comprehension. This notion, which was originally introduced by Bloomfield (1926), suggests that a dialect and its standard variety are required to have the same linguistic basis (= structural similarity) and speakers are able to understand each other (= mutual intelligibility). Nevertheless, a differentiation on criteria such as structural difference and mutual intelligibility are not wholly satisfying as pointed out in sociolinguistics by multiple academics (e.g. Milroy & Milroy 1997; Wolfram 1997).

Aside from linguistic determinants, the socio-political sphere needs to be considered, as is frequently highlighted using the example of Croatian-Serbian-Bosnian-Montenegrin. Whether a language is considered a language or “just” a variant is often motivated by political or cultural reasons for the reason that, as described above, a “language” is considered to have more prestige than a “dialect”. The significance of this aspect can be observed in the discourse surrounding Slavic languages, which, previous to the split of former Yugoslavia at the end of the 20th century, having originally been considered one language, have since gained recognition as autonomous (albeit very similar) languages. Nevertheless, according to a recent declaration signed by more than 200 experts from various (academic) fields, it is argued that the four languages of former Yugoslavia are one language which in turn has led to widespread criticism

especially by nationalists (Merelli 2017). Again, this example shows that a clear-cut distinction between the terms is fraught with difficulty.

Due to the negative connotations that are evoked by the term “dialect” (and to a certain – albeit a lesser – degree also the term “vernacular”; see below), a “neutral” term was needed that allows a differentiation between “languages” regardless of social, geographical or historical aspects, for which purpose the term “variety” (or “variant”) was established (Coetsem 1992) which can be used in connection with dialects (e.g. “dialects are variants of a language”) as well as with standardized forms of a language (e.g. distinguishing British English from American English).

Closely related to the concept of “dialect” is the notion of the “vernacular”. Historically, the term “vernacular” was considered an umbrella term and primarily referred to usage and prestige rather than to the linguistic relation with another language (e.g. in the Middle Ages, most European languages were considered a “vernacular” in comparison to Latin which was ascribed high prestige) (Yule 2009:212-214). Today, the term “vernacular” is most frequently used in opposition to “standard language” and is generally defined as “the everyday form” of speech (Trask 1999:223).

Finally, “Languages” themselves can be standardized and non-standardized. According to Haugen (1966a), a dialect needs to have developed through four stages in order to be deemed a standardized language, the process which composed the basis of his language planning model.

1.3. “Officiality” of language

The problematic surrounding the term “official language” is that there is no internationally recognised and consistently applied definition. Most definitions rely on the concept of “nation” and refer to the “function” of a language to determine its “status”. Stewart defines official language as having the “function as a legally appropriate language for all politically and culturally representative purposes on a nationwide basis.” (1968:540), similarly, Trask determines that an official language is “[a] language which can be used for conducting official business” (1999:142). Based on Stewart’s definition, Cooper adds the necessity to distinguish between statutory official (language which a government has declared as official by law), working official (language which is used by the government on a daily basis) and symbolic official (language which is used by the government for symbolic purposes), however relies on a “governmental body” as determinant who decides upon officiality (Cooper 1989:100).

Referring to the abovementioned variety in terminology, in a comparative analysis of the constitutions of the European states, Ruíz Vieytez (2004) shows that although the most frequently used concept is that of an “official language” other concepts and terminologies applied include “state language”, “national-language”, “language of a republic”, “main language”, “own language”, “levelled language”, “language of interethnic relation”, “language of autochthonous population”, and indirect express declarations. Yet, despite the frequent use of the term, in none of the constitutions analysed by Ruíz Vieytez is “official language” defined. He established that nine did not incorporate linguistic matter in constitutional norms, albeit four of those did so in “other rules of Constitutional Law” (e.g. UK) and three others showed “almost uniform sociolinguistic structure” due to their size, namely Iceland, Vatican, San Marino. Analysis of the contents of the regulations in the constitutional laws led him to determine ten categories of regulations, all of which vary in the degree of officiality: linguistic declarations, non-discrimination clauses, knowledge requirements, recognition of linguistic rights, linguistic guarantees, norms of institutional use, promotion and protection clauses, norms of competence distribution, legislative references and other provisions.

Ruíz Vieytez further established that with relation to the content of the regulations, a distinction can be made between what he calls regulations with a “positive sphere” and a “negative sphere” (2004:18). While the first defines “allowances”, e.g. where a language can be used, the latter states limitations, e.g. in the case of Spain where Catalan-speakers are required to know Spanish. Other limitations can be regional or determine in what field a language can be used.

Finally, combining the legal status with sociological factors, Ruíz Vieytez arrives at a categorization based on four levels of officiality (2004:24) which can be displayed in a matrix:

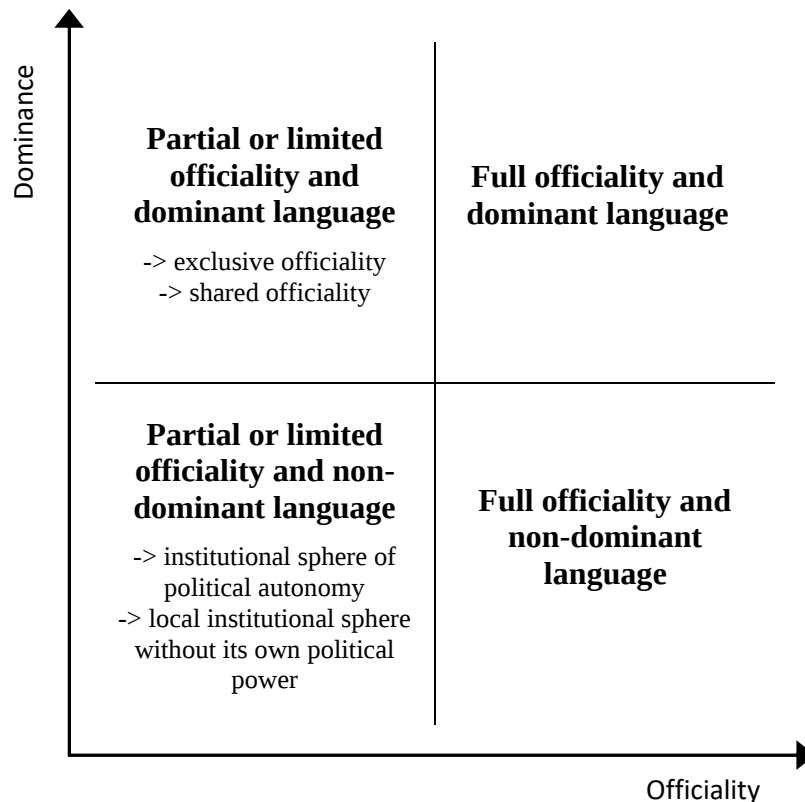


Figure 1. Four levels of language officiality (based on Ruíz Vieytes)

In addition to the legal regulations of a language on a national level (or where there is no such legislation), a differentiation between “theory” and “practise” has to be drawn. As highlighted by Clyne (1997), there can be a disparity between the “official” (or “de jure”) status and the “de facto” practise of the linguistic situation. Mackey (1989) shows, how function and status of a language correlate. While the former refers to the reality, the latter reflects the potential of a language on a legal, cultural, economic, political and demographic level. Mackey further adds “prestige” as a third correlating determining dimension of language.

Analogous to the “dialect-standard” dichotomy, a similarly implied power and prestige imbalance can be witnessed between “official” and “non-official” languages. In this context, Williams points out the disparity between the number of languages worldwide and officially recognised languages, by contrasting the over 6,000 existent languages to the less than 100 officially recognised languages), resulting in a figure of less than 1.5% of the world’s languages that have gained official status (Williams 2000:3). This sociolinguistic component behind languages is also relevant when it comes to the relation between minority and majority languages.

1.4. Minority languages

Generally speaking, the term “minority” most obviously expresses “inferiority”. Oxford English Dictionary defines minority as “[t]he smaller number or part, especially a number or part representing less than half of the whole” (n.d.:para. 1). This definition alludes to what Kraus (2015:43) highlights as that “‘minority’ and ‘majority’ are *relational* categories”. In other words, a minority is always relative to another element and can only be analysed in comparison to that other part. As Haberland states “[o]bviously we must take the relational character of the minority concept seriously which means asking for its relatum” (1991: 182). As a consequence, the question to be asked is what minority in comparison to what majority?

Referring back to the initially stated definition provided by the Oxford dictionary and based on a general definition of “minority”, Haugen criticizes the – what Srivastava (1984:99) later calls – “statistical definition”-approach, as there are occasions where “we might very well speak of *minority languages*, even though their speakers were in some areas in actual majority” (Haugen 1978:11, emphasis in original). Srivastava (1984:99) criticises further by highlighting the fact that only two aggregates are mentioned, an approach which he illustrates to be problematic in the particular example of India, which has several major languages of which none are spoken by a majority on a national level, and highlights the relevance of the factors of “social status” and “dominance/power” to determine the which language is considered a majority or minority language.

As the Encyclopedia Britannica indicates, and as often seen in social sciences, the inferior nature of the term “minority” does not always have to be restricted to the relative number of group members, but can include the power imbalance and social factors which can be inherent in the definition of a minority:

“Minority, (sociology) a culturally, ethnically, or racially distinct group that coexists with but is subordinate to a more dominant group. As the term is used in the social sciences, this subordination is the chief defining characteristic of a minority group. As such, minority status does not necessarily correlate to population. In some cases one or more so-called minority groups may have a population many times the size of the dominating group, as was the case in South Africa under apartheid (c. 1950–91).” (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2019^a, emphasis in original)

In light of this, a distinction between “linguistic minority” and “minority language” needs to be made. The term “linguistic minority” concerns the individual speakers whereas “minority language” refers to the language itself (see amongst others Haberland 1991). While these terms

frequently overlap, it is wrong to conclude they are identical concepts. There are, for instance, situations where linguistic minorities exist without a minority language (e.g. the Italian speaking minority in Switzerland) and minority languages exist without a language minority (e.g. Catalan in Catalonia) (Darquennes 2013). The Council of Europe defines regional and minority languages as

“languages that are: i. traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State’s population; and ii. different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants” (Council of Europe 1992, Article 1(a))

Therefore, this incorporates numerical and territorial factors as well as the “official language principle” as discussed in the chapter above while basing it on the definition of “autonomous language” in contrast to “dialects” and specifically excluding “new” language minorities.

As this definition suggests, linguistic minorities can be categorised into “new”, so-called “immigrant” or “allochthonous” language minorities, and “old”, also known as “autochthonous”, “indigenous”, “ethnolinguistic”, “traditional” or “historical” minority languages. During the 1970s and 1980s, the search for a definition of the concept of “old” language minorities intensified and involved contributions from researchers of various fields, including sociolinguistics, political sciences, anthropology and legal studies, including central keywords such as paternity and patrimony, self-categorisation, language and social power (Darquennes 2013). The discourse surrounding the definition of linguistic minorities has since focused on the “linguistic and cultural distinctiveness, and inequality concerning social status and the position of minorities vis-à-vis the dominant majorities” (Rindler Schjerve 2007: 108).

Autochthonous minority languages are typically spoken by communities that are native to a certain area but have been marginalized by a new language (Darquennes 2010). This can be caused, for instance, by a nation being taken over by or becoming part of another nation. The language of the more powerful nation becomes dominant but, although initially it might be the minority language (numerically), due to the higher social and political status and prestige, the process of language shift sets in which as a result establishes the “invasive language” into the majority language (i.e. English in UK) (Auer & Wei 2007). There are between dozens of autochthonous minority languages in Europe (Haarmann (1993) lists 76

autochthonous languages, while the European Commission (2012:2) counts “more than 60” autochthonous minority languages).

Contrary to this, allochthonous minority languages are languages spoken by communities typically composed of migrants and are commonly found in urban areas (Darquennes 2013).

Language minorities and minority languages – whether autochthonous or allochthonous – have been confronted with certain challenges, with areas most commonly affected including education, politics, social life and problems occurring with respect to public vitality, social/legal status, language shift and identity (Extra 2007).

1.5. Language contact and conflict

The concept of language conflict gained attention in the 1960s, initiated amongst others by Haugen. In the decades to follow, the topic was picked up by researchers in other fields such as sociology, psychology and political sciences (Darquennes 2013:109). Language contact has been commonly defined as a situation in which two or more languages share a discursive space, frequently involving groups with a different cultural background. As Garret elaborates, “[t]hese encounters may be intended or unintended; fleeting or enduring; relatively egalitarian or marked by significant asymmetries of power [...]; peaceful and mutually beneficial or coercive, exploitative, and otherwise detrimental to one or more of the groups involved.” (2004:48). Reasons for language contact situations may be due to geographic movement, military conquest or dissemination of mass media (Baquedano-López & Kattan 2007). As highlighted by Garret, language contact situations are “shaped in part by historical and macrosociological factors that impinge (if in different ways) on all of the groups involved” (2004:48). Consequently, language contact is therefore inherently colligated with cultural contact (Baquedano-López & Kattan 2007).

Nelde (1997) examines language contact situations in minority settings and highlights the difference in power and status, legitimisation and institutionalisation in contrast to majorities as such minority-majority settings are typically defined by asymmetrical multilingualism. In language contact situations, asymmetrical multilingualism often provides a basis for language conflict. Indeed, as Nelde highlights,

“[does] [m]ost contact between ethnic groups [...] not occur in peaceful, harmoniously coexisting communities. Instead, it exhibits varying degrees of the tension, resentment, and differences of opinion that are characteristic of every competitive social structure. Under certain conditions, such generally accepted competitive tensions can degenerate into intense conflicts, in the worst case ending in violence.” (Nelde 1997:289)

Language conflicts can be “overt” or “latent” (also “covert” or “subcutaneous”) (Darquennes 2013) and language conflict situations “natural” (between traditionally coexisting indigenous majorities and minorities) or “artificial” (in situations in which at least one language is forced into compromise leading to disfavouritism) (Nelde 1997:293-295). Nelde remarks on the origin and consequence of language conflicts: “Language conflict arises from the confrontation of differing standards, values, and attitude structures, and strongly influences self-image, upbringing, education, and group consciousness.” (ibid.:292). While language may not necessarily (always) be the direct cause of a conflict, particularly in asymmetrical multilingual settings, diverging power and status between the groups involved can fuel a conflict situation. In such circumstances, language frequently becomes a “symbol of social conflict” (Darquennes 2013:109).

Language policies and language planning can be useful tools to deescalate language conflict (Nelde 1997). Nevertheless, at the same time they may be an attributing factor fuelling potential conflict situations, as the example of visual landscaping, such as carried out in Austria by the installation of dual language signage, shows, which was implemented as a consequence of language policies and regulations in the form of a statutory law enshrined in the federal constitution.

1.6. Language shift, decline and revitalization

As with language contact and conflict situations as described above, the concept of language shift is examined as a social process rather than from the point of view of the individual, which in literature for the purpose of distinguishing between the two are often called “societal language shift” and “individual language shift”, respectively.

Societal language shift is the “gradual or rapid transition by speakers of one language [...] to another” (Baquedano-López & Kattan 2007:79). It is thus a social process that affects the language behaviour of a community which collectively shifts from speaking one language to another (Brenzinger 1997:282-283).

Language shift is a complex process. Due to certain (unexpected) context-specific factors, it does not necessarily have to be linear as certain factors can contribute to the stop cessation or even the reversal of the language shift (Darquennes 2013:105). Furthermore, language shift can lead to the development of new language varieties. It can also mean a shift from bilingualism to monolingualism and the vice versa (Baquedano-López & Kattan 2007). As Haugen (1972) states, the developmental path of language shift varies from situation to situation and language to language, due to what he calls the “ecology of language”.

Nevertheless, language shift more often affects languages that are in an endangered position or it leads to linguistic endangerment as the direction of the shift usually moves from the language that possesses less symbolic value or capital to the language with greater symbolic value or capital (Baquedano-López & Kattan 2007:79) as a result of what Willemyns (1992) refers to as conscious or unconscious want for upward social mobility. The difference in prestige, power and status between the minority and majority language are the reasons why minority language members instrumentalize the majority language to achieve upward social mobility (Darquennes 2012).

Crystal (2000) states that there are numerous factors for language decline (and death), and that the reasons are always specific to the region, languages and cultures involved, and frequently multiple factors occur together. He attempts to subsume the factors under two categories, namely: “factors which put the people in physical danger” (e.g. natural disasters and destruction of habitat, genocide) and “factors which change the people’s culture” (e.g. caused by cultural assimilation, due to demographic submersion, conquest = socio-political factors). As his categorization shows, not all causes for language decline are due to language shift, but it can be triggered by other circumstances.

Language shift and decline has gained significant attention from researchers, especially in the 1970s along with the “ethnic revival”. Since then, efforts on local, nation and international levels have been consolidated to install language policies as well as other regulations and initiatives to halt language decline and increase language vitality of (Autochthonous) language minorities (Darquennes 2013).

Related concepts of “language shift” include “language loss”, “language attrition”, “language maintenance”, “language dormancy” and “language extinction”. Furthermore, “language contact” and the questions of “ideology” and “identity” go hand in hand (Baquedano-López & Kattan 2007:79-80). As mentioned above, there is also a correlation

between language shift and language decline as language shift can be a precursor of language decline, although as elaborated, (societal) language shift does not necessarily lead to language decline and language decline can be due to other causes.

Language decline affects the vitality of a language and can lead to the language being classified as “endangered”. In this context, the affected minority language (particularly when falling under the category of autochthonous languages) is often referred to as “endangered language”. There are a number of different models that enlist levels, indicators and causes of extinction, and additionally highlight factors that need to be considered for language revitalization as put forward by Crystal (2000), Fishman (1991), Grenoble & Whaley (2006), UNESCO (2003). Of the suggested concepts, a number of categories can be extrapolated that play an important factor, serve as a measure of language vitality and are indicators of language endangerment. The factors relate to the speakers (who and how many), the usage and domain (where) as well as the value, status and prestige of the endangered language:

- Decline in (absolute) number of speakers
- Age of the speakers: the higher the age of the average speaker, the more endangered a language becomes
- Intergenerational transmission: the lack of passing on of language knowledge to next generation(s) is another indicator for language endangerment
- Preference of using the dominant language over the endangered language
- Shift and/or displacement of the endangered language from language domains in everyday life
- New language domains arise and usage of endangered languages is restricted to ritualized domains; the affected language is often only reproduced and not understood
- Whether language constitutes a part of education (as medium or as subject)
- Visual landscape non-existent and language vanishes from public space
- Literacy: language materials and documentation is not available; written/oral form disappears
- Whether language has official status and its level of institutionalization and legitimization
- Low prestige and few people identifying with the language signal language endangerment

The identification of factors that mark language shift has led to the emergence of various reverse language shift (RLS) models, whereby different approaches have been taken to highlight certain aspects. Fishman (1991) formulated the eight-level Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS): Reversing language shift begins with language standardization and acquisition, encouraging (the remaining older) speakers to broaden the areas of usage to public spaces and to pass it on to following generations. The official status of the language needs to be acknowledged so that as a next step, schools which have the affected language as a “working language” can be established as well as making it a subject in non-specialist schools. Following this, domains can be further expanded to install language not only in schools but also in the workplace. The penultimate step is official recognition by media and (lower) governmental services. The process is eventually completed when the language is recognised as autonomous and successfully incorporated into the different spheres of education, the workplace, mass media and governmental operations and operations on a wider national level.

Crystal (2000) determines six factors that attribute to RLS. He recognizes Fishman’s (1991) factors regarding legitimization and legal standing, presence in the education system and standardization. Additionally, Crystal puts further emphasis on prestige and economy as well as technological advancement: Prestige is important and can be increased by increasing the use of the language thus leading to an increase in (visual) presence. The economic sector can contribute to impart prestige onto a language which in turn can lead to an increase in economic opportunity and new technologies present new opportunities.

The model known as the “Catherine Wheel” was conceptualised by Strubel (1999) and highlights the interdependency between various factors. He shows how an increase in acquisition influences function, which in turn leads to higher demand and consumption and ultimately status, again stimulating acquisition.

Giles et al. (1977) based their ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’-model on three pillars: status, demography and institutional support. In this context, “status” refers to the prestige of the language regarding its economic, social, sociohistorical and linguistic status. The demography is concerned with the distribution and number of speakers, while the institutional support, both on a formal and informal level, is reliant upon mass media, education, government services, industry, religion and culture.

Additionally, Clyne (1997) suggests that the relative size of a language community influences language maintenance, illustrating his observations with the example of Spanish speakers in America.

As the models illustrated above have shown, initiating RLS is (often) a conscious step that requires a conscious effort as well as a clear concept of how to successfully bring about the revival of the language. Language shift is a societal process and reversing it requires the commitment of society (Crystal 2000). As Gruffudd (2000:174) stresses, popular action and support cannot be underestimated. The above-mentioned factors are vital for and lie at the foundations of language planning.

1.7. Language policy, language planning

The relation between language policy and language planning has been the subject of myriad debates as views concerning whether the two terms can be used synonymously, whether the concepts overlap, or if the one is part of the other are divided. As Cooper highlights: “language policy sometimes appears as a synonym for language planning but more often it refers to the goals of language planning” (1989:29).

“Language planning” and “language policy and planning” are frequently abbreviated as “LP” and “LPP” respectively, hinting at the relation of the concept(s) used by the author. However, a general preference can be observed concerning the use of the term language planning as an umbrella term, including language policy and acknowledging that it is a part of language planning (see Zaidi 2013 for a summary of “the problem of terminology”), which shall be used hereinafter.

The concept of language planning as a field of research traces its origins to the end of the 1950s. Originally from the field of linguistics, it has since been prominent and has diversified and spread to other research fields. The term “language planning” itself was introduced to literature by Haugen (1959) who considered language planning as “the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogenous speech community” (Haugen 1959:8). He later conceded that the named practices actually refer to the result of language planning, adding that “the term LP includes the normative work of language academies and committees, all forms of what is commonly known as language cultivation [...], and all proposals for language reform or standardization” (Haugen 1969:701).

Since its original formulation, the concept of language planning has been expanded and adapted to include further aspects or shift the focus of certain aspects. For instance, the deliberate nature of and conscious effort behind language planning has been directly addressed by Rubin & Jernudd (1971), Das Gupta (1973) and Weinstein (1980). The government as the actor behind language planning has been specified by Weinstein (1980), and Fishman (1974) states that language planning typically occurs at a national level. Jernudd & Das Gupta (1971) highlight that language planning is not exclusively a linguistic activity. It requires coordinated measures (Gorman 1973) and a long-term approach (Weinstein 1980) within a set time schedule (Das Gupta 1973) in order to alter or change a language's function (Weinstein 1980) and the language behaviour of a community (Thorburn 1971) with the aim of resolving problems (Rubin & Jernudd 1971) based on communication (Weinstein 1980) and language (Fishman 1974). Darquennes & Nelde summarize the many approaches to defining the concept of language planning:

“It seems that the quest for a general definition of language planning is rendered partly impossible by the constantly growing practical and theoretical activity that increases the heterogeneous character of the field. Also the multilingual character of language planning as a field of study contributes to its heterogeneity” (2009:212).

As mentioned above, Haugen is acknowledged as a pioneer in the field of language planning. As becomes apparent in his definition, Haugen tackles language planning mainly by applying a linguistic approach, albeit acknowledging that language planning is influenced and restricted by, as well as dependent upon society. He bases his model of language planning on four stages: 1. selection of norm, 2. codification of norm, 3. elaboration of function and 4. acceptance by the community (Haugen 1966b). Codification (selection of script, orthography, pronunciation, grammatical forms and lexis) and elaboration (extension of the language functions for other domains) address linguistic matters. While his considerations stem from a linguistic point of view and have at their heart linguistic considerations, selection (of a language variety or creation of a new variety) and acceptance (of language planners' interventions) consider societal matters on a linguistic level. On the other hand, selection and codification are concerned with the form, acceptance and elaboration with the function of the language. He illustrates his concept with the help of a matrix:

	<i>Form</i>	<i>Function</i>
<i>Society</i>	Selection	Acceptance
<i>Language</i>	Codification	Elaboration

Figure 2. *Haugen's criteria for standard languages (1966a:933)*

Similarly, Ferguson (1968) developed a model with three categories: graphization (largely orthography), standardization (development/selection of variety) and modernization (development of the language) and Gorman (1973) states that language planning requires measures to select, codify and elaborate features of a language.

Considered as one of the most influential models of language planning, Cooper's language planning model, as set out in "Language planning and social change" (1989), divides language planning into three branches. He underlines that language planning is an intentional process and claims that language planning is first and foremost motivated by societal aspects as opposed to language preserving aspects, in that it aims at influencing the linguistic behaviour of society (Cooper 1989:35). Based on Kloss (1969), he takes status and corpus planning and adds a third – acquisition planning. His understanding of corpus planning includes what Haugen and Ferguson considered language planning and focuses on linguistic matters. Status planning according to Cooper's understanding is aimed at increasing the functions of the language and is concerned with language use. The recognition of a language as an official language is an example of such status planning. Cooper's third level of language planning refers to the "organized efforts to promote the learning of a language" (1989:157) and aims at increasing the number of users, a practice which he calls "acquisition planning". For the language planning goals to be fulfilled it is necessary to implement strategies in these three fields simultaneously (Fishman 1974).

Haarmann expands Cooper's model to a fourth stage: prestige planning, arguing that prestige should be acknowledged as a separate factor and force (albeit in relation to status and corpus planning) as cases in the past show where corpus and status planning efforts have been unsuccessful due to a lack of prestige (Haarmann 1990:105).

Language planning can be part of social planning where it interferes with social aspects of language, in particular, when it comes to status planning (e.g. in asymmetrical minority

settings). Daoust states that “[i]t emphasizes the dual nature of language planning, that is, its concern with both the linguistic and social aspects of language” (1997:448).

Corpus and status planning cannot be considered separately, as an increase of function of a language will necessarily lead to an increase of corpus (ibid.). In the same manner, status and acquisition planning must be approached together, as an increase in the total number of speakers will lead to a change in status, as corpus planning measures will influence language status. Darquennes (2010:342) criticises this conclusion despite these close-knit relations, in minority language settings the focus lies primarily on implementing status and acquisition planning policies.

But what about language policy? As described above, language policy is (one of) the goal(s) of language planning. According to McGroarty, “[l]anguage policy can be defined as the combination of official decisions and prevailing public practices related to language education and use” (1997:1). Similarly, Christ defines language policies as “every public influence on the communication radius of languages, the sum of those “top down” and “bottom-up” political initiatives through which a particular language or languages is/are supported in their public validity, their functionality and their dissemination” (Christ 1995:75 as cited in Wodak & Krzyzanowski 2011:623). Without explicitly referring to the initiating and responsible body, Kaplan and Baldauf determine language policies as “a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system” (1997:xi). Focusing on the form of language policies, Darquennes considers language policies as “the whole body of oral and/or written (in)formal texts that aim at (re)affirming or changing the language dynamics in (a part or different parts of) society” (2013:106).

In terms of the “transparency” of language policies, Schiffmann (1996:13) distinguishes “overt” and „covert” policies, with the first being explicit, formalized, *de jure* (= determined by law), codified and manifested, whereas the qualities of the latter are implicit, informal, unstated, *de facto* (= reality in practice), grass-roots and latent.

Language policies can show a multitude of motivational factors: social (equality for all groups), cultural (cultural maintenance), political (participation of all groups; parties to gain support) and economic (language assets) (Clyne 1997:304) and can be installed in order to defuse language conflict (Darquennes 2013).

Since the 1970s, language policies have been implemented to strengthen the vitality of autochthonous minority languages from local to international levels (ibid.). Williams (2000:7) identified four different historical types of language policies in Europe: 1. policies which reinforce political and cultural autonomy (e.g. in France, Spain, Britain), 2. policies which aim at maintaining cultural pluralism (e.g. Switzerland), 3. policies which grant geographic distinction to a minority (e.g. Finland) and 4. policies which revitalize an indigenous language (e.g. Hungary, Ireland, Finland, Norway).

Translation plays a vital role in the context of language policies, as Meylaerts, with a background in translation studies, adds, stating “any language policy presupposes a translation policy” (Meylaerts 2010:165).

1.8. Linguistic landscaping

As a prominent method for language revitalization, this chapter shall address the linguistic landscape (LL). In their original definition, Landry and Bourhis define linguistic landscape as

“the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region. It is proposed that the linguistic landscape may serve important informational and symbolic functions as a marker of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the territory.” (1997:23)

Landry and Bourhis (1997:25) originally considered road signs, advertising billboards, street and place names, commercial shop signs as well as public signs on government buildings as parts that make up the linguistic landscape; however, as Gorter (2013) highlights, modern technological advances have contributed to a diversification and emergence of new types of signs, such as electronic displays and interactive touch screens (amongst others).

Referring back to the original definition, Landry and Bourhis (1997) determined an informative and symbolic function of linguistic landscapes. While the informative function acts as a marker of geographical territory which is occupied by a certain language community, the symbolic function is a concession that visibility is a sign of power and evokes emotional value. “Signs can counteract the historical exclusion of minority languages from public space by making them visible” (Jaffe & Oliva 2013:101). In many cases, linguistic landscaping – or the lack of it – can lead to political and/or social conflicts as the visual signs carry highly symbolic value (Van Mensel et al. 2017). It is also a demand commonly made by activists (and at times through direct-action), as pointed out by Landry and Bourhis (1997:28).

Therefore, it's not only visible signs that are relevant. The interaction with these signs by people (Van Mensel et al. 2017) is also a significant consideration for linguistic landscape research and helps gain insight into language choice, language hierarchies, language contact, regulations and literacy (Gorter 2013:191). Van Mensel et al. (2017:424) highlight that linguistic landscapes can reflect the role which a language occupies in society, whether directly or indirectly, as well as, according to Gorter, underlying ideas, ideologies, conflicts and power struggles. Nevertheless, Gorter (2012:3) warns that such linguistic landscapes can also be distorted.

Linguistic landscape research tentatively originated in the field of language policy and planning in the 1970s and has since witnessed contributions from areas of sociology, politics, geography, literacy studies, etc. and goes hand in hand with minority language research (Van Mensel et al. 2017). With regard to Wales and the Welsh language, two studies worth mentioning were carried out by Coupland (2013) and Jaworski and Thurlow (2013) which examined the Welsh linguistic landscape on the example of tea and analysing bilingual signs at Cardiff Airport, respectively.

1.9. Mono-, bi-, multilingualism and diglossia

First and foremost, the differentiation between the two terms “multilingualism” and “bilingualism” (esp. when considered from an etymological point of view) is of quantitative matter. The Encyclopedia Britannica defines bilingualism as “ability to speak two languages” (2019b); on the one hand; on the other hand, multilingualism can generally be defined as the usage of, or the competence in, more than one language (Clyne 1997:301). A more complex definition for multilingualism is suggested by the European Commission, referring to multilingualism as “the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives” (European Commission 2007:6). There is, however, no universal agreement between the differentiation of multilingualism and bilingualism, and in the literature, there is a tendency to give preference to the term “multilingualism” (see Cenoz 2012:2; Baquedano-López & Kattan 2007:69). For the purposes of this paper therefore, the term multilingualism shall be applied also for situations of bilingualism, as despite the fact that this paper focuses on the two languages English and Welsh in the country of Wales, the fact that further languages play an important role within the country's society shall thereby be recognised.)

There are various suggestions and attempts to distinguish between the numerous dimensions of multilingualism. Riehl highlights three aspects of multilingualism: 1) the psychological aspect highlights the fact that language (esp. mother tongue / first language) is an identity marker to signal ethnic identity or belonging to a group; 2) the social aspect reveals that multilingualism influences communicative behaviour as new languages open doors to new communication ways and possibilities; 3) the cognitive aspect stands for the fact that the learning of languages causes different awareness for languages and language learning (2014).

Riehl (2014) bases her distinction of multilingualism on the linguistic relation between the languages, calling multilingualism involving two standardized languages “äußere Mehrsprachigkeit” (outer multilingualism) as opposed to multilingualism involving language varieties “innere Mehrsprachigkeit” (inner multilingualism). Wandruszka (1979) also defines an „inner“ and „outer“ multilingualism based on individual multilingualism. Contrary to Riehl, he defines “inner” multilingualism as the competence of individuals to use different register and varieties in their mother tongue and “outer” multilingualism as the ability to acquire new (foreign) languages.

Furthermore, Lewis (1976) points out elite bilingualism, which refers to the fact that in history, bilingualism was seen by members of the upper-class as a necessity to participate in “higher” society (esp. the command of Latin, Greek, French).

Mostly, multilingualism is differentiated on the basis of specific usage and where it occurs. If multilingualism is investigated from the perspective of individuals it is referred to as “individual multilingualism”, multilingualism on the level of international organizations (e.g. the EU) is called “institutional multilingualism” and multilingualism on the level of the community is referred to as “societal multilingualism”. As this thesis focuses on societal multilingualism, I shall go into more detail regarding only the later concept, which is also referred to as “social” or “collective” multilingualism and bilingualism, respectively (Clyne 1997).

(Societal) Multilingualism can arise in a multitude of different settings and through many different causes, for instance as a result of migration, territorial expansion, political union, through education and language contact or out of (economic) necessity caused by globalization, amongst others (see Clyne 1997; Edwards 2007). Societal multilingualism finds itself between the language and society in political, economic, social, educative and cultural settings amongst others (Darquennes & Nelde 2009:209). It can be officially recognised or not,

spontaneous/impermanent or permanent as well as a transitionary phase between two monolingualism settings (Clyne 1997). The approach that places monolingualism as the norm above multilingualism – although common practise – has been highly criticised, stating that such a practice does not reflect the linguistic and cultural reality, as the large number of living languages is significantly higher than that of sovereign states (see Ruíz Vieytez 2004; Williams 2000). The disparaging number between the two furthermore, reveals that multilingualism and the concept of minority language are a more frequent phenomenon than commonly perceived. However, Edwards refers to the relationship between societal and individual multilingualism and points out that “a country may be officially bilingual or multilingual and yet most of its citizens may have only a single language competence” (Edwards 1994, 55).

According to Riehl (2004:64), four types of societal multilingualism settings exist within a nation: 1) multilingual states with territorial regulations and principles; 2) multilingual states with individual multilingualism; 3) monolingual states with language minority regions; and 4) inner-city migration groups.

In the literature, societal multilingualism is often analysed in terms of the different functions which the languages occupy. Ferguson coined the term “diglossia” in 1959. Diglossia can originate in different settings where two language varieties are present which take up different specialized functions. In such linguistic settings, Ferguson states, one of the two varieties is “superposed” (what he calls the H variety/high variety) and supersedes the low variety (L variety) in terms of prestige and functionality in formal language settings (e.g. university, information distribution, institutional and official settings, literature, religious settings). Ferguson (1959) also discusses other parameters of diglossia such as different levels of standardization, variety acquisition, stability of diglossic language constellations as well as differences in grammatical structures, lexis and phonology.

An expansion of Ferguson’s definition is attributed to Fishman (1967), who further developed Ferguson’s definition (referred to as “extended diglossia”) by taking the qualities of functional difference as the basis for diglossic settings (as expressed in Ferguson’s definition) and applies the concept to situations where the two languages involved aren’t related to one another. He further described four possible scenarios of diglossia and bilingualism, namely 1) diglossia with bilingualism (nation/community wide bilingualism; both languages are used according to their different function in different domains); 2) diglossia without bilingualism (independent speech communities with different prestige are united within one unit; intercommunication is facilitated by translators and interpreters); 3) bilingualism without

diglossia (bilingualism without functional difference of use of the languages); and 4) setting with neither bilingualism nor diglossia (hypothetical; community with only one speech variety). However, critics of Fishman's expansion of Ferguson's original definition, have pointed out that the definition of diglossia according to Fishman would now make it applicable in almost any speech community as there is always a disparity between the linguistic forms used in formal and informal situations (Berruto 1989:553). Kloss (1966:138) suggested a differentiation between "Binnendiglossie" (in-diglossia or endo-glossia), which involves two language varieties, and "Außendiglossie" (out-diglossia or exo-glossia), which involves two different languages. The basic concept of diglossia has consequently been expanded to be applicable in situations where not only two different varieties or languages meet but to be used in a multiple language setting (Riehl 2004:19).

However, not only the development of the concept behind the term was criticised, also the choice of the term itself has not been spared criticism, as according to Edwards it lacks the "social and collective aspect that, in practice, it refers to" (2007:458).

Another concept relating to the context of societal multilingualism is that of "asymmetrical multilingualism". The underlying concept of asymmetrical multilingualism expresses the imbalance between two (or more) languages within a society in terms of status and prestige (Clyne 1997:306). Asymmetrical multilingualism is common for language contact situations with autochthonous language minorities (Darquennes 2012:70).

Research on the relation between the social status and power relations of a minority vis-à-vis a majority showed that the disparity of social status and power of a minority results in lower prestige, status and advance in terms of legitimization and institutionalisation (Nelde et al. 1996), whereby Nelde et al. define "prestige" in terms of the language's social recognition for social mobility, and "status" as the esteem that speaker receive for speaking that particular language. Determining factors for prestige of a language include the number of speakers, prestige and position of the area where the language, is spoken as well as the ideology of the language (Wodak & Krzyzanowski 2011). Translation into the language by an authoritative body (state, religion) as well as a historical basis are determinants that have the potential to increase the stature of a language (Myhill 2011).

2. Multilingual Wales

In order to contextualise the events of the 20th century with regard to the linguistic situation in Wales, the relationship between the Welsh and English languages needs to be analysed. There has been considerable tension surrounding the relationship between the two languages concerning the use, legitimacy and function amongst many other factors that have, for several centuries, led to events that have shaped Welsh history. However, it needs to be considered that there is – to some degree – discord amongst experts over the interpretation of these events and their effect on the Welsh language and the linguistic community in Wales.

The first part of this chapter seeks to analyse events which had an impact on the relationship between the two languages up until the turn of the 20th century (see chapter 3 of this thesis for a more detailed analysis of linguistically relevant developments of the 20th and 21st century), the second part considers the state and health of the Welsh language based on census data. The language census was introduced to monitor, in ten-year intervals, the number and percentage of Welsh speakers, in order to determine the relative health of the Welsh language. Not only is the absolute number of Welsh speakers and the relative percentage of the Welsh speaking population thereby determined, but other factors such as general language ability can also be assessed. Despite the possibilities provided by a census, shortcomings of such census are well known, and census information gained can be limited. As Edwards points out, questions and statements can be “open to a huge degree of interpretation” (Edwards 2007:451).

2.1. Historical background of the Welsh language up to the 20th century

The story of Welsh-English history is often initiated with an event which occurred in the 13th century. Wales was a conglomerate of principalities until 1284, when it was conquered by English king Edward I and the Statute of Rhuddlan was issued. The statute provided the constitutional basis for the rule of Edward I by declaring the annexation of Wales to England. Furthermore, it installed the principals of England’s legal system in the country (Walker 1990:139), although parts of Welsh law, *Cyfraith Hywel*, remained (albeit mostly in an adapted form and with the exception of criminal law) in force until the 16th century (Watkin 2012²). The annexation to England signalled the beginning of the growing contact between the two languages, which was to intensify over the centuries to come.

The 16th century was central to the history of the Welsh language and was defined by several key events. In 1509, Henry VIII succeeded the English throne as the second monarch of the House of Tudor (English royal dynasty of Welsh origin). In 1536, the monarch installed the first Act of Union, which was to be followed by a second in 1542. With these acts, Wales was to be wholly integrated into the English crown; any surviving native Welsh law was abolished, and the English legal and administrative system was installed in its entirety. The restructuring of the system had an immediate effect on Welsh speakers, as the 1536 Act contained an additional language clause, stipulating that English was to be the only language allowed in the courts and that judicial and public offices could only be held by people with proficient knowledge of the English language (Roberts 1997). For the last two centuries, analysis and interpretation of the aforementioned language clause and its consequences were crucially influenced by the contemporary public and scholarly attitude towards the Welsh language. Traditional accounts, frequently attributed to Iolo Morganwg, argued that the English crown installed the clause with the intent of eradicating the Welsh culture and language, but such views have since been revised (Jenkins et al. 1997:63). It has been noted that there was no general, widespread fear at the time of the Act's implementation, of the Welsh language being in any way under threat. During the Tudor period, the majority of the population in many areas of Wales were monoglot Welsh speakers and although the passage of the Act saw the percentage of English speakers in Wales rise considerably, in particular in higher social classes, "[a]s a spoken language, Welsh was neither beleaguered nor imperilled" (ibid.:45-46). However, the acts inarguably did have a devitalizing effect by fostering Anglicization, fully establishing the legal and administrative system of England, making proficiency in English a requirement for public office, and thus supplanting Welsh in important domains. Notwithstanding, as Roberts highlights, "the loss of status for the language was a culmination of a long historical process bound up with the decline of the [native] laws" (1997:130).

A second relevant development for the history of the Welsh language during the 16th century concerned religion. After a disagreement with the Pope over the annulment of his marriage to his first wife Catherine of Aragon, Henry VIII founded the Church of England with the king as head through the passing of the 1534 Act of Supremacy, separating the Church from papal authority and initiating the English Reformation (Rex 2006). At the same time, the reformation movement took hold in Europe and this influenced the development of the newly established Church of England which moved closer to Protestantism particularly under Henry VIII's successor Edward VI, who published the first English Book of Common Prayer in 1549.

This signalled not only a religious shift further away from Catholicism, it also generated a linguistic shift from Latin to English, a substantial change for non-English speakers who not only had to get accustomed to new religious rituals and practices, but also to a new language (Williams 1997).

After Edward VI affirmed Protestantism, his sister Mary I, a staunch Catholic, was installed as the Queen of England in 1553. The years of her rule were marked by social unrest, with numerous riots and uprisings. When Mary I died after only five years, Elizabeth I succeeded in 1558, who in turn reinstated Protestantism. Elizabeth I recognized the danger posed by religious unrest. She instituted a law that provided for the translation of the Bible into Welsh through the 1558 Act of Uniformity thus prioritizing religious over linguistic union. The argument for providing a translation into Welsh was threefold: it was to prevent social unrest, familiarise non-English speakers with the customs of the Protestant faith and foster English language acquisition (Williams 1997). The Act required that the Welsh texts were used and displayed in churches in parallel to the English text, as people “such as do not understand the said Language, may by conferring both Tongues together, the sooner attain to the Knowledge of the English Tongue” (Bowen 1908:151). The resulting necessary translation was carried out chiefly by William Salesbury, who during the nearly ten years following the passing of the Act, produced a translation of the New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer (Williams 1997).

Such was the background against which, two decades later, William Morgan published his translation, the first complete Welsh translation of the Bible which he compiled between 1578 – 1588. Morgan’s translation is often regarded as the beginning of the standardized literary Welsh language. He modernised and adapted the language used by Salesbury and revised the orthography applied by his predecessor which was based on the etymology of the words (such as English) rather than pronunciation (typical for Welsh) (Fowkes 1993:142). Morgan’s translation, having been revised in 1620 by Bishop Richard Parry of St. Asaph, amongst others, remained the authorized Welsh Bible until the 20th century, cementing its status as the basis of the standardized Welsh literary form. It furthermore created a strong bond between the Welsh language and religion which lasted through the centuries and played a pivotal role in the survival of the language.

Literacy began to spread throughout Wales in the 18th century, fostered by the development of the printing press (the first book to be printed and published in Wales appeared

in 1718) (Strabone 2018:156) and this was due in great part to the efforts of Griffith Jones, who established (religious) circulating schools throughout the country (White 1997). Until 1800, approximately 70% of the Welsh population were monoglot Welsh speakers (Jenkins et al. 1997:48) and Welsh succeeded in upholding its function as the language of instruction in popular schooling (White 1997:326).

The 18th century, marked the beginning of the era of industrialization which transformed Wales and the Welsh economy. Where previously the majority of people worked in agriculture, the advancement of industrialization established copper, lead and coal quarries throughout the country as well as woollen production and other diverse industries, which attracted immigration from England and Ireland. According to the first official census to be held in Wales, the population doubled between 1801 and 1851, exceeding over 1.1 million inhabitants, and as a consequence, bigger towns emerged. Consequently, the Welsh language saw an influx of new vocabulary, reflecting these technological and social advancements. However, as the total number of Welsh speakers increased, the proportionate number compared to English-speakers declined from approximately 80% in 1801 to 67% in 1851 (Davies 2014:57).

By the 19th century, the language shift in the higher social classes had established itself – Welsh was the language of the working and lower middle classes and its usage was confined to the “valleys” (Davies 2014). As the teaching of the English language in school gained ground, the methods employed, however, were cause for great discontent, as highlighted in the 19th century periodical *The Cambro-Briton*. The following comment on the state of English language teaching at schools illustrates how inadequate teaching accentuated the tear in the social fabric between the Welsh-speaking and English-speaking population:

“With respect to the instruction of Welsh children in the English language a most erroneous practice has hitherto prevailed. [...] A child, unacquainted with any other than the Welsh language, is sent to school. The first thing done is to place in his hand an English grammar or spelling-book, though for what purpose it would be difficult to conjecture: – the next is to forbid, under a severe penalty, the utterance of his native tongue [...]. Thus laudably menaced out of a use of his own language, and happily defended from the intrusion of any other, he quits school with no other anxiety than how to regain what he had there lost.” (*The Cambrio-Briton* 1819:76)

The social inequality and the prejudicial attitude towards the Welsh language persisted in the first half of the 19th century and – as described in the above-mentioned publication – was also the subject of what has become a widely controversial commission report. In 1847, the British

Government commissioned an enquiry on the educational standards and practices in Wales. It became known as the Treason of the Blue Books (all governmental reports at the time having blue covers). The reputation of the Welsh language at the time was less than favourable and the report was severely biased towards English language teaching. The leanings of the report were painfully apparent in consideration of the fact that the commissioners did not even possess the most rudimentary knowledge of Welsh. However, education was not all the report was concerned with. The report also examined the morals and behaviour of the people of Wales for which the commissioners consulted Anglican vicars. Serving in Wales was seen by many vicars as undesirable, particularly in the Welsh-speaking areas due to the language barrier, thus their comments more reflected their “ignorance of” and negative attitude towards the Welsh and their culture (Roberts 1998). The people of Wales (of the lower social classes) were described as primitive, rude, housing in poor, filthy and squalid living conditions, with questioning sexual practices. Further, Welsh literature and the Welsh language were thoroughly denounced:

“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. It is the language of the Cymri, and anterior to that of the ancient Britons. It dissevers the people from intercourse which would greatly advance their civilisation, and bars the access of improving knowledge to their minds. As proof of this, there is no Welsh literature worthy of the name.”
(Committee of Council on Education 1848:66)

The words of the report were a blatant and unrestrained attack on the Welsh population, the Welsh language and culture and had the effect of cementing an inferiority complex in the social consciousness of the Welsh that haunted the population for generations. Roberts summarizes the consequences of the report:

“It is this legacy which makes the publication of the Report a defining moment in Welsh history. [...] The 1847 Report did not create a new negative image of what it meant to be Welsh, but it sharpened and deepened immeasurably the negative images that were already current, and for generations after its publication, these images persisted, and coloured public perceptions. Attempting to counter these images became more than ever the lonely and beleaguered task of maintaining and defending the house of Welsh identity amidst a cloud of hostile witnesses; 150 years after the Report's publication, the house is still standing but the witnesses are still hostile.”
(Roberts 1998:238-239)

The report of the commission also mentions the practice of “Welsh Not” in Welsh schools, which was implemented as an instrument of punishment, forcing children to self-regulate their language behaviour in a move to purge Welsh from the schools. A piece of wood attached to a string was worn around the neck by children caught speaking Welsh. A child was able to pass

on the “Welsh Not”-sign, if it caught another child speaking Welsh. The child wearing the sign last was punished by the teacher. This practise was reportedly carried out well into the 20th century (Pitchford 2008), the extent and detailed practice of which is, however, disputed.

As the century progressed however, attitudes started to change and a new national confidence emerged. The second half of the 19th century saw a rise in Welsh nationalism and the origin of Welsh institutions such as the foundation of the University of Wales in 1895 or of Cymru Fydd (Young Wales/Wales of the Future) in 1886. The latter was a political and cultural movement which demanded national recognition and self-government (Morgan 1981).

1891 marked the year of the first census specifically aimed at determining the linguistic situation in Wales. The census revealed a majority of English-monoglot speakers (759,416), however, Welsh-monoglot and bilingual speakers totalled 910,289 people. The census also illustrated the demographic and linguistic distribution and provided information regarding the social composition of the population. It revealed the linguistic stability in the Welsh-speaking heartland (“Y Fro Gymraeg”) and linguistic vulnerability on the English boarder as well as English language advancement in market towns, along the railway line and in tourist communities, amongst other factors (Parry & Williams 1999).

2.2. State of the Welsh language in the 20th and 21st century

The “building of a nation” and the raise of Welsh national identity, which emerged towards the end of the 19th century, gained momentum with the beginning of the 20th century and led to the establishment of further national institutions such as the National Library, the national party Plaid Cymru, the National Museum, Welsh national teams in sport etc.. A cultural consciousness for the language started to emerge championed by Saunders Lewis, whose commitment to the survival of the language dominated the 20th century (Jones 1979:236).

Nevertheless, by the beginning of the 20th century, Welsh had become a minority language in Wales. Although the language still held a strong presence in the Welsh-speaking heartlands, the overall downward trend and the decline of the language’s health continued. The economic depression of the 1920s had a severely negative impact. With rising unemployment in the Welsh speaking heartland of the north and west of the country, the rural population migrated towards the (dominantly English-speaking) towns (Jones & Williams 2000).

The two world wars contributed to accelerate Welsh language decline. Religion, a stronghold for the Welsh language, lost in significance and Church attendance dropped. Economic and social issues intensified, originating from and/or leading to the deterioration of traditional industries, which in turn fuelled emigration of Welsh speakers combined with immigration by non-Welsh-speaking families from England or urban areas in Wales to the Welsh-speaking heartland. The language was in rapid decline. While the total number of Welsh speakers between 1901 and 1911 had increased by nearly 50,000 people; it had dropped in proportionate terms. As the data acquired through the decennial language census illustrates, the number of Welsh speakers fell from nearly 50% of the population to below 30% during the first half of the 20th century. English had cemented itself as the dominant language. (Jenkins & Willims 2000)

Further factors that contributed to the rise of English include state policies, closer economic and administrative ties to England as well as the standardization of the local government and the educational system. Modernization in general and a lack in development of new speech domains, as well as the apparent disparities in status and between the two languages further contributed. On the other hand, the English language represented progress and prosperity and was deemed essential for economic and social participation in international circles, opened up through the relatively strong position of the British economy. Anglicization started to penetrate all areas of life, spurred on by advancements in communication technologies and transportation. The “sheltered” Welsh speaking heartland was no longer secluded: “In Wales, geographical isolation had provided some basis for cultural differentiation both within and between the sociolinguistic communities. However, the development of an externally derived transport and communication system served to reduce that isolation” (Williams 2000:17-18). Anglicization affected the media landscape, causing Welsh language newspapers to shut down, and even the National Eisteddfod witnessed a change in its linguistic traditions. Religious life, a stronghold for the Welsh language, started to lose even more in cultural significance. With technological advance, entertainment and the social lifestyle of neighbouring England and its now dominant American cousin left their impressions on the population of Wales, as they were deemed more fun and exciting than traditional customs. English-medium education increased, welcomed by parents who attributed prosperity and higher status to the language. English was more and more seen as the gateway to a better quality of life and the downward trend for Welsh continued as the century progressed (Williams 2000). By the time the 1961 census was conducted, just over a quarter of the population spoke Welsh,

including only 26,223 monoglot Welsh speakers narrowly making up 1% of the country's inhabitants (Phillips 2000a:463).

Table 1. Percentage of the population able to speak Welsh 1901 – 2011 (Census data 1901-1991: Jones & Lewis 2019:104-106; census data 2001-2011: Welsh Government 2011)

Welsh speakers in Wales per decennial census (rounded)										
1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
49.9%	43.5%	37.1%	36.8%	28.9%	26.0%	20.8%	18.9%	18.5%	20.8%	19.0%
929,800	977,400	922,100	909,300	714,700	656,000	542,400	508,200	500,000	582,400	562,000

Change of public attitude

The ethnic revival and cultural turn of the 1960s and 1970s fostered a change in public attitude. In 1967, the Welsh language obtained “equal validity” in legal proceedings. Despite this first concession to strengthen the status of Welsh, the 1967 Act “was limited in its applicability and had no mechanism to compel adherence to the principle of equal validity” (The Open University 2016:6.2.1). Despite this concession, the decline of Welsh language use in social life continued unabated and the number of Welsh speakers dropped to just over 20% by the 1971 census. In the decade to follow and with public awareness growing, language decline slowed down comparatively to previous decades and dropped by a mere 2.9% between 1971 and 1981, and a further 0.4% in the following decade.

Public discourse initiated in the 60s surrounding the Welsh language, and maintained in the decades that followed, continued to spread. The pressure to facilitate more services in Welsh grew, underlined by the publishing of the 1991 census that revealed an unprecedented low of Welsh speakers. Further reforms were soon called, eventually leading to the passage of the 1993 Welsh Language Act, which stipulated that the English and Welsh languages should be treated “on a basis of equality” in the judicial system and in public administration (Welsh Language Act 1993).

In 1999, learning Welsh at school (at the least as a second language) was made compulsory for children from ages 5 to 16. This measure first began to yield results in the 2001 census, in which, for the first time since the census was carried out, the number of Welsh speakers showed slight gains (Jones 2012). The implementation of obligatory Welsh-language

acquisition at school not only contributed to the increase in Welsh speakers, it also facilitated the spread of the language throughout the country.

After the disruption of the Welsh-speaking heartland since the second half of the 20th century, the Welsh language was no longer “confined to the valleys”. As a direct result, the language had to adapt and diversify. “With the secularization of society and the breakdown of the relative homogeneity of rural communities, an alternative, urban formal set of domains have been constructed in the urban industrial environments” (Williams 2000:25). With the help of state policies and other measures, the number of bilingual speakers increased in urban areas. In 2011, Welsh gained the legal status of being an official language in Wales through the implementation of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 (see chapter 3.1.1.). In 2016, the Welsh government officially launched proposals to increase the number of Welsh speakers to one million people by 2050 (see chapter 3.1.2).

As this chapter aimed to highlight, Wales as a whole and the Welsh language in particular are primarily perceived in conjunction with England and the English language, a habit which places Wales and the Welsh language in an inferior position, as Coupland illustrates:

“Wales’s peripherality might therefore be understood in terms of cultural and linguistic subordination, as well as geographical marginality, not to mention its ‘smallness’—a population of about three million contrasting with the 52 or so million inhabitants of England, ‘the old enemy’. If the Welsh language is perceived to be peripheral, again in the sense of being a ‘marginal’ (= ‘small’ or ‘non-mainstream’) British language, this might lie in the fact that virtually the whole population of Wales is fluent in English while only around half a million people report themselves (at the decennial census) to be competent users of Welsh in Wales.” (Coupland 2003:133)

The Welsh Government has committed to the what appears to be a momentous task of trying to change people’s perception in order to save the Welsh language from linguistic obscurity by installing efforts that aim to show the linguistic independency and thus validity of the Welsh language as opposed to the English language.

3. Factors that contributed to the development of the translation industry in Wales

In order for the translation industry to take hold, firstly, the Welsh language had to be revitalized, creating a foundation for bilingual practices. Some factors identified in this chapter contributed to the stabilization and growth of the language and aimed at creating awareness, while others were, and still are, direct contributors to the establishment and growth of the translation industry. These parameters are presented here, not in chronological order but summarized under specific aspects. It is important to point out that these factors influenced one another and are dependent upon each other. Some initiatives rely upon the same actors or developed simultaneously. The origins of and reasons for some of these events and activities can be traced back to the Middle Ages (if not before), as has been discussed in the previous chapter. However, this chapter is devoted to activities and events which occurred during the 20th and 21st century. Ultimately, these factors have not only contributed to the establishment of the translation industry within Wales but also make up an important field of work in their own right as significant volumes of activity are generated and necessitated within the different areas in which their influence is felt

3.1. Politics

In the mid-20th century, there was a turnaround in public and political attitude towards the Welsh language. The second half of the 20th century was notable for an increase in language- and political activism, and the 1960s were specifically marked by a rise in political nationalism. By the mid-1970s, the political party Plaid Cymru had made significant gains. The attitude towards the Welsh language was changing and as one of the consequences, the revitalization and use of Welsh was enshrined in law. This section introduces the most relevant acts and regulations for language use and protection on a national and international level as well as governmental institutions that were established for this purpose.

3.1.1. Primary legislation, Acts and Measures

Until the 16th century, some regional indigenous Welsh laws survived which were ultimately displaced by the 1535 and 1542 Laws in Wales Act, from which moment on English law was implemented in Wales (Huws & Stevenson 2018). It was not until the Government of Wales

Act 1998 which established the National Assembly of Wales that legislation would be passed again in Wales. Initially, the Assembly's powers were limited to secondary legislation, until the Government of Wales Act 2006 conferred the right to pass primary legislation in the form of measures to the National Assembly for Wales. Measures passed by the Assembly were known as Mesurau Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru/Measures of the National Assembly for Wales (Government of Wales Act 2006: Schedule 5).

Following a referendum in 2011, the National Assembly for Wales gained the power to pass legal acts in 20 stipulated areas without necessitating consultation with the UK Parliament or the Secretary of State for Wales. A bill (= draft law) becomes an Act of Parliament (UK Parliament) and a Deddfau Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru/Act of the National Assembly for Wales respectively, once it has been passed and given Royal Assent by the Monarch.

Welsh Courts Act 1942

The case of Saunders Lewis is often cited as having been the catalyst for the Welsh Courts Act 1942 (Davies 2014) (see chapter 3.2.1. and 3.2.2.). Facing legal proceedings for the act of incendiarism of the bombing school, Saunders Lewis along with two other activists pledged to have their case heard in Welsh. However, their demand was refused, instigating a years-long campaign for the right to use the Welsh language at court. After various failed attempts to instigate the proposal of such a bill, the campaign culminated in a petition, launched at the National Eisteddfod in 1938 where it gained sufficient support for new legislation in the form of the Welsh Courts Act 1942 eventually being passed (Jenkins & Williams 2000).

The Act granted rights for the use of the Welsh language in court by a party of witnesses. Furthermore, it regulated that it was within the court's responsibilities to find and provide an interpreter (Welsh Courts Act 1942).

Nevertheless, the Welsh Courts Act was not deemed a success as it did not meet all the demands originally stipulated, such as the granting of the absolute right to use Welsh in court proceedings (Davies 2014:117). Defendants and plaintiffs were allowed to speak Welsh only if speaking English would lead to disadvantage, requiring that they prove such disadvantage (Carradice 2012a).

Welsh Language Act 1967

With the beginning of the 1960s, language activism witnessed an upsurge and demands for a new language act gained attention. In 1963, the government established a committee “to clarify the legal status of the Welsh language and to consider whether any changes in the law ought to be made” (HC Deb 30 July 1963, vol 682, col 227W). The committee considered several principles on which the future use of Welsh should be based. Having rejected the themes of “bilingualism” (parallel Welsh-English conduct of all legal and administrative businesses) and “necessity” (as established in the Welsh Courts Act of 1942 where the use of Welsh was only permitted where it was deemed necessary), the committee settled on the principal of “equal validity” (granting the same legal status to Welsh as to English for all legal purposes as well as in public administration within the country). The resulting report, published in 1965, became known as the “Hughes-Parry” report after the committee’s chair Sir David Hughes-Parry (Davies 2000:240).

Only select recommendations of the over 30 recommendations set out in the Hughes-Parry report became legislation with the Welsh Language Act 1967. The act itself was received with mixed responses by legal, political and cultural circles in Wales, failing to grant absolute right to use Welsh in the legal and administrative areas as was recommended, instead prioritising the English language copy should there be a discrepancy between the two language versions (Davies 2000:247). A further problem was the application of the law, which in the years to come revealed a significant divergence between “the theory of equal validity and its practise” (ibid.:243).

In a further move, the Welsh Language Act 1967 also abolished “co-referencing” which was stipulated in the Wales and Berwick Act 1746, in which the country of England was defined as including England, Wales and Berwick-upon-Tweed and which led to the infamous Encyclopaedia Britannica entry “For Wales, see England”.

Education Reform Act 1988

Despite the positive trend towards a better standing of the Welsh language and an overall slow-down in the decline in speakers, the number of Welsh speakers particularly amongst the younger generation was still unfortunately dwindling. By 1988, only 13% of all primary school children in Wales spoke the language fluently contrasting with 74% that had no knowledge of the language at all (Aitchison & Carter 1994:70).

The Education Reform Act 1988 introduced for the first time a national curriculum for schools in England and Wales. Prior to the act, the implementation of bilingual policies in Wales as well as Welsh language education was dependent upon the support of local authorities and schools (Evans 2000:368). The act declared Welsh a core subject in Welsh-medium schools and a foundation subject in English-medium schools and thereby dramatically changed Welsh language acquisition practices.

With the Education (National Curriculum) (Attainment Targets and Programmes of Study in Welsh) (Amendment) Order 1998, which came into force in 1999, Welsh was made a mandatory subject at all secondary schools in Wales, before in 2011 with the establishment of the Foundation Phase the language was also taught to children aged 3 to 7 (Mercator ²2014).

Welsh Language Act 1993

Due to dissatisfaction with the legal situation and status of the Welsh language and the strengthened position of Welsh in the education sector, in the late 1980s the recently formed advisory body Welsh Language Board was tasked with drawing up a draft bill as basis for a renewed Language Act, which was passed in 1989.

After several years and a general election, the Welsh Language Act 1993 was passed. One of the main stipulations of the act was that it required selected bodies which provide public services in Wales to compose Welsh language schemes that specified the body's strategy in the provision of services in the Welsh language. At the time, several institutions and organizations were already publishing at least some of their documents bilingually as a result of successful language campaigning, most of which was led by the Welsh language society Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg but the Act, for the first time, legally required institutions and public bodies to commit to the Welsh language.

Furthermore, the Act gave statutory recognition to the Welsh Language Board for providing advice to the Secretary of State and public bodies on matters concerning the Welsh language, for the approval of Welsh Language Schemes and for monitoring compliance with the act. Additionally, the Act allowed Welsh Ministers to give Welsh names to bodies named in legislation. In terms of the use of Welsh in legal proceedings, the act states that Welsh may be spoken by anybody in any legal proceedings in Wales and that interpreters may be employed if needed (Welsh Language Act 1993).

The Act also introduced the notion of language equality, replacing the principle of “equal validity” which defines the Welsh Language Act 1963, in that it established “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: Introductory Text). However, the act did not meet demands to declare Welsh as an “official language” and the change in terminology compared to the previous language act was marginal (Davies 2000: 246).

Altogether, more than 550 Welsh language schemes were developed by the Welsh Language Board in cooperation with bodies pertaining to different sectors (Welsh Government 2012:11).

Government of Wales Act 1998 and 2006

For centuries, devolution from England was a point of great discussion and divided opinions amongst politicians, experts and the public. The venture involved several setbacks until (partial) devolution was eventually legitimized at the end of the 20th century.

Although demands to gain more independence for Wales can be traced back to the late nineteenth century with the campaigns of the Liberal Party Cymru Fydd (“Young Wales”) and the foundation of the Welsh Board for Education at the beginning of the 20th century, a first substantial step towards more independence for Wales was the creation of the junior government post of the Minister of State for Welsh Affairs in the 1950s and the Office of the Secretary of State in 1964 to represent Wales’ needs.

Political devolution was considered the next big step and a referendum was called in 1979 to decide Wales’s future. However, the referendum dramatically failed to win a majority. With an overall turnout of approximately 60%, nearly 80% of voters voted against partial Welsh devolution. An unfavourable political climate, that can be put down to an unpopular government, combined with parties divided over the matter themselves were some of the reasons for the lack of support. Another factor seemed to be the lack of a unifying “Welsh identity”. Opinions over what constitutes as “Welshness” were split. A national identity could not be based on institutions, neither was the Welsh language a consolidatory motif (Von Rothkirch 2000).

By the time a second referendum was called in 1997, the younger generation was open for change. The Welsh language debate was slowly de-politicised, the Welsh language TV channel Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C) established and the Welsh Language Act 1993 implemented (Von Rothkirch 2000). The matter of devolution was picked up in the run-up to the general elections in 1997, featuring not only in Plaid Cymru's agenda but – perhaps more importantly – also the Labour Party's manifesto. After the first referendum in 1979 had declined Welsh devolution, a second referendum in 1997 was decided by a margin of less than one percent – and despite a low voter-turnout – in favour of the proposed legislation and initiated the process of a partial separation of powers between England and Wales (Jones, J. Graham 2000:275)

As a result of the referendum, the Government of Wales Act 1998 was passed, establishing the Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru/National Assembly for Wales in 1999 which brought with it significant changes for the handling of the Welsh language and bilingualism. As Williams describes, it “signalled a new era in the development of a bilingual society” (2000:33). Right from its beginnings, the Assembly's objective was to “create a truly bilingual Wales” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:57) and together with the Welsh Language Board it was established “as a key planning agency for Welsh” (Coupland et al. 2006:353).

In 2006, the Government of Wales Act 1998 was revised. With the Government of Wales Act 2006, the Assembly gained the right to pass primary legislation. Furthermore, it separated powers between the legislative National Assembly (henceforth Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru/National Assembly for Wales) and the executive Government (henceforth Llywodraeth Cymru/Welsh Government). The Assembly's obligations concerning language listed in the Act included, amongst others, bilingual legislative drafting, the responsibility to oblige public service bodies to implement Welsh Language Schemes and to monitor their duties as well as the funding of organizations and institutions including the Welsh Language Board. One of the most important changes with respect to the Welsh language was that in accordance with section 156 (1) of the Government of Wales Act 2006, legislative texts in Welsh and English received equal standing before the law.

The Assembly's legislative competences were further increased on several occasions such as by the Wales Act 2014 and the Wales Act 2017.

Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011

The Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 was designed to clarify the ongoing terminology dispute, by granting official status to the Welsh language. By doing so, the National Assembly made it “the only language which is de jure official in any part of the United Kingdom. (While English is certainly the de facto official language of the United Kingdom, its status is not enshrined in legislation)” (Davies 2014:123). Furthermore, the measure states that Welsh is to be treated “no less favourably than the English language” (Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, Part 1, s. 1(2)(b)). The Measure has made a positive contribution to language maintenance as well as has increased and strengthened the use of Welsh in public services. The Measure has also served as clarification for the public in terms of which services are (and legally have to be) available in the Welsh language (National Assembly for Wales 2010).

Additionally and along with the Advisory Panel to the Welsh Language Commissioner, the Welsh Language Tribunal and the Welsh Language Partnership Council, it established the position of Welsh Language Commissioner which was to replace the Welsh Language Board and made provisions for the development of language standards to replace the Welsh language schemes stipulated in the 1993 Welsh Language Act.

Several requirements are listed in terms of the treatment of the Welsh language, referring to services that, from the installation of the Measure, had to be made available bilingually, as well as rights related to language use and legal documents. Similarly to the Welsh language schemes-model regulated in the Welsh Language Act 1993, it regulates the language duties a public body or company that provides public services has to meet and implement at the workplace and in communication with the public. It specifies said bodies which have to implement language standards in accordance with this measure and regulates how failures to comply with the measures are disciplined and by whom. Companies affected by this measure are notified with a compliance notice issued by the Commissioner which stipulate the extent of standards that have to be implemented. Since the introduction of Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, there have been seven Welsh Language Standards issued between 2015 and 2018 (see The National Archives n.d.) and as of April 2019, over 120 compliance notices have been issued (see Welsh Language Commissioner n.d.-a).

In 2016 during the Assembly Plenary Session of 18 May, the First Minister announced plans to seek an amendment to the measure. A year later, preparations were put in place to

establish a new language bill. In the White Paper titled “Striking the right balance”, published in August 2017, the Welsh Government set out plans to restructure the Welsh Language Standards and the position of the Welsh Language Commissioner (amongst others) with the aim of reducing bureaucracy and creating clarity. Nevertheless, in a statement issued in February 2019, the government announced to withdraw its plans, following consultations with various stakeholders (Welsh Government 2019a).

3.1.2. National language strategies

Since the establishment of the Welsh Language Board, the implementation of the Welsh Language Act 1993 and Welsh devolution in 1998, a number of language policy documents, language strategy documents, documents on language planning and consultation documents were published by the government as well as by governmental bodies and institutions.

The first noteworthy publication of this kind was “Yr Iaith Gymraeg: Strategaeth i'r Dyfodol”/“The Welsh Language: a Strategy for the Future” (Welsh Language Board 1989a). Published in 1989, it marks the Welsh Language Board’s first major contribution to language revitalization. It is equally the first publication to suggest detailed plans for promoting and increasing the use of Welsh (Evas 2006:308). In the same year, the Board published two advisory documents for the public and private sector: “A Bilingual Policy: Guidelines for the Public Sector” (Welsh Language Board 1989b) and “Practical Options for the Use of Welsh in Business” (Welsh Language Board 1989c). “A Plan for Wales 2001”, published by the Welsh Assembly Government in 2001 is a strategic plan which aimed at an initial stabilization of the linguistic situation by 2004, followed by an increase in the number of young Welsh speakers by 2010.

In 2002, the government published its policy statement “Dyfodol Dwyieithog: A Bilingual Future” in which it announced the publication of a national action plan which would include concrete measures and steps on how the government would implement its language strategy. This publication with the full title “Iaith Pawb: Cynllun Gweithredu Cenedlaethol ar gyfer Cymru Ddwyieithog”/“Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003) is one of the three main language strategies published by the government in the 21st century, along with “Iaith fyw: iaith byw”/“A Living Language: A Language for the Living” (Welsh Government 2012) and “Miliwn o siaradwyr”/“Cymraeg 2050: A million Welsh speakers” (Welsh Government 2017); all three of which shall be

examined in turn in the following sections with regard to provisions included that relate specifically to the translation industry.

2003-2012: Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales

After several initially vague language strategy plans that were announced in the first few years of the Assembly's existence, the Welsh Assembly Government published its first major strategic framework entitled "Iaith Pawb: Cynllun Gweithredu Cenedlaethol ar gyfer Cymru Ddwieithog"/"Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales" in 2003, laying out its future ambitions on how to foster and increase the use of Welsh. The policy document that came to be known as the "Action Plan" was set out as "a public declaration of what we want to achieve for the Welsh language, what we shall do to achieve our goal and what we want and expect our partners to do to support us" (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:10) and became "the centrepiece of the devolved Assembly's language revitalization policy" (Coupland 2012:6). The document which gained cross-party support, included a list of initiatives that were to be implemented as well as specified bodies and their role and responsibilities in order to achieve the goals states in the Action Plan, including a clarification of the role of the Welsh Language Board. The Welsh Language Act 1993 already required approximately 200 organisations to implement Welsh Language Schemes (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:13-14). With the policies proposed in the Action Plan, the National Government Assembly hoped to expand the number of organisations that must comply with the language scheme.

As stated in the Action Plan, the Assembly Government's primary focus was on encouraging the use and learning of Welsh, enabling the concept of language choice along with granting services in Welsh, Welsh medium education and the active promotion of the benefits of bilingualism. The goals presented in the Action Plan included the increase of the total number of speakers by 5% until the next census in 2011, stimulation of intergenerational language transfer as well as language education post-middle school and for "newcomers" (to Welsh-speaking areas) and adult learners. It aimed to accomplish the described goals by visual landscape enforcement and by battling the stigma of Welsh as "the language of the valleys" and instead raising its profile "in all aspects of life", amongst other measures.

The document revealed the Welsh Assembly Government's three-way approach: 1) by creating a National Policy Framework, the Assembly Government showed its commitment to

establishing language policies and guaranteeing financial support, highlighting the government's plans on how to achieve this; 2) it targeted communities and aimed at strengthening their economic and social circumstances and 3) it addressed the language rights of individuals, in terms of use and acquisition.

The three, recurring key-aspects that were emphasised throughout the document included: “true bilingualism”, “language choice” and “(visual) language presence”: “Our aspiration is [...] 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.” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:1).

In terms of translation, the Assembly Government presented its plans to offer a free Welsh translation service for business from 2003 (ibid.:24) and stated that Menterau Iaith's services include the provision of translation equipment (ibid.:30). Furthermore, the Assembly Government highlighted its continued increase of support for the translation of materials to foster language acquisition (ibid.:43), as well as its plans to develop a national database to facilitate computer aided translation by developing a national database of standardised translation memories to enhance translation quality as well as developing lexicographical and machine translation aids (ibid.:49). A further aim was to increase professionalisation within the translation industry by creating a national translation strategy in cooperation with the country's association of translators and interpreters Cymdeithas Cyfrieithwyr Cymru (ibid.:49).

The success of the initiative was to be measured with an enhanced and more detailed language use survey compiled in cooperation with the Welsh Language Board as well as annual progress reports published by the Welsh Language Unit.

2012-2017: A Living Language: A Language for the Living

The publication of the second major national language strategy document “Iaith fyw: iaith byw”/”A Living Language: A Language for the Living” in 2012 (Welsh Government 2012) came after the implementation of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, the reorganisation of the Language Board into the post of Language Commissioner and was prepared in accordance with section 78 of the Government of Wales Act 2006. Replacing its predecessor, it built upon existing initiatives while also taking up new issues.

The new language strategy document addressed specific target groups that were deemed particularly crucial for language survival (teenagers and families where only one carer/parent speaks the language) (Welsh Government 2012:12) and recognised the importance of new media. While during the 20th century, importance for language revitalization was placed on broadcasting media, in the 21st century the language's presence in new media, namely on websites, apps and social media, is equally as important. The objectives of this second language strategy document were similar to its predecessor and included increasing the total number of speakers, increasing the number of language domains and broadening the possibility of use as well as the strengthening of the language's position within the community. Notable emphasis was put on increasing the confidence of Welsh language speakers and raising awareness of the benefits and possibilities facilitated by bilingualism (ibid.:14). Ultimately, the community should be able to conduct their life in Welsh offline as well as online throughout all domains.

To achieve this vision, the strategy plan emphasised the approach of placing a deliberate focus on language acquisition and use. The Government formulated altogether 52 action points, which were split into six strategic areas:

- 1) The family: increasing Welsh language use within the family and with children at home
- 2) Children and young people: expanding activities for this target group, which can be carried out in Welsh and (thus) awareness for the language's benefits and values are increased
- 3) The community: strengthening the language's position within communities (with a focal point on communities in which the Welsh language was widely used until recently) by enhancing the language's visibility and services available
- 4) The workplace: increasing the possibility to use Welsh at the workplace
- 5) Welsh-language services: increasing and enhancing services available in Welsh to the public across the public, private and third sector
- 6) Infrastructure: enhancing the infrastructure available for the language by developing further tools and resources

The policy document dedicated a whole section to translation, highlighting the high demand for and the scarceness of professional translators in Wales as well as the importance of providing quality translation services, for the effective implementation of which a corresponding infrastructure of accreditation, regulations and translation training are essential. It underlined the necessity for collaboration between different service providers, between

public bodies and local authorities and recognised the importance of translations for increasing the domains for which Welsh is available, esp. with regard to hosting bilingual social events (Welsh Government 2012:49-50). As part of its “Action Points”, it cited the Commissioner’s role in supporting and developing the translation industry (ibid.:53) as well as enhancing the access for groups and third sector organisations to translation services (ibid.:39). On a different note, it also raised the issue of the necessity for a bilingual workforce able to work with the Welsh language “rather than having to translate them into English”; however, limiting such practice to “internal use only” (ibid.:50).

2017: Cymraeg 2050: A million Welsh speakers

As the title “Cymraeg 2050: Miliwn o siaradwyr”/“Cymraeg 2050: A million Welsh speakers” (Welsh Government 2017) suggests, with the third major national strategy publication, the Welsh Government reveals its ambitious target of reaching 1 million Welsh speakers by 2050. At the time of the framework’s publication in 2017, the (unofficial) number of adults aged 16 and over who claim to speak Welsh fluently came to approximately 19%, in addition to a further 12% who stated they had some Welsh-speaking ability according to the 2017-2018 National Survey for Wales (Welsh Government 2018a). Aside from reaching one million Welsh speakers by 2050, the second objective is to increase the use of Welsh to a total of 20% of the population who use Welsh daily. The government’s vision also refers to the section of the population who by 2050 will not speak Welsh, addressing their desired attitude towards the language: “Among those who do not speak Welsh there is goodwill and a sense of ownership towards the language and a recognition by all of its contribution to the culture, society and economy of Wales.” (Welsh Government 2017:4)

The title is a declaration of the long-term commitment of the government to reach the target figure of 1 million Welsh speakers by 2050 and pays tribute to the long-term perspective needed for language planning. A futuristic approach is required to anticipate how everyday life and thus the use of the language will evolve over the coming decades. Social change, globalisation, technological advance and traditional concepts of family units and communities are a few of the elements that will continue to have an influence on society and that are mentioned in the publication with relation to language use (ibid.:15). Focusing on the government’s leadership role in language planning, it states:

“While we cannot control every factor which influences economic growth, there are things which we can influence. These include skills, the prestige placed on the Welsh language, the location of public sector jobs, clusters, ensuring that the Welsh language is seen as a valuable skill in large developments, and opportunities to use those skills.” (Welsh Government 2017:59).

The government argues that if it were to continue with its present approach and with current policies in place, there will be a slow but steady increase in Welsh speakers; however, renewed policies are needed to translate the vision of reaching one million speakers into reality within the allotted time (ibid.:22). Throughout the document, it appeals to the nation – the community, parents, Welsh and non-Welsh speakers alike as well as to institutions and bodies – to act together to fulfil this ambition.

In order to achieve the target, the government sets out to: increase the provision of Welsh-medium education, including establishing further Welsh-medium nursery groups; increase the number of teachers that have sufficient command of the language to teach their subject using Welsh; reform language teaching, including post-16 language education; evaluate existent legislation; put renewed emphasis on regional economic development; and provide a scheme to enhance the understanding and image of bilingualism, amongst others (ibid.:12).

While two of the three strategic themes presented in the publication have similarly been at the core of the previous two frameworks, namely increasing the number of speakers (primarily through expanding Welsh-medium education and intergenerational transmission) and language use (particularly at the workplace, Welsh language services and within social context), a third focus is placed on creating favourable conditions and providing appropriate infrastructure for the Welsh language. The key target areas in this respect are:

- the community and economy
- culture and media
- international relations – “Brand Cymru”
- digital technology
- linguistic infrastructure
- language planning
- research

The aims pertaining to this third theme include, amongst others:

- strengthening the language’s position within the contemporary culture (Aim 10)

- “advertising” the Welsh language internationally and using it as a unique characteristic and identity marker (Aim 11)
- developing Welsh-language technology (Aim 12)
- maintaining linguistic infrastructure, including corpora, dictionaries and terminological resources (Aim 13)
- expanding language planning activities and collaborating at various levels to illustrate the benefits of bilingualism (Aim 14)
- supporting further research on the effectiveness of the policies implemented and supporting the development of future language policies (Aim 15)

Aim 13 provides the clearest insight into the government’s perspective and future actions with regard to translation services. Corpora, dictionaries and terminological resources are vital for evolving the language’s functional reach. The first aim in particular deserves more attention, as stated by the government in the document. The need for more “highly qualified translators and interpreters” (Welsh Government 2017:72) is increasing with the number of bodies that provide bilingual services. As previously highlighted in “A living language: A Language for Living” (Welsh Government 2012), accreditation and a regulatory regime are essential markers of professionalism and high quality. Additionally, the skill range of translators should be broadened, for instance, by utilizing modern translation technology (e.g. machine translation and translation memories). The government expresses its recognition of the translation industry in unambiguous terms:

“In order to facilitate an increase in the number of Welsh speakers, raise their confidence and enable the language to be used in a variety of settings, digital resources, a healthy and diverse media, a modern and responsive translation profession which makes full benefit of the latest technology, and language resources (dictionaries, terminologies, and corpora) are required. These are all elements that reflect and maintain the Welsh language’s status as a living language, and are essential for Welsh speakers whatever their ability.” (Welsh Government 2017:59)

The overarching ambition of the three themes is the language’s role in the digital revolution. High-quality language technology is considered vital for providing quality education and for increasing the possibilities of language use (ibid.:7). The government therefore provides subsidies as part of its new Welsh Language strategy to fund “innovative, short-term projects which aim to increase people’s daily use of the language and to promote technology which supports the use of Welsh” (Welsh Government 2018b).

Broken down into five-year plans, the work programme 2017-2021 sets out the government's plan of action towards reaching the defined goal within the first five years of the strategy's publication. It aims at creating a "solid foundation" upon which a steep increase in language learners and speakers can be based. The government thus warns that a significant increase cannot be expected in time for the next census in 2021 (Welsh Government 2017:20)

3.1.3. Plaid Cymru

Plaid Cymru/The Party of Wales (until mid-1940s called Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru/The Welsh Nationalist Party) was founded in 1925. Its initial ambitions were to preserve the Welsh culture, language and identity while opposing anything that could be considered to facilitate further assimilation to England, such as industrialization in the South, tourism in the North, standardization of education, or the BBC (Prys 1999). It aimed at promoting a small-scale, rural lifestyle with a flourishing Welsh language across all domains, a goal which the party considered best implemented through constitutional and unconstitutional direct action (Williams 2000). De-urbanisation and the halt of industrialization "was meant to unite a culturally and geographically divided nation by bringing the industrial proletariat back in touch with their Welsh-speaking, rural roots" (Prys 1999:162). To begin with, the politics of the party aimed nearly exclusively at the Welsh speaking population as its entire apparatus and activities were conducted in the Welsh language and concentrated around the Welsh speaking heartland. Many of the language-related activities in the early 20th century can be attributed to the agendas of early Plaid Cymru leaders (Williams 2000).

However, as much as language campaigning had become central to the party, it was equally essential for it to attract non-Welsh speakers if it was to call itself a national party. By the 1960s, the party had still not won any seats in parliamentary elections thus it increasingly aimed at attracting non-Welsh speakers. In 1966, the election of the first member of the Welsh Nationalist Party who was elected as Member of Parliament to Westminster showed that the change in strategy had paid off and signified an important milestone in the party's history (Coupland et al. 2006). Further major electoral victories were achieved in 1974 at the national elections and in the following years. As Davies summarises, "[t]hese victories [...] fuelled the belief that Wales had a future as a national community and increased the confidence of Welsh-language activists" (2014:115). The results of these elections as well as elections to follow, still largely implied that the voters for Plaid Cymru were primarily Welsh speakers.

Furthermore, high on the party's agenda were the issues of Welsh devolution and self-government for Wales. Efforts in the 1970s to push for devolution culminated in a referendum in 1979, in which 79,4% of voters overwhelmingly voted against it. Approximately 20 years later and with support from the Welsh Labour Party, in 1997 a second referendum on the matter narrowly passed with 50.3% in favour, pathing the way for partial Welsh independence (McAngus 2014).

Since the establishment of the Welsh National Assembly, Plaid Cymru have always held between 17 seats (out of 60) after the first elections in 1999 and the 10 seats it currently holds, making it the third largest political party within Wales. A further achievement for the party was their entry into government between 2007 and 2011, when Plaid Cymru formed a coalition government with the Welsh Labour Party.

3.1.4. The Welsh Language Board and Commissioner

When in the 1970s and 1980s pressure grew to revitalize the Welsh language, the *Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg*/Welsh Language Board was established (1988) as an advisory body, funded by the Welsh Assembly Government, and was made a statutory body through the Welsh Language Act in 1993. Its tasks were to de-politicize the language debate, to maintain and promote the Welsh language, to establish bilingualism as a societal norm, to advise government and other public bodies which provided Welsh language services to the public on language matters, to monitor the implementation and compliance with the language scheme, to manage Welsh-medium education and to distribute grants for the promotion of Welsh language use in order to increase the number of Welsh speakers as well as to provide opportunities and encourage people to speak Welsh across different language domains and to reinforce the language's position as a community language by raising the language's profile (Williams 2000). “[M]aintaining a strategic overview of Welsh language issues” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:14) counts amongst its primary responsibilities. The Board developed partnerships with other bodies concerned with revitalizing the languages, such as the *Mentrau Iaith*, *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* and the *National Eisteddfod*, amongst others.

Its establishment, however, was not without controversy (Williams 2000:32). In 2011, the Board was replaced by, and its responsibilities transferred to, the Welsh Language Commissioner under the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011. While in the following years, the Language Commissioner set new targets and priorities, it also carried on campaigns

initiated by the Language Board, such as the highly successful campaign “Iaith Gwaith”, which is still ongoing. The campaign’s objective is to make Welsh speakers visible and to encourage Welsh language use by offering badges and lanyards to show a person’s Welsh language skills (see Welsh Language Commissioner n.d.-b).

The post of Commissioner was established as an independent advisory panel and as the major force to facilitate and drive language planning and policy enforcement. On its website, the Commissioner sets out the body’s main objectives as: promoting and facilitating the use of Welsh; ensuring the equal treatment of the two languages; upholding language standards as well as investigating language restrictions, amongst others (see Welsh Language Commissioner n.d.-c).

3.1.5. EU and Council of Europe

In 1972, the UK joined the European Community. As a direct result, in Wales this led to the creation of a “deeper awareness of the existence of linguistic minorities elsewhere in Europe” (Davies 2014:115). This European-wide awareness and the possibility for networking between linguistic minorities was highlighted in 1984, when the Council of Europe arranged a public hearing concerning regional and minority languages (Council of Europe 2012:2), before in 1985 the European Bureau of Lesser-Used Languages was founded. The European Bureau had a consultative function within the European Parliament. Mercator, one of its research networks, was placed in Wales and was located there until its closure in 2010 (Davies 2014:115).

In 2008, the Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD) was launched at an event hosted by the Welsh Assembly Government Office in Brussels with the aim of providing a Europe-wide platform for exchange between countries with multilingual societies. The Network and its headquarters was based in Cardiff until 2016. Its members including national and regional governments as well as universities and associations of European countries, focuses on language policies and language planning to raise awareness “on the vital importance of linguistic diversity” (Network to promote Linguistic Diversity n.d.:para. 2). Wales is represented with the following institutions: the Welsh Government, the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol/Welsh National College, Mentrau Iaith Cymrau, Bangor University and Cardiff University.

Additionally, one of the most relevant Europe-wide approaches to protecting minority languages came in 1992 with the publication of the Council of Europe’s European Charter for

Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe 1992). The charter which came into effect in 1998 granted rights in terms of language use within a number of different sectors, including education, public administration, legal proceedings and media. The Charter lists objectives, measures for the promotion of minority languages and information on the charter's application. Of the over 100 measures covering all three branches of language planning (for a more detailed analysis see Darquennes 2011: 551) a minimum of 35 measures from different articles had to be implemented if a state wished to sign the treaty (ibid.: 549). The UK is one of 25 countries to have ratified the charter (see Council of Europe n.d.-a). To oversee states' continued commitment, a monitoring process was established to examine submitted reports in which the policies, ambitions and progress are reported (see Council of Europe n.d.-b). In the 21st century, the charter is still highly relevant. The European Parliament encourages its member states in its Framework strategy for multilingualism (Council of Europe 2005) to adopt language policies such as the charter. In 2018, the charter was revised, and changes became law on 1 July 2019 (European Council 2018).

Despite the European Union's support of minority languages, Welsh is not one of the institution's 24 official working languages. However, in 2008 Welsh was spoken for the first time during a Council of Ministers meeting. With the official recognition of Welsh as a co-official language the following year, the translation of certain official publications as well as the use of Welsh through designated bodies was made possible (Jones & Rumbul 2012:5). The extent of possible repercussions for Welsh language projects owing to the UK's withdrawal from the European Union, taking into account the fact that many such endeavours have been subsidized by European Organisations, remains to be seen (Rolewska 2019).

3.2. Organisations and private initiatives

Language planning not only occurs top-down, as Sallabank (2014) highlights, bottom-up processes are just as vital, if not even more successful than institutional measures. In Wales, there are numerous initiatives by individuals and interest groups aimed at preserving and disseminating the Welsh language and language use. These reflect the interest of (sections of) the population to actively participate in the revitalization of the language. Many of the aforementioned efforts also aim at providing information and content - via translation - in two languages. For this reason, the most important initiatives are introduced in this chapter.

3.2.1. Activism and events affecting the Welsh-speaking community in the 20th century

The history of the relationship between Wales and England has been marred by an imbalance of power not least since the annexation of Wales in the 13th century (see chapter 2.1. above). Traditionally, actions and events have been politicised and instrumentalised to reinforce the gravity of either country's cause. Mass protests throughout the last century showed the impact of such events on the Welsh-speaking public. These protests focused on Welsh-speaking communities and the rights of Welsh speakers. Land confiscations, mainly for war training or water supply purposes only served to widen the rift between Wales and neighbouring England. Displacements not only changed the lives of the affected residents but also reinforced Welsh social consciousness and caused a distinct "anti-London" sentiment (Davies 2014). The events described below are until today, as Jenkins and Williams describe it, of "symbolic significance" in "folk memory" (2000:13).

In 1940, the confiscation of land for training purposes by the wartime UK government on the Epynt Mountain in Breconshire displaced over 200 people. In a similar dissolution of a Welsh-speaking community in 1965, the UK parliament, amidst widespread public and political protest, granted the flooding of Capel Celyn in the Tryweryn valley, displacing its 67 Welsh-speaking residents (BBC 2015a).

One of the most significant acts of protest, however, occurred as a consequence of the establishment of a bombing school in 1936 by the UK Government at Penyberth on the Llŷn peninsula. The core theme of the protest, however, soon expanded from the outrage caused by the installation of the school to focus on the rights of Welsh-language speakers, as the activists, including Saunders Lewis, facing charges for incendiarism demanded to be heard in Welsh at courts (see chapter 3.1.1.).

Welsh-language rights protests continued after the passing of the Welsh Courts Act 1942. Between 1952 and 1960/1, Eileen and Trefor Beasley were involved in a near decade-long dispute with the Llanelli Rural District Council over the council's refusal to send bilingual rate demands and the Beasleys in turn refusal to pay the rates so long as they received the demands only in English. After 16 court appearances and the seizure of their property, the council eventually revoked the charges (Davies 2000:243; Jones, J. Graham 2000:265).

In 1962, Gareth Miles, fined for transporting a person on the handlebar of his bicycle, refused to obey to a court summons issued only in English. The recently established Welsh language society Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg supported the ongoing legal battle by staging a

mass protest that came to be known as the Trefechan Bridge Protest in Aberystwyth in February 1963 with the objective of provoking the arrest of the 70 participating activists so that they could follow Miles's example and reject their English summons. Well aware of the activists' true intentions, no one was arrested that day; however, widespread media coverage of the protests led to the desired effect of the issuing of a Welsh summons, constituting the protests as the first significant success and organised action of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (Phillips 2000a).

During the 1970s, the campaign for a Welsh-language TV channel headed by Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg and Plaid Cymru led to mass public protests. Between 1971 and 1981, cases were brought against 500 individuals for refusing to pay their television licence fees. In other actions for the same cause, parliamentary proceedings were disrupted, broadcasts interfered with and transmitters scaled. Several dozen protesters were arrested and imprisoned. Protests reached their peak when in 1980, Gwynfor Evans, the then president of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg who had been previously been president of Plaid Cymru for 36 years, threatened to go on hunger strike in the demand for a Welsh-language TV channel. The gravity and sudden seriousness of the topic facilitated by Evans' proposed hunger-strike could no longer be ignored, and a Welsh-language channel was eventually launched: "The implication of martyrdom of the president of Plaid Cymru were too profound for the government to bear [...]." (Phillips 2000: 479) (see chapter 3.4.3. for more information on S4C).

Protests surrounding S4C and monolingual bills or fines continued to occur in the 21st century. In 2012, Welsh-language activist Jamie Bevan protested against S4C funding cuts by boycotting the payment of his broadcasting fees. When a consequential payment fine was issued in English only and the activist refused to pay, Bevan was summoned to court where he expressed his frustration at the unequal treatment of Welsh speakers (Cymdeithas 2012).

3.2.2. Tynged yr Iaith: Saunders Lewis' radio lectures

Saunders Lewis is considered one of the most significant figures of Welsh-language activism of the 20th century. He was a university lecturer, renowned writer (in 1970 nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature), prominent politician (founder of Plaid Cymru). Although he was born and educated in England, he was raised in a Welsh-speaking family who imbued him with a distinct Welsh identity.

Having achieved fame for the foundation of Plaid Cymru (see chapter 3.1.3.), for his writings (see chapter 3.4.1.), and his acts of civil disobedience (see chapter 3.1.1.) etc, on 13 February 1962, he utilized a combination of his own notoriety and the wide reach of the BBC to spread his message. Holding the annual Welsh-language lecture of the BBC in Wales which he titled *Tynged yr Iaith* (the Fate of the Language), he gave an impassionate speech in which he called for a Welsh-language revolution. In his lecture he urged the public to force local authorities and central government to provide services in Welsh. He voiced an appeal to his Welsh-speaking countrymen and women to stand up for the preservation of the Welsh language. He raised awareness and stressed the imminent threat of the demise of Welsh unless action was taken (Lewis 1962a) ¹.

His speech had a huge impact. His lecture *Tynged yr Iaith* is often cited as “a seminal moment in Welsh history” (Carradice 2012b) and the catalyst for numerous language revitalizing initiatives in the second half of the 20th century, such as the formation of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*. Saunders Lewis passed away as a Welsh icon on 1 September 1985.

3.2.3. Foundation of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*

Inspired by Saunders Lewis’ radio lecture and the rise in language activism during the 1960s, “*Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*”/ the “Welsh Language Society” was formed by a group of private individuals to fight for the recognition of the Welsh language. The establishment of a society to coordinate acts of language activism enabled a new approach and new possibilities for direct action and language campaigning (Phillips 2000a:468). Since their foundation, the society has been responsible for numerous influential language campaigns that have contributed to the revitalization of the language.

The organisation’s four focus areas regarding policy campaigning are language rights, education, sustainable communities and media (see *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* n.d.), whereby the focal point of their campaigns has shifted over time. The society initially campaigned for the use of Welsh in court, in one instance organizing a mass protest held in Aberystwyth in 1963 (Phillips 2000:469).

¹ For the original speech see:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j7ntVx4m3YU&list=PL40485C58AA549774&t=0s&index=2>

After only a few short years, the well-organized society had transformed into a serious pressure group. The value of protest and its effect on authorities was clear early on, as Phillips summarizes,

“[t]he benefits of civil disobedience were increasingly recognized. Firstly, it forced the authorities to act in favour of the language since they were anxious to avoid unfavourable publicity which highlighted the shortcomings of their language policies. Secondly, the publicity gained in the press and media provided the Society with a platform for disseminating its message. The main advantage, however, was that protest compelled the public itself to respond, to consider the message conveyed, and to decide whether they themselves should make a stand or not.” (Phillips 2000a:471)

The society knew well about the media’s potential for attracting attention and made use of the news coverage at protests and court hearings to distribute their message. Aside from (unconstitutional) direct action and civil disobedience, the society also sought to collaborate with institutions to change their language policies (Phillips 2000:470-472).

In the late 1960s, the focus shifted towards campaigning for increased visual representation of the language such as its presence on bilingual road signs all with the aim of increasing the language’s status. Several hundred campaigners were mobilised to paint over or remove English-only road signs in Wales. Despite the protests helping the society to significantly increase its number of members, the actions were strongly criticised by the press and local authorities. Eventually, the campaign contributed to the successful installation of bilingual road signs, overcoming counterarguments by critics who labelled bilingual road signs unsafe (Phillips 2000a) – a topic still controversial to this day (see chapter 5 and comments by participants of the questionnaire in chapter 6).

With the turn of the decade and the society having firmly established itself, its internal structure and fields of campaigns were expanded. The socio-economic situation of the population (esp. with regard to the Welsh speaking heartland) moved closer into the field of interest (ibid.:477).

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the majority of the society’s attention was directed towards campaigning for a Welsh-language television channel. Campaigns for housing and local Welsh-speaking communities were intensified in the 1980s, as were calls for revised legislation in the form of a new Language Act as well as a renewed initiative in Welsh language education (ibid.:483).

The 1990s became a symbolic decade for political change as the notion of Welsh devolution was reintroduced and experienced a renewed impetus. With the successful partial devolution of the Welsh parliament and the statutory recognition of the Welsh language, many predicted the society's dissolution (Philipps 2000a:488). However, the society once more proved its resilience. Despite not being the instigator for language initiatives (the government, having taken over this role with the creation of the Welsh Language Board/Commissioner and through implementing policies and legislation promoting language use), the society continues to campaign. With the turn of the century, the society's activism was mainly dominated by demands for Welsh-language education and calls for a new Language Act. Many of their campaigns now target big companies that fail to recognise the Welsh language. The society has furthermore drawn attention to funding cuts affecting S4C.

The society's active campaigning has contributed in no small measure to the implementation of many legal reforms, including the Welsh Language Acts of 1967, 1993 as well as the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure in 2011 (see *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* n.d.) and it has furthermore been instrumental for raising awareness within society (Williams 2000:23). Their influential campaigning is based on active participation and the support of individuals as well as other organizations (*ibid.*). Although the society regards itself as a direct-action pressure group, their acts of non-violent direct-action, including calls for civil disobedience, have led to many of the members being imprisoned. Regardless, the society advocates that only peaceful and non-violent protests are fruitful, making non-violent campaigning the society's official policy in as early as 1966 (Phillips 2000a:472). In the most recent decade, their campaigning has softened, and their influence, compared to when the society first formed, has decreased. Nevertheless, they are still regarded as a highly influential pressure group and by some as an unofficial language think-tank (Williams 2000).

3.2.4. Foundation of *Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru*

After growing Welsh language provision following the 1960s and 1970s activities, the need for a professional body to guarantee high quality soon became apparent. In 1976, "*Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru*" / the "Association of Welsh Translators and Interpreters" was formed, a professional body representing translators and interpreters of the Welsh language.

At the time of its foundation professional Welsh-English translators were particularly scarce, with approximately only 20 full-time professional translators in the entire country. The

association's original purpose was to provide a platform for exchange regarding issues concerning Welsh/English translations, such as terminology standardization and the standardization of translation practices as well as developing professional standards for professional translation specific to the language pair and the situation in Wales (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-a).

The membership is fee-based, and membership options were diversified by the introduction of a full membership in 2003 and a student affiliate option added in 2015. Since 2011, private companies and later public and non-profit organisations offering translation and interpretation can request recognized company status, when fulfilling a number of criteria (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-b).

The association aimed to raise the profile of the profession and stand for high quality translation. Over the years it became clear that it required exclusive membership criteria to guarantee and satisfy the demand for high quality and professionalism. For this reason, in 1989, an assessment system was introduced to monitor the professional standard and skillset of members joining the association. Today, there are two membership approbation exams for translators differing in complexity and dependent upon the desired status of the membership as well as the Interpretation Assessment Test which was introduced in 2005. The assessment of candidates applying for a membership of translation is based upon a test translation of two short texts per directory during an examination situation and, in the case of an application for full membership, a further test translation which is produced outside an examination setting. The quality and standard of the target text is examined based on meaning, register and style, vocabulary, syntax as well as accuracy. Applicants are expected to possess cultural knowledge and good information technology skills. During the examination, they can use their own laptop, or a computer provided by the association and are permitted to use electronic or printed dictionaries, glossaries, reference books or similar. The use of the Internet during the examination is not permitted. Applicants for interpreting membership are required to interpret two sequences of approximately 10 minutes. The examination is held at a sound recording studio and the source text is played from a DVD or video monitor. The interpretation is recorded and sent to be assessed by a member. Their interpretation is judged based on the following criteria: general and technical vocabulary, understanding, accuracy, register and idiom, syntax, voice register, stamina and technical presentation (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-c).

Membership of the association does not require an academic qualification; however, the association points out the “need to be educated to degree level”. It further points out that it is not necessary to have studied Welsh at university and that it can be sufficient to have studied any other subject through the medium of Welsh at university. Nevertheless, the association closely collaborates with various higher education institutes, such as the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (Kaufmann 2012).

The association places high importance on the continued effort of its members to keep improving and furthering their skills and knowledge. For this purpose, the association offers workshops and programmes to further professionalism and the member’s skills and their training scheme is also open to non-members; some workshops are aimed at potential membership applicants in preparation for the membership assessment exam. The association has furthermore developed its own Continuous Professional Development (CPD) scheme “Balchder Crefft”. Although this is required of the members in the Code of Professional Conduct, it is left to the member’s discretion to decide upon the method, need, or content of how to handle the upkeep of their knowledge and skills. Additionally, the association offers e-workshop courses which last a set number of weeks and allows participants to receive comments on their translations by members of the association via e-mail-contact (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-d).

A further step towards quality and professionalism was the establishment of a Code of Professional Conduct in 2011 which every member, regardless of their membership status, must adhere to. The code refers to members’ responsibility when undertaking translation/interpretation work, expecting them to only commit to work for which they have the necessary skills and resources to fulfil to the highest standard. Members should not accept work that is incompatible with their moral understanding and that might lead to or be part of illegal activity. The association appeals to its members to be loyal to the original text but at the same time to highlight inaccuracies or errors in the original text to their contracting entity, the target text must not contain the translator’s/interpreter’s own personal interests or opinions. Furthermore, the code includes sections on “mutual assistance” between members of the association; “continuing professional development”, requiring its members to continue to improve their skillset and knowledge; “confidentiality” towards the contracting entity and of the information contained within the translation as well as towards other members; “contractual arrangements” requiring the members to adhere to the stipulations contained in their contract e.g. with regard to subcontracting; as well as “advertising and public statements” reminding

the members not to use improper methods or unfair competition, and of their duty as members of the association to act in the interest of the association (this is not an exhaustive list and for brevity, only a number of the most interesting points in each section have been listed here). If necessary, members must take necessary steps by informing the contracting entity of potential risks involved in the translation/interpretation process in a specific situation (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-e).

Along with the establishment of a Code of Professional Conduct, a complaints procedure and a translation quality assessment service were introduced. The former deals with the breach of the Code of Professional Conduct by a member. The association does not intervene in fee-related disputes or if the issue is of a personal nature. The Chief Executive decides how to proceed with the complaint, depending on the nature of the complaint and may refer it to the Disciplinary Panel to ultimately decide on the matter. Decisions can be appealed and referred to the association's Appeal Panel (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-f).

The Translation Quality Assessment Service is a fee-based service offered by the association to companies, individuals or other bodies to assess the quality of a translation. The criteria of quality applied to judge a translation are based on fulfilment of standards as well as the number and gravity of errors. However, those criteria are not further explained. The service includes a short examination of a text (max. 300 words) and provides comments on the translation, illustrated using examples. It does not provide a detailed report in its standard procedure. The association stresses that it itself does not provide translations nor can be held responsible for translations produced by its members (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-g).

The association's website offers a search tool enlisting all its current members, including (but not limited to) their membership status, contact details and qualifications. It furthermore offers a guideline for people seeking translators/interpreters which lists points that need to be agreed upon before the beginning of the translation and which may be stipulated in the contract, as well as explanations on charges and work procedures of a translator while highlighting the importance for contracting professionals. In the guideline, the association distinguishes between translators (for written translation) and interpreters (for oral translation), however, while the different skills of interpreters and translators and therefore the different procedures and requirements for contracting translators and interpreters are briefly described, it fails to explicitly articulate said difference or describe exactly what services translators and interpreters may offer and it is also not consistent in its terminology throughout the website,

frequently referring to interpreters as translators (which considering that “translation” is used as an umbrella term is perhaps acceptable, however, might cause confusion for individuals outside the industry) (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-h).

Furthermore, on the website, the association provides suggestions for individuals who are interested in becoming translators/interpreters. It suggests that interested parties should have strong language and problem-solving skills as well as knowledge of dialect variations in Wales. They should then proceed to choose a text and translate it to ascertain for themselves whether the activity is enjoyable and whether they possess the necessary skills. The target text should then be self-assessed or passed on to an experienced translator for judgement (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-i).

The website also reveals what the association calls “the fundamentals of good translating” (ibid.:para. 3), namely that the target text should convey the original meaning; the style, language and register appropriate to the target audience, that the target language’s expressions are convincing; which should all result in the reader believing that they are reading an original text.

By October 2018, the association had 373 members. According to its website, there are a greater number of professional members working in translation who work from English into Welsh, but more professional interpreters that work from Welsh into English. There are also considerably more translators than interpreters (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-j).

Subsidies provided by the Welsh Language Board in 1997 enabled the association to take on an administrative officer and with increased grants in the early 2000s, the association was able to take on further employees. Funding of the association by the Welsh Language Commissioner was cut in 2016. Today, it is partly funded by the Welsh Government (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-a).

The association is listed as an official member of the international federation of translators *Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs* (FIT). It is furthermore a member of *Grŵp Hyrwyddo'r Gymraeg*, the Welsh language promotion group which provides a platform for discussion amongst organizations within the field of language planning, the Wales Council for Voluntary Action (WCVA), *Mantell Gwynedd*, *Dathlu'r Gymraeg* as well as *Dyfodol i'r Iaith* (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-k).

The association stands for quality and professionalism and has contributed to a raise in awareness for the industry and for translation as a profession (Miguélez-Carballeira et al.

2016:132). Their aim today is to promote and develop professional standards. For this purpose, the association has established a number of prizes to recognise the work of individual translators and interpreters, such as the Wil Petherbridge Memorial Prize or the Berwyn Prize.

3.2.5. Initiatives to spread and revitalize Welsh

Aside from the above-mentioned institutions, a number of organisations and associations have contributed to the distribution and advancement of the Welsh language. Such bodies often stem from the initiative of individuals. The Welsh Government explicitly recognises the community's efforts and contributions: “[S]ome of the most exciting developments in the digital supply of Welsh materials online have come from user-generated content and applications created by Welsh speakers themselves” (Welsh Government 2012:5).

Organizations to involve people in activities carried out through the medium of Welsh were exceedingly popular in the mid to late 20th century. Such activities stimulated language use in domains other than religion: Welsh language licensed clubs were established as were associations for Welsh-speaking professionals including doctors and scientists. Furthermore, they help to promote Welsh language use in business and the economic sector, at the workplace and for marketing purposes (Davies 2014:153).

One of the biggest organisational initiatives are the Mentrau Iaith agencies which were first established in 1991 to work on a local community level. Today, over twenty agencies aim at promoting the use of Welsh in the educational, business and institutional sector within the community. They are managed by voluntary management committees, supervised by the Mentrau Iaith Cymru national organisation and supported by the National Government. Amongst their core services provided, the National Government lists: “developing projects for tourists, for people moving into the area and for Welsh learners” as well as “providing information and resources, such as translation equipment, or information about local Welsh lessons” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:30). Since 1993, the agencies have worked in the language policy and planning sector, conducting research and promoting professional training as well as providing expert advice to organisations for the development of bilingual services and practices (see Iaith n.d.). It was originally set up to offer support to organisations who are legally bound to comply with the requirements set out in the Welsh Language Act 1993, and today collaborates with public bodies within and outside of Wales (Regional Learning Partnership South West and Central Wales 2015:19).

With the increasing requirement of Welsh language skills in the workplace, a considerable number of organisations and initiatives have been set up to stimulate (adult) language learning. In 1984, Cyngor y Dysgwyr (the learner's council) was installed as well as the regional Welsh for Adults centres in 2006, which were later subsumed under the National Centre for Learning Welsh (Estyn 2017). The National Centre for Learning Welsh now offers courses for Welsh language learners of all ages and levels, including its “Clwb Cwtsh”, a course specifically designed for families to foster language acquisition at home (National Centre for Learning Welsh). The centre is furthermore one of a number of agencies and businesses that offer language camps.

Since the turn of the millennium, language acquisition via the Internet has become increasingly important. Aside from making language learning materials available online (e.g. by the BBC), a number of platforms and apps have been set up to help Welsh language learners (e.g. Use Your Welsh) and to offer online courses (e.g. Say Something in Welsh).

Some initiatives target the provision of translation services, such as Clwb Wici Caerdydd, a voluntary group which was set up by two friends to increase the number of Welsh Wikipedia Articles (see Golwg360 2017) or the Anarchist Welsh Translation network. Other organisations that further Welsh language use include, amongst others, the organisation for women Merched y Wawr established in 1967, the Welsh League of Youth Urdd Gobaith Cymru, the teachers union Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrowon, the Wales Federation of Young Farmers Club Clybiau Ffermwyr Ifanc Cymru, the mountaineering club Clwb Mynyddda Cymru, the natural history organization Cymdeithas Edward Llwyd and Mudiad Meithrin, providing early Welsh-medium care and education.

3.3. Education

Language education at the levels of first and secondary education, and at the higher education level is an important basis for language revitalization, not only for the purpose of enhancing language skills but also because of the possibility of making a significant contribution to the spread of the language. Language acquisition at the first and secondary level makes up a significant part of the foundations of the country's language planning. In 1999, Welsh was introduced as a compulsory subject, a measure intended to help revitalize the language. On the other hand, academic training and an academic approach is vital for establishing a translation industry.

3.3.1. Language acquisition in first and secondary education

As elaborated in chapter 2, the 19th century was dominated by the negative attitude towards Welsh-language and Welsh-medium education, popularised by the publication of the infamous “Blue Books” Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales (1847) and the Welsh-Not practice in schools.

At the beginning of the 20th century, sentiment started to change and the Welsh Education Department was established in 1907 to promote Welsh-language teaching and advocate for education reforms (Llewellyn 2018).

The Welsh in Education and Life report of the Board of Education, published in 1927, shed light on the current situation of Welsh-language education and drew up suggestions as to its promotion. The authors concluded that although great advances had been made, local authority policies needed to be more precise and teacher training and resources needed to be more adequate. The report also highlighted the plight of Welsh-language education outside the Welsh-speaking heartland. Education is deemed the gateway to social mobility and as such, higher education was mainly available in larger cities and mostly restricted to the anglicized social middle class. The report pointed out that, as a result, Welsh-language speakers had to become anglicized due to the lack of Welsh-language higher education, thus preventing the development of a Welsh-speaking middle class (Evans 2000:351-355). Although the report was largely appreciated as a first step towards official recognition of the Welsh language in education (Peate et al. 2005:97), few of the recommendations drawn up in this early report were implemented (Davies 2014:96).

It was thanks to a number of determined parents that the first bilingual school was opened in Aberystwyth in 1939 (Baker & Jones 2000:117). The following year, Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru/the National Union of Teachers emerged which campaigned for Welsh-language teaching and the independence of the Welsh educational system (Llewellyn 2018). In 1947, having secured a legal basis with the 1944 Butler Education Act, the first official Welsh-medium primary school under the guidance of the Local Education Authority was inaugurated. By the middle of the century, the number of such schools had risen to twelve (Baker & Jones 2000:117).

In the 1950s, the Welsh-medium education movement gained momentum. More designated Welsh-medium schools opened and by the 1960s, were beginning to attract children without a Welsh-speaking family background (ibid.). Yet while many schools in the Welsh

speaking heartland “naturally” used Welsh as language of education, such schools did not officially count as designated Welsh-medium schools, as this was feared could in turn lead to demands of designated English-medium schools in those areas. It shall furthermore be noted that there was no systematic, nationwide language policy and the teaching of Welsh at school and language policies varied regionally, and thus – albeit Welsh as a subject was available in most schools in Wales by the mid-1940s – , the extent of Welsh-language education in the 20th century (whether as first or second language) varied greatly across the country as the distribution of Welsh speakers had a great influence on Welsh-language education (Davies 2014).

Despite the encouraging trend in Welsh-medium education in primary schools, efforts to further Welsh-medium education at a higher level were lagging behind and the lack of higher-level Welsh-language education was preventing Welsh-speaking children from gaining access to academic qualifications in Welsh. Contrary to Welsh-medium primary schools, there were no secondary schools that predominantly used Welsh-medium education until around the 1960s (ibid.).

The formation of Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin, the Welsh-medium Nursery Schools Movement, in 1971 proved to be a further milestone in Welsh-medium teaching, as it introduced young children and parents to Welsh-language learning (Jenkins & Williams 2000:17).

By the time of the implementation of the Education Reform Act in 1988, Welsh had become accepted as a medium of education (Jenkins & Williams 2000:17). The 1988 Education Reform Act ruled that in Wales the Welsh language was to be a mandatory subject in accordance with the new National Curriculum, a statutory requirement which was further developed with the passing of the Education Act 1999, making Welsh a mandatory subject at secondary schools in Wales (see chapter 2.1.1.).

Welsh as a language for education took a long time to shake its stigma as being less academic than English. However, today, Welsh-medium schools can pride themselves with an excellent reputation. Demands for Welsh-medium schools are currently soaring, notably in the more anglicised parts of the country (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:6) and as Coupland and Aldridge highlight, they “now tend to be considered part of the elite sector” (2009:5). Nevertheless, as illustrated on the table below, schools in which Welsh is the primary language of education make up the minority.

In 2007, a new categorization of school types based on the level of Welsh-medium provision for primary and secondary education was introduced (Welsh Assembly Government 2007) (see table below).

Table 2. Schools by Welsh-medium provision (based on Welsh Assembly Government 2007)

<u>Primary education</u>		<u>Secondary education</u>		<u>Number of schools 2017/18</u>
Welsh-Medium Primary School (WM)	At least 70% is taught in Welsh; English is formally introduced as a subject	Welsh-Medium Secondary School (WM)	All subjects (excl. English) are taught in Welsh; English terminology may be introduced in 1-2 subjects	WM: 389
Dual Stream Primary School (DS)	Two different levels are taught within these schools: - mainly Welsh-medium provision - mainly English-medium provision	Bilingual Secondary School (B) Category 2A Category 2B Category 2C Category 2CH	Category 2A: At least 80% is taught in Welsh	DS: 32 AB:18 BB: 12 CB: 4 CH: -
Transitional primary school: Welsh medium with significant use of English (TR)	Between 50-70% is taught in Welsh		Category 2B: At least 80% is taught in Welsh but also in English	
			Category 2C: 50-79% is taught in Welsh but also in English	Category 2CH: All subjects are taught in both languages
Predominantly English Medium primary school but with significant use of Welsh (EW)	Between 20-50% is taught in Welsh	Predominantly English medium secondary school with significant use of Welsh (EW)	Between 20 - 49% is taught in Welsh; all subjects are also taught in English.	EW: 41

Predominantly English medium primary school (EM)	Welsh is taught as a second language; less than 20% is taught in Welsh	Predominantly English Medium secondary school (EM)	English is the main teaching language; Welsh is taught as a second language; Welsh may be taught in 1-2 subjects (using Welsh or both languages)	EM: 969
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The number of pupils educated through the medium of Welsh (where Welsh is the first language in all primary, middle and secondary school in years 1-11) has been continuously rising. During the school year of 2017/2018, over 76,500 students attended schools where Welsh was the first language, compared to approximately 68,000 students in the school year of 2007/2008 (StatsWales 2018a).

Nevertheless, alternative data that suggests that despite a rise in numbers amongst Welsh-speaking pupils, numbers of students taking Welsh as a first or second language at A-Levels are steadily falling from 304 (First Language) and 489 (Second Language) in 2008/2009 to 231 (First Language) and 216 (Second Language) in 2017/2018 (StatsWales 2018b). While the actual number is decreasing, considering the overall fall in students taking A Levels, a slight increase can be witnessed percentagewise for the subject of Welsh as First Language as is illustrated in the table below:

Table 3. Welsh language A Level entries (based on Welsh Government 2019b)

	Number of entries	
	2008/2009	2017/2018
Welsh as First Language	304	231
Welsh as Second Language	489	216
Overall entries in all subjects	30,125	20,535
% taking Welsh as First Language	1.01%	1.12%
% taking Second as First Language	1.62%	1.05%

In a recent reactionary statement, the Welsh Government announced plans to increase the number of A-level students taking Welsh to over 1,000 by 2021, arguing that increasing the number of Welsh A-Level students has a direct positive influence on the number of students studying Welsh at university (Welsh Government 2019c).

To enhance the standard of Welsh-language teaching, the Welsh Government proposed a new approach to Welsh-language teaching in the proposed redesign of the National Curriculum, including the disbandment of the classification of Welsh as Second Language teaching in English-medium schools (BBC 2019).

Establishing Welsh as a subject and medium at school was not only important for the increase of total numbers of speakers, it also had a direct impact on corpus planning, by opening up “new” domains to a wider audience and thus stimulating terminology growth (see chapter 4.4.).

3.3.2. Professional translation training (in higher education)

For the first half of the 20th century, not a single university in Wales offered instruction through the medium of Welsh outside the Welsh departments which, by the 1940s, had established Welsh nearly exclusively as the language of operation. With the number of students being educated in Welsh in secondary schools having been steadily growing since the 1950s, demands for university courses in Welsh were on following suit. However, calls for a national university to promote the Welsh language in academia in the 20th century were rejected (Jenkins & Williams 2000:17). By the end of the 20th century, approximately “two dozen lecturers” were employed to teach their respective subjects in Welsh (Davies 2014:131).

In 1992, the Further and Higher Education Act 1992 was passed which led to the creation of the Higher Education Funding Council for Wales (HEFCW), creating a separate funding body for Wales. In 2004, HEFCW initiated the steering group CWMHE (Centre for Welsh Medium Higher Education) which was tasked with setting out recommendations promoting Welsh-medium teaching in the higher education sector which in turn eventually led to the foundation of the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol/Welsh National College in 2011 (Ifan & Hodges 2017). The Welsh-medium college’s objectives have since included overseeing Welsh-medium provision in the higher education sector as well as the promotion and expansion of such (Andrews & Prys 2016).

Recent data, collected during the academic year of 2017/2018, show that 10% of students who studied at Welsh Higher Education Institutes (excl. OU and FEIs) and whose registered place of residence prior to attending university was at a location in Wales, received at least some of their university education through the medium of Welsh (StatsWales 2018c). Students being able to gain their university degrees through the medium of Welsh, has since led to an increase of academic writings in Welsh (Davies 2014:132).

With the demand of professional translations soaring mainly due to legislation requiring bilingual communication for public bodies and the increasing willingness of the private sector to follow suit universities across the country started to include Welsh translation in their curricula. Given the nature and demand of the translation profession in Wales, translation curricula in the country (e.g. when compared to translation study curricula in Austria) offer a strong focus on applying skills in the workplace. Courses such as “Welsh and the Professional Workplace” (Cardiff University) and “Professional Welsh” (Bangor University) were created to satisfy the growing needs of high-quality bilingual communication. The university courses are practise-oriented and include subjects such as “bilingual public sector terminology, writing and working in two languages, teaching bilingually, gist translation and trawsieithu (translanguaging)” (Miguélez-Carballeira et al. 2016:132). The following universities offer postgraduate studies in translation, including the language pair English-Welsh (and other languages) (see Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru n.d.-1):

- Aberystwyth University
- Bangor University
- Cardiff University
- Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol – Aberystwyth University – University of Wales Trinity Saint David
- Swansea University
- University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter

However, there are also universities outside Wales that offer English-Welsh translation courses such as at the University of Aberdeen (see University of Aberdeen n.d.).

Aside from teaching translation studies and skills, universities additionally work and conduct research on a number of translation-relevant topics, including language policy and language planning research, translation technology research and terminology standardization, creating databases and terminology dictionaries. Prominent Language Units at Welsh

universities include the Centre for Research on Bilingualism as well as the Language Technologies Unit Canolfan Bedwyr at Bangor University. The latter comprises the university's translation, terminology and language policy unit as well as a language teaching centre and has played a leading part in the development of language technology resources, online dictionaries, terminologies and machine translation tools (Miguélez-Carballeira et al. 2016).

As a body offering public services, universities in Wales are required to comply with Language Standards. Their services include the offering of Welsh tutors, Welsh-medium education in a number of subjects, accommodation that allows for Welsh-speaking students to live together, and student's being allowed to complete their exams in Welsh.

In terms of translation training outside of university, Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru offers translation courses and material (see chapter 3.2.4.) as does the Coleg Gwyr Abertawe/Gower College Swansea which offers a Higher Apprenticeship in Interpreting and Translation course (see Gower College Swansea n.d.).

3.4. Socio-cultural aspects

In addition to the legal and political aspects, the socio-cultural contributing factors must also be recognized and examined, such the relationship and influence of the Welsh language on the culture and on community living, as well as how both linguistic cultures can (through translation) “co-exist” in a community. The aim of this subchapter is to demonstrate how multilingualism is practiced in the cultural field in Wales and how the Welsh language shapes the culture and identity of the Welsh population. The following points have a significant impact on the translation industry by not only providing areas where translation is needed, but also by demonstrating the society's commitment to the language and reflecting the roots of the Welsh language in culture.

3.4.1. Literature

Historically, Welsh-language literature has always been held in the highest regard and has always been at the heart of Welsh culture. Welsh literature boasts one of the oldest traceable histories in Europe, with records dating back to the 6th century AD. This early period is known as the period of Y Confeirdd (Early Poets). The contributions of the pre-Norman time are primarily odes and poetry of heroic tradition and two of the most famous protagonists of that

time are Taliesin and Aneirin (Thomson et. at. 2018). The late 11th century signalled the beginning of the period of Y Gogynfeirdd (The Rather Early Poets), a period which was primarily dominated by the court poets of the Welsh princes the Beirdd y Tywysogion (Poets of the Princes) until the end of Welsh independence in the late 13th century, and produced the important Llyfr Coch Hergest (Red Book of Hergest) (McKenna 2012). The tradition was continued by the Beirdd yr Uchelwyr (Poets of the Nobility) during a period which was later dominated by the Cywyddwyr (poets who applied the cywydd metre) which constitutes the third stage of medieval Welsh poetry and lasted until the 16th century (Fulton 2012). Another important Welsh poetic metre which was developed during this period was the Cynghanedd (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2017). Mediaeval Welsh literature is also renowned for its contributions in prose, most famously perhaps is the Mabinogion, a collection of 11 anonymous tales which were preserved in Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch/The White Book of Rhydderch (c. 1300–25) and Llyfr Coch Hergest/The Red Book of Hergest (c. 1375–1425) (Thomson et. at. 2018).

Through the Reformation and Renaissance period, Welsh prose and literature witnessed a decline. By the 17th century, the dominance of the English culture and language had distinctly affected the Welsh-language literary scene. The Welsh-speaking population primarily lived in the countryside and the country was lacking a big thriving city that would spur on cultural and literary activities. As previously highlighted, the Welsh language lacked in status and a general conception persisted at the time that “Welsh did not seem to be an appropriate medium for conveying subtle and complex intellectual ideas” (Jenkins 1997:370).

The 18th century eventually brought with it a revival of the literary scene, spurred on by the development of the printing press (ibid.). The classical metres of the cywydd and cynghanedd were reintroduced. The texts were dominated by a religious theme; texts started to become more political towards the end of the century (Jenkins et. at. Jenkins 1997).

The 19th century saw a decline in strict metre poetry. Although it counts amongst the most prolific periods of Welsh-language prose, classicists in general attribute poor quality to the contributions of this period. The themes of the writings diversified, as did the genre, particularly after the establishment of the University of Wales (1872-1893) (Thomson et. at. 2018). Furthermore, the late 19th century is often referred to as the “golden age of the Welsh-language newspaper press” (Smith 2000a:277). Amongst the most significant publications of that period one must count Y Gwyddoniadur Gymreig (also known as the Encyclopaedia Cambrensis; published in 10 volumes between 1854 and 1879) and Hanes y Brytaniaid a’r Cymry (History of the Britons and the Welsh; published 1872-4).

The turn of the century signalled a turn in the literary scene in Wales. Welsh-language drama started to emerge, the Welsh-language novel established itself and the literary scene started to express political views in their writings. The emergence of a more naturalistic style helped Welsh-language literature gain new ground in the 1920s and 1930s (Davies 2014:95). Between 1922 and 1951, Welsh-language literature and prose was predominantly popularized and spread through the quarterly literary journal “Y Llenor”, edited by W.J. Gruffydd (Jones, R. Gerallt 2000). The era also gave birth to famous Welsh writers, such as Kate Roberts, Saunders Lewis and Gruffydd John Williams (Davies 2014:95). A number of societies, including Urdd Gobaith Cymru and Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg started to hold Welsh literature competitions. Books again started to be sold at county fairs and the Welsh Book Festival was launched in 1930. Over the following decades, the Books Campaign initiated by Urdd Gobaith Cymru contributed to raise awareness for the literary scene in Wales (Löffler 2000). At the same time, there was a general and widespread decline in Welsh-language newspapers, caused by an influx of English-language dailies during the interwar and post-war years (Davies 2014:93).

With the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, Welsh authorities started to subsidize Welsh-language publications, particularly of children’s books’ and educational publications. This trend of publishing has continued until today: by the early 21st century, a third of Welsh-language books belong to these two sectors (Davies 2014:137-139). 1959 marked the foundation of Yr Academi Gymreig/The Welsh Academy, a body which leading Welsh-language writers joined and that was to guarantee the upkeep of the literary standards. One of its main contributions is the literary journal Taliesin which was first published 1961 (Jones R. Gerallt 2015²). In that very year, the Cyngor Llyfrau Cymru (Welsh Books Council) was established with the aim of stimulating interest in books published in Wales in Welsh or English (see Welsh Books Council n.d.-a).

As religious themes which had greatly influenced Welsh-language literature in the past have notably begun to lose ground, since the second half of the century experimentalist fiction has gained in popularity (e.g. works by Mihangel Morgan) (Jenkins & Williams 2000:19); nevertheless, there remains a significant market of books of verse, spurred on by a return to the traditional Welsh metre (Davies 2014:139). A considerable number of writers have published both in Welsh and English, and have also translated their own work, such as Gwyneth Lewis, William Evans or Ronald Stuart Thomas. The dominant motifs and settings remain firmly rooted in rural areas, a fact which reflects the “geographical distribution of the language”

(Davies 2014:140). In 2011, Literature Wales was founded, taking over Yr Academi Gymreig/The Welsh Academy and Tŷ Newydd Writers' Centre to promote Welsh literature nationally and internationally (see Literature Wales n.d.).

Despite all these recent developments and the ambitions of the Welsh Government and other societies however, the outlook for the Welsh literary scene according to Jenkins & Williams (2000) is concerning: the Welsh-language publishing sector is heavily dependent upon state subsidies, a situation which is aggravated by very low sales figures.

3.4.2. Eisteddfod

As elaborated upon above, Welsh literature and poetry form a vital part of the Welsh cultural identity. This is reflected in the Eisteddfod, the national festival of Wales, held to celebrate Welsh language and culture. The National Eisteddfod is a cultural festival as well as a social event. The first festival of such kind took place in 1176 and was initiated by Rhys ap Gruffydd at Cardigan Castle. The bardic tournament was to underline Lord Rhys' status and recent achievements and called upon bards from Wales and beyond to compete for the two bardic chairs in poetry and music, respectively (Carradice 2010).

With the decline of the status of the Welsh language, the tradition which continued into the 15th and 16th century fell out of favour (ibid.). The beginning of the "modern eisteddfod-events" can be attributed to 1789 when an eisteddfod was held in Corwen (Davies 2014:60). The traditional Gorsedd ceremonies were introduced to the eisteddfodau-events thirty years later in 1819, when Iolo Morganwg invited the Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain to participate in the Eisteddfod (see Gorsedd Cymru n.d.). In 1861, facilitated by an increase in popularity in eisteddfodau-events since the second half of the 19th century, the first National Eisteddfod was held.

Although the festival celebrates Welsh literature, poetry and music, anglicisation – which had penetrated all aspects of life – also affected the eisteddfodau and by 1931, it was the dominant language on the festivals' stages (Jenkins & Williams 2000:7). It was not until 1952, that a constitutional change of the event established – not without causing controversy (Davies 2014:156) – Welsh as the sole language of activities. However, in order to make the festival accessible to non-Welsh speakers, translation and interpreting services are provided.

Aside from the main National Eisteddfod, there are many local and regional eisteddfodau which lead up to the National Eisteddfod. In 1947, an international version of the festival was launched as a symbol of peace and togetherness. The Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod invites singers, choirs, orchestras and bands from countries all over the world (see Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod n.d.). Special events for children were introduced as early as the mid-19th century and a day at the national event was specifically dedicated to children from 1918 until the Urdd Eisteddfod was launched in 1929 (Löffler: 2000:209). The Urdd Eisteddfod is aimed at the younger generation and organized by the Urdd Gobaith Cymru, which was first established by Syr Ifan ab Owen Edwards in 1922 and has since initiated and organized many activities for children and young people aimed at stimulating interest in the Welsh language and furthering language use (see Urdd Gobaith Cymru n.d.). It has become an important institution in Wales with approximately 53,000 members (Urdd Gobaith Cymru 2018:5).

The National Eisteddfod has been held yearly since 1881 (apart from in 1914 and 1940) and today attracts approximately 150,000 people per year. It is alternately held in North and South Wales and also successfully outside of the Welsh-speaking heartland (e.g. 2004 Newport; 2012 Vale of Glamorgan) (Davies 2014:155-156). It can count on the support of the National Assembly, which regards it “one of the key events in Welsh cultural and social life” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:4).

Today, over the eight festival days, hundreds of musicians, poets, authors, etc. compete in different categories against each other to win the prestigious Eisteddfod Prize. Competitions and ceremonies are held in the pavilion. “Y maes” (The Field) holds hundreds of stalls run by a wide range of organizations, associations, political parties, (book) shops etc. At the same time, the National Eisteddfod is an annual meeting for many Welsh-language organizations (Davies 2014:156). Furthermore, several translation-based activities are typically showcased at the National Eisteddfod, including Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru’s annual lecture, the yearly Translation Challenge as well as a number of stalls that are run by organizations involved in and pertaining to the translation industry.

3.4.3. S4C: Sianel Pedwar Cymru

The demand for a Welsh-language broadcasting station can be traced back to as early as the beginning of the 20th century. The impact of broadcasting and the potential it offered for the dissemination and promotion of the Welsh language is expressed in the Welsh in Education and Life report (1927), which resulted in first concessions which were granted in 1937 in the form of the establishment of the Welsh Region of the BBC (Davies Buch 2014:97-98). In 1962, the Pilkington Report, which set out recommendations on the future of broadcasting in the UK, suggested the installation of a “self-contained television service [...] to meet fully the differing needs” of Wales (Pilkington 1962:8). As a result, BBC Wales was established in 1964, obliged to broadcast half of its altogether 12 hours of television broadcast in Welsh. Together with ITV, approximately 11.5 hrs/week were broadcast in Welsh by the mid-1960s. However, Welsh-language programmes were aired during off-peak hours which understandably led to great frustration, and thus demands for a Welsh-language channel grew by late 1960s (Davies 2014:148).

Language activists began to realize that broadcasting was a particularly powerful force behind anglicisation and came to the conclusion that it would be advantageous to use this as justification for the expansion of Welsh language. Not satisfied with the situation of Welsh-language broadcasting, this argument was henceforth used to propagate Welsh-language broadcasting (Jenkins & Williams 2000:16). Campaigns for a Welsh television channel dominated the 1970s, making it “one of the most remarkable episodes in the recent history of the lesser-used languages in Europe” (Davies 2014:149). The highly contentious debate was stoked by several campaigns of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg and other institutions and individuals. Arguments in favour of a separate Welsh-language channel came from both sides. English monoglot viewers complained about Welsh-language programmes interrupting their English-language broadcast; Welsh-language speakers demanded more Welsh-language content to air during peak-hours. Nevertheless, opposing voices also came from both sides, questioning the need for a separate Welsh-language channel on the one hand (English monoglots), and by raising the important issue of language acquisition by highlighting that a bilingual channel promotes bilingualism and in Wales’ case, would serve the purpose of introducing English monoglots to the language who reportedly frequently watched Welsh-language programmes, thereby picking up the language, an argument voiced by leading experts in bilingual learning (Davies 2014).

1974 marked the year of the publication of the Crawford Committee Report, which paved the way for establishing a Welsh-language channel. Furthermore, the issue of Welsh-language broadcasting also dominated the general elections in 1979. However, after winning elections, the Conservative Party, contrary to their manifesto pledge, announced they would retract plans for the Welsh-language channel, which sparked renewed activism. (Smith 2000b:322).

The most drastic measure to bring attention to the topic was Gwynfor Evan's hunger strike in May 1980 (see chapter 3.2.1.). Eventually after interventions by leading religious, academic and other political figures, the government retracted on their statement so that on 1 November 1982, the Welsh-language channel Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C, the Welsh fourth channel) went on air for the first time. (Davies 2014:151).

The installation of Welsh-language broadcasting was one of the most disputed implementations of the 20th century, and the channel's funding has been a point of fierce debate since the turn of the millennium. S4C relied majorly on state funds, making it "the most heavily subsidized television channel in the world" (Jenkins & Williams 2000:25). The UK Government's Spending Review published in 2010 announced a 25% cut in the channel's funding (HM Treasury 2010:65). In 2013, the BBC and S4C announced a new operating agreement, which also saw a change in the channel's funding model which from 2013 onwards was to be largely provided through the BBC's licence fee model (S4C 2013). In March 2018, an independent report setting out recommendations for the future of S4C was published and all its recommendations were accepted by the UK Government. The recommendations referred to the Welsh Government's aim of reaching one million Welsh speakers by 2050 and highlighted the need for a structural and financial overhaul. The report's main recommendations concern the increase of the channel's digital content, and the channel's funding which is suggested should be funded entirely through the BBC licence fee from 2022/2023 (Williams 2018).

In its beginnings, S4C broadcasted 22 hours of Welsh-language programmes per week. Since 2010 when the digital switchover in Wales was completed, S4C has been an (almost) entirely Welsh-language broadcaster with English subtitles available for the majority of programmes (Welsh Affairs Committee 2011).

Welsh-language broadcasting brought to light the normally tacit issue of language standardization. Standardized Welsh in oral communication was mostly confined to the religious domain. To close the gap between standardized and vernacular forms and to bridge

the “North-South” dialect polemic, the BBC adopted a more flexible and more popular language (Davies 2014:98). On the other hand, the correctness of the Welsh language in programmes, particularly when unscripted interviews included non-Welsh native speakers was another of a number of language issues that to date have only been partly resolved (Smith 2000b:339).

Welsh-language broadcasting remains an important means of reintroducing and strengthening the Welsh-language in the social domain. It supports language acquisition and constitutes a considerable economic sector in Welsh-language workplaces. Furthermore, it has shaped the status of the language and of Welsh identity (see Welsh Assembly Government 2003; Welsh Affairs Committee 2011:7).

4. Translation-related practices and activities in the 20th and 21st century

As highlighted in the previous chapters, bilingualism in Wales has been fostered on an individual, societal and cultural-linguistic basis. As Prys Jones (2015:99) concludes, there exists a “triple justification” for translation in Wales: to enable the individual to communicate in their language of choice in public, to meet the statutory linguistic requirements based on the official status of the Welsh language, and to foster the use of Welsh.

During the 20th century, Welsh had to overcome its stigma of being inappropriate for use in the public sphere and of being heavily dependent upon English. The “public treatment” of the Welsh language was a great cause of discord: Welsh place names were “anglicized”, in other examples, the linguistic characteristics of Welsh were utilized to portray the “impracticality” and “exoticism” of the language, undermining its status and legitimacy (Coupland 2012).

Coupland has recently examined the linguistic landscape in Wales and identified five types of relationships and settings, or “frames” as he refers to them, in which displays of bilingualism occur in Wales, which illustrate the change of priorities and the evolution of the linguistic situation over time and which is reflected by the translation methods applied, namely: “(i) the frame of nonautonomous Welsh, (ii) the frame of parallel-text bilingualism, (iii) the frame of nationalist resistance, (iv) the frame of Welsh exoticism, and (v) the frame of laconic metacultural celebration” (Coupland 2012).

Creating (public) awareness for the translation process has posed a particular challenge in Wales. Official bilingualism and thus translation-related practices and activities are a potential source of discord as shown in previous chapters and Prys Jones (2015:100) describes the relationship with translation in Wales as “essentially uneasy”. According to Miguélez-Carballeira et al., “[a]s in all enclaves where power and intercultural contact meet, translation has thus been a catalyst for debate and contention, but also a space for creative encounters.” (2016:131) (see chapter 5 on the discourse surrounding the Welsh language).

The approach to translation in Wales, has been strongly practice-oriented and scant thought has been paid to the underlying theories, as criticised by Prys Jones (2015). The attributed lack of theoretical reflection coupled with the statutory requirements of bilingual communication (which to some level gave preference to quantity rather than quality of translation) have the potential to lead to far-reaching consequences on several levels. The lack

of theoretical reflection, according to Prys Jones, might be attributed to the closely shared space of the two languages; however, it simultaneously highlights the necessity of doing so:

“In Wales, two languages and to some degree, two cultures exist side by side and overlap, there is one system of government (UK and Wales-wide) and one social system. There is so much similarity that it is easy to think about public translation as a matter of replacing one word with another, to follow the definition of Catford. But there is another kind of gap, namely the gap between a majority language and a minority language, between the most powerful language in the world and a small language under severe threat, two languages which are completely different in terms of their social status, domains of use and fluency of speakers.” (2015:112, translated)

“Creating” bilingualism is not only confined to translators and interpreters, translation-related activities are (automatically) carried out by all Welsh speakers on some level, a practise for which Cen Williams (1994) coined the term “trawsieithu”, or “translanguaging” as it came to be known in English.

Today, translation and interpreting have become central instruments in “Bilingual Wales”, “based on the principle that through translation and translation-related practices [...], Welsh can regain public visibility and Welsh-language speakers restore their right to conduct as much of their lives as possible in a language compatible with all aspects of the modern world” (Miguélez-Carballeira et al. 2016:125). The value of the translation industry in Wales was estimated at to equal £45 million for 2007 (Prys et al. 2009) and the profession has been deemed “an attractive and lucrative career option for graduates of Welsh” (Screen 2016:1). It was estimated that the industry employs over 500 translators (Prys Jones 2015:98), working either in-house, freelance, or employed by one of at least five major translation companies (Screen 2016). While (written) translation predominantly occurs from the majority language into the minority language, in other words from English into Welsh, interpreting, according to Miguélez-Carballeira et al. (2016), occurs overwhelmingly from Welsh into English.

4.1. Public sector

The first steps towards official recognition of the Welsh language in the 1960s initiated the process of developing a professional translation industry in the public sector (Screen 2017:120-121). The earliest such professional translation unit was established 1966 in Cardiff to provide translation services to governmental departments and a number of other public bodies. However, at its beginning resources were tight and structures were rudimentary. The

pioneering staff, including William Morgan Rogers, Mary Jones and later Berwyn Prys were not professionally trained as translators and had no specific translation qualifications; rather they were language teachers. They had to face several issues, mainly arising from a lack of reference material and a non-existent professional network as there were no other professional translators between Welsh and English at the time. Additional problems they faced centered around the lack of translation training and qualifications obtainable at the time, and the need of a professional representative body as well as a lack of resources. Terminological resources particularly, caused by a lack of standardized language, created difficulties, in combination with the fact that the Welsh language had only relatively recently been (re)introduced into the official domain (Andrews 2015).

The number of translation units in the country were increased in the 1970s. With the growing number of professional translators, the need for a recognised standardized terminology became even more pressing and consistency became a prime issue, as external translators hired were not obliged to adhere to the terminology resources drafted by Berwyn Prys Jones in the late 1980s (*ibid.*).

With the passing of the Welsh Language Act 1993, providing bilingual services in the public sector became mandatory. Since then, (private) bodies providing public services have also had to abide by language Schemes and Standards, causing a spur in translation and translation-related activities.

While the passing of such legislation had been long awaited by the community who wished to see the Welsh language revitalized, there were concerns as to the feasibility of such legislation. The argument frequently leads to the question of prioritising quantity over quality and if bilingual services should be provided at all costs. Likewise, the change in the government's policies regarding the Welsh language after the 1993 Act provoked many sceptical reactions, including criticism from people generally favouring the provision of Welsh services, arguing that Welsh "cannot be forced down people's throats" (Pujolar 2013:67).

One of the main challenges faced when providing bilingual services was securing the size of workforce needed to provide high quality bilingual services. Welsh language competence became a highly sought-after skill and (frequently) necessary to obtaining work in the public sector. In its language strategy plans, the Welsh Government stresses the importance of professional translators and interpreters; however, as observed by Kaufmann (2012:335) it regards them and their work as tools and means rather than collaborators when it comes to

language policy and language planning. Furthermore, the government's initiative to encourage bilingual drafting by a bilingual workforce as a by-product of the work they were originally employed for is "cause for concern", as "[t]he assumption that anyone who speaks English and Welsh can translate between the two languages is flawed, and the risk of producing poor translations may not trounce the need to reduce costs" (Llewellyn 2018:142). Nevertheless, in the Welsh Language Commissioner's latest publication regarding text translation, it stresses the importance of hiring professional translators and highlights the specific skills required of professional translators which are very different to bilingual drafting (Welsh Language Commissioner 2019a).

Another major concern was the continual need for the provision of two language versions of equal quality in general, and of the same value in law in particular. Bilingual drafting of legislation poses perhaps the biggest challenge as bilingual legislation in Wales has to be "for all purposes [...] of equal standing" (Government of Wales Act 2006). Legislative drafting is carried out by the centralized Office of the Legislative Counsel (OLC). There is a tendency that legislation is drafted first in English and then translated into Welsh, a method which is supposedly less time consuming and more efficient than bilingual co-drafting. However, an increase in bilingual co-drafting executed by "truly" bilingual drafting lawyers is desirable, as indicated by the First Minister Carwyn Jones, in order to avoid a potential misapprehension as pointed out by The Learned Society of Wales that the 'original' first language draft is superior (Constitutional and Legislative Affairs Committee 2015:152-162).

Burki (2016) explains the bilingual legislative drafting process and highlights the difficulties which occur during the drafting process. To assure quality, the legislative drafters receive linguistic support. The need for terminology standardization of legal terminology occurs during bilingual legislative drafting as a result of the insufficient provision of legal terminology in Welsh. As Williams (2000) points out, language standardization is essential and the requirement for a standardized legal terminology has been recognised by those responsible for bilingual legislative drafting – with the responsibility of creating such terminology residing with the Welsh Government, as recommended in the 2016 Law Commission Report on the Form and Accessibility of the Law Applicable in Wales (Law Commission 2016).

In terms of accessibility and presentation, legislation.gov.uk, the official online-accessible database hosted by The National Archives, publishes both individual language versions wherever they are available, as well as "mixed language" versions that are either

provided as parallel texts with two columns per side or a document where the two language versions alternate page per page.

Translations at the National Assembly and Welsh Government

As required by the Welsh Language Act 1993, the government's communication and correspondence is bilingual, including telephone enquiries, any forms or documents provided, legislation, invitations, advertisements, etc. (Regional Learning Partnership South West and Central Wales 2015:13). The National Assembly for Wales and the Welsh Government both have large in-house translation units (Screen 2017:121). The Welsh Government Translation Service with two translation units in Cardiff was established in 2005, six years after the inception of the National Assembly in 1999. The service is particularly known for its resource portal BydTermCymru, which offers a terminological database, resources for the translation of legislative texts, translation memories and style guides. The style guides, which include the general style guide "Yr Addulliadur", a Legislative Translation Style Guide as well as a Legislative Drafting Glossary, aim to guarantee consistency, thus translators working for the Welsh Government have to adhere to them. Initially, the priority of the Translation Service rested with terminology, the focus has since shifted towards translation technology (Declercq 2015).

The National Assembly's official language scheme was passed in the form of the National Assembly for Wales (Official Languages) Act 2012. In previous years, the decision by the National Assembly to retract from its commitment to publishing its official record of the proceedings of the National Assembly for Wales, "Y Cofnod", as a full bilingual version, has attracted a great deal of negative public attention. Despite the publications being deemed a key element in the provision of bilingual services by the National Assembly, providing a bilingual record had been frequently questioned by politicians and members of the public alike, which reached a peak in July 2009: A proposal to abandon translations in order to provide only records of what was said in the language it was spoken – which due to a majority of the members speaking English would have meant the majority of the records being in English; only 10-12% of the total contributions of the proceedings were made in Welsh in the first year (Jenkins & Williams (2000:26) – was overturned in 2010 after suggestions by an expert panel (Mac Giolla Chríost et al. 2016). As a preliminary agreement between the Welsh Assembly and the Welsh Language Board, it was decided that the record would be published bilingually

again from autumn 2009; however, within five working days instead of overnight in order to reduce costs, equalling a reduction from £127/1,000 words to £84/1,000 words. Although by 2010, the amount of Welsh language contributions had risen, still only approximately 20% (or 9,000 words) were spoken in Welsh as opposed to 36,000 words spoken in English. Furthermore, the Assembly Commission concluded that the use of machine translation would be the cheapest option, totalling approximately £110,000 (£39/hour) in post-editing per year, compared to the appointment of in-house translators at £350,000 or using external resources for £240,000 (VAT inclusive) (Assembly Commission 2011).

The resulting National Assembly for Wales (Official Languages) Act 2012 which followed the fierce debate about the Assembly's language scheme, stipulates that both Welsh and English are official languages of the National Assembly and that the original record as well as the translation into the both languages has to be provided. Furthermore, the Act stipulates that the Assembly Commission adopts and publishes Language Schemes which must include the provision, amongst other conditions, that simultaneous interpretations have to be provided in all Assembly proceedings as well as any meetings held by the Assembly or the Assembly Commission. The Act also stipulates that the Assembly's Official Languages Scheme is subject to an annual report as to its implementation. Such reports include the Assembly's ambitions, service standards and themes (in terms of recruitment, language skills, language planning etc.) as well as translation practices, as in the case of the 2017-2018 annual report (National Assembly for Wales 2018). In 2010/11, the National Assembly's translation overall service costs came to £707,718 a decrease of approximately 10% compared to 2008/09 as revealed by a Freedom of Information (FOI) request (National Assembly for Wales 2012).

Interpreting at court

Official interpretations in the legal sphere, in accordance with the language scheme provided by HM Courts & Tribunals Service, are to be carried out by the Service's own Welsh Language Unit or – if necessary – by “qualified translators who are members of Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru (Association of Welsh Language Translators and Interpreters)” (HM Courts & Tribunals Service 2018:14). Until June 2018, 23 members of the society, who additionally have to be recognised under the society's “Area of Professional Expertise: Court and Tribunal Interpreting”, can be called upon for interpreting duties by the HM Courts and Tribunal Services (Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru 2018). In this context, the need for a professional

body to guarantee quality and professionalism in Wales becomes even more apparent considering there are no official professional requirements (no sworn translators/interpreters) for the practice of the profession in court as there are for example in Austria (gerichtlich beeidete DolmetscherInnen und ÜbersetzerInnen) (Welsh Language Commissioner 2019a:18).

Incentives by public bodies to increase bilingual communication

There are various efforts on the part of the Welsh Government and the National Assembly to encourage the use of Welsh in the business sector. The Government Wales website offers a “Welsh in Business” section, in which the Government, for example, highlights the benefits of providing bilingual services, offers business vocabulary and other suggestions of how to utilize Welsh in the business sphere (see Welsh Government n.d.-a). In addition, it refers to the Welsh in Business Officers / Swyddog Cymraeg byd Busnes whose offer includes a free translation service of signs, menus or promotional material, and other such documents – a service which was proposed alongside other such initiatives in the national language strategy document Iaith Pawb (Welsh Assembly Government 2003). Free translation services are also offered by Canolfan Bedwyr, which has developed a special platform for handling the submitted projects. The university also offers the Cymraeg Clir Services to translate documents into simple language to enhance accessibility (similar to the principle of “Leichte Sprache” in German) which is primarily aimed at public bodies (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-a).

A similar service is offered by the Welsh Language Commissioner who offers a free proof-reading service of up to 1,000 words per year per organisation via its Hybu Team (see Welsh Language Commissioner n.d.-d). The Language Commissioner has a leading role in regulating and fostering translation practises, establishing regulations and overseeing their implementation. As such, it publishes advice documents, for example on bilingual drafting, translation, or the use of Welsh in direct interaction, which are

“not aimed at translators, but rather at those who wish to use translation services and who are seeking guidance on how to access and use such services. It shares good practice and offers practical step-by-step advice on how to process text translation and organise the services of an interpreter” (Welsh Language Commissioner n.d.-e:para. 3).

The Regional Learning and Skills Partnership South West & Mid Wales offers brief analysis of existing Language Policies and Schemes of local authorities and other bodies that have to

adhere to the government's language strategy (Regional Learning Partnership South West and Central Wales 2015).

The Welsh Government recognises that an increase in Welsh language content on the Internet has a direct correlation with the language's profile. It is a new and modern social domain in which the Welsh language has to establish itself. To generate more Welsh language content online, the Welsh Government invests in translation technologies including machine translation and also encourages and supports groups of volunteers who produce Welsh language content on the Internet such as the project Wici Caerdydd which strives to increase the number of Wikipedia articles. Furthermore, the Welsh Language Commissioner has published guidelines for businesses and charities, providing recommendations on the use of Welsh on social media, based on results of studies it had carried out, showing the added value of bilingual communication (Welsh Government 2018c). To increase the use of the content provided by Welsh users, Welshify Widget was developed, a plugin which alerts a website user that the content language preferences of their browser are set to the default English option and that a Welsh language version of the Website is available (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-b).

4.2. Private sector

In addition to the over 500 organisations which, since the passing of the Welsh Language Act 1993, have established Welsh language schemes until 2011 alone (see Welsh Language Board n.d.), an increasing number of businesses have drawn up proposals for voluntary language schemes and standards. Building societies, banks and companies and major supermarket chains have since adopted some degree of bilingual communication (Davies 2014:122). However, from of Wales' biggest 10 companies (Barry 2018a), only Glas Cymru has openly published their commitment to the Welsh language on their website and provides bilingual services online as it is required to do so under the 1993 Welsh Language Act.

In 2014, a research project was conducted on behalf of the Welsh Government, analysing Welsh Language Skills as they are required and utilized in Wales in different sectors. Approximately 10-15% of the establishments included in the research (covering 8 different sectors) were required to establish a Welsh Language Scheme or policy with the same number having implemented a voluntary language policy. Key findings suggested that only approximately one third of employers across the eight sectors considered staff with Welsh language skills "very" or "fairly important" and approximately one quarter were of the opinion

that it would be beneficial to have more Welsh-speaking staff or staff with better Welsh language skills (Vivian et al. 2014).

As mentioned above, incentives are offered to Welsh businesses to encourage the use of bilingual communication. The government is keen to encourage private sector businesses to implement Welsh language services on a voluntary basis by highlighting possible strategies on how Welsh can benefit the business. One of the strategies to promote this was the installation of twelve “Welsh in Business Officers”, whose task it is to help identify the Welsh language services potential of the company, provide (select) translations free of charge and advice on bilingual communication, amongst other services, funded by the Welsh Government and the European Union under the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (see Welsh Government n.d.-a). Over 1,000 small to medium-sized businesses “have interacted with the Welsh language” within the initiative’s first year, while approximately 140 businesses referred to the Welsh in Business Officers to request and receive free translations (Welsh Government 2019d).

The Bangor Business School’s Centre for Business Research and Market Intelligence (CBRmi) on behalf of the Welsh Assembly Government analysed the use of Welsh within the private sector by including businesses with different attitudes (positive, neutral, negative) towards Welsh language policies. The study revealed that a variety of strategies and methods were applied which were dependent upon geographical, customer-based and recourse-based factors, amongst others. Only about 23% of organisations had no Welsh language customer service at all, which was primarily grounded on a lack of customer demand. Companies with no language provisions are overwhelmingly examples of larger businesses. Moreover, the study showed that Welsh language skills and Welsh language services were largely not formally assessed within a company; at the same time, acquiring a bilingual workforce was seen as challenging. In terms of implementing a bilingual service strategy, the survey showed that translation was regarded as a significantly negative factor as it “was considered to be the biggest problem due to cost and time” (Bangor Business School 2011:50).

Another approach to increase Welsh language use and visibility is to utilize the tourism industry to reverse the potential adverse effect it has on the Welsh language to encourage industry members to increase Welsh language use. However, this approach has only led to a modest level of success. Scepticism elicited by the “tourism paradox” (economic advantages vs. social [esp. in-/out-migration and cultural assimilation] and environmental disadvantages) (Phillips 2000b)) dominated the 20th century and led to an ambivalent attitude towards the

tourism industry. Tourism in Wales in the 20th century had a “thoroughly Anglicized image” (ibid.:532) and was blamed as a contributor to the decline in Welsh speakers. The Wales Tourist Board has since established initiatives to highlight the benefits of tourism to Wales and the Welsh language and culture. The National Assembly supports and encourages the idea of promoting the Welsh language as a unique selling factor, to market the Welsh language as a “tourism product”, to provide Welsh language tour guides and to developing a database enlisting accommodation where Welsh is and can be spoken (e.g. see Welsh Assembly Government 2003). Although such policies and implementations can be found in the tourism industry, the motif behind those implementations were more often based upon attracting Welsh speakers and relating to their rights to use Welsh rather than to market Welsh as a “tourist attraction”. Likewise, analysis showed that linguistic consciousness of the average tourist holidaying in Wales was lacking (Pujolar 2013).

A number of studies have in the recent past been undertaken to analyse to use of and impact on the Welsh language in tourism and the implementation of language strategies, such as Jaworski & Thurlow (2013), who have analysed the language strategy employed by Cardiff Airport, which at the time of the study was a privately-owned company and as such not legally required to provide Welsh language services (it was one of many large companies which implemented Welsh language strategies on a voluntary basis); Pujolar (2013), who analysed “Tourism and Gender in Linguistic Minority Communities”; or Pritchard & Morgan (2001), who examined the cultural impact of language on tourism with the help of the destination branding strategies of the Wales Tourist Board (WTB) and local authorities.

4.3. Translation and technology

The crucial role language technologies and language in technology play in today’s society and thus their importance for language revitalization has been stressed by several key players in Wales. In the Welsh Language Commissioner’s latest publication, a guideline for organisations regarding translation practices, an entire section was given over to translation technology, including an explanation of the benefits of working with translation memory, machine translation and translation project management software (Welsh Language Commissioner 2019a). In addition, Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru stresses the benefits that translation technologies can provide and encourages its members to utilize such tools (Lewis 2015). The importance of (translation-related) technologies to the Welsh Government was not only

stressed in its national language strategies (see chapter 3.1.2.); in 2018, the government published a specific Welsh Language Technology Action Plan which revealed the government's three focus areas: 1) Welsh language speech technology, 2) Computer-assisted translation, and 3) Conversational artificial intelligence.

One aspect relevant to translation-related activities that has developed out of speech technology are speech-to-text technologies. First of all, audio corpora need to be compiled to train speech-to-text technologies. Eventually such systems are to be utilized to translate and produce simultaneous subtitles. Furthermore, the government seeks to continue its development of Welsh <> English machine translation systems with regards to different domains and registers to facilitate human translation. It also aims to create translation networks to utilize and exchange already existent translation memory for computer aided translation tools. The government has pledged to provide long-term maintenance, development and provision of corpora, lexicographical and terminological resources as well as of grammar checkers (including mutation) and spellcheckers. In order to realise these objectives, the government seeks to: aligning Welsh/English parallel texts, develop term extraction software to produce automatic glossaries with the aim of improving translations, develop dependency and constituency parser software, as well as compiling lists of Welsh Language Named Entities to facilitate machine translation, amongst others (Welsh Government 2018d).

Established in collaboration between Bangor University and the Welsh Government, three main national online portals have been developed to summarize translation-relevant technology resources:

- The Welsh National Terminology Portal (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-c)
- The Welsh National Corpora Portal (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-d)
- The Welsh National Language Technologies Portal (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-e)

These platforms give an overview of current projects and conferences, provide further information and give access to available technologies and databases. The uniform web appearance with its recognisable interface facilitates usage and is costumer friendly. As these platforms show, parts of the government's objectives formulated in the Welsh Language Technology Action Plan have been based upon already existent technologies and their implementation has already been initiated.

With an increase in government spending on translation and bilingual services as well as a shortage of professional translators compared to the high demand, translation technologies

seemed a logical resource with which meet these challenges. The Welsh Government recognised the potential of translation technologies and invested in research as well as provided financial support for the development and adaptation of such technologies for Welsh. In cooperation with other institutions, particularly Bangor University, several major projects were launched to advance the development of translation technologies in Wales. As a result, technologies are being developed for several specific fields, including software for dictionaries, grammar and spell-checkers, machine translation technology, technology for terminology management, speech recognition, amongst others.

One of the first projects was the development of spell and grammar checkers. Cysill and Cysgeir are the result of the work of the University of Wales and the Welsh Language Board, respectively. Cysill, commissioned by the University of Wales, can identify, correct and provide information about language errors, including mistypes, misspellings and grammatical errors, down to the level of initial consonant mutations. With the installation of the Cysill Ar-line Widget, Welsh language grammar and spellchecker capabilities can be added to a website. Cysgeir, commissioned by the Welsh Language Board, is a computerized dictionary designed to allow integration with Word processing applications. Both these tools were published as a package named Cysgliad which originally launched in 2004 (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-f).

The widget Vocab can be added to a website to facilitate language learning by recognising words as dictionary entries from a number of dictionaries and providing the corresponding entry if the user hovers over a recognised term (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-g).

Machine translation

Since the beginning of this century, there have been numerous attempts to establish machine translation for the Welsh/English language pair. The beginnings of the process of Welsh devolution spurred on the desire to establish bilingual communication across all public bodies – a task which would require considerable resources of various kinds. The Assembly's motivation was thus to establish translation technologies and machine translation to cut costs and increase effectiveness, amongst other reasons. This is in line with contemporary research which suggests that “the editing process [makes] translation cognitively easier for the translator as well as easier in terms of the physical processes of text production” (Screen 2017:123). This conclusion was emphasised in an empirical study on “the possible benefits of editing Machine Translation and Translation Memory outputs when translating from English to Welsh” (Screen

2017:190) for which Screen compared the work of eight professional translators by analysing how factors such as different levels of translation memory matches and post-editing machine translation influenced the processing time and quality of the translations.

The Welsh Assembly was one of one the first institutions which considered applying machine translation, precisely Google Translate, to translate Y Cofnod, the Record of Plenary proceedings. Having decided to abolish the practise of publishing the record bilingually which caused considerable uproar, the Assembly sought alternative methods to do justice to the statutory principle of equal validity of the languages while keeping costs as low as possible. Google Translate added the Welsh language in 2009 (Declercq 2015:369) and the Assembly considered the use of the free application to speed up its translation processes and cut costs, albeit realising the potential risk of being dependent upon free applications provided by a third party (Assembly Commission 2011). The Assembly's proposal to use Google Translate to translate the official plenary record was met with stark criticism led by Geraint Wyn Parry, at the time chief executive of Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru, who branded it "a ridiculous idea, really that they can even consider translating an official document like this using machine translation that is recognised as having failings" (BBC 2011a). It was later recommended by the Welsh Language Commissioner, that "[a]utomatic translation software should not be used via a web link to provide a Welsh version of a website or other documents published by your organization" (Welsh Language Commissioner 2012:3).

Machine translation technologies have been employed by the National Assembly since 2012, when a method of machine translation in combination with post editing was used in the translation process of Y Cofnod, the Record of Plenary proceedings. By the summer of that year, officials were commissioned to carry out further research on the potential implementation and further development of machine translation tools. In 2013, after the National Assembly for Wales (Official Languages) Act 2012 was passed, it was decided that developments of the Microsoft Translator should be continued with the aim of launching the system to the public in the following year (see National Assembly for Wales n.d.).

Microsoft Translator for Welsh was developed by the National Assembly in cooperation with Microsoft and was launched in 2014. It includes tools, services and applications for products and services provided by Microsoft, such as for Word and Outlook, Bing Translator applications and Windows phone. Data of organisations with bilingual communication has been utilized and fed into the system for improving and increasing the data available. Nevertheless, the quality of machine translation is still an issue and the Welsh

Assembly, while recognising the potential of machine translation, at the same time warns of potential shortcomings of machine translation and underlines the importance of human translators and postediting:

“The quality of machine translation is not perfect and does not deliver the same level of quality achieved by human translation. [...] The objective is not to replace the need for formal communication and documents to be translated professionally, but to provide another tool to extend bilingual communication where it might not otherwise have been possible.” (National Assembly for Wales n.d.:para 3.).

There are a number of free web-based machine translators apart from Google Translate and Microsoft Translator that offer Welsh translations, including Yandex.Translate, the online translator provided by Collins Dictionary, etranslator or the online translator provided by Trident Software (although a brief test translation revealed very poor quality, particularly in the last two). Other popular online translators such as those provided by Systran and Deeply do not (currently) support Welsh. Furthermore, Skype translate (owned by Microsoft since 2011) supports Welsh simultaneous text translation and also Facebook’s translation function is available for Welsh. Most of these systems are based on statistical machine translation.

Moses-SMT is an open source translation engine which is based on statistical machine translation and a popular choice for Welsh/English translators. It is also open to the public and accessible via the Language Technologies Portal (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-h).

In terms of Computer Aided Translation Systems (CAT-Tools), there is little support for the Welsh language in terms of providing integrated Welsh grammar and spellcheckers or providing a Welsh interface (Prys & Prys 2015). Canolfan Bedwr’s translation portal has a bilingual interface. CyfieithyCymru (TranslateWales) was developed by Bangor University as a translation system specifically for Welsh, which features the Welsh language grammar and spellchecker Cysill, gist machine translation as well as pre-loaded translation memory (Bangor University 2015).

In order to increase the quality of Welsh-English translations as well as enhance consistency and effectiveness, the government proposed the creation of standardized translation memory to be utilized by the government’s translation units as well as being openly accessible to the public via its BydTermCymru portal (Welsh Language Commissioner 2019b:26).

Interpretation and speech technologies

A Welsh pioneer in the field language technologies and their application was Gwynedd Council which in 1974 decided as the first public body in Wales to provide bilingual services and went on to install simultaneous interpretation facilities in the council chamber (Davies 2014:114). Simultaneous interpretation had been in place in selected courts in Wales since 1973. In 2015, the App “O Glust I Glust” was developed and trialled at the National Eisteddfod, which was designed to provide simultaneous translation between a translator and an audience of up to ten listeners. The aim of the app was to reduce purchasing costs of simultaneous translation equipment as well as make the translation service more widely available (Llais y Maes 2015).²

In terms of speech technologies, one of the first such projects for the Welsh language was the WISPR project which led to the development of a speech synthesis engine for Welsh. Its speech-to-text and text-to-speech conversion capabilities not only help visually impaired persons but can also be utilized to speed up data entry and facilitate data access (Slimane 2008:193). As the Welsh Government expressed in the 2018 Welsh Language Technology Action Plan, it signifies a step towards automatic simultaneous interpretation. During 2015/16, Macsen, the “Welsh speaking Siri”, was developed. The Macsen project was funded by the Welsh Government and has also led to the development of several other speech resources (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-i). Meddal, a platform that promotes the production, distribution and use of Welsh language software and content (see Meddal n.d.), together with Canolfan Bedwyr has launched Mozilla’s Common Voice project for Welsh. The speech recognition technology collects voice recordings with the aim of enhancing voice recognition technologies and provides its collected data free of charge (see Common Voice n.d.). Furthermore, there are various speech recognition kits and tools available online on the Welsh National Language Technologies Portal, such as Kaldi Cymraeg, HTK Cymraeg and Julies Cymraeg or the Welsh Pronunciation Lexicon which can be used in combination with speech applications.

² A list of Welsh language apps, which range from language learning to dictionary and terminology apps, is available at <http://www.appsinwelsh.com/all-apps/> or <https://cymraeg.llyw.cymru/apps?tab=apps&lang=en>

4.4. Terminology management

Language standardization forms a crucial part in language planning and is thus an important part in language revitalization. As Jones notes, there are generally two processes involved in language standardisation: standardization from above (“conscious decision to create homogeneity of speech by devising a synthetic norm”) and standardization from below (through the community; “by chance”). In the case of Welsh, the standardized literary form was already recognized and had prestige as it originated from the early translations of the bible during the 16th/17th century. There was no need for creating or enforcing a new standard variety (unlike other Celtic standard varieties such as was the case with Breton) thus it can be deemed as an example of standardization from below (1998:330).

Nevertheless, this literary standard deviates quite considerably from the spoken forms which is a situation further complicated by differences in language usage across the country. Another factor concerned the fact that the Welsh language by the beginning of the 20th century had a limited function and was restricted to a few domains. The expansion of its function required a parallel increase in vocabulary. The changing needs of the modern society, e.g. due to the rise in technology, new communication channels such as social media, new inventions and interests etc. necessitated the creation of new words and terms (Davies 2014:145). Another factor that must be taken into account is that the literary form is considered antiquated. Various attempts have been made to bridge the gap between the written and spoken form. Already in the first half of the 20th century, the BBC have been carefully moulding a slightly adapted speech more popular and suppler than the standardized literary form (ibid.:98). An alternative written language form that is close to the vernacular, called “Cymraeg Byw (living Welsh), was created but failed to gain nationwide recognition (ibid.:133). All of the points made above pose significant challenges for translators.

One of the first major projects of the 20th century concerned with language standardization was the publication of the standardized orthography for Welsh *Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg*. Produced by a committee of academics including Morris Jones and Ifor Williams and published in 1928, it was a landmark for standardizing the spelling of Welsh and thus particularly significant for the development of the language (Andrews & Prys 2016).

Another project was begun in the 1920s to produce the Standard historical dictionary of the Welsh language called *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (The University of Wales Dictionary); however, it took a further 30 years until 1967 before the first volume was published. Altogether

four volumes of the Welsh > English dictionary were published in the first edition, with the last one having been published in 2002, when work on the second edition was initiated. Since 2014, a free online version of this most comprehensive Welsh language dictionary is available online and in 2016, a free app was launched which can be installed on smartphones. (see Centre for Advanced Welsh & Celtic Studies n.d.).

Another significant lexicographical publication is the “Geiriadur yr Academi” English > Welsh dictionary (The Welsh Academy English-Welsh Dictionary) edited by Bruce Griffiths and Dafydd Glyn Jones and published in 1995. In 2007, rights to publish the dictionary online were transferred to the Welsh Language Board (now Welsh Language Commissioner) who in collaboration with Canolfan Bedwyr (Bangor University) launched the online version in 2012 (see Geiriadur Academi n.d.).

Unlike traditional general-language dictionaries, the purpose of bilingual terminologies is to align specific concepts with a single term which is relevant for a specialised domain or subject (Andrews & Prys 2016:2). In 1973, Geiriadur Termau, the first modern Welsh-language terminological dictionary was published by the University of Wales Press. It was the first bidirectional publication (Andrews & Prys 2016:2).

In the same year as the Welsh Language Act 1993 was passed, the Centre for the Standardization of Welsh Terminology/Canolfan Safoni Termau was created at the School of Education. In 2001, it became part of the Language Technologies Unit (LTU) at Canolfan Bedwyr, Bangor University’s Centre for Welsh Language Services, Research and Technology. The increase in Welsh language teaching necessitated the development of standardized terminology for education. One of the centre’s first significant projects led to the publication of a dictionary in 1998, originally titled “Y Termiadur Ysgyol” of which, after various revisions, extensions, republishings and renamings, the current edition is called “Y Termiadur Addysg”. The centre’s aim was to produce one single volume that would contain the terms of all subjects according to the National Curriculum. It has since also been made available online, accessible via app and comes as part of the Cysgliad software package (Andrews & Prys 2016:3).

While the Termiadur series focuses on terms required for teaching in secondary education, a terminology dictionary for Welsh-medium higher education was published for the first time in 2015, comprising a number of previously individually published subject-specific terminologies. The Geiriadur Termau’r Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol’s target audience is

comparatively homogenous and primarily comprised of university lecturers, researchers, translators and students and provides additional information beyond the simple glossary entry, such as definitions, pictures and diagrams. It has also been made available online and in the form of an app (Prys 2015; Andrews & Prys 2016:4).

To make lexicographical resources easily accessible via mobile devices, Ap Geiriaduron (Dictionary App) was launched in 2012, and since 2015 it calls on entries of Y Termiadur Addysg, Geiriadur Termau'r Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol and the Cysgair general-language dictionary. Furthermore, it offers a gateway to the National Terminology Portal (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-j).

There are a number of other noteworthy lexicographical projects. Welsh WordNet is a lexical database project developed by the CorCenCC team in cooperation with the Welsh Government. By depicting lexico-semantic relationships of words, the meanings behind potentially ambiguous words can be highlighted and synonyms established, which in turn can improve machine translation and speech-to-text outputs, amongst others. It is named as a “necessary technical building block” in the government’s 2018 Welsh Language Technology Action Plan.

The increasing provision of bilingual communication and services by the Welsh Government initiated the creation of the government’s own terminology database TermCymru. The term bank is only accessible via the online portal and has not been published in paper. It is used by the Welsh Government translators but is also accessible to the public free of charge. TermCymru is automatically updated weekly in order to reflect and adapt to the current use and evolution of the language. The database is searchable by subject and each entry features a note with regard to the degree of standardization. The standardization statuses are determined by the government’s Translation Service ranging from A (fully standardized) to C (linguistically verified) (see Welsh Government n.d.-b).

Terminology standardization activities led by various institutions and for various purposes (education, law, etc...) have resulted in a number of terminological dictionaries. The responsibility for the coordination of developments in terms of the standardization of Welsh terminology lies with the Welsh Language Commissioner. It includes the synthesis of existing projects in order to increase the effectiveness and quality of the individual projects, but it does not involve the provision of standardization services by the Commissioner. The Welsh Language Commissioner installed a Panel for the Coordination of Terminology

Standardization and Lexicography with the aim of developing models of cooperation and analysing the framework conditions at the time (2013–14). One of the panel’s major findings was that there is substantial work being carried out in the field of terminology management; however, the projects are frequently short-lived, and the sources not interconnected (see Welsh Language Commissioner n.d.-f).

To facilitate easier accessibility, the Welsh National Terminology Portal was developed by the Language Technologies Unit at Canolfan Bedwyr, Bangor University. The aim of the portal is to consolidate various projects which have been developed since 1993. By entering a term into the search bar of the portal, the corresponding entries of each resource are displayed together on one platform. The free open-access portal was launched in 2010 and currently features 21 terminological dictionaries (Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-c). A positive side-effect of the consolidation of the different dictionaries into one search engine was that inconsistencies between the terminological dictionaries were uncovered (Andrews & Prys 2016:9). Again, a Terminology Dictionary Widget has been developed to integrate terminology dictionaries with websites (Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-g).

While the Terminology Portal was designed to facilitate the access of the output of terminology dictionaries, a programme was needed that would facilitate the creation of content. For this purpose, Maes T was developed, a web interface for online development of terminology databases, designed by the Language Technologies Unit which allows online collaboration between (geographically dispersed) terminologists and subject specialists on the standardization of terms. It is designed for English as the source and Welsh as the target language (Andrews et al. 2011). The shared platform is used for ensuring consistency across the projects of both Y Termiadur Addysg and Geiriadur Termaw'r Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (Andrews & Prys 2016:10).

Closely related to terminology management is the development of corpora. To facilitate translators, terminologists and others, a similar open-access web portal was created for the access of online corpora: The Welsh National Corpora Portal. It provides access to (bilingual) corpora such as the Proceedings of the National Assembly for Wales Corpus or the Corpus of Welsh Scholarly Writing. The Portal furthermore links to other corpora, including historical prose corpora or the Child Language Database (Childes) Corpora (see Canolfan Bedwyr n.d.-d).

CorCenCC (Corpws Cenedlaethol Cymrag Cyfoes – The National Corpus of Contemporary Welsh) is a Welsh language corpus project which was launched in 2016 to capture Welsh as it is spoken at present. The interdisciplinary project evolved from a collaboration between the Universities of Cardiff, Swansea, Bangor and Lancaster. The aim of the corpus is to gather information about the contemporary written and spoken forms of Welsh. It is community driven by allowing Welsh speakers to share spoken or written communication to grow the corpus (primarily via the CorCenCC Crowdsourcing App). In addition, further examples are taken from books, newspaper, TV and radio, following a more traditional language data collection approach (see National Corpus of Contemporary Welsh n.d.).

Examples of other Welsh-language corpora are The Corpus of Facebook Welsh Language Texts/Corpws Testunau Cymraeg Facebook, which contains Welsh language posts and contributions by Facebook users collected from various public groups and page (Jones et al 2015a) and The Corpus of Welsh Language Tweets/Corpws Trydariadau Cymraeg, which is composed of over 7 million tweets in Welsh and offers an insight into informal Welsh. It is hoped that this corpus helps to find new words and train predictive text messaging systems for mobile phones. Furthermore, it provides research material for an array of scientific fields such as linguistics, sociology and medical studies (Jones et al 2015b). The Paldaruo Speech Corpus was compiled between 2014 and 2018 with the help of user contributions via the Ap Paldaruo which allowed audio data collection from Welsh speakers. It was designed for the purpose of creating a speech recognition tool and was trained using the user's varied contributions which reflected the varied use and nature of the Welsh language (Cooper et al 2018).

4.5. Translation in literature and media

Poetry and prose have had a strong hold in Welsh culture throughout the centuries. While as highlighted earlier (see chapter 3.4.) there were many literary traditions specific to the Welsh language and culture, translations of literary and religious works from other languages into Welsh have significantly contributed to the flourishing of the Welsh literary landscape. Works were translated into Welsh primarily from Latin and later, increasingly from English and French from the 14th century onwards (Johnston 2019:114) (see chapter 2.1.). Nevertheless, Welsh language poetry and prose had a very limited audience and translations from Welsh into English and into other languages were scarce. Several noteworthy translations of Welsh-

language works into English originated in the 19th century, such as the translation of the medieval prose tales of the Mabinogion by Lady Charlotte Guest.

The 20th century, whilst initially witnessing a significant decline of Welsh speakers, later gave rise to growing nationalism which led to a spur of Welsh literary translations in order to connect the country's two linguistic communities (Miguélez-Carballeira et al. 2016:130) and to encourage non-Welsh readers to appreciate and learn the language (Clancy 1999:122). The establishment of the Welsh Books Council in 1961 contributed significantly to literary activities and the development of the publishing sector in Wales. Grants for publishing Welsh-language books (and later English-language books) were created and a new focus shifted to the provision of Welsh-language books for children; these are just two of the many functions of the national body which is today funded by the Welsh Government. Reynolds reflects on the Welsh literary activities of the 20th century:

“Moreover, a language, when intimately threatened, reactively takes on a vividness and intensity of life upon which writers may capitalize. What is certain is that twentieth-century Welsh-language literature, in all its impressive variety, is the direct product of a language, and a culture, in constant mortal peril – a language in very real and imminent danger of being erased from history by English. It has been a literature of brinkmanship.” (2005:xx)

Literary translation, particularly of the traditional Welsh meters such as the cynghanedd, posed several translation-related challenges and concern was raised regarding the feasibility of translating such texts (Miguélez-Carballeira et al. 2016:130). Nevertheless, verse, prose and works of authors who have won eisteddfodic competitions count amongst the primary works translated into English (Williams 2000:26).

An increase in publications in Wales also fostered the translation of literary works. Today, there are several bodies and institutions that promote the translation of Welsh literature. The Wales Literature Exchange/Cyfnewidfa Llen Cymru was established in 1999 with the aim of promoting Welsh literature around the globe by offering translation funds to foreign publishers who wish to translate literature from Wales (English or Welsh) into other languages. The organisation's motto is “Translating Wales, Reading the World”, highlighting the role translators play in “enabling literature to travel across frontiers” (Wales Literature Exchange n.d.-a:para. 1). The body's website also offers access to (a part of) their database of literary translation from Wales Welsh (from/into English and Welsh) into other languages. The Wales Literature Exchange works in close collaboration with Literature Across Frontiers, an

international organisation which is based at the Mercator Institute for Media, Languages and Culture in Wales.

Translators' House Wales offers national and international writers and translators of all genres and levels of experience the opportunity to concentrate on their work by providing an appropriate environment, also organising workshops and enabling exchange between fellow writers and translators. Initiated in 1990, the programme is run by Wales Literature Exchange, and Literature Wales (Ty Newydd/National Writers' Centre for Wales). (see Wales Literature Exchange n.d.-b)

Like the database provided by the Wales Literature Exchange a number of other collections of literary translations from or into Welsh are available, such as The Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg/Welsh Translation Collection, which provides an overview of works from the 20th century which have been translated into the Welsh language covering the fields of Art, Humanities and Social Sciences (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol n.d.).

With his work "A Bibliography of Welsh Literature", Reynolds compiled a detailed overview of Welsh-English translations covering a period of several hundred years, from Early Welsh Poetry to Contemporary Writing. Such registers serve a multitude of purposes and provide a wide array of information that is important for researchers across different fields, as Reynolds fittingly summarises:

"This bibliography has the potential to facilitate the tracking, down through the centuries, of some of the major trends in Welsh-English translation, and it throws light on subjects such as the choice of texts for translation and publication, as motivated by historical, cultural, religious and political factors; the question of who translated, commissioned and published which texts, and where translation activity took place; the influence of translation on the source and target cultures; the changing role of the translator; the influence of gender, race, sexuality and other factors on choice of text and translation practice; the critical reception of translations in both source and target cultures; the material conditions affecting textual production; and the style of presentation of translations; and the theory and practice of translation, including the problem of whether, and if so how, to translate material commonly regarded as 'untranslatable'". (Reynolds 2005:xi)

The 21st century saw technological advances in the literary sector reach Wales and the Welsh language. Since 2011, Welsh-language e-books and the Welsh-language magazine Golwg have been available for e-readers and via an app, respectively (Welsh Government 2012:5). In 2016/2017, over £1,6 million was granted for the publishing of Welsh-language books, magazines and other material, supporting the publication of 228 books and 15 magazines; compared to over £670,000 for English-language books and magazines, supporting the

publication of 74 books and 5 magazines, amongst others, according to the Welsh Books Council (see Welsh Books Council n.d.-b).

Translation activities within the literary sector are considerably influenced by broadcasting. Contemporary dramas are increasingly translated as they are likely to have been commissioned for television or radio (Williams 2000:26). The broadcasting sector in comparison to the publishing sector enjoys a position of greater significance. Since the creation of S4C, many popular TV shows such as the long-running soap *Pobol y Cwm* can be watched with English subtitles (Davies 2014:152), which (over dubbing) is generally the preferred translation method by broadcasters in Wales. Subtitling also enables a non-Welsh-speaking audience to follow a Welsh-language programme, thereby acquainting them with the language. This is particularly important considering that today, many households in Wales are to some degree bilingual, a development greatly fostered by the introduction of compulsory Welsh-language teaching at schools. Additionally, subtitling facilitates the acquisition process. S4C provides a number of different subtitles: English subtitles (approx. (80% of all S4C programmes offer English subtitles), audio descriptions, signing and (simplified) Welsh subtitles which are specifically targeted at language learners.

In addition to providing subtitles for Welsh-language programmes, S4C was also pioneering in commissioning bilingual productions of TV series: the successful productions *Y Gwyll/Hinterland* and *Un Bore Mercher/Keeping Faith* were both filmed twice, one version in Welsh and a separate one in English.

5. Translation in discourse – the image of the translation industry

For centuries, the Welsh language has been at the centre of debates. Language use, status and identity have been essential keywords dominating the multifaceted discourse. Politicians, academics, activists, media, educators, language planners, ... – the debates have engaged all social classes, people of all political leanings and education, they have influenced all areas of life and have been passed on from generation to generation. The “(sometimes heated) debates about translation range from questions related to civil and political freedoms to matters of governance, public spending and social cohesion” (Miguélez-Carballeira et al. 2016:125). How much responsibility lies with the government to revitalize the language? Should it be revitalized and if yes, how? Should it be a (societal, governmental, ...) priority? Does it require statutory regulations? If yes, how much should the state intervene? Who are the key forces (institutions, organizations, bodies, ...) that can influence, encourage and contribute? Etc.

Since the mid-20th century, the bodies responsible in Wales have increasingly supported the establishing of a “bilingual Wales”, as highlighted in chapter 3. It was clear that in order to establish bilingual communications and services and to implement statutory requirements that granted legal rights to use Welsh, translation and interpreting would play a key role and the attention surrounding the debate received a new focus. Translation made the bilingual culture visible where it had previously remained largely unseen. It became the face of the debate and at times, translation has had “to stand in as a representative for the whole issue of language planning” (Kaufmann 2012:334).

Sceptical voices around translation practices that originally stemmed from the literary sphere, emerged in a more general context, pointing out the ambiguous attitude towards translation that runs through society and divides the public, politics and experts. Contingent on contemporary philological theories, criticism of increasing translation activities also stemmed from supporters of language revitalization, arguing that from a long-term perspective, language policies that rely heavily on translation activities can have a negative effect on the Welsh language, undermining its capabilities and status of appearing on its own when constantly accompanied by English language versions (Miguélez-Carballeira et al. 2016). Coupland (2012) has described this as the frame of “nonautonomous Welsh”, Prys Jones (2015:100), amongst others, warns of an ‘over-reliance’ on translation which can undermine the Welsh language and Michael Cronin states that “translation is both predator and deliverer, enemy and friend” (2003:142). On the other hand, Welsh speakers themselves have warned of the effects

of translation on the Welsh culture and heritage, such as individuals like the well-known Welsh poet R.S. Thomas in a speech in 1996. As Miguélez-Carballeira et al. point out, the “view of translation as an act of betrayal is a common one (see the *traduttore traditore* tradition), and in an endangered culture, such as Welsh, it can be felt – and asserted – with some urgency” (Miguélez-Carballeira et al. 2016:128).

The 1991 census signalled one of the turning points in Welsh language planning (see chapter 2.2.). The number of Welsh speakers had been continuously dropping and for the first time, questions to establish the number of Welsh monoglots were omitted, as it was assumed there were no more Welsh monoglots living in Wales (Deuchar 2005:622). A debate soon began, questioning the rising practice of providing translations into the Welsh language and the expansion of the provision of services in Welsh. Why provide costly translations if everybody speaks English anyway? The following statement was made by the House of Commons leader Chris Grayling in 2016 during a debate in the UK parliament on allowing MPs to speak Welsh at Westminster:

“My question to you really is: at a time of financial pressure, is it really sensible for us to be spending taxpayers' money in a House where the prime language, the main language, the official language is English, when we have members of this House who are able to talk in that language?” (HC Deb 6 June 2016, vol 611, col 1352)

A major arguing point were the costs that are created through providing bilingual services. Translation was considered a waste of resources. Such arguments have primarily focused on the purpose of translations as a means to overcome linguistic barriers. Lack of recognising other aspects of translations, such as cultural or social benefits, gained little attention – a situation that could also be witnessed in scholarly writings, as Kaufmann noted: “If language planning aims to understand and explain the link between Welsh language and identity, more intelligent and comprehensive debate about the role of translation and interpreting in language planning will be needed; currently, translation and interpreting are conspicuously absent from the general literature on minority language planning.” (2012:334)

Translation has been seen as an “issue”, as reflected in a statement printed in one of the government’s language strategies: “We need to move from thinking of Welsh as a translation issue to thinking of Welsh as a normal part of day-to-day life in Wales” (Welsh Government 2012:4). Discourse in the past has divided society and the reverse effect of giving preference to the Welsh language has created a “‘scroll down for English’ culture”- attitude as Miguélez-Carballeira et al. (2016:126) warn.

Dialogue surrounding the subject has made an impact on the translation market, on education and ultimately on remuneration. There have been accusations that the Welsh language industry prioritises its own interests before that of the larger community and the language itself (Kaufmann 2012:334). Critics of Welsh language policies blame politicians and policy makers for promoting myths and untruths and of wilful misinterpretation of research that supports the provision of translations (e.g. Harris 2013).

Debate has received widespread media attention. A first search revealed a wide range of related topics and arguments, which are used to argue (for or) against translation in Wales: the cost factor of providing translation (“Welsh CHCs in Welsh Language Board translation cost row” BBC 2011b; “Welsh language rules could cost some councils £700,000” BBC 2015b; “Translation of 2m words of English to Welsh in Assembly record cost £250k” Dailypost 2009), the necessity of providing translations (“Virgin Trains tell passenger there are no Welsh announcements as 'Welsh speakers can speak English too'” Walford 2018), safety aspects (“Trago Mills boss says Welsh language signs are 'visual clutter' and Welsh-medium education is damaging” Shipton 2018), arguments targeting language policies (“‘Ridiculous’ standards for Welsh language rights” BBC 2017), the quality of translations (“E-mail error ends up on road sign” BBC 2008; “Asda accidentally promises free beer to customers in Welsh translation sign blunder” Dirnhuber 2019; “Stop using Google for Welsh translations, council told after complaints over errors” Randall 2018), or the undermining effects of translations on the Welsh language (“Bilingual events with simultaneous translation are killing Welsh language, says expert” Shipton 2009)

There have also been issues with false reporting in the media. For instance, an article published by WalesOnline suggests that numbers of students taking A Levels in Welsh is in rapid decline; however, it does not consider that overall numbers of students taking A Levels are plummeting even further resulting in an actual increase in the percentage of students taking A Level Welsh (Wightwick 2019). On another occasion, Katie Hopkins, a well-known columnist for several British national newspapers, has uploaded a video report on the Welsh educational system, targeting the teaching of the Welsh language. The content of the video was later picked up by other media which has led to the publishing of counterstatements (“Every ludicrous claim in Katie Hopkins’ new video about education in Wales and the actual facts behind them” Hughes, Marcus 2018)

As most of these articles show, “the press is not shy to find fault with translation” (Kaufmann 2012:335). On the other hand, media reports also highlight the resilience of the

community that supports bilingual communication (“Protesters target Trago Mills after boss's Welsh language comments” Lewis 2018; “Lidl to re-open Porthmadog store next week - and will add Welsh language to sign after complaints” Hughes 2017), they report on examples of companies adapting bilingual communication (“Blackwood furniture store owner embraces Welsh language” Barnes 2018) as well as highlight the positive aspects of translation (“The big retail brands that say Welsh language is boosting business - some may surprise you” Hughes, Owen 2018; “Speaking Welsh and English is a great asset that needs to be milked in promoting Wales to the world” Barry 2018b), illustrating how divided opinions in Wales are on the matter.

6. Empirical study

Previous chapters have highlighted the – at times difficult – relationship between the Welsh- and English-speaking communities in Wales. Amongst other factors, generalisation and instrumentalization, by the media, in politics, and other areas have created a strong collective awareness of the existence of “two separate” linguistic communities that “coexist” within one country. In the 21st century, the Welsh government frequently speaks of its target of creating “a truly bilingual Wales” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:1). Has it been successful in “uniting” these two linguistic communities, or can one still speak of these “two linguistic communities” as separate entities? The questionnaire might provide an insight into how successful the country’s language strategy has been.

The underlying question of this survey was whether the results would show differing opinions and attitudes towards the Welsh language between the target groups of Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers, on the one hand; and show how the language and translation (that plays a fundamental part in the country’s language strategy) are perceived in general, on the other hand.

The questionnaire also aimed to shed light on the situation for the translation industry in Wales. In what position does the translation industry find itself? Where do the core tasks of translators lie? Do professionals differ in their opinions on the linguistic situation to the general public?

6.1. Methodology

The questionnaire was presented in the form of a written online survey, utilizing the free software Google Forms. It contained both open and closed questions, whereby the open questions were not mandatory. Furthermore, the questionnaire featured several scales. To facilitate comparison between the target groups, the figures in the tables are given in % and rounded to one decimal place. The questionnaire is dynamic to allow for different questions tailored to specific target groups.

The data collected was of a qualitative nature. Although the questionnaire was loosely based on the 2016 UK Translators survey (European Commission et al. 2017) as well as the National Survey for Wales - Welsh Language Use Survey 2013-14 (Welsh Government & Welsh Language Commissioner 2015), the questions asked were designed to capture the

opinion, impressions and emotions of participants rather than striving to gain hard facts. The selection of questions and possible answers that participants could give was based on subjects and statements covered in the thesis.

An exclaimer was used to indicate that the questions referred to the language pair English and Welsh as well as that the questionnaire focused on (written) translations as opposed to interpretation practices. Nevertheless, although questions and answers were designed to naturally allude to written translation, the general lack of awareness of the difference between translation and interpretation has to be noted.

The questionnaire design options offered by Google Forms are limited and therefore restricted the structure of the questionnaire and the question design. It was, for instance, not possible to provide participants with the possibility to add additional answer categories when using a multiple-choice grid (e.g. question “How could the industry's image and the image of translations be improved?) or to provide a simple way to differentiate between the three target groups.

Furthermore, due to the questionnaire design and additionally for reasons of administration, the survey was presented in English only; however, it is recognised that in a study examining multilingualism not offering the questionnaire in Welsh was a weakness.

The questionnaire was distributed to the most diverse circle of participants possible through selected Internet platforms and emails and well as being sent to various translation companies based in Wales.

It was restricted to participants who have lived or worked in Wales for a period of over six months within the last five years and was therefore suitable for Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers alike. The time restriction was deemed necessary in order to gather recent and relevant data.

In order to satisfy the research question, three target groups had to be identified. These groups were: 1. professional translators (hereinafter referred to as target group A), 2. Welsh-speaking persons (target group B), and 3. non-Welsh-speaking persons (target group C). The questionnaire was dynamic in nature and differed slightly for each individual target group, in particular with regard to the question selection and the question formulation. Furthermore, a supplementary part was specifically designed for professional translators. Due to the scope of the survey, certain questions that featured in the questionnaire for target group B and C had to

be omitted for target group A; however, those questions were carefully selected and considered to be less relevant to target group A.

The questionnaire was available between 29 April and 1 July 2019 during which time 121 voluntary responses were collected, 35 participants (28.9%) pertained to target group A, 42 participants (34.7%) to target group B, and 44 participants (36.4%) were members of target group C.

It is recognised that target group B (more so than target groups A and C) may be a very heterogenous group: some participants might have studied the language voluntarily, others due to work requirements; some might be native speakers, some may have basic knowledge and others could simply be in the process of learning. However, for the purpose of this study and particularly with regards to the limited scope of this master's thesis, target group B was not further subdivided. Additionally, questions were largely not geared towards language use and ability.

Thematically, the questionnaire can be divided into four parts, whereby the first part, in which demographical data is selected and which serves to separate the respondents into the three chosen target groups (translators, Wels-speakers and non-Welsh speakers), is subdivided into several sections for layout reasons. After the different target groups have been allocated, the second part focuses on the Welsh language, its image and Welsh language revitalization. The third part offers different questions for translators and Welsh speakers/non-Welsh speakers. It focuses on the work of translators regarding their qualifications, employment status, areas of expertise, quality and usage of translation technologies, whereas for Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers the questions surround their perception of translations regarding personal choice, quality and quantity. The concluding part centres around the image of the translation industry and the image of translations, with the aim of contrasting the perspective of the three target groups.

For reasons of continuity, the same answer categories were applied where possible and the succession of the questions for the three different target groups were kept identical to allow comparison between the three target groups rather than choosing a randomized answer option which is typically used to prevent question order bias.

6.2. Results and analysis

6.2.1. Demographic information

Participation in the questionnaire was open to anyone who lives or works or has lived or worked for a period of more than six months in Wales in the last five years. Several considerations were made in the chosen limitations placed upon the target participants. First of all, the questionnaire is aimed at people who live or work in Wales in order to include people who spend most of their daily life in Wales but live across the border in England or elsewhere. The requirement to have lived or worked for a period of more than 6 months was deemed necessary, as in-depth knowledge of the linguistic landscape as well as the discourse surrounding the Welsh language and translation practices were considered to be fundamental requirements for the answering of the questions to a satisfactory level. Finally, the questionnaire is aimed at collecting recent data and features questions concerning the recent development of the translation industry, thus the time frame was limited to the past five years in order to prevent people from participating in the questionnaire who might have lived or worked in Wales at some point in the distant past.

In order to monitor the distribution of the questionnaire, participants were asked where they (had) lived and/or worked in Wales (multiple answers possible). The analysis revealed participants were reached from all over Wales. Furthermore, the distribution of Welsh- and non-Welsh-speaking participants of this questionnaire reflected the proportion of Welsh- and non-Welsh speakers gathered at the 2011 Welsh language census, with most Welsh-speaking participants stemming from Gwynedd and Dyfed and non-Welsh speakers from Powys and Glamorgan.

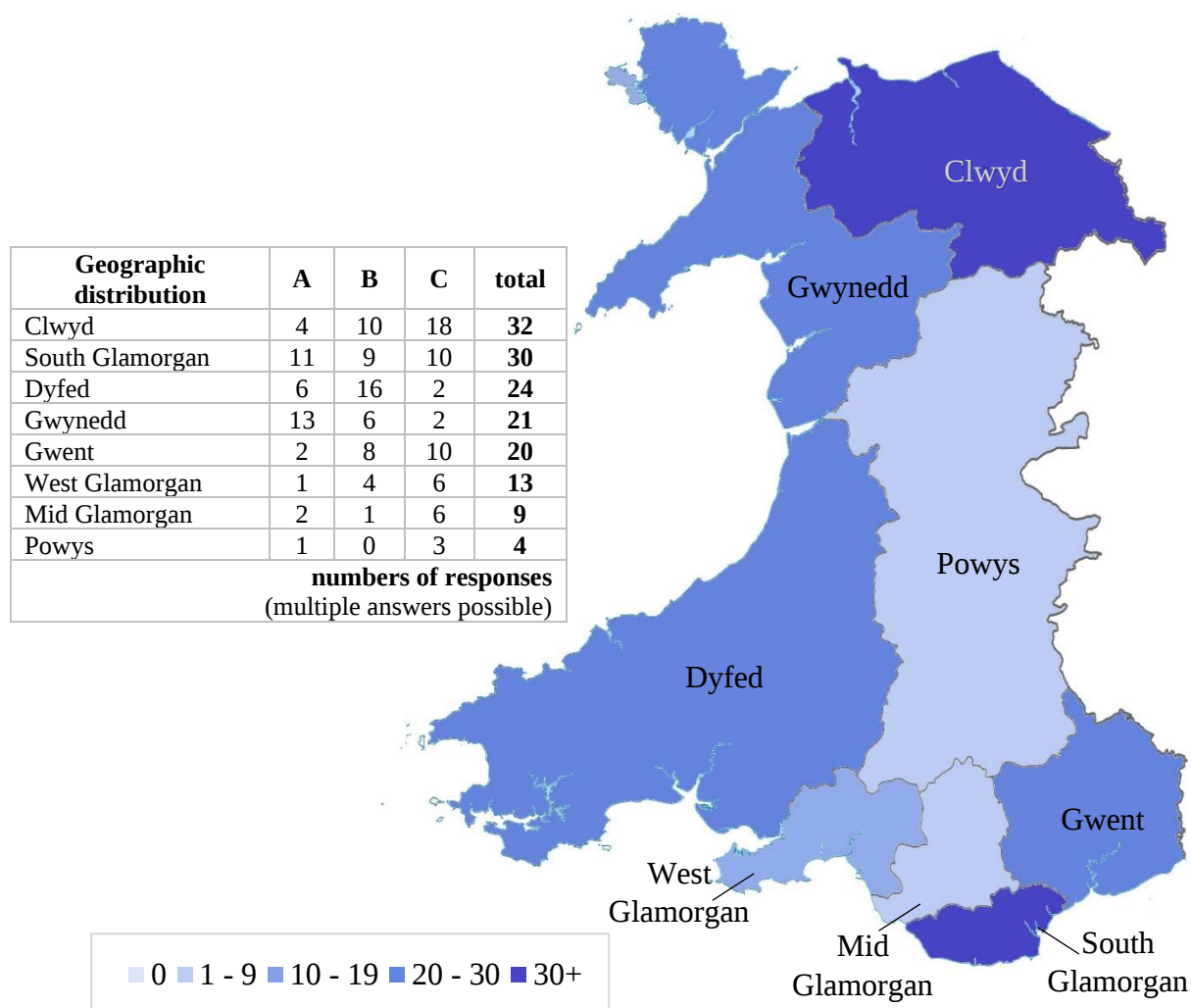


Figure 3. Geographic distribution of Welsh speakers

The change in attitude towards the Welsh language facilitated language policy provision in favour of the Welsh language during the last few decades. This change affected the way the language is acquired and used, as elaborated in chapters 3 of this thesis. Due to the proximity in time of these changes, the population of Wales has been affected differently, for which reason it was deemed necessary to gain an insight into the age pattern of the participants. Analysis showed that even though overall a fairly even age-distribution was acquired, the individual target groups showed marked differences, particularly within target group B.

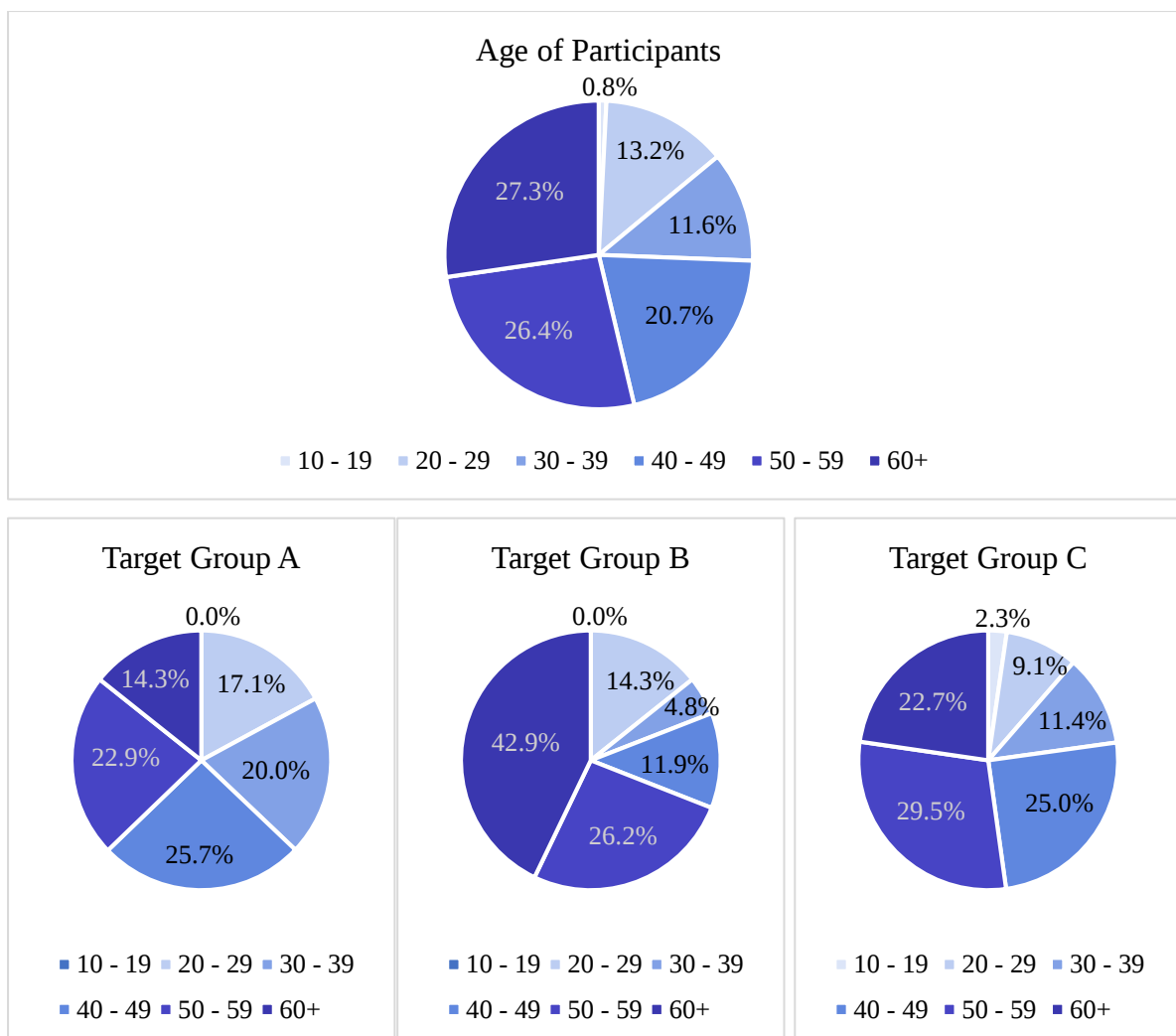


Figure 4. Age of questionnaire participants

6.2.2. Language acquisition and language skills

The question, whether participants could speak, read or write Welsh served the purpose of distinguishing between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers and was based on self-assessment. For the purpose of this questionnaire, a distinction of how well the respondents are able to speak, read or write Welsh along with what classifies as “being able” to speak, read or write Welsh was deemed less relevant.

Language acquisition is a central theme in language revitalization and an important focus of the language planning activities of the Welsh Government and the National Assembly. For the majority of the Welsh-speaking participants (target group A and B), Welsh language acquisition occurred primarily within the family. While this might be an indicator of the participants’ language acquisition occurring at an early age, it is wrong to conclude that all

these participants have Welsh as their mother or native tongue. It is noteworthy here, that nearly target group A members have learnt Welsh from family members.

Language courses ranked a close second for participants in target group B, while language acquisition at school was the more frequent answer for target group A. This can perhaps be explained by the difference in age-distribution, as target group B has more participants pertaining to the oldest age group (aged 60+) who tended to have acquired Welsh through language courses rather than at school.

Friends and university courses are further important factors for language acquisition across both target groups. Ten participants noted self-teaching methods as having contributed to their language learning. Other responses included the community and through media (radio, television) as important factors for their personal language acquisition.

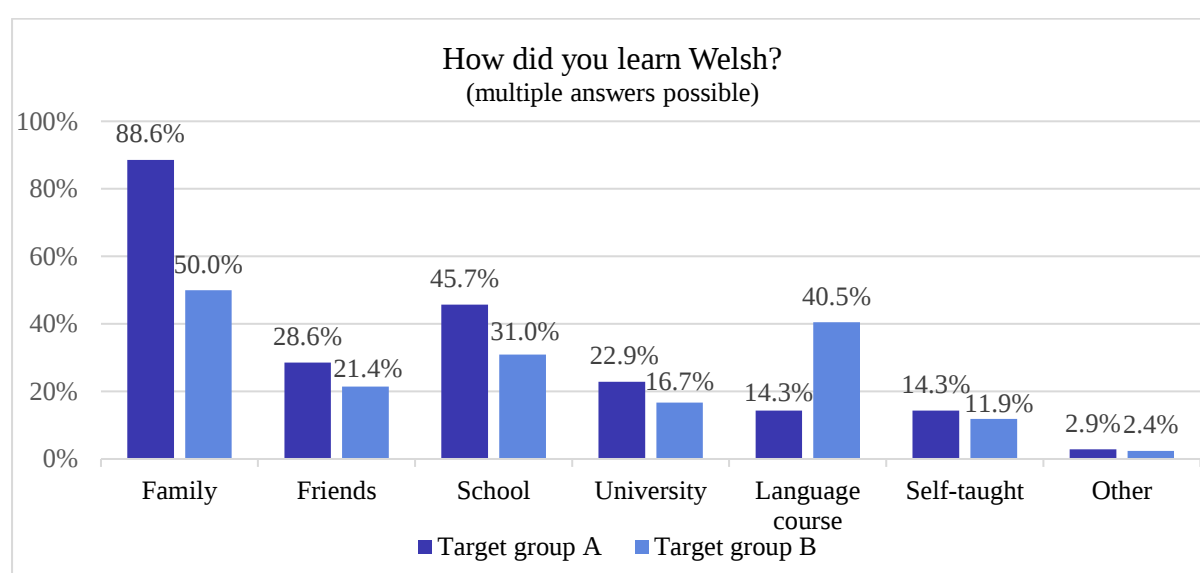


Figure 5. Welsh language acquisition by questionnaire participants

Of the 44 non-Welsh-speaking participants that make up target group C, 34 participants (77.3%) indicated an interest in learning the language; however, some voiced apprehension concerning teaching and learning methods (“*Yes, but not the way it’s usually taught. I don’t understand grammar.*”), for personal reasons (“*When I have time I’d like to learn a bit*”) or concerning the “usefulness of the language” (“*I would but I don’t think it’s as useful as other languages*”). Ten participants (22.7%) stated they would not want to learn Welsh.

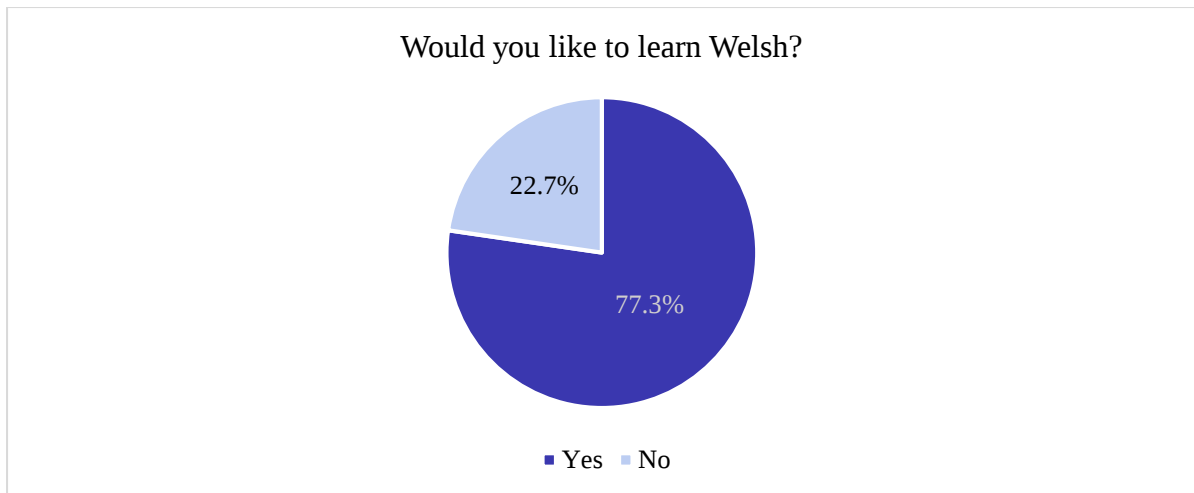


Figure 6. Attitude towards Welsh language acquisition of non-Welsh speaking questionnaire participants

In terms of the relation between language skills and “Welsh identity”, there was a noticeable difference in emphasis between the three target groups. The rather bold question of how important it is in the opinion of the participants to speak Welsh in order to “be Welsh” refers to the disputed topic of “Welsh identity” and what role the Welsh language has within this concept. Target group A attributed considerable importance to speaking Welsh for Welsh identity, the second target group was relatively balanced while the majority of the third target group gave less importance to language skills for Welsh identity. All but one of the previously mentioned ten participants who would not like to learn Welsh rated Welsh-language skills as being less important for Welsh identity (4 & 5 = not important).

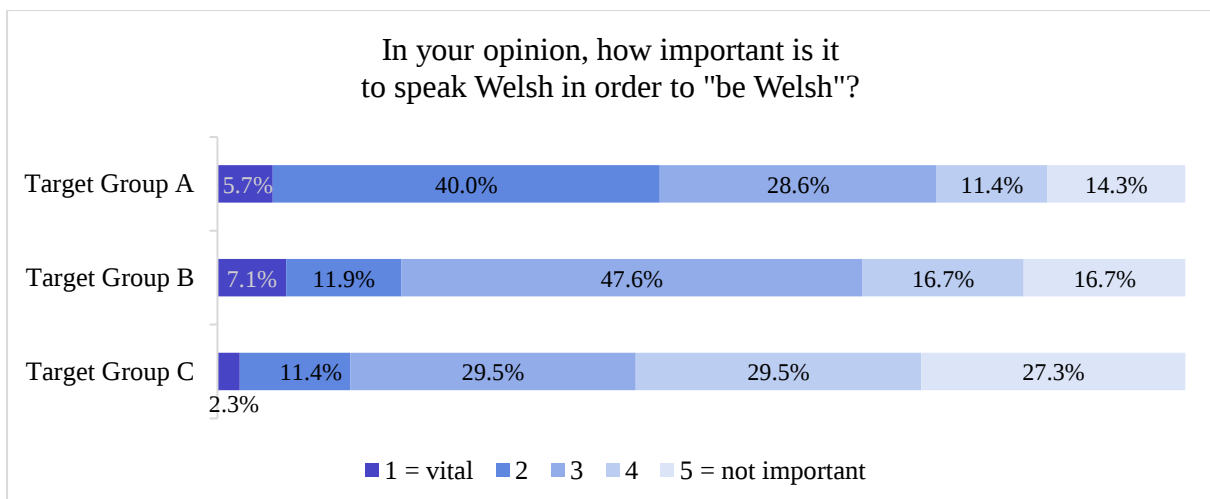


Figure 7. Attitude of questionnaire participants towards Welsh language skills and cultural identity

6.2.3. The image of the language

The notion of identity is closely tied to the attitude towards a language (Sallabank 2014:119), which in turn, together with social motivation and ideology, is a key factor for language revitalization (ibid.:61). Minority languages, as discussed in chapter 1.4., find themselves confronted with a comparatively lower status and lower prestige. The question “How do you personally regard the image of Welsh in the following areas?” aimed to find out whether the answers given by the participants confirmed this statement and if and to what degree and in which domain it is still valid today in Wales. The respondents were asked for their personal opinion in terms of the comparative prestige attached to the languages. Thus, this question is based on the individual perception of the respondents; however, the respondent’s personal evaluation might differ from their perception of how the community regards the image of the language. Therefore, it has to be noted that their answers might be influenced by their view of the prestige upheld by the larger community as it might be difficult to differentiate between personal and communal perception.

Analysing the answers concerning the image of the language, it is evident that there is a significant gap across all three target groups concerning how the images of the two languages are perceived. Only in the field of “Events, Festivals” and only by participants of target group B was Welsh considered by a majority of one to have a better image than English, although the majority of respondents of this target group were of the opinion that Welsh and English were equally regarded. The only area in which a majority of a particular target group attributed an equally good image to the two languages was in “Literature, Publishing” (target group A and B). Additionally, equal votes were given by target group C to “Welsh and English are equally regarded” and “English has a better image” in the field of “Gastronomy, Food”. In all other areas, the majority of participants attributed a better image to the English language, particularly in the fields of “Economics, Business, Finance”, “Marketing, Advertising”, “Social Media, Websites”, “Medicine” and “Sciences”. Indeed, in these areas, English was overwhelmingly considered across all three target groups to have a better image than Welsh. Nevertheless, it must be noted that for the categories “Tourism” (B & C), “Politics, Government” (target group B), “Entertainment, TV, Radio” (target group B), and “Events, Festivals” (target group C), nearly as many participants considered the two languages to have equal image as participants who considered English to have a better image. In two categories, Welsh (target groups A & B) and non-Welsh speakers (target group C) significantly differed in their perception of the image of the Welsh and English language, namely in “Literature, Publishing” and

“Entertainment, TV, Radio” in which non-Welsh speakers attributed an overwhelmingly better image to the English language.

The economic, medical and scientific sectors are endowed with high prestige in most modern societies. It is particularly in these sectors that the English language gained an overwhelmingly better result, confirming that further language planning strategies need to be adopted to strengthen the position of the Welsh language in these sectors. Also in “creative” domains, Welsh-language provision needs to be strengthened, as demanded by one participant of target group A: *“Much, much more has to be done in clever use of W[elsh] in visible creative spheres — e.g. advertising by major brands, W[elsh language] versions of TV commercials, etc.”*.

On the other hand, the comparatively higher prestige of the Welsh language in the social and public domains of “Events, Festivals” and “Literature, Publishing” might be attributed to the longstanding traditions of Welsh-language literature and eisteddfodau-events, which have not only shaped the history of the Welsh language but are considered important cornerstones of Welsh identity (as outlined in chapter 3.4.).

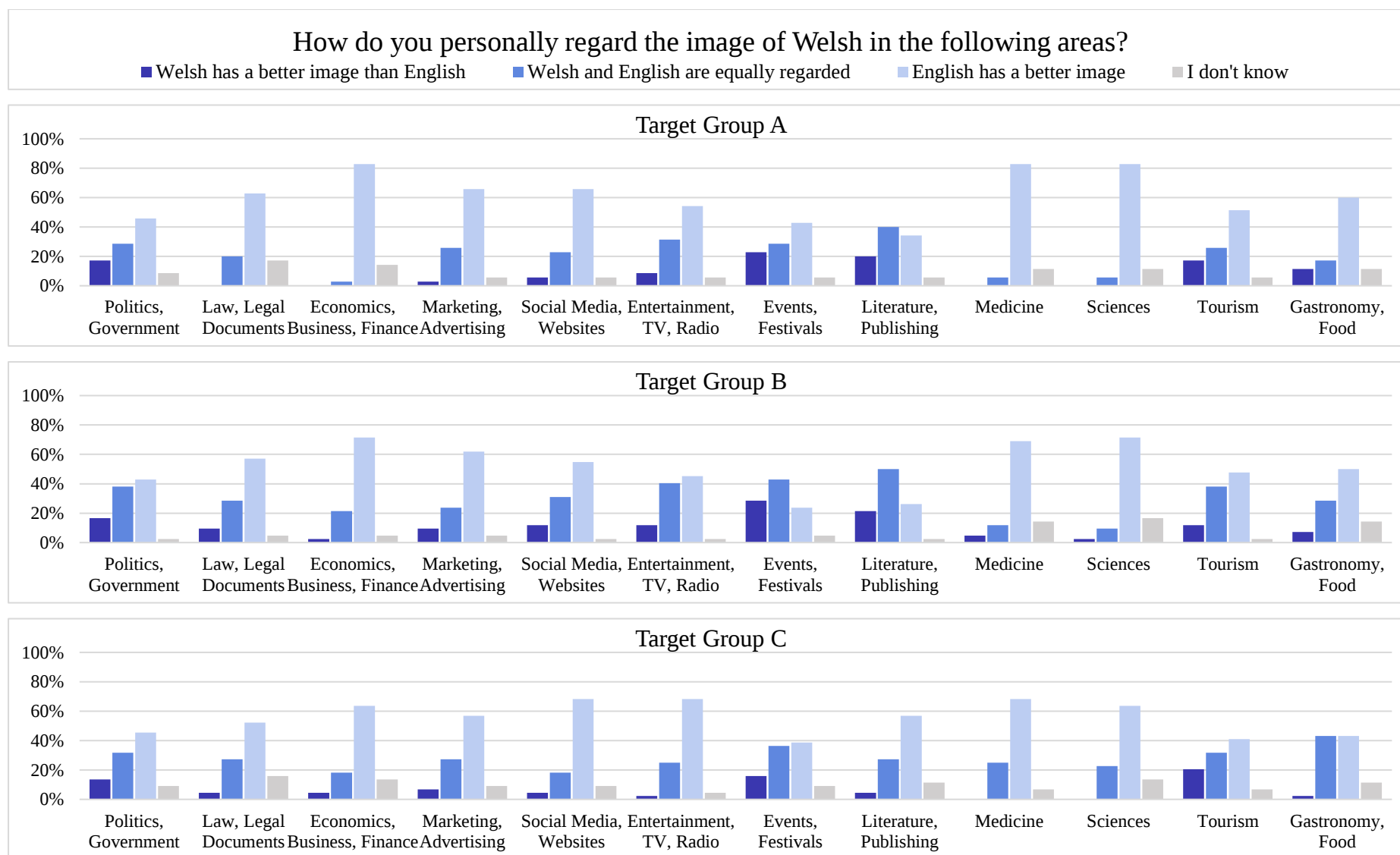


Figure 8: Comparative image of the language in selected areas according to questionnaire participants

Language revitalization

Having established the current image of the language, the question regarding Welsh language revitalization was asked to shed light on the attitude towards the Welsh language and its future. Despite the comparatively worse image of the Welsh language, the majority of all three target groups was in favour of continuing the revitalization process, with only one person from each of the target groups A and B stating that Welsh language revitalization should be discontinued. Therefore, it can be confidently stated that the majority of participants wish to see the Welsh language thrive and are in favour of actively implementing measures to guarantee the survival of the language. The largest number of participants in favour of discontinuing the language revitalization efforts pertained to target group C (20.5% voting “no”). Again, only one person out of the ten participants of target group C who did not want to learn Welsh was in favour of continuing efforts.

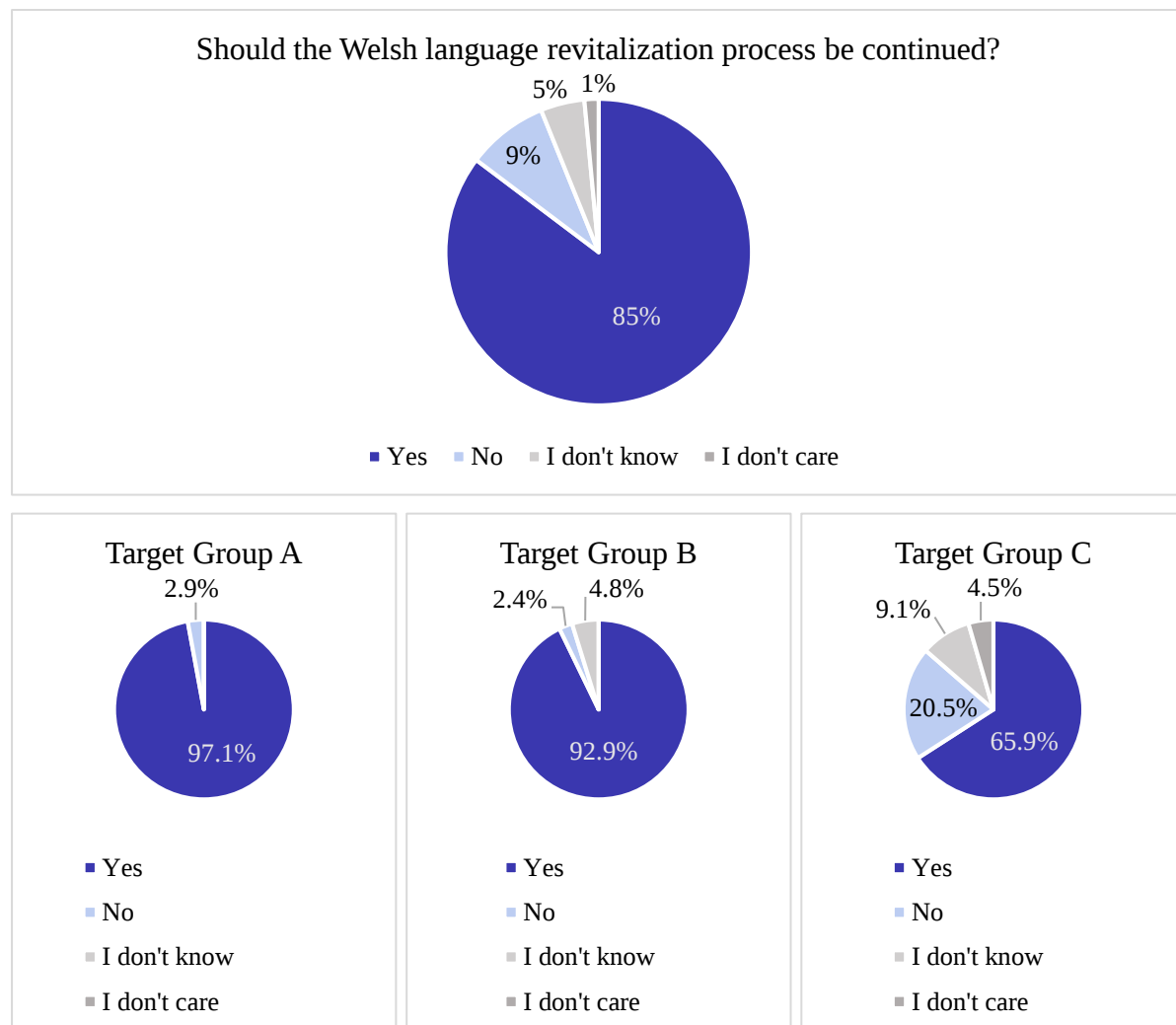


Figure 9: Importance of Welsh language revitalization according to questionnaire participants

The following question regarding the role of translation in the revitalization process yielded similar results. The majority of all three target groups was of the opinion that translations contribute to revitalize Welsh; however, a significant number of target group C participants disagreed with the statement or answered they did not know. The (compulsory) provision of bilingual communication is regarded as one of the core pillars of the government's language planning strategy and the participants support the government's view that translations help to revitalize the language.

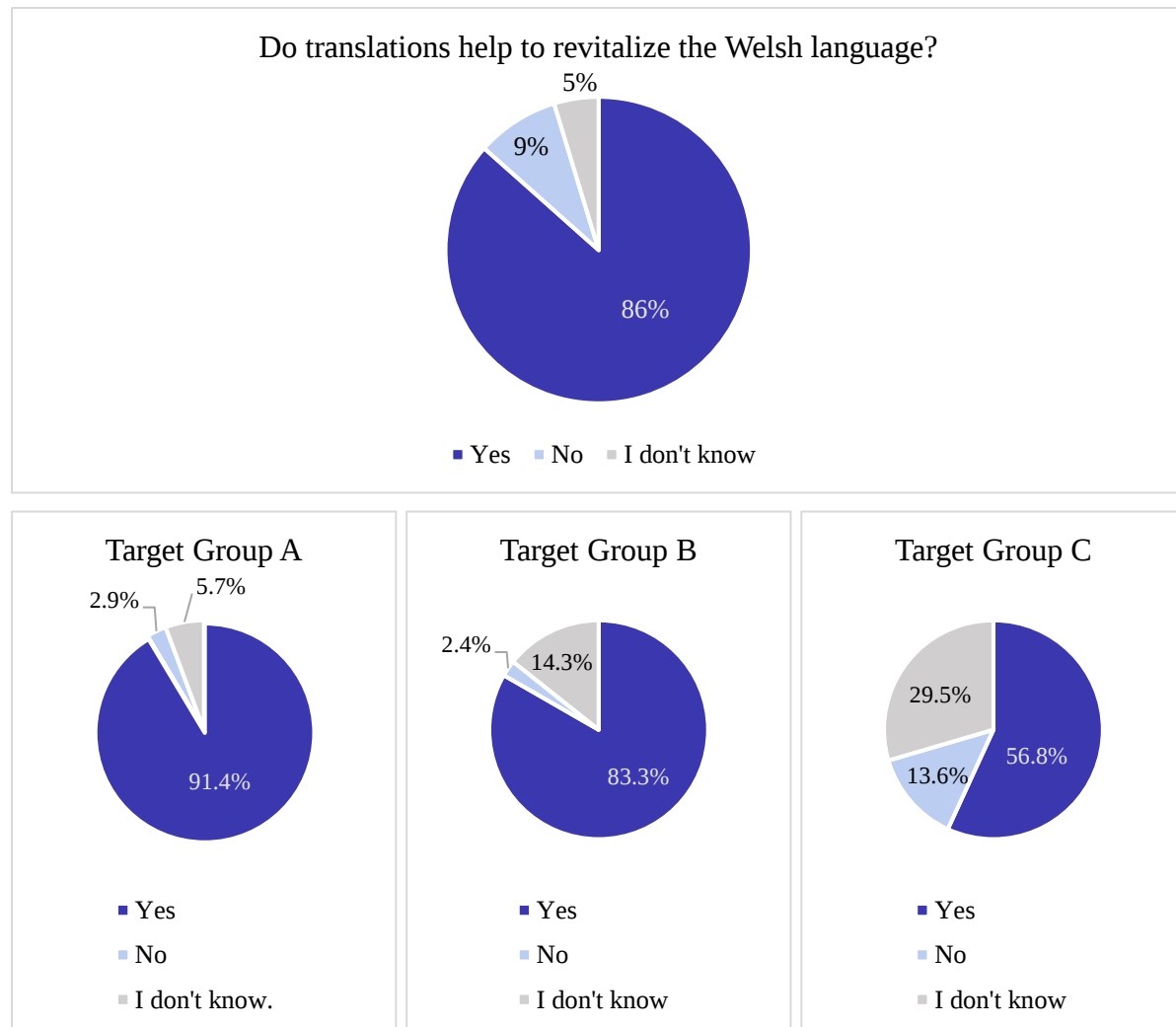


Figure 10. Translation and language revitalization according to questionnaire participants

6.2.4. Work as translator

35 participants stated that they currently work or have in the past worked as Welsh language translators, and thus were qualified to answer questions regarding their work as professional translators.

The first question of this special segment was aimed at ascertaining which qualifications professional translators had gained. For the purpose of this questionnaire qualifications in other areas were not considered. The formulation of possible answers posed several challenges. There were initial inhibitions about the inclusion of the answer option “I have a university degree in which translation was a component of study”. The different design of curricula of translation studies within Wales and on an international level makes a comparison of translation courses particularly difficult. Is it a necessary requirement for a university degree to carry the name “translation studies” in its title in order to be classified as such? With a broad understanding of the responsibilities and the wide spectrum of duties that is found in the field of translation along with present-day (technological, ...) advances, the contents of curricula are changing to include more aspects of work within the translation industry. Furthermore, the question was also included to provide an option for respondents’ who have, for instance, studied languages or likewise degrees at university who otherwise might be inclined to tick “translation studies”, feeling they have some qualification in translation even though the primary focus of their studies was not on translation itself. Ultimately, the decision to include this answer option was made in consideration of the fact that a similar answer category was provided in the UK Translator Survey. The participants were able to choose multiple answers to reflect the varied possibilities of gaining professional translation training.

In terms of professional qualifications, the majority (20 participants or 57.1%) stated they had studied a course at university in which translation was a component of study, three of which have additionally studied translation at university. Altogether 6 participants (17.1%) noted they had studied translation studies at university. One participant had studied translation as part of their university degree in combination with completing a non-university translation training. 6 participants (17.1%) have completed a translation course (not at university). 8 participants (22.9%) have no translation training; however, 3 (8.6%) added they had passed the Cymdeithas Cyfieithwyr Cymru examination and several highlighted their work experience.

For reasons mentioned above (curricula design, work requirements ...), the importance of translation training as a component of study in Wales cannot be underestimated.

Nevertheless, it was perhaps surprising to see that a comparatively small number of participants had studied translation studies and that several participants had no professional translation training.

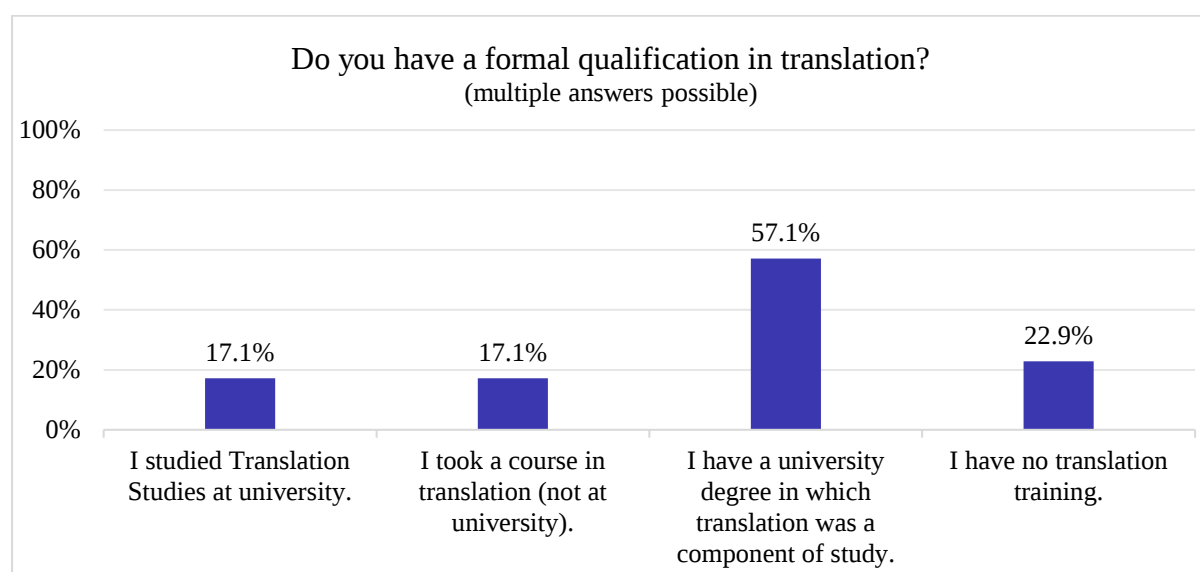


Figure 11. Professional qualification of translators participating in the questionnaire

To gain a tentative insight into the structure of the translation industry in Wales, the current and past employment status of the participants with regard to their work as professional translators were queried. 14 participants (40%) answered they are/were self-employed; the same number indicated that they had worked or still work in-house at a translation company. In addition, 2 participants (5.7%) are/were both self-employed and in-house translators. 5 of the self-employed participants (14.3%) and 2 of the participants working in-house at a translation company additionally work/worked in a translation unit/department within a company, organization or institution. 3 participants (8.6%) exclusively work/worked in such a translation unit/department, while 2 participants do/did carry out translations in a company, organization or institution but were not specifically employed as translators.

The relatively high percentage of in-house translators goes against the general trend towards self-employment within the sector (Groß 2014). However, the high number of translators working in-house at translation agencies may be due to the way the questionnaire was distributed, as a number of Wales-based translation agencies were contacted to participate in the survey.

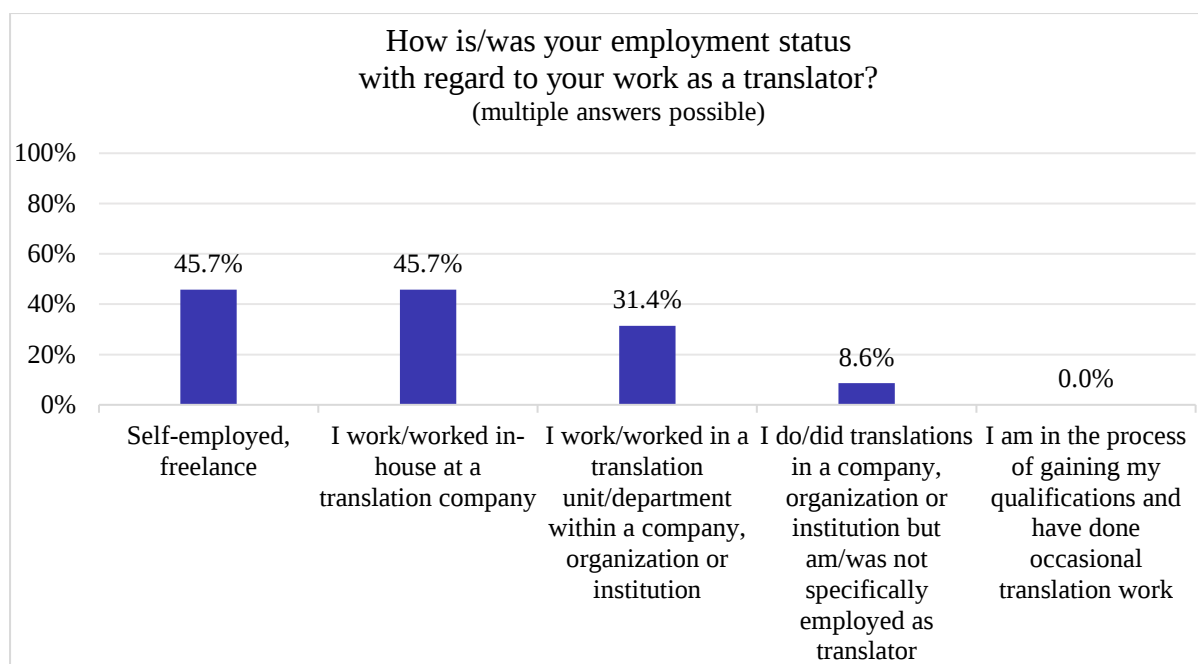


Figure 12. Employment status of participating translators

Particularly when working as a freelance translator or in-house at a translation agency, the contracting bodies or commissioners can vary across several sectors. 24 participants (68.6%) answered they had regularly worked for Public Services organisations that have to comply with Language Standards or Schemes, 19 participants (54.3%) had worked regularly and 11 participants (31.4%) occasionally for private companies; 14 participants (40%) had worked regularly and 10 participants (28.6%) occasionally for the Government/National Assembly within the last year. 21 participants (60%) occasionally produced translations for private individuals. 22 participants (62.9%) noted they had not completed translations on their own initiative, while 11 participants (31.4%) had done so occasionally and 2 participants (5.7%) regularly.

By restricting the time frame to the last year, it was hoped that the respondents would be able to recall the necessary information with greater ease and that the answer categories “regularly” and “occasionally” would be easier to determine. However, it needs to be considered that some of the participants might not have worked their regular hours during the last year, as they might have retired or have taken time off work for other reasons. Furthermore, it is clear that the answer categories provided rely on the specific interpretation of the individual respondent and provide no information in terms of the nature and extent of the specific work.

This underlying consideration in terms of specifying the time frame can be applied to all following questions with the same time restriction and answer categories.

The analysis shows that the most regular translations were produced for Public Services organisations, – perhaps surprisingly – followed by private companies who are not legally obliged to comply with Language Standards or Schemes. In comparison, translating for private individuals only made up occasional work. Concerns voiced above that some participants might not have produced any translations during the last year and therefore would be forced to answer all categories with “never” have not materialized.

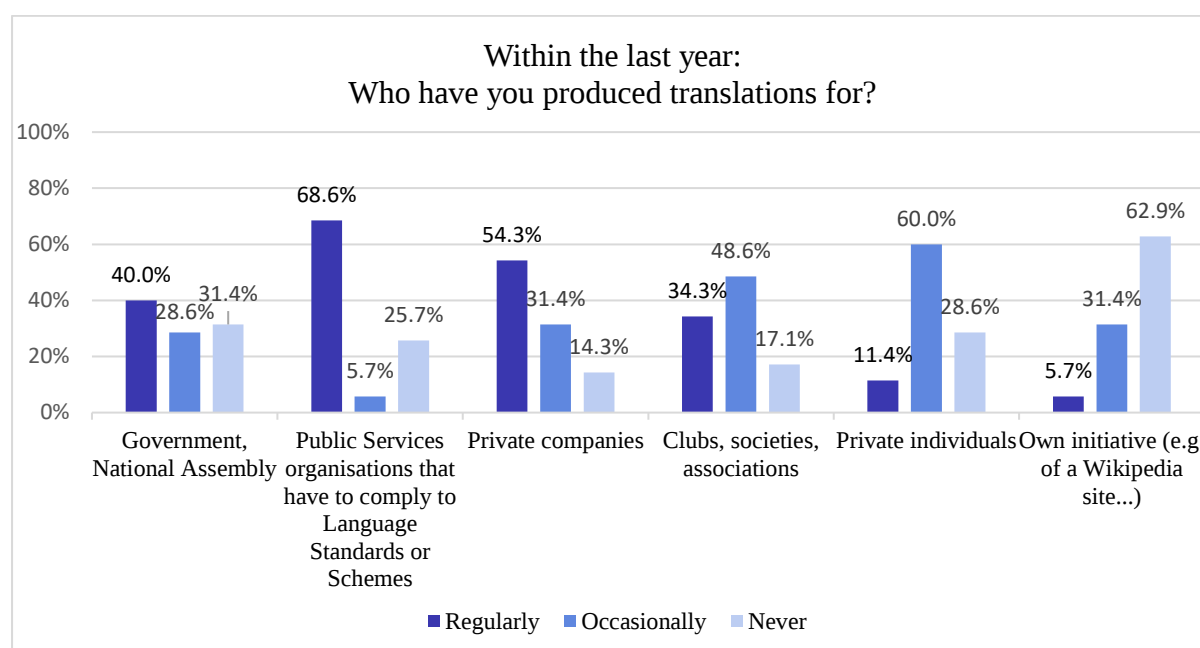


Figure 13. Contracting bodies of participating translators

The third parameter that was determined to characterise the work of participating translators, after employment status and commissioner, was to what thematic category the translations pertained. The same answer options were provided as were used for evaluating the image of the language. Again, the time to which the question referred was restricted to one year and all participants claimed to have at least occasionally produced translations for different fields. The selection of answers was based on the topics covered in the thesis. Due to technical restrictions owing to the layout of Google Forms, it was not possible for the participants to add individual answers.

Generally, from the answers provided, no distinct specialisation by the translators in the selected fields was discernible. The area in which the participants noted they had produced

most translations were “Marketing, Advertising” (regularly: 19 participants or 54.3%, occasionally: 10 participants or 28.6%), “Social Media, Websites” (regularly: 17 participants or 48.6%, occasionally: 14 participants or 40%) and “Politics, Government” (regularly: 17 participants or 48.6%, occasionally: 11 participants or 31.4%). “Medicine” and “Sciences” were the sectors for which the fewest number of participants had produced translations for (never: 21 participants or 60%).

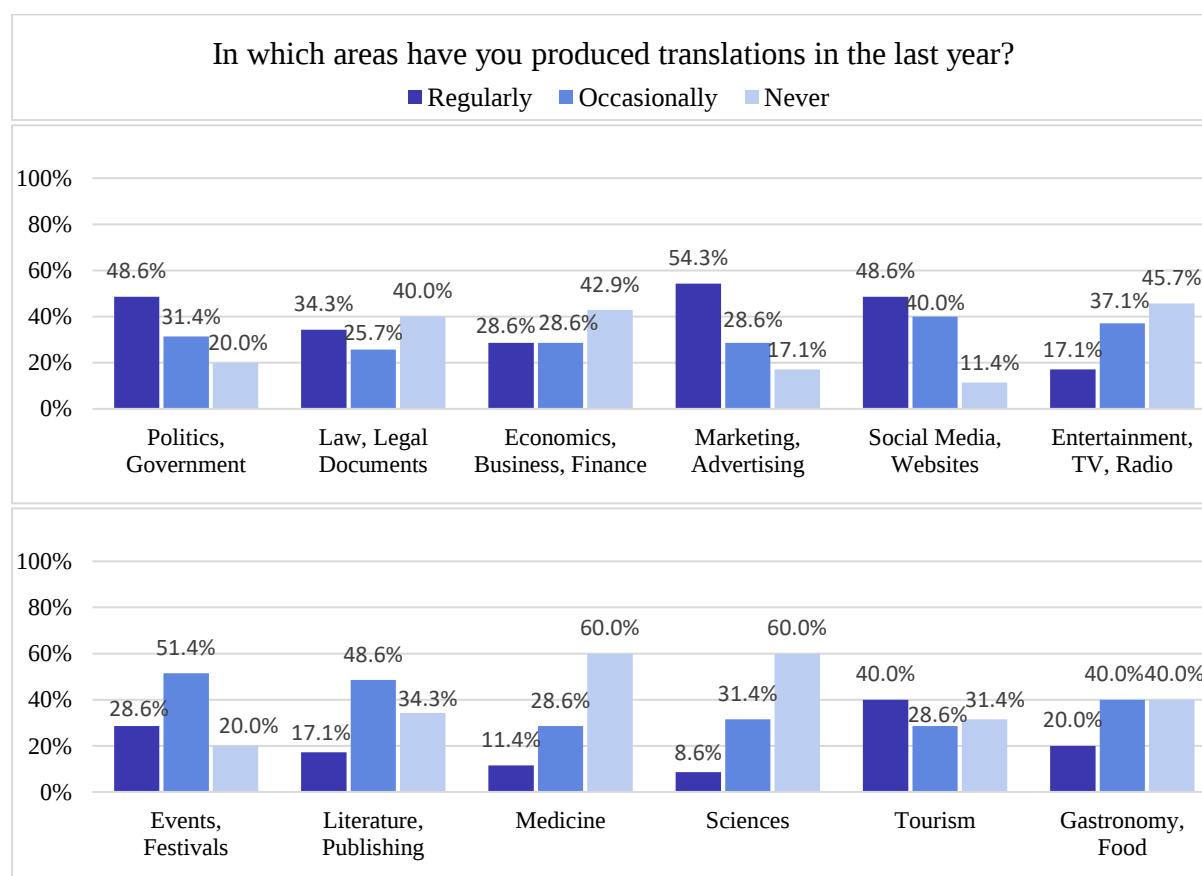


Figure 14. Translations produced per field by participating translators

The final question in this section exclusively designed for translators referred to the usage of translation technologies – a primary focus of the Welsh Government and of many organizations and institutions in Wales.

29 of the 35 participants (82.9%) stated that they utilized translation technologies, with “Translation Memory Software” (26 participants/74.3%) being the most popular technology, followed by “Machine Translation” (17 participants/48.6%), “Terminology Management Systems” (12 participants/34.3%) and “Quality Assurance Tools” (8 participants/22.9%). One participant has used voice recognition technologies.

In general, the question showed that participants who utilize technologies tend to use multiple different technologies. Whether participants utilize translation technologies appears to be influenced by their employment status: all of the participants who don't use translation technologies noted they are/were self-employed. Nevertheless, many of the self-employed translators indicated that they did employ or have employed technologies. No correlation could be detected between whether participants use translation technology and their age.

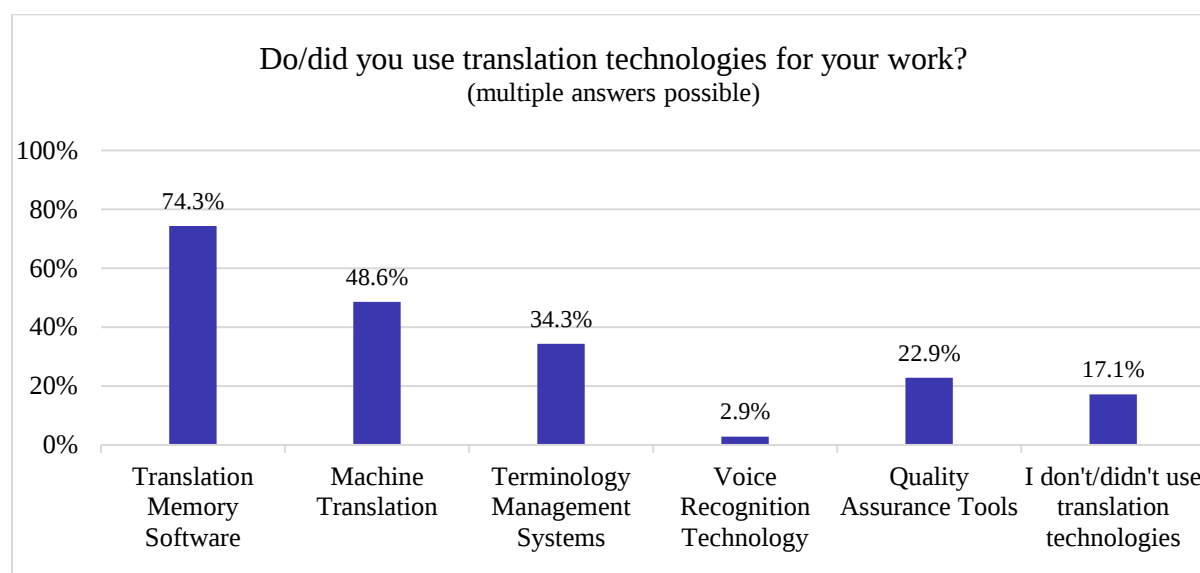


Figure 15. Employment of translation technologies by translators participating in the questionnaire

6.2.5. Translations

Language usage and how translations are accepted were at the centre of the next set of questions. When target group B was questioned on their language choice, answers were relatively evenly distributed between using mostly the Welsh (15 or 35.7%), the English (12 or 28.6%) or both language versions equally (15 or 35.7%). It can be concluded therefore, that the Welsh version – when provided – is widely accepted and utilized. The reasons for the participants' preferences were not recorded, however, it is suggested that they might be dependent upon various factors, such as language skills, habit, amongst other factors. For example, one participant remarked, that even though they preferred to use the Welsh language version, occasionally due to a lack in quality of the translated Welsh version they had to refer to the English language version.

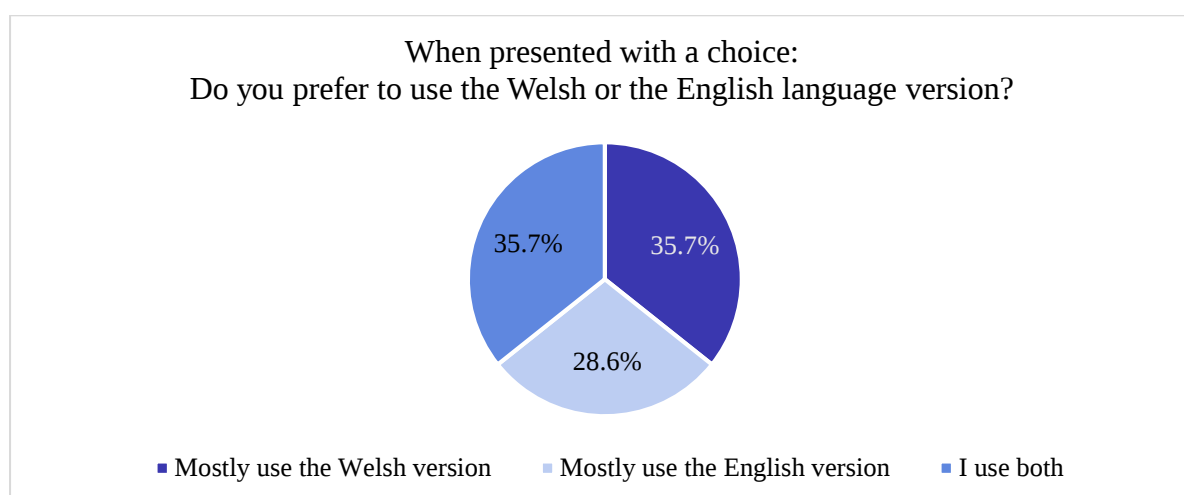


Figure 16. Translations and language use of participants

The quality of translations was an overarching topic and was frequently criticised throughout the questionnaire. “Quality” also has a significant effect on the influence of the translation industry as discussed in more detail below. In general, participants (question exclusively for target group B) rated the quality of English>Welsh translations as qualitatively worse, compared to Welsh>English translations. Nevertheless, for both directions the majority of participants awarded a score in the middle of the range.

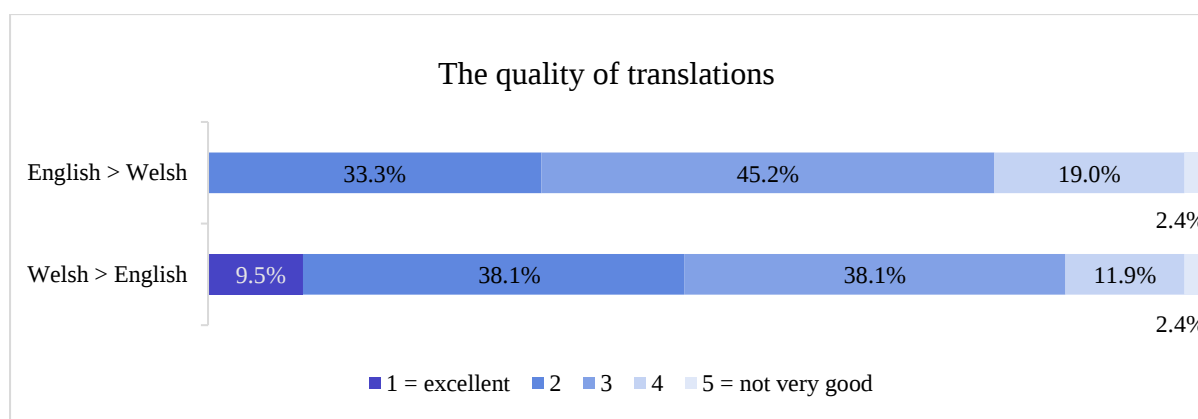


Figure 17. Quality of translations according to participants

When target group A was questioned on how the quality of translations could be further improved, “creating more awareness” (32 participants or 91,4%) and “more protection for translation as a profession” (27 participants or 77.1%) were considered as vital measures.

“More/better translation qualification” and “more/better external quality control and assessment (e.g. by a government body)” were nearly equally considered to be either “vital” or “optional”. “More/better translation technologies” was considered by slightly more as “optional” (19 participants or 54.3%) than “vital” (14 participants or 40%). The latter two options were furthermore deemed “irrelevant” by one participant each.

While efforts by the Welsh Government and similar institutions particularly target the development of translation technologies, participants of this questionnaire highlight the need to shift the focus to external factors, such as creating awareness for the profession and providing greater protection. The profession of translation is not legally protected, meaning anyone can offer translation services without special qualifications or proof of necessary skills and techniques. Protecting the profession would enhance the position of professionals and, as stressed by an overwhelming majority of participants, would lead to greater quality in the translation sector. Guaranteeing more protection for the profession goes hand in hand with creating more awareness for translation as a specialist skill. The exercise of the profession requires expert knowledge in order to comprehend the task, realise the scope of responsibility, choose an appropriate approach and apply methods accordingly – knowledge that is not only lacking in most non-professionals but also the necessity of which the community outside the professional sphere is wholly unaware of.

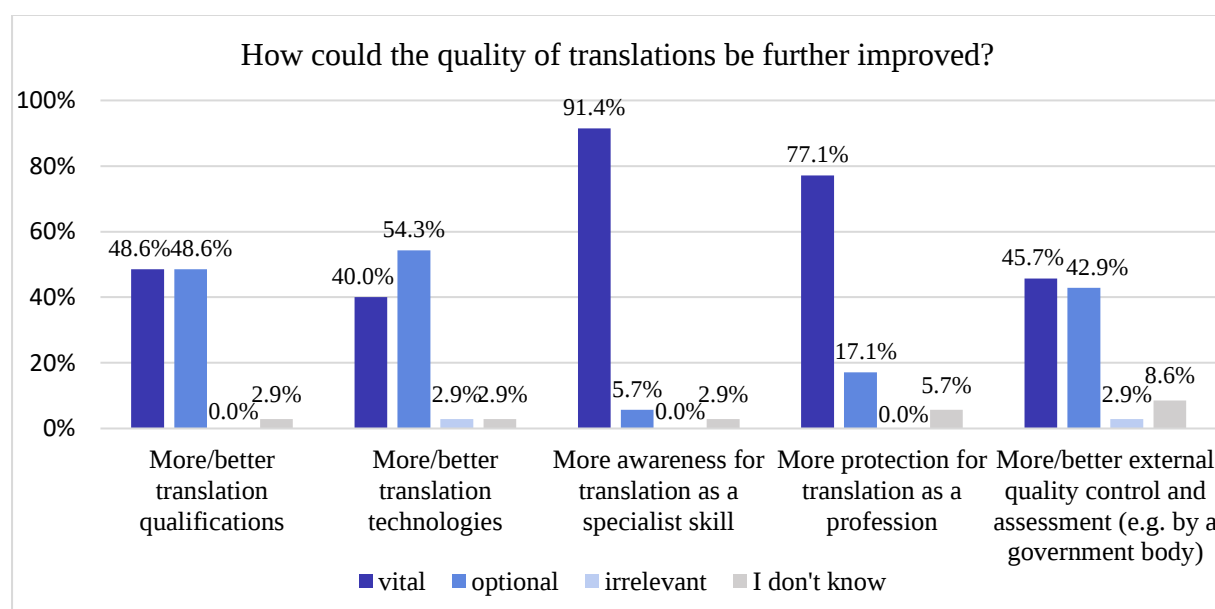


Figure 18. Suggested improvement methods to raise the quality of translations according to participating translators

When a text fails to read “fluently”, contains lexical errors and lacks a logical structure, in other words, is of inadequate quality, a translation becomes visible and thus goes against the common belief that “the work of translation *should* be effaced” (Venuti 1986:179, emphasis in original). Nevertheless, it is encouraging to see the questionnaire confirm that not only bad translations are visible in Wales (see the question above in which the quality of translations reached average to good results). In Wales, translations become visible when they are displayed, for instance, in parallel texts (as is the case on street signs, for example, or when the option of choosing the preferred language is available). Increasing the visibility of translations can contribute to an increase in awareness.

When analysing the results, the following two parameters need to be kept in mind: It poses difficulty to attribute any type of value to the statement of visibility due to the fact that the high or low rate of “visible translations” can be rated as neither strictly positive nor negative for above mentioned reasons. Furthermore, it needs to be considered that not all participants are equally “confronted” with the areas mentioned in the question, thus a high value in “never notice translations” in certain areas might be due to the fact that participants do not frequently engage with that field.

This question has been implemented to contrast it with the areas translators have produced translations for and with the question that deals with the desired volume of translations (see questions below). It shall be interesting to see, where Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers notice translations and whether there is an awareness for translations in Wales within the public. This question was not included in the questionnaire for target group A.

The highest rate of noticed translations was achieved in the fields of “Politics, Government” with 30 participants (71.4%) of target group B and 31 participants (70.5%) of target group C answering they “always” or “frequently” notice translations in this field, followed by the categories “Tourism” (B: 24 participants or 57.1%; C: 29 participants or 65.9%), “Literature, Publishing” (B: 28 participants or 66.7%; C: 19 participants or 43.2%) and “Events, Festivals” (B: 25 participants or 59.5%; C: 19 participants or 43.2%). In the latter category, noticeability of translations was particularly high amongst Welsh speakers as notably not one participant from target group B answered they “rarely” or “never” notice translations. The fact that comparatively many participants (particularly those in target group C) notice translations in the area of tourism is in accordance with the government’s plan to utilize the Welsh language in this sector. On the contrary, the highest number of participants who “rarely” or “never” notice the presence of translations were in the fields of “Sciences” (B: 26

participants or 61.9%; C: 25 participants or 56.8%) and “Medicine” (B: 20 participants or 47.6%; C: 20 participants or 45.5%). In the field of “Social Media, Websites” the results of target group B and C differed markedly: whereas 19 Welsh-speaking participants (45.2%) “always” or “frequently” notice translations (as opposed to 6 participants or 14.3% who answered “rarely” or “never”), 18 participants (40.9%) of target group C “rarely” or “never” noticed translations in this area (12 participants or 27.3% answered “always” or “frequently”). Generally, it can be said that Welsh-speaking participants notice translations slightly more frequently than their non-Welsh-speaking counterparts (higher rate in “always” and “frequently” answers as well as lower score in “rarely” and “never”).

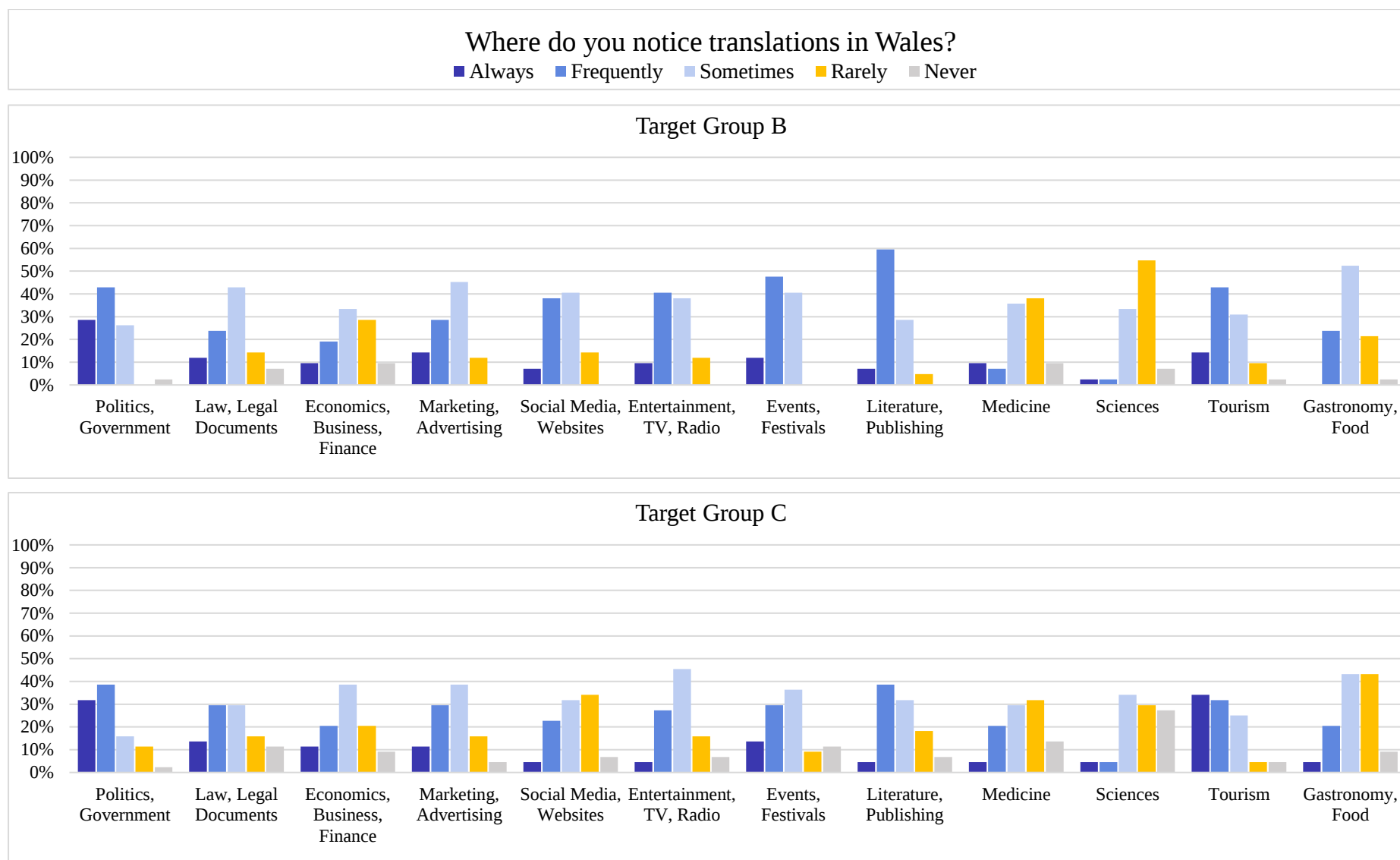


Figure 19. Noticeability of translations by participants

In combination with the following question “In what areas do you think there could be more translations?”, insights can be gained into the attitude towards translations. Can a correlation be established between noticeability and the desire for more/fewer translations?

First and foremost, the graph reveals a significant difference between the answers of Welsh and non-Welsh speakers. As opposed to participants of target group A and B who were overwhelmingly of the opinion that more translations were required across all sectors, participants of target group C were largely of the opinion that the amount of translations currently provided in the different sectors were sufficient. Furthermore, amongst target group C, a considerable number of participants was of the opinion that too many translations were provided particularly in the fields of “Politics, Government” (10 participants or 22.7%) and “medicine” (9 participants or 20.5%), whereas within target group A a maximum of one participant (2.9%) and of target group B three participants (7.1%) thought that too many translations were provided per field. The trend that non-Welsh speakers have a (slightly) less favourable attitude towards the Welsh language, revitalization and bilingual communication/translations is confirmed again. Nevertheless, the reasons for why participants are of the opinion that too many translations are provided may be manifold. The quality of translations, however, was certainly a factor when answering the question as noted by one participant, who pointed out a common tendency towards choosing quantity of translations versus quality.

Target groups A and B showed the highest rates of satisfaction with the current situation in the sectors “Politics, Government” (A: 35%; B: 27%) and “Literature, Publishing” (B: 31%). “Social Media, Websites” was the only field in which, by a margin of 1 participant, the majority of non-Welsh speakers thought more translations could be provided. Overall within target group C, the answers between “could be more translations” and “fine as it is” were relatively evenly distributed, with the exception of category “Events, Festivals”, where the gap amounted to 7 participants (+15.9%) in favour of “fine as it is” and “Politics, Government” (gap of 6 participants/13.6%). The latter also showed the highest number of target group C participants who were of the opinion that too many translations were already being provided in that field, a tendency that could also be found with target group A and B participants who, although clearly calling for more translations in this sector, had (amongst) the highest number of participants who were satisfied with the current situation.

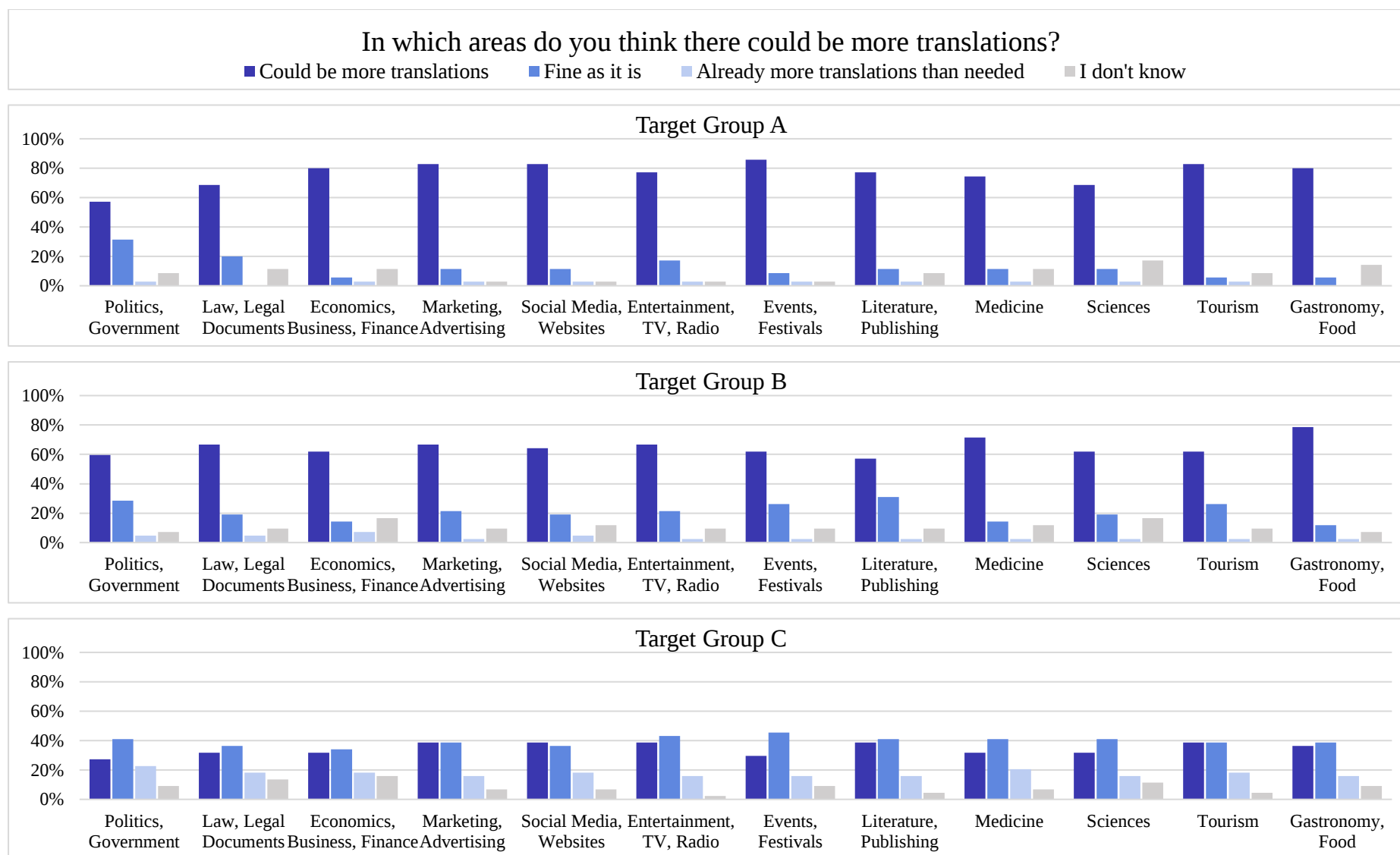


Figure 20. Desired volume of translations according to participants

In terms of the future of the translation industry in Wales, the majority of translators (23 participants or 65.7%) predict an increase in the volume of English to Welsh translations as opposed to Welsh to English translations which only 2 participants (5.7%) think will increase. While most answered they couldn't judge the development of Welsh to English translations (17 participants or 48.6%), 14 participants (40%) were of the opinion that translation volumes of the language direction in question would remain stable. 2 participants (or 5.7%) thought numbers of Welsh to English translations and 1 participant (2.9%) predicts English to Welsh translations would decrease in the future. This reveals a widespread optimism for the future of translations between the two languages.

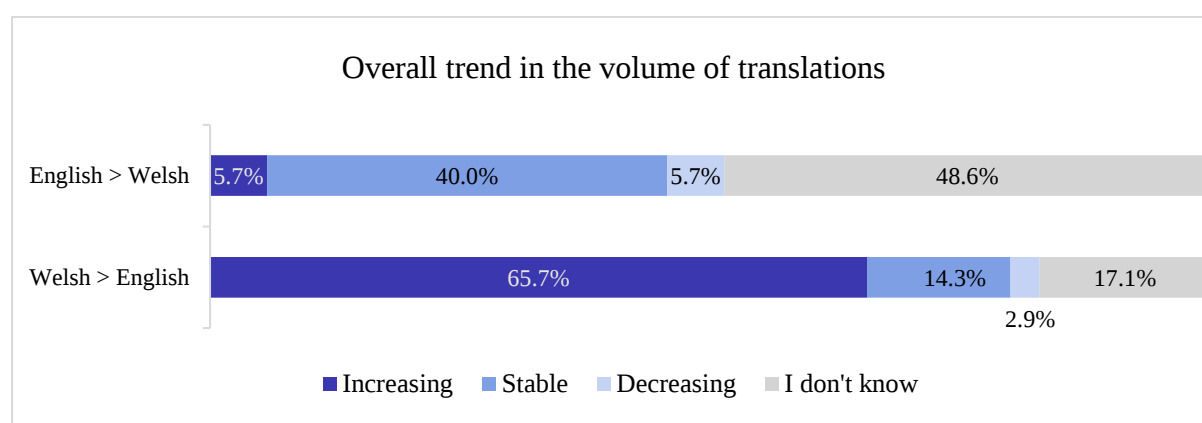


Figure 21. Trend in the volume of translations according to participants

While it is largely down to the government and big corporations and institutions to dominate widespread provision of bilingual communication, the factors that can and need to be considered for language planning and when commissioning such translation tasks are manifold.

When presented with a selection of factors that might be considered when deciding whether translations should be provided, “Providing good quality translations” (A: 100%, B:92.9%), “Providing better services for Welsh (native) speakers” (A: 97.1%, B:83.3%), “Making Welsh more visible” (A: 94.3%, B:83.3%), “Language revitalization” (A: 89%, B:83.3%) and “Welsh as part of "Welsh identity"” (A: 82.9%, B: 71.4%) were rated as clearly vital factors by target groups A and B. Generally, the answers of target group C were more balanced between the different factors. Only “Providing good quality translations” (C: 36 participants/81.8%) and “Providing better services for Welsh (native) speakers” (C: 29 participants/65.9%), which showed the highest results across all three target groups, gained similarly high scores.

The factors “Geographical” (A: 65.7%, B: 57.1%, C: 63.6%, C: 54.5%), “Financial” (A: 54.3%, B: 66.7%, C: 52.3%) and “Welsh as "tourist attraction"” (A: 54.3%, B: 40.5%, C: 63.6%) were deemed less important (“optional” or “irrelevant”) by Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers alike. The category which showed amongst the greatest deviation between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers was the factor “Welsh as part of “Welsh identity””. This result confirms the tendency shown above that non-Welsh speakers are less inclined to say that the Welsh language is important for Welsh-identity. “Making Welsh more visible” and “Language revitalization” were also rated less important by non-Welsh speakers than by Welsh speakers. As the question concerning language revitalization showed above, it is generally deemed less important by the third target group.

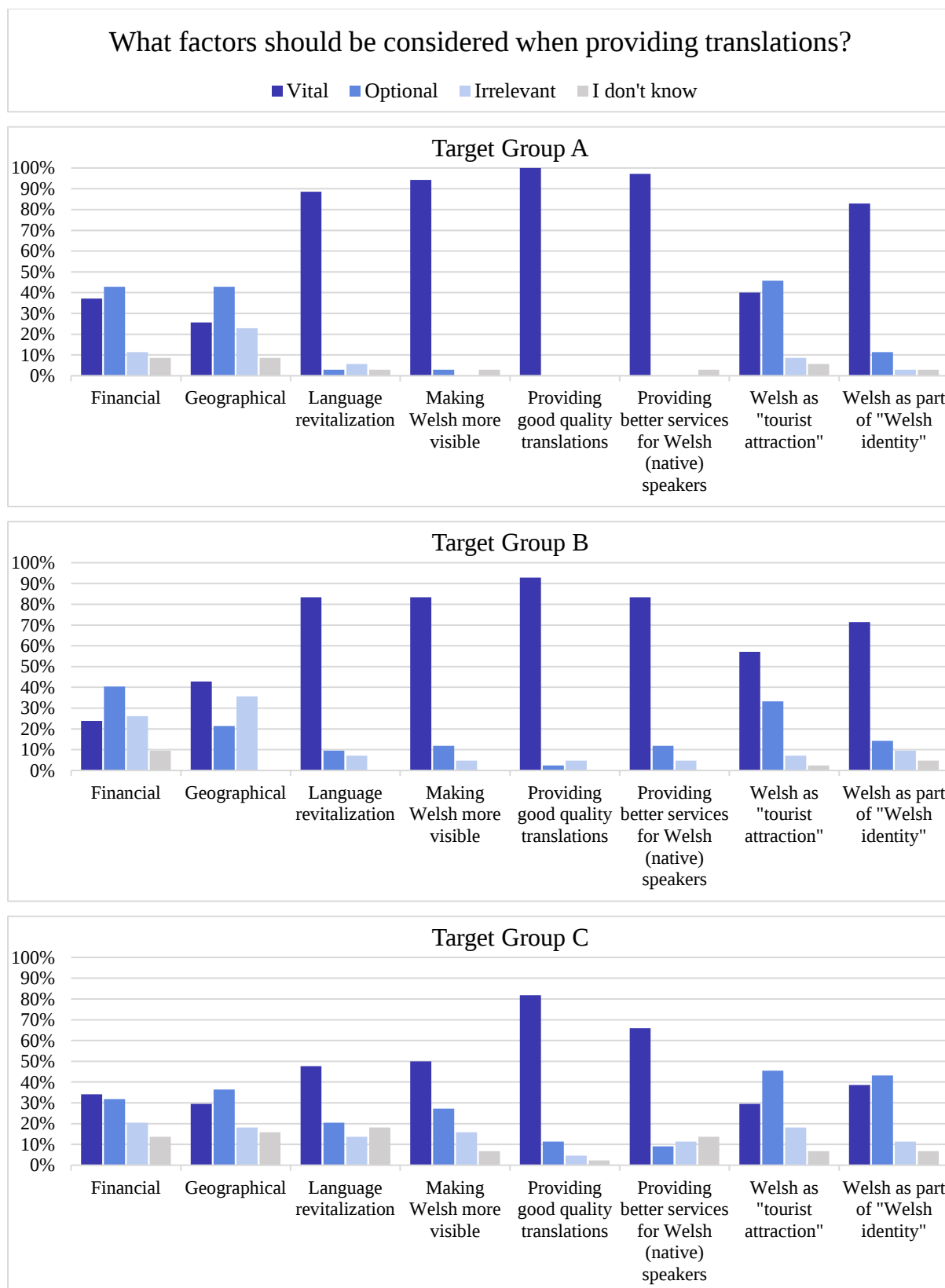


Figure 22. Importance of selected factors for the provision of translations according to participants

Before the analysis of the final part of this questionnaire is addressed, the various aspects evaluated so far are brought together by contrasting the results of the question regarding the image of the languages and the question asking participants where and how frequently participants notice translations with the results of the questions regarding the provision of translation and the areas for which participating translators have produced translations.

Sectors, where previously the image of the English language was rated as overwhelmingly better showed the lowest scores of attested translations, particularly in “Medicine” and “Sciences”. Likewise, in sectors where Welsh had a comparatively better score on the image question, participants claimed to notice more translations. In such fields, where participants noticed translations more regularly, the demand for more translations was comparatively lower and for less translations comparatively higher (e.g. “Politics, Government”, “Literature, Publishing”). Accordingly, the fields of “Medicine” and “Sciences”, where results showed that the image of the English language was overwhelmingly better and where translations were rarely noticed, the lowest number of target group A participants stated they had produced translations in this field. Contradictory, the medical sectors had the second highest score among target group C participants (9 participants or 20.5%) who found that too many translations were already being provided in this field. This stands in opposition to the opinion of one participant who highlighted the need to provide bilingual communication for Welsh native speakers: *“Older people should be able to access medical care in Welsh more easily, as acquired languages are often lost with age.”*.

Analysis of the questionnaire showed, that translations in the field of “Politics, Government” are widely recognised. Not only was it amongst the fields with the highest rates of noticed translations, also professional translators participating in the questionnaire noted they frequently produced translations for this area.

The category “Social Media, Websites” revealed divergent results between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers, as the first stated they noticed translations comparatively frequently with target group A confirming amongst the highest scores of fields for which they have produced translations regularly and occasionally, while target group C noticed translations infrequently along with showing a greater demand for more translations in this field.

Analysis revealed a strong correlation between the image of the language and where translations are noticed. This underlines the hypothesis that translations help to revitalize the language by facilitating the spread of Welsh-language use to new domains, a vital step, as underlined by the Welsh government:

“In general, language needs to be used in as many social domains as possible in order to flourish or survive. The wider, the more frequent and more specialist use that is made of it, the more prestige and status it is given – and more use is made of it as a result of this. Prestige, status and use gives language power. That power is mostly associated with the political and economic influence and power of its speakers as a social group.

It is known that the use made of the Welsh language has been restricted over the centuries with regard to the British state. Welsh speakers were a language group without any powers throughout the centuries. Welsh lost its status and prestige in society’s public domains – commerce, public administration and Law.” (Welsh Government 2014:3)

The government’s declaration illustrates that the vicious circle of less prestige, status and use leading to less power which in turn leads to even lesser prestige can be reversed. By increasing prestige, status and use of the language, it will gain more power generating greater prestige. The statement reflects the government’s approach to enforcing language policies in order to encourage language use. The results of the questionnaire also confirmed that English still has a better image compared to Welsh, particularly in those sectors of high prestige.

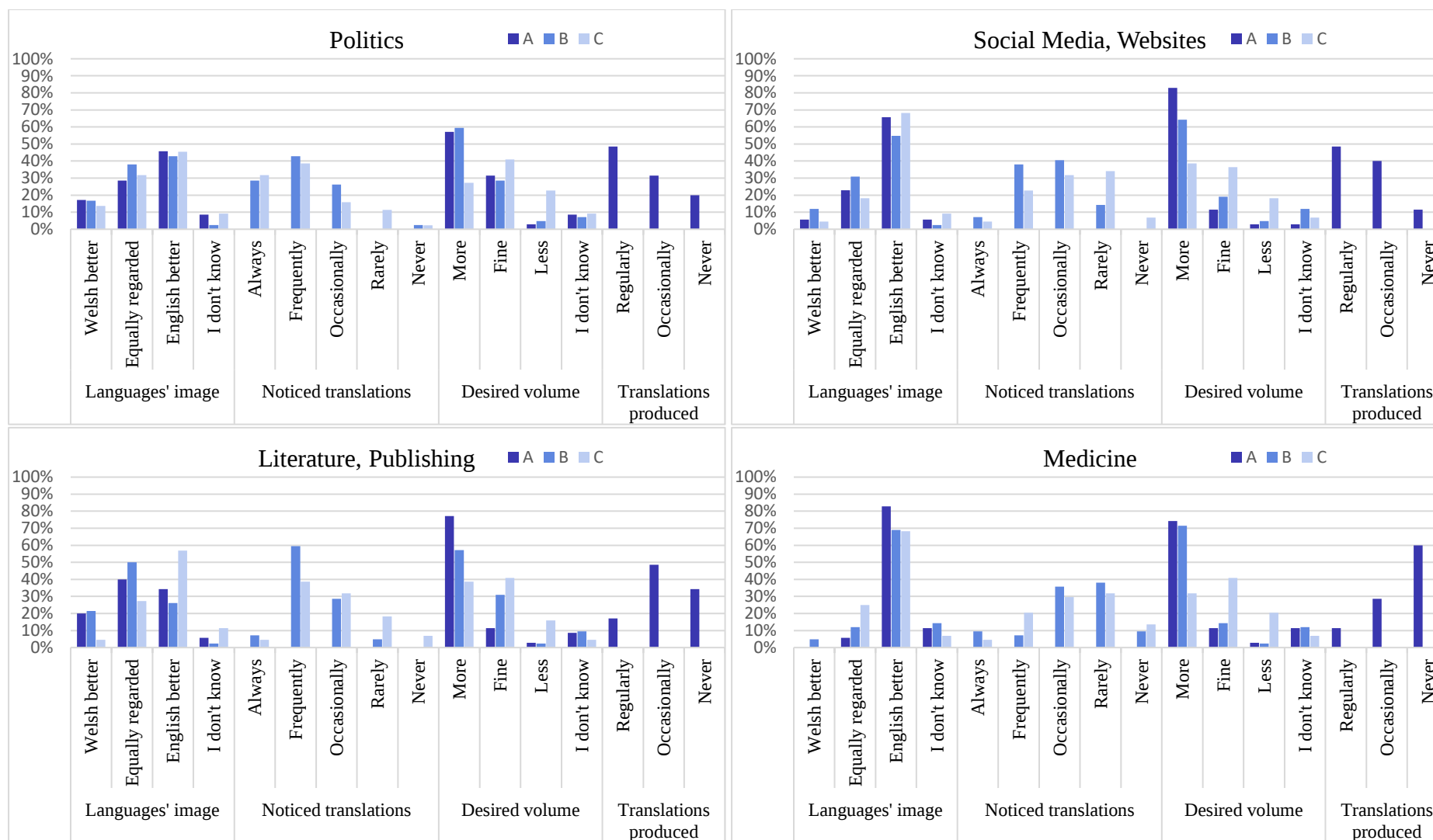


Figure 23. Image, noticeability, desired volume and volume of translations according to participants

6.2.6. The image of the translation industry and translation

The final part of the analysis of this questionnaire relates to chapter 5 of this thesis regarding the image of translation as well as discourse surrounding translation practices and language schemes. While previous questions focused on translation, the focus of the final questions regarded the translation industry itself.

The image of the translation industry was rated as neither exceedingly positive nor negative, with a slight overall leaning towards a positive public perception for target group A and B and a slight negative leaning amongst target group C participants. Comparing the extreme scores, overall more participants agreed with the statement that “people have a negative attitude towards the translation industry” (overall 6 participants/5%) than awarded a perfect score (overall 3 participants/ 2.5%).

A number of Welsh-speaking participants stated later on in the questionnaire that they thought that non-Welsh speakers had a more negative attitude due to a number of reasons (*“Both reactions are readily visible in different groups. The monoglot English are the most likely to decry the translation industry.”*).

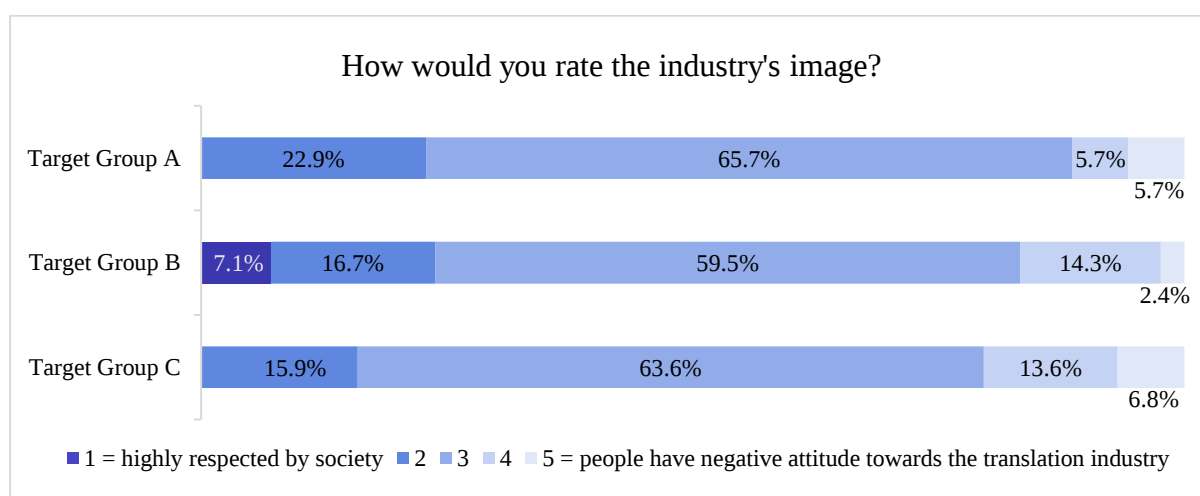


Figure 24. Image of the translation industry according to participants

The factors stated by participants for why the translation industry might lack a positive image were manifold.

Questioned on why the participants thought the image of translations and the translation industry was negative, many highlighted poor quality translations (*“Too many amusing errors”*) particularly in public spaces (*“my Welsh teacher is often very rude about the*

translations used in supermarkets”) or in official documentation (*“translation errors that appear on high profile signs harm the industry as a whole”*), frequently due to the unreflected use of machine translations (*“people fail to verify their translations or use Google translate”*) or to translations having been produced by none-professionals or poorly trained professionals (*“Poor translations (often not done by professionals) give the industry a bad reputation”, “limited academic or up-bringing backgrounds of translators”*). Furthermore, several participants highlighted the fact that poor-quality translations tend to gain more public attention than good translations (*“Society tends to highlight the errors made rather than the good examples of translation work”*).

In a number of cases, the language of translations was criticised as being “incorrect/unidiomatic”, “too literal” and “artificial and quite difficult to read”. As highlighted by a participant of target group A:

“Translations are too often unintelligible to [the] target audience because of formality, register and subject — and will not be used. [...] Translations made to be used in specific locations should ALWAYS reflect local usage, dialect etc. [...] The [r]egister of translations should be informal where applicable to encourage engagement. [...] Until translations are ‘invisible’ and are able to engage with the public (especially W[elsh] speakers with no formal background in the language) in an accessible, attractive, engaging and useable manner, then translations will fall short — not because they are grammatically incorrect or not produced with goodwill, but because they do not reflect the linguistic capability of the target audience. Think reading levels, think creativeness, think literacy levels, think of those Welsh speakers who will ignore W[elsh language] copy [sic!] because of actual or perceived inaccessibility, register or [because it] ‘doesn’t feel/sound the same in Welsh’.”

The specialist skills of professional translators are highlighted as lacking broad public recognition (*“People do not realize that translation is a skilled profession - they think anyone who knows a bit of (Welsh) can do it.”*; *“regarded as an administrative function that any bilingual person can do”, “essential service, but can be done extensively and automatically online so also unnecessary as an industry”*), with participants going as far as questioning the existence of the profession (*“I don’t know how many people have said to me ‘You’re a translator? That’s your full-time job? You know Google Translate exists, right?!’”*). As shown above, raising more awareness for translation as a professional skill was deemed a key factor

by target group A for improving the quality of translations. On the other hand, some participants pointed out that their own language skills or desire to learn a language highlighted the difficulty of professional translation, provoking “admiration” for the profession (“*I have come across two main reactions to my profession – either admiration (people saying things such as, 'I was never any good at languages, I admire people who can speak other languages') or the other reaction is when people don't recognise that it's a skill*”).

A general lack of awareness of the positive effects that translations bring to the culture and the language itself (“*It is not acknowledged that translation creates much of the Welsh which is read today.*”) were highlighted (“*Not everyone recognises the importance of translation in all fields for people in Wales.*”). However, it was recognised that translation “‘normalises’ Welsh in everyday life” and “*it helps keep it visual*”, stressing “*the importance of the language to Wales and its people*” and highlighting translation as a “vital” and “*necessary service in a bilingual society*”.

The in-group/out-group motif between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers appeared to be at the basis of many arguments. One participant blamed “cliquishness” amongst Welsh speakers and within the translation industry for an alienation of non-Welsh speakers (“*The translation industry in Wales and the Welsh language generally is [sic!] perceived as quite "cliquey". This dynamic certainly does exist and people feel alienated from Welsh language with some reason.*”). Such sentiment was also expressed by a fellow participant (target group B): “*I understand a nation trying to preserve its language but sometimes local people can appear rude or ignorant when speaking in Welsh when there are obviously tourists or non-Welsh speakers present, it sets a barrier and makes people feel excluded.*” Participants also criticised that it “*can be difficult to get translation services. But it is appreciated when obtained.*”

A general negative attitude towards the language and revitalization methods affects the image of the translation industry (“*People resent a presence of the Welsh language, whether through signage or translated literature or other in non/low Welsh-speaking areas.*”). As summarised by one participant: “*People might have a negative attitude toward the Welsh language as a whole, often coming from a discriminatory perspective (e.g. 'There is no place for Welsh today. Just speak English!'), or ignorant views regarding cultural identity and language.*”

Some people's negative image of the language might be due to an argument based on a perceived connection between a certain political leaning and speaking of Welsh (*"Teaching Welsh in schools is a waste of money - it just perpetuates nationalist ideas!"*). This particular notion might have originated based on the tendency of movements with nationalist tendencies in the early 20th century to initiate language revitalization as part of their political agenda (see chapter 2.2.).

As described above, the government aims to raise the Welsh language's image by diversifying its use, for which purpose it has implemented several language policies. However, revitalization efforts have also provoked public contempt, as pointed out by several participants (*"People dislike seeing lots of Welsh as they feel it is being 'forced down their throats'"*). Making Welsh an obligatory subject at schools caused more critique, with one participant, critical of the current revitalization efforts, arguing that money and time spent on increasing language use could be utilized for other causes:

"I have some Welsh as I am a primary school teacher and have to teach it. I personally think it wastes my pupils' time and they should not be disadvantaged by having to spend time learning it - time that could be used to improve their English/maths/creative skills. It is being pushed to be revitalised by a minority, the majority resent the money spent on it through education and translating documents/signs etc."

As these further comments show, opinions were ambivalent regarding the relationship between language acquisition and translation (*"Too many Welsh graduates go into translation rather than school teaching which is more important for language maintenance; to remedy this, teaching Welsh should be better paid and esteemed (I am not a teacher myself)." , "More important than making changes to the translation industry is to invest much more in Welsh-medium education so that a much higher percentage of people in Wales can speak Welsh."*).

The theory was raised by one participant that *"the industry is not respected well enough to justify the cost of paying a proper translator."* Generally, the cost of producing translations was highlighted as a contributing factor for the negative image (*"Some people begrudge the financial aspect."*), often in combination with the view that *"very few, if any, native Welsh speakers are unable to speak English fluently, so translation is not seen as a vital necessity"*, highlighting that *"today's society has a far more negative attitude towards the translation industry as they simply see the language as redundant."*

In a similar disapproving tone, participants revealed a public attitude critical of the systematic provision of translations simply as a matter of principle rather than real necessity, relating to the frequently cited geographic distribution of Welsh speakers as elaborated in previous chapters (*“Too much money spent on everything being bilingual in an area of deprivation where hardly anyone speaks it and the money could be better spent.”*); however, other contradictory opinions were expressed: *“Bilingualism should be promoted throughout Wales”*.

Furthermore, arguments as to why translation practices and the translation industry might be perceived negatively include that people find the parallel provision of the language versions as “visual clutter” (*“too confusing to have both languages on road signs”*, *“Many non-Welsh speakers, especially if they are not linguists, find it harder to see through the clutter of the two languages both looking the same. It is vital especially with road signage for the message to be read in a moment.”*) and that the provision of bilingual communication and translations is frequently regarded as time-consuming and “an inconvenience”. This fact was also pointed out by participants of target group A: *“The 'workflow' around the production of documents is not always the most efficient and translation becomes a costly element [...]”*.

An underlying concern could be detected that many (monoglots) were overwhelmed when producing bilingual communication or were ignorant of the specific requirements of bilingual communication:

“Translations are too often not considered early enough during creative planning processes, for instance how a public/media campaign will work in 2 languages. Planning focus on 1 language will mean translations shoe-horned into campaign and will hinder creative approaches in translated language.”

On the other hand, one non-Welsh speaking participant highlighted the issue of quality control when commissioning translations: *“The main issue is that non-Welsh speakers are made responsible for providing bilingual information and services without the support of accurate translation services.”*

The line between where bilingual staff can be utilized for bilingual drafting and where professional translators should be appointed remains a point of discussion which is open to diverse opinions. Professional translators (target group A participants) point out that *“many documents could be produced bilingually from the off”* and that outsourcing the production of all Welsh language text could create an “over-dependence on professional translation”:

“We are seeing more and more situations where Welsh-speaking professionals are drafting documents in English before sending for Welsh translation. We need to avoid going any further down that route, at all costs - to continue as a living language, it is vital that professionals across the country are working in the Welsh language. Welsh must not become a language that only translators write in!”

Nevertheless, a number of participants brought to attention the fact that negative public attitude towards the language amongst non-Welsh speakers was partly caused by Welsh language skills being stipulated as a requirement for (certain) job applications in Wales (*“People are resentful of jobs requiring Welsh skills, and of the new laws (the Standards) requiring more bilingual output. People feel they are being put out of work in favour of people with Welsh skills.”*).

Lastly, several statements alluded to the visibility of the industry. A number of participants (particularly amongst target group C) stated they were “not aware of the existence of a ‘translation industry’”. In comparison, those participants stated that they “rarely” or “never” noticed translations more often. However, as illustrated at the beginning of this chapter, the “visibility” of translations and the translation industry is not necessarily considered as something positive (*“It could be argued that the translation industry should be ‘hidden’ in the sense that they work in the background normalising the use of Welsh.”*)

In spite of the lack of public awareness of the industry, participants were optimistic that with greater visibility, a positive image can be obtained (*“I don't think many people view translation as an industry. I have personally never given it much thought, though I view it as something important. I think once people are exposed to it, it is something very respectable and admirable as not many people are bilingual in the UK so seeing someone's language skills be used so blatantly is very impressive.”*).

Having established the image of the industry and the relevant factors that influence the industry's image, participants were faced with the question how the industry's image and the image of translations could be improved. The answers provided were drawn from the discourse surrounding the language as well as governmental strategies to promote translation practices and themes discussed in the literature.

The three target groups attributed considerable importance to all factors presented. "Through focus on bilingualism at school" (A: 74%, B: 74%, C: 66%), "Through visual presence of translations in public spaces" (A: 71%, B: 76%, C: 61%), "Through higher quality standards" (A: 80%, B: 64%, C: 55%) and "Through language standards/schemes" (A: 69%, B: 62%, C: 55%), were considered vital measures to improve the industry's image by an overwhelming majority across all target groups. On the other hand, "Through private initiatives" (A: 60%, B: 45%, C: 45%) and "Through government campaigns" (A: 54%, B: 29%, C: 39%) and were voted largely optional (with the exception of the latter by target group).

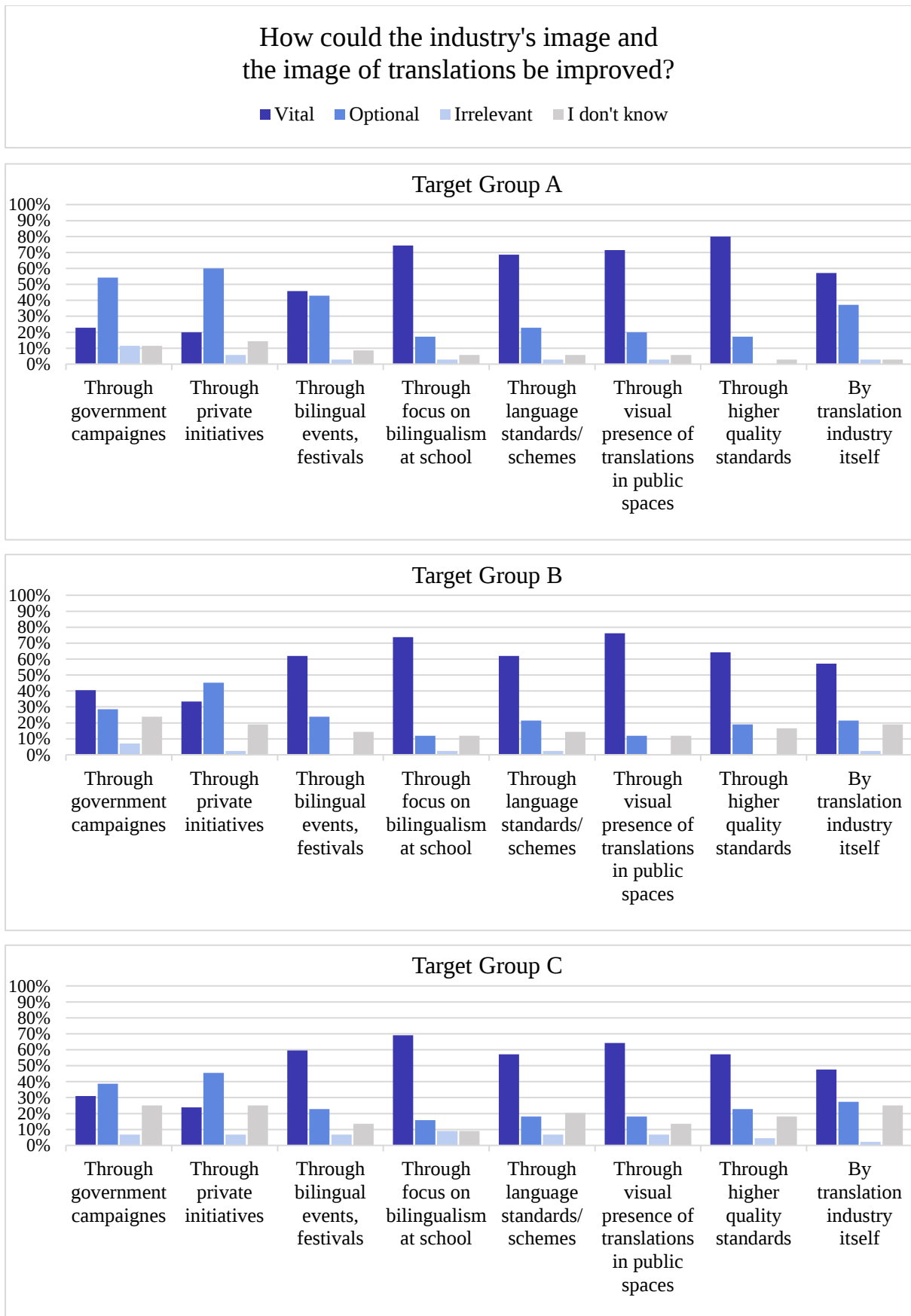


Figure 25. Factor for the improvement of the image of translations and the translation industry according to participants

The majority of target group A participants thought that the translation industry could contribute itself to improving its image.

As highlighted above, numerous participants criticised the often-bad quality of translations. Some suggested that the focus should be placed on quality rather than quantity (*“For most of one entire section I have reported that there are too many translations. The problem is actually the quality, rather than the quantity which I’ve dealt with in my answer to the last question.”*), others suggested that regulating the direction into which translators translate would increase the quality (*“Many translators appear to have learned Welsh as adults. The problem with this is that ‘learned Welsh’ is actually a completely different variety of Welsh in itself and these people are translating into Welsh rather than from x-language into their mother-tongue. So, the translation industry could improve by recruiting and employing people to translate mainly in this way.”*). Additionally, lack of time could be identified as a further factor that had a negative influence on the quality of translations. (*“By taking more time to provide good quality translations rather than rushing to do jobs because of reducing rates for translation. The translation industry should insist on higher rates for translation and give translators more time to do a good job.”*)

In general, the translated texts should read more naturally (*“It could strive to be less word-for-word and more appealing to read.”*, *“Translations must be more creative in understanding original and presenting relevant and understandable target versions.”*, *“In official contexts (signs, traffic announcements), there should be more attention being paid to idiomaticity and the written standard of the language. Slavish rendering of English syntax and idioms must be avoided at all costs. New ideas should be expressed by using the morphological and syntactic means intrinsic to the Welsh language.”*) and more consideration paid to register and target audience (*“Welsh also is a bizarre language in that the spoken register is vastly different from its written register, and most translators seem to find it very hard to strike the right balance to reach their target audience. Official translations are often overly formal and complex, even when they are aimed at school children or other groups who would benefit from simpler language.”*).

The quality of translations should be monitored by introducing “quality assurance” and “spot-checks”. By restricting the access to the profession (*“The translation industry could improve by introducing quotas in recruitment which would go some way to attract fresh talent.”*), participants hoped to raise translation standards (*“The unfortunate truth is that the association of translators originally let anyone join, with no quality control. They fairly*

recently introduced tests to improve standards, but any members who joined prior to that are not required to prove their merit. As a result, I don't view membership of the professional association as any kind of badge of honour or guarantee of quality.”). Obligatory professional training was suggested as a measure to help keep the level high (“As for what they can do about it, I suppose continuing to provide a range of training courses, and perhaps trying to introduce an element of CPD (continuing professional development) so that everyone has to attend a certain number of hours’ training each year to refresh their skills and prove they’ve still got what it takes.”). Additionally, it was proposed that increasing the standard of education would have a positive influence on the quality of translations (“Another way they could improve the standard of translation is to change how Welsh is taught (and that's a whole other subject!). But, for instance taking more Welsh education from first-language sources as much as possible would help to develop a ‘standard’, drive up the quality of Welsh and, thereby, the quality of translations. However, this would mean that people would learn faster so that would mean less grant funding (and that's a whole other story!)”).

Even though several participants were sceptical the industry could instigate a change in how it is perceived (“Among the public, I'm not sure, as it's a wider issue, and people think anyone who went to a Welsh-medium school can translate when it's actually a very skilled role.”, “I feel that the translation industry as is at present would not be able to improve its image. They would completely have to change how they function.”), others were optimistic that the industry could raise awareness for the specialist skills required of translators (“Yes - it could make sure that people know why we do what we do, and in what ways it helps people in Wales.”, “Maybe draw attention to poor translations and what the English equivalent of this would be in order to put it into context and make people realise how shocking it is that this is currently happening on a large scale in Wales (they wouldn't let it happen if it were the other way around). This would show how important it is to use qualified translators to obtain quality translations.”, “By promoting standards and explaining the need for published translations to be prepared by competent translators.”).

7. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was most emphatically not to fuel the language debate, nor was it aimed at suggesting new language policies or presenting definite solutions to the critical discourse surrounding the translation industry; rather, it was to highlight the complexity of translation, including approaches, methods and measures, the evolution and adaptation of the language industry and other bodies, the infrastructure needed to adapt to a diversifying environment with changing suppositions and requirements, and to highlight the work of translators in Wales, uniquely positioned between the conflicting priorities of being “the saviour of the language” and “an unnecessary waste of resources”. It aimed to examine a correlation between the image of the Welsh language and the target groups’ perspective, language use and the corresponding impact on translations.

When the movement to save the Welsh language started to gain traction and attitudes began to change, it became evident that the community alone would not be enough to initiate a trend reversal. Thus, the government stepped in, implemented new laws and granted rights for the use of Welsh. While policies were not always adopted immediately and at times failed to achieve the desired effects, they were generally in line with scientific research, as outlined in chapter one. As illustrated in chapters three and four, the government attended to language planning, status, corpus and acquisition planning. Through the course of time and with the beginning of the new millennium, tentative approaches grew into primary foci. The objective shifted from saving the language to “creating a truly bilingual Wales” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:57).

The goals pursued by the government also have implications for the private sector. The weighing of costs and benefits becomes even more apparent here. While the trend towards providing bilingual communication is increasing amongst private companies and with government providing incentives to facilitate such endeavours, few companies have recognisably implemented Language Standards or other language schemes voluntarily. However, as the questionnaire carried out in this study has revealed, a large majority of translators have regularly provided translations for such private companies in addition to their government-funded work.

The question of what should be translated and to what extent translations should be provided, continues to raise much heated debate. The questionnaire confirmed the different opinions that, when strongly generalised, can be carefully attributed to Welsh and non-Welsh

speakers. The critical attitudes towards language revitalization and government approaches have reflected onto translation practices and the translation industry. As statements in the survey revealed, translators are regularly confronted with stereotypical prejudice. The questionnaire revealed a lack of general understanding of the translation profession when it is widely argued that anybody who can speak more than one language can translate, as confirmed by the many statements of participating professionals. This social discourse also affects the translation and language industry, from education to pay, and can be described as having a relevant impact. At the same time, it was particularly revealing to see that even though the language debate is omnipresent in Wales, there were participants who had not previously reflected on the existence of the translation “industry”.

The image of translations and of the industry is strongly influenced by the quality of translations. It is commonplace that translations are primarily reported on, and thus become visible, when they are of a bad quality. The use of translation technologies, particularly freely available machine translation, when employed without professional postediting, was a topic of contention amongst professionals. While efforts to improve translation technologies and to provide access to free machine translation technologies have opened up new opportunities, it can be seen that technology’s unreflected use has dire consequences for the image of translations. Not only does the use of such free translation technology foster the argument that professionals are unnecessary, it has tremendous implications for the quality of translations and the quality of Welsh-language texts – and thus the Welsh language. Nevertheless, while attitudes differ as to whether or not translations are a “necessity” or a “luxury”, there is a general consensus that translations play an important role in the revitalization process, as shown by the results of the questionnaire. Translations have the potential to help language gain social capital.

Analysis of the government’s language policies, of events and developments during the 20th century as discussed in chapter 3 showed that Welsh language revitalization is primarily driven by two underlying motivational factors: protecting the rights of Welsh native speakers on the one hand, and protecting and strengthening the Welsh language as part of the Welsh culture and identity, on the other hand. For the continuation of the Welsh language revitalization project, the questionnaire revealed that the factors of high-quality translations and reinforcement of public awareness for translation practices and the industry are of vital importance.

All of the specific measures mentioned in the chapters above to increase the number of Welsh speakers and Welsh language use consequently led to a shift in the language industry. By promoting the use of the Welsh language and creating and reintroducing domains where Welsh can be used, the need for translation and the demand for the translation industry increased. With the number of Welsh speakers and bilingual workforce continuing to grow, the role of the translation industry will again change, as predicted by the government:

“As we increase workforce numbers with Welsh language skills, it will be necessary to refine the role of the professional translator. Growth of bilingual working will enable translation services to focus on their appropriate remit, apply professional linguistic skills appropriately, and potentially increase their capacity to add value.” (Welsh Government 2017:74).

Yet, as revealed by the latest census, certain issues remain, such as the low linguistic confidence of Welsh speakers, in-migration and the low number of first-language Welsh speakers; the minority language continues to require special attention and the importance of translation practices remains high. With the number of Welsh speakers, the language, vital for translation, needs to grow alongside.

Translation is necessary not only to make texts accessible; it goes “beyond language”. Banning or limiting the right to use a language has had a dramatic effect on the consciousness of its speakers. Languages influence the culture and identity of their speakers. The translation industry thus carries a large responsibility on its shoulders. It should play a vital part in promoting, explaining, and raising awareness in the non-Welsh-speaking community of the importance of providing translation services.

It lies in the hands of the communal, political and industrial forces to shape the future of the language. This study can perhaps serve as an indicator as to if (and what) actions, approaches and measures were particularly fruitful or less successful in the past, in terms of serving public attitude and the revitalization of the language. In order to thrive, the industry needs to find the right balance between satisfying language policies and providing satisfactory translation services – by not only addressing players from within but also from outside forces. A positive attitude towards the Welsh language and Welsh language revitalization facilitates the provision of bilingual communication and the implementation of language policies, stimulating factors for the growth of the translation industry in Wales.

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Appendix A – Questionnaire

Too much or not enough?

The image of translation and the translation industry in Wales

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is _____ and I am a postgraduate student at the University of Vienna, studying for my Masters in Translation Studies. For my thesis, I am examining the translation industry in Wales for the purpose of which I have designed a short questionnaire. The questionnaire is aimed at anybody who has lived or worked in Wales for a period of over six months within the last five years. It is suitable for Welsh-speakers and non-Welsh-speakers alike and has a supplementary part which is specifically designed for professional translators.

The questionnaire is dynamic and will require approximately 10 minutes to complete. It is divided into three main parts focusing on 1) the image of the Welsh language, 2) work as a translator of Welsh or Welsh translations viewed from a non-professional perspective, and 3) the image of translations and the translation industry in Wales. All questions refer to the language pair Welsh and English, with a focus on written translation.

The completion of the questionnaire is anonymous; however, you can leave your email address at the end if you wish to receive a copy of the final report.

I would like to thank you for taking the time to complete my questionnaire. I would also appreciate if you could forward my questionnaire to others. The data collected is essential for the composure of my thesis and the completion of my degree.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding the completion of the questionnaire, please don't hesitate to contact me!

Yours sincerely,

**required*

Demographic questions

1. Please select your gender*

- ☐ Female
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Prefer not to say

2. What is your age?*

- ☐ 10 - 19
- ☐ 20 - 29
- ☐ 30 - 39
- ☐ 40 - 49
- ☐ 50 - 59
- ☐ 60+

3. Have you lived or worked (for a period of more than six months) in Wales in the last five years?*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No -> *end of the questionnaire*

4. Where in Wales do/did you live or work?*

(multiple answers possible)

- ☐ Blaenau Gwent Bridgend
- ☐ Caerphilly
- ☐ Cardiff
- ☐ Carmarthenshire
- ☐ Ceredigion
- ☐ Conwy
- ☐ Denbighshire
- ☐ Flintshire
- ☐ Gwynedd
- ☐ Isle of Anglesey
- ☐ Merthyr Tydfil
- ☐ Monmouthshire
- ☐ Neath Port Talbot
- ☐ Newport
- ☐ Pembrokeshire
- ☐ Powys
- ☐ Rhondda Cynon Taf
- ☐ Swansea

- Torfaen
- Vale of Glamorgan
- Wrexham

5. Can you speak, read or write Welsh?*

- Yes
- No -> *skip to question 41*

Important: All following questions refer to written translations regarding the language pair English and Welsh

6. Do/did you work as a Welsh language translator?*

- Yes
- No -> *skip to question 27*

7. How did you learn Welsh?*

(multiple answers possible)

- Family
- Friends
- School
- University
- Language course
- Self-taught
- Other

The Welsh language

8. In your opinion, how important is it to speak Welsh in order to "be Welsh"?*

	1	2	3	4	5	
Vital	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Not important

9. How do you personally regard the image of Welsh in the following areas?*

	Welsh has a better image than English	Welsh and English are equally regarded	English has a better image than Welsh	I don't know.
Politics, Government	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law, Legal documents	☐	☐	☐	☐
Economics, Business, Finance	☐	☐	☐	☐
Marketing, Advertising	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Media, Websites	☐	☐	☐	☐
Entertainment, TV, Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events, Festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Literature, Publishing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sciences	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gastronomy, Food	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. Should the Welsh language revitalization process be continued?*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know
- ☐ I don't care

11. Do translations help to revitalize the Welsh language?*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know

Your work as translator

Important: All following questions refer to written translations regarding the language pair English and Welsh

12. Do you have a formal qualification in translation? (multiple answers possible)*

- ☐ I studied Translation Studies at university.
- ☐ I took a course in translation (not at university)
- ☐ I have a university degree in which translation was a component of study.
- ☐ I have no translation training.
- ☐ Other:

13. What is/was your employment status with regard to your work as a translator? (multiple answers possible)*

- ☐ Self-employed, freelance
- ☐ I work/worked in-house at a translation company.
- ☐ I work/worked in a translation unit/department within a company, organization or institution.
- ☐ I do/did translations in a company, organization or institution but am/was not specifically employed as translator
- ☐ I am in the process of gaining my qualifications and have done occasional translation work.
- ☐ Other:

14. Within the last year: who have you produced translations for?*

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Government, National Assembly	☐	☐	☐
Public Services organisations that have to comply to Language Standards or Schemes	☐	☐	☐
Private companies	☐	☐	☐
Clubs, societies, associations	☐	☐	☐
Private individuals	☐	☐	☐
Own initiative (e.g. of a Wikipedia site ...)	☐	☐	☐
Events, Festivals	☐	☐	☐

15. In which areas have you produced translations in the last year?*

	Welsh has a better image than English	Welsh and English are equally regarded	English has a better image than Welsh	I don't know.
Politics, Government	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law, Legal documents	☐	☐	☐	☐
Economics, Business, Finance	☐	☐	☐	☐
Marketing, Advertising	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Media, Websites	☐	☐	☐	☐
Entertainment, TV, Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events, Festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Literature, Publishing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sciences	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gastronomy, Food	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. In which areas do you think there could be more translations?*

	Could be more translations	Fine as it is	Already more translations than needed	I don't know.
Politics, Government	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law, Legal documents	☐	☐	☐	☐
Economics, Business, Finance	☐	☐	☐	☐
Marketing, Advertising	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Media, Websites	☐	☐	☐	☐
Entertainment, TV, Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events, Festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Literature, Publishing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sciences	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gastronomy, Food	☐	☐	☐	☐

17. What factors should be considered when providing translations?*

	Vital	Optional	Irrelevant	I don't know.
Financial	☐	☐	☐	☐
Geographical	☐	☐	☐	☐
Language revitalization	☐	☐	☐	☐
Making Welsh more visible	☐	☐	☐	☐
Providing good quality translations	☐	☐	☐	☐
Providing better services for Welsh (native) speakers	☐	☐	☐	☐
Welsh as "tourist attraction"	☐	☐	☐	☐
Welsh as part of "Welsh identity"	☐	☐	☐	☐

18. Do you think the overall trend in the volume of translations from Welsh into English is increasing or decreasing?*

- ☐ Increasing
- ☐ Stable
- ☐ Decreasing
- ☐ I don't know

19. Do you think the overall trend in the volume of translations from English into Welsh is increasing or decreasing?*

- ☐ Increasing
- ☐ Stable
- ☐ Decreasing
- ☐ I don't know

20. How could the quality of translations be further improved?*

	Vital	Optional	Irrelevant	I don't know.
More/better translation qualifications	☐	☐	☐	☐
More/better translation technologies	☐	☐	☐	☐
More awareness for translation as a specialist skill	☐	☐	☐	☐
More protection for translation as a profession	☐	☐	☐	☐
More/better external quality control and assessment (e.g. by a government body)	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. Do/did you use translation technologies for your work? (multiple answers possible)*

- ☐ Translation Memory Software
- ☐ Machine Translation
- ☐ Terminology Management Systems
- ☐ Voice Recognition Technology
- ☐ Quality Assurance Tools
- ☐ I don't/didn't use translation technologies
- ☐ Other:

22. If yes, which translation technologies do you use?

The translation industry's image

Important: All following questions refer to written translations regarding the language pair English and Welsh

23. How would you rate the industry's image?*

	1	2	3	4	5	
Translation industry is highly respected by society	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	People have a negative attitude towards the translation industry

24. Why do you think the translation industry is highly respected by society or why do you think people have a negative attitude towards the translation industry?

25. How could the industry's image and the image of translations be improved?*

	Vital	Optional	Irrelevant	I don't know.
Through government campaigns	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through private initiatives	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through bilingual events, festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through focus on bilingualism at school	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through language standards/schemes	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through visual presence of translations in public spaces	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through higher quality standards	☐	☐	☐	☐
By translation industry itself	☐	☐	☐	☐

26. How could the translation industry contribute to improve its image? If not, why not?

-> end of questionnaire for target group A

27. How did you learn Welsh?*

(multiple answers possible)

- ☐ Family
- ☐ Friends
- ☐ School
- ☐ University
- ☐ Language course
- ☐ Self-taught
- ☐ Other

The Welsh language

28. In your opinion, how important is it to speak Welsh in order to "be Welsh"?*

	1	2	3	4	5	
Vital	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Not important

29. How do you personally regard the image of Welsh in the following areas?*

	Welsh has a better image than English	Welsh and English are equally regarded	English has a better image than Welsh	I don't know.
Politics, Government	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law, Legal documents	☐	☐	☐	☐
Economics, Business, Finance	☐	☐	☐	☐
Marketing, Advertising	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Media, Websites	☐	☐	☐	☐
Entertainment, TV, Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events, Festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Literature, Publishing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sciences	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gastronomy, Food	☐	☐	☐	☐

30. Should the Welsh language revitalization process be continued?*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know
- ☐ I don't care

31. Do translations help to revitalize the Welsh language?*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know

Welsh translations

Important: All following questions refer to written translations regarding the language pair English and Welsh

32. Where do you notice translations in Wales?*

	Always	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Politics, Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law, Legal documents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Economics, Business, Finance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Marketing, Advertising	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Media, Websites	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Entertainment, TV, Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events, Festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Literature, Publishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sciences	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gastronomy, Food	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

33. When presented with a choice – do you prefer to use the Welsh or English language version?*

- ☐ Mostly use the Welsh version
- ☐ Mostly use the English version
- ☐ I use both
- ☐ Other:

34. In which areas do you think there could be more translations?*

	Could be more translations	Fine as it is	Already more translations than needed	I don't know.
Politics, Government	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law, Legal documents	☐	☐	☐	☐
Economics, Business, Finance	☐	☐	☐	☐
Marketing, Advertising	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Media, Websites	☐	☐	☐	☐
Entertainment, TV, Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events, Festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Literature, Publishing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sciences	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gastronomy, Food	☐	☐	☐	☐

35. What factors should be considered when providing translations?*

	Vital	Optional	Irrelevant	I don't know.
Financial	☐	☐	☐	☐
Geographical	☐	☐	☐	☐
Language revitalization	☐	☐	☐	☐
Making Welsh more visible	☐	☐	☐	☐
Providing good quality translations	☐	☐	☐	☐
Providing better services for Welsh (native) speakers	☐	☐	☐	☐
Welsh as "tourist attraction"	☐	☐	☐	☐
Welsh as part of "Welsh identity"	☐	☐	☐	☐

36. How would you rate the English to Welsh translations you notice?

	1	2	3	4	5	
They are excellent.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	They are not very good.

37. How would you rate the Welsh to English translations you notice?

	1	2	3	4	5	
They are excellent.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	They are not very good.

The translation industry's image

Important: All following questions refer to written translations regarding the language pair English and Welsh

38. How would you rate the industry's image?*

	1	2	3	4	5	
Translation industry is highly respected by society	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	People have a negative attitude towards the translation industry

39. Why do you think the translation industry is highly respected by society or why do you think people have a negative attitude towards the translation industry?

40. How could the industry's image and the image of translations be improved?*

	Vital	Optional	Irrelevant	I don't know.
Through government campaigns	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through private initiatives	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through bilingual events, festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through focus on bilingualism at school	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through language standards/schemes	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through visual presence of translations in public spaces	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through higher quality standards	☐	☐	☐	☐
By translation industry itself	☐	☐	☐	☐

-> end of questionnaire for target group B

41. Would you like to learn Welsh?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Other:

The Welsh language

42. In your opinion, how important is it to speak Welsh in order to "be Welsh"?*

	1	2	3	4	5	
Vital	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Not important

43. How do you personally regard the image of Welsh in the following areas?*

	Welsh has a better image than English	Welsh and English are equally regarded	English has a better image than Welsh	I don't know.
Politics, Government	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law, Legal documents	☐	☐	☐	☐
Economics, Business, Finance	☐	☐	☐	☐
Marketing, Advertising	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Media, Websites	☐	☐	☐	☐
Entertainment, TV, Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events, Festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Literature, Publishing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sciences	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gastronomy, Food	☐	☐	☐	☐

44. Should the Welsh language revitalization process be continued?*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know
- ☐ I don't care

45. Do translations help to revitalize the Welsh language?*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know

Welsh translations

Important: All following questions refer to written translations regarding the language pair English and Welsh

46. Where do you notice translations in Wales?*

	Always	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Politics, Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law, Legal documents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Economics, Business, Finance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Marketing, Advertising	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Media, Websites	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Entertainment, TV, Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events, Festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Literature, Publishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sciences	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gastronomy, Food	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

47. In which areas do you think there could be more translations?*

	Could be more translations	Fine as it is	Already more translations than needed	I don't know.
Politics, Government	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law, Legal documents	☐	☐	☐	☐
Economics, Business, Finance	☐	☐	☐	☐
Marketing, Advertising	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Media, Websites	☐	☐	☐	☐
Entertainment, TV, Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events, Festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Literature, Publishing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sciences	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gastronomy, Food	☐	☐	☐	☐

48. What factors should be considered when providing translations?*

	Vital	Optional	Irrelevant	I don't know.
Financial	☐	☐	☐	☐
Geographical	☐	☐	☐	☐
Language revitalization	☐	☐	☐	☐
Making Welsh more visible	☐	☐	☐	☐
Providing good quality translations	☐	☐	☐	☐
Providing better services for Welsh (native) speakers	☐	☐	☐	☐
Welsh as “tourist attraction”	☐	☐	☐	☐
Welsh as part of “Wesh identity”	☐	☐	☐	☐

The translation industry's image

Important: All following questions refer to written translations regarding the language pair English and Welsh

49. How would you rate the industry's image?*

	1	2	3	4	5	
Translation industry is highly respected by society	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	People have a negative attitude towards the translation industry

50. Why do you think the translation industry is highly respected by society or why do you think people have a negative attitude towards the translation industry?

51. How could the industry's image and the image of translations be improved?*

	Vital	Optional	Irrelevant	I don't know.
Through government campaigns	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through private initiatives	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through bilingual events, festivals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through focus on bilingualism at school	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through language standards/schemes	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through visual presence of translations in public spaces	☐	☐	☐	☐
Through higher quality standards	☐	☐	☐	☐
By translation industry itself	☐	☐	☐	☐

-> end of questionnaire for target group C

Appendix B – Abstracts

Abstract – English

Title: *Multilingualism in a modern society and the impact on the translation industry: the situation in Wales*

The Welsh language, although native to the country of Wales, has been marginalised for many centuries and, without intervention, would perhaps have long since declined into linguistic obscurity. A change in attitude in the 20th century, however, has led to the initiation of a multifaceted language revitalization process in which translations – and thus the translation industry – play a key role.

The aim of this thesis is to identify the specific factors that have affected and continue to influence the development of the translation industry in Wales as well as the consequences of these factors on translation practices, approaches and methods. Furthermore, it reflects upon issues such as the image of, as well as the discourse surrounding translations and the translation industry.

Speaking in the broadest terms the thesis can be divided into three major parts. Firstly, an outline of the theoretical framework is given (chapter 1) before an analysis of multilingualism in Wales in the second part strives to show how the theory of language revitalization has been put into practice in Wales over the last century and to what effect (chapter 2-5). Finally, the concluding part is composed of the analysis of a questionnaire specially developed for this thesis which revealed a strong correlation between the image of the language and the attitude towards translations, as well as differing perceptions between Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers in general (chapter 6). For the continuation of the Welsh language revitalization project, the questionnaire revealed that the factors of high-quality translations and reinforcement of public awareness for translation practices and the industry are of vital importance.

Abstract – Deutsch

Titel: *Mehrsprachigkeit in einer modernen Gesellschaft und die Auswirkungen auf die Übersetzungsindustrie: die Situation in Wales*

Die walisische Sprache wurde über viele Jahrhunderte aufgrund vielzähliger Umstände immer mehr zurückgedrängt und wäre ohne Intervention möglicherweise bereits akut vom Sprachtod bedroht. Eine Änderung der Einstellung im 20. Jahrhundert hat jedoch einen komplexen Prozess der Sprachrevitalisierung eingeleitet, bei dem Übersetzungen – und damit die Übersetzungsbranche – eine Schlüsselrolle zukommt.

Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, die spezifischen Faktoren zu identifizieren, die die Entwicklung der Übersetzungsindustrie in Wales beeinflusst haben und weiterhin beeinflussen sowie die Auswirkungen dieser Faktoren auf Übersetzungspraktiken, -ansätze und -methoden. Darüber hinaus werden Themen wie das Image von und der Diskurs um Übersetzungen und die Übersetzungsindustrie reflektiert.

Die vorliegende Masterarbeit kann in drei Hauptteile unterteilt werden. Zunächst wird ein Überblick über den theoretischen Rahmen gegeben (Kapitel 1), bevor im zweiten Teil Mehrsprachigkeit in Wales analysiert wird, um zu zeigen, wie und mit welchen Auswirkungen die Theorie der Sprachrevitalisierung in Wales im letzten Jahrhundert in der Praxis umgesetzt wurde (Kapitel 2-5). Der abschließende Teil besteht aus der Analyse eines Fragebogens, der speziell für diese Arbeit entwickelt wurde und eine starke Korrelation zwischen dem Image der Sprache und der grundsätzlichen Einstellung zu Übersetzungen sowie die unterschiedliche Wahrnehmung zwischen walisisch sprechenden und nicht walisisch sprechenden Personen in Wales aufzeigt (Kapitel 6). Für die Fortführung des Projekts zur Revitalisierung der walisischen Sprache ergab der Fragebogen, dass die Faktoren für qualitativ hochwertige Übersetzungen und die Sensibilisierung der Öffentlichkeit für Übersetzungspraktiken und die Branche von entscheidender Bedeutung sind.