

# Home Truths: Globalisation and the Iconising of Welsh in a Welsh-American Newspaper

*Nikolas Coupland, Hywel Bishop and Peter Garrett*  
*Centre for Language and Communication Research, Cardiff*  
*University, Wales*

Global population flows leave some social groups dislocated from their home territories and languages. Under these conditions processes of ethnolinguistic identification can become complex and the use of a home language can take on new symbolic values. We consider the case of Welsh-affiliating people in the United States of America, and the use of the Welsh language in one particular, long-running Welsh-American community newspaper, *Y Drych* (The Mirror). Quite differently from its earliest forms in the second half of the 19th century, *Y Drych* nowadays positions the Welsh language as a richly iconic resource, available for ceremonial and celebratory social purposes – to celebrate Welshness at a remove from ‘the homeland’. We interpret the use of Welsh in *Y Drych* as a form of language display, and as part of a process of retraditionalisation. Linguistic and cultural elements of ‘old Wales’ are re-embedded into Welsh-American consciousness and practices, in ways that might be paralleled in other sociolinguistic diasporas.

**Keywords:** Wales, Welsh, community newspapers, globalisation, iconisation, language display

## The Sociolinguistics of Locality and Globality

An early, much-cited, agenda-setting formulation of the project of sociolinguistics was Joshua Fishman’s. It came in two parts, what Fishman called ‘descriptive sociology of language’ and ‘dynamic sociology of language’. Descriptive sociology of language

seeks to answer the question ‘who speaks (or writes) what language (or what language variety) to whom and when and to what end?’... [It] tries to disclose the norms of language usage – that is to say, the generally accepted social patterns of language use and of behavior and attitude toward language – for particular social networks and communities, both large and small.

Dynamic sociology of language

seeks to answer the question ‘what accounts for different rates of change in the social organization of language use and behavior toward language?’... [It] tries to explain why and how the social organization of language use and behavior toward language can be selectively different in the *same* social networks or communities on two different occasions. Dynamic sociology of language also seeks to explain why and how once

similar social networks or communities can arrive at quite different social organizations of language use and behavior toward language (Fishman, 1997: 26–27).

The question, ‘who speaks (or writes) what language (or what language variety) to whom and when and to what end?’ became talismanic for sociolinguistics, partly because of its apparent innocence and openness. Sociolinguistics appeared to be a quest for first-level awareness of language usage and change (and ‘dynamism’ in that specific sense).

However, several important assumptions were implicit in that question, some of them political. To argue from the extreme case, the question would not have been asked if the anticipated answer was ‘we all speak and write standard English to everyone else all the time’. Sociolinguists were motivated to describe languages and language varieties in all their diversity, and thereby to legitimise them as deserving equal attention (see ‘large and small’ in the first quotation) from linguistics and from society at large. It may be, though, that this ideological cornerstone of sociolinguistics has held in place other assumptions, including some that are increasingly difficult to square with contemporary language-society relationships, including assumptions to do with *place* and *time*. Fishman’s descriptive agenda was tied to specific times (the present tense of ‘speaks’, and ‘different occasions’ relative to the present) and to fixed localities (‘where?’). The descriptive programme of sociolinguistics has mainly been the description of fixed and bounded communities, examined synchronically or over incremental time-points. Empirical procedures such as population sampling and survey techniques have tended to fill out the programme. The ‘norms’ in Fishman’s quotation were the speech community’s norms – not necessarily singular or imposed from above (that is, not ‘standard’ linguistic varieties), but norms as a set of typical or modal patterns of community usage. The availability of such patterns made it seem natural for sociolinguistics to theorise communities in terms of stable and bounded social identities. It seemed apt to assume that people have nested social identities (ethnic, regional, class-, age- and gender-related) which are coterminous with their patterned ways of speaking.

Although these assumptions have served sociolinguistics well enough through the decades between 1960 and 2000, they are open to challenge in a rapidly globalising world. The specific instance we consider in this paper is the sociolinguistic legacy of outward migration from Wales to the United States of America in the 19th century, as evidenced in the pages of a long-running community newspaper, *Y Drych* (The Mirror). Welsh-Americanness is an ethnolinguistic formation that we assume is not untypical of very many other global contexts, where linguistic and national groups have relocated geographically and then reconfigured their social identification with an original territory and language. The general points of deviation from Fishman’s agenda are that social identities under these circumstances are likely to be multiply layered and recontextualised, and that language as a focus for social identification is likely to take on new symbolic value. These are the two principal themes we address in relation to how the Welsh language has been pos-

itioned in the pages of *Y Drych*, between 1851 (its first date of publication) and today.

Social theories of globalisation and late modernity (e.g. Appadurai, 1996; Cohen, 1997; Featherstone *et al.*, 1995; Giddens, 1991, 1994; Hall, 1997; Papastergiadis, 2000; Scott, 1997) can help articulate important new emphases that sociolinguistics will increasingly need to accommodate, and we draw on some of this work in interpreting the trends we find in our textual analyses. According to these perspectives, in its expectations of dealing with continuous and presumed authentic membership of geographically bounded communities, sociolinguistics appears this far to have been a 'modernist' project, attending to the social identities that are generated in speech communities by the positions (of social class, age, and so on) that people occupy in the social apparatus of capitalist production, and how language variation marks such identities.<sup>1</sup> While 'modern' social arrangements have in no simple sense lapsed, they are probably experienced in the present, 'late-modern' period as less stringent constraints on self-definition and social action; they are open to qualification or subversion by alternative models. In our data, this is visible in how descendants from (or other people linked into) an original expatriate Welsh community nowadays seek to regain a largely lost ethnic identity. They do this through the reappropriation of symbols and symbolic practices, with the Welsh language as a key iconic resource. The issue for us to assess is what are the distinctive *qualities* of ethnolinguistic identification that are achieved in this 'home away from home' – Welsh America.

We can conceptualise the history of Welsh in *Y Drych* in terms of four key processes of globalisation: *community interdependence*, *the compression of time and space*, *disembedding* and *commodification*. In relation to the first two of these, *Y Drych* is a networking mechanism, serving primarily to maintain contact among self-defining Welsh individuals and groups in North America, and between them and Wales. As we shall see, the particular networking functions have shifted dramatically over the century and a half of the newspaper's existence, just as the dependency relationships between Wales and America have themselves changed. Although *Y Drych* is definitely a low-tech media object (in contrast to the high-tech and mass media objects that typically drive globalisation), it also bridges between the past and the present, compressing the cultural formations implied by these terms. It brings traditional images and values of 'old Wales' into the lives of contemporary Americans, also offering them back to readers (like ourselves) in modern Wales. In doing this, it problematises the concepts of 'home' and of 'authentic Welsh identity'. In Giddens' terms, *Y Drych* deals with 'the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations "at distance" with local contextualities' (1991: 21).

For Giddens (1991, 1994), disembedding is one of the three major influences on the dynamism of modern social arrangements. It is 'the "lifting out" of social relations from local contexts and their rearticulation across indefinite tracts of time-space' (1991: 18). In *Y Drych* the term 'embedding' has literal as well as more abstract meaning. In our examination of contemporary editions of the newspaper we are concerned with how a limited range of Welsh-language items are positioned within what are otherwise wholly English-

language texts. In terms of Myers-Scotton's (1992, 1998) Matrix Frame Model, English, as the 'more activated' language in these texts relative to Welsh, is the *matrix* language, and Welsh is the *embedded* language. Our analysis is not, however, of code-switching in the conventional sense. We hope to assess how Welsh cultural values of a specific kind are constructed through these Welsh-language textual insertions and 're-embedded' into American lives and practices (see Blommaert, 1992). Globalisation is most commonly debated in relation to increasing cultural uniformity versus increasing cultural hybridisation (e.g. Robertson, 1995). These are only issues for this study to the extent that there may be a general tendency to 'wash out' cultural values in the re-embedding process, with the paradoxical result that very different local communities and indeed languages take on very similar qualities of 'the local'. Although this question goes well beyond our scope in this paper, it may prove to be true that the representations of Welsh and Wales in *Y Drych* today are replicated in a host of other 'old country in the new world' situations.<sup>2</sup>

The analysis shows how language – specifically the use and entextualisation of Welsh in *Y Drych* – constructs highly 'traditional' and 'local' Welsh values, and puts them into contemporary service for the mainly Welsh-American readers of the newspaper. It seems appropriate to describe this 'service' via economic metaphors, and to describe the use of the Welsh language in terms of commodification and consumerisation. It is clear in the extracts we consider that the Welsh language is a valued commodity, available for symbolic deployment and consumption in Welsh-American society, but also for personal projects of Welsh identification (cf. Cheshire & Moser's (1994) analysis of symbolic uses of English). But we use the term 'iconising' in the title of the paper because it captures the symbolic density of Welsh as it is constructed in the texts. We want to suggest that the Welsh language is positioned in *Y Drych* – currently and differently from in past times – as a ceremonial and celebratory icon of traditional Welshness.

Before turning to the data, we give a brief overview of the vitality of Welsh in contemporary Wales. This is necessary as part of the backdrop against which the representations and uses of Welsh in *Y Drych* need to be assessed. We then briefly review the history of outward migration from Wales that led to the founding of *Y Drych* and other Welsh community newspapers in the United States.

## Wales and the Welsh Language Today

Giles *et al.* (1977) introduced a three-dimensional model of ethnolinguistic vitality (see also Giles & Coupland, 1991: 137) which can usefully serve as an informal template for this brief overview (see Williams, 2000, for more detail). The three dimensions are *demography*, *status* and *institutional support*. The *demographic* vitality of Welsh in contemporary Wales is stable and reasonably high, with the previous pattern of sustained decline having been broken at the 2001 decennial census (see Table 1). Aitchison and Carter's (1994) analysis of the 1991 data showed that the historic decline in the numbers of Welsh speakers in the north-west and south-west 'heartlands' was already being replaced, by 1991, by a substantial number of younger, new Welsh speakers, most notably in the urban south-east. The resulting stabilisation of Welsh in overall demo-

graphic terms, spoken by about 500,000 speakers, close to 1 in 5 of the overall population of Wales, is enhanced in the 2001 census data which show an increase in the total number of self-reporting Welsh speakers. On the other hand, continuing attrition of Welsh in 'heartland' communities is resulting in a new wave of acrimonious debate. For example, the pressure group *Cymuned* (Community) is lobbying for interventionist measures in favour of rural and often Welsh-dominant communities, such as restricting the right to build new houses to local people. The Welsh Assembly Government, devolved from London in 1999, is developing policies to enhance the 'sustainability' of the Welsh language and of 'heartland' communities in rural Wales. *Cymuned* members, and to some extent the Assembly itself, argue that the Welsh language is under threat from 'incomers' to these areas, who are often monoglot English speakers from England.

The *status* of Welsh is high, partly reflecting the language's increasingly high instrumental value for employment, but again with powerful regional and social effects complicating an overall subjective assessment. There is considerable enthusiasm for Welsh-medium education at primary and secondary levels, with those schools being generally held to be high quality and even elite institutions. Using Welsh is an object of pride for many users and learners. Fears are even being expressed by some Welsh politicians that Wales risks developing 'a new underclass of English speakers' (*The Western Mail*, 18 May 2002: 7). While pockets of resistance to the compulsory learning of Welsh in school to age 16 exist, there is generally a positive orientation to this policy among Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers alike. In the last ten years much media play has been made of the notion of *cool* (or *cwl*) *Cymru* (cool Wales), a phrase which enshrines the view that it is, as a new social phenomenon, fashionable to be a Welsh speaker and perhaps quite simply to be Welsh. A few Welsh rock bands, some of whom have sung in Welsh, have come to prominence on a UK-wide and even a global basis, as an obvious instantiation of cool *Cymru*. Another is the London-based but expanding socialising club *SWS*, standing for 'Social, Welsh and Sexy' but with *sws* in Welsh also meaning 'kiss'.<sup>3</sup> 'Cool *Cymru*' as a slogan plays off earlier stereotypes of Welsh parochialism and low status.

Upturns in the demography and status of Welsh reflect greatly increased *institutional support* for the Welsh language and indeed for Wales as a nation, and not only in the form of compulsory Welsh at school. Political devolution from Westminster to the Welsh Assembly in Cardiff Bay is at the core of this support with, for example, The Welsh Language Board charged with ensuring that the 1993 Welsh Language Act is ever more strongly implemented. The Act obliges all public sector institutions in Wales to deal with their publics bilingually. Regional NGOs such as the *Mentrau Iaith* (Language Mentors) promote Welsh-language-based initiatives around Wales. The Government-funded Welsh Language fourth television channel, *Sianel Pedwar Cymru* or *S4C*, broadcasts a mix of (terrestrial) programming in Welsh for six hours a day. Welsh is an increasingly core facet of public life in Wales and all major institutions play a part in the revitalisation of the language.

What we should draw from this sketch for the present study is that the Welsh language has a rapidly shifting social profile in Wales. Welsh is an

increasingly urban phenomenon, and an increasingly youthful phenomenon. It has moved further into the mainstream of Welsh life rather than being associated with older speakers in remote, rural 'heartland' zones. Despite this, Welsh remains the focus of strong and even abrasive politicking across ideological divides. The stance of the majority (four-fifths) monoglot English population in Wales remains a critical factor in the success or otherwise of radical and ambitious initiatives to generate full bilingualism across Wales. The effects of compulsory Welsh education remain difficult to assess, with the language attitudes of young bilinguals at age 16 being another crucial and largely unknown factor (and another focus for our own research). General features of bilingual Wales are: rapid and somewhat unpredictable change; considerable social and regional diversity; some ideological conflict; high institutional support; popular goodwill towards Welsh, and, in prospect, great potential for Welsh to grow in all the key domains of modern life.

### **Emigration and *Y Drych* in America**

The mobility of social groups is an obvious form of global flow and of social discontinuity, leading to repositioning of languages. Welsh people emigrated in large numbers (relative to the indigenous population) to the United States, most notably in the second half of the 19th century, although the beginnings were earlier (Jones, 1993, 1998). Knowles (1997) shows that there were three main periods of emigration. The late 1600s to early 1700s saw Quaker and Baptist emigration to William Penn's new colony in Pennsylvania. The early 1800s saw widespread rural emigration, with Morgan John Rhys's 1794 establishing of 'Beulah land' at Ebensburg in Cambria County, Pennsylvania, being a significant vanguard project. As Knowles points out, the economic depression following the Napoleonic Wars (ended 1815) provided economic incentives for emigration, on top of more general poverty resulting from the enclosure of common land in Wales and the commercialisation of agriculture. As a result, 'over the next four decades [from 1850] the Welsh American population more than trebled, to a peak of 100,079 in 1890' (Knowles 1997: 4). As a third wave, emigration from the more industrialised regions of Wales followed in the second half of the 19th century, especially from Merthyr Tydfil and Tredegar in the (south-east) Wales Valleys where iron and then coal production were global leaders in the Industrial Revolution.

Welsh-language press existed as early as the late 1830s in New York City and Utica, New York, for example the periodical *Y Cyfaill O'r Hen Wlad* (The Friend from the Old Country), a Calvinistic Methodist publication that began in 1838. It is important to recognise a strand of self-protective, nationalist ideology that runs through Welsh emigration to America, epitomised by Michael D. Jones's campaigning for *Y Wladfa* (The Colony), which eventuated in the famous and enduring Welsh settlement in Patagonia in 1865 (see Williams, 1991; also Morris, 1986). In Michael D. Jones's political speeches in both the USA and Wales, *Y Wladfa* was explicitly a project designed to perpetuate authentic Welsh linguistic and cultural norms and practices which in Wales were under threat from Anglicisation. Nonconformism was ideologically hostile to the landed gentry's sway over Welsh tenants. Glyn Williams (1991: 23) makes the point that the twin aims of expatriation to the USA – economic

improvement and achieving cultural continuity – were seen to be failing by 1850. After the 1849 Gold Rush, for example, it was clear that Welsh immigrants tended to be rapidly assimilated. In this general climate it is not surprising that the Welsh press in America functioned from the outset as ideological agents, debating and sometimes attempting to dictate the need for emigrant Welsh people to maintain their linguistic and cultural distinctiveness.

*Y Drych*, the focus of this study, first appeared in Utica, New York in 1851 and has been in continuous production to the present day. As Jones and Jones (2001) show, there have been several points when the paper has come to the brink of financial non-viability. Indeed, this was again the case in January 2002. But it has survived, and is a unique documentary source for tracking Wales–America relations over virtually the whole period since the earliest emigrations. *Y Drych* is now a monthly tabloid, though it started as a weekly and was set as a broadsheet for many years. Not only its formats but also its networking function and its ‘reach’ (in terms of numbers of subscribers) have all shifted over the years. Circulation figures are difficult to obtain, but an estimated 2000 copies per month, currently, is very small in comparison with the advertising blurb on the back page of the inaugural edition which claimed (entirely implausibly) that the paper ‘circulated among a Welsh population of about 250,000’. ‘The American organ of the Welsh people’ was a long-running sub-title below the masthead; it now styles itself as ‘The oldest Welsh newspaper in America’. Figure 1 shows the masthead in current use.

Throughout its life *Y Drych* has included a high content of readers’ letters, features and reports on American Welsh Societies’ activities, regular features on Wales and on Wales–America links (visits, delegations, collaborations, exchanges, and so on). In the current editions a section called *Cymru’r Werin: O fis i fis* (Folk Wales: From month to month) explains traditional Welsh customs and lore to contemporary readers. Since its first edition *Y Drych* has carried a substantial set of advertisements. From the 1950s it has incorporated a good deal of visual material. For example, the convention in our sample of contemporary editions is to carry a large photograph of a Welsh rural scene on the front page.

*Y Drych* is a symbolic as well as an informational and a practical resource for sustaining ‘Welshness’ outside of Wales, even though the quality of that engagement and the nature of the networking have changed over the years. The main claim we want to make is that, at least since the 1960s, and certainly in distinction from the late 19th and earlier parts of the 20th centuries, *Y Drych* and its correspondents have constructed newly idealised and romanticised models of the Welsh language and cultural Welshness. In summary, this



Figure 1 The current masthead of *Y Drych*

arrangement (1) maintains Welsh America's original, very strong ethnic affiliation with the project of Welshness, (2) is based, nevertheless, on rather limited linguistic/cultural knowledge and competence, (3) shows high reflexivity and iconisation, and (4) is strongly traditionalising. Empirically we focus on how the Welsh language is positioned in *Y Drych* today, with some brief illustrations of how this differs from earlier periods.

### Welsh and English in *Y Drych* in the mid-19th Century

*Y Drych* was launched as, in general terms, a monolingual Welsh newspaper. English appears in extremely limited contexts in the inaugural *Ionawr* (January) 1851 edition. We can see the historical pattern of the newspaper's progressive Anglicisation in Table 1, which summarises two parallel trends through the 20th century. The column on the right of the table gives percentages of self-defining Welsh speakers as counted at the decennial census in Wales. (No census was held in 1941, during the Second World War.) We see the steady attrition of Welsh in Wales throughout the 20th century, which (as we discussed above) stabilised between 1981 and 1991 and was reversed in 2001. For comparison, the column on the left of the table shows the percentage of column inches printed in English rather than in Welsh in the pages of *Y Drych*, based on an informal decades sample. These data are not fully reliable because of the impossibility of obtaining complete runs of issues for particular years. Nevertheless, the data are indicative of the general timing of the move out of Welsh and into English as the dominant language of publication in *Y Drych*.

**Table 1** The use of Welsh in *Y Drych* and in Wales: 20th century trends

Percentage of column inches in English*	Percentage of Welsh speakers in Wales†
	1901 50.0%
1910 0%	1911 43.5%
1920 5%	1921 37.1%
1930 6.5%	1931 36.8%
1932 30%	
1940 30%	(No 1941 census)
1945 50%	
1948 80+%	1951 28.9%
	1961 26.0%
	1971 20.8%
	1981 18.9%
	1991 18.7% (= 590,600)
2001 100%	2001 20.5%

\*Excluding advertisements

†Percentage of population able to speak Welsh according to the UK censuses

Sources: Column 1: Emrys Jones 1952; Aled Jones and Bill Jones 2001; the present sample. Column 2: Colin H. Williams (1995)

The years around World War II were crucial for this shift away from Welsh in *Y Drych*, just as it was for the demography of Welsh language use in Wales itself. Just as the war attenuated the force of local nationalisms within the UK, it must have undermined the drive for cultural distinctiveness among ethnic minorities in the United States. As Jones and Jones comment (2001: 107), in its editorialising *Y Drych* was explicitly a strong proponent of Welsh-language maintenance, from as early as 1880 right up to 1940. We can also see from Table 1 that, relative to the bilingual situation in Wales, *Y Drych* was, in its own publishing design and language choice, a conservative force throughout the early decades of the 20th century. In the early 1940s, around 70% of the paper was still in Welsh (and close to 80% in 1942, see Jones and Jones, 2001: 114), at a time when no more than one third of the population of Wales itself spoke Welsh. This was before what Jones and Jones call ‘an unequivocal collapse of Welsh language content’ in *Y Drych* between 1945 and 1950.

In the earliest editions we have accessed (from 1851 through the remainder of the 19th century) there are no articles or correspondence printed in English. English is restricted to an occasional title line below the masthead, rare loan words within particular texts (usually marked in italics), some advertisements and an occasional ‘Note to Advertisers’ on the front or back page. Text 1, below, is from August 1888, as an example of how English features in the paper’s date referencing and in a blurb statement to potential advertisers.<sup>4</sup>

#### Text 1

**Thursday (Dydd Iau), August 9 (Awst) 1888**

[Page 1 below masthead]

Newyddiadur Cenedlaethol at Wasanaeth Cenedl y Cymry yn y Talae-thau Unedig

[National Newspaper at the service of the Welsh Nation in the United States]

**Important to Advertisers! – The attention of business men in general is called to *Y Drych* as a superior advertising medium, being read by thousands who cannot be reached by any other publication; and having a circulation exceeding that of all the Welsh weeklies and monthlies published in the United States combined.**

In this extract we get a sense of the newspaper’s ideological commitment to promoting Welsh being compromised only in very particular respects. Logging the edition’s date in English as well as Welsh, but with English appearing first and therefore perhaps being given priority, reflects the fact that the paper was circulating in an environment where English was the general ambient code. The commercial imperative of carrying advertisements, linked to the paper’s clear ambition to service local community needs, presumably made it acceptable to notify potential advertisers primarily in English. Welsh is resolutely the paper’s ‘internal’ code at this stage – internal to the pages of the paper and internal to the community of readers. English intrudes only minimally, and in relation to the paper’s instrumental concerns.

Text 2 (set as Figure 2) is a photo-reproduction of part of a letter (published in the 9 August 1888 edition of *Y Drych*, p. 3) from a correspondent who refers

to himself as *Y Parch* (Reverend) B. W. Chidlaw, D. D. (Doctor of Divinity). It is followed by our own English translation.

**AR LAN Y MOR WERYDD.**

GAN Y PARCH. B. W. CHIDLAW, D. D.

Er mwyn gorphwysfa a iechyd, dyma fi yn Ashbury Park, N. J., wyth can' milldir o fy nghartref ar lan y Miami fawr, yn Ohio. Aroswyf yn y Curlew House, lle da a chysurus. Peth newydd i mi yw *segurdod*, ond rhaid i mi wneyd y goreu o fy *environments*, a phheidio rhydu allan. Mae yma luoedd o bobl, a llawer o honynt yn grefyddol. Trwy ganiatad meistres y ty yr ydym yn cadw dyledswydd deuluaidd bob bore yn y parlwr, a'i lon'd o gydaddolwyr; yna rhodio ar *plank walk* ar lan y mor mawreddog yn ceisio amgyffred gallu, doethineb, a dafoni ein Creawdwr, fy Nhad Nefol. Pan mae y llanw yn ffatriol ymdrochi yn y mor yw fy hyfrydwch—nosio ar frig y tonau sydd with fodd fy nghalon, ar fy mod o ran blynyddoedd fy oes yn hen wr deunaw a thrigain oed.

Figure 2 Photo-reproduced extract from a letter published in *Y Drych*, 9 August 1888, page 3

### Translation of Text 2

ON THE SHORES OF THE ATLANTIC OCEAN  
BY REVEREND B. W. CHIDLAW, D. D.

In order to get some rest and recuperation, here I am in Ashbury Park, N.J., eight hundred miles from my home, on the banks of the great Miami, in Ohio. I am staying in Curlew House, a pleasant and comfortable place. Inactivity is new to me, but I must make the most of my *environments* and not waste away. There are masses of people here, and many of them religious. With the permission of the lady of the house we are performing the family duties every morning in the parlour, full of fellow worshippers; then I take a stroll on the *plank walk* on the banks of the majestic sea trying to comprehend the might, wisdom and goodness of our Creator, our Heavenly Father. When the tide is favourable bathing in the sea is my pleasure – swimming on the crest of waves to

my heart's content, although I am with respect to my age an old man of seventy-eight years.

Other than in Reverend Chidlaw's use of English proper names and his own title, he uses only two English words, 'environments' and 'plank walk'. There is a regular convention of italicising English words in such texts in *Y Drych* in this period, even though the number of instances is very small. The device betrays a reflexive awareness of the fact of incorporating English into a Welsh textual matrix, and we see a somewhat similar pattern with the incorporation of Welsh into English text in the contemporary sample (see below). In the early issues the device is apparently driven by a hygienist concern – that the equivalent Welsh lexical item is not available, not known by the original Welsh correspondent. The italicisation is almost certainly an editor's convention marking a deviation from a prescriptive Welsh norm.

### English and Welsh in *Y Drych* in the 21st Century

Against this historical background, a modern sample of *Y Drych* shows that English has become normative for almost all text-type categories in the newspaper, except for a limited range of referring expressions in specific pragmatic functions. These are the focus of this section. We defined a contemporary sample of *Y Drych*, taking 12 monthly issues from December 2000 to December 2001. In this sample there are very few lines or paragraphs of running text in Welsh. Most editions have none; the December 2001 edition has the highest percentage, at 0.019%. But we are mainly interested here in the patterns through which specific Welsh lexical or phrasal forms are embedded into English text. When such embedding occurs it is interesting to note whether embeddings are stand-alone Welsh items (which we mark in the following extracts as [W]), Welsh plus English sequentially [W+E], or English plus Welsh [E+W].

What follows is a set of numbered, illustrative examples organised under sub-headings which indicate the different generic and referring contexts of the use of Welsh in the 12-month contemporary sample.

#### Editorial referencing

- (1) [Front page: issue date] **MEDI/SEPTEMBER** [W+E]  
**Cymru'r Werin o Fis i Fis** [W] [a regular feature in the contents list]  
 [Every page, date e.g.] **Medi 2001 ~ September 2001** [W+E]  
 [p. 6 section] **CYMRU'R WERIN: O FIS I FIS**  
**FOLK WALES: FROM MONTH TO MONTH** [W+E]

The paper has maintained its policy of referencing its own month of publication in both Welsh and English, but nowadays in the [W+E] rather than the [E+W] format. Already, then, there is an interesting contrast with the 19th century convention, which we suggested showed accommodation to the wider ambient code (English) of the social settings in which *Y Drych* circulated in the United States. Promoting dates in Welsh to first position suggests that the paper has come to prioritise symbolic over instrumental values in this regard. Indeed, what we see in the contemporary sample is a publication that has ceased to function as a 'community newspaper' in the sense described by

Fishman *et al.*, 1966 (see also Miller, 1987). The paper's name, *Y Drych*, has always been listed only in Welsh, apart from in exceptional contexts such as the statement to advertisers. A small number of regular features in the paper, such as the *CYMRU'R WERIN: O FIS I FIS* column shown above, use [W+E] and the effect of the English form in second position is to provide a comprehension check for non-Welsh-using readers. The paper therefore works to a covert norm of which Welsh lexical items can or should be assumed to be known to readers (such as the paper's title) and those that can or should not.

### References to 'Welsh spirit', *hwyl*, *hiraeth*

(2) [title] **Chicago Welsh enjoy annual gymanfa** [W] [June–July 2001: 12]

Larry Williams, president of the Chicago Gymanfa Association, introduced the director, Trefor William of Milwaukee, Wis. In the short time Trefor has been in the U.S., he has made a name for himself as an excellent director, captivating his audience with the good old Welsh "**hwyl**," [W] which was truly evident that Sunday.

(3) [title] **Keene, N.H., holds fall gymanfa** [W] [December 2001: 13]

Jay G. Williams III conducted the annual festival of Welsh hymns at St. James Episcopal Church in Keene, N.H., on Sun., Oct 21 ... A visiting participant in the singing reported, "The service was very warm and welcoming, and Jay Williams is certainly adept at bringing out the '**hwyl**' [W]. All in all it was a thoroughly pleasant Sunday afternoon.

(4) [title] **Wales the missing dimension** [October 2001: 4]

A Journey to Wales is invariably a stimulating and inspiring adventure. To stand on the Great Orme face-to-face with Mount Snowdon [E] and view the coast of North Wales from Anglesey [E] virtually to Liverpool is breathtaking. The great castle ruins remind one of the terrible oppression which the Cymry [W] have known and stir feelings of patriotism. And the ancient churches and holy wells and places of pilgrimage evoke a deep sense of awe and wonder. No one with a half drop of Welsh blood should fail to explore this land of **hiraeth** [W].

*Hwyl*, roughly meaning 'spirit', and *hiraeth*, 'longing', are reputedly profound Welsh cultural signifiers. *Hwyl* refers to 'infectious Welsh good cheer', especially salient in the context of Welsh cultural celebrations. *Hiraeth* expresses 'a Welsh cultural longing for Wales'. These terms are part of a small lexical repertoire of Welsh words often held to be untranslatable, and they must therefore appear in these forms in English discourse. What is interesting about at least two of the three uses, above, is the semantic reflexivity and, in a sense, redundancy of the expressions in which they appear. The phrase 'captivating his audience with the good old Welsh "**hwyl**"' in (2) makes explicit the 'captivatingness', 'goodness', 'oldness' and 'Welshness' of 'hwyl' – qualities which in other contexts might be largely inferable from the term *hwyl* in isolation, part of the word's cultural density. Rather similarly, the utterance 'No one with a half drop of Welsh blood should fail to explore this land of **hiraeth**' in (4) is perhaps over-explicit about *hiraeth* being a quality of the *land*.

Appropriating words and phrases from another language in order to fill a

lexical gap is generally seen as straightforward lexical borrowing to fulfil referential functions, often to make the message clearer (e.g. Gumperz, 1982). However, the particular items selected here, and of course the specific language they are taken from, plus the redundancy that often accompanies them, suggest that *language display* is the stronger motivation. In the general manner of language display, these embeddings provide sociocultural information about the authors' 'desired presentation of self' and possibly also mark the author as 'knowledgeable and well-educated' (Eastman & Stein, 1993: 189).

### Names for Wales and the Welsh: *Cymru, Y Cymry*

(5) [guest editorial by Gwynfor Evans]

[title] **The long fight for Welsh National freedom** [January 2001: 4]

**Cymru (Wales)** [W+E] is a small Celtic nation whose Celtic civilisation goes back a thousand years before Christ. Throughout their long history **the Cymry (the Welsh people)** [W+E] have fought with their backs to the wall. The most remarkable thing about them is their astonishing survival.

### Welsh icons, e.g. *Draig goch* (Welsh dragon) and the national anthem

(6) [title] **Georgia Welsh see 2000 off with a flourish** [February 2001: 19]

Many of our members like to travel, but one member Bill Phillips travelled farther than normal in November. He went trekking to Base Camp, Everest. On his climb, high in the Himalayas, at least a seven day trek from the nearest road, he reached a tiny, remote village of about five stone houses. One belonged to a sirdar (a leading sherpa) and it was a great honor for Bill to be invited into his house. Imagine his surprise when, on entering, the first thing he saw was **Y Draig Goch – the Welsh Flag!** [W+E, with 'Flag' as superordinate for 'Dragon'] But that was not all. On the opposite wall was a very colorful poster of a meadow filled with white flowers. The words on the poster read: "Gwyn ein byd – Am Ba Hyd?" (White (blessed) is our world, but for how long?) [W+E] Yes indeed Welsh has reached the top of the world!

(7) [title] **16th annual gymanfa [W] held in Nebraska** [December 2000: 16]

After the gymanfa ended with **Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau** [W, 'Old Land of My Fathers'], "**Ar Hyd y Nos**" [W, 'All Through the Night'] and God Be With You, Beth Fanz Lincoln and her committee served a delightful te bach [W, 'small tea'] (really a te mawr) [W, 'large tea'], with the Society, Linda Witforth, Crete, and Mary Harding, Lincoln, at the tea table.

These two categories of Welsh-language incorporation involve Welsh expressions referring to Wales, Welsh people and, once again, deeply iconic Welsh items. The formatting convention is to present them as stand-alone Welsh items, [W], or [W+E], never [E+W]. In either case the symbolism of the format is to present the Welsh cultural referent as if it were culturally unmarked in its Welsh-language expression, even though it is in a different sense marked – as a deviation from the English textual matrix. It naturalises

the Welsh language item as the culturally 'proper' way of referring to Welsh people, the nation and its icons.

### Salutations, leave-takings, thanks, congratulations

(8) [an announcement above the masthead, January 2001: 1]  
**BLWYDDYN NEWYDD DDA I HOLL DDARLLENWYR Y DRYCH**  
**HAPPY NEW YEAR TO ALL READERS OF Y DRYCH** [W+E]

(9) [a feature title] **Cymru'r Werin** [W] ... [December 2001: 6, end of article]  
*Nadolig Llawen a Blwyddyn Newydd Dda i chwi i gyd* [W, 'Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to you all'].

(10) [title] **Pittsburgh group enjoys Gŵyl Cinio Y Nadolig** [W, 'Christmas Celebration Dinner'] [January 2001: 13]  
 The St. David's Society of Pittsburgh, Inc., celebrated its annual Gwyl Cinio Y Nadolig (A Holiday Christmas Luncheon) [W+E] on Sat., Dec 2 at the Tivoli Restaurant in Penn Hills ...

We now look forward to our next programmed event, our celebration of St. David's Day, once again at the Ale Works Restaurant & Pub in the Strip District Area of Pittsburgh.

Until then, my dear Welsh friends, "**Diolch yn fawr**" [W, 'Thank you very much'] for all your much-needed and much-appreciated efforts on behalf of the St. David's Society of Pittsburgh. A **Happy New Year – Blwyddyn Newydd Dda** [E +W] to all Drych readers and to the excellent staff at *Y Drych*.

(11) [letter, title] **National Assembly for Wales Internship Program announced** [November 2001: 19]  
**Annwyl Golygydd**, [W, 'Dear Editor'] ... **Yn ddiffuant**, [W, 'Sincerely']...

(12) [title] **Heritage, model rockets and bonny knees in Ohio** [August 2001: 18]

The 10th annual Celtic Festival in Rio Grande, Ohio, was a huge success ... Once again the Centre [Madog Centre] provided a beginning Welsh course taught by Kara Lewis. She had a nice turn out and many of the visitors left speaking things like **shwmae (hello)** [W+E], **bore da (good morning)** [W+E] and **diolch (thank you)** [W+E].

(13) [letter, title] **Congratulations from the Welsh National Gymanfa Ganu** [W] **Ass'n** [January 2001: 8]

Our grateful thanks and congratulations go to the editor Mary Morris Mergenthal, for her hard work, enthusiasm and support for all things Welsh in North America **Llongyfarchidau a diolch yn fawr iawn** [W, 'Congratulations and thanks very much'].

(14) [title] **Déjà vu all over again** [May 2001 p. 9]

Was it Yogi Berra who said that? Or Groucho Marx? Or maybe the sports writers who reported on the recent Wales v. France Rugby game? The Western Mail gave us the eye-catching headline, **C'est Magnifique! France 35 Wales 43. They did it!**... And it was magnifique! It was even **bendigedig!** [W, 'blessed'] At last Wales had won a Rugby game!

(15) [end of feature] **NOT VITAL BUT NICE** [December 2001: 18]

This article concludes the “Not Vital But Nice” series. I’ve enjoyed researching each item of dress and have learned much. I feel a special affinity for the Welsh women of 1850, particularly the rurals. Anyone wishing to share knowledge with me or indeed correct me may contact me via “snail-mail” to: ... **Diolch yn fawr** [W, ‘Thanks very much’] and **ta ta** [perhaps W, ‘good bye’].

(16) [letter, title] **Russell Williams honored** [August 2001: 4]

All of us at the Welsh society are very happy and proud to hear that Russell Williams has been appointed president of the National Welsh-American Foundation ... **Congratulations**, Russell from all of us in the Gulf Coast St. David’s Welsh Society, Sarasota, Florida, **ac yn y iaith Gymraeg, Llongyfarchiadau, hwyl a phôb llwyddiant** [W, ‘and in Welsh, Congratulations, hwyl and every success’].

(17) [title] **ST DAVID’S DAY in Philadelphia, Pa.** [April 2001 p. 17]

The evening was a night to remember and ended when Jean Roberts wished everyone, “**Nos Da**” [W] and the communal response of “**Nos Da i chwi hefyd**” [W, ‘Good night to you too’] was heard.

This is a wide category of formulaic utterances which, in spoken interaction, are generally associated with the margins of social encounters. As the examples show, there is again a dominant format of Welsh-only or [W+E], although two exceptions occur (in 10 and 16). In (8) the paper’s editors are wishing their readers *BLWYDDYN NEWYDD DDA* and in (9) the author of the regular feature *Cymru’r Werin* does the same. In these fragments Welsh is presented as the appropriate code for ceremonial and celebratory discourse, and of course the newspaper is in one sense a sustained celebration of Welshness. The other examples above are of correspondents either prefacing/postscripting their own written contributions with Welsh salutations/leave-takings or else quoting similar utterances they have themselves encountered, for example during Welsh Society meetings and events. *Diolch yn fawr*, *bore da* and *nos da* are some of those formulaic Welsh utterances that require an adequate phonological competence but no grammatical competence.

In terms of pragmatic function, the prevalence of greetings, salutations, congratulations, exhortative expressions and proverbs in Welsh suggests a utility principle at work in *Y Drych*. The items listed make up a broad class of contextually predicable, semantically slight but pragmatically versatile expressions which can do symbolic work across a range of social situations. The cultural value of such utterances is that they can *frame* communicative events, either those constituted in or those reported in *Y Drych*, both in a sequential sense (as event openers and closers) and in an indexical sense (lending an aura of cultural Welshness to the events themselves).

### Cultural events, celebrations and institutions

(18) [title] **Croeso yn ôl i** [W, ‘Welcome back to’] **Harrisburg** [November 2001: 2]

Filling out the weekend events will be performances by Côr Meibion

Brythoniad [W] and a two-hour extravaganza featuring **Calennig** [W], with a troupe of 12 performers in a production entitled "A Tale of Two Rivers". There will also be an expanded Marketplace, a chance for all who are interested to perform in the **Dydd a Noson Lawen** [W]; the **Eisteddfod** [W]; tours of The Longwood Gardens and The Brandywine River area, stopping to visit the Wyeth Museum.

(19) [title] **Festival of Wales 2001 – The 70th Welsh National Gymanfa Ganu** [W] to welcome **Parti Dawns Lan Môr** [W] [January 2001: 2]

The 70th Welsh National **Gymanfa Ganu** [W] will provide you with an opportunity to enjoy a range of musical performances and programs including the **noson lawen** [W], **eisteddfod** [W], grand concert, church service and **gymanfa ganu** [W]. This month we'd like to profile the **Parti Dawns Lan Môr** [W], an example of the talent and commitment our Welsh youth have in maintaining our Welsh traditions and culture.

(20) [title] **Seattle to hold gymanfa** [W] **Oct. 7** [August 2001: 15]

**Gymanfaoedd** [W] (the plural of **gymanfa** [W]) have been held in Seattle since the 1800s, and we are pleased to continue the tradition ... Tea and cookies will be served at a **tê bach** ("little tea") [W+E] following the singing and welsh crafts will be for sale.

(21) [title] **New York City Club tries folk dancing** [December 2001: 14]

Wearing a traditional lovely welsh garment, Siân Frick of Delaware led a determined group of members of the Women's Club of New York in a spirited session of Welsh folk dancing at their November meeting ... In addition to other fine performances, in 1991 she was a member of **Dawnsywyr Môn** [W] display team in Anglesey, Wales, as well as the 50th anniversary celebration of **Cymdeithas Dawns Werin Cymru** [W] in Llangollen.

(22) [title] **Côr Cymraeg Seattle** [W] **sings to the World!** [January 2001: 15]

(23) [title] **Côr Cymry Gogledd America** [W] **appears on Welsh television** [February 2001: 13]

**Côr Cymry Gogledd America – The North American Welsh Choir** [W+E] was featured on the TV documentary series, "The Welsh in New York," on Thurs., Dec 21.

(24) [title] **Cymdeithas Madog** [W] **announces scholarship for Cwrs Cymraeg** [W] **2002** [November 2001: 11]

"**Dewch yn ôl i Iowa/Come back to Iowa!**" [W+E] Would you like to attend **Cwrs Cymraeg Cymdeithas Madog** [W], at Simpson College, in Indianola, Iowa, July 21-28 2002, but are unsure if you have the funds?

Many of the focal activities of Welsh Societies in the USA, which are so prominent in the pages of *Y Drych*, are Welsh-themed cultural events, and the Welsh nominals naming types of such events make up many of the instances in this section. *Noson Lawen* is an evening celebration of music and dance; *Gymanfa (Ganu)* is a communal singing event; the *Eisteddfod* is a regular (often annual) festival of competitive singing, dance, recitation and poetry composition,

organised under a set of conventional genre and style categories; *Tê Bach* is a gathering where people drink tea (although its Welshness as a cultural tradition is in our view open to question); *Côr* is a Choir, so that *Côr Cymraeg Seattle* is 'the Welsh Choir of Seattle'; *Cymdeithas Madog* is the Madog Society which organises many Welsh-language learning courses in the USA, and so on. So this set of Welsh expressions again reflexively marks the Welshness of specific cultural practices and groups through the use of their Welsh-language titles, either in isolation or supported by a following English equivalent expression.

### Sayings, aphorisms, exhortations

(25) [title] **Welsh baptism held in Freedom, N.Y.** [September 2001: 14]  
 More than 30 friends and family members came from near and far to hear the traditional words spoken by the Rev. Cannon W. David C. Thomas, an Anglican priest from Wales, who has lived in Niagara Falls, Ont., for several years.  
 "Maria Bronwen, yr wyf yn dy fedyddio di yn enw'r Tad a'r Mab, a'r Ysbryd Glan. Amen."  
 "Maria Bronwen, I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen." [W+E]

(26) [title] **Yma o hyd [W] in Western New England** [October 2001: 16]  
 Shortly after the tragedies of Tuesday, Sept 11, the Welsh Society of Western New England met on the Sept. 15 for consolation and reassurance that that **we are still here (Yma o hyd)** [E+W]

(27) [letter, title] **Is that a Welsh town name?** [March 2001: 7]  
 Greetings from Wales ... Cyfarchion o Gymru [E+W] and a very happy birthday pen-blwydd hapus [E+W] to *Y Drych* [W]. 150 years old what an achievement!... Thank you in advance. Cofion cynnes – fondest regards. [W+E] **CYMRU AM BYTH – WALES FOR EVER** [W+E]

(28) [letter, title] **How *Y Drych* [W] has been part of my life** [November 2001: 4] Annwyl Golygydd, [W] I would like to say **Y DRYCH AM BYTH! (Y DRYCH FOR EVER!)** [W+E]

(29) [title] **A pilgrimage to Arthur's sod** [May 2001: 12]  
**O bydded i'r heniaith barhau (O may her ancient tongue endure)** [W+E]

These Welsh expressions are either conventional Welsh aphorisms, such as the nationalist auto-exhortation *Cymru am byth!* ('Wales for ever!'), or intertextual references to well-known Welsh language sources, like the one in line 2 of (29), which is a quotation from the Welsh National Anthem. These are cultural repertoire items, referring reflexively to their own ethnic provenance or engagement.

### Welsh and Welsh-American place names

(30) [title] **ST. DAVID'S DAY in Iowa** [April 2001: 13]  
 The Iowa Welsh Society celebrated St. David, patron saint of Wales, with a luncheon and musical program at the First Baptist Church in Indianola

on Sat., March 3... The Welsh doll on the display table was given to the Society by Clyde Domek of Ames. It had been a gift to him from the Lord Mayor of **Caerdydd (Cardiff)**. [W+E]

(31) [title] **Iowa group hear from globetrotting member** [December 2000: 20]

The fall meeting of Cymdeithas Cymreig [W] Iowa was held Oct. 14 at the Ottumwa Public Library in Ottumwa, Iowa ... The speaker was Bill Phillips, a globetrotting bottling official, born the son of an agricultural family in **Drinewydd (Newtown, [W+E] Powys, Wales)**.

(32) [title] **A silver Course in Atlanta** [September 2001: 11]

From **Y Canolbarth** [W] in Pella, Iowa, to **Y Mynydd Glas** [W] in Poultney, Vermont, and **Cwrs y Mileniwm** [W] last year in **Carmarthen** (in **Hen Wlad**) [W, 'Old Country'], the course has evolved while remaining true to its mission. May the next 25 years inspire even more people to learn the language of heaven!

There is certainly a convention in Wales, one that seems to be becoming more frequent, to prefer reference to certain Welsh towns and cities through their Welsh names in English discourse, when equivalent Welsh and English variants exist (*Ty Ddewi* for Saint David's, and perhaps (*Y Drenewydd* for Newtown, as in 31). This reverses a tradition prevalent in the early and mid 20th century in Wales to anglicise Welsh place names in their written forms. For example, the spelling *Llanelly* and *Llantrissant* were current, before reverting, around the 1970s, to Welsh orthography, *Llanelli* and *Llantrisant*. On the other hand, the set of place names where this usage is common in Wales does not (yet) include *Caerdydd* for Cardiff (the capital city of Wales), see (30). In (32) Carmarthen is the English form of reference (not Welsh *Caerfyrddin*, which is available in Wales); but the town is then located as being in *Hen Wlad* [Old Country], which is not at all a common referent in English discourse in Wales. There is therefore an issue of normativity here, where some aspects of Welsh usage in *Y Drych* might be judged unusual or even, prescriptively, 'incorrect' according to the norms of contemporary usage in Wales itself.

That same issue surfaces in relation to some of the Welsh items we have seen previously, such as *Y Draig* in (6), where the initial consonant mutated to 'Dd' in *Ddraig* is normative after the definite article *Y*; also in *Drinewydd* in (31), where 'e' in *Drenewydd* is normative. Our earlier comment about *Tê Bach* is relevant here too. Again, while *hwyl*, *hiraeth*, *eisteddfod* and *gymanfa* are fairly unexceptional as Welsh loanwords in English discourse in Wales (and in fact candidates for being considered 'Welsh English' words), *Y Ddraig Goch* and *Y Cymry* are less so. The adoptive use of Welsh in *Y Drych* is therefore not wholly consistent with within-Wales norms. Stretching the 'home' range and contexts of Welsh-language incorporation into English is a form of 'hyper-Cymrification'. Eastman and Stein's conception of language display again seems useful here. They suggest that the displayer's intention is not normally to negotiate a definition of self as a member of another speech community, but to be seen as having valued attributes associated with that community (Eastman & Stein, 1993: 188). They emphasise the role of display *within* rather than across intergroup boundaries, on impression management within one's

own group, and the expansion of speakers' social identity within their own linguistic territory. Whether or not Welsh-American contributors to *Y Drych* themselves feel they are converging to actual norms of Welsh-language usage in Wales, the selectivity and textualising of their Welsh suggest a process of language display rather than code-switching 'usage' or 'competence'.

## Discussion

Overviewing the use of Welsh in the contemporary sample of *Y Drych*, and borrowing a perspective from Agar (1991, see also Coupland, 1995), we can say that Welsh-language items, in the tightly limited sets of linguistic contexts that we have examined, are involved in expressing 'rich points' of Welsh cultural experience, as it is traditionally conceived. These expressions are often *reflexive* in several different senses. The first sense is direct self-referentiality. Welsh-language elements are used in reference to the Welsh language itself (*Cymraeg*), to Wales itself (*Cymru*), extrapolated to places in Wales, to key symbolic attributes of Wales, to Welsh cultural events and groups, or of course to the newspaper itself. In a second sense, some of the Welsh elements are textualised as quotations – see the actual quotation marks around 'hwyl' in (2) and (3), around 'Ar Hyd Y Nos' in (7), 'Diolch Yn Fawr' in (10), and others. But in the extracts there are also many *representations* of people engaging with the Welsh language: in (6) the seeing of *Y D[d]raig Goch*, in (7) the singing of *Hen Wlad fy Nhadau*, in (12) the saying of things like *shwmae*, in (16) noting the fact of translating into Welsh, in (17) Jean Roberts being reported to have wished everyone "Nos da", and so on. In a third and wider sense, readers' and correspondents' involvement with *Y Drych* is itself a Welsh-reflexive practice. Extract (13) offers congratulations in Welsh to the Editor for her culturally significant editorial contribution to the newspaper and to Wales; (14) expresses enthusiasm in Welsh for a Welsh rugby victory, and so on.

So engaging with Welsh is not only something that correspondents do, as 'usage', in *Y Drych*. It is itself a reportable and newsworthy practice, and when correspondents use Welsh, however selectively, they *deploy* it, knowingly and with a reflexive symbolism. It is akin to serving a *Tê Bach* (see 20), and like that putatively Welsh tea ceremony, the Welsh language takes on a metonymic function, standing for the complete Welsh cultural experience, as the relevant groups conceive it to be. The term *iconisation* is appropriate to capture this ideological process of extrapolation from language code to cultural value, even though it has been introduced and used in a seemingly more general sense by other writers (see Gal & Irvine, 1995; Irvine, 2001; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Woolard, 1998). Iconisation, at least in the context we consider in this paper, involves both a semiotic transfer and a setting apart. Welsh-language items in *Y Drych* are certainly set apart, sometimes textually (as we have just seen through quotation marks or being reported as having been used) but also culturally. In its representation here, Welsh is focused and dignified. That is, the distance achieved by the metalinguistic framing of Welsh seems to be a vertical distance – Welsh being elevated and wondered at.

When users are American correspondents, it is reasonable to assume they have very limited competence in Welsh in most cases, as do the majority of

their readers. By integrating Welsh into their English text-matrix, correspondents are not fully claiming a competence in Welsh. Yet there is a tension between appearing to claim a competence and the fact of user and recipient non-competence. Their use of Welsh is an *as-if*, borrowed, performed competence, and to that extent it enters the general category of stylised usage (Coupland, 2001) and of crossing (Rampton, 1995). Stylisation complicates ownership, and Welsh-using correspondents of *Y Drych* use the local contexts we have identified to represent themselves 'as if' they were Cymry Cymraeg ['Welsh-speaking Welsh people']. The vertical distance between user and usage is not at all an ironic distance, more a gap which correspondents aspire to close, or want to display themselves as aspiring to close. This is particularly the case when Welsh is momentarily naturalised in the [W] or [W+E] format in their discourse.

The *traditionalising* function of *Y Drych* is probably its most striking aspect for readers based in Wales. The cultural experience and apparatus invoked in and through Welsh-language items for the most part belong to 'old Wales', *yr hen wlad*, continuously with what we described as the paper's historic role in maintaining contacts with 'the old country' and exploring opportunities to keep old Wales intact in a foreign place. But the *cymanfa ganu*, for example, is a more active institution in America than in modern Wales. In *Y Drych*, Welsh tradition is not so much being kept alive as being revisited nostalgically – one might say reinvented (Howsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Correspondents to *Y Drych* appear to value Welsh as a heritage language, more than as the living, politicised, antagonistic social force that it is in contemporary Wales (see our overview, above). The relationship is similar to that observed in older Jewish Americans' use of Yiddish. Myerhoff (1978) concluded that, by displaying the language of a shared ethnicity, older Jewish Americans were holding on to the past, and assuring themselves and others that their heritage was not lost. Full competence in the language was again not critical. One respondent reported, 'When I hear Yiddish and Hebrew, often I don't know what the words mean, but I know that they are part of me all the same' (Eastman & Stein, 1993:193). In our contemporary sample of *Y Drych*, the dominant cultural semiotic is romanticised and *hiraethus*, at least from the standpoint of contemporary Wales.

When did this heritage and traditionalising orientation first surface in *Y Drych*? It is apparent in editions from the late 1970s and early 1980s. The 1960s were a period when *Y Drych* had been rather thoroughly anglicised (with, for example, only around 5% of running text column inches in Welsh in the January 1960 issue), but when it had not yet acquired the reflexive, performance dimension. Jones and Jones (2001: 134/5) note that a Welsh-language teaching section, *Y Golofn Gymraeg*, was introduced for a time in October 1981 and runs through to recent issues, presumably marking an upswing in correspondents' wishes to re-engage with the language. The two issues we have from 1961 and four from 1960 generally lack the reflexive Welsh conventions of the recent sample. For example, the Welsh national anthem is referred to in English only in 1960, while it is always in Welsh in the contemporary sample.

Prior to 1850, Welsh people living in America – and indeed Wales itself – were both prototypes of the minority language community that Fishman's

sociology of language addresses (see the quotation at the beginning of this paper). Welsh Wales and the American-Welsh communities in the USA were both geographically bounded, sociolinguistically distinctive, minoritised and culturally threatened, though in different particular respects. Emigration from Wales – principally to the United States but also to Canada, Australia, South Africa, South America and elsewhere – was a global flow from Wales outwards into a small and new diaspora, driven by various socioeconomic factors. In Wales the threats were mainly in the form of severe economic hardship (e.g. triggered by the enclosure of common land in the north-west of Wales) and threatened national autonomy (through anglicisation). Later, an element of commercial expansionism (e.g. in the exporting of mining expertise from south-east Wales) was also relevant. Outward demographic and linguistic flow from Wales was also in part an effort to protect traditional cultural practices – language, religion, occupational lifestyles – by enshrining them in remote settlements – *Y Wladfa*. In globalisation theory, we might call this a form of cultural disembedding, but only in a rather literal sense. It is of course not uncommon for a sense of community, and for cultural ‘content’ generally, to survive physical translocation. But what followed with Welsh people and language in the USA was a more radical disembedding. There was ‘an emptying out of symbols’, as the traditional meanings of Welsh, and of course its demographic base in the United States, progressively leached away. It is sometimes said that Welsh expatriates were quick assimilators (Morris, 1986), and this may explain why the Welsh diaspora is nowadays ‘thin’ and certainly far less prominent than the Irish or Scottish diasporas. In any event, cultural dissipation was despite the concerted efforts of *Y Drych*.

What richly exemplifies the forces and shifts that make up so-called ‘globalisation’ is how the Wales–America relationship has been recreated since the 1960s. The direction of flow has in one sense been reversed, if the word ‘flow’ also implies a directed transnational aspiration or reaching out. In the pages of *Y Drych* we find Welsh-Americans (some of them direct descendants of 19th century emigrants, but others without Welsh family lineage) expressing aspirations to reclaim the Welsh language and a Welsh cultural past. Traditional spaces and meanings are being recreated from the past as material for a form of contemporary, ‘remote’ self-identification. This is the symbolic value of ‘the old country’, and of ‘our old country’, even if it is a symbolism that aspirants cannot adopt without literal or metaphorical quotation marks. We take Welsh in *Y Drych* to be an instance of what Giddens (1991: 187) refers to as ‘the intrusion of distance into local activities’, and therefore a form of *re-embedding*. Featherstone and Lash (1995: 22) similarly write about ‘the retrieval and reconstitution of myth which will inform the poetic imagination of everyday life in the face of the new normalizing technologies of the “neo-worlds”, of the global flows of information and communication’. There are certainly poetic and mythic qualities in *Y Drych*’s correspondents’ constructions of Wales and in the social and pragmatic environments in which they notice and deploy Welsh language forms. Welsh is an iconic pathway into an ancient, ceremonial, bardic Wales of a sort that was of course as mythic in 1851 as it is today.

Two further qualities of the Welsh representations we have been examining

stand out. One is what we could call the *taming* of Wales. The pages of *Y Drych* are striking for what we do *not* see, as well as for what we do see. For example, we see little representation of language conflict in contemporary Wales, such as debates over compulsory Welsh in schools, or the aggressive debate about 'incomers' to Wales and the claimed despoiling of the rural heartlands. Wales and the Welsh language need to be of the safe, old and unchanging varieties in *Y Drych*, to appeal in the globalised semiotic. As the language display perspective explains, this is to stop short of negotiating membership of a contemporary Welsh community in Wales, but rather wishing to display attributes associated with a more timeless version of it. The other, related quality is *commodification*, which is the process underlying the reflexive use of restricted Welsh language in the contemporary pages of the newspaper. Welsh is literally commodified when it is packaged and sold by the language teaching and learning institutions that bring American tourists to Wales (although in far smaller numbers than the Wales Tourist Board would like). But more generally too, the extracts we considered above hint at the symbolic 'value' correspondents find in reflexively deploying 'the mysterious, ancient Celtic tongue'.

The wider question for minority languages in their diasporic forms is whether commodification and retraditionalisation need to be viewed as naive, off-target and pernicious aberrations, or whether we can see them as well-intentioned, harmless and even potentially revitalising attempts at engagement. The globalisation, iconisation and commodification of Welsh and Wales certainly do not start and end at the Atlantic seaboard of North America. We have tried not to prejudge this fundamental evaluative question. In fact it needs to be treated empirically, by studying how such representations draw reactions from diverse groups of people speaking from different ideological positions. It would certainly be wrong to start from the purist assumption that indigenous membership of a speech community can be fully authentic, and that sociolinguistic deviations from such an authenticity are a threat to the ethnolinguistic integrity of the community. Many institutions in Wales play their part in packaging the Welsh language and traditions for expatriate as well as home consumption, and the current revitalisation programme in Wales is achieving its success largely on the strength of a 'rebranding' of the language as an economic and cultural resource. There is little promise in the stance that minority languages should remain the unnoticeable vernacular codes of authentic traditional communities. In an era of increasing global flow and interdependence, it might necessarily be through the iconisation of minority languages that their local values are established in complex, global sociolinguistic ecologies.

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### Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Professor Nikolas Coupland, Centre for Language and Communication Research, Cardiff University, PO Box 94, Cardiff CF10 3XB, Wales, UK (coupland@cardiff.ac.uk).

### Notes

1. Possibly, as Ben Rampton argues in connection with the concept of 'speech community' (Rampton, 2000), sociolinguistics' concern with minority language and minority community rights was a critical response to the tighter and more exclusionary structures of modern social arrangements. Rampton says that the project of sociolinguistics was in part an effort 'to stop "speech community" from becoming the conceptual frame within which modernity's "others" were studied' (p. 7).
2. See, for example, Petersen (1987) on the somewhat parallel case of Danish in America.
3. One *JMMD* reviewer noted that the SWS acronym achieves 'a deliberate distancing of the young, sensuous Welsh Wales from the dour asceticism of its recent Calvinist past'.
4. In the non-photo-reproduced texts, our own translations of Welsh items and other explanatory comments are enclosed in square brackets; other English items are part of the original printing. We reproduce the texts as faithfully as we can, including their typographical and linguistic idiosyncrasies and errors. Items we wish to draw particular attention to, and the titles of features or letters, are printed in bold. Three dots indicate portions of the text omitted for brevity.

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